2.7.29

# THE ROMANE HISTORIE WRITTEN BY T. LIVIUS of PADUA.

Also,

## The Breviaries of L. FLORVS:

vvh a Chronology to the vvhole Hiſtorie;
and the Topography of *ROME* in old time.

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*Tranſated out of Latine into Engliſh,* by PHILEMON HOLLAND,
*Doctor in Phyſick.*

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To which is now added,

A Supplement of the Second Decad of *LIVY*,
(which was loſt.)

Lately written in Latine by

## IFREINSHEMIVS,

and now newly Tranſlated into Engliſh.

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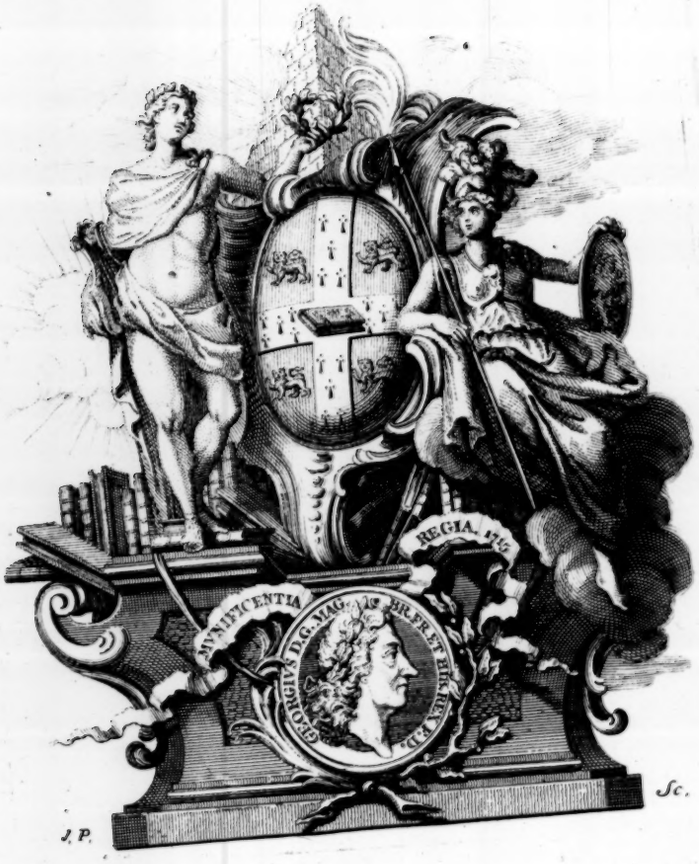
*LONDON*,
Printed by *W. Hunt*, for *Gabriel Bedell*, at the middle Temple Gate. 1659.




1278:12.

To the most High and Mighty Monarch, ELIZABETH,
(my dread Soveraign) by the grace of God, Queen of *England*
*France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c.

ALL my labour whatsoever, in translating another mans work, I present here unto your Highness, and consecrate to the happy and immortall memory of your most sacred Majesty. [illegible] confess) in regard of mine own imperfections, venturous and overbold; as the first enterprise, right hard and exposed to perill. Yet, most Worthy and Powerfull Empress; Who is there so unsufficient, that by the favourable aspect of your countenance, may not be graced and enabled? What so difficult and dangerous, which under the fortunate auspices of your Majesty, cannot be effected with ease and pass in safety?

Accept then, most gracious Lady, the first fruits of a few years study, for the benefit enjoyed of life and liberty. An offering, as well in that respect, as of my self the meanest of many thousands, under all proportion; but considering either the argument or the first Author, not much unfitting. He, in penning the History of the greatest State in his time, for exquisite eloquence had not his equall; no more than your Highness in glorious government at this day any second: Such are the incomparable perfections resplendent in your Royall person; the wonder of the world.

Vouchsafe also, of your accustomed clemency shewed to aliens, of your fervent zeal to learning and good letters, wherein (among other rare vertues and singular gifts seated in your Heroick mind) no Prince cometh near unto your Excellency, to reach forth your gracious hand to T. Livius: who having arrived long since and conversed as a meer stranger in this your famous Island, and now for love thereof learned in some sort the language, humbly craveth your Majesties favour to be ranged with other free denizens of that kind: so long to live under your Princely protection, as he shall duly keep his own alleageance, and acquaint your liege subjects with religious devotion after his manner, with wisdom, pollicy, vertue, valour, loyalty, and not otherwise.

And the Almighty guard your Majesty alwaies with his holy Angels, prolong your life among us in perfect health, adorn your noble heart with divine graces, maintain your Regall estate in all honour: bless the rest of your daies (and infinite may they be) with sweet repose and firm peace, to the joy of your true-hearted and loving people; and finally, accomplish all your desires, for present prosperity and future felicity.

Your sacred Majesties most humble
and obedient subject,
*Philemon Holland.*

## *Ad Anglicam Livianæ Hiſtoriæ verſionem, Interpretis Proſopopœa.*

*NAte (decem decies ſenſi faſtidia menſes,*
*Longa nimis; matri dum grave pondus eras)*
*Quid lucem refugis? (nocuit pudor iſte parenti)*
*Atria quid fugitas regia? ſiſte pedem.*
*Siſte pedem, audentes ſequitur fortuna; nec auſis*
*Excidere è magnis dedecus eſſe reor.*
*Horridulum peperit ſi ruſtica Nympha; paternum*
*Te genus aut virtus nobilitare poteſt.*
*Nempe Decus Patavi genuit te* Livius *ingens:*
*Sume animum, tanto es quì genitore ſatus.*
*Et, quæ favit opemque tulit Lucina vocanti,*
*Εἰλείθυια potens, dia Diana mihi;*
*Hæc oculis, hæc te manibus refovebit aletque:*
*Audiet, ipſa leget, fauſtaque verba dabit.*
*Agnoſcet proprias, Princeps ter maxima, laudes;*
*Sive artes pacis, ſeu fera bella refers.*
*Quid ſi πυλυμαθὴς, quid ſi πολύγλωσσος, & orbis*
*Mirandum Decus, hæc* Elizabetha *tenet,*
*Quæ tulit in Latium Patavinus, tranſtulit inde*
*Teutonus, Hetruſcus, Gallus, Iberus, Arabs?*
*At patrias mavult audire & reddere voces,*
*Quæ patriæ princeps, alma parensque ſuæ eſt.*
*(Scilicet ille Ithacus ſapiens optavit Vlyſſes*
*Vel fumum è patriis poſſe videre focis.)*
Illius *aſpectu vitalis, numine tutus,*
*Auſpiciis fœlix atque beatus eris.*
*Aulam ſive colas, ſeu Sacra, aut Caſtra ſequaris:*
*Sanctior (ecce) vocat Curia; gratus eris.*
*Sive togata legat gens ingenioſa, placebis:*
*Seu mage civilis turba frequenſque poli.*
*Aulicus, Antiſtes, Miles, prudenſque Senator,*
*Cauſidicus, Civis, fœmina, virgo, puer,*
*Hinc documenta potent: diſcet juveniſque ſenexque*
*Vir bonus, & patriæ commodus eſſe ſuæ.*
*Ergo macte animi; nec te gens Critica lædet:*
*Candidior, quo quis doctior, eſſe ſolet.*

Σὺ δὲ χαρίζεσθε (τὸ γὰρ εἰς ὀιωνὸς ἄριστος)
Τέκνον, σῇ πατρίδι σπούδεο πᾶσαλλὰ καμοῦν:
ὡς τάχα σοί τε χάρις, καὶ μοὶ μέγα χέρμα γένοιτο;
Τῶ κε πόνος πλαίη ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος ἀνὴρ.

# TO THE READER.

TRue is that Axiome received from Philoſophy, τὸ τῆς φθορᾶς γένεσιν τοῦ ἑτέρου εἶναι. *i. The corruption of one thing is the generation of another.* Thus out of the aſhes and ruines of *Troy* ſprung the City of *Rome*: and by the woful fall of that one ſtate, aroſe not only the moſt glorious empire of the Romans, but alſo the beſt writer of their hiſtory, *Titus Livius*. For wheras after the fatal deſtruction of *Troy*, two principal men of name remained alive, *Æneas* and *Antenor*: the one with his fleet arriving in that coaſt of *Italy* where Tybre runneth, built *Lavinium*, and became the firſt father of the Romans, according to *Virgil* in the firſt Æneid:

——— *genus unde Latinum,*
*Albanique patres, atq; mœnia Romæ:*

——— from whence are Latines come,
The noble Albanes eke, and walls of ſtately *Rome.*

*Antenor* entered the Venice gulf, & founded the City of *Padua*, the native place of *Livy* their hiſtoriographer; as the ſame Poet writeth a little after:

*Hìc tamen ille urbem Patavì ſedéſque locavit*
*Teucrorum, &c.* ———

Yet here the City *Padua* built he: therein to plant
His Trojanes, left when *Troy* was loſt, who reſting ſeat did want.

And I wot not well, whither they were more beholden to that fortune of theirs, (whereof ſo much they boaſted) for *Æneas* the author of their beginning and admirable greatnes: than for this writer *Livy*, who commended their deeds to everlaſting fame. For from their very firſt riſing [even with *Æneas*] unto their ſenſible declining and decay, were not 1200 years compleat: but ſince *Livy* enchronicled their acts, ſixteen hundred are come and gone: yet continue they as freſh this day as at the firſt, and ſpred ſtil far and neer into all parts of the world. So much more durable and permanent are the memorials recorded by learned Hiſtorians, than either any Monarchy be it never ſo great, or all thoſe wonderful Pyramides and Obeliskes, reared by moſt magnificent Kings, and mighty Emperors, to immortalize their name and memory. This *T. Livius* then, was born at *Padua*, in the year 694 after the foundation of *Rome*, when *L. Furius* and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer* were Conſuls. He flouriſhed

riſhed all the time of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, and died in the fourth year of *Tiberius*. By which account, he lived full LXXVI. years: as appeareth by an ancient Epitaph upon his tomb at *Padua*, (where it is thought he died) with the pourtraict of his viſage: whereof the one is repreſented here, and the other immediatly before the beginning of the Hiſtory.

TITVS LIVIVS PATAVINVS,

Cujus invicto calamo, invicta Romanorum facta ſcripta ſunt.

*TITE LIVY OF PADVA.*

*Who wrote long ſince with peer-leſs pen,*
*The acts of Romans, match-leſs men,*

Other evidences there be concerning the ſame, which needleſs it were to call to witneſs: for no Epitaph nor inſcription either enchaſed in ſtone or cut in braſs, is there left, better than the monuments of his own writings (if they had come entire to our hands) and the teſtimony of good and approved authors. For during the time of *Auguſtus*, he wrote the worthy deeds of the Romans, and continued the narration thereof, from the very foundation of the City of *Rome* unto the one and twentieth year of his Empire. A ſtory of 750 years, and a peece of work for the artificiall frame and elegant ſetting out, comparable to the beſt in that kind. My purpoſe is not here, to enter into a large field and Rhetorical diſcourſe of his praiſes in regard of any gifts of fortune wherewith he was plentifully enriched: namely, the place of his nativity, a City more ancient by 400 years than *Rome*; flouriſhing in martial puiſſance, able to ſet out and maintain 100000 fighting men for the wars; in ſtately port at home, having a nobility of 400 in number; in gorgeous and coſtly buildings; in traffique and frequent affluence of Marchants thither; as alſo, that *Venice* was a Colony deducted and drawn from thence; and, which is not the leaſt, how at this day the famous Vniverſity there, affordeth excellent Profeſſors in all kind of learning: nor his happineſs and felicity to live and die with the glory and beauty of *Rome*, and not to behold with his eyes thoſe daies of her declining ſtate & deformity, which in great wiſdome he foreſaw in his ſpirit, and denounced accordingly: ne yet the ſpecial favour wherein he ſtood with his Prince *Auguſtus*, and *Livia* the Empreſs: much leſs then mean I to ſet forth the ſingular qualities and perfections of his mind, and namely his rare and paſſing eloquence; which my pen is more able now to deſcribe and amplify to the worthineſs therof, than it was to imitate and expreſs the ſame in tranſlating of his ſtory. Moreover, if I ſhould ſet into his commendation, beſides that I muſt needs come far ſhort of his merit, the thing it ſelf would but renew the juſt grief, that all learned men have taken for the piteous maime and defect of that notable peece of work & uniform compoſition which he left unto poſterity. For having digeſted the whole hiſtory into an hundred and two and forty books, as *Petrarch* was of opinion, and as *Sigonius* therein well collecteth: like as alſo it is evident by the Breviaries of *L. Florus* the Epitomiſt, wherof we have 140, with an evident flaw and default of twain, to wit, the 136 and 137: ſee the partial injury of the time, the crooked and maligne deſtiny of the man! Books of far leſs moment and importance, yea, & thoſe of greater antiquity, have been ſpared & remain ſafe: but of that work of his, one fourth part hath not eſcaped the envy of fortune: and that which now is extant, hath been delivered unto us either by fragments of old copies unperfect, or by the over-curious medling of ſome buſy *Ariſtarches* of late daies depraved, who with their correcting have corrupted; and in ſtead of reforming words, have deformed the natural ſenſe and primitive conſtruction. Where, by the way, I muſt adverti ſe the Reader of that which *Pettus Crinitus* hath obſerved, even againſt the common opinion proved by thoſe who otherwiſe

are

are well learned, namely that our Author diſpenſed not this hiſtory into Decades: that is to ſay, ſuted and ſorted them not into ſeveral Tomes and Sections of ten books a peece. For *Priſcian* and other old Grammarians, when they cite any teſtimony out of *Livy*, quote the book, and make no mention at all of any Decade; and with him the above-named *Petrarch*, *Florus*, and *Politian* do agree. Now in theſe 35 books, ſo few as they be, preſerved as another Palladium out of a generall skare-fire, we may conceive the rare and wonderfull eloquence of our writer in the whole; for the farther he proceedeth into a world, as it were, of matter, the more copious ſtill he floweth; and with ſuch variety, as that he never iterateth one thing twice; but at every change of new affairs, returneth alwaies freſh and gay, furniſhed with new deviſes, inventions, and phraſes; much like a ſecond *Antæus*, gathering greater ſtrength and more forces ſtill at every turn; or after the manner of a little hill, which iſſuing from a ſmall ſource, is maintained with freſh ſprings and new riverets; and haſting toward the vaſt Ocean, carrieth a deeper channell and broader ſtream. For the form of his ſtile, I refer the readers to the ſound and ſtaid judgment rather of *Quintilian*, who compareth him with *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and the beſt Greeks; than to the fantaſticall conceits of ſome Criticks of our time, who ſeeking *nodum in ſcirpo*, have dreamed of I wot not what Patavinity in him. What ſhould I ſpeak of that Pathetical ſpirit of his in moving affections? But, that which moſt of all commendeth an hiſtory, which being *lux veritatis*, ought eſpecially to deliver with ſincerity the whole truth and nothing but the truth, without reſpect of face or perſon; to keep only to the ſubſtance and train of the ſubject argument; the due and orderly regard of the important circumſtances thereto belonging, without incerting extravagant and impertinent by-matters, much leſs than fabulous tales; therein he hath the prick and price above all others. For, neither forbeareth he to reprove (as occaſion is offered) the Romans, in whoſe favour he might be thought to have written; nor doubteth to praiſe the good parts and the valiant exploits of their mortall enemies. The Gauls he may ſeem to gall more bitterly upon a ſiniſter affection, glancing at them, as he doth, in many places for their greedy deſire of gold and idle ſloath, as not able to endure any long travell, and heat leaſt of all; yet ſo, as the French, now living, ſeem not much offended therewith; for above other Nations they have given him moſt friendly entertainment, and twice enfranchiſed him among them. I am not unwilling to touch by the way this principall point and vertue of an Hiſtoriographer, I mean the delivery of a ſimple truth in his narrations; for that I have obſerved in him throughout, that he hath been moſt modeſt in reporting from others by hearſay any thing that ſoundeth to an untruth; ſo little deſerveth he to be noted with the infamous brand of lier. The wary circumſpection of his in that behalf which I dare be bold to recommend unto the Reader, I propoſed unto my ſelf in making him Engliſh; endeavouring by conference eſpecially of the ſelect copies in Latine, yet not rejecting other tranſlations (ſuch as

I had ſome little skill in) to come as near as poſsibly I could, to the true meaning of the Author; making this account, that if I could approve my diligence that way to men of reaſon and underſtanding, all other my wants and defects might ſooner be paſſed by and pardoned. A deſire I had to perform, in ſome ſort, that which is profitable to the moſt, namely, an engliſh Hiſtory of that C.W. which of all others (if I have any judgment) affoordeth moſt plenteous examples of devout zeal in their kind, of wiſdome, pollicy, juſtice, valour, and all vertues whatſoever. According to this purpoſe and intent of mine I framed my pen, not to any affected phraſe, but a mean and popular ſtile. Wherein, if I have called again into uſe ſome old words, let it be attributed to the love of my country language: if the ſentence be not ſo conciſe, couched and knit together, as the originall, loath I was to be obſcure and dark; have I not engliſhed every word aptly? Each Nation hath ſeverall manners, yea, and terms appropriate by themſelves; have I varied in ſome places from the French or Italian? Cenſured I look to be, and haply reproved; but like as *Alcibiades* ſaid to one, πάταξον μὲν ἀλλ' ἄκουσον, *i.e. Strike hardly (Euribiades) ſo you hear me ſpeak*; even ſo I ſay, Find fault and ſpare not; but withall, read the originall better before ye give ſentence. And howſoever I have faulted otherwiſe by overſight, ſet againſt it my affection and deſire to do ſome good whiles I live to my ſweet native country; add thereto the long travell that I have taken to teſtifie the ſame; and if that will not bring down the ballance, let the profit and delight both, which you ſhall find in the argument and diſcourſe of the hiſtory, counterpoiſe and overweigh my wants, more or leſs. And thus I recommend unto my countrimen *Livy* in engliſh habit; *Livy* (I ſay) who whether he were more honored whiles he lived, than beloved at this day of forrain nations, I cannot eaſily determine. For like as then (by the teſtimony of S. *Hierom*, and *Pliny* in his Epiſtles) there repaired many great and noble perſonages from the fartheſt parts of *Spain* and *France*, only to ſee his face, for the admiration they conceived of him by the fame of his incomparable eloquence; even ſo of late time, his ſpirit (which yet liveth in his writings) hath made a voyage by *Florence* into the ſame *France* and *Spain*; and hath paſſed as far as into *Arabia* one way, and *Almain* another. In which diſſite and remote parts he hath found ſuch kind entertainment, not only in Courts of Emperors and Kings, in palaces of Princes and great Potentates; but alſo with the people in generall; that they ſeem to ſtrive no leſs (who may endow him with moſt ample franchiſes and free burgeoſie) than thoſe ſeven cities in old time who every one challenged to themſelves the birth of the Poet *Homer*. Since then, he hath thus long been deſirous to croſs the ſeas into this noble Iſland, not as a traveller to ſojourn for a time in the Court only or the Vniverſities, but to remain here ſtill both in City and country, and thereto hath learned our language indifferently; let it now appear that this nation of ours (like to reap as great fruit and benefit by his acquaintance as any other) is ready to receive and embrace him as friendly as the reſt.

## THE EPITAPH.

V. F.
TITUS LIVIUS
LIVIÆ. T. F.
QUARTÆ. L.
HALYS
CONCORDIALIS
PATAVI.
SIBI ET SUIS
OMNIBUS.
OBIIT IIII. TIBERII
CÆSARIS ANNO.
NATUS LXXVI
ANNOS.

# THE FIRST BOOK OF THE HISTORIES OF TITUS LIVIUS OF *PADVA*, FROM THE FOVNDATION OF THE CITY OF *ROME*.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the First Book.

A THe comming of Æneas *into* Italy, *and his acts there*: *the reign of* Ascanius *in* Alba: *of* Sylvius Æneas, *and so forth of other* Sylvii, *Kings thereof, are contained in the first Book.* *The daughter of* Numitor *with child by* Mars, Romulus *and* Remus *are born.* Amulius *killed.* *The City of* Rome *built by* Romulus. *The Senate by him chosen. He made war* Romulus 1.
*with the* Sabins. *He presented unto* Jupiter Feretrius *the royall spoiles of their King,*
*whom he slew with his own hands. He divided the people into Centuries, vanquished the*
Fidenates *and* Veientians, *and was canonized a god.* Numa Pompilius *taught the rites and ceremonies of* Numa Pompilius 2.
*sacrifice and divine service, erected a Temple to* Janus, *and was the first that shut the doores thereof, after he*
*had made peace with all the Nations thereabout: and feining that he had secret company and conference by*
B *night with the goddesse* Ægeria, *won the stout and fierce hearts of the people to Religion.* Tullus Hostilius Tullus Hostilius 3.
*warred upon the* Albans, *whereupon ensued the combate of the three brethren, twins on both sides.* Horatius
*was acquit for killing his sister. The execution of* Metius Suffetius. Alba *rased and destroyed. The* Albans
*made free denizens of* Rome, *and there dwelt. War denounced against the* Sabines. *Finally,* Tullus *was con-*
*sumed with lightning.* Ancus Martius *renewed the ceremonies by* Numa *first ordained. Unto the Latines, be-* Ancus Martius 4.
*ing conquered and made Citizens of* Rome, *he assigned the mount* Aventine *to inhabit. He won again by*
*force a town of the Latines called* Politorium, *which the old Latines had surprised and possessed themselves*
*of, and utterly destroyed it. He made the Sublician or wooden bridge over* Tybris, *and adjoyned to the City*
*the hill* Janiculum. *He enlarged the bounds of the Empire, built* Ostia, *and reigned three and thirty years.*
*In the time of his raign,* Lucumo *the son of* Demaratus *a Corinthian, removed from* Tarquins, *a City of* Tarquinius Priscus 5.
C Tuscane, *and came to* Rome: *and there entring into amity with* Ancus, *began to bear the name of* Tarquinius,
*and so to be called: and after the death of* Ancus *took the Kingdom upon him. He encreased the num-*
*ber of the Senators by one hundred, subdued the Latines, appointed the Circus or Theater, set forth the pub-*
*like games and plaies: and being warred upon by the Sabines, he augmented the centuries of the horsemen.*
*And for to make proofe and triall of* Accius Navius *the Augur his cunning, he demanded of him, as they*
*say, whether that which he conceived in his mind were possible to be effected: and when he made answer, that*
*it was, he commanded him to cut a whetstone in two with a razor, which out of hand was by* Accius *done.*
*Moreover, he won the field of the Sabines, and defeated them, walled the City about, made the vaulted sinks:*
*and when he had raigned eight and thirty years, was murdered by the sons of* Ancus. *There succeeded after*
*him* Servius Tullius, *the son of a Captive, a noble Lady of* Corniculum, *who being a child, and lying swad-* Servius Tullius 6.
D *led in the cradle, had a flame of fire (as the report goeth) burning about his head. He discomfited the* Veien-
tes *and* Tuscanes *in battell: He was the first that numbred the people of* Rome, *valued their goods and in-*
*stituted the Lustrum every five years, in which were reputed to have been numbred eighty thousand Citi-*
*zens. He described the Classes and Centuries: set out further the bounds of the Pomarie, without and with-*
*in the City wals: and put to the City the hils* Quirinalis, Viminalis, *and* Esquilinus. *He together with the*
*Latines founded the Temple of* Diana *in mount* Aventine, *and when he had raigned four and thirty years,*
*he was, with the privity, and by the counsell of his daughter* Tullia, *murdered by* L. Tarquinius, *the son of*
Priscus. *After him* L. Tarquinius Superbus *usurped the Kingdom, without the election, either of the Se-* Tarquinius Superbus 7.
*nators or the people. On which day* Tullia *(most wicked and cursed wretch that she was) caused her Coach to*
*be driven over the Corps of her father, lying dead on the ground. He had about him a troup of armed men*
E *for the guard of his person. By a subtile wile he put to death* Turnus Herdonius. *He had war with the*
Volscians, *and of their spoiles edified a Temple to* Jupiter, *on the hill Capitoll where the god* Terminus *and*
*goddesse* Juventas, *agreed not to be displaced, whose altars could not be stirred nor removed, as the others. By*

*the fraudulent practise of his son* Sex. Tarquinius *he brought the* Gabians *to his obeysance. Unto his other* H
*two sons, being gone to* Delphi, *and consulting there the Oracle, whether of them should be King of* Rome,
*answer was made, That he should reign who first kissed his mother: which answer they interpreting wrong,*
Junius Brutus, *who accompanied them in their voyage, made as though he caught a fall, and kissed the*
*ground, the mother indeed of all: which proved true on his part, as it fell out in the end. For when as* Tar-
quinius Superbus *by his proud tyrannicall demeanour, had incurred the hatred of all men: he at last upon*
*the forcible outrage and villany done by* Sex. Tarquinius (*his son*) *in the night season upon the body of* Lu-
cretia: *who sending for her father* Tricipitinus, *and her husband* Collatinus, *besought them earnestly not*
*to see her death unrevenged, and so with a knife killed her selfe: he, I say, by the means of* Brutus, *especial-*
*ly was driven and expelled out of* Rome, *when he had raigned five and twenty years. Then were the Consuls* I
*first created,* Lu. Jun. Brutus, *and* Lu. Tarquinius Collatinus.

## *The Preface of* Titus Livius *to his whole Work.*

WHether in writing the acts and affairs of the people of *Rome*, from the first Foundation of the City, I shall perform a work of importance and worth my travail, neither wot I well, nor if I wist, dare I avouch: seeing it is a thing both old and usuall, that new Writers alwaies perswade themselves, either in matter to deliver more truth and certainty, or in manner of curious penning thereof, to outgo the rudenesse of elder time. How- K
soever it fall out, this yet will do me good, that even I also, to the utmost of my power, have endeavoured to eternize the worthy deeds of that people which is the soveraign of the whole world. And if, among so many Writers, my fame chance to be obscure, yet may I comfort my selfe in this, That they who shall darken and shadow the same, are men so highly reputed and renowned. Besides, the thing it self is of infinite toile and labour, as counting and comprizing from above 700 years past, and which arising from small beginning hath proceeded and grown so great, as now the bignesse thereof is combrous to it self: and I doubt not, but the Readers for the most part will take but small delight and pleasure, either in those far-fetched Originals, or in the times next ensuing, for haste they make to these novelties of later daies, wherein the puissance of that so mighty people hath wrought long since their own downfall and overthrow. But I contrariwise will seek even this for L
guerdon of my pains, namely, to turn away from beholding these calamities, which this our Age for many years hath seen, so long at least: whilest I call to remembrance, and wholly employ my spirits in considering those ancient monuments of old time, exempt from care and trouble, which were able, if not to withdraw my mind as I write from the truth, yet to make it pensive and heavy. As for such things as are reported, either before, or at the Foundation of the City, more beautified and set out with Poets Fables, than grounded upon pure and faithfull Records, I mean neither to aver nor disprove. This leave and priviledge hath antiquity, by interlacing the acts of gods and men together, to make the first rising of Cities more sacred and venerable. And if it may be lawfull for any people under heaven to consecrate and ascribe unto the gods their Originall, surely, such is the renowned martiall prowesse of the Romans, that all nations of the world may as well abide them to M
report Mars above the rest, to be the prime father both of themselves and of their first founder, as they can be content to live in subjection under them. But these and such like matters, howsoever they shall hereafter be censured or esteemed, I will not greatly weigh and regard. This would I have every man rather to think upon in good earnest, and consider with me what their life, and what their carriage was, by what men and means, both in war and peace, their dominion was atchieved and enlarged. Afterward as their discipline began by little and little to shrink, let him mark how at the very first their behaviour and manners sunk withall: and how still they fell more and more to decay and ruin yea, and began soon after to tumble down right even untill these our daies, wherein we can neither endure our own sores, nor salves for the cure. For this is it that is so good and profitable in an history, when a man may see and behold, as in a conspicuous monument and lightsom memoriall N
the lively examples of all sorts, set up in open view for his instruction, whereout he may chuse for himself and his Country what to follow, as also learn how to eschew a foul enterprise, and avoid a shamefull end. But unlesse I be deceived with the affectionate love of mine own commenced work, never was there Common-weal, either more mighty, more holy, and devout, better stored of good presidents, or into which covetousnesse and excesse more lately crept, or wherein poverty and frugality were so greatly or so long time honoured, insomuch as the more they wanted, the lesse they desired. Now of late daies wealth hath brought in avarice, abundant pleasures have kindled a desire by riot, lust, and loose life, to destroy and bring all to naught. But these complaints, which will be nothing pleasant, no not when perhaps they shall be needfull, banish we must (howsoever we do) at our first entrance of so weighty a matter: when as we rather should begin (if as the Poets use, it O
were our manner also) with good presages and lucky forespeakings, with vows and prayers to gods and goddesses, to vouchsafe their furtherance and happy successe to the enterprise of so great a Work.

*The*

# The First Book
## OF
# TITUS LIVIUS.

A FIrst of all, this is generally held for certain, That the *Greeks*, after the winning of *Troy*, dealt cruelly with all the *Trojans*, save only *Æneas* and *Antenor*: to whom, as well in regard of the bond of mutuall entertainment, as also for that they ever perswaded peace and the rendring again of *Helen*, they wholly forbare to shew any rigour at all, as by martiall right of war they might have done. And how *Antenor* afterwards, accompanied with a number of *Henetians*, who driven by civill discord out of *Paphlagonia*, and having lost at *Troy* their King *Pylemenes*, were to seek both a resting place, and a Captain to conduct them, arrived through many adventures and accidents of fortune, in the inmost gulf of B the Adriatick sea: and after they had expelled the *Euganians* that inhabited between the sea and the Alps, those Henetians together with the Trojans, kept those parts and there remained. The place where first they landed, called *Troy*, whereof the Territory and Seigniory thereabout was also named *Troy*, and the whole people in generall called *Henetians*. Moreover, how *Æneas* upon like misfortune, having fled his countrey, yet aspiring by the fatall direction of the destinies to greater affairs, came first into *Macedony*: and after into *Sicily*, seeking an abiding place: and sailing with a fleet from *Sicily* arrived at length, and landed in the countrey of *Laurentum*: which place likewise was termed *Troy*. Where the Trojans being set a shore, having after their long wandring nothing in a manner left them but ships and armour, as they forraged and drave booties out of the Countrey, King *Latinus* with the *Aborigines*, who at that time inhabited those parts, ran forth in warlike manC ner out of town and countrey, to withstand the violent invasion of these strangers. But what befell thereupon, is two manner of waies reported. Some say, that *Latinus* being in a battell vanquished, first made peace with *Æneas*, and after that allied himself to him by marriage. Others affirm, that as both armies stood ranged in battell array, before the trumpets sounded the battell, *Latinus* came forth into the Vanguard, and called out the Generall of the strangers to parle: demanding who they were, from whence they came, by what chance they departed from their own home, and to what end they entred the Laurentine borders? After that he heard the company were Trojans, the Captain *Æneas*, son of *Venus* and *Anchises*, and that upon the burning of their City, they having forgone their countrey, sought some place to abide and build them a City in: wondred much, not only at the nobleness of the people and their leader, but also at their couragious hearts, resolved either for war D or peace: whereupon, by giving his right hand he plight his troth, and faithfully promised them friendship and amity. So the two Generals made a League, and each host saluted other. And *Æneas* was by *Latinus* entertained and lodged in the Court. Where *Latinus* solemnly in presence of his familiar household gods, by giving his daughter in marriage to *Æneas*, joyned private alliance to the former publike confederacy. Which thing truly put the Trojans in good hope and full assurance to end one day their wandring and flitting to and fro, and to settle themselves in one certain place of abode. Hereupon, a Town they built, which *Æneas* of his wives name called *Lavinium*. Within a while, by this new marriage, he had issue a son: whom the parents named *Ascanius*. But after all this, were both Trojans and Aborigines warred upon. For *Turnus* King of the Rutilians, unto whom *Lavinia*, before *Æneas* his coming, had been espoused, taking it to heart that a stranger was E preferred before him, made war both upon *Æneas* and *Latinus*: but neither Army departed from the battell with joy and well appaid. For the Rutilians were vanquished: the Aborigines and Trojans wan indeed the field, but lost their Captain *Latinus*. Then *Turnus* and the Rutilians mistrusting their own strength, fled for succour to the puissant and mighty Tuscans, and to their King *Mezentius*, who keeping his Royall Court at *Cere*, a town in those daies of great wealth, not well pleased even from the first beginning, with the foundation of a new City, and supposing the Trojans power was already much more encreased than might well stand with the safety of the borderers, joyned full willingly his forces with the Rutilians. *Æneas* to win the hearts of the Aborigines against so dreadfull and dangerous war, to the end they all should not only live under one government, but also be all of one name, called both Nations Latines. And from that time forth were the Aborigines noF thing inferiour to the Trojans in love and loyalty towards their Prince *Æneas*. *Æneas* also trusting confidently in the valiant and faithfull hearts of these two States, growing up daily more and more in mutuall amity, albeit *Hetruria* was so mighty, that the name thereof was renowned not only throughout the inland parts, but the sea coasts also, even from one end of *Italy* to the other, from

Venetians at this day descended from *Henetii*, a people of *Paphlagonia*, and the Trojans under the conduct of *Antenor*.

*Æneas* and the Trojans arrive in *Italy*. King *Latinus*.

*Æneas* espouseth *Lavinia*.

*Lavinium* built. *Ascanius* born. *Turnus*.

*Latinus* slain. *Mezentius*.

The Latines.

the Alpes to the narrow seas of *Sicily*: yet whereas he might well have resisted the force of his enemies and maintained a defensive war within his wals, he brought his Army forth into the open field. This was the second battell that the Latines fought, and the last deed that ever *Æneas*, whilest he was man, atchieved. And howsoever by right he ought to be named, he lieth interred upon the river *Numicius*, and *Jupiter Indiges* men him call. Now was not *Ascanius*, *Æneas* his son, ripe as yet for age to sway the Scepter. Howbeit the Royall Crown remained whole and safe for him, untill he came to fourteen years of age. So long continued the state of the Latines, and the Kingdom by grandsire and father descended, unto the childs behoof, under the government only of a woman, as Protectresse: of so vertuous disposition and princely carriage was Dame *Lavinia*. Doubtfull much I stand (for who can certainly avouch a thing so long ago?) whether this were that *Ascanius*, or one elder than he, who had to his mother *Creusa*, whilest *Ilium* flourished, and who fled with his father from thence, and from whom being named also *Julus*, the house and family of the *Julii* do fetch their name and pedigree. That same *Ascanius*, whersoever, or of whomsoever he was born, (but *Æneas* his son of a truth he was) when *Lavinium* grew exceeding populous, lest that City now flourishing and wealthy (as the world went then) unto his mother or stepmother, I wot not whether. He himself built another out of the ground under the mountain *Alba*, which of the situation thereof, stretching out in length on the side of the hill, was named *Long Alba*. Between the building of *Lavinium* and *Long Alba*, which became an under-town or Colony drawn out of the other, and peopled from thence, were almost thirty years. But so mighty grew they, especially after the discomfiture of the Tuscans, that neither upon the death of *Æneas*, nor during the time of a womans government, nor all the while that the young Prince learned to be a King, durst either *Mezentius*, or the Tuscans, or any other of the borderers once stir or rise in arms. But peace was concluded upon these termes, That the river *Albula*, which now they call *Tybris*, should divide the Tuscans from the Latines, and limit to either of them their own bounds. After this raigned *Sylvius*, the son of *Ascanius*, born by chance within the forrests: who begat *Æneas Sylvius*, and he had issue *Latinus Sylvius*, by whom were certain Colonies or petty Townships erected, and the inhabitants named *Prisci Latini*. And from thenceforth all the Kings of *Alba* continued the surname of *Sylvius*. This *Latinus* begat *Alba*, of *Alba* came *Atys*, *Atys* begat *Capis*, and of *Capis* descended *Capetus*; whose son *Tiberinus* in ferrying over the river *Albula* was drowned, and by his name renowned that river unto all posterity. Next unto him raigned *Agrippa* his son, and after him succeeded *Romulus Sylvius* in his fathers Kingdom, who being strucken dead with a thunderbolt, left the Crown to *Aventinus*. This *Aventinus* was buried in that hill, which now is part of the City of *Rome*, and beareth his name. Then raigned *Procas*, who had two sons, *Numitor* and *Amulius*. And unto *Numitor*, because he was the elder, he bequeathed by his last will and testament the ancient Kingdom of the Sylvians line. Howbeit, might prevailed more than either the will of the father, or the reverend regard of elder brother. For *Amulius* having driven out *Numitor*, raigneth himselfe: and not herewith content, heapeth one mischief upon another. For first he murdered the issue male of his brother: then by making *Rhea Sylvia* his brothers daughter a Vestall Nun, and that under colour of honour and dignity, by perpetuall vowed virginity, he bereft her of all hope of child-bearing. But it was a fatall thing, and (as I think) which God would have, that so great a City should be built for to yeeld the ground and beginning of that Empire, which next under the gods is most mighty. For behold, the Vestall Virgin was by force deflowred, and after delivered of two twins: and were it that she thought so in very deed, or because the name and credit of a god might carry away and cloake the fault more cleanly, she fathered her bastard children upon *Mars*. But neither god nor man was able to save her self or her children from the Kings cruelty. For the Votary was committed to close prison, and there kept bound in irons: as for the babes he commanded they should be cast into the stream of the river. But (as God would) by good hap the *Tyber* overflowed the banks, and the standing waters on either side was nothing rough, yet so, as there was no coming to the deep current or channell of the very river: and they that brought the infants, hoped well they might be drowned in any place of the water, were it never so still and low. So to fulfill after a sort the Kings commandement, they laid the children in the next plash they came to: even where as now standeth the fig-tree *Ruminalis*, called, as they say, *Romularis*: but all that ground then was nothing but waste deserts, and a very wilderneſſe. The report yet goeth, that when the ebbe and shallow water was gone, and had left on dry ground the floating trough or vessell, wherein the babes were put forth, a she-Wolf from out of the mountains thereby, being athirst, turned towards the childrens cry, and with her pendant teats so gently gave the infants suck, that *Faustulus* the head Reeve and overseer of the Kings Cattell found her licking them with her tongue: who brought them to his homestall, and gave them to his wife *Laurentia* to be fostered. There be that think, that *Laurentia* being a common strumpet among these heardmen and shepherds, was usually called *Lupa*. Whereupon arose the occasion of this strange tale and wondrous miracle. Well, so were they born and so brought up. And as soon as they grew once to some bigneſſe, it was no boot to keep them within doores, nor to set them idly to tend the cattell, for they would use to hunt abroad in the forrest: whereby having gotten strength of body, and courage withall, they were able now, not only to withstand the violence of wild beasts, and to kill them, but also to set upon common robbers by the high-waies side, laden as they were with booties, and to spoile them thereof, yea, and divide the prey among the shepherds, and as the number of younkers dayly encreased with them to keep holidaies, to make merry, and follow their disports. And even in those daies

The death and sepulture of *Æneas*. *Jupiter Indiges.*

The wise government of *Lavinia*, Queen Mother.

*Iulus* or *Ascanius*.

The family of the *Iulii*.

*Long Alba* built by *Ascanius*.

The Kingdom of *Alba*.

*Albula* or *Tybris*.

*Latinus Sylvius*.

*Tiberinus*.

*Aventinus*.

*Procas*. *Numitor* and *Amulius*.

*Rhea Sylvia*.

*Romulus* and *Remus* born.

*Romulus* and *Remus* miraculously saved.

*Faustulus*.

*Laurentia*.

A daies (as men say) was the festivall pastime *Lupercal*, used in mount *Palatine*, which of *Palanteum*, a City in *Arcadia*, was first called *Palantium*, and after *Palatine*, wherein *Evander*, who descended from the Arcadians, long before reigned in that country, and ordained a solemn game and recreation yearly to be held, as aforetime in *Arcadia*, in this manner: that young men in the honor of *Pan Lycæus*, whom the Romans after called *Inuus*, should loosely and wantonly run naked. Now whilest they were busily occupied in this kind of sport, which by vow yearly they performed; there lay in ambush the robbers aforesaid, in revenge and for anger of the prizes which they had lost: Where *Romulus* manfully quit himself, but *Remus* they took prisoner: and being thus taken, they brought him before King *Amulius*, accusing him grievously, and laying especially to his charge, that he with B others invaded and made rodes into *Numitor* his Land, and with a power of lusty youths, assembled in warlike sort, had forraged and spoiled the same. Thus was *Remus* delivered unto *Numitor* to be put to death. Now had *Faustulus* even since the first day conceived some hope, that there were in his house fotter children of royal bloud: For well he wist, that both by the Kings commandment the babes were cast forth to perish, and also that the time when he took them up fell out fitly thereunto: mary this would he in no wise should be known in haste, and before due time; unlesse it were either upon good occasion or great necessity. Necessity hapned first: and so for very fear he was driven to reveal the whole matter to *Romulus*. It hapned also, that *Numitor* himself having *Remus* in durance, and hearing they were brethren twins, by comparing their age, and viewing withall their very countenance and towardnes proceeding from no servile and base parentage, bethought himself of his C sisters children: and by farther enquiry and computation came so far, as he seemed well-near to acknowledge *Remus* for his nephew. Thus on all hands were means wrought to circumvent and surprize King *Amulius*. For *Romulus* on the one side not accompanied with a troup of tall fellows, for he was not able in open fight to make his part good: but giving the herdmen his assistants, in charge to come at a time appointed, some one way, and some another, to the Kings Palace, he set upon the King. On the other side, *Remus* with another crue from *Numitor* his house, came to second him: and so they slew the King. *Numitor* at the first uprore giving out eftsoons, that the enemies had entred the City, and assailed the Kings Palace, and thereupon having called the youth of *Alba* into the Citadell, to keep it by force with a good guard, and espying the two young men after the murder done, comming towards him with joy: forthwith assembled the people together, and declared o- D penly before them all, the wicked dealings of his brother against him, the parentage of his Nephews, the manner of their birth and bringing up, and how they came to be known: after that, he reported the murder of the Tyrant, and took it upon himself as the author thereof. The two young men passing with their companies through the midst of the people, saluted their grandsire King, whereat the whole multitude also with one accord and voice ratified the same: so was his royall name and estate by them established. Thus was the whole Regiment or Kingdom of the Albans committed to *Numitor*. Then *Romulus* and *Remus* had a great desire to found themselves a City in the very place where they had been cast forth and fostered. Now were there of Albans and Latines both, very many that might be spared; besides, a number of herdmen: who all set together, put them in good hope, that *Alba* and *Lavinium* too, would be but small Cities in comparison of that which now was a E building. Whilest they were devising of these things, an old canker came between to mar all, even desire of rule and soveraignty, the same which had troubled their grandsires before them: and thereupon a foule fray, which arose from a small and slight occasion. Forasmuch as they were both twins at one birth, and the respect of their age might yeeld no choice and difference, it was thought good and agreed upon, that the gods, who had the tuition of those places, should by Augury or flight of birds declare and shew whether of the twain should both name the City, and also rule the same. *Romulus* chose the mount *Palatine*, and *Remus* the *Aventine*, for their temples or religious quarters, to mark the bird-flight, and each one apart to receive their Augury. First (as they say) had *Remus* appearing in flight six vultures or gripes: and as tidings came unto him of this Augury, it happened that the number unto *Romulus* was presented double: whereupon they were both of them by F their assistants and favorites saluted Kings. The one side took the vantage of the time: the other of the number, for the prerogative of the Kingdom. Thus they fell to hot words first, and from cholerick words to blows and bloudshed: in which stir and preis of the people, *Remus* was wounded and slain in the place. The more common report goeth, that *Remus* in scorn of his brother, leapt over the new walls: whereupon *Romulus* in great choler slue his brother with his own hands, and in menacing wise, added these words withall, So perish he, whatever else he be, that shall once dare to leap over my walls. Thus *Romulus* alone became King, and the City new built, of the found- ers name was called *Rome*. Wherein first he fortified mount *Palatine*, in which he was himself reared. To all the rest of the gods he sacrificed after the rule and custome of the Albans: only to *Hercules* after the manner of the Greeks, according to the first institution of *Evander*. For the G fame goeth, that *Hercules* upon a time, after he had slain *Geryon*, drave that way exceeding fair Oxen, and near the River *Tybris*, where he had swom over with his drove afore him laid him down in a fair green meadow, as well to refresh himself, being weary of his way, as also to rest and bait his cattell in so plentifull grasse and forrage. There falleth he into a sound sleep, as having well charged himself with wine and viands: and one *Cacus* a shepherd dwelling thereby, a man right fierce, and bearing him proudly of his strength, being greatly in love with the fairnes of the beasts, had a good will, and minded to fetch away that booty: but for that if he had

*Lupercal.* *Evander.*

*Pan Lycæus or Inuus.*

*Remus* taken prisoner.

*Amulius* the usurper slain.

*Numitor* King of *Alba*. The foundation of *Rome*.

Diffention between brethren for soveraignty.

Augury.

*Remus* slain.

*Romulus* King of *Rome*.

The story or fable of *Hercules* and *Cacus*.

had driven the beasts into his own cave, the very tracks would have led the owner of them thither, H
he drew the goodliest and biggest of them backward by their tails into his hole. *Hercules* early in
the morning when he awoke, and beheld his drove, and missed some of his count, went on towards
the next cave, if haply their footing would traine him thither: But seeing all traces fromwards, and
leading no other way; as one troubled in spirit, and doubtfull what to do, he began to drive farther
out of that theevish and dangerous corner. But as some of the Oxen in driving, missed their fellows
behind and honing after them, bellowed as their nature is: *Hercules* chanced to heare them low
again, and answer from out of the cave wherein they had been bestowed: whereat he turned back,
and made haste thither. But as *Cacus* forcibly made head against him, and would have kept him from
entrance, *Hercules* smote him with his club: and for all his calling upon other herdmen for help, slew I
him outright. At the same time *Evander*, who fled out of *Peloponnesus*, governed that Countrey, ra-
*Evander* the inventer of Latine letters *Carmenta* mother of *Evander*. ther by a kind of countenance and authority, than by force and Lordly command. A man much ho-
nored for his wonderfull invention of Letters, a strange and rare thing among those rude and unlear-
ned sort: but more honored for the opinion that the people had of his mother *Carmenta*, reputed
to be a goddesse, whom for her spirit of prophesie, those countries, before that *Sybilla* came into *Ita-
ly*, had in great reverence and admiration. This *Evander* being raised with the concourse of the shep-
herds, affrighted about the stranger, guilty of manifest murder, and hearing of the fact committed,
and the occasion thereof: viewing well therewith the person of the man, his feature and favour,
more stately a good deal, and carrying a greater Majesty than the ordinary proportion of men; de-
mandeth of him who he was. And as soon as he understood his name, his father, and native Coun- K
try: O *Hercules* (quoth he) the son of *Jupiter*, All hail: my mother a most true Propheteſs hath fore-
shewed unto me, that thou shalt encrease the number of heavenly wights, and that in this place an
Altar shall be reared and dedicated unto thee, which the most mighty and richest nation one day of
*Ara Maxima* dedicated to *Hercules*. the world shall name *Maxima*, and honour according to the ceremonies by thee ordained. In a good
hour be it spoken (quoth *Hercules*) and the presage I gladly accept: and so giving him his hand, faith-
fully promised to accomplish the will of the gods, and erected straightwaies and consecrated an Al-
tar in the place. There and then first, he sacrificed one of the fairest Oxen, chosen out of the whole
*Potitii* and *Pinarii*. drove, calling to the ministry of that divine service and feast, the *Potitii* and *Pinarii*, two most noble
houses at that time in those parts. It hapned so, by chance, that the *Potitii* were ready at hand in due
time, and the inwards or intrals were set before them: which being eaten, the *Pinarii* came to the L
good chear behind: whereupon the custome held that so long as the family of the *Pinarii* continued
they might not feed of the sacred inwards. But the *Potitii*, instructed by *Evander*, became the Priests
of that holy sacrifice many ages after: untill the solemn service and ministery of this family was put
over to publike servants, and the whole stock of the *Potitii* utterly worn out and dead. These were
*Romulus* maketh Laws. the only foreain sacrifices of all other, that *Romulus* received and admitted, being even then a fur-
therer and maintainer of immortality, by his own proweſs atchieved, and whereunto his fortune
conducted him. Having in this manner religiously performed and established the service of the gods,
he assembled the multitude to an audience: and for that they could by no means but by Laws be
united together into one body and society of a people, he devised Statutes, and ministred justice un-
to them. And supposing that those Laws would be accounted sacred and inviolable of the wild and M
rusticall sort of men, in case he shewed himself by some regall ensigns venerable: he carried with
Royall robes. him a greater port and Majesty, not only in his robes and princely habit, but most of all in the at-
*Lictores*. tendance of twelve Officers and Sergeants, called *Lictores*, whom he caused to go ordinarily before
his person. Some think he chose this number according to the birds, which by Augury did foreshew
and prognosticate his raign: I rather am of their opinion, who think that Sergeants at Arms, and
this kind of Officers came from the Tuscans their neighbours, from whence also the Ivory chair
Chair of estate, called *Sella curulis*. of estate, called *Sella curulis*, and the Royall purple robe embroidered, named *Toga prætexta*, was
The purple robe, called, *Toga prætexta*. fetched, as also the very number of Serjeants or Lictors. For that the Tuscans had this manner,
when they chose their King by the common voices of their twelve principall States, each one found
a Sergeant. All this while grew the City more and more to be fortified with Ramparts and Bul- N
warks, as men still built in sundry places where they liked best, seeming thereby to provide ra-
ther for a future multitude in time to come, than for the present number wherewith it was then
peopled. Furthermore, lest that the City, so large in compasse, should stand void and vacant, *Ro-
mulus* for to encrease the number of the inhabitants (according to the old practise of the founders
of Cities, who by gathering about them the base multitude and obscure, feigned that they were an
The *Asylum* first erected. off-spring born out of the earth) set up a Sanctuary, or lawlesse Church, called *Asylum*, in that place
which at this day between the two groves, is enclosed and fenced round about with thick briers and
brambles. Thither resorted (as to a place of refuge) out of the neighbor Countries, a rabble and con-
fused medley of all sorts, tag and rag, bond and free, one with another; folk desirous of change and
novelty. O
The institution of a Senate So began first the City according to the plot of large buildings, to be well peopled and grow migh-
ty. Thus being provided of power sufficient: he thought then upon a Councell and policy to his
power. And so created a hundred Senators: either because that number seemed great enough,
or for that there were no more but one hundred that were of worth to be elected counsellors or
*Patres*, *Patritii*. (wise) fathers. These men certainly for honor and dignity were called *Patres* or Sage fathers:
and their lineall descent *Patritii* or Nobles. Now by this time was the State of *Rome* so mighty and
puissant,

puiſſant, that it was able in fight to match any City neer adjoining whatſoever. But for default of woman kind, this puiſſance was to endure but the age of one man: for neither had they hope of iſſue among themſelves at home, nor yet made marriages with their neighbors abroad. Whereupon *Romulus* by the adviſe of his Senators, ſent Embaſſadors to the countries thereabout, to treat for ſociety and alliance for his new people, by way of marriage. Alledging that Cities alſo, as well as other things, aroſe of baſe beginnings, and in proceſs of time by their own prowels, and help of God withal, grow to great power and reputation: "Whereas therefore they were full well aſſured, "that as the gods were gracious to their firſt upriſing, ſo their own vertue and valor ſhould not be "wanting: their neighbors ought not, in regard of common humanity, and as they were men, think "much and diſdain to join in blood and kinred with them, being alſo men as well as they. Howbeit, this embaſſage in no place had gentle audience and courteous entertainment. For they all in general deſpiſed them, and were in fear for themſelves and their poſterity, by reaſon of ſo mighty a ſtate, encreaſing in the midſt of them, and under their very noſes. And from the moſt of them the Embaſſadors were diſmiſſed and ſent away, with ~~thith~~ this ſtump and demand, Whether they had ſet up a Sanctuary or lawleſs place for women too? For that were alone, and a fit marriage indeed to ſort together. This took the youth of *Rome* in great diſpleaſure, and doubtleſſe the quarrel grew like to be tried by knocks. But *Romulus* diſſembling his inward heart-burning, to the end he might find time and place meet for the purpoſe, prepareth to ſet forth certain ſolemn playes and games, which he nameth *Conſualia*, to the honor of *Neptune Equeſtris*. Hereupon he commanded to proclame theſe games all over the country adjoining; and with as great preparation and furniture, as in in thoſe days either their skill or ability might afford, they celebrate the ſame, and all to make the ſhew more goodly, and worthy ſo great expectation. Thither reſorted many a one, deſirous alſo to ſee this new City, but their next neighbors eſpecially of *Cenina*, *Cruſtuminum*, and *Antemnæ*: The whole multitude of Sabins likewiſe came with their wives and children. Who being friendly invited to their houſes from one to another, and courteouſly entertained: when they beheld the ſituation of the City, the ſtrong walls and fair buildings, ſo thick ſtanding, wondred how in ſo ſhort a ſpace the City of *Rome* was grown ſo great. Now when the time of this ſolemn ſight was come, and that their minds were buſied, and their eyes bent thereon; then at once, as it was agreed before, there aroſe an uproar. And the youth of *Rome* upon a token and watch-word given, fell on every ſide to carry away the Sabin Maidens. A great many of them were raviſhed by hap hazzard, as they did light upon them, and as they came next to their hands. Other ſome more beautiful then the reſt, were appointed for the chief of the Senators, and by certain of the Commons, as they had given them in charge, conveyed home to their houſes. But one paſſing fair and lovely above all others, was hurried by the company or crue of one *Talaſſius* (they ſay) and when as any asked to whom they carried her, they ever cried out (for fear ſhe ſhould be forced or deflowred) *Thalaſſio*, *i.e.* Unto *Thalaſſius*. Whereupon *Thalaſſio* became a common by-word at Weddings ever after. Thus their ſport and paſtime upon this ſtir and fright, was marred, and the Parents of the Virgins fled away with heavy cheer, blaming them highly, and complaining of their breach of hoſpitality: and calling upon the god for vengeance, to whoſe feſtival games they being come, were under colour of religion and truth, beguiled. The Damſels likewiſe that were raviſhed, conceived neither better hope of themſelves, nor leſs indignation againſt them. But *Romulus* himſelf in perſon went from one to another, declaring, "That their fathers pride, who denied their neighbors marriage was the "cauſe of all this, promiſing nevertheleſs that they ſhould be linked in lawful wedlock, made partakers of all worldly goods, obtain the freedom of a City, and (then, which nothing is more deer to "mankind) enjoy the bleſſing of children: exhorting them to appeaſe their anger, and quiet themſelves, and to give them their hearts, whoſe hap it was to have their bodies. For oftentimes upon wrong and injury there groweth love and reconciliation. Alledging moreover, that they ſhould "find their ſpouſes ſo much more loving and kind, as every one of them for his part would endeavour, after they had in their turn and courſe fulfilled the duty to them of good husbands, for to "make amends, and ſupply the miſs they have of father, mother, and native countrey. Their husbands withal uſed fair ſpeeches, and flattering words, excuſing the matter, and laying all the weight upon fervent affection and pure love: which kind of perſwaſion of all other, prevaileth moſt with womens nature. Thus were the raviſhed young Wives in ſome ſort quieted in mind, and held themſelves well contented. But their fathers then moſt of all arayed in mourning weed, with tears and heavy complaints, ſtirred up the Cities where they dwelt: neither contained they their mood within home, but aſſembled themſelves from all parts unto *Tatius* the King of the Sabins: and to him repaired their Embaſſages, for that the name of *Tatius* was highly renowned in thoſe countries. They of *Cenina*, *Cruſtuminum*, and *Antemnæ*, who were partly touched and grieved for that wrong done, thought that *Tatius* and the Sabins dealt but coldly in the action, and went but ſlowly about revenge. Theſe three nations therefore banded themſelves, and agreed to prepare for war. But ſo ſharp ſet were the Ceninians that the men of *Cruſtuminum* and *Antemnæ*, beſtirred not themſelves quick enough for them. So they of *Cenina* entred alone by force of arms the Territories of the Romans. As they waſted and ſpoiled without order and meaſure, *Romulus* met them with an army, and in one ſmall skirmiſh made proof, how Mood without Might is vain and bootleſs. For he diſcomfited, put to flight, and purſued in chaſe their whole hoſt, ſlew their King in battel, and him deſpoiled: and having ſlain their General, at the firſt aſſault he won the town: and after he had from thence

The Embaſſage of *Romulus*, treating for marriage.

The games *Conſualia*.

The Sabin maidens raviſhed.

*Thalaſſio*.

*Romulus* his ſpeech to to the Sabin maidens raviſhed.

*Tatius* King of the Sabins.

The Ceninians defeated. Their King ſlain.

thence brought back his army with conquest and victory, as a man no less desirous to shew his noble acts with glory, then to atchieve the same by prowess, he bare afore him on high as a pompous Pageant in a frame fitly for the purpose wrought, the spoile and armor of his enemies Captain, by himself slain: and so ascended up to the Capitol Hill, where laying them down at the Oak which the shepherds had in great reverence, he consecrated them as a present to *Jupiter*: and set out withal, the foundation and bounds of a Temple unto him: giving moreover this addition and title to the god, and saying solemnly: "O *Jupiter Feretrius*, I King *Romulus* upon my victory, present un- "to thee this armor of a King, and within this compass of ground, which even now I have con- "ceived and assigned, I dedicate a Temple, to receive those rich and royal spoils, which the po- "sterity, following mine example, shall bear away from the Kings and Captains general of their "enemies, whom they shall happen hereafter to kill. This is the very beginning of that Temple, which first of all other was in *Rome* consecrated. And so it pleased God, that neither the first founders words were spoken in vain, whereby he foretold and pronounced, that his posterity should bring their spoils thither: nor his glory made vulgar and common to many co-partners with him in the like exploit and glorious present. For after him, in so many years, and after so many wars, two royal spoils only were won of the enemies. So rare was the happiness of honor in that behalf. Whilst the Romans were thus employed about *Cenina*, the army of the *Antemnates*, taking the vantage of time and of the Romans absence from home, and seeing their frontiers without a guard, with a power of armed men entred the confines of *Rome*. Against whom also the Roman Legion made head in all haste, and finding them scattered out of order in the fields, charged upon them. By reason whereof, at the very first shock and shout made discomfited were the enemies and their town surprized. As *Romulus* returned with triumph and joy for these two victories, his Wife *Hersilia*, at the importunate sute of the Wives that had been ravished, earnestly besought him to pardon their "fathers, and receive them into his City: for so by concord and unity the Weale-publick, and the "good estate of his Kingdom might flourish and grow mighty. This sute was gently heard, and soon obtained. After this, he set forth against the Crustuminians that began to war upon him: with whom he had the less ado, for that their courages were well abated already by the overthrows of others. To both these places as unto Colonies, were new inhabitants sent. But the greater number were desirous to enter their names, and to plant themselves at *Crustuminum*, for the fertility of the soil. And many likewise removed from thence to *Rome*, the parents especially and kinsfolk of the ravished women. Last of all, the Sabins warred far more sharply and dangerously then the rest, for nothing did they either in fury and rage, or for covetous desire of spoil. Neither made they talk and shew of war, before they warred indeed and were seen in field. And besides this their considerate policy, they dealt also with craft and subtilty. For whereas one *Sp. Tarpeius* had the charge of the Castle in *Rome*, his daughter a young maiden, *Tatius* with a sum of money corrupted and procured at what time as she went to fetch water without the walls for sacrifice, to receive armed souldiers into the fortress. But so soon as they were let in, they with their armor smothered and killed her: either for that thereby it might be thought the Castle was won by force: or because they would make her an example to posterity, that no Traitor should ever think to escape unpunished. But hereto belongeth a tale, namely, that the Sabins used commonly on their left arms to wear bracelets of massie and weighty gold, and fair rings besides on their fingers, set with precious stones of great value: and that she covenanted and agreed with them to have that which they wear on their left hands, whereupon she had their targets in stead of those golden ornaments, heaped upon her. Others say, that upon agreement and covenant made to deliver that which was on their left hands, she demanded their armor: and because she seemed to deal deceitfully, she was overtaken therewith, and perished by receiving a reward of her own chusing. However it was, the Sabins were possessed of the Castle. From whence the morrow after (when as the Romans army well appointed in battel ray, had taken up and overspread the whole plain that lieth from mount *Palatine* to the hil Capitol) they would not come down on even ground before that the Romans, partly netled with anger, and partly pricked with an hot desire to recover the Castle again, began with their great disadvantage to climb against the hill. Whereupon the Captains on both sides joined battel. *Metius Curtius* for the Sabins, *Hostius Hostilius* for the Romans: who albeit he was on the lower ground, yet in the forefront most couragiously and stoutly underwent the brunt of the conflict. But so soon as he was strucken down and slain, incontinently the Romans retired and gave ground: and thus discomfited fled backward to the old gate of *Palatium*. *Romulus* himself also, born back with the press and throng of those that fled, lift up his weapons on high towards heaven, and cried out saying: "O *Jupiter*, I *Romulus* by thy direction guided and ruled, have here in this mount *Pala-* "*tine* laid the foundation of this City; and now already have the Sabins by corruption and treache- "ry got the Citadel and fortress thereof: from whence they having passed the midst of the vale be- "tween, make hither in haste with force of arms: But thou O father of gods and men, vouchsafe "yet from hence at least wise to repulse the enemies, deliver the Romans from this so great fear, and "stay their shamesul flight. And here to thee O *Jupiter Stator* I vow a Temple, for a memorial to "all posterity, that by thy present help this City was saved and preserved. Thus having once prayed, as if he had known for certain that his prayers were heard. Even here (quoth he) O ye Romans doth *Jupiter Opt. Max.* i. the best and greatest of all the gods command you to stay and begin the battel afresh. Herewith the Romans, no less then if they had been commanded from heaven above, made

*Romulus* presenteth unto *Jupiter Feretrius* the spoil of the king of the Ceninians.

By *Cornel. Cossus* and *M. Marcellus*.

The Antemnates overthrown, and their City forced.

*Hersilia* wife to *Romulus*.

Colonies of the Romans first planted.

The Sabins make war.

The Castle of *Rome* betrayed to the Sabins.

A cruel battel between Romans and Sabins.

*Metius Curtius*.

*Hostius Hostilius*.

The prayer of *Romulus* to *Jupiter Stator*.

A made a ſtand. And *Romulus* in perſon hyed him with all ſpeed to the formoſt in the vanguard. Now was *Metius Curtius*, principal leader of the Sabins, run down from the Caſtle, and had ſcattered and chaſed the Romans back as far as the *Forum* or common place of *Rome* at this day reacheth in length: and being come within a little of the gate of *Palatium*, he lift up his voice and cried aloud: "Vanquiſht we have theſe faithleſs friends, and heartleſs foes: and now know they well, it is one "thing to raviſh maidens, and a far other thing to fight with men. In this ſort, as he braved it out, *Romulus* with a troop of luſty young men, made head againſt him. *Metius* haply at that time fought on Horſeback, whereby he was forced the ſooner to recule, and the Romans made after and purſued him. The other battel of the Romans in like manner, being much encouraged with the valour
B of their King, diſcomfited the Sabins. *Metius* with his horſe under him, affrighted at the noiſe of them that ran after, leapt into a mariſh or bog thereby. Which accident, conſidering the danger of ſo great a perſon, made the Sabins to look back to him. And he verily taking heart again at the calling and encouragement of many of his favourites, eſcaped. But the Romans and Sabins both, in the middle valley between the two hills, renew the battel again: where the Romans got the better hand. Then the Sabine Dames, for whoſe wrongful uſage all this war aroſe, with their hair hanging looſe about their ſhoulders, and renting their garments, for very grief and ſorrow paſt all fear, ventured to run amongſt the javelins and darts as they flew: and thus having thruſt themſelves violently overthwart between them, began to part theſe bloody armies, and to end their deadly feud: Beſeeching their own fathers on the one ſide, and their husbands on the other, that they being fathers
C and ſons in law, would not embrew themſelves with ſo unkind and unnatural bloodſhed, nor as parricides, murder the young ones newly born, ſome their grand-children, and others their own heirs of their body begotten. "If ye our fathers, think much (ſay they) of the affinity between our hus- "bands and you, or if ye our husbands are diſpleaſed with our marriage, bend all your anger and "malice againſt us: we are the cauſe of this war, we are the cauſe of wounding and killing both "husband and father: yet will we rather die, then live either Orphans without the one, or Widows "without the other. This thing moved as well the multitude of Souldiers, as alſo the Captains; and preſently of a ſudden all was huſht, and the fight ceaſed. Whereupon, the Generals came forth to conclude a League. Neither made they peace only, but one City of two: united their Realms, and joined together in the Regiment: but the royal eſtate they ſetled in *Rome*.

The Sabins women to their husbans and fathers.

D The City thus being made one of twain, the Romans for to gratifie the Sabins in ſome ſort, were of *Cures*, a town of the Sabins, called *Quirites*. And for a memorial of that battel, the very place where *Curtius*, after he was gotten out of the deed mariſh, firſt ſet his horſe on firm ground, was named *Curtius* his lake. This joyous peace enſuing preſently upon ſo cruel war, made theſe women better be loved of their husbands and parents: but eſpecially of *Romulus* himſelf. And therfore when he divided the City into thirty Wards or Pariſhes, he called them by their names. But it is not left in any record (for out of all queſtion the women were far more in number then ſo) whether thoſe that ſhould give names unto the Wards, were choſen by age, or by their own dignity and worthineſs, or their husbands degree and calling, or by caſting lots. At the ſame time were enrolled and ordained three Centuries of Gentlemen or Knights: The *Ramnenſes* were ſo called of *Romulus*, the
E *Titienſes* of *Titus Tatius*; but of the name and firſt beginning of the *Lucerians*, the occaſion is not certain. So theſe two Kings not only raigned together, but alſo governed with great unity and concord. But after certain years the kinred of King *Tatius* chanced to beat and evil entreat the Embaſſadors of *Laurentum*. And when as the Laurentines pleaded the law of Nations, for ſatisfaction of this outrage; *Tatius* his kinſfolk what by favour, and what by intreaty, prevailed more with him then the juſt complaint of the others. Whereby he brought vengeance due to them upon his own head: for being come upon a time to *Lavinium*, unto a ſolemn ſacrifice and feaſt, there in an uproar or hurliburly the people ran upon him, and ſo was he ſlain. Which thing (they ſay) *Romulus* made leſs regard of then was meet: either for that fellowſhip in Lordſhip is never faithful, or becauſe he eſteemed him not unjuſtly to be made away. Whereupon he forbare indeed to make war: yet to
F the end the wrong done unto the Embaſſadors, together with the murder of the King, might be expiate and purged clean away, the League between the Cities of *Rome* and *Lavinium* was renewed. But whilſt peace verily was beyond mens expectation with them concluded: behold another freſh war aroſe, much neerer then the other, and hard almoſt at their very gates. For the people of *Fidene* ſuppoſing the Romans power and riches to encreaſe over much ſo neer unto them; before they ſhould grow to ſuch greatneſs as they were like to do, began firſt to war upon them: and ſending a power of luſty tall ſouldiers, invaded and waſted all the country between the City of *Rome* and *Fidene*. And taking their way on the left hand, for that the *Tyber* kept from the other, they forraged and ſpoiled as they went, to the great fear of the Peaſants and country people. So as this ſudden tumult and garboil heard out of the fields into the City, brought the firſt news of the war, *Romulus*
G raiſed therewith (for ſo nigh a war might bear no delay) led forth his army, and encamped within a mile of *Fidene*: and leaving there a competent guard, he departed thence with all his other forces, commanding part of his ſouldiers to lie cloſe in certain covert places, among the thickets in ambuſhment. Himſelf with the greater number, and all his horſe, advanced forward, and riding up and down before their gates after a diſordered and bragging manner, made ſemblant of a bravado, and all to train the enemy forth, which was the thing he only ſought. This kind of horſe ſervice was a means that the Fidenates leſs ſuſpected and marvelled at their flying, which they were to counterfeit.

Quirites.

Curtius Lacus.

Curiæ, 30.

Centuries.

Tatius murdered.

A ſtratagem of Romulus.

feit. For whilſt the Cavalry ſtood unreſolved, as it were, in a mammering whether to fly or fight, G
and the Infantry withal began to retire: all at once the enemies in thronging manner ſallied forth of
the gates, and chaſed the Romans ſo fiercely, that in their eager purſuit they were drawn to the ve-
ry place of ambuſh. Thence the Romans ſuddenly aroſe, and charged the flanck of the enemies; And
to encreaſe their fright, they likewiſe that were left behind to guard the camp, ſhewed themſelves
with banners diſplayed. So the Fidenates terrified ſundry ways, before well neer that *Romulus* and
his men of arms could rein about their horſe-heads, turned their backs, and rode full gallop towards
the town again, and ſo much the faſter, for that they fled now in good earneſt themſelves, that pur-
ſued them, who a little before made but ſemblance thereof. Yet for all this could they not eſcape
the enemy: for the Romans hard at their heels, ruſhed together with them pel-mel into the town, H
before the gates could be ſhut againſt them. At this Fidenatian war ſpreading ſo dangerouſly, the
Veientians grew angry in their hearts, and began to chafe. Touched they were alſo in regard of kin-
dred and alliance: for the Fidenates were likewiſe Tuſcans. And fearing leſt (if the Roman forces
ſhould thus diſtreſs and lie upon all the borderers) they being ſo neer ſhould not go free, they were
the rather pricked forward, and thereupon made rodes, and entred in arms the confines of *Rome*,
ſpoiling and rifling, more like robbers then profeſſed warriers. So without pitching any tents, or
abiding the coming of their enemies, but only driving and carrying away great booties out of the
fields, they return again to *Veii*. The Romans contrariwiſe, not finding the enemies in the field, but
yet provided and reſolved to give battel, and to hazzard all, paſſed over the *Tyber*. Whom the Vei-
entians underſtanding to be encamping themſelves, fully minded to come againſt their City: iſſued I
forth and met them, intending to try the quarrel by dint of ſword, and in open field, rather then to
be mued up within the town, and to fight and defend themſelves from off their houſes and walls.
There the Roman King with the ſtrength only of his old beaten ſouldiers, without any other help
and ſupply whatſoever, without policy or ſtratagem, had the better: and having thus diſcomfited
the enemies, he chaſed them even to their very walls. And for that the City was exceeding ſtrong,
fortified as well by natural ſituation, as by walls, he forbare to aſſault it. But in his return home-
ward, he waſted the country, more upon a mind to revenge, than hope of ſpoil. With this defeature
the Veientians no leſs ſubdued then if they had loſt a field, ſent Orators to *Rome* to ſue for peace:
unto whom Truce was granted for an hundred years, but they were amerced to loſe part of their
lands. Theſe were in manner all the acts that were done both at home and abroad, during the reign K
of *Romulus*. Whereof none ſeemed to derogate any jot from the opinion, both of his divine birth
and beginning, and alſo of his immortality or deification after his death. Such was his courageous
heart in recovering his Grandfires Kingdom: his policy and wiſdom in founding the City firſt, and
after in eſtabliſhing and governing the ſame, as well in war as in peace. By whoſe good proceedings
it got ſuch ſtrength, and ſo ſure footing, that for forty years ſpace after, it enjoyed peace with ſafe-
ty. Nevertheleſs of his Commons he was better beloved then of his Nobles: but above all, his
Souldiers moſt heartily affected him: of whom he had always about him, as Eſquires of the body,
three hundred Penſioners armed, not only in time of war, but alſo of peace, whom he called *Celeres*.
Thus having atchieved theſe noble and immortal deeds, as he upon a time aſſembled all his people
upon the plain, at the mariſh *Capræ*, there to number or muſter his army: behold upon a ſudden there L
aroſe a tempeſt with great cracks of thunder, which with ſo thick and cloudy a ſtorm, covered the
King, that the people loſt the ſight of him. And never after was *Romulus* ſeen on earth. The Ro-
man youth, after their fear was at length paſt, and that upon ſo dark and troubleſome weather, it
proved a fair day again, and calm withal, ſeeing the Kings Throne empty, albeit they credited the
Senators that ſtood next about him, who gave out he was taken up aloft in the ſtorm: yet ſtrucken
into ſad dumps, as it were for the loſs of their father, held their peace a good while. But afterwards,
when ſome few of them had once begun, they all ſet on and cried aloud, *All hail god* Romulus *the
ſon of a god, King and Father of the City of Rome*: With earneſt prayer beſeeching him of his grace,
that he would vouchſafe to be propitious, and ſave their off-ſpring and poſterity for ever. I am of
this mind, that ſome there were even then, that ſuſpected and ſecretly ſurmiſed that the King was M
pulled in pieces by the hands of the Nobles. For this rumor alſo was bruited abroad, although in
very dark and obſcure tearms. But by reaſon of the high admiration of the man, and the preſent fear
withal, the former opinion took place, and was more currant. Over and beſides, it grew the rather
credible, through the politick practiſe of one perſon. For as the whole City was penſive and ſor-
rowful for the miſs of their King, and ſore diſpleaſed with the Senators, one *Proculus Julius*, a ſub-
ſtantial good author (as men ſay) and to be beleeved in a matter of great importance, ſtepped forth
into the aſſembly. "*Romulus* (quoth he) O *Quirites*, the Founder and Patron of this City, even
"this very morning at the day break, deſcended ſuddenly down from heaven and met me, and as
"I ſtood all quaking for fear, ready to worſhip him, and humbly beſeeching that I might behold
"him face to face: Away (quoth he) and tell the Romans that the will of the gods in heaven is, that N
"my City of *Rome* ſhall be the head and chief of the whole world: will them therefore to follow
"and practiſe chivalry, and the knowledg thereof: and wot this well, and ſo let them teach their
"poſterity, to wit, That no power in the world ſhall be able to withſtand the puiſſance of the Ro-
"mans. Which (ſaid he) was not ſo ſoon ſpoken, but he aſcended on high, and departed. A won-
der it was to ſee, how much they gave credit to this mans tale, and how greatly the miſs of *Romulus*
both among the Commons and the Army, was by this belief of his immortality, digeſted.

The Veientians diſcomfited by *Romulus*.

Truce between Romans and Vientians for an hundred years.

The commendation of *Romulus*.

*Celeres*.

*Romulus* his end.

The ſpeech of *Proculus Iulius*.

In

A In this mean while the Senators fell to ſtrive who ſhould be King, and the deſire of ſoveraignty troubled much and perplexed their minds. But as yet, there was no banding nor ſiding from any one perſon in particular: for that in a State ſo newly riſen, and of ſo ſmall continuance, there was not one that far excelled another in authority. All the contention was between the two ſeveral factions in general. For they that were deſcended of the Sabins, fearing leſt becauſe after the death of *Tatius* there was none of their part, that had raigned with *Romulus* in equal juriſdiction, they ſhould now loſe their poſſeſſion and title to the Crown, were deſirous to have a King choſen out of their corporation. The old Romans again might not abide an alien or forraigner to be King. Howbeit, thus diverſly affected as they were, a King they all will needs have, as who (God wot) B had not yet taſted the ſweetneſs of liberty and freedom. Beſides, the Nobles began to fear, leſt peradventure in caſe the hearts of many Cities thereabouts, ſhould not be well diſpoſed, but provoked againſt them, ſome forraign power would make invaſion, finding the City without government, and the army without a Captain. Therefore they all liked well to have one head, but none could find in his heart to give place unto another. Whereupon the hundred Senators aſſociate and combine together in the rule of the Common-weale, by dividing themſelves into ten Decuries, and for every Decury chuſing one to bear the chiefe authority. So that ten governed at once, but one alone had the regal Enſigns and the Lictors before him. This ſoveraignty and preheminence determined every five days: and thus went it through them all round in courſe. After which manner, they continued the ſpace of one year. And the government upon this occaſion was (as it is ſtill at C this day) called *Interregnum*. Then after a year began the Commons to grudge and mutter, that their ſervitude was greater then before, having now Lords over them, an hundred for one: and ſeemed they would no longer endure, but have a King again, yea, and one of their own chuſing. The Senators ſeeing them thereabouts, and taking it to be good policy for to offer that of their own accord, which they were otherwiſe like to forgo, curbed favour with them in this wiſe, to wit by granting the chief prerogative unto the people (in chuſing a King) yet ſo, as they gave them no greater priviledg, then they reſerved to themſelves. For thus it was decreed, that when the people had elected a King, it ſhould ſtand firm and ratified, if the Senators liked thereof, and gave thereto their royal aſſent. And even at this day in making of Laws, and chuſing of Magiſtrates or Rulers, the ſame right is in ſome ſort obſerved, ſetting aſide the violence of Tribunes. For that now before the peoD ple give their voices, the Senators paſſe by their authority, that which they would have done, fall it out in the aſſembly of people, by ſcrutiny, doubtful as it will. To proceed then, the Interregent having called a general Parliament: In the name of God (quoth he) O *Quirites*, and which may be to you good, lucky, and proſperous, elect, or nominate ye a new King: for ſo is the good pleaſure of the Nobles and Senators: and in caſe ye ſhall elect a man of ſuch quality as may be deemed worthy to ſucceed *Romulus*, then will they by their aſſent paſs the ſame, and allow thereof. This pleaſed and contented the Commons ſo highly, that becauſe they would not ſeem behind in bounty and courteſie, they anſwered again, that this only they ordained and agreed upon, to wit, that the Senate ſhould determine who ſhould be King of *Rome*. There was in thoſe days one *Numa Pompilius*, much renowned and eſteemed for his juſt life and religious: he dwelt in *Cures*, a City of the Sabins, E a man right skilful and very well ſeen (as any one might be in that age) in all Laws both divine and humane: whoſe teacher and firſt maſter, for want of other Author of his Science and Knowledge (they ſay) but yet untruely, was *Pythagoras* of *Samos*. Concerning whom, this is well known, that he 100. years after and above, in the days of *Servius Tullius* King of *Rome*, held a School of young men Students, that were his Diſciples, and followed his Sect in the utmoſt and fartheſt coaſt of *Italy*, about *Metapontum*, *Heraclea*, and *Croton*. From which places (albeit he had lived in that time) what fame of him could ſpread ſo far as to the Sabins? or by what entercourſe and affinity of language might he poſſibly have trained any man unto him for deſire of learning at his hands? or by what good means and help, could *Numa* travel alone unto him in ſafety, through ſo many countries, of divers tongues and ſundry manners? I am of this opinion rather, that the man by nature F was framed and diſpoſed to vertue, and that he was inſtructed, not ſo much in ſtrange and forraign Sciences, as after that ſtrict rule, that ſtern and ſevere diſcipline of the ancient Sabins; then whom, there was not a nation in times paſt, more preciſe, reformed, and void of corruption. The Roman Senators hearing the name of *Numa*, although they ſaw well enough, that the Sabins were like to prove of great reputation and power, by chuſing their King from among them, yet was there none of them ſo audacious, as to prefer either themſelves, or any one of their party and faction, not any one, I ſay, Senator or Citizen, before that man: but all in general with one accord, agreed to confer the Kingdom upon *Numa Pompilius*. Who being ſent for and come; like as *Romulus* at the founding of the City was inaugurate King, or attained to the Crown by means of Augury: ſo alſo he would needs, that the will and counſel of God ſhould be ſought for, touching his own election. WhereG upon he was by the Augur (unto whom for ever after that publick Miniſtry or Prieſthood, in regard of honor and reverence by patent belonged) brought unto the Caſtle hill, and there he ſet him down upon a ſtone, with his face toward the South. Then the Augur on his left ſide, with head covered, took his place: holding in his right hand a ſmooth ſtaff without knot or knob, and hooked towards the top, which they called *Lituus*. From whence after that he had with good adviſe, taken a proſpect and view towards the City and Country, and made his prayers unto the gods, he limited the quarters of the Heaven, from Eaſt to Weſt: and the parts Southward he appointed for the

XVII

Strife between the Romans and Sabins for the Crown.

XVIII

the right hand, and those Northward for the left. And so far as ever he could cast his eye and see H
forward, he imagined to himself a mark: then shifting his staff into his left hand, and laying the
right hand upon *Numa* his head, he prayed in this form: O Father *Jupiter*, if it may be right and law-
ful, that this *Numa Pompilius*, whose head I lay my hand upon, shall be King of *Rome*, shew I be-
seech thee some certain and manifest signs within that compass and those precincts, that I conceived
and set out. Then pronounced he in plain words what tokens by sight or flight of fowls he would
have to appear. Which being once seen, *Numa* was declared King, and so came down from the
Temple or place of prospect aboveſaid.

In this manner, being inaugurate and invested in the Kingdom, he provideth by good Orders, I
Laws, and Customs, to re-edifie, as it were, that City, which beforetime had been new built by force
and arms. Whereunto, he seeing that they might not be brought and framed in time of war, whose
hearts were already by continual warfare grown wild and savage: and supposing that this fierce
people might be made more gentle and tractable, through disuse of arms, he therefore built the Tem-
ple of *Janus* in the nether end of the street *Argiletum*, in token both of war and peace: with this
invention, that being open it should signifie, that the City was in arms; and standing shut, that all
the neighbor countries were in peace and quiet. Twice only after the raign of *Numa* was this Tem-
ple shut: once, when *T. Manlius* was Consul, after the first Carthaginian war was done and end-
ed: and a second time (as God would) in our age for us to see, when as the Emperor *Cæsar Augu-
stus*, after the battel of *Actium* (with *Antonius* and *Cleopatra*) had obtained peace both by Land
and Sea. *Numa* then having knit the hearts of the borderers about him in firm league and amity, K
and thereupon closed up the doors of *Janus*, secured now from all fear and care of dangers abroad,
yet doubting lest through ease and idleness their minds might fall to looseness and riot, whom the
dread of enemies and martial discipline had held in aw and good order: devised above all things
to strike some fear of God into them, and to plant religion in their hearts: a policy no doubt, with the
simple multitude (rude in those days and ignorant) most effectual. Which reverence of God, for
that it could not sink nor enter well into their heads, and take a deep impression, without some de-
vice of a fained miracle, he made semblance, and gave out, that he conversed in the night season, and
had, I wot not what, secret conference with the goddess *Ægeria*. By whose counsel and direction
forsooth, he ordained such divine service and sacrifices to the gods, as to them was most accepta-
ble: and to every god appointed several Priests for the ministery thereof accordingly. But first a- L
bove all other things he divided the year, according to the course of the Moon, into twelve months:
and for as much as the Moon hath not full thirty days to every month, whereby some days are wan-
ting to make up the just year, after the revolution and circle of the Sun: he, by putting the odd days
between every month, so disposed and ordered the year, that in every three and twenty years space
the days agreed just to the same point of the Sun from whence they began, and so made up the void
spaces, and accomplished fully the term of every year. He appointed likewise law days and days of
vacation, called *Festi* and *Nefasti*, thinking it good, that otherwhiles there should be rest from at-
tendance on the Courts, and no dealing with the people. After this, he set his mind about the cre-
ation of Priests, albeit in his own person he performed very many sacrifices, especially those which at
this day pertain to the Priest of *Jupiter*, called *Flamen Dialis*. And supposing that in a City so mar- M
tial, there should succeed more Kings like to *Romulus* then *Numa*, who in proper person would go
forth to war: lest haply the divine ministry that belonged to the King, might be neglected, he cre-
ated a Flamine to *Jupiter*, for to be a sacrificer continually resident: endued and adorned him with
a rich cope or vestment, and with an ivory chair of state upon wheels, called *Sella curulis*. Unto him
he adjoined two Flamines more; one for *Mars*, another for *Quirinus*. He instituted also a Nun-
nery, as it were, of religious Vestal Virgins. A Priesthood that had the beginning from *Alba*, and
suted well with the house, from whom the first founder of the City was descended. And to the end
they should attend continually about the Church, as resiant Chaplains, he allowed them an ordina-
ry fee or pension, at the publick charges of the City: and made them by perpetual vowed virginity
and other ceremonies to be reverenced and accounted holy. Likewise unto *Mars Gradivus* he e- N
lected twelve Priests called *Salii*, and gave unto them a rich purple coat, embroidered for an orna-
ment, and to wear upon that coat a brazen brest-plate, and to bear certain scutchions or bucklers
that fell from heaven, called *Ancilia*: commanding them to run about the City, chanting hymns
and songs, with dancing and leaping full solemnly. Moreover, he chose for a Superintendent or
high Priest, *Numa Martius*, the son of *Marcus*, one of the Senators: and to him he gave in writing
set down under his hand and seal, a rule, whereby he might know what beasts should be killed for
sacrifice, upon what days, and at which Temples, and how the money should be levied and disbur-
sed for the defraying of all charges. All other sacred rites as well publick as private, he submitted
and referred to the discretion and ordering of that high Priest: to this end, that the common peo-
ple might know unto whom they were to resort for counsel and instruction, and that no part of O
Gods worship and service should by neglect of the ancient rites and traditions of their own coun-
try, be confounded and corrupted by bringing in any strange and forraign superstitions. He ordai-
ned besides, that the same Arch-Prelate should teach, not only these heavenly ceremonies, but al-
so funeral obsequies, and how the spirits beneath, and ghosts of bodies departed, should be quieted
and pacified: and what strange and prodigious tokens, that came by way of lightning, thunder,
or any other fearful sight whatsoever, should be expiate and purged by sacrifice accordingly. And

*Salii.*

*Ancilia*

for

A for to know the truth, portended by these tokens even from the minds of heavenly spirits above, he consecrated unto *Jupiter Elicius* an altar upon the mount *Aventine*. And by the means of Augury, he consulted with that god, what things he was to enterprize and go about. Whilst the whole multitude was thus drawn away, and clean turned from thinking of force and arms, and busied about devising and ordering of these matters, not only their minds were occupied in doing somewhat, but also the continual fear of God now setled in them, (as being perswaded that the heavenly power was present in the managing of mens affairs) had possessed now all their hearts with such piety and religious holiness, that faithful promise once made, and the reverence of an oath taken, abandoning all fear of law and punishment, was able to rule and govern the City. And
B as the people framed and reformed themselves to the fashions and manners of their King, as the only and special pattern to follow: so the nations likewise bordering upon them, who beforetime verily thought that City to be built, and as it were encamped in the midst of them to the disturbance and disquieting of all their peace, were now become so respective of them, that they thought it an impious and sinful deed, once to offend or offer abuse to that City, so well given, and devoted to the worship and service of God. Furthermore, there was a grove, the midst whereof was watered continually by a spring that issued out of a dark and shadowed cave: into which, because *Numa* used very oft to retire himself alone, without any other, as it were, to have familiar company with *Ægeria*, he dedicated that grove unto the Muses, for that, their assistance also in counsel and advise he desired together with his wife *Ægeria*. And to *Faith* alone he instituted a so-
C lemn yearly festival day, and erected a chappel: Unto which he commanded the Flamines to ride in an arched or embowed close Chariot, drawn with two horses, and to sacrifice and execute their function, with their hands covered and wrapped close to their fingers ends: signifying thereby, that faith is to be kept and preserved: and that her seat was sacred and consecrated even upon the right hands. Many other sacrifices, and places for sacrifice, which the Priests call *Argeos*, did he appoint and dedicate. But of all his acts this was most worthy and memorable, that during the time of his raign he had no lesse regard to preserve peace, then to maintain royal estate and dominion. Thus two Kings one after another, taking either of them a several course by himself, that one by war, this other by peace, mightily promoted the welfare of the City. *Romulus* raigned 37. years, *Numa* 43. So that now the City became very puissant, as being well and equally tem-
D pered both with feats of arms, as also with discipline of peace.

*Jupiter Elicius.*

XXI

*Ægeria.*

*The Temple of Faith.*

Upon the death of *Numa* the regiment returned again to an inter-raign. Then the people nominated and elected for their King, with the royal assent of the Senators *Tullus Hostilius*, the Nephew or Grandson of that *Hostilius*, who had in times past fought valiantly against the Sabins, at the foot of the Castle hill. This man was not only unlike the former King, but also more fierce and hardy then *Romulus* himself. For besides the heat of youth, and strength of body withal, the glorious remembrance of his Grandfather set him on, and pricked him forward. Supposing therfore that the City through rest and ease began to age, as it were, and to decay, he sought every way to pick quarrels, and to give occasion to make war. It fortuned, that the Peasants about *Rome*, and those of *Alba* likewise, preyed upon and spoiled one anothers land. At that time *C. Cluilius* was Lord
E and King of *Alba*. From both parts well neer at one time, were Embassadors addressed to demand restitution of goods, and satisfaction for their harms. *Tullus Hostilius* he had straitly charged his messengers to have no dealing with the Alban Prince, before they had delivered unto him their message. For well he wist, that he would make denial, and yeeld no amends: and then might he with safe conscience justly proclame war against him. On the contrary side, the Alban Embassadors followed their business but slackly for being courteously invited, and friendly entertained by *Tullus*, and lodged within his palace; they were well content to be feasted by the King, and were his dayly guests so long, that the *Romans* had by this time both challenged their own first, and upon denial made by the Alban King, given defiance and proclamed open war within thirty days next ensuing. Upon which tidings by them related to *Tullus*, he gave the Alban Embassadors audience, per-
F mitting them to declare what their errand was, that they came about. "They (simple men) ignorant "of all that was done, first spent time in excusing themselvs, saying, they were very loth & unwilling "to speak ought that might displease *Tullus*, but being commanded by authority, they might not "wil nor chuse: and thereupon were come to make claim of goods & amends for wrongs, and if they "were not restored and recompence made, they had commission to denounce war against him.

*Tullus Hostilius.*

XXII

*The Embassadors of the Albans to king Tullus.*

Whereunto *Tullus* made answer in this wise, "Tell your King and Master (quoth he) that the "Roman King calleth the gods to witness, whether of the two Nations sent the Embassadors a-"way first, and rejected them when they demanded restitution, that upon his head they might "bring the misery, loss, and calamity of the present war. With this dispatch the Albans returned home. So they made preparation of forces on both sides all that they could, most like in all the
G world to a civil war, between fathers and sons, proceeding both from the Trojan race: considering that by Trojans *Lavinium* was founded; from *Lavinium* came the people of *Alba*: and from the Alban Kings were the Romans in right line descended. But the final issue and end of this war, made the war it self less woful and lamentable, both because they came not to a set field, and also for that by rasing the houses only of the one City, two nations were intermingled & united in one. The Albans first with a mighty power entred the Territory of *Rome*, and encamped themselves not past five miles from the City, where they strongly entrenched themselves: which place

XXIII

*Cluilius* his foſſe.

of the Captains name was called * *Foſſa Cluilia*, many years after: until both it and the name with- H
al in proceſs of time, decayed clean and came to nothing. In this camp the Alban King *Cluilius*
ended his days, in whoſe ſtead the Alban army created *Metius Suffetius* their Dictator. *Tullus* in
the mean time became haughty and proud, eſpecially upon the death of the King, oftentimes giving
out and ſaying, that the mighty power of the gods, having thus begun at the very head, would
likewiſe take vengeance on the whole body of the Alban Nation, for this their unjuſt and godleſs
war: and one night above the reſt paſſed ſecretly by the camp of his enemies, and in warlike man-
ner invaded the Alban land. This news raiſed *Metius* out of his ſtanding camp. Who led forth
his army and marched on as neer to his enemies as he could, diſpatching aforehand an Herald un-
to *Tullus*, to notifie unto him thus much from him, that it was needful and expedient before they I
joined battel to parle and commune together. If he would vouchſafe to confer, he knew very well,
that he ſhould alledge and lay forth ſuch matters, as might concern the Weale of the Romans, as
well as of the Albans. *Tullus* refuſed not the offer, albeit they were but vain toies that were pre-
tended, and therefore ſet his men in battel aray. The Albans in like manner came forth againſt him.
After they were thus ranged and embattelled ready to fight, the Generals on both ſides, accom-
panied with a few of their principal Nobles, advance between both armies. Then began the Alban
Dictator in this wiſe: "Me thinks (quoth he) I hear already of injury and wrongs done, and how
"ſuch goods as were demanded are not reſtored again according to the form of the league, as alſo
"that *Cluilius* our King was cauſe of this war: neither doubt I, O *Tullus*, but even you pretend,
"and are about to alledge as much. But if we would as we ought to do, ſtand upon the truth of K
"things rather then upon I wot not what gloſſes, and goodly ſhews of words: it is ambition and
"deſire of rule only and nothing elſe, that ſpurreth on two nations of one blood and neer neigh-
"bors to take arms and war one with another: juſtly or unjuſtly, I am not able to ſay, Let him on
"Gods name that firſt began the quarrel, in conſcience ſee to that. As for me, the Albans indeed
"have made me their General. But this one point *Tullus*, I would have you to remember and
"conſider: How ſtrong about us and you eſpecially the Tuſcans are, you know better, the neerer
"ye are unto them: mighty they are by land, much more by ſea. Then wot well this, that when
"you ſhall cauſe the Trumpet to ſound unto battel, theſe two armies will be to them a fair mark
"and ſpectacle to behold: that they may give an aſſault to both at once, as well the victors, as
"them that are vanquiſhed, whilſt they are wearied and toiled out of heart. For the love of God, L
"if there be any ſpark of grace in us, ſince we not contented with that liberty which we ſurely en-
"joy, will needs venture and put in doubtful hazzard, which of us ſhall rule and command, and
"who ſhall ſerve and obey the other, let us take ſome good courſe whereby it may be decided
"without great loſs or bloodſhed on both ſides, whether ſhall be Lord and Soveraign. The mo-
tion *Tullus* miſliked not, albeit both for diſpoſition of nature, and hope of victory, he were the
haughtier of the twain. And as they ſought on both parts what way to take, this means at length
they found, whereunto fortune it ſelf preſented fit matter and occaſion. For by good hap even
then, in either hoſt three brethren twins there were born at one birth, and thoſe neither in age
nor ſtrength unlike. Their names were *Curiatii* and *Horatii*, that is very certain, neither is there
any thing of ancient record more famous and notable. Yet as clear in ſubſtance as it is, there re- M
maineth ſtill ſome doubt and error in their names: of whether people the *Curiatii* and the *Hora-*
*tii* were. Writers there be on both ſides, but the greater number ſay, as I find, that *Horatii* were
the Romans, to whom I rather encline, and my mind giveth me to follow them. With theſe three
brethren the Kings went in hand, perſwading them to fight for the honor of their country, and
try the quarrel by dint of ſword: ſhewing them, that on whether ſide the victory fell, there ſhould
remain the ſoveraign dominion. Nothing refuſed they to do, the time and place both were agreed
upon and appointed. But before the combat, it was covenanted between the Romans and Al-
bans, and theſe conditions drawn: That whoſe champions in fight ſhould have the better, that
nation ſhould peaceably command the other. There are of covenants many and ſundry Capitu-
lations far different in matter: but they run all after one manner and form. As for this, it was N
made, as we have heard in this wiſe, neither is there extant a more ancient record of any compo-
ſition whatſoever. The Herald (called *Fecialis*) demandeth of King *Tullus* in this wiſe: Is it your
will and commandment my Lord, That I make a covenant and accord with the *Paterpatrate* of
the Alban people? It is (quoth the King.) Then (quoth he) I demand of you ſacred herbs. The
King anſwered again, Take them pure and clean. The Fecial then reached from the Caſtle hill pure
herbs from among the graſs: which done, he thus asked the King: Do you (my Lord) ordain me
the Meſſenger Royal of the Commons of the people of *Rome*? and allow neceſſary implements,
all furniture for my ſelf, and my retinue and train? The King anſwered: I do, ſo far forth as may
be, without the harm or detriment of my ſelf, and of the Citizens of the people of *Rome*. The Fe-
cial or Herald for that time, was *Marcus Valerius*, who created *Paterpatrate* a King at Arms, *Sp.* O
*Fuſius*, by touching his head and hair with Vervain. Now the *Paterpatrate* is for to confirm the
agreement with an oath, and ſo he read out the covenant and oath, and that with many words:
which to rehearſe, as they were in a long preſcript form pronounced, were very needleſs. After
this having recited all the Articles and conditions thereof. "Hearken (quoth he) O *Jupiter*, liſten
"thou Herald for the Albans, attend alſo and give ear ye the Alban people, how theſe conditions
"from the firſt to the laſt, have been read aloud out of thoſe Books or Tables of wax, without

*Metius Suffetius* Dictator of the Albans.

The Oration of *Metius* unto *Tullus*.

XXIV

*Curiatii.* *Horatii.*

,, covin

A "coven, or fraud, and how at this day they are moſt rightly meant and underſtood, according to "the tenure of the words: from theſe articles I ſay, ſhall not the people of *Rome* ſtart back firſt, "nor make default: If they ſhall firſt go back and fail therein by publick conſent, and fraudulent- "ly; that day, O *Jupiter*, ſmite thou the City of *Rome*, as I to day will ſtrike this Swine: yea, and "ſmite thou home ſo much more, as thou art more able and powerful then my ſelf. And after he had thus ſaid, he ſmote the ſwine with a flint ſtone. The Albans likewiſe repeated their preſcript form of words, and the oath, by their Dictator and Prieſts for the purpoſe. The complements of the covenant and compoſition thus performed, and all concluded, then thoſe three brethren of both ſides, as it was before agreed, buckle to arm themſelvs. And being encouraged on both hands, B by their well-willers and friends, that put them in mind of their country gods, their native ſoile and parents, ſaying, that all their fellow Citizens and country men whattoever, both at home in the City, and abroad in the camp, every one had their eye only upon them, their weapons and their hands: the young men being both of themſelves by nature forward and luſty, and alſo emboldened with the comfortable words of their friends, advanced forth between both armies. Now were the two hoſts ſet on both ſides before their camps, rid of preſent danger, rather then void of care and penſiveneſs. For why? the whole trial of ſoveraignty and rule, reſted in the valour and good ſpeed of a few. Whereupon they longing to ſee the ſequel and iſſue, were wholly bent to behold, and only minded this unpleaſant ſight and ſpectacle. At ſound of Trumpet theſe brave brethren, three to three like as they had been two ſet battels, and carrying the ſtomachs verily of two C great armies, affronted one another, and with cruel and mortal weapons gave the charge. Neither regarded they their own proper peril, but ſet before their eyes, only the rule or ſervitude of the Common-weal, as if the ſtate of their country from thenceforth lay wholly upon their good or bad ſucceſs in this action. So ſoon as they began to cope together and make aſſault, that their harneſs and weapons once clattered, and their drawn ſwords ſhone and glittered again, behold ſuch an exceeding fear came upon the beholders, that they trembled and quaked withal: and during the time of equal combat, ſeeing no inclination of victory to the one ſide or the other, they were ſo aſtonied, that hardly they could well ſpeak or freely take their wind. Afterwards, when as they were come to hand-ſtroaks, and that now not only the ſtirring of their bodies, and the doubtful handling of their weapons and armor, but bloody wounds alſo were ſeen, two of the Romans D (having ſore wounded all the three Albans) fell down one upon the other, and yeelded up the ghoſt. At whoſe fall, the Alban hoſt ſhouted again for joy: but the Roman legions, albeit they were now paſt hope of victory, yet they were not void of care being amated, and an extaſie as it were, with very fear what ſhould become of him, who being but one, had three *Curiatii* upon him at once. But as good hap was, he as yet was freſh and unwounded. And as he was not able alone to make his part good with them altogether, ſo in ſingle fight, man to man, he thought himſelfe good enough for them all, one after another. To ſingle therefore, and to part them in fight, he begins to flie, thinking thereby they would follow after him, each one as his hurt body would give him leave. Now when he was retired a pretty good way from the place where they fought, and looking behind him, eſpied them following far aſunder, and one of them not much behind E himſelf, he turned again upon him with great violence. And whilſt the hoſt of the Albans cried out to the *Curiatii* to reſcue and ſuccour their brother, *Horatius* by that time had ſlain his formoſt enemy, and was in hand with the ſecond. Then the Romans with ſuch a ſhout, as they are wont to make, who after a great fright recover themſelves and take heart again, encourage their champion: and he himſelf hatteneth to finiſh the combat. And before that the third, who was not far off, could get to the other, he had ſlain the ſecond *Curiatius*. So that now there was but one to one, left to fight on even hand: and they, neither in hope nor ſtrength equally matched. As for the one of them, his body as yet not wounded, and his double victory withal, cauſed him to attempt the third conflict ſtoutly and couragiouſly. The other faint and feeble of his hurt, tired with running, had much ado to come forward, and quite out of heart, ſeeing his two brethren lie ſlain at F his feet, offereth himſelf as a prey to his victorious enemy: for ſurely between them was no fight at all to ſpeak of. The Roman, he triumphing and crying out for joy, "Two brethren already (quoth he) have I ſent to the Divel, the third likewiſe ſhall I ſend after them, that a Roman may command an Alban, which is the cauſe of all this war." And therewith he thruſt his ſword aloft into his throat, who had much ado to hold his weapons: and ſo ſoon as he was down, ſtript and rifled him. "The Romans with great triumph and gratulation, receive *Horatius* rejoicing ſo much the more, "as his caſe was more dangerous and well neer deſperate. Then of both ſides addreſs they them- "ſelves to bury their champions, but not with like cheer and alacrity of heart: For why? they of the one part were become Lords, and they of the other, Subjects. Their tombs remain yet to be ſeen in the very places where they were each of them ſlain, two of the Romans entombed together G in one place neerer unto *Alba*: the three Albans towards *Rome*, but diſtant aſunder, like as they fought and left their lives. Before they diſlodged and departed thence the one from another, *Metius* according as it was capitulated in the compoſition, asked and demanded what *Tullus* would command him to do: who enjoined him to keep his youth ready in armes at an hours warning, for that he would employ them in ſervice, in caſe he ſhould war with the Veientians. So were the armies diſmiſſed home. And *Horatius* he went formoſt, baring afore him the threefold ſpoile of three brethren. Whom his Siſter a maid affianced before to one of the *Curiatii*, met before *Capena* gate: &

The cruel combat between the brethren *Curiatii* and *Horatii*.

espying upon her brothers shoulders, the coat of arms of her espoused husband, which she her self had wrought with her own hands; she unbound her head, let her hair loose, and pitiously called upon her dead spouse by name. This lamentable wailing of the sister presently upon victory, and amid so great and publick joy, moved the proud and hauty young man to wrath, and drawing out his sword therewith, ran the silly damsel through: and with these bitter words rebuketh her also, Get thee hence (quoth he) to thy spouse with thy unseasonable and foolhasty love, forgetful as thou art, of thy two brethren dead, and him that is alive: forgetful of thy native country, and the honor thereof: and so with a mischief go she, whatever she be, that shall bewail an enemy of *Rome*. A cruel and horrible fact this seemed, as well to the Senators, as to the Commons: but his late and fresh desert made it the less trespass: yet for all that was he apprehended, and brought before the King. The King, that he might not seem the author of a judgment so unpleasant and odious unto the people, and consequently of punishment according to the doom, assembled the people together and said: I ordain Duumvirs to sit upon *Horatius*, in trial of a criminal cause of felony, and to judge him according to the law, in that case provided. The tenor of the law runneth thus, in dreadful kind of form. [*The Magistranes called Duumvirs shall judge the party accused in a capital action of felony, if he shall appeal from the Duumvirs, let him traverse his appeal, if they overthrow him, then hoodwink him, or cover his head, hang him upon a cursed Gallow tree by a rope, and strangle him, having whipped and scourged him before, either within the Pomœry or without.*] By vertue of this law were the Duumvirs created, who by the rigour of that law thought they might not quit so much as a guiltless person: and having once condemned him, then one of them gave sentence and said: I judge thee O *Publius Horatius* a murderer and an enemy to the state of *Rome*. Go Lictor therefore, and bind his hands together. Then came the Lictor and cast a cord about them. But *Horatius*, by the advise of *Tullus*, a gentle and mild interpreter of the Law, I appeal (quoth he.) So upon his appeal was the matter debated, and to be tried before the people: who were not a little troubled in deciding or judging this cause, and most of all in regard of *Publius Horatius* the Father, crying out and saying, "That he deemed his daughter was justly and worthily killed: otherwise he would himself have punished his son by his fatherly authority. Beseeching moreover, that they would not now make him childless, whom erewhile they saw "with a goodly company of children about him. And therewithal the old father embracing the young man, and shewing the spoils of the *Curiatii*, set up and hanging in that very place which now is called *Pila Horatia*, i.e. *Horatius* his Pillar. "And can ye indeed (O ye *Romans*, quoth he) abide "to see him bound under a Gallows, yea, and whipped and tormented, whom a while afore ye "beheld to march in great glory and jollity for his atchieved victory? So unseemly and foul a sight "as which, the Albans themselves can hardly suffer. Go Lictor, go bind those hands fast, which "armed a little before, wan the people of *Rome* their dominion: Go I say, and hoodwink his head "who saved and delivered this City from bondage, hang him by the neck, and strangle him upon "a cursed tree: scourge him and spare not, either within the circuit of the walls, so it be among "those javelins and spoils of the enemies: or without the walls, so it be within the compass of the "*Curiatian* Sepulchres. For to what place can you lead this young gentleman, where his honora-"ble acts may not save him from so unworthy and shameful punishment? The people could no longer endure, either the tears of the old father, or the constant resolution of the youth his son, who shewed himself still the same, and not to change for any danger. So they quit him, in the honorable regard rather of his prowess and valor, then in the right and equity of his cause. Yet to the end that the murder so manifest and openly known, should be in some sort expiate, and satisfaction made therfore, his father was charged to purge his sons sin, and make amends, at the expences of the City. Who having performed certain purgatory sacrifices, which afterward belonged to the house and family of the *Horatii*, put a rafter or beam cross overthwart the street, and caused the young man with his head covered to go under, as under a yoak or gallows: which remaineth yet unto this day, from time to time at the City charges repaired, and they call it *Sororium Tigillum*, i. e. The Sisters beam. And in that very place where *Horatia* was wounded and fell down, her tomb was erected of four square stone.

*Horatius* killeth his sister.

The judgment of *Horatius*.

P. *Horatius* the Father to the people.

But not long continued the Albans in quiet and peace. For the common people finding fault and greatly discontented, that the whole state of the Weale-publick was put into the hands of three souldiers, infected so, and poisoned the vain and shittle head of the Dictator: that for as much as plain and upright dealing sped no better, he began to win again the hearts of his Commons by crooked means, and indirect courses. Seeking therefore war in time of peace, as before in time of war he sought peace: and seeing his people had more heart then hand; and their strength not answerable to their stomacks: he stirred up other nations, openly by way of proclamation and defiance to make war, and reserved his own men under a colour of league and confederacy, for to practise treason and falshood. The Fidenates, a Colony of the Romans, having made the Veientians partakers of their counsel, and combined with the Albans to forsake the Romans, when time came, and turn unto them, brake out and took arms. When *Fidene* had thus openly revolted, *Tullus* sent for *Metius* and his power from *Alba*, and setteth forward against his enemies: and passing over the river *Anio*, encamped neer the confluent, where both streams meet together. Between which place and *Fidene*, the army of the Veientians had crossed the *Tyber*, who put themselves in the right wing of the battel fast by the river, and the Fidenates in the left,

A leſt neerer to the mountains. *Tullus* directly oppoſeth his own forces againſt the Veientians, and placeth the Albans to affront the Fidenates. The Alban Captain having as little heart as honeſty and truth, neither durſt keep his ſtanding, nor openly turn unto the enemy, but by little and little withdraweth himſelf toward the mountains: and when he thought he had gained vantage enough, he mounted up the hill with all his companies, and with a wavering mind to ſpend the time, diſplayeth his ranks. His intent and purpoſe was, on what ſide fortune ſeemed to give the better, with them to join and take their part. The Romans that ſtood next, perceiving their flanks naked by reaſon of the departure of their friends and allies, at firſt marvelled much at the matter: but afterwards there gallopt an horſeman, and advertiſed the King that the Albans were
B gone away. *Tullus* in this ſo fearful and dangerous caſe, vowed twelve Prieſts *Salii*, and two Temples to *Pallor* and *Pavor*, i. e. to Paleneſs and Fear: and with a loud voice cryed out in the hearing of his enemies, commanding the ſaid horſeman to return to the battel, ſaying, There was no cauſe at all to fear, for that himſelf had commanded the Alban hoſt to wheel and fetch about, and ſo to charge the Fidenates on their backs where they lay open. Willing him expreſly moreover, to cauſe the men of arms to hold up their lances on end. By which means, a great part of the footmen could not ſee the Albans as they departed and went their ways. And thoſe that had ſeen them, thinking it was a truth which they heard the King to ſpeak, fought ſo much the more hotly. So the fear turned now from them, and fell upon the enemies: for they heard the King when he ſpake ſo loud, and alſo a great many of the Fidenatians being co-habitants with the Romans,
C underſtood Latine. For fear therefore, that the Albans ſhould all on a ſudden run down from the hils and ſtop their paſſage to the town, they turned their backs and fled. Then *Tullus* preſſeth hard upon them, and having diſcomfited the Fidenatians wing, cometh back more fiercely upon the Veientians, being already amazed at the fright of the other. Neither were they able to withſtand the brunt. Howbeit the river behind at their backs kept them at firſt from flying away, but afterwards when their flight bended thitherward: ſome flinging their weapons ſhamefully away, like blind men, ran headlong into the water: other lingering ſtil, and ſtaying on the bank ſide, doubtful whether to flee, or to ſtick to it and fight, were trod under foot, and hewne in pieces. Never had the Romans before that day a more cruel battel. Then the Alban army, which beheld and ſaw all this conflict, deſcended down into the plain. And *Metius*, forſooth, rejoiceth much on
D *Tullus* behalf for his victory. *Tullus* again ſpeaketh *Metius* fair, and gave order, that the Albans in a good hour ſhould join their camp to the Romans: and againſt the next day, prepared a purging or Luſtral ſacrifice. The morrow when it was day, and that all things were in a readineſs, according to the manner, he commandeth both armies to aſſemble together to an audience. The Criers, beginning at the fartheſt part of the camp, ſummoned the Albans firſt. Who alſo for the ſtrangeneſs of the matter, and deſirous to hear the Roman King to make his Oration, preſſed forward to ſtand next. The Roman legion on ſet purpoſe, as it was before decreed, ſtood armed round about, and hemmed them in: and the Centurions had in charge without delay to execute whatſoever they were commanded.

Then began *Tullus* to ſpeak in this wiſe, "If ever in any war heretofore had cauſe, O *Romans*, The Oration of *Tullus*.
E "to render thanks, firſt to the immortal gods, and then to your own manhood and valor, cer-
"tainly it was in yeſterdays battel. For ye fought not then with the force of your enemies more
"then with the treachery and falſhood of your friends and confederates, which is the greater
"conflict and far more dangerous. For to put you clean out of doubt, and to bear you no longer
"in hand with a wrong perſwaſion: The Albans went up toward the hills without my commiſſi-
"on, neither was that my commandment, but a policy and countenance only of command: to
"this end, that ye not knowing how ye were forſaken, might not withdraw your hearts from
"fight, and alſo that your enemies weening they were environed behind, ſhould be afraid and ſo
"enforced to flee. Yet are not the Albans all in general to be charged with this fault which I re-
"prove. They did but follow their leader, as ye likewiſe would have done, if I had willed the
F "march to have turned any whither from thence. It is *Metius* that was the guide and leader of
"this journey, *Metius* is he that is the worker and deviſer of this war, *Metius* I ſay it is, and none
"but *Metius*, the breaker of the Roman and Alban league. But let who that will from henceforth
preſume hardly to do the like, if I make not him a notable example to all the world. The Centurions ſtood armed round about *Metius*, and the King goeth on with the reſt of his ſpeech as he began, and ſaid: "That which I pray God may turn to the good proſperity and happineſs of the
"people of *Rome*, of my ſelf, and you the Albans, I am minded to reduce all the Alban nation to
"*Rome*: to endue the Commons with the freedom of the City: to advance their chief Gentle-
"men to the order of Senators, and to make one uniform City and Common-wealth: that as in
"times paſt the Albans ſtate, out of one body was divided into twain, ſo now it may be united
G "and become one again. At theſe words the Alban youth unarmed, and beſet on every ſide with armed men, albeit they were diſtracted in mind, yet were they forced with a general fear to keep ſilence and hold their peace. "*Metius Suffetius* (quoth *Tullus* then) If thou couldſt have
"learned to keep allegiance, promiſe, and covenants, thou mighteſt have been taught it at my
"hands with life. But now ſince thy froward nature is incurable, teach thou by thy fearful exam-
"ple and death all mankind, to hold and repute thoſe things for ſacred and holy, which have by
"thee been broken and violate. Like as therefore erewhiles thou bareſt a double heart in doubt-

"ful ballance, between the the Fidenates and the Romans ſtate: even ſo ſtreightways ſhalt thou H
"yeeld thy body to be drawn aſunder, and plucked in two peeces accordingly. Then forthwith
"he cauſed two teames of four houſes to be ſet to, and *Metius* to be ſtretched out and tied unto
the chariots to them belonging. Afterwards were the horſes driven a contrary way, and carried
with them in both chariots the body torn in pieces, as far forth as the limbs hung faſt together by
their cords and ligaments: which made all men avert their eyes from beholding ſo cruel and hor-
rible a ſpectacle. This was the firſt and laſt puniſhment that ever the Romans executed with ſo lit-
tle reſpect or none at all (to ſay a truth) of the laws of humanity. In all other they may ſafely make
their boaſt, that no nation in the world hath been leſſe delighted and pleated with extremity of
torment.

XXIX Whilſt theſe things were in doing, there had been certain horſemen ſent afore to *Alba*, for to I
tranſlate the multitude to *Rome*. After whom were the legions alſo of the footmen thither led, to
raſe and deſtroy the city. At whoſe entrance within the gates, there was not that ſtir nor fearful
hurry, as uſually is ſeen when cities are loſt: and when with breaking down the gates, beating
and battering the walls with rams and other engins, forcing the citadel, the enemies ſhout, and the
armed ſouldiers run to and fro in the city, killing and ſlaying, firing and burning all afore them
as they go: but a ſad ſilence, and a ſtill kind of ſorrow and penſiveneſs ſo poſſeſſed and aſtonied
all their minds, that for fear forgetting what to leave behind them, or what to take with them,
without adviſe and counſel, one asking another what to do, they one while ſtood in their houſe
entries, another while ran up and down wandring in their houſes, as if their laſt day had been K
come. But ſo ſoon as they heard the horſemen cry aloud, and command them with menacing to
void and depart, and that now the ratling of the tiles and ſlates from off the houſes as they were
a pulling down, was from the furtheſt part of the town heard: and that the duſt raiſed from places
far off, had as it were with a cloud overcaſt and filled all: then every man catching up haſtily, and
carrying forth what he could, leaving their domeſtical gods, leaving their houſes wherein they
had been born, bred, and brought up, departed forth: ſo that now they filled the ſtreets as they
went cloſe on a row together, and the ſight one of another with mutual commiſeration, re-
doubled their tears and wofull complaints. Yea, and pitious mone and lamentations were heard of
women eſpecially, as they paſſed by their fair and ſtately churches, beſet with ſouldiers, and aban-
doned their gods as it were captives and priſoners. After the Albans had thus quit the city, down L
went the Romans every where with the buildings, as well publick as private, and laid them even
with the ground and ſo in one hour deſtroyed and raſed four hundred yeers work, for ſo long
had *Alba* ſtood and flouriſhed. Howbeit the temples of the gods they ſpared for ſo the king had
XXX given commandment. *Rome* all this while riſeth by the fall of *Alba*. The number of Citizens in-
creaſed double: to enlarge the city the mount *Celius* was annexed to it: and that it ſhould be bet-
ter peopled and more inhabited, *Tullus* had his royal ſeat and palace there, and therein from that
time forth he kept his court. The chief Citizens of the Albans he advanced to the order of Sena-
tors, that he might augment that ſtate alſo of the Commonweal; namely, the houſes of the *Tullij*,
Curia Hoſtilia. *Servilij*, *Quintij*, *Geganij*, *Curiatij*, *Cloelij*: and for that degree and order of Senators by
him encreaſed, he built an hall or new court, called until our fathers dayes *Hoſtilia curia*. M
*i. Hoſtiliae* court. And that all eſtates and degrees might out of this new people be ſome-
what ſtrengthened, he choſe from out of the Albans ten troops or cornets of horſemen, and
with the ſame ſupply he both fulfilled the number of the old legions, and alſo made and enrolled
new.

War with the Sabins. *Tullus* upon this affiance he had in his ſtrength and power, denounceth war againſt the Sabins,
a people in thoſe dayes of all other moſt puiſſant and mighty, both in men and munition, next the
Tuſcans. Wrongs had been done, and outrages committed on both parts, and reſtitution or
amends demanded, but to no effect. *Tullus* found himſelf grieved, that divers occupiers or mer-
chants of *Rome*, at an open mart or fair of great reſort before the temple of *Feronia*, were laid hold
upon and apprehended. The Sabins on the other ſide complained, that their men, notwithſtanding N
they took ſanctuary in a certain ſacred and priviledged grove, were areſted and in hold at *Rome*.
Theſe were the quarrels and occaſions pretended of the war. The Sabins well remembring, that
not onely part of their own forces was by *Tatius* tranſlated to *Rome*, and there planted, but alſo
that now of late the puiſſance of the Romans was well amended by the ſupplement of the Albans,
began likewiſe for their part to caſt about, and ſeek for help abroad, and forrain aids. Now was
*Tuſcan* their neighbour nation, and of the Tuſcans the neereſt unto them were the Veientians.
From thence they gat certain voluntaries to take their part, by reaſon that their minds already
were well diſpoſed to revolt upon old grudges and rancour remaining ſtill of the former war paſt:
otherſome alſo vagarants and idle perſons of the raſcal ſort, and needy commons, were ſoon hired
for mony. But as for any ſuccour from thence by publick conſent of the ſtate they had none at all.
So much prevailed even with the Veientians (for in the reſt it was leſs marvel) the faithful covenant O
of truce concluded with *Romulus*. Now when theſe preparations of war were made on both ſides
to the uttermoſt of their power, and that it ſtood upon this point, That they were like to have
the ods and vantage, who ſhould begin firſt, and enter the field: *Tullus* prevented the enemies, and
invaded the Sabine land. A ſharp and bloody battel was there fought under the wood *Malicuſa*.
Where the Romans bare themſelves bravely that day, much upon the valour of the Legionary
foot.

A footmen, but more upon the ſtrength of their men of arms, whoſe number lately was augmented: for by the ſuddain and forcible charge of the horſemen, the battel of the Sabins was ſo broken, their ranks ſo diſordered, that they could neither ſtand cloſe together to fight it out, nor yet ſpred themſelves to flie, without great ſlaughter and bloodſhed. The Sabins defeated by the Romans.

The Sabins thus vanquiſhed, and the kingdom of *Tullus* and the whole ſtate of *Rome*, being very glorious and wealthy: behold, news came to the King and Senators, that in the *Alban* mount it rained ſtones: which hardly was believed, and therefore certain men were ſent of purpoſe to ſee this ſtrange and prodigious ſight: who might plainly behold ſtones to fall thick out of the skie like as when ſome forcible winds drive hail in big round bals upon the earth. They imagined more-
B over, that they heard a great and mighty voice out of the grove from the very top of the hill crying unto them, and warning the Albans to do ſacrifice and divine ſervice according to the rites and ancient maner of their forefathers, which they had diſcontinued and forgotten, as if together with their country they had abandoned their gods, and either taken to the Roman faſhion, or elſe being angry with fortune (as it is commonly ſeen) forſet and neglected the worſhip of the gods altogether. The Romans likewiſe upon that miraculous ſign, for the purging and expiation thereof, celebrated ſolemn publick ſacrifices for the ſpace of nine dayes, called a *Novendial*: either becauſe they were moved thereto by that voice from heaven (for that alſo is reported) or took direction from the Soothſayers that pry into the inwards of beaſts. Certain it is, that a ſolemn cuſtome re-
maineth ſtill unto this day, that whenſoever word cometh of the like wonder, they keep holyday
C nine dayes together. Not long after this, the peſtilence raigned in the city. And albeit the people began thereby to ſlack ſouldery and military ſervice: yet would not this martial prince give them reſt and reſpite from war: being of this mind, that the bodies of young men were more healthy in armour, abroad in the open field, than at home in the city under covert: until himſelf at length fell ſick of a long and lingering diſeaſe. Then that haughty and couragious ſtomack of his, together with his luſty and able body, became ſo abated, that he who earſt before thought nothing leſſe befitting a king, than to ſet his mind, and buſy his brains about religious ceremonies; now all upon a ſuddain became wholly devoted to all kind of ſuperſtition both more and leſſe, yea, and filled the peoples heads beſides with holineſs and devotion. So as now the very common ſort wiſhing again for the old world, under the reign of king *Numa*, were fully perſwaded, that there
D was no other remedy left for their ſick and diſeaſed bodies, but to obtain at Gods hands grace and pardon. Men ſay, that the king himſelf in peruſing and turning over the Commentaries and regiſters of *Numa* his predeceſſour, and therein finding certain hidden and ſolemn ſacrifices that had been unto *Jupiter Elicius*, retired himſelf, and kept cloſe within a houſe to celebrate the ſame. But for that this holy ſervice was neither begun aright, nor duly adminiſtred, he had not onely no divine apparition and heavenly viſion preſented unto him, but alſo incurred the heavy diſpleaſure and wrath of *Jupiter*, whom by his prepoſterous religion he had thus diſquieted; and ſo both himſelf and his whole houſe were conſumed with lightning. This *Tullus*, in great glory and renown of martial proweſs, raigned two and thirty years.

When *Tullus* was dead, the government returned again, as it was from the firſt beginning or-
E dained, unto the Senators; who named an Interregent, and he called a Parliament, wherein the people elected *Ancus Martius* for their King, and the Senators gave their aſſent thereto. This *Ancus Martius*, was *Numa Pompilius* his daughters ſon, who ſo ſoon as he was come to the crown, both in remembrance of his grand-fathers glorious government, and alſo in regard of the raign of his next predeceſſor, which in other points right excellent and commendable, in this onely failed, and was not ſo happy: either for that religion was neglected, or not with due ceremonies exerciſed; and thinking it a thing moſt neceſſary, and of greateſt moment, to reduce all publick divine ſervice and ſacrifices to the firſt inſtitution of *Numa*, commanded the Arch-prelate or High-prieſt to make an extract, and tranſcript of all the ſacred rites and myſteries out of *Numa* his Commentaries, and ingroſs them into one table, and to publiſh them a-
F broad unto the people: whereby both his ſubjects and citizens deſirous of peace, as alſo the States thereby adjoining, were in good hope, that the king would altogether comform himſelf, and take after the cuſtomes and ordinances of his grand-father.

Hereupon the *Latins*, with whom in King *Tullus* his dayes a league was made, took heart unto them, made inrodes into the countrey about *Rome*, and fetcht out booties. And when the Romans demanded reſtitution, they made them a proud anſwer, ſuppoſing belike, That the King of *Rome* would paſs the whole courſe of his raign in eaſe and idleneſs, ſitting ſtill in his chappels, and by his holy altars. But *Ancus* was of a mean and indifferent diſpotion by nature, having an eye as well to *Numa*, as to *Romulus*, and compoſed as it were of both. For over and beſides, that he thought peace more expedient and neceſſary for his grandſires reign, the
G people being as then but new riſen, unſetled, and fierce withal: conſidering alſo, that himſelf ſhould not eaſily, without taking wrong, enjoy the quietneſs which to him hapned: for that his patience was already tried, and not onely tried, but alſo deſpiſed: and ſeeing that the State of the preſent time was fitter for a *Tullus* to be King, than a *Numa*: yet to the end that, as *Numa* in time of peace inſtituted ceremonies of religion, ſo he might likewiſe ſet out to poſterity others concerning war: and that wars ſhould not be onely made, but alſo denounced and proclaimed orderly, and in ſome religious form of ſolemnity:

he

he ſet down in writing that law and formal order, by vertue whereof reſtitution is demanded (which at this day the Feciales or Heralds obſerve) like as he received it from the ancient people *Æqui*. H

The Embaſſador Fe.ial, coming to their borders, at whoſe hands the goods are requited again, covering his head with a bonnet or vail of woollen yarn, ſaith thus: *Hear O* Jupiter, *give ear ye limits and confines* (naming them of ſuch and ſuch a Country) *let Juſtice and Right hearken alſo to what I ſhall ſay: I am the publick meſſenger of the people of* Rome, *of a juſt and religious embaſſage am I come, and to my words give credit.* After this, rehearſeth he all his demands, and then calleth Jupiter to witneſs, ſaying, *If I unjuſtly and impiouſly demand, that ſuch perſons ſhould be delivered, or ſuch and ſuch goods be rendered unto me, the publick meſſenger of the people of* Rome; *then let me never return again to enjoy mine own country.* Theſe words rehearſeth he, as he ſetteth foot, and ſteps into the confines: the ſame alſo he ſpeaketh to him whomſoever he meeteth firſt: the ſelf ſame words he pronounceth, as he entreth within the gate of the City: yea, and when he is come into the market place he ſaith the ſame, changing and varying in ſome few tearms, from the preſcript form of the demand, and taking the ſolemn oath. In caſe then, the perſons whom he requireth, be not yeelded after 33. days expired (for ſo many juſt are uſually granted) then proclameth he war in this wiſe. *Hear O* Jupiter, *and thou* Juno, Quirinus *thou: ye celeſtial Saints all, and terreſtrial powers, ye infernal ſpirits alſo liſten and give ear. I call you all to witneſs, and proteſt before you, that this nation* (naming them whoſoever they be) *is unjuſt, and doth not according to right and equity. But of theſe matters will we conſult at home in our own country, with our elders, and ask their advice how we may come by our own.* Herewith returneth the meſſenger unto *Rome* for counſel, and preſently the King would in theſe or ſuch like words, ſitting in Councel with his Peers, move them in this maner. *Whereas the* Paterpatrat *or Herald, in the behalf of the people of* Rome, *and their* Quirites, *hath treated with the* Paterpatrat, *or Herald, in the name of the ancient* Latines, *and with the folk of the ancient* Latines, *concerning certain things, differences, ſutes, and cauſes thereupon depending; which things they have neither yeelded nor paid, nor performed and done; which ought to have been paid, yeelded, performed, and done; what is your judgment?* ſpeaking to him, whoſe opinion firſt he asketh in this caſe. *Then* (ſaith he) *My advice is, that thoſe things be ſought for, and recovered by mere force, by juſt and lawful war. This do I fully agree unto, this do I determine reſolutely.* After him were the other asked in courſe: and when the greater number of them who were preſent accord thereunto, then by general conſent, they were wont to proclame war in this order: That the Fecial or King at Arms ſhould go with a javelin, having an iron head, or with a red bloody ſpear burnt at the end, as far as to their borders or marches: and there in the preſence of three witneſſes at the leaſt, not under fourteen years of age, ſhould ſay thus: *Whereas the people of the old* Latines, *and the old* Latine *folk have practiſed and treſpaſſed againſt the people of* Rome *and the* Quirites, *and whereas the people of* Rome *and the* Quirites *have ſo determined, conſented, and agreed, that war ſhould be made with the ancient* Latines; *I therefore together with the people of* Rome, *do denounce and proclame and make war with the nations of the old* Latines, *and with the old* Latine *folk.* And when he had thus ſaid, he lanced his ſpear or javelin within the confines of the enemies. After this manner then, was reſtitution demanded of the Latines, and war denounced or proclamed: which order of proceeding, their poſterity by tradition received. I K L M

*Ancus* having committed the charge of divine ſervice and ſacrifice unto the Flamins, and the other Prieſts, levied a new Army, went forth into the field, and by force won *Politorium*, a City of the Latines. And following the uſual manner of the former Kings his progenitors, who had mightily encreaſed the Roman State, by admitting their enemies into the number of Citizens, tranſported the whole multitude from thence to *Rome*. And becauſe the ancient natural Romans inhabited *Palatium*, the Sabins about the Capitol and rock *Tarpeia*, and the Albans repleniſhed the mount *Cœlius*: therefore the hill *Aventine* was allowed this new company to dwell in. Unto whom not long after, there came freſh inhabitants to people it, upon the winning of *Tellene* and *Ficana*. But after this, the Romans were driven to recover by war *Politorium* again: for that whileſt it ſtood void and empty, the old Latines had ſurpriſed and taken it. Which was the cauſe, that the Romans deſtroyed that City quite, that it ſhould not be at all times a receptacle for the enemies. Laſt of all, when as now the Latines war was driven wholly and brought before *Medullia*, there for a good while was much ado, and doubtful iſſue of fight, and interchangeable victory: for that the Town was both well fortified with bulwarks, and furniſhed with a ſtrong garriſon of men: and alſo by reaſon that the army of the Latines being incamped in plain and open ground, had ſundry times with banners diſplayed, encountred hand to hand with the Romans. At the laſt *Ancus* bending his whole power againſt them, firſt gave them an overthrow in a ſet battel: and ſo having gained rich pillage, returned to *Rome*. At that time alſo were many thouſands of the Latines received into the City; Who to the end, that the *Aventine* and *Palatium* ſhould meet together, were appointed to ſeat themſelves about the Temple of * *Murtia*. The *Janiculum* likewiſe was adjoined unto the City, not for want of ground, but becauſe it might not be at any time a fortreſs and hold for the enemies: which was thought good to be united unto the City, not only with a wall, but alſo for more commodious paſſage to and fro, with a wooden bridge over *Tyber*. The *Quirites* foſs or ditch alſo, no ſmall defence againſt the eaſie acceſs from the plain grounds, was a work of *Ancus*. Thus the eſtate being N O

* Venus.

grown

A grown to exceeding ſtrength and bigneſs: when as now in ſo huge a multitude of people there was much confuſion, and no difference of well doing or ill, and thereby many miſchiefs and outrages began ſecretly to be committed: for to reſtrain therefore with ſome terror, ſuch boldneſs increaſing dayly more and more, there was a goal or common priſon built in the heart of the City, even over againſt the common place of aſſembly. And in this Kings days not only the circuit of the City was enlarged, but alſo their Lands and Territories. For by reaſon that the forreſt *Mœſia* was conquered from the Veientians, their Seignory reached to the Sea: where, in the very mouth of *Tyber* was the town *Heſtia* built, and the ſalt pits made there about, and upon ſuch noble exploits by arms atchieved, the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, was in more ample and glorious manner re-

B edified.

In the reign of *Ancus*, there came to dwell at *Rome* one *Lucumo*, a pregnant nimble headed man, and a wealthy, upon a deſire eſpecially and hope of advancement and honor, which at *Tarquinii* (where he was born, although deſcended of forraign parentage) he had no means to attain unto. The Son he was of *Demaratus* the Corinthian, who upon civil troubles and diſſentions having fled his country, and by chance planting himſelf in *Tarquinii*, there married a wife and had iſſue by her two ſons, named *Lucumo* and *Aruns*. *Lucumo* ſurvived his father, and became heir of all his goods. *Aruns* died before his father, leaving his wife behind him, conceived with child: neither lived the father *Demaratus* long after his ſon, who not knowing that his daughter-in-law and ſons wife was with child, made no mention at all of his Nephew in his Will, and ſo departed

C this world. Whereupon the child after his Grandſires deceaſe, being born to no part of his goods, for his poor condition, was called *Egerius*. But *Lucumo* on the other ſide, the ſole heir and inheritor of all, as he began by his wealth to be haughty enough, and to look aloft, ſo he grew much more proud for his matching in marriage with *Tanaquil*, a dame of a right noble houſe deſcended, and who could hardly bear a lower eſtate and degree then that wherein ſhe was born. When ſhe was once married, and ſaw the Tuſcans to diſdain *Lucumo*, for that his father was a ſtranger and baniſhed perſon, ſhe could not endure that indignity. But forgetting all kind of affection to her native country, ſo ſhe might ſee her husband raiſed to high promotion, ſhe reſolved and plotted to leave *Tarquinii* and depart. To which purpoſe and deſign, *Rome* ſeemed a place moſt fit and convenient of all others. For thus ſhe projected and diſcourſed: That in a City lately founded, where

D all kind of Nobility ſuddenly cometh up, and ariſeth from vertue and proweſs, her husband a valorous and induſtrious man muſt needs have place, and be entertained: that King *Tatius* a Sabin born, had raigned there: that *Numa* was from *Cures* ſent for thither, and called to the Crown: that *Ancus* alſo a Sabin by his mothers ſide, had the only image of *Numa* to ſhew for his Nobility. Thus ſhe ſoon perſwaded him, as being a man ambitious and deſirous of honor, and whoſe mother only was a Tarquinian born, and therefore he was to make leſs ſcruple of abandoning the place of his Nativity. Thereupon they removed with all they had to *Rome*. And it fortuned that to *Janiculum* they came. Where, as *Tarquinius* ſat with his wife in the chariot, behold an Eagle came gently flying down from aloft, and took up his bonnet from his head, and ſoaring over the chariot with a great noiſe, and clapping of her wings, as if ſhe had been ſent from Heaven to do

E this feat, ſet it gently and handſomly on his head again: which done, ſhe mounted on high, and flew away. *Tanaquil*, as they ſay, embraced this Augury with great joy, being a woman skilful, as commonly all the Tuſcans are, in ſuch prodigious ſights and apparitions from heaven; and therewith taking her husband about the neck, willed him to be of good cheer, and to hope for great matters and high preferments: ſaying, how that bird came from ſuch a quarter of the Heaven, addreſſed as a meſſenger from ſuch a god, and ſhewed a divine token and preſage upon the higheſt part of man, even the top of the Crown, and lifted up the ornament that ſtood upon his mortal head, to give it him again immortal, as from God above. In theſe hopes and cogitations which they entertained by the way, they entred the City: where they took an houſe, and from thence forth he was commonly called *L. Tarquinius*. Now within a while both his new coming, and his

F wealth withal, made him well known: and himſelf alſo beſides, ſet forward his good fortune by courteous and fair ſpeech and affable language to every man, by friendly inviting, and liberal feaſting, and by making what friends he could by gifts, favours, and good turns; ſo far forth, as the fame of him came into the Kings Court: where, by his willing ſervice and ſingular dexterity, in ſhort time he had not only acceſs to the Kings knowledge, but alſo entred into familiar acquaintance and friendſhip with his Highneſs. Inſomuch, that both in private Councels and publick conſultations, as well at home as abroad, he was always preſent, and bare a great ſtroak. And having in all kind of offices carried himſelf with credit, was in the end by the Kings laſt Will and Teſta-

ment made Tutor or Protector of his children: Thus raigned *Ancus* 24. years, for glory and repu- The end of *Ancus*.

G tation of his ſage government, as well in war as in peace, equal to any of the former Kings his predeceſſors.

Now were his ſons neer 14. years of age when he died. *Tarquinius* therefore made the more haſte, that the high Court of Parliament ſhould with all ſpeed poſſibly be ſummoned for creation of a King, which being againſt a day proclamed, he ſent away the boys to the chaſe a hunting, at the very inſtant of the ſaid election. He himſelf (as men ſay) was the firſt, that both ambitiouſly ſought for the Crown, and alſo for to win the hearts of the Commons, deviſed and framed an eloquent Oration. "Saying, it was no new and ſtrange thing that he ſtood for: And why? he was not

the

"the first (that any man should be offended, or make any wonder) but the third alien that in *Rome* H
"affected and aspired to the Kingdom: that both *Tatius*, not of a forraigner only, but of an ene-
"my became King: and *Numa* likewise, a man unacquainted with the City and matters of State,
"was without any sute or or seeking of his part, by the Romans sent for, & advanced to the crown.
"As for himself, he alledged and said, That from the time that he was at his own liberty and dispose
"of himself, he with his wife & all that he had removed and came to *Rome*: and of that age wherin
"men are employed in civil affairs, he had spent a greater part in *Rome*, then in his own ancient
"country. Moreover, that he was trained up both at home in the City and in war abroad, to the
"knowledg of the Roman laws, orders, and customs, and that under no mean person but an ex-
"cellent master, even King *Ancus* himself. And finally, for faithful service and diligent attendance I
"about the King, he had endeavoured to pass all others: and for liberality and courtesie towards
"all others, he had striven to go beyond the King. These and such like allegations, as he laid forth
and pleaded, and that right truly; the people of *Rome* with exceeding great consent elected him
their King. Who being a man otherwise of singular parts and of great worth, as he was ambitious
in seeking the kingdom, so continued he still, when he ware the crown: and minding no less to e-
stablish his own state and throne, than to maintain the good estate of the Common-weal, he advan-
ced one hundred more to the order of Senators, who afterwards were called *Minorum Gentium*
*Patres*, as a men would say, Senators of a later sort, and meaner quality. A faction, no doubt to take
part and side with the King by whose means they had been admitted into the Senate. The first war
he made, was with the Latins: from whom by force he won the town *Appiola*: from thence ha- K
ving brought away a greater pillage in proportion than the war imported in brute, he set forth ga-
mings and plays more stately and with greater furniture and provision than the other Kings before
his time. Then was the plot or compass of ground first set out & appointed for the lists or theater,
*Circus maximus. called now * *Circus maximus* wherein were assigned scaffolds for the Senators, and for the Gentle-
men or Knights severally by themselves, called *Fori*, where they might make them places to see the
pastimes at their ease and pleasure. And in this manner stood they to behold: namely, upon scaf-
folds born up twelve foot high from the ground with forked perches or props. The gamings were
running of horses, and fighting at fists and buffets: for performance whereof, there were champi-
ons sent for of purpose, especially out of *Tuscan*. These sports continued afterwards from year to
year in great solemnity, and named diversly, either the Roman games, or the great Games. This L
King moreover assigned certain places about the *Forum* or common place for private men to build
in: where the galleries and shops were made. He went in hand likewise to wall the City about with
a stone wall, but the Sabin war staid him in the beginning, that he went not forward with that
work. This came so suddenly upon him, that the enemies were passed over the river *Anio*, before
the power of the Romans could meet them, and make head against them. Whereupon great fear
there was at *Rome*. And at the first a cruel conflict there was, and much blood shed on both parts,
but no appearance of victory. But after the enemies were retired once into the camp, and that the
Romans had time to gather fresh forces, *Tarquinius* supposing his only want was in his cavalry,
determined to join unto the *Rhamnenses*, *Titienses*, and *Luceres*, which *Romulus* had ordained, other
Centuries or Cornets of horsemen, and them to leave unto the posterity after him, bearing his M
own name. Which because *Romulus* had done aforetime by the counsel and advise of Augurs, *Ac-
cius Navius* renowned and famous in those days for his skill that way, opposed himself and gave
out plainly, that there might be nothing changed or newly ordained in that behalf, unless the birds
first approved and allowed the same. Whereat the King was wroth, and in scorn and derision of his
art, as they say: Come on Sir Soothsayer (quoth he) areed, and tell me by the flight of your birds,
whether that may possibly be done, which I now conceive in my mind. To which demand *Navius*,
who had first made proof therof by his learning, answered resolutely, that it might in very deed be
effected. Why then (quoth he) I have imagined in my conceit, that thou shalt cut a whetstone a-
sunder with a rasor: Here take them to thee, and dispatch that which thy fowls foreshew may be
done: then as the report goeth, without more ado, he cut the whetstone quite in two. And in that N
very place where this feat was done, the Statue or Image of *Accius* was erected, with his head co-
vered, even in the *Comitium*, at the stairs therof on the left hand of the *Curia* or Council house. It is
reported that the whetstone also was set up in the same place, for a memorial to all posterity fol-
lowing, of that miracle. Certainly, both Auguries, and the Priesthood and Colledg of Augurs from
that time forward was so highly honored, and had in such reverence, that never after was there
ought done, either in war abroad, or in peace at home, but by their counsel and advise. Assemblies
of people summoned were dismissed, armies levied and ready to take the field were discharged,
yea, and the greatest affairs of State, were given over and laid aside, when the birds allowed not
thereof. Neither did *Tarquin* for that time alter the Centuries of the horsemen any whit, only he
redoubled the number, so that in three Centuries or Cornets there were 1300. horse: and those O
later sort who were added to the others, bare the names of the former, which at this day, because
they be double, are called the six Centuries. *Tarquin* thus having encreased that part of his power,
bade the Sabins battel the second time. And over and besides, that the Romans army was in
strength well amended. he devised also privily a subtile stratagem, and set certain men to set on fire
a mighty stack of wood, lying upon the bank of *Anio*, and so to cast it into the river: the wood
burning still by the help of the wind, and most of it being driven against the piles of the bridge,

and

A and there ſticking cloſe together with the boats and planks, fired and conſumed it clean. This accident both terrified the Sabins in their fight, and when they were diſcomfited, troubled them much, and hindred their flight: ſo that many a man having eſcaped the enemy, yet periſhed in the very river. Whoſe armor and weapons floating down the *Tyber*, were known at *Rome*, and brought news thither of this victory, in manner before word could be brought thereof by land. In this conflict the horſemen won greateſt price and praiſe. For being placed at the skirts of both the wings, at what time as the main battel of their own footmen, were now at the point to retire, they charged ſo forcibly upon the enemy (as it is reported) from the flanks where they were marſhalled, that they not only ſtayed the Sabin Legions preſſing hard and fiercely upon thoſe that be-
B gan to ſhrink and give back, but all at once put them to fight. The Sabins ran amain towards the mountains, but few gat thither: for the greater number, as we ſaid before, were by the horſemen driven into the river. *Tarquinius* thinking it good to take the time, and follow hard upon them whiles they were frighted, after he had ſent to *Rome*, the booty with the priſoners, and burned on a great heap together (as he had vowed to *Vulcan*) the ſpoils of the enemies, marched on ſtill forward, and led his army into the Territory of the Sabins: who albeit they had already ſuſtained an overthrow, and could not hope for better ſucceſs, yet becauſe they had no time to conſult and adviſe with themſelves, with ſuch a power as might on a ſudden in that ſtir be raiſed, met with him. Where they once again were defeated and vanquiſhed, and in the end being in deſpair to make their part good, they ſued for peace. Then was *Collatia*, and all the lands about it taken from the
C Sabins, *Egerius* the Kings brothers ſon, was left with a garriſon at *Collatia* to keep that place. And (as I find upon record) the Collatins were yeelded into his hands, and the manner of their ſurrender went in this order. Firſt, the King demanded thus and ſaid: Are ye Embaſſadors, or deputed aſſigns ſent from the people of *Collatia* to make ſurrender both of your ſelves and the Collatines? We are (quoth they.) And are the people of *Collatia* in their own power, and at liberty to do what they will? They are (ſay they.) Do ye alſo render up your ſelves, the people of *Collatia* their town, their territory and lands, their waters, their limits, their temples, their houſhold ſtuff and implements, and all thing elſe, as well ſacred as prophane, unto my power and the peoples of *Rome*, We do yeeld (ſay they.) Then (quoth he) do I accept thereof, and receive all into my hands. The Sabin war thus finiſhed, *Tarquinius* returned to *Rome* in triumph. After this, he warred
D upon the old Latines, but they never proceeded ſo far on any ſide, as to join iſſue in a general battel, and one ſet field for all. But bringing his power firſt to one town, and after to another, he made a conqueſt of the whole nation of the Latins. So as theſe towns, *Corniculum*, old *Ficulnea*, *Cameria*, *Cruſtumerium*, *Ameriola*, *Medullia*, *Nomentum*, were recovered from the old Latines, or from thoſe that had revolted unto them.

The form of ſurrendring a City.

After all this enſued peace. Then was he more earneſtly bent to go forward with his works, begun in time of peace, then he was before buſied in managing of his wars: inſomuch, as he gave the people no more repoſe at home, then he had in wars abroad. For beſides that he prepared to compaſs the City (which as yet he had not fortified) round about with a ſtone wall, the beginning of which piece of work was by the Sabin war interrupted and broken off: he deviſed alſo certain
E draughts or vaulted ſinks from aloft into the *Tyber*, whereby he drained and kept dry the baſe City, or loweſt grounds about the market place, and the other vallies between hill and hill, for that out of the plains and flats, they might not eaſily make riddance and conveyance away of the water. Moreover, he levelled a large court or plot of ground, ready for the foundation of the Temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitol, which he had vowed in the Sabin war, his mind even then giving him, that one day it ſhould be a ſtately place.

At the ſame time there hapned in the court a wonderful ſtrange thing, both in preſent view, and alſo in conſequence. For as the report went, a young lad, whoſe name was *Servius Tullius*, as he lay aſleep, in the ſight of many perſons had his head all on a light fire. And upon an outcry raiſed at the wondering of ſo great a matter, the King aroſe: and when one of the houſhold brought wa-
F ter to quench the flame, he was by the Queen ſtayed. And after the ſtir was ſomewhat appeaſed, ſhe forbade the boy to be diſquieted, until ſuch time as he awoke of himſelf: and within a while as the ſleep departed, the blaze likewiſe went out, and vaniſhed away. Then *Tanaquil* the Queen taking her husband aſide into a ſecret room. "See you this boy (quoth ſhe) whom we ſo homely "keep, and in ſo poor and mean eſtate bring up? Wot well this, and know for certain, that he will "one day be a light to direct us in our dangerous troubles and doubtful affairs: he will be the chief "pillar and ſuccour of the afflicted ſtate of the Kings houſe. Let us therfore cheriſh and foſter with "all kindneſs and indulgence the ſubject matter of ſo great a publick and private ornament. Wher-
upon they began to make much of the boy, as if he had been one of their own children, and to inſtruct and train him up in thoſe arts, whereby forward wits are ſtirred to great enterpriſes, and to
G atchieve high place of wealth and honor. And ſoon came to that paſs, which pleaſed the almighty gods. For he proved a young man indeed of princely nature and towardneſs: in ſuch ſort that when there ſhould be a ſon in law ſought out to match with *Tarquinius* his daughter in marriage, there was not one of all the young gentlemen of *Rome* to be found comparable to him in any reſpect. So as the King affianced his daughter unto him. This ſo great honor whereunto he was advanced, upon whatſoere cauſe or occaſion it was, induceth me to think he was not the ſon of a bondwoman, nor that he ſerved whilſt he was a little one, as a ſlave. I am of their mind rather, that report thus:

*Tanaquil* the Queen unto king *Tarquinius*.

When

When *Corniculum* was won, the wife of *Servius Tullius*, a great Lord and principal personage of H
that City, and there slain, was left great with child: and being among other captives known whose
wife she was, in regard of her rare nobility only, was by the Queen preserved from servitude, and
at *Rome* in *Priscus Tarquinius* his house, was delivered of a child: upon which so special favor, there
grew more familiar acquaintance between the two Ladies, the Queen and her self; and the child
also brought up of a little one there in Court, was both tenderly beloved, and also highly regarded.
But his mothers fortune, whose hap was after her country was lost, to fall into the hands of ene-
mies, caused men commonly to think that he was the son of a bond-slave. Now in the 38th. year
almost, after that *Tarquinius* began his reign, was this *Servius Tullius* in right great estimation and
credit, not only with the King, but also with the nobility and commons. Then the 2. sons of *An-* I
*cus*, who as they always before disdained in the highest degree, that they were by the deceitful
practise of their guardian, so unworthily put by the inheritance of their fathers Kingdom, and that
a stranger raigned at *Rome*, one who was not descended of any neighbor house thereby, no nor so
much as of Italian blood: so now they began much more to take stomach and indignation, in case
that after *Tarquinius*, the Kingdom should not return unto them and their line, but should still run
on end, and headlong wise fall unto such base varlets: That in the same City, 100. years almost
after that *Romulus* the son of a god, and a god himself, raigned therein, (during the time he remai-
ned here upon the earth) a very bond-slave and no better, and one born of a bond-woman, should
be possessed of the Crown: and that it would be a foul stain and dishonor generally to the name of
the Romans, but most especially to their house & family, if whilst the issue Male of *Ancus* lived, the K
Kingdom of *Rome* should lie open, and be expoted, not to strangers alone, but which is more, to
very bond-men and slaves. This ignominy therefore, and open wrong, they resolve by meer force
to put by and avoid: howbeit, the grievance of this injury done unto them, set them on against
*Tarquinius* himself, rather then *Servius Tullius*; both for that the King if he lived still, would be a
more sharp revenger of the murder, then a private person: and also if they should happen to kill
*Servius*, whomsoever besides, the King would vouchsafe for his son in law, him was he like to
make heir apparent, and inheritor also of the Kingdom. For these considerations they lay wait for
to murder the King himself in this manner: There were for the purpose to do this feat, two pas-
sing stout and sturdy herdmen chosen, who having such rustical iron tools about them, as they were
wont both of them to occupy, and made a great shew of a most tumultuous brawl and fray in the L
very porch of the Court gate: by which means, they drew all the Kings officers, sergeants, and guard
about them: then as they called with a loud voice, both the one and the other upon the King, in
such wise, as the noise was heard within the palace, they were convented before his Highness. At
their first coming they cried out both at once, and interrupted one another in all outragious man-
ner, so as by a sergeant they were fain to be restrained and commanded to speak by turns, until at
length they gave over their confused brawlings. Then one of them on set purpose, as it was before
*L. Tarquinius* the King killed. agreed upon, began his tale: and while the King as wholly bent to give ear turned aside towards
him, the other lift his Ax aloft, and struck the King on the head, and leaving it sticking there still
in the wound, they whipt out both of them together, and ran their ways. And whilst they that
stood next about *Tarquinius*, took him up ready to die, the sergeants made after them that were M
fled, and apprehended them. Whereupon an outcry arose & a great concourse of people, wondring
what the matter might be. *Tanaquil* in this hurliburly caused the Court gates to be shut, and com-
manded every one to avoid the place: and at one instant with great diligence provideth things re-
quisite to cure the wound, as if there were some hope of life: and withal, if that should fail, she
prepareth other means and remedies against the worst that might happen. Sending therefore in all
speed for *Servius*, when she had shewed him her husband half dead, and already bloodless: she took
him by the right hand, and besought him not to suffer, either the death of his father-in-law unre-
*Tanaquil* to *Servius*. venged, or his wives mother, to be a laughing stock unto the enemies. Thine is the kingdom O *Ser-*
"*vius* by right (quoth she) if thou be a man: and not theirs, who by the hands of others have com-
"mitted a most shameful & villainous fact. Take a good heart therfore, and arm thy self, and follow N
"the guidance and direction of the gods, who long since by a divine and heavenly flame burning
"about thy head, foreshewed that one day it should be highly advanced. Now let that heavenly
"blaze raise thee up: now awake in every deed: what man! we also being strangers have born the
"Scepter: consider with thy self who thou art now, and not from whence thou art descended. And
"if in so sudden an occurrence, thine own wits be astonied, and to seek, then follow my rule, and be
"advised by my counsel. In this while the noise and violence of the people was so great, that it
"could not well be suffered. Then *Tanaquil* from the upper loft of the house, out at a window that
opened into the new street (for the King kept his Court hard by the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*)
*Tanaquil* to the people. spake unto the people willing them to be of good cheer. "The King indeed (quoth she) was ama-
"sed and swooned at the sudden stroak, howbeit it went nothing deep: for now is he come again O
"to himself, his wound cleansed from blood, and searched: all signs of life, and no danger of death:
"and I trust in God within a whil you shall see himself again. In the mean time his pleasure is, that
"the people shall be obeysant to *Servius Tullius*; he shall minister justice and give laws, he shall
"execute and perform all the offices of the King. Then came *Servius* abroad in his royal robe,
"called *Trabea*, attended with the Lictors: and sitting in the Kings throne some causes he dispatch-
"eth himself, of others some he maketh as though he would consult and confer with the King.

Thus

A Thus for certain daies, the King being dead, and his death concealed, he, under colour of executing the function of another, gathered ſtrength to himſelf. But when at the laſt it was openly known by the wailing and lamentation which aroſe in the Palace, that the King was departed, *Servius* accompanied with a ſtrong guard, ſhewed himſelf and was the firſt, that without the election of the people only by the will and conſent of the nobles, took the Kingdom upon him. *Servius Tullius* taketh the Crown upon him.

The ſons of *Ancus* at the firſt, ſeeing the murderers attached, and hearing that the King was alive, and *Servius* ſo mighty, retired themſelves as baniſhed perſons to *Sueſſa Pometia*. And *Servius* now ſought means to make himſelf ſtrong, as well by private helps, as by publike. And leſt peradventure the children of *Tarquinius* ſhould another day be as ill affected againſt him, as the chil-
B dren of *Ancus* were againſt *Tarquinius*, he gave in marriage his two daughters to *Lucius* and *Aruns*, two of the Kings ſons late deceaſed. Yet could not he with all the policy of mans wit ſtay the fatall neceſſity, nor ſtop and divert the courſe of the deſtinies; but that the envy that followeth a Kingdom bred all diſtruſt, diſloyalty, and malice, even among thoſe of his own houſhold, for all their alliance and affinity. Howbeit, in very good time, and fitly for the quietneſs of the preſent ſtate, was the war with the *Veientes* (for now was the term of the truce expired) and other Tuſcans, taken in hand. In which war, both the valour, and alſo the good fortune of *Tullius* was well ſeen and greatly renowned. Who having diſcomfited a mighty hoſt of the enemies, as undoubted King in the conceit and judgment as well of the Senators as of the Commons, if their hearts had been ſounded, returned to *Rome*.

C Then in hand went he with a work of peace, and of all other the greateſt, and of moſt importance. To the end, that as *Numa* was the firſt author of divine Law and Religion: ſo the poſterity for ever after might report and record, that *Servius* was the founder of all diſtinction and order; whereby between degrees of worſhip and wealth, there might be ſeen due difference, and regard of worth. For he deviſed and ordained the Cenſe, to wit, the Aſſeſſing, and Taxation of the Citizens: a thing moſt profitable to that ſtate and government, which was like in time to come to grow ſo mighty. By which Cenſe, the charges and contributions, either in war or peace, was not levied by the poll upon the Citizens, as aforetime, but according to the valuation of their wealth and ability. So he erected certain *Claſſes* and Centuries, and appointed their degrees, according to the aſſeſſing, and valuation, meet in decent manner to ſerve in war, and meet to be employed in
D peace. And firſt of thoſe who were rated at an * hundred thouſand *Aſſes* and above, he ordained 80 Centuries; 40 of the elder ſort, and as many of the younger: and all joyntly were counted the firſt Claſſis. The elder were charged to be in readineſs at all hours, for defence of the City: the younger to follow the wars abroad. Theſe were bound to find harneſs, for defence of their own bodies, an headpiece or morion, a ſhield, greeves, and corſelet, all of braſs: and for offence of the enemy, a javelin, and a ſword. To this Claſſis were adjoyned two Centuries of Carpenters and Smiths, or Enginers, who were in wage, and ſerved without armour: and their charge was to find the Campe Engines of battery and artillery. The ſecond conſiſted of thoſe that were valued between 100000 and * 75000 Aſſes. And of this ſort both young and old were enrolled twenty Centuries: who were enjoyned to provide for their armour, a target or buckler inſtead of a
E ſhield; and excepting only a corſelet, in all points as the former. The third he would have to be of thoſe that were eſteemed worth * 50000 Aſſes, and as many Centuries of them, and with the ſame diſtinction of age. Neither concerning their armour was any thing altered: only for their greeves they were diſpenſed with. In the fourth Claſſis were thoſe that were aſſeſſed in the Subſidy book, between 50000 and * 25000 Aſſes, and of them were ſo many Centuries. Their armour was changed, having no more but a ſpear and a caſting dart, with a loop called *Verutum*. The fifth was greater, containing thirty Centuries. Theſe carried with them ſlings and ſtones to fling afar off: among whom were reckoned the beadles or criers, together with the trumpeters and cornettiers, who were divided into three Centuries. This band ſtood of them that were aſſeſſed from 25000 unto * 11000 Aſſes. The valuation under this compriſed all the reſt of the multi-
F tude. Whereof aroſe one Century, freed and exempted from warfare. Thus having furniſhed and diſpoſed the forces of the Infantry, he enrolled beſides twelve Centuries of horſemen, and thoſe out of the principall men of the City: and ſix other Centuries likewiſe, to thoſe three that *Romulus* inſtituted, retaining the ſame name ſtill that they in their firſt ſolemn inſtitution had. Theſe horſemen for to buy their great horſes had * 10000 Aſſes out of the chamber of the City a peece: and for to find and keep thoſe horſes were the rich widdows ſet yearly at * 2000 Aſſes a peece. Thus were all theſe charges and burdens ſhifted from off the poor mens ſhoulders, and laid upon the rich. And therefore afterward was their dignity and honour ſo much the more. For in the grand-leets and ſolemn elections of Magiſtrates, every man had not prerogative alike, nor equall authority, as *Romulus* firſt ordained, and the other Kings continued, when they gave their
G voices by the poll indifferently, one with another: but there was diſtinction made, and certain degrees; but ſo, as neither any one was excluded or ſhut out, and yet the whole reſted and lay in the power of the richer ſort, and chief of the City. For firſt the horſemen were called: afterward, the eighty Centuries belonging to the firſt Claſſis, of the principall footmen: who if they diſagreed, and hapned to be at any difference, then the Centuries of the ſecond Claſſis were cited. And never went they likely ſo low as to the laſt of all. Neither ought any man to marvell, that this order in theſe daies, after five and thirty tribes compleat, agreeth not with the Centuries of the

The Levy or taxation of the people firſt inſtituted.

As, or Aſſis, a piece of braſs coin, ob. q. Engliſh.

* 312 lib. 10 ſh. ſterling.

* 234 lib. 7 ſh. 6 d. ſterl.

* 156 lib. 5 ſh. ſterl.

* 78 lib. 2 ſh. 6 d.

* 34 lib. 7 ſh. 6 d. ſterl.

* 3 lib. 5 ſh.

* 6 lib. 5 ſh.

elder and yonger ſort, according to the computation ſet down by *Servius Tullius*, conſidering their number is now doubled. For having divided the City into four Wards, according to the quarters and hils; thoſe parts which were inhabited he called Tribes, of the word Tribute (as I ſuppoſe.) For he it was that deviſed and brought up the manner of equall contribution and paiment, proportionably to the aſſeſsment and rate of mens goods. Neither were theſe Tribes any waies at all reſpective to the diviſion or number of the Centuries aforeſaid. When this Levy and taxation was finiſhed, which he diſpatched the ſooner, by reaſon of the peoples fear of an act by him made, concerning thoſe that ſhould not come in to be regiſtred and enrolled in the Subſidy book; he publiſhed an Edict, under pain of impriſonment and death, that all Citizens of *Rome*, as well horſemen as footmen, ſhould the morrow after at the break of day, every one in his own Century, ſhew himſelf in *Campus Martius*, *i.e.* in *Mars* field. There, after he had muſtered and embattelled the whole Army, he aſſoiled and purged the ſame with the ſacrifice of a Swine, a Sheep, and a Bull. And this was called *Conditum Luſtrum*. Which was the very cloſing up and accompliſhment of the aſſeſſement. In this *Luſtrum* there were numbred and aſſeſſed 80000 Citizens. *Fabius Pictor*, a moſt ancient writer ſaith moreover, that ſo many there were of able men to bear arms. For to contain this multitude, it was thought good the City ſhould be enlarged. Whereupon he adjoyneth unto it two hils more, to wit, *Quirinalis*, and *Viminalis*. After this, he proceeded to augment the mount *Eſquilie*: and to grace that hill, and make it of more reputation, there he dwelt himſelf, and had his Court. He caſt a trench and ditch, and raiſed a rampire about the City, and then walled it: by occaſion whereof, he ſet out the Pomœry further. *Pomœrium*, according to the Etymology and literall ſignification of the word, is as much to ſay, as *Poſtmœrium*, or the *Arriermure*, that is, a plot of ground behind, or without the wall. But indeed it is rather a ſpace about the wall on either ſide, which the Tuſcans in old time, when they built their Cities, uſed by advice of Augurs, to hallow and conſecrate in certain bounds and limits, all along where they minded to ſet the wall: that neither within, the houſes might joyn upon the wall (whereas now adaies they build cloſe to) and without alſo there might be a void piece of ground, lying common, free, and unoccupied of men. This vacant ſpace, that neither might lawfully be inhabited, nor yet eared and plowed, as well becauſe it was without the wall, as the wall without it, the Romans called *Pomœrium*. And ever as the circuit of the City was made larger, look how much the walls ſhould be ſet out further ſo far thoſe hallowed and conſecrated bounds of the Pomœry were extended.

Pomœry what it is.

Thus the City being much increaſed in compaſs of building, and all things diſpoſed in good order, requiſite as well for war as peace; to the end, that he ſhould not alwaies ſeek to purchaſe wealth and puiſſance by war and martiall proweſs only, he attempted to amplifie his dominion by policy, and withall to beſtow upon the City ſome glorious ornament to beautifie the ſame. And even at that time was the Temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, of great fame, and much renowned: which as the report went, was built in common by all the ſtates and princes of *Aſia*. When as therefore *Servius* would uſe highly to praiſe and commend unto the Lords and heads of the Latines (with whom of purpoſe he had both in publike and private, mutual entertainment and familiar acquaintance) that generall agreement of the Princes of *Aſia*, in matters of religion, and in the uniform worſhip of the ſame gods: at length, by much iterating and following ſtill that theam, he prevailed with them ſo far, that the nations of the Latines, and the people of *Rome* together, built at *Rome* a Temple unto *Diana*: which was a plain confeſſion, and clear caſe, that *Rome* was now the imperiall ſeat, for which they had ſo often warred. This quarrell, albeit now the Latines all in a manner had neglected quite, and made no care at all thereof, ſeeing they had ſo often attempted it by force of arms, and ſped ſo badly: yet fortune ſeemed to one only man to caſt a favourable aſpect, and yeeld good hope, by his private policy and induſtry, to recover again the imperiall dignity unto the Latines. A certain houſholder forſooth, of the Sabins, had, as they ſay, a cow bred with him of a wonderfull bigneſs, and faire withall, (for a memoriall of which ſo rare and wonderfull beaſt the horns were ſet up, and remained faſt fixed in the porch of *Dianas* Temple, many a hundred years after:) this was ſuppoſed (as it was no leſſe in very deed) a ſtrange and prodigious thing: and the wiſe men or wizards propheſied, that the ſoveraignty and Empire ſhould be ſetled and eſtabliſhed in that State, whereof any one Citizen ſacrificed that cow unto *Diana*. This propheſie came to the ears of the Prieſt of *Dianas* Temple. The Sabin aboveſaid, ſo ſoon as he had eſpied a meet and convenient day for ſacrifice, drives the cow to *Rome*, and leads her to the Temple of *Diana*, and there preſented her before the Altar: where the Roman Prieſt wondring to ſee ſo huge a beaſt, whereof there had been ſo much ſpeech, and calling to mind withall the foreſaid Oracle, ſpake to the Sabin in this wiſe, My friend (quoth he) what mean you to ſacrifice ſo uncleanly unto *Diana*, and do not rather purifie and waſh your ſelf all over in ſome running ſtream, before you come hither? Lo where *Tyber* runneth in the valley beneath. The ſtranger then, moved with ſome ſcruple of conſcience, who deſired nothing more, than that all ſhould be well and orderly done, that an happy ſucceſs might be correſpondent and anſwerable to ſo prodigious a beaſt, forthwith went down to the *Tyber*. In the mean while, the Roman killed the Cow in honor of *Diana*. This thing pleaſed the King and the whole City wonderfull well.

*Servius*, albeit he were now without all queſtion by ſo long continuance, fully and really inveſted in the Kingdom; yet becauſe he heard ſay, that young *Tarquinius* otherwhile gave out ſpeeches of him, that he raigned without the nomination and election of the people: therefore after he had

first

A first wan the hearts of the Commons, by dividing among them every one certaine lands gotten by conquest from the enemies, he adventured to propound unto the people, and put it to their suffrages and voices, Whether their will and pleasure was, that he should raign over them. Thus was he declared King with as great consent, as never any before with the like. But *Tarquinius* for all this, had nevertheless hope to aspire and attain unto the Crown: nay, rather so much the more, because he understood the said division of the lands among the Commons, was a thing concluded and passed against the will and mind of the Senators. Taking therefore occasion thereby to accuse and blame *Servius* before them, he supposed he had good means offered to wind himself into favor with the Lords of the Senate, and so to become strong in the Council-house. Over and besides, he was
B both himself a young man of great courage and hot stomack, and his wife likewise at home, dame *Tullia*, lay ever upon him, and pricked forward his distempered and troubled mind: for you must think, that the royall Court of *Rome* also hath brought forth and afforded one example of a tragicall and horrible act: that by a wearinesse and loathing conceived against the Kings government, liberty and freedom might the sooner ensue: and that raign be the last, which was by mischief gotten first. This *L. Tarquinius*, whether he were the son or nephew of *Priscus Tarquinius*, it is not very clear, howbeit, I would rather think with most writers, that he was his son. A brother he had, *Aruns Tarquinius*, a young gentleman of a mild nature. These two (as is aforesaid) had married the two *Tulliæ*, the Kings daughters, and they also themselves were in conditions far unlike. And happily it so fell out that two froward and violent natures were not coupled together in wedlock: such
C was the good fortune, I beleeve, of the Roman people, that thereby the raign of *Servius* might continue the longer, and the City brought and setled in good order. The younger *Tullia*, a stout dame and a proud, grieved and vexed much that her husband had nothing in him, no metall or matter at all either to covet and desire, or to enterprise and adventure: her mind was fully set upon the other *Tarquin*, him she esteemed highly, and had in admiration, him she said to be a man indeed, and descended of royall bloud. As for her sister, she despised and checked her, for that she having a forward and valorous Knight to her husband, sat still, and seconded him not in audacity and boldnes, as a woman should do. Well, in short time likenes and disposition soon brought them together, and as it is commonly seen, Naught will to naught, and sort best together. But the mischief and trouble that brought all up-side down, arose from the woman. For she using to have secret
D conference with her sisters husband, never ceased to speak badly, and to rail of her own husband unto his brother, and of her sister unto her husband. "Affirming in good earnest, it were better "both for her self to be a widow, and for him to live single, and without a wife, than so to be mis- "matched as they were, and through the craven cowardise of others to languish and come to no- "thing. As for her self, if the gods had given her an husband according to her own quality and "worthines, she doubted not to see, and that very shortly, the Crown in her own house, that now "she seeth in her fathers. In this manner possesseth she quickly the humorous young man, and filled his head with her own rashnes and follies. Now when *Aruns Tarquinius*, and the elder *Tullia*, who died just in a manner both at one time, had well rid their own houses, and made way and overture for a new marriage, it was not long but they were married, with *Servius* his leave and con-
E nivency, rather than his good liking. But then every day more than other began *Tullius* to be a continuall mote in their eies, his old age hatefull, and his raign more odious: for now the woman minded nothing but one mischief upon another: and would not suffer her husband to be at rest night nor day, lest peradventure the former murders done and past, should serve to no purpose, and miss the effect of their designments. And thus she brake out and said, That she wanted not before one that carried the name of an husband, with whom she served, and kept her self quiet and said nothing. "But she had a want of one, that thought himself worthy of a kingdom, that remem- "bred he was the son of *Tarquinius Priscus*, that loved better to be seised of a Crown and scepter "indeed, than hope for a kingdom, and hear thereof. But sir (quoth she) if you be the man to whom "I take my self wedded, then I call you both husband and king: if not, then is our case changed for
F "the worse, in that cowardlines is accompanied now with wickednes. Why resolve you not? "why arm you not your self, and go about this business? you need not go so far as to *Corinth* or "*Tarquinii*, for to seek and compass forrain kingdoms, as your father did. The gods of your own "house and native country, the image and example of your father, the Kings Palace, and therein "the royall seat and throne of estate, yea, the very name of *Tarquin*, create th, name th, and saluteth "you King. But an if your heart will not serve you to these designs, why bear you the world in hand "and deceive them? why take you so upon you as you do, to shew your self as a kings son? Get "you hence to *Corinth* again, away to *Tarquinii*, turn backward to your former stock and condi- "tion, more like to your brother than to your father. With these and such like motives, by way of reproof she checked the young man, set him on and pricked him forwards, and she her self for her
G part could be at no repose, for thinking that *Tanaquil*, an alien and stranger born, could contrive in her head, and effect so great a matter, as to make two kings together one after other, namely, her husband first, and afterwards her son in law: and she her own self, a Kings daughter, could bear no stroke either in giving or taking away a kingdom. *Tarquinius* kindled with these furies and temptations of a woman, went about, laboured and made court to the Nobles, especially those that were *Minorum gentium*: oftentimes putting them in mind of the pleasures and favours that his father had done them, and requiring now of duty the like good turn at their hands. The young men the

*Tullia* to her husband.

flower and manhood in generall of the City, he wrought and won to himself with gifts: and so H
partly with great promises, what wonders would he do, and partly with raising slanders upon the
King in all places, and charging upon him odious crimes, he grew very great and mighty. At the
last, espying a convenient time to set on foot, and put in execution his intended projects, with a
strong guard of armed men, he entred forcibly into the Forum or common place of assembly,
whereat the people all surprized with great feare, he sat him down upon the Kings throne, even at
the entrance of the *Curia* or Senate house, and there, by the voice of the crier summoned the Sena-
tors to counsell before King *Tarquinius*. Who forthwith there assembled together: Some, thereto
made and prepared aforehand: others, for fear lest their not coming might turn them to displeasure.
And as they were astonied at this strange and wonderful sight, so they thought *Servius* utterly un- I
*L. Tarquinius his speech to the Senators.* done, and his case desperate. There *Tarquinius* began an invective inspightful & reproachful terms,
touching the first pedigree or parentage of *Servius*: "saying, that he being a slave, & born of a bond-
"woman, after the cruel and shamefull death of his father *Tarquin*, usurped the Kingdom: not by
"means of an Interregn, as the order was aforetime, nor by a solemn assembly, and the free voices
"of the people, nor yet by the assent of the nobles, but only through the wile and fraud of one wo-
"man. And as he was (quoth he) thus born and thus created King, so hath he been a partial favorer
"ever of the basest sort, even such as himself; and in hatred of the noble birth of others hath divi-
"ded amongst the vilest persons, lands taken from the chief men of the City; and all such burdens
"and charges, as had been in times past common to all, he hath cast upon great personages of quali-
"ty and worth, and set up an assessing or taxing, that the state of the wealthier persons being made K
"known and exposed to envy, he might bring them into disgrace with the people, and bestow their
"goods upon the poorest and neediest at his pleasure. Amidst this Oration of his came *Servius* in
place, advertised of the matter by a fearful messenger in all haste. And presently began to cry out
with a loud voice at the very porch or entry of the *Curia*: "What is here ado, (quoth he) and what
"meaneth this O *Tarquin*? how darest thou during my life, assemble the Senators or sit on my seat?
"Whereunto he stoutly made a proud answer, that he did but keep his fathers throne, and being
"as he was, a Kings son, he deemed himself more worthy to be inheritor of the Kingdom than a
"bondslave: and as for him, he had been suffered long enough to play with his good Masters, and
"to insult over his betters. With this arose a great clamour from the partakers and complices of
both sides: the people they ran from all parts to the Councill-house, and like it was, that the stron- L
ger should be King. Then *Tarquinius* being put to his shifts, and forced to try the utmost, seeing no
other remedy, took *Servius* by the middle, as being himself much yonger and stronger far, carried
him out of the Council-house, and threw him down from the stairs head to the foot, and so retur-
ned again into the Senate-house, to get the Senators together. The Kings Officers with the guard
attending upon him, fled. Himself well near dead, with certain of his courtiers and train, breathless
also for fear, made speed, and retired towards his Pallace, as far as to the top of *Cyprius* street, where
*Servius Tullius killed.* he was overtaken by them that were sent by *Tarquinius*, and so slain outright. And it is verily
thought, that this was done by the suggestion and procurement of *Tullia*; so little disagreeth it
from other wicked pranks of hers. But this one thing is known for certainty, that she came riding
in her coach into the common place of assembly, and nothing dismaied or abashed at the presence M
of so many men there met together, called forth her husband out of the Senate-house, and was the
first that stiled him with the title of King. By whom she being willed to depart away out of that
throng and uprore as she returned homward as far at the pitch of *Cyprius* street, where was of late
a place consecrated unto *Diana*, called *Dianium*, the coachman that had the guiding and driving of
the steeds as he turned the chariot on the right hand up to the cliff *Virbius*, for to pass up to the hill
*Esquilia*, suddenly staid for fear, and reined in his horses, and shewed unto his Lady and Mistris *Ser-
vius* lying there murdered. And hereof followed (as the report goeth) a beastly part, and beyond
all sense of humanity, which the very place doth witness still at this day, called thereupon *Scelera-
tus Vicus*, *i.e.* the wicked street: wherein the raging and frantick woman *Tullia*, hurried with the
furies and haunted with the ghosts of her sister and husband, caused (men say) her chariot to be N
driven over her fathers dead corps; and being her self besprinkled and beraied with the bloudy
chariot, carried home with her some part of it in token and witness, that her hand was in this par-
ricide and murder of her own father: to the end, that she might provoke her own domesticall
gods and her husbands to wrath and displeasure: and so consequently, as they entred their raign
with mischief and wickedness, they might soon after be turned out thereof with shame and infa-
my. *Servius Tullius* raigned four and fourty years, in such wise carrying himself, as it were hard, e-
ven for a good and staid Prince that should succeed him, to follow his steps. This made moreover
for his glory and fame, that together with him died all right and lawfull government of Roman
Kings. And even that regiment of his, so mild, so gracious, and temperate as it was: yet because it
rested in the absolute power of one man, he was minded, as some do write, to have forgone and O
given over had not this wicked intestine practise from his own family come between, to prevent
and cut off his good designs and intent to set his country free.

After him began to raign *Tarquinius*, for his insolent acts surnamed *Superbus*, *i.e.* the proud.
For he would not suffer his wives father (unkind son in law he) to be interred: saying oftentimes
in jibing manner, that *Romulus* also died and was never buried. Moreover, the principall heads
of his Peers and Nobles, such (as he thought) had favoured *Servius* his proceedings, and took

part

A part with him, those he made away and slew. Afterwards, fearing upon the guilt of his own conscience, that he had given an ill precedent for others, to take vantage against himself, attaining to the Crown so lewdly; he retained therefore a guard of armed men about his body: and in very truth, setting only might aside, no other right had he to wear the diadem, as who raigned neither by peoples election nor Senators approbation. Over and besides all this, to the end he might sit safely in his seat by servile fear and dread, who reposed no trust nor hope in the love of his subjects; therefore to strike the greater terror into them, and hold them in awe, he by himself alone without assistance of any counsell, sate upon all matters of life and death: by means whereof he was able to kill, banish, and condemn in forfeiture of lands and goods, not those only whom he suspected and hated,
B but also them, from whom he could look for nothing else but spoil. Thus when he had decaied the number of the nobles especially, he purposed to chuse no new in their place, for to make supply: to the end, that the fewer they were, the more contemptible the whole order might grow: and with less discontent put up the indignity, that they were not employed in the State, nor ought done by their advice. For this King was the first that abolished the custome received and continued by all others afore him, of consulting with the Senate in all matters, & managing nothing without them. He governed the Commonweale by himself, and after his own waies: with whom it pleased him he made war and peace, league and society, even of his own head: & would break the same as himself thought good: thus he did, and undid all at his pleasure, without regard of the peoples mind, or the Senates authority. Above all, he sought to win the hearts and good wills of the Latine na-
C tion, that by support of forrain power also, he might be more secure and safe among his own people: neither entertained he with their Princes friendship and amity only, but entred also into alliance and affinity with them. For unto *Octavius Mamilius* a Tusculan, he gave his daughter in marriage. This *Mamilius* was of all Latines the principall and noblest person, lineally descended (if we may beleeve the common bruit and report) from *Ulysses* and *Circe*. By this marriage he gained many kinsfolk and friends of his new son in law. So that now *Tarquinius* was in great authority and reputation among the Lords and Barons of the Latines. Whereupon he gave them knowledge, and proclaimed, that upon a certain day they should all meet him at the sacred grove of *Ferentina*, to treat and commune together about matters concerning the common good of both States. Thither resorted they in great number betimes in the morning. And *Tarquinius* himself failed not for his
D part to keep the very day appointed but it was sunsetting well near before he came. There, in that assembly all day long, before his coming, was much talk and reasoning, *pro & contra*, touching him. *Turnus Herdonius* of *Aricida*, had inveighed spightfully against *Tarquinius* in his absence (for his being away) saying, "It was no marvell indeed that he was at *Rome* surnamed *Superbus* (for even "then commonly they termed him so, although secretly, and in whispering wise.) For could there "be (quoth he) a prouder part plaid, than thus to mock delude, and abuse the whole state of *Lati-*
"*um*, that when their princes and nobles were cited there to appear, far from the Cities and dwel-
"ling houses, he only should be absent that summoned the assembly? Which verily was but a de-
"vice of his to try their patience, that if they once took the yoke, he might keep them still under
"as his vassals: for who seeth not what he reacheth at? even to command and Lord it over the
E "Latines. And in case his own Citizens have done well, in trusting him in the rule over them (if a
"man may say they trusted him, and not rather that he came foulely and forcibly by it even with
"shameful murder) the Latines also may put themselves into his hands with security. And yet I see
"not why they should so do, considering he is a meer stranger and alien. But how and if his own
"subjects repent, and are discontented with him, being one after another by him murdered, bani-
"shed, deprived, and spoiled of their goods? What better dealings may the Latines hope and look
"for? Therefore if they would be ruled by him, they should depart home every man, and not keep
"the day of the Diet no more than he doth that published and proclaimed it. Whilest this seditious and dangerous person, who by these and such like factious courses was grown to be a great man and powerfull in his country, stood arguing thus, inforcing and following hard upon other
F points, tending to the same effect, in cometh *Tarquinius*. Whereupon he brake off his speech, and all was husht. Then turned every man to salute and welcome *Tarquinius*: Who after silence made (being advised by some of his familiars that were next unto him, to excuse himself for coming at that time of the day) said that he had been taken to be an arbitrator or daiesman between the father and the son: and because he was desirous and carefull to procure an attonement between them and to make them good friends: he made the longer stay and came the later. Which occasion of business seeing it had disappointed them of that day, therefore the morrow after he would deliver that which he had in purpose and intended to move unto them. But *Turnus* (as they say) could not hold, nor put up so much as this with silence: but brake out and said again, there was no speedier deciding and taking up of any matter, than between the father and the son; a thing that
G might be dispatched in few words: for if he would not obey and give place unto his father, he should abide the smart of it with a mischief. And thus the *Aricine* having girded as it were, and glanced at the Roman King, departed out of the Assembly. Which thing *Tarquinius* taking more disp easantly a good deal than he made semblance of, forthwith devised and practised to bring *Turnus* to his death, that he might strike the same terrour into the hearts of the Latines, wherewith he had kept under his own subjects at home. And for that he had no absolute power to cause him openly to be slain, he framed most falsely a criminall action against the guiltless man; thereby

*Turnus Herdonius* his Oration against *Tarquinius Superbus*.

wrongfully to work his destruction. By means of certain *Aricians* of a contrary faction, he wrought a bondslave of *Turnus* with a sum of money, to suffer a number of swords privily to be conveyed into his Masters Inn or Lodging: which being done in that one night accordingly, *Tarquinius* somewhat before day, sent for the chief Lords of the Latines to come unto him; and pretending as though he were frighted by some strange accident, said, "That his long tarrying the day "before, (by Gods speciall providence, as it were, so appointed) was for the safety of him and them "all. For he was informed that *Turnus* contrived to massacre both him and the heads of their na- "tion, to the end that he alone might raign over the Latines: That he minded yesterday to have "put this plot in execution, even in the very assembly; but the deed was deferred, for that him- "self (the principall author of that meeting) whose life he sought for above all other, was not in "place: and hereupon it was (saith he) that he fared so as he did, and railed against him so bitterly "the day before in his absence; for that he by his long tarrying had put him by his hope and the "effect of his designs: and if all were true that was told him, he nothing doubted but early in the "morning at break of the day, so soon as they were set in Councill together, he would come ar- "med and well appointed with a crew of his adherents and sworn confederats: for reported it is, "(quoth he) that a number of swords & other weapons are brought into his lodging: which whe- "ther it be so or no might soon be known. And therewith he desired them to take the pains to go with him thither. And verily, considering the proud nature and haughty spirit of *Turnus*, together with his yesterdaies Oration, and the long stay of *Tarquinius* besides, for that the pretended mas- sacre seemed thereby to have been put off and prolonged, the matter became very suspicious and pregnant. Thus go they with minds verily somewhat enclined and disposed to beleeve all, and yet so, as they would think all the rest but tales and lies, unless they found the swords aforesaid. Being come to the house, and *Turnus* awakened out of sleep, certain warders were set to keep him on e- very side: and when they had laid hold upon his servants, who for love of their Lord and Master began to make resistance, the swords were brought forth out of all the blind corners of the hostel- ry openly to be seen: then was it a clear case and past all peradventures: and *Turnus* was appre- hended and irons clapt upon him. And immediatly in all haste the Latines assembled together to councill in that great tumult and uproar: Where, upon bringing forth the swords in sight before them all, they were so incensed and deadly bent against him, that he was not suffered to answer and plead for himself, but was presently at the source or spring head of the *Ferentine* water plunged down, and a hurdle done aloft upon him, and great stones heaped thereon, and so after a new kind of death stifled and drowned. *Tarquinius* then, after he had called the Latines again to the place of councill, and much commended them for duly executing *Turnus*, who practising thus to alter and trouble the state, was detected of a manifest intended murder, made this speech unto them: "I "might (quoth he) if I would, by vertue of ancient rites alledge and plead, that forasmuch as all the "Latines are descended from *Alba*, they are compriſed within that confederacy and league, "whereby in the raign of *Tullus* the whole Commonweal and State of *Alba*, together with their "inhabitants, became incorporate into the Empire of *Rome*. Howbeit, in regard rather of the com- "modity and weal-publike of all, I judge it requisite, that the league were renewed, and that the "Latines might enjoy and be partakers of the prosperity and happy fortune of the people of *Rome*, "rather than evermore to hazard and suffer the destruction and desolation of their Cities, with "the spoiling and wasting of their lands, which first in *Ancus* daies they tasted, and after in my fa- "thers time they had abidden & suffered. The Latines were hereto soon perswaded. And although in that league the preheminence and soveraignty rested in the Romans, yet they saw well enough that both the Heads and Rulers of the Latine Nation stood with the Roman King, and were wrought unto his hand, to side with him: and also *Turnus* unto them was a fresh precedent and example, to teach them what danger might betide every one that should make a part against him and cross his intention. So the alliance was renewed and proclamation made according as it was capitulated, that all the serviceable men of the Latines should at a day appointed repair in good number with their armour unto the grove of *Ferentina*. Who when they were there met together from all parts according to the Edict of the Roman King, to the end they should have no Cap- tain of their own to lead them, no privy watchword or regiment by themselves to direct them, nor private ensigns distinct from the rest to keep them together; he shuffled or mingled the bands and companies of Latines and Romans one with another, making one of twain, and two of one: and when he had thus doubled the bands, he set Centurions over them. And albeit he was in peace an unjust Prince, yet was he in war no bad Captain; nay, for martiall prowess he had been equall to the former Kings, had he not failed and degenerated in other things, and thereby stained and hurt his glory even in that behalf. He was the first that warred upon the Volscians, which war after his time lasted more than 200 years: and won from them by force *Suessa Pometia*. Where having made portsale of the pillage, and raised as much gold and silver as amounted to *40 talents, he conceived in his mind to build so stately a Temple of *Jupiter* as might beseem the soveraign King of gods and men, become the noble Empire of *Rome*, and answer the Majesty also of the very place where it was to stand. And for the rearing and finishing of this Temple, he laid that mo- ney apart, that came of the spoil aforesaid. But presently upon this was he surprised with a war that held longer than he hoped it would. For having made one assault in vain upon *Gabii*, a neighbour City to *Rome*, and despairing also of any good success by beleaguering the town,

*Tarquinius* against *Turnus Herdonius*.

*Turnus Herdonius* put to death.

*Tarquinius* to the *Aricins*.

*Suessa Pometia* won by the Romans.

*1070 li. sterl.

for

A for that he was valiantly repulſed from the wals, at the laſt he deviſed and reſolved to get it by wile and deceit: a courſe that Romans had not uſually practiſed. For making as though he had given over and abandoned this war, as being now earneſtly bent and buſily occupied about laying the foundations of the Temple, and following other publike works in the City: *Sextus* his ſon, the youngeſt of three, fled on purpoſe to *Gabii*, complaining of his fathers intollerable rigour and cruelty againſt him: ſaying, "That now he had turned his accuſtomed pride from ſtrangers upon his *Sextus Tarquinius* to the Gabians.
"own bloud, and was grown to be weary of ſo many children: that as he had made good hand
"and clean riddance of his Nobles, and left the Senate deſolate, ſo he might bring it to paſs in his
"own houſe, to leave behind him no iſſue nor inheritor of the Kingdom. And for his own perſon
B "verily, he was eſcaped from among the pikes and ſwords of his father, and was perſwaded fully,
"he might no where be ſure in ſafety, but with the capitall enemies of *L. Tarquinius*. For to put
"them out of doubt, and that they might be no longer abuſed, the war continued ſtill againſt
"them, which ſeemed in outward ſhew given over and laid away: and his father would not fail,
"but whenſoever he could ſpy his vantage and fit opportunity come upon them at unawares. But
"in caſe there were no place of refuge and protection for poor & humble ſuppliants amongſt them,
"he would wander & travel all over *Latium*: and if he might not reſt there, he would from thence
"go to the Volſcians, Æquians, and Hernicks, untill he came to them that knew how to ſave the
"children from the cruelty and inhumane perſecution of the fathers. Perhaps he ſhould find
"means to ſtir coals and kindle war, yea, and perform himſelf good ſervice againſt that moſt proud
C "King, and that moſt ſtout and inſolent people. And ſeeming withall in great anger and diſcontentment, (if they would not regard his complaints) ready to depart and go his waies, he was kindly entertained and friendly entreated by the *Gabians*: "who willed him to be of good chear and The Gabins to *Sextus Tarquinius*.
"not to marvell at all, that *Tarquinius* became now at length ſo ill affected againſt his own chil-
"dren, like as he had tyrannized already upon his ſubjects and confederats: for he would no doubt
"in the end exerciſe his fell ſtomack even upon himſelf, for want of other ſubject matter to work
"upon. And as to him, right welcome he was to them, aſſuring themſelves that within a while it
"would ſo come to paſs, that if he with them would ſet to his helping hand, they ſhould remove
"the war from the gates of *Gabii* unto the very walls of *Rome*. After this was he admitted to ſit
with them in common counſell. In which he uſed oftentimes to ſay, "That in other matters he *Sex. Tarquinius* to the Senators of the Gabins.
D "gave place, and referred himſelf to be adviſed by the ancient Gabins, as men more practiſed and
"experienced than himſelf, but for the war, which ever and anon he perſwaded them unto, himſelf
"took upon him a ſpeciall inſight and skill therein, as he that knew the ſtrength of both nations,
"and was fully perſwaded in his conſcience, that the Kings pride muſt needs be odious to his ſub-
"jects, which his very own children could not brook and endure. Thus whiles by little and little
he ſollicited the principall Citizens to rebell, and went himſelf daily in perſon with a crew of the
moſt forward and able young men, forraging, ſpoiling, and making rodes into the Territory of the
Romans, and that now through his words and deeds, which tended to fraud and deceit in the end,
they began more and more to give credit unto him that one day would deceive them, he was at
laſt choſen Generall for the war. And having made certain ſmall skirmiſhes between *Rome* and *Ga-*
E *bes*, in which for the moſt part the Gabins had the better (whiles the ſimple people, God wot, ſaw
not his drift and how he carried the matter:) then all the Gabins from the higheſt to the loweſt,
thought verily and in good earneſt, that *Sextus Tarquinius* was ſent them by ſpeciall grace even
from God above to be their Captain and Protector. But with the ſouldiers, what with attempting
painfull enterprizes and performing dangerous ſervice, and what with dealing prizes liberally a-
mongſt them, it paſſed how he grew into credit, and how dearly he was beloved: inſomuch as *Tar-*
*quinius* the Father was of no greater command at *Rome*, than *Tarquinius* the Son at *Gabes*. Thus
when he ſaw he had gathered ſtrength ſufficient, and was fully furniſhed againſt all aſſaies; he diſ-
patched unto his father at *Rome*, one of his truſty ſervants with credence, to know his will and plea-
ſure, ſeeing that the gods had done him this grace, that he at *Gabes* was able to do all in all. To
F this meſſage made the King no anſwer at all by word of mouth, taking the man belike, as I verily
think, for one hardly to be truſted. But as one muſing with himſelf and in a deep ſtudy what anſwer
to ſhape, he went into a garden on the back ſide of the houſe, and his ſons meſſenger followed af-
ter. There walked he up and down, and ſaid never a word: only with his rod or walking ſtaff, as
it is reported, he knapt off the uttermoſt heads and tops of the poppies. The meſſenger weary with
talling for an anſwer, and waiting ſuch attendance returned to *Gabes* as wiſe as he came, and with-
out effect of his errand. He reported what he had ſaid and ſeen, namely, how the King, whether
upon anger or hatred, or pride ingrafted by nature, uttered no ſpeech at all. But *Sextus* knowing by
theſe myſticall and ſecret circumſtances, his fathers will and direction, made no more ado but ſlew
the chief of the Citizens: ſome by accuſations unto the people, and others by reaſon of diſgrace
G they were already in, and thereby expoſed unto violence, were ſoon overthrown. Many of them
were openly executed, and ſome, whom there was little apparance or colour of juſtice or none at
all to accuſe, were ſecretly murdered. Divers of their own accord fled into voluntary exile, or elſe
they were forced into baniſhment; whoſe goods as well as theirs that were put to death, were di-
vided among the people. By ſweetneſs of this largeſs of ſpoil, by the profit and wealth that grew to The City of *Gabii* ſurrendred to *Tarquinius*.
private perſons; the publike woe and calamity was nothing felt and ſeen: untill ſuch time as the
*Gabins* whole eſtate, deſpoiled of counſell, bereft of aid and ſuccour, yeelded without dint of ſword
unto the King of *Rome*.

*Tarquinius* having thus gained the town of *Gabes*, made peace with the nation of the Æquians, H
and renued the league with the Tuscans. After this he converted his mind to the affairs of the City, among which this was the principall, to leave behind him the Temple of *Jupiter*, upon the mount *Tarpeius*, for a monument and memoriall of his raign and name. That of two *Tarquins*, Kings both, it might be said another day, that the father vowed it, and the son finished the same. And to the end that the floor and plot of ground, freed and exempted from all other kind of religions, might wholly be dedicated to *Jupiter* and his Temple, there to be built: he determined to exaugurate and to unhallow certain Churches and Chappels, which having been first vowed, by King *Tatius*, in the very extremity of the battel against *Romulus*, were after by him consecrated and hallowed. In the very beginning and founding of which work, it is said, that the divine power and I
soveraign deity, moved the gods to declare the future mightines of so great an Empire. For when as the birds by signs out of the Augurs learning, admitted and allowed the exauguration and unhallowing of all other cels and chappels besides, only in that of *Terminus*, they gave no token to confirm the unhallowing thereof: which was taken for an ominous presage, and thus interpreted, That seeing the seat and house of *Terminus* was not stirred, and he the god alone that was not displaced and called forth of the limits to him consecrated; it shewed that all should remain there firm and stable for ever. This divine token of perpetuity being received for good and currant: there followed another strange and prodigious sign, portending the greatnes also of the Empire. For as they digged for the foundation of the Temple, there appeared (as they say) a mans head, face and all, whole and sound: which sight imported no doubt, and plainly foretold, that it should be K
the chief Castle of the Empire, and the Capitall place of the whole world. To this effect prophesied the wizards, as well they of the City, as those whom they sent for out of *Tuscan*, to know their opinion and judgment. Thus was the Kings mind all wholly set upon sumptuous building, and spared for no cost. So that the pillage taken at *Pometia*, which was laid by for the accomplishment of the whole work, would hard and scant serve for the very foundation. And therfore I would rather give credit unto *Fabius Pictor* (to say nothing that he is the more ancient author of the twain) that there were but * 40 talents, and no more, than to *Piso*, who writeth, that there was * 4c coo pound weight of silver set by for that use. Which sum or mass of money could never be looked for to arise out of the saccage of one only City in those daies: and must needs exceed the charges of the foundation of any of these stately and magnificent buildings in this our age. The King being L
thus wholly minded and bent to the finishing of the Temple, and sending for Carpenters, Masons, and other workmen, out of all parts of *Tuscan*, employed not only the Cities money and stock thereabout, but also had the work and labour of the common people withall. Which was no small toil of theirs, considering the travell of warfare besides: yet were they les agrieved and discontented therewith, so long as they founded and reared with their own hands the Temples of the immortall gods. But afterwards were they employed and set to other works, which as they were les in shew, so were they more painful and of greater trouble, namely, the making of scaffolds or standing-places in the Cirque or Theater; and to the conveyance of a mighty great sinke or vault under the ground for to receive and carry away all the filth and corruption of the City. To which two pieces of work, scarcely is the magnificence of our new modern buildings, in any respect com- M
parable. Having in this wise held the commons in continuall labour, because he thought that a multitude of people would but over-charge and pester the City, when they were not employed some way or other, and also minded by erecting Colonies, to enlarge the Confines of his Dominions, he therefore sent part of them to inhabit and people *Signia* and *Circeii*, two strong forts and frontier towns for the defence of the City by sea and land.

*Terminus* the god of bounds and meers.

*Tarquinius Priscus* foundeth the Temple of the Capitoll.

* 7500 li. sterl.

* 125000. lib. sterl.

Whilest he was busied in these affairs, there appeared unto him a strange and fearfull sight, namely, a serpent gliding down a pillar of wood, which having put the beholders in great fright, and caused them to flie into the Kings palace, did not so much amaze the Kings heart with sudden and momentany fear for the present, as fill his head with perplexed cares what the thing might portend. Whereas therefore the manner was to use the *Calchars* and wise men of *Tuscan* about N
publike prodigious tokens only: he being much troubled in spirit, and terrified at this fearfull sight, being domesticall, and as it were touching and concerning his own person: purposed to send out as far as *Delphi* to the most famous and renowned Oracle in the world. And for that he durst not put any other in trust with the answers that should be delivered by the fatall lots, he addressed two of his sons to take a voyage through unknown lands in those daies, and more unknown seas into *Greece*. *Titus* and *Aruns* were they that went this journey, having to bear them company all the way, *L. Junius Brutus*. This *Brutus* was the son of *Tarquinia*, the Kings sister, a young gentleman of a far other nature and disposition than he seemed in outward shew and semblance. He having heard say, that certain principall Citizens, and his own brother among, had been by this his uncle put to death; to the intent that himself might have nothing left, either in O
the parts of his mind for the King to fear, or in his outward state for him to covet and desire: resolved under the cloak of base contempt to save himself, since that in right or justice he might repose small or no safegard at all. And therefore composing and framing himself of purpose to counterfeit a noddy and a very innocent, as suffering himself and all that he had to fall into the Kings hands as an escheat, he refused not to be misnamed *Brutus*, a name appropriate to unreasonable creatures; that under the shadow & colour of that surname, that courage of his lying close hid,

*Jun. Brutus* counterfeiteth a foole.

which

A which ſhould one day ſet free the City of *Rome*, might abide the full time and appear in due ſeaſon. This *Brutus* being by the *Tarquins* brought to *Delphi*, as their laughing ſtock to make them paſtime by the way, rather than a meet mate to accompany them, carried with him (as men ſay) for to offer and preſent unto *Apollo* a golden rod within a ſtaffe of cornell wood, made hollow for the purpoſe: the very type and reſemblance by ſecret circumſtances, of his naturall diſpoſition. Thither being arrived, the young men having done their fathers commiſſion accordingly, were very deſirous and earneſt to inquire and learn of the Oracle, which of them ſhould be King of *Rome*. And from the bottom of the deep Vault, this anſwer, as men ſay, was delivered in their hearing: [*Which of you (O young men) ſhall firſt kiſs your mother, he ſhall bear chief and ſoveraign rule in* Rome.]

B The *Tarquins* then intending that *Sextus* their brother who was left behind at *Rome*, might neither know the anſwer, nor yet obtain the kingdom, willed the matter ſhould by all poſſible means be carried ſo ſecret as might be, and concealed from him. They themſelves agreed upon this together, to draw lots whether of them twain, when they were returned to *Rome*, ſhould firſt kiſs his mother. But *Brutus* ſuppoſing the ſpeech of *Apollo* his Prieſt, tended to another ſenſe, made as though he ſtumbled forward and took a fall, and ſo touched the ground with his mouth and kiſſed the earth, thinking this with himſelf, that ſhe was common mother of all mortall men. Then returned they to *Rome*, where they found great preparation for war againſt the Rutilians.

The Rutilians then were Lords of *Ardea*, A people in thoſe parts, and for thoſe times, very rich and wealthy: and that was it that gave the very occaſion and was the firſt motive of war. The *Ardea* beſieged by the Romans

C Roman King was deſirous both to enrich himſelf, as having about the ſumptuous building of publike works emptied his coffers: and alſo by ſome ſpoil, to mollifie and win again the hearts of his naturall ſubjects: being much diſcontented (beſides their generall miſlike of his pride otherwiſe) at his manner of government; and diſdaining greatly that they were by the King made labourers, to ſerve carpenters and maſons, and held ſo long to ſervile toil and painfull labour. The Romans aſſaied at the beginning to ſurpriſe and win *Ardea* by aſſault: but when that way ſped but ill, then began they to annoy and diſtreſs the enemies by laying ſiege, by caſting trenches, raiſing forts, and fabricks about the town. During this ſiege, and the ſtanding camp lying there, (as it falleth out commonly when the war is rather long and late than hot and cruell) there were granted large licenſes and paſports to and fro between the Camp and *Rome*, with much liberty: and

D yet more to the Principals of the Army than to the common Souldiers. And the Kings ſons had otherwhile good leiſure to feaſt and banquet one with another. Upon a time it hapned whiles they were drinking and making merry with *Sextus Tarquinius* in his pavilion, where *Collatinus Tarquinius* the ſon of *Egerius* ſat at ſupper; there aroſe among other good table-talk, ſome arguing about their wives: whiles every man highly praiſed and wondrouſly commended his own. And growing to ſome heat and contention thereabout: There need not many words for this matter, quoth *Collatinus*, for in few hours it may be known how far my *Lucretia* ſurpaſſeth all the reſt. The ſtory of dame *Lucretia*.
And therefore if there be any luſtineſs and courage of youth in us, why mount we not on horſeback, and in our own perſons go and ſee the natures and diſpoſitions of our wives? And as they ſhall be found and ſeen, taken of a ſudden, and not looking for their husbands coming, ſo let eve-

E ry man judge of them, and ſet that down for the only triall of this controverſie. They had all taken their drink well, and were prettily heat with wine: Mary, content ſay they all, and to horſe they go, and away they gallop on the ſpur to *Rome*. Thither were they come by the ſhutting in of the evening when it grew to be dark; and ſo forward without any ſtay to *Collatia* they ride. Where they find dame *Lucretia*, not as the Kings ſons wives, whom they had ſupriſed and ſeen afore, paſſing the time away in feaſting and rioting with their minions and companions: but ſitting up far within the night in the midſt of her houſe amongſt her maidens, hard at woollwork by candle-light. Whereupon, in this debate about their wives, the entire praiſe and commendation reſted in *Lucretia*: Her Husband and the *Tarquins* had a loving and courteous welcom at her hands. And he again for joy of the victory, invited the Kings ſons kindly and made

F them friendly cheare. There at that inſtant *Sextus Tarquinius* was bewitched and poſſeſſed with wicked wanton luſt, for to offer violence and villany unto *Lucretia*: her paſſing beauty and her approved chaſtity ſet him on fire and provoked him thereto. But for the preſent, when they had diſported themſelves all night long like luſty and pleaſant youths, they returned betimes in the morning to the Camp. A few daies after, *Sextus Tarquinius*, unwitting to *Collatinus*, attended with one only man came to *Collatia*, where he was again in good and friendly ſort received by them in the houſe, that ſuſpected nothing leſs than that whereabout he was come. And being after ſupper brought up into the gueſt chamber, when he thought all about him ſure, and that every body was faſt aſleep, all ſet on fire and burning in love, he ſteppeth with naked ſword in hand to *Lucretia*, as ſhe lay ſleeping full ſoundly, and bearing down the womans breſt with his left hand, Peace (quoth

G he) *Lucretia* & not a word: I am *Sextus Tarquinius*, I have my drawn ſword in hand: if thou once ſpeak thou ſhalt ſurely die. The ſilly woman thus ſtarting out of ſleep was ſore affright, as ſeeing no remedy but in a manner preſent death, in caſe ſhe had cried for help. Then uttered *Tarquinius* and confeſſed his amorous paſſion, fell to entreat and entreat again, and with his prayers intermedled threats, and went every way about her, not ceaſing by all means to ſift, to ſound and tempt the womans heart. But when he ſaw her obſtinate and invincible, and (to die for it) not relenting one jot; then, beſides the fear of death, he preſented unto her diſhonour and ſhame:

pretending

pretending that after he had massacred her, he would lay by her side in naked bed, her own man- H
servant with his throat cut; that it might be voiced abroad, that she was taken and killed in filthy
*Lucretia forced by Tarquinius Sextus.* adultery. For fear of this reproach and infamy, see how sinfull lust gat the victory, and conquered constant chastity: and *Tarquinius* in great pride and jollity, that he had by assault won the fort of a womans honour, departed thence. But wofull *Lucretia*, all sorrowing for so heavy a mischance, dispatched a messenger to her father at *Rome*, and so forward to her husband at *Ardea*, with this errand: That they should come unto her, each of them with one faithfull and trusty friend, and hereof they must not fail, but make all the speed they could, for that there was befallen a grievous chance and horrible. So there repaired to her *Sp. Lucretius* her father, accompanied with *P. Valerius* the son of *Volesus*: and *Collatinus* her husband, with *L. Jun. Brutus*. Who both together by I
chance going back to *Rome*, encountred in the way his wives messenger. *Lucretia* they found sit-
ting alone in her bed-chamber, all heavy and sad: and she at the coming of these her deerest friends,
*The pitifull plaints of chaste Lucretia.* shed tears and wept apace. How now my dear (quoth her husband) is all well? "No God wot sir,
"(quoth she again:) For how can ought be well with a woman that is despoiled of her honour
"and womanhood? The print, *Collatinus*, of another man is to be seen in thy own bed. Howbeit,
"my body only is distained: my mind and heart remaineth yet unspotted: and that my death shall
"make good and justifie. But give me first your right hands, and make faithfull promise that the
"adulterer shall not escape unpunished. *Sex. Tarquinius* is the man, he it is, who this night past, en-
"tertained as a friend, but indeed a very foe in the highest degree, hath by force and violence taken
"from hence with him his pleasure, a deadly pleasure, I may say, to me: and to himself also no less, K
"if ye be men of courage. All of them one after another give their assured word, comforted the
wofull hearted woman, excused her self that was but forced, and laid all the blame upon him that
committed the shamefull act: saying, It is the mind that sinneth, and not the body: and where there
was no will and consent, there could be no fault at all. "Well (quoth she) what is his due to have,
"see you to that: as for me, howsoever I quit and assoil my self of sin, yet I will not be freed from
"punishment. And never shall there by example of *Lucretia*, any unhoneste woman or wanton har-
"lot live a day: & thus having said, with a knife which she had close hidden under her cloaths, she
*Lucretia killeth her self.* "stabbed her self to the heart, and sinking down forward, fell upon the floor ready to yeeld up the
"ghost. Out alas, cried her husband and father hereat: and whileſt they two were in their plaints
and moans, *Brutus* drew forth the knife out of the wound of *Lucretia*, & holding it out afore him, L
all embrued and dropping with bloud, "Now I swear (quoth he) by this bloud, by this most chaste
"and pure bloud, before the villany wrought by the Kings son, and here before the gods I protest,
"whom I call to witness, that I will by fire and sword, and with all my might and main persecute
"and drive the country of *L. Tarquinius* the proud, and his ungracious wife, and the whole brood
"of his children, and suffer neither him nor any else for his sake to raign as King at *Rome*. Then
gave he the knife to *Collatinus*, and so to *Lucretius* & *Valerius*, who greatly amazed at this so strange
occurrent, and wondring how it came to pass, that *Brutus* should of a sudden be so changed, and
become so stout of stomack and couragious, took the same form of oath that he sware afore: and
so leaving their wailing and lamentation, and wholly set upon anger and revenge, they followed
*Brutus* as their Captain and Leader to put down and overthrow the government of Kings, and ut- M
terly to root out their race. The dead corps of *Lucretia*, was had out of doors, brought into the
market place, and there shewed. And thither, what with wondring (as the manner is) at so strange
a sight, and what with the indignation of so unworthy a fact, they raised much people together.
Every man for his part was ready enough to complain of the wickedness and violence done by the
Kings bloud. The sorrow of *Lucretius* the father on the one side, the resolution of *Brutus* on the o-
ther side, who rebuked and blamed all vain weeping and fooliſh moaning, moved and perswaded
all that were present, that like men of valour, like true hearted Romans, they would take arms a-
gainst them that demeaned themselves no better, nay, worse than ordinary enemies. And presently,
the bravest and tallest young men shewed themselves forward, ready in armour, and voluntary. The
rest of the youths followed streight after. And having left at *Collatia* the one half of their forces in N
garrison, toward the gates, and set certain watches, that no man brought tidings or news unto the
King and his sons of this rising and commotion, all the other were appointed in warlike manner,
followed their leader *Brutus*, from thence directly to *Rome*. At the sudden coming thither of this ar-
med multitude: no marvell if all the way whereas they passed and marched, there arose a fear
and trouble among the people. But when they perceived the most substantiall and principall Citi-
zens in the forefront, they judged whatsoever the matter meant, it was not for naught. And verily
this hainous fact disquieted the minds of men no less at *Rome*, than it had before at *Collatia*. There-
fore from all parts of the City there was flocking and running into the market place. And being
thither come, the Bedell or common Crier, summoned the people to appeare before the Tri-
bune of the *Celeres* or Captain of the guard: which office haply *Brutus* bare at that time. Where O
*The Remonstrances of Ju. Brutus, inciting the people against the King and his bloud.* he made an Oration not proceeding from that spirit, nor resembling that quality of nature which
unto that day he had pretended and made shew of unto the world, for he inveighed against
the violence and filthy lust of *Sextus Tarquinius*; the shamefull villany and not to be named,
done upon the body of *Lucretia*: "he discoursed of her lamentable end and pitious death, and
"the desolate case of *Tricipitinus*, bereft now of all his children: who accounted the occasion of
"his daughters death a greater indignity, and more pitifull, than her very death. Moreover he

"laid

A "laid abroad the pride of the King himſelf, the miſeries, the infinite toile and pains of the Com-
"mons, buried as it were under the ground, with cleanſing and caſting of ditches, voiding and ſar-
"ming of the ſinks. Saying, that the men of *Rome* which were the conquerers of all nations about
"them, were now of warriors become quarriers, hewers of ſtone and day-laborers. He reckoned
"up alſo and put them in mind of the unworthy death and cruell murder of *Servius Tullius*: and
"how his daughter (oh abominable act!) rode over the corps of her father in her curſed chariot:
"And herewith he calleth on the gods that are revengers of outrages and wrongs done to parents.
Thus rehearſing theſe and other matters, much more grievous and horrible, (I verily beleeve) ac-
cording as the preſent indignity at the very time doth miniſter and give utterance for, not ſo eaſily
B penned and ſet down by writers that come after, he ſo mightily inflamed the multitude, that he
cauſed them to depoſe the King, to deprive him of his royall ſtate and dignity, yea, and to decree
and enact, that *L. Tarquinius* with his wife and children ſhould be baniſhed for ever. Himſelf ha-
ving ſelected and armed the younger gallants who offered their ſervice, and willingly entred their
names, ſet forward in perſon to the Camp lying before *Ardea*, for to excite the Army there againſt
the King: leaving the government of the City unto *Lucretius*, who had before been appointed
Deputy and Lieutenant there, by the King. In this time of garboile, *Tullia* left the palace and fled,
and all the way as ſhe went, both men and women curſed and cried out upon her, and beſought the
ghoſtly ſpirits and furies of parents to be avenged. When news hereof was brought into the Camp,
and that the King upon theſe ſtrange tidings made haſte towards *Rome*, to ſtay and ſuppreſs theſe
C broyls: *Brutus* having intelligence of his coming, turned another way becauſe he would not meet
with him. And ſo at one inſtant in a manner by contrary journies came *Brutus* to *Ardea*, and *Tar-*
*quinius* to *Rome*. But the gates were ſhut againſt *Tarquinius*, and inſtead of entrance, warned he
was, and commanded into exile. The whole Camp received with joy *Brutus* the redeemer of their
City. From thence were alſo the Kings ſons driven: two of them followed after their father and
departed into baniſhment unto *Cære*, a town of the Tuſcans: as for *Sextus Tarquinius*, he retired
himſelf to *Gabes* as it were into his own Kingdom: where he was murdered in revenge of old
quarrels, upon malice and hatred of the people which he had brought upon himſelf in times paſt.
*L. Tarquinius Superbus* raigned 25 years. Thus continued the Kings Regiment at *Rome*, from the
foundation of the City, unto the freedom and redemption thereof 244 years. Then in a ſolemn
D aſſembly and election by the Centuries, held by the Provoſt of the City, according to the ordi-
nance of *Servius Tullius* in his Commentaries, two Conſuls were created: *L. Junius Brutus*, and
*L. Tarquinius Collatinus*.

*Tarquinius the King baniſhed*

Conſuls firſt created.

# The Second Book

## *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

E

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the Second Book.

BRutus *took an oath of the people, that they ſhould not ſuffer any to raign King at* Rome. *He compelled his fellow Conſull* Tarquinius Collatinus, *a ſuſpected man to take part with the* Tarquins, *by reaſon of the affinity he had with them, to give over the Conſulſhip, and to depart the City. The goods of the King and his ſons he commanded to be ſeized upon, and rifled. A field of theirs he conſecrated to* Mars, *which was named afterwards* Campus Martius, *or* Mars field. *He beheaded certain young Gen-*
F *tlemen of the Nobility, together with his own and his brothers ſons, for conſpiring to receive the King and his Complices again into the City. Unto the bondſlave* Vindicius, *that bewrayed the complot, he gave his freedom, of whom* Vindicta *took the name. Having led an Army againſt the King who had aſſembled a power of* Veientians *and* Tarquinians *and made war, he died in battell together with* Aruns, *the ſon of* Superbus: *and for his death the dames of* Rome *mourned one whole year.* P. Valerius *the Conſul propounded and made a Law concerning Appealing unto the people. The Capitoll was dedicated.* Porſena *King of the* Cluſins, *warring in the quarrell of the* Tarquins, *and being come to the* Janiculum, *was by the valour of* Cocles Horatius, *empeached that he paſſed not the* Tyber: *who alone, whiles others hewed down the Sublician bridge, withſtood the* Tuſcans: *and when it was broken down, leapt armed as he was into the river, and ſwam over to his fellows. Another example of manhood is reported of* Mutius,
G *who being entered the Camp of the enemies with full intent to kill* Porſena, *and having ſlain his principall Secretary, whom he took for the King, was apprehended: and thruſting his hand into the fire of the Altars, whereupon they had burned ſacrifice, ſuffered it there to fry untill it was conſumed: and ſaid withall, that there were behind him three hundred more beſides, that had ſworn the death of the King himſelf. Who wondring at their reſolution, was driven to offer conditions of peace, and upon taking of hoſtages to give over war: amongſt whom, one virgin* Cloelia, *beguiled her keepers, made an eſcape, and ſwam over* Tyber *to her friends: and being rendred again, was by* Porſena *ſent honorably home, and had*

*her*

*her ſtatue or image on horſeback, ſet up for a memoriall.* Ap. Claudius *abandoned the Sabins, and fled* H
*to* Rome, *of whom the Tribe* Clauſia *took the name, and was added to the reſt. The number of tribes was encreaſed to be one and twenty. Againſt* Tarquinius Superbus, *who with a power of* Latines *waged war,* A. Poſthumius *the Dictator, obtained a proſperous battell at the lake* Regillus. *The Commons riſing, for being enthralled unto their Creditors, retired themſelves into the mount* Sacer, *and were by the policy and counſel of* Menenius Agrippa, *reclaimed from their ſedition, and appeaſed. The ſame* Agrippa *being deceaſed was by reaſon of his poverty, buried at the Cities charge. There were ereated five Tribunes of the Commons.* Corioli, *a town of the* Volſcians *was taken by the valour and induſtrious means of* Cn. Martius, *who thereupon was ſurnamed* Coriolanus. T. Latinus, *a mean Commoner, was warned in a dream to make relation to the Senate of certain religious ceremonies: and for neglecting the ſame, loſt his ſon,* I
*and fell himſelf to be lame of his limbs, and being brought in the Senate in a chair, after he had declared the ſame, returned ſound on his feet home again,* Cn. Martius Coriolanus, *after he was baniſhed, became Generall of the* Volſcians, *and with an Army of enemies approached the City of* Rome: *unto whom, firſt Embaſſadors were of purpoſe ſent, and afterwards the Prieſts and whole Clergy perſwaded with him, not to make war againſt his native Countrey, but all in vain. Howbeit* Veturia *his mother, and* Volumnia *his wife entreated him and obtained, that he ſhould depart back again. The Law* Agraria, *concerning diviſion of lands among the poor Commons, was now firſt put up and propoſed.* Sp. Caſſius *an Alderman, after he had been Conſul, was condemned for aſpiring to be King, and ſuffered death therefore.* Oppia *a Veſtall Nun was for inceſt buried quick. Againſt the* Veientians *near enemies and ill neighbors, yet indeed troubleſome rather than noiſome and dangerous, the houſe alone of the* Fabii, *required to be employed in ſervice: and ſet out three hundred and ſix armed men to the field, who every one* K
*were by the enemies ſlain near the river* Cremera, *and left but one only at home alive of that name, under fourteen years of age.* Ap. Claudius *the Conſul having fought unfortunately againſt the* Volſcians, *and that, by means of the ſtubbornneſs and unrulineſs of his Army, cudgelled every tenth man of his ſouldiers. Over and beſides (this book) containeth the exploits againſt the* Volſcians, Æquians, *and* Veientians, *and the ſeditious diſcords between the Nobility and Commons.*

## *The Second Book of* T. Livius.

NOw will I deſcribe from henceforth, the acts both in war and peace of the people of L
*Rome*, a free ſtate now from this time forward: their yearly Magiſtrates and Governours: the authority and rule of Laws, more powerfull and mighty than that of men. Which freedom of theirs, the laſt Kings pride made more acceptable and welcome. As for the other Kings before him, they raigned ſo, as that they might be counted all of them, and that worthily, builders of ſundry parts of the City one after another, according as they every one by himſelf added ſtill one new place or other, for the multitude by them encreaſed to inhabit. Neither is it to be doubted, but that even the very ſame *Brutus*, who deſerved ſo great honor and glory for expelling the proud King *Tarquin*, ſhould have done the ſame to the exceeding danger of the weal publike, if for deſire of unripe and untimely freedom, he had wreſted the royall dignity and government from any of the former Princes. For what would have come of it, if that communalty M
conſiſting of herdmen and fugitive ſtrangers, reſorting out of their own countries there to dwell, having under protection of a ſanctuary and priviledged place gotten liberty, or at leaſtwiſe impunity; being now freed and paſt fear of a royall Majeſty, had begun to be troubled and diſquieted, with the ruffling ſtorms and ſeditious tempeſts of the Tribuns? and in a new and ſtrange City ſown debate, and entertained variance with the Nobility, before that the ſureſt pledges of wives and children, the deareſt affection of the very place and ſoil, which requireth long time of liking and loving, had united and knit their hearts together? Certainly, the ſtate not yet come to full growth and maturity, had by diſcord faded and come to nought, which a peaceable and gracious government cheriſhed and foſtered, and by cheriſhing and nouriſhing brought to that paſs, that now being come to ripeneſs and perfection of ſtrength, it might be able to bring forth and bear N
the good and wholſom fruits of liberty.

The beginning of this freedom you muſt account in regard hereof, That the Conſulary regiment was annual, and from year to year, rather than that the royall power and juriſdiction that the Kings had, was any whit abated and diminiſhed. For the firſt Conſuls had the ſame abſolute authority, held all the former royalties, and retained ſtill the regall enſigns and ornaments of ſupreme dignity. This only provided that they ſhould not both have the rods born before them, for avoiding a twofold fear and dread of their Majeſty. *Brutus* with the good liking and conſent of his companion in office, had the preheminence and prerogative of that honour to be done unto him alone: who had not been aforetime a greater inſtrument, and more forward to procure and recover the liberty than he was afterward a ſure maintainer and protector of the ſame. And firſt above O
all other things, whileſt the people were yet greedy of this new freedom, for fear leſt they might any time after be won by entreaty or moved by gifts on the Kings part, he cauſed them to ſwear that they would never ſuffer any to be King at *Rome*. After this, becauſe the Senate might be of more power and greater reputation by the frequent company of that degree and order: he encreaſed their number (which had been impaired much by maſſacres, committed by the ſaid King) to the full complement of three hundred: by chuſing the chief and principall of the degree of

Knights

A Knights or horſemen. And hereof came, as they ſay, this cuſtome, to admit into the Senate both them that were before time of the ancient Nobility, and alſo thoſe that were newly choſen for the ſupply: naming theſe that were laſt enrolled, the new Senate. And a wonder it was to ſee, how much good this did to the concord of the City, and to the knitting of the hearts of Nobles and Commons together.

This done, they went in hand with Religion and Church-matters: and for that there were certain publike ſacrifices that had been uſually executed by the Kings themſelves in their own perſons: leſt therefore they ſhould not find the miſs of Kings in any reſpect nor long after them again, they create of purpoſe a King-Prieſt or ſacrificer: which ſacerdotall dignity they ordained to
B be under the Arch-Prelate, leſt that this new addition and title of honour, might prejudice their freedom any jot, whereunto they had then a ſpeciall regard above all other things. And I wot not well, but I think verily they went beyond all meaſure, and were over-preciſe in the maintenance and ſtrengthening thereof every way, even in the ſmalleſt trifles, and toies of no moment. For when as nothing elſe was offenſive unto them, the name forſooth of one of their Conſuls became ſuſpected and odious unto the City, without any other ſcandall whatſoever. And thus they muttered and ſaid, "That the *Tarquins* had raigned over-long, and too much already: that *Priſcus* firſt
"began, and when after him ſucceeded King *Servius Tullius*, *Superbus Tarquinius* not having in that
"time and ſpace between, forgot the Kingdom, as ſeeing another inveſted therein; by wicked
"practice and violence claimed and recovered the ſame again, as the inheritance properly to his
C "houſe belonging. And now that *Superbus* is driven out and gone, the rule and government is de-
"volved unto *Collatinus*, and there reſteth. Theſe *Tarquins* belike (ſay they) cannot skill how to
"live as private men: giving out among, that the very name was dangerous to a free State, and in
"one word, they could not endure it. Theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches at firſt were whiſpered abroad throughout all the City, by them that under-hand ſounded by little and little the hearts and diſpoſitions of men: and when theſe ſurmiſes & ſuſpitions were once buzzed into the Commons heads, and they thereby diſquieted, *Brutus* called them to a generall aſſembly. Where firſt and formoſt he reciteth the oath of the people, That they ſhould ſuffer none to be a King nor ought elſe in *Rome*, from whence might ariſe any danger to their liberty. "This oath is the thing (quoth he) that
"with all diligence, & by all means poſſible is to be maintain'd, & nothing thereto appertaining
D "is to be deſpiſed and lightly regarded. As for me, I am unwilling to ſpeak, in reſpect of the per-
"ſon, neither would I ſpeak at all, but that the love and affection to the Common-weal doth o-
"verrule me. The people of *Rome* is not throughly perſwaded, that they have recovered their en-
"tire and perfect liberty. For as yet the Kings bloud, yea, and the Kings name, not only remaineth
"ſtill, but alſo beareth ſoveraign rule in the City: This is it that hurteth, this is it (I ſay) that hin-
"dered their true freedom. Now (quoth he) *L. Tarquinius* willingly of your own accord rid them
"of their fear. We remember well, we confeſs and acknowledge, you it was that expelled the
"Kings. Finiſh therefore and perfect this great benefit of yours: take away from hence the Kings
"name alſo. As for your goods and ſubſtance, your Citizens and Countrimen, if they will be ad-
"viſed by me, ſhall not only yeeld unto you again, but if ought be ſhort and wanting, ſhall by my
E "conſent ſupply the ſame to the full right liberally. Depart I ſay, and friendly take your leave: deli-
"ver the City and disburden them of this their fear, that peradventure is but vain and needleſs:
"Howbeit, this their minds give them, that together with the ſtock and houſe of the *Tarquins*, the
"Kings rule and government will likewiſe void and depart for ever. The Conſul at this ſo ſtrange and ſudden a motion firſt wondred much, and was not able to open his mouth. But afterwards as he addreſſed himſelf and began to make a ſpeech, the heads of the City came about him, and with many prayers beſought the ſame at his hands. As for all the reſt, they prevailed full little with him. But after that *Sp. Lucretius*, a more grave and elder man than himſelf, of greater worth aforetime, and his father in Law beſides, took him in hand and dealt with him ſundry waies, one while by way of intreaty, otherwhiles by perſwaſions and reaſons, that he would condeſcend unto that
F which the City in one general conſent required: then the Conſul fearing leſt hereafter being once out of his place and a private man again, he ſhould chance to be forced thereunto, with the loſs of his goods and ſome diſgrace perhaps beſides; reſigned up the office of the Conſulſhip, and removing all that he had away to *Lavinium*, quit the City and departed. Then *Brutus* by an act and decree of the Senate, propoſed unto the people, That all the race and linage of the *Tarquins* ſhould be exiled. And in a generall Seſſion of the Centuries, he created for to be his Colleague in government, *P. Valerius*, by whoſe aſſiſtance he had driven out the Kings.

*Brutus* the Conſul perſwadeth *Tarquinius* to give over the Conſulſhip and depart.

No man doubted now that the *Tarquins* were about to take arms: yet that war hapned not ſo ſoon as men looked for: but ſee (a thing that no man feared) they had like by fraud and treaſon at home to have loſt and forgone their freedom again. There was of the flower of *Rome*, certain
G youths, & thoſe of no low degree nor baſe parentage deſcended, who in the Kings daies had lived like young Princes more looſely and at pleaſure, as companions and plaiſefellows with the young *Tarquins*, the Kings ſons: who ſeeking to enjoy the ſame licentious life ſtill, in this equality of eſtate wherein all others then lived, made moan and complained one to another, That the liberty of others turned to their ſervitude. "The King, ſay they, is a man, at whoſe hands one might ob-
"tain ſomewhat, as need required, were the cauſe right or were it wrong: where a man might find
"favour and friendſhip, as who could both be diſpleaſed and angry, and alſo forgive and remit a

A conſpiracy of young Gentlemen of the Nobility.

"fault, and knew well how to make difference between a friend and a foe. As for laws, they are H
"things deaf and inexorable: more wholſome and commodious to the poor than to the rich and
"mighty, affording no releaſe nor pardon, if one chance to treſpaſs and tranſgreſs: And a tickliſh
"point it is and perilous for a man among ſo many errours whereto our frailty is ſubject, to bear
"himſelf only upon his innocent life. Being thus of their own accord already diſcontent, ſuddenly
unlooked for, there came Embaſſadors from the Kings, who without any mention at all of return,
demanded only their goods again. Upon their meſſage being delivered and heard in the Senate-
houſe, this debate and queſtion held them for certain daies in councill, fearing leſt that the goods
not reſtored might miniſter occaſion of quarrell, and being rendred, yield maintenance and nou-
riſhment of war. In the mean time the Embaſſadours dealt and treated with divers perſons di- I
verſly: in open ſhew, claiming only their goods, but ſecretly and under-hand, contriving how to
compaſs the Kingdom for their Maſters. And under colour of procuring friends for the accom-
pliſhment of that which they pretended, and was in queſtion, they ſounded oftentimes the minds
of certain noble young Gentlemen, how they ſtood affected to their deſignments. Whoſe words
and reaſons were of them gently entertained: and thereupon they delivered unto them letters
from the *Tarquins*, and withall conferred together, and practiſed the receiving of the Kings privily by night into the City. The execution of this plot was principally committed to certain of the *Vitellii* and *Aquilii*, that were brethren. A ſiſter of the *Vitellii* was married unto the Conſul *Brutus*, by whom he had two ſons that were young men, *Titus* and *Tiberius*, whom their uncles by the mothers ſide made partakers with them likewiſe of their counſell. Beſides, there were divers K
young Gentlemen (whoſe names long time hath worn out quite) made acquainted therewith. In this mean ſeaſon, their opinion in the Senate-houſe prevailed, who thought it beſt that the goods ſhould be reſtored: and the Embaſſadours upon that occaſion made ſtay in the City, for that they had gotten time of the Conſuls to provide carriage for to have away the Kings ſtuff, and other movable goods. All that time ſpent they in conſulting with the Conſpirators, and ſo importunately laboured them, untill they had procured their letters alſo unto the *Tarquinii*: for otherwiſe (ſay they) how will they beleeve but that their Embaſſadours make wrong report of matters ſo important. The giving of thoſe letters in pledge of their truth and plain meaning, proved to bewray and reveal their purpoſed enterpriſe. For the day before the Embaſſadours were to take their leave, and return to the *Tarquins*, they fortuned to ſup with the *Vitelii*: and whileſt the conſpira- L
tors there, were in ſad and cloſe talk together, conferring at large about this new deviſed practiſe, and no man by but only themſelves (as the manner is:) a certain bondſlave chanced to overhear them, one that before had an inckling whereabout they went, but waited the opportunity when the letters ſhould be given to the Embaſſadours, which being found upon them, might directly prove the treaſon. This ſlave after he underſtood the letters were delivered, gave intelligence of all unto the Conſuls: who immediatly departed from their houſes to take the Embaſſadours, and the Conſpirators in the manner, and without any ſtir or tumult light upon them unawares, and
The conſpiracy detected. daſhed all. But of the letters they had a ſpeciall care, that they ſhould be forth-coming and not miſcarry. And committing the traitors forthwith to priſon, they made ſome pauſe and doubt about the Embaſſadors, what to do with them. For albeit they ſeemed to have deſerved no leſs M
but to be uſed as enemies, and to have no favour at all, yet had they regard to the law of Nations. Now concerning the Kings goods, which they thought meet before to be reſtored, the matter came about wholly in queſtion again before the Senators: who being overcome with ire and indignation, denied flatly the rendring of them, yea, and forbad they ſhould be confiſcate and converted to the common treaſury: but they were given away among the Commons to make ſpoil and havock thereof: to the end, that they having one touched or ſeiſed on the Kings goods as a booty, might for ever after be paſt all hope of any peace or favour with them. The field of the *Tar-*
*Campus Martius.* *quins* lying between the City and *Tyber*, was conſecrated unto *Mars*, and after called *Campus Martii*, *i.e.* *Mars* field. It hapned (as men ſay) that there was at that time ſtanding corn there, now ripe and ready for the harveſt: which crop of ground, becauſe they made ſome ſcruple of conſci- N
ence otherwiſe to conſume, therefore it was cut down, corn, ſtraw, ſtubble and all, and a great number of people ſent thither at once to carry it away in baskets and skeps, and pour it down the *Tyber*, running then but ſhallow, as it uſeth to do in the midſt and heat of Summer. And ſo the heaps of corn, together with the mud ſtuck ſtill and reſted in the ebbe places and foords of the river: and by little and little encreaſed with one thing or other that came down the ſtream, untill it became an Iſland. Afterwards, I ſuppoſe, there were dams and piles made thereunto, and by mans hand it grew ſo high, and ſo firm a piece of ground, that it was able to bear even Temples and ſtately Galleries that ſtood thereupon.

When the Kings goods were thus ſpoiled, rifled, and made away, the traitors were condemned and put to death. Which ſuffering of theirs was the more notable, for that the father by his place O
& vertue of his office was bound and charged to ſee execution done upon his own own children: and he who otherwiſe ought not to have been a ſpectator and looker on, even he (ſuch was his fortune) was forced of neceſſity to be the principall actor in this tragicall execution. Then ſtood theſe moſt noble youths bound faſt to a ſtake. But among all, the Conſul his children, turned upon them the eyes of every man, from all the reſt, as unknown perſons and of no reputation: all men pitied them, not ſo much for being puniſhed, as for deſerving by their fact to be puniſhed:

A punished: That they could find in their hearts and once let enter into their thought, to betray into the hands of *Tarquinius*, sometimes a proud Prince, and then a cruell enemy, and banished rebell, their native countrey, lately and in that very year set free from captivity: their naturall father who set it free: the Consulship sprung first out of the family of the *Junii*: the Nobles, the Commons, and in one word, all things whatsoever in *Rome* belonging either to God or man. Then came the Consuls forth, took their places and set them down on the tribunall seat. The Lictors were sent to do their office, who first stripped them naked and scourged them with rods, and then with an axe chopt off their heads. All which time, the father himself, his countenance and visage was a wonderfull spectacle to behold, considering how a fathers affection could hold
B out and abide the performance of this publike and exemplary punishment. When the offenders had once suffered, to the end there might be shewed noble examples on both sides, for to debar wickedness, and stop the course of sin: the informer and revealer of treason, had for his reward a peece of money out of the common treasury, obtained his freedom, and was enfranchised a Citizen of *Rome*. This was the first man, as they say, that was made free by the rod *Vindicta*: for that the party his name was *Vinditius*, from whence, as some think, the word *Vindicta* was derived: after whom, this was observed, That whosoever in that sort got their freedom, were supposed withall endenized.

The traitors executed.

*Brutus* putteth to death his own children.

When tidings hereof came to *Tarquinius*, with the manner of proceeding in every circumstance, he not only grieved that so great hope of his was frustrate and come to nothing, but
C also was set on fire with hatred and indignation: and seeing the way shut up and stopped against all deceitfull courses, he thought there was no dealing now but by meer force and open war. Whereupon he went up and down, sollicited and made humble suit unto the Cities of *Etruria*, and besought the Veientians especially, and the * *Tarquinians*, that they would not suffer him, being come of their own bloud, a banished man, forlorn, poor, and needy, dispossessed so lately of so goodly a Realm and Kingdom, together with his children (forward young men) to perish even before their eyes. "Alledging that others had been sent for and set out of forrain parts unto "*Rome* for to be Kings: and he their Liege King, and such an one as advanced still the Roman Em- "pire by martiall prowess, was by the wicked conspiracy of his nearest kinsfolk and friends de- "posed from his imperiall dignity and expelled: and they now, because there was no one man
D "thought sufficient and worthy to raign, had parted between them the Kingdom, and given "among the people his goods as a spoil; that there might not be any one who had not his finger, "and whole hand in so foule a fact. Saying moreover, that his mind and intention was, to seek "means to return into his own countrey, to recover his Crown, yea, and to persecute, and to "be revenged of those unthankfull subjects: and therefore prayed them, to set to their helping "hand, and yield him assistance: and not to sit down with so many old wrongs of their own part "received, namely, their legions so often hewen in pieces, their lands and livings taken from them: "but to go with him for revenge. These suggestions moved the Veientians, and every man for himself muttered and gave out in threatning wise, that now at length, having a Roman Captain especially to be their Leader, they were to do away the foul dishonours sustained, and win
E again what by former war they had lost. As for the *Tarquinians*, they were soon incited in regard of name and consanguinity, and thought it was a godly matter and an honour unto them, to have of their own name and house to be Kings of *Rome*. Thus two armies of two Cities banded with *Tarquin*, for to restore him to his Kingdom again, and to make sharp war upon the Romans: who being entred the Territory of *Rome*, were met with by the Roman Consuls. The footmen marched under the conduct of *Valerius*, marshalled in a battallion four square. *Brutus* with the horse went before to espy and discover the coasts: In like sort the men of arms of the enemies rode formost under the leading of *Aruns Tarquinius* the Kings son, and the King himself in person followed with the Legions. *Aruns* espying by the Lictors, the Consul afar off, and as he approached nearer, knowing *Brutus* more certainly by his face, all inflamed with ire:
F "This is the Gallant (quoth he) this is he, that hath driven and banished us out of our native "Countrey. Lo, how bravely he setteth forward, all gorgeously to be seen and dight in our roy- "all ensigns and ornaments. Now help ye gods that are revengers of wrongs done to Kings: and therewithall set spurs to his horse, and ran amain with full carreer upon the Consul his own person intending certainly to speed him. *Brutus* perceived likewise that he made directly toward him: (Now was it a noble and worthy sight for the Captains themselves to begin the battell.) Whereupon with resolute courage he encountreth him. And so fiercely they charged one another, and so deadly were they bent, that neither of them had regard to save himself, so he might wound and mischief his enemy, but were both with a counterpush that quite pierced their targets run into the sides, and thrust through, and so having one anothers lance sticking in their bodies,
G fell from their horses ready to dye. Herewith began on both sides the other horsemen to fight, and within a while the footmen also seconded them. And so equally were they matched and the battell so indifferently fought, that it was very doubtfull whether side had the better. For on both parts the right wings got the upper hand, and down went the left. The Veientians, unto whom it was no news to be overcome of Romans, were discomfited and put to flight. But their new enemies the *Tarquinians*, not only held their own and stood to it, but also from their battell put back, and forced the Romans to give ground, and gave them the repulse. After this conflict there

* *i.e.* The men of *Tarquinii*. The speech of *Tarquinius Superbus* to the Tuscans.

The Veientians defeated by the Romans.

fell such a fear and terrour upon *Tarquinius*, and the Tuscans, that both Armies as well of the *Veientians* as the *Tarquinians*, gave over their enterprise with doing just nothing, and by night dislodged and departed every man to his own home. This battell was more notable by reason of certain miracles that men report: namely, that in the dead time of the night next following, when all were at rest, there was heard a mighty voice of *Sylvanus* (as men thought) out of the wood *Arsia* to utter these words, [*That there was slaine on the Tuscans part more by one, and that the Romans won the field.*] Thus verily and no otherwise departed they asunder: the Romans as winners, and the Tuscans as having the worse. For the next morrow, so soon as it was day, and that none of the enemies appeared in sight, *P. Valerius* the Consul gathered up the spoil together, and returned from thence with triumph to *Rome*, and performed the funerals of his brother Consul, in all sumptuous manner and solemn pomp, as possibly at that time he could devise. But, that which did him the greatest honour after his death, was the publike sorrow and heavinesse of the City, in this respect above all singular and memorable, for that the dames and Matrons of *Rome* mourned a whole year for him, as for their own father, in that he had been so sharp a revenger of violence done to the chastity of women.

After this, the Consul that survived, presently upon the great liking and favour that he was in (see how wavering and unconstant the minds are of the common people) was not only envied, but also suspected, yea, and charged with an odious and horrible crime. The voice went and bruited it was abroad, that he aspired to the Crown. And why? because, forsooth, he had not chosen unto him a new fellow Consul in the room of *Brutus*: and began to build aloft on the top of *Velia*, where (say they) in an high place and strongly scituate he may make a Castle impregnable. These things commonly spoken and credited too, vexed much, and mightily grieved the Consul in his very soule, as a great indignity offered unto him. Whereupon he assembled the people together, & causing the rods to be held downwards to the ground, went up into the pulpit to make an Oration unto them. That sight pleased the people passing well, taking it for a plain demonstration, that the marks and ensigns of rule and government submitted unto them, was a very acknowledging and confession that the people was of greater majesty and power than the Consul. Where after silence made, and commandment to hearken and give ear, "the Consul began highly to extoll the fortune and good hap of his Colleague deceased, who having with great honour set his "Country free, ended his daies, fighting manfully in defence of the Weal-publike, even in the "prime, height, and best time of his glory, ere that he became subject unto envy: but he himself "outliving it, remained alive, exposed unto criminous slanders and spightfull malice of men, and "of a deliverer and redeemer of his Countrey was now reputed no better than the *Aquilii* and "*Vitellii*. And will you never indeed (quoth he) approve the vertuous and honest conversation of "a man so well, but it shall be tainted with unjust suspition? What? would any man think, that I "being so fierce and fell an enemy of the Kings, should ever fear to incur the jealousie of men, for "seeking to be King? What if I dwelt on the top of *Tarpeie* cliff, even in the very Capitoll, "should I beleeve and think it possible, that my countrymen, neighbours, and Citizens, would "stand in fear of me? and will so small a matter as this turn the ballance of your opinion and "conceit of me? Is your affiance and confidence in me grounded so slightly, and standeth it upon "so nice terms and tickliſh points, that you force more and make greater reckoning of my dwelling place than of the quality of my person. Well, *P. Valerius* his house shall be no hindrance or "impeachment unto your liberty, O *Quirites*, ye shall not need to fear any harm from *Velia* for me. "I will remove my house not only down into the plain, but even to the valley under the hill foot, "that you may dwell above me, and overlook me (a suspected Citizen.) Let them a gods name "build in *Velia*, who may be better trusted with the Cities freedom than *P. Valerius*. Then was immediatly the timber and all carried down beneath *Velia*, and where as now *Vicus Publicus* is, in the very bottom of the hill, was his house reedified.

*P. Valerius* the Consul, unto the people.

After this were laws enacted, which not only acquit the Consul and cleared him of all suspition of affecting to the Kingdom, but also contrariwise wrought such effect, that he became exceeding popular again, whereupon he was surnamed *Publicola* or *Poplicola*. And first and formost the Statute passed as touching the appeal unto the people, against the Rulers and Magistrates. *Item*, concerning the cursing and condemning of him both body and goods, that should intend or plot to usurp Princely dominion over them. These acts the Commons liked well of. Which when he had alone ordained, that all the thanks and praise might be his therefore, then assembled he a generall Session for the substituting of another Consul unto him, in the room of his Colleague departed. So, *Sp. Lucretius* was created Consul: who being an aged man and of great years feeble withall and not able to execute the office and function of a Consul, within few daies paid nature her debt and died. And in place of *Lucretius* was *M. Horatius Pulvillus* chosen. In some ancient writers I do not find that *Lucretius* was Consul. For immediatly after *Brutus* they make mention of *Horatius*. But I think verily because no act of his made his Consulship memorable thereupon he was forgotten and left out. Now as yet was not the Temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitoll dedicated. And when *Valerius* and *Horatius* the Consuls, cast lots whether of them twain should perform that duty, the charge fell unto *Horatius*, and *Publicola* went forth to the Veientian war. But the kinsfolk and friends of *Valerius* took it more grievously and impatiently than reason was, that the honor of the dedication of so famous a temple, was given unto *Horatius*.

*Valerius* surnamed *Publicola* of *Poplicola*.

Devising

A Deviſing therefore by all means poſſible they could, to impeach it, and ſeeing they had aſſaied all
in vain and nothing took effect: even at the very inſtant, whiles the Conſul was holding a poſt of
the Temple, and in his ſolemn prayers to the gods, behold they brought unto him heavy and wo-
full news, that his ſon was dead, and that he might not lawfully, whiles his houſhold mourned and
was polluted with a dead corps, conſecrate the Temple. Whether it were that he gave no credit
to the meſſenger, or rather was of heart ſo ſtout, neither is it for certain reported, nor eaſie for a
man to divine. But for all theſe tidings, never a jot was he turned from his purpoſe, nor ſaid ought
elſe to the meſſenger, but willed that he ſhould bid the corps to be had forth to buriall, and ſo
holding the pillar or poſt ſtill ſaid out his prayer, and dedicated the Temple. Theſe were the acts
B done both at home and abroad in the firſt year after the expulſion of the Kings.

Then were *P. Valerius* the ſecond time, and *T. Lucretius* created Conſuls. By this time were the *Tarquins* fled for ſuccour to *Lartes Porſena* King of *Cluſium*: "where, by many reaſons and re-
"monſtrances, intermingled with prayer, one while they beſought him not to ſuffer them deſcen-
"ded from the Tuſcans, of the ſame bloud and name, to live needy and forlorn in perpetuall exile;
"otherwhile they adviſed and warned him not to put up without revenge this new faſhion of
"expelling Kings, now comming up. Saying, that liberty in it ſelf had ſweetneſs enough: and un-
"leſs Kings would defend and maintain their Crowns with as great might and main, as Cities
"deſired to enjoy freedom, there would be a general confuſion, and all things turned upſide down:
"neither would there be in States and Common-wealths any thing aloft and eminent above o-
C "ther endured: whereupon would iſſue a finall end of Kingly regiment, a thing with God and
"man of all other moſt excellent and beautiful. *Porſena* ſuppoſing it would be an honourable mat-
ter unto the Tuſcans, both to have a King at *Rome*, and a King too of the Tuſcans line, came with
a cruell army againſt *Rome*. Never was the Senate at any time afore put in ſuch fear: ſo mighty in *Porſena* be-
thoſe daies was the puiſſance of *Cluſium*, and the name of *Porſena* ſo renowned. Moreover, they ſiegeth *Rome*.
feared not their enemies only, but alſo their own ſubjects at home, leſt peradventure the Com-
munalty of *Rome* for fear of war ſhould receive the King into the City, and accept of peace though
it coſt them their liberty. During which time the Commons were entertained of the Nobles
with all kindneſs, and many favours and courteſies they had at their hands. And above all things,
order was taken for proviſion of grain and victuals. And for to purvey ſtore of corn, ſome were
D ſent to the *Voſci*, others to *Cumes*. Over and beſides the licence of ſelling ſalt, becauſe it was
ſold at an exceeding high price, was taken from private ſalters, and was undertaken by the City,
with all the coſt and charges thereto belonging by them defraied, and ſalt delivered out to the
people at an eaſie reckoning. The Commons were alſo freed of portage, tollage, and tribute; and
rich men that were able to bear the burthen were aſſeſſed at all paiments and contributions: the
poor were thought to be charged enough with the bringing up of their children. This kind
dealing and indulgency of the Nobles kept the City afterwards (notwithſtanding their hard
diſtreſs of ſiege and famine) in ſuch concord and unity, that the meaneſt as well as the higheſt
abhorred and deteſted the name of KK. And never after was there any one private perſon, ſo
popular, ſo devoted to the people by crafty means and indirect courſes tending to their particu-
E lar deſigns, as the whole Senate was at that time, by their good government of the Common-
weal. Now when the enemies approached near at hand, every man made ſhift for himſelf, for-
ſook the Country and came into the City. Which they fortified with ſtrong guards round about:
ſo that what with wals and bulwarks on the one ſide, and what with the *Tyber* on the other ſide,
it ſeemed ſure enough, and ſufficiently defended. The wooden bridge had like to have given the
enemy entrance, had not the valour of one man been, even *Horatius Coclet* (who that day by the Tha rare for-
good fortune of the Romans was a fortreſs unto the City of *Rome*.) He as good hap was, ap- titude of *Ho-*
pointed to ward and keep the bridge, ſeeing the Janicle by a ſudden aſſault won, and that the ene- *ratius Coclet.*
mies ran down ſo furiouſly from thence upon him, & contrariwiſe, the multitude of his own com-
panies for fear, to forgo their weapons, break their arraies, and to be gone: took hold of every man,
F oppoſed himſelf againſt them afront: and calling God and man to witneſs, proteſted, ſhewed and
declared unto them, that forſaking and abandoning thus their quarter, all their flying was but
in vain: for if they left the bridge on their backs, to yield paſſage to the enemies, there would
anon be more of them in *Palatium* and the Capitol than in the Janicle: and therefore he willed
and commanded them, yea, and gave them direction to break down the bridge, by hewing, by
firing, or by what means they poſſible could: aſſuring them for his own part, ſo much as the
body of one only man was able to do, he would receive, and withſtand the violence of the ene-
mies. Then advanceth he himſelf unto the firſt entry or foot of the bridge, and all goodly to
be ſeen, amongſt thoſe that would in no point fight, but ſhewed their backs, he ſo bent his ſword
and target in their very faces, reſolute to encounter with them hand to hand, that even with his
G wonderfull hardineſs and incredible courage, he aſtonied and amazed his enemies. Howbeit, two
there were that for very ſhame tarried ſtill and ſtood to him, namely, *Sp. Largius* and *Tit. Herminius*, brave men both, as well for noble birth as worthy deeds. Aſſiſted for a while with theſe gallants,
ſuſtained he the firſt ſtorm of danger and moſt cumberſome puſh of the skirmiſh. But as they
that were hewing down the bridge called upon them to come back, he conſtrained thoſe two
alſo to retire and ſave themſelves, whiles ſome little part of the bridge was left behind free and
uncut. Then caſting all about in menacing manner his fiery and terrible eyes towards the Captains

and principals of the Tuſcans, one while he challenged them one by one to ſingle fight: other- H
whiles he rated them all in generall, calling them the hirelings and ſlaves of proud Kings and ty-
rants; who forgetting and making no reckoning of their own freedom, were come to oppugn and
impeach the liberty of others. The enemies ſtood at a bay and in ſuſpence a good while, look-
ing about them one upon another who ſhould firſt begin to fight. At laſt, very ſhame made the
whole troup to ſtir and come forward and ſo ſetting up a loud cry, from all ſides they let flie their
javelins at him one man alone and their only enemy. All this while bare he off their ſhot which
light upon his target, and there ſtuck, and nevertheleſs with full reſolution kept the bridge ſtill,
walking his ſtations, and ſtalking like a giant. Then aſſaied they with all their force to bear the
man down and to turn him over into the water: but by this time the crack of the bridge broken I
under him, and the ſhout withall of the Romans, for joy that they had finiſhed their work, ſtaid
with ſudden fear their violent aſſault. Then praied *Cocles* in this wiſe: "O father *Tiberinus* (quoth
"he) O ſacred river, with devout heart I thee beſeech, receive with thy gracious and merciſull
"ſtream this harneſs, theſe weapons, and this thy ſouldier. And ſo all armed as he was, he leapt
into the *Tyber*: and albeit many a dart was flung from aloft and light upon him, yet he ſwam over
and eſcaped ſafe to his fellows. A brave adventure for all poſterity another day to talk of, rather
than to beleeve. For this ſo great fortitude and reſolution of his, the City was thankfull, and in to-
ken thereof his Image or Statue was ſet up in their common Hall, named *Comitium*, and as much
ground given him in compaſs, as he was able with a plough to break up in one day. Amongſt theſe
publike favours and honours done unto him, the kind affections and good wils of private perſons K
alſo well appeared: for in that extream want and ſcarcity that then was, every man out of his
houſe-ſtore and proviſion ſpared from himſelf, and for to give him one thing or another defrauded
his own belly. Thus *Porſena* with the repulſe of this his firſt enterpriſe, changed his mind from aſ-
faulting to beſieging of the City: and after he had placed a garriſon in the *Janiculum*, he planted
himſelf and encamped on the plain, even upon the banks of the *Tyber*. And ſending for boats and
craiers from all parts, both to ſtop the mouth and paſſage of *Tyber*, that no corn ſhould come in
and be conveyed to *Rome*: and alſo that the ſouldiers, as they ſaw occaſion might croſs the river,
and fetch booties in divers and ſundry places at their pleaſure in ſhort ſpace he brought the whole
countrey about *Rome* to ſuch ſtreights, that not only other things were brought in, but all their
cattel alſo was fain to be driven out of the fields into the City, and no man durſt put any creature L
forth out of the gates. The Tuſcans were permitted to be thus bold, not ſo much for fear as for a
policy: for *Valerius* the Conſul, waiting for ſome vantage and opportunity, ſuddenly to ſet upon
many of them at once and at unawares, as they ſtragled abroad diſorderly, making little regard to
revenge ſmall matters kept himſelf to be revenged of them throughly, and to pay them home one
time or other. To the end therefore he might draw forth theſe forragers, and toll them abroad,
he gave his men in charge, and proclaimed, That the next day in great companies they ſhould put
their cattel forth at the gate *Eſquilina*, which was fartheſt from the enemies: ſuppoſing that they
would have intelligence thereof, by reaſon that in this extremity of long ſiege and pinching hun-
ger, ſome falſe knaves and diſloyal rogues would flie unto them. And ſo fell it out indeed; For
they had knowledge thereof by a fugitive ſlave. Whereupon they in far greater multitudes paſs M
over the river, in hope to make a general ſpoil and havock once for all. Then *Valerius* comman-
ded *T. Herminius* with a ſufficient company to lie cloſe in ambuſh at two miles end, in the *Sa-
bine* high way, and *Sp. Largius* with a power of luſty tall fellows lightly armed, to keep the gate
*Collina*, untill the enemy were gone by and paſt: with direction, then to put himſelf between the
river and them, and ſo to intercept them in their return. The other Conſul *T. Lucretius* iſſu-
ed forth with certain bands of footmen at the gate *Nævia*: and *Valerius* himſelf in proper per-
ſon ſet forth from mount *Cœlius* certain enſigns of his beſt and choice ſouldiers. Theſe firſt were
deſcried and diſcovered by the enemy. *Herminius* ſo ſoon as he heard ſome noiſe and ſtir, aroſe
and ran at once out of the ambuſh, and whileſt the Tuſcans turned to ſet upon *Lucretius*, he
charged them luſtily at their backs: ſo that on every hand from the gate *Collina* on the one ſide, N
and from the gate *Nævia* on the other, the allarm was given. Thus the robbers were ſlain and cut
in pieces in the midſt of them: both for that they were overmatched in fight and alſo becauſe all
the waies were ſtopped up, that they could not eſcape by way of flight. And never after durſt the
Tuſcans range about the countrey ſo audaciouſly. Howbeit, the ſiege continued nevertheleſs,
with great ſcarcity of corn, and exceeding dearth within the City. And *Porſena* had good hope
by ſitting ſtill, to force it in the end, and be maſter thereof. At what time one *C. Mutius* a noble
young gentleman, who thought it a diſhonour and foul ſhame, that the people of *Rome*, who
all the while they were in bondage under Kings, were in no war nor by any enemies beleaguered,
ſhould now, being the ſame ſtill in time of their freedom, be of theſe Tuſcans beſieged, whoſe ar-
mies they often had defeated: and ſuppoſing that by ſome hardy and adventurous piece of ſervice O
this reproachfull indignity was to be revenged, deviſed at firſt on his own head to enter into the
enemies Camp: but fearing afterwards to go without commiſſion from the Conſul and the know-
ledge of any other perſon, leſt peradventure he might be taken by the watch of the Romans,
and brought back for a traiterous runnagate, at ſuch a time eſpecially, when the hard eſtate of the
City was enough to bring him into a deep ſuſpition, and to be reputed for no better: preſen-
ted himſelf before the Councill into the Senate houſe: "I am right wil'ing, and I have a purpoſe

The valiant reſolution of *C. Mutius*.

"my

A "my LL. (quoth he) to pass over the *Tyber*, yea, and if I can, to enter the Camp of the enemies,
"not in quality of a robber, nor to be revenged for booties from us taken, with doing the sem-
"blable. A greater exploit with the favour of the gods, I intend to perform. The Senators gave
their consent, and approved his designment. Then with a skein, hidden under his garment he set-
teth forward. Being thither come into the Camp, he presseth in the thickest throng to stand near
the Kings Tribunal. It fortuned that then and there the souldiers were receiving their pay. And
the Chancellor, or Kings principal Secretary sate together with the King in like array, much em-
ployed and busied in many matters, and the souldiers commonly had recourse unto him. *Mutius*
fearing to enquire whether of them two were *Porsena* lest by not knowing the King he should be-
B wray himself who he was, hapned (see how fortune in her rashness directed his hand) to kill the
Secretary instead of the King: then as he passed through the fearful multitude, making himself
way with his bloudy blade there was a present outcry, and thereat the Kings guard came running
in, laid hold of him, and brought him back before the King his royal Throne: and albeit he was
now forlorn and without all succour amidst those threats of frowning fortune, yet as a man more
feared still than fearing: "I am (quoth he) a Citizen of *Rome*, and *Caius Mutius* is my name, a
"professed enemy. I confess, and an enemy would I have slain; as ready and willing am I to dye
"my self, as I was to kill another. For both to do, and to suffer valiantly is the part of a noble
"Roman. And it is not I alone that carry this mind and resolution against thee, O King there is a
"long train and crue behind of them that seek to win the same praise and honour: make thee
C "ready therefore, and arm thy self, if thou think good, against this danger, and reckon every hour
"to be in hazard of thy life, and to have alwaies at the very Court gates thy enemies sword.
"This kind of war do we youths of *Rome* denounce openly unto thee: no battel, no fight else
"shalt thou need to fear. With thee alone will we all, one by one have to do, and with none o-
"ther. Hereat the King incensed with wrath, and for the danger that he stood in affrighted
withall, commanded in menacing wise that he should be fried at a stake, unless he would presently
unfold in plain terms, what secret and dangerous practises he meant and threatned under this co-
vert circuit of words and intricate circumstances. "Lo, (quoth he again) how little they set by
"this carkass that aspire to great glory and aim at honour: and with that thrust his right hand in-
to the hearth on fire that was made for the sacrifice, and when he endured the rosting thereof, as if
D he had been sensless, and felt no pain, the King well near astonished at this wonderfull and mira-
culous sight start up and leapt from his royal seat and chair of estate, commanding the young man
to be had from the altar. "Go thy waies (quoth he) in peace, thou that hast done thy own self
"more mischief than thou hast attempted against my person. I would say God bless thee, and
"worthy hadst thou been of honour for thy prowess, if it were in my service, and in the behalf
"and defence of mine own Countrey: and now by the law of arms I discharge thee freely, and
"give thee leave to depart without any hurt or abuse offered unto thee. Then *Mutius*, as it were
to requite again his curtesie and desert, "Forasmuch as (quoth he) thou settest so great store by va-
"lour, and honourest vertue so highly; to the end it may be seen that thou shalt get at my hands
"by curtesie that which by cruel threats thou couldst not: these are therefore to let thee under-
E "stand, that there are three hundred of us noble youths, even the very flower and knighthood of
"*Rome*, that have conspired and sworn thy death, and in this manner to assail thee. My lot it was
"to be the first, the rest as it shall fall out, will be here shortly, and wait every man his turn and
"time, untill they hit right upon thee. *Mutius*, surnamed afterwards *Scævola*, by reason of the
maim of his right hand, was no sooner dismissed and gone, but there followed streight after him to
*Rome*, Embassadors from *Porsena*; and so much troubled in spirit was he, both for the danger past
of the first assault, (from which nothing preserved him but a small errour and oversight of the assai-
lant) and also for the hazard to come, (for look how many conspirators remained behind to give
the like attempt, so often stood he in jeopardy of his life) that of his own accord he offered the
Romans conditions of peace. And among other capitulations, he stood hard upon this article (but
F all in vain) of restoring the *Tarquins* into their Kingdom. This point the King urged instantly, ra-
ther because he could not well himself deny the *Tarquins* so much, than for that he was ignorant,
that the Romans would never yield thereto. But another article he got granted, namely, the resti-
tution of the Veientians lands again: and the Romans were driven of necessity to give him ho-
stages, in case they would have the Kings garrison to quit the *Janiculum*. Upon these conditions
peace was concluded and *Porsena* withdrew his forces from the *Janiculum*, dislodged and depar-
ted out of the territory of *Rome*. The Senators bestowed frankly upon *Mutius* as a testimonial of
his valiantness, a piece of ground lying beyond *Tyber*, which was afterwards called, *Mutia prata*,
i.e. *Mutius* his meadows.

*Mutius* his speech to King *Porsena*.

*Porsena* his words to *Mutius*.

*Mutius* to *Porsena*.

*Mutius* surnamed *Scævola*.

Peace between *Porsena* and the Romans.

Upon this honourable regard and reward of vertue, women were likewise provoked and en-
G couraged to enterprize worthy acts in the service of the Common-weal. For a young damosel and
Virgin, named *Cœlia*, one of those hostages aforesaid, whiles the Tuscans were encamped (as it
fell out) not far from the banks of *Tyber*, deceiving her keepers and leading a company of o-
ther maidens after her even within the shot and darts of the enemies, took the river, swam o-
uer with them, brought them all to *Rome* safe, and delivered them to their parents, kinsfolk and
friends. Which being reported to the King, he at the first stormed at it, and was all in a rage, and
sent unto *Rome* certain Orators to demand again his hostage *Cœlia* by name: as for all the
rest,

The commendable deed of *Cœlia*.

reſt, he made no great account of them: but afterwards, upon further conſideration he admired H
the enterpriſe, and plainly ſaid, it ſurpaſſed far all the adventures of the *Coclites* and the *Mutii*: ſo
as he pretended that if the maid were not rendred again, he would take the league as broken, and
being yielded, he would ſend her back to her friends, undefiled, and without any abuſe or violence
done unto her. On both parts was promiſe faithfully kept: For both the Romans reſtored the
pledge of peace according to covenant, and ſeen alſo it was, that vertue was not only ſecured ſafe,
but alſo highly regarded and honoured with the *Tuſcan* King. For after he had commended and
praiſed the damoſel, he promiſed to give her part of the hoſtages, chuſe whom ſhe would. And when
they were all brought forth before her, ſhe made choiſe (they ſay) of thoſe young boies that were
under 14 years of age: which was not only moſt befitting her virginity, but alſo by the accord of I
the hoſtages themſelves beſt approved: namely, that that age eſpecially ſhould be delivered out of
the enemies hands, which was moſt ſubject to injury and taking wrong. The peace thus renewed
and confirmed, the Romans rewarded this rare valour in that ſex, with as new and ſtrange an ho-
nour, for, in remembrance of her, in the top of *Via ſacra*, there was erected her ſtatue, [*A maiden
ſitting on horſeback.*

There remaineth yet even unto our daies amongſt other ſolemn ceremonies, this one cuſtome re-
ceived from our anceſtors, far differing and diſagreeing from this peaceable and friendly departure
of the Tuſcan King from before the City of *Rome*, and this it is: In the portſale of goods they uſe
to proclaime firſt aloud, *The ſale of King* Porſena *his goods.* This ceremoniall cuſtome muſt needs
either begin in time of war, and ſo was not afterwards forgotten in peace: or elſe aroſe from ſome K
more gratious and gentle occaſion at the firſt, then this title or outward form pretendeth, of ſel-
ling goods by way of hoſtility, and after the manner of enemies. But the likelieſt conjecture and
neareſt to the truth of all thoſe that are given out is this: that *Porſena* diſlodging from the *Janicle*,
gave freely unto the Romans, (the City at that time being after long ſiege diſtreſſed and in great
ſtreights) his rich Camp furniſhed with victual and proviſion, conveyed thither out of the plen-
tifull countries of *Hetruria* near adjoyning: which goods, for fear there ſhould have been ſome
havock and ſpoil made thereof in warlike wiſe, in caſe the people had been let looſe to the rifling
of the tents, were after ſold, and called *Porſena* his goods: which title ſignified rather their thank-
full acceptation of the gift, and remembrance of the giver, than any open and overt ſale of the
Kings goods, which were not ſo much as in the Romans power, nor at their diſpoſition. L

Thus *Porſena* having given over the Roman war, becauſe he would not ſeem to have brought
an hoſt of men into thoſe parts, and performed no exploit, ſent his ſon *Arruns* with part of his for-
ces to ſurprize and aſſault *Aricia*. At the firſt this ſudden and unexpected enterprize much troubled
the Aricins, but afterward when the had gotten aid both from the Latine nations & alſo from *Cu-
mes*, they took ſuch heart again, that they durſt enter into the field & bid the enemy battel. In the
beginning of the conflict, the Tuſcans charged them ſo hotly, that at the very firſt encounter, they
brake the arraies of the Aricins. But the troups of the Cumans ſetting policy againſt force, went a
little aſide, made way and gave ſome ground, and when the enemies had outſtripped them & were
raſhly and diſorderly paſſed beyond them, they turned their enſigns, and ſet upon their backs: ſo
were the Tuſcans, being in the very train of their victory, beſet round about and ſlain in the midſt M
between. Only a ſmall remnant of them after the loſs of their Captain, becauſe they had no other
place of refuge nearer, were fain to trudg to *Rome* without weapons and diſarmed, like ſuppliants
both in deed and ſhew. Where they were kindly entertained and beſtowed in ſeverall lodgings.
Some of them when they were cured of their wounds repaired home, reporting the hoſpitality &
courteous uſage they have found. Many remained ſtill at *Rome* for love of their hoſts and the City:
who had a place allotted them to dwell in, which after they called *Thuſcus vicus*, the Tuſcan
ſtreet.

Rizza.

After this, were *P. Lucretius* and *P. Valerius* the third time created Coſſ. In that year, for a
ſmall end, there came Embaſſadours from *Porſena*, to treat about the reſtoring of the *Tarquins*
into their Realm: to whom this anſwer was returned: that the Senate would ſend Embaſſadors N
to the King himſelf: whereupon there were immediatly addreſſed unto him in Embaſſie the
moſt honourable perſonages of all the Nobility, who in the name of the people of *Rome* deli-
vered this ſpeech: That the chief of their Nobles were ſent, rather than any diſpatch given by
word of mouth unto his Embaſſadours at *Rome*; not for that they could not have ſhapen them
this ſhort anſwer, "They would no Kings have: But to this end, that for ever after there ſhould
"be no ſuit renewed of that matter, nor in ſo great mutuall benefits, and favours paſſed between
"them, ſome diſcontent ariſe on either ſide, whiles he might be thought to requeſt that
"which was repugnant and prejudiciall to the liberty of *Rome*, and the Romans again, unleſs
"they would be executors of their own wrongs, and ſeek their own miſchievance, to make
"denial unto him, whom by their good wils they would not ſeem to deny ought for any thing in O
"the world. But as to the ſubſtance in the matter, this was the point: namely, that the people of
"*Rome* were not under the regiment of a King, but were a free ſtate: and fully ſetled in this pur-
"poſe. To ſet open their gates to the enemies, ſooner than to Kings: and were all generally of this
"mind and reſolution, That look when the freedom of that City had an end, then ſhould the
"City come to an end alſo. To conclude therefore they were to entreat him, that if he tendered
"the weal and ſafety of *Rome*, he would permit them to be free ſtill and at their own liberty.

The Roman Embaſſadours to King *Porſena*.

The

A The King overcome with very modeſty, and much abaſhed in himſelf, anſwered thus again: "Since you are ſo fully minded and ſtifly bent (quoth he) neither will I importune you, nor dull "your ears with harping ſtill upon this unpleaſant ſtring, and do no good: nor bear the *Tarquins* "any longer in hand, and deceive them of that hope of aid, which nothing at all is in my power to "perform. Let them from henceforth ſeek ſome other place of exile, either for peace or war, as "they ſhall think more expedient, that there may be nothing to let and hinder the free cour e of "amity, and alliance between me and you. To theſe good and kind words he joyned better and more friendly deeds. For all the hoſtages that remained in his hand he ſent home: and the Veientians lands which by the covenants indented at *Janiculum*, were taken away, he reſtored to the B Romans again. Thus *Tarquin* ſeeing all hope of return cut off, removed unto *Tuſculum* to his ſon in law *Mamilius Octavius*, there to live and ſpend the reſt of his daies in baniſhment. So there continued faithfull peace between the Romans and King *Porſena*.

Then were Coſſ. *M. Valerius* and *P. Poſthumius*. In that year the Romans fought with the Sabins fortunately, and the Conſuls triumphed. But afterwards the Sabins made greater preparation of war: to withſtand whom, as alſo for fear of ſome ſudden danger that might ariſe from *Tuſculum*, from whence they ſuſpected war, although none was openly ſeen, were *P. Valerius* the fourth time, and *T. Lucretius* the ſecond time created Coſſ. But among the Sabins there grew ſome civill diſcord between that part that would have war, and the contrary that ſought peace: which gained the Romans ſome ſtrength even from thence. For *Appius Clauſus* (who after- C wards at *Rome* was ſurnamed *Appius Claudius*) a perſwader himſelf of quietneſs and repoſe, being overmatched and not able to make his part good with the adverſe faction that minded and ſtirred troubles, accompanied with a great power of friends and followers, from *Regillum* fled to *Rome*, who were enfranchiſed Citizens, and poſſeſſed of thoſe lands that lye beyond the river * *Anio*. And from thence came the name of the old trade *Appia*: after that other new Citizens were put unto them, thoſe I mean, that deſcended of that race, and out of the ſame territory. This *Appius* was admitted into the number of the Senators, and not long after advanced to be one of the chief men and heads of the City. The Coſſ. went with a ſtrong power into the Sabins land, where after they had firſt waſted the Country, and after in battell abated the ſtrength and puiſſance of the enemy; ſo, as for a long time after they needed not to fear any rebellion from thence, they returned D to *Rome* in triumph.

*Appius Claudius.*

* At this day *Teveron.*

Tribe *Appia.*

The year following, when *Agrippa Menenius* and *P. Poſthumius* were Coſſ. *P. Valerius* ended his daies in great glory, reputed the only ſingular man in thoſe times, by all mens judgment, for skill and knowledge as well in martiall feats, as in civill affairs: but ſo poor was his eſtate, that he had not wherewith to defray his funerall expences, and was therefore at the Cities charge right honourably enterred. And the Dames of *Rome* mourned for him as they did for *Brutus*.

The poverty of *P. Valerius*, 4. times Conſul.

The ſame year two Colonies of the Latines, *Pometia* and *Cora*, revolted to the Auruncans. The Romans firſt began to war upon the Auruncans. And after they had diſcomfited a great hoſt of them, who met with the Conſuls as they entred the borders, and fiercely made head againſt them, then all the Auruncan war was driven and tranſlated wholly to *Pometia*. The ſlaughter and execution E was no leſs after the conflict, than during the fight: for whereas there were many more of them ſlain outright in the place than taken priſoners, thoſe alſo that were priſoners, they ſpared not, but murdered every where as they went: neither ſtaid the furious rage of war therewith, but even the very hoſtages whom they had received, to the number of 300, they put to the ſword. In this year alſo was a triumph at *Rome*.

The Conſuls *Opiter Virginius*, and *Sp. Caſſius*, that followed the next year, aſſailed *Pometia*, firſt by meer force to ſcale the wals, after with pavoiſes, mantelets, platforms, and other fabricks, raiſed againſt it. Upon whom the Auruncans ſallied forth, rather of a cankred and malicious hatred than for any hope or vantage given them of good exploit: the greater part of them furniſhed better with fire-works than armed with ſword and ſpear, killed and burned all afore them: and having F thus fired their fabricks aforeſaid, hurt and ſlain a great number of their enemies, one of the Conſuls alſo (but his name preciſely is not by any author ſet down) was ſore wounded, ſtrucken down from his horſe, and well-near ſlain. Whereupon the Romans returned back to *Rome* thus unhappily defeated, leaving the Conſul behind them amongſt many that were hurt, like to dye. Soon after, and no longer than whileſt their wounds might be healed, and a new ſupply of ſouldiers made, they came againſt *Pometia*, in more furious manner than before, and alſo with a ſtronger power. And when by making of new mantelets and other warlike inſtruments of aſſault, they were proceeded thus forward that the ſouldiers were ready to ſcale and get up the wall, then they within yielded: and notwithſtanding the Town was thus ſurrendred up, yet there was no more mercy ſhewed unto it, than if it had been forced by aſſault. The chief and principal Citizens ſhamefully G loſt their heads, the reſt of the inhabitants were ſold at the ſpear in open market like ſlaves. the Town ſackt and razed to the ground, yea, and money made of the lands belonging to it. The Conſuls for that they had ſo wreaked their anger, and ſharply revenged themſelves, more than for any great war they had finiſhed, obtained triumph.

The year following, were *Poſthumius Caninius* and *T. Largius* Conſuls. In this year, during the games and plaies at *Rome*, certain yonkers of the Sabins, went about in a wanton jollity to carry away and raviſh the Curtezans and common Strumpets of the City. Whereupon the people ran together

together, and made a riot, grew to words, and from words to brawls, inſomuch, as they went to- H
gether by the ears, and made a fray in manner of a battell: upon which ſmall occaſion there was a rebellion like to enſue. Over and beſides the fear of the Latines war, (for to encreaſe their troubles the more) news came, and it was certainly known, that by the ſolliciting and practiſe of *Octavius Mamilius*, there were already thirty nations banded together againſt the Romans. The City thus being perplexed for the event and expectation of theſe ſo great occurrents, there aroſe the firſt occaſion and mention made of creating a Dictator. But neither in what year, nor in what Conſuls time (for that it can hardly be beleeved, that they ſhould be of the *Tarquins* faction, and yet that alſo is reported) nor yet who was firſt created Dictator, is it certainly known: Howbeit, in the
Dictator firſt created at *Rome*. moſt ancient writers I find that *T. Largius* was created the firſt Dictator, and *Cneus Caſſius* Gene- I
rall of the horſemen: and Conſular men (*i.e.* ſuch as had been Conſuls afore) they were that elected him: for ſo the law provided that was enacted, concerning the creation of a Dictator. And this induceth me the rather to beleeve, that *Largius* an ancient man, and one who had been Conſul before, was appointed as a Controller and Maſter over the Conſuls, and not *M. Valerius* the ſon of *Marcus*, and grandſon of *Voleſus*, who as yet had not attained to the Conſuls dignity. For if theſe Conſular men aforeſaid had been minded to have choſen a Dictator out of that houſe above all other, ſurely they would have made choice rather of his father *M. Valerius*, a noble perſonage, of approved proweſs and valour, and one beſides that had been Conſul. When the Dictator was once choſen at *Rome*, and the axes were ſeen born before him, the Commoners ſtood in great awe, and took better regard to be obedient at every beck and command. For neither could they make ac- K
count of any help (as they might under the Conſuls, who were both in commiſſion alike, and of equall authority, when they had recourſe from the one to the other) nor yet appeal unto the people: no nor look for ſuccour at all, but in their own double diligence and care of obedience. The Sabins likewiſe were afraid of the Dictator thus created at *Rome*: and ſo much the more, becauſe they were verily perſwaded he was made of purpoſe for them: and thereupon, they ſent Embaſſadors to treat for peace, who beſeeching the Dictator and the Senate to pardon ſo ſmall a fault, and being but a trick of youth, received this anſwer: That youth indeed might well be pardoned, but ſuch old babes as they might not, who never reſted to ſow debate, and miniſter occaſion of one war after another. Howbeit, they ſate in conſultation about a peace, and obtained it had been, if the Sabins could have found in their hearts and condeſcended to make good and repay the expences L
that the Romans had diſburſed about the war: for that was the thing demanded at their hands. So, defiance was ſent and war proclaimed. And yet for that year all was quiet, as it were in time of a ſecret truce during the Conſulſhip of *Servius Sulpitius*, and *M. Manlius Tullus*, in whoſe year there was nothing done worthy of remembrance.

* *Caſtel Jubileo.* * *Palumbara, vel Monti Rotundo.* * *Pilaſtrina, Ortel. Thuſculo.*

After them were *T. Ebutius* and *C. Vetuſius*. In their time * *Fidene* was beſieged, * *Cruſtumeria* won, and *Preneſte* revolted from the Latines unto the Romans. And the Latine war, which had been a breeding and budding for certain years, was no longer delaid, but brake forth. *A. Poſthumius* the Dictator and *T. Ebutius* Generall of the Cavalry, with great power of foot and horſe, ſet forward and advanced as far as the Lake *Regillus*, in the Territory of *Tuſculum* and there encountred the Army of the enemies in their march. And becauſe they heard ſay that the *Tarquins* were M
in the hoſt of the Latines, they could not for anger forbear any longer, but preſently fell to it, and began battell. This field was fought right fiercely, and coſt more bloudſhed a good deal, than others uſually before: becauſe the Generals and chief Commanders were there preſent, not only to give direction by their counſel and advice, but alſo in perſon themſelves hazarded their own bodies, and fought bravely in the medley. And not one almoſt of the principall leaders eſcaped out of the skirmiſh, either of one ſide or of the other, ſafe and ſound, ſave only the Roman Dictator.
The famous battell at the Lake *Regillus*. For as *Poſthumius* was encouraging his men, and ſetting them in array in the vanguard, *Tarquinius Superbus* (albeit he was now very aged and unweildy, and not able to beſtir himſelf) ſet ſpurs to his horſe, and ran full butt againſt him. But having caught a thruſt from aſide, was reſcued by his men that came about him, and retired to a place of ſafety. And in the other wing, *Ebutius* Generall of N
the horſemen, ſet upon *Oct. Mamilius*: but he, the Captain I mean of the Tuſculans, was well ware of him, and eſpied him coming, and ran his horſe with full carreer likewiſe upon him, and ſo deſperately they bear their Lances one againſt the other, that *Ebutius* was run quite through the arm, and *Mamilius* wounded in the breaſt, whom the Latines ſuccoured and received into the middle ward. As for *Ebutius* not able any longer to bear his ſtaff, with his arm ſore hurt, withdrew himſelf out of the battel. The Leader of the Latines, nothing diſmaied for all his hurt, maintained fight ſtill: and ſeeing his ſouldiers ſomewhat diſtreſſed, he ſendeth for the Regiment of the Roman exuls, that were under the leading of *L. Tarquinius* his ſon: who ſticking more couragiouſly unto it, for anger that their goods were ſpoiled, and they driven out of their own countrey, renewed the combate afreſh for awhile. And as the Romans from that quarter began to O
recule and give ground, *M. Valerius*, the brother of *Publicola*, eſpying young *Tarquin* vaunting himſelf gloriouſly in the fore-front of the exuls, inflamed alſo with a deſire of domeſticall glory of his houſe: that the ſame family which had the praiſe of expelling the Kings, might likewiſe win the honour of killing them, ſpurred his horſe, and with deadly ſpear ran againſt *Tarquinius*, who giving way to his mortall enemy, retired back to his own Regiment. But *Valerius* by this time was disbanded from his company, and raſhly ridden into the battell of the exiles,

and

A and there a common ſouldier hapned to charge upon him a flank, and run him through. The horſe ſtaid not a jot for all the rider was wounded, and ſo the Roman Knight ready to die, fell to the ground with his armour upon his body, and paid nature her debt. *Poſthumius* the Dictator, after he perceived ſo valiant a man ſain, and the baniſhed men advancing luſtily forward with full trot, and his own ſouldiers diſtreſſed, and at point to turn their backs gave expreſs commandement unto his own band, which he had about him of choſen tall men for to guard his perſon, that as many of their fellows as they ſaw flie, they ſhould take them for enemies, and kill them in the place. Thus by reaſon of a counter-fear the Romans made head again and renewed the battell. Then began the Dictators cohort to fight, and coming with freſh bodies and couragious ſtomacks, charged upon
B the wearied exiles, and killed them on every ſide. Wherupon began another combate alſo between the Colonels and Captains of quality and mark. The Generall of the Latines ſeeing the battalion of the baniſhed well near environed round by the Roman Dictator, ſpeedily taketh with him into the forefront of the battell certain ſquadrons of thoſe that were appointed in the rear-guard to ſuccour and aid: whom *T. Herminius*, a lieutenant, eſpied to come marching in good order, and knowing amongſt them *Mamilius* by his gorgeous harneſs, and goodly coat-armour, with far greater violence than the Generall of the horſemen a little before, encountred the Colonell of his enemies ſo hotly that both he ran *Mamilius* through his ſides, and ſlue him outright, and alſo whileſt he was diſarming and rifling his body, he was wounded himſelf with a ſhort javelin, and being brought back with victory into the Camp, and at firſt dreſſing yeelded to nature and died. Then
C rode the Dictator apace to the horſemen, and earneſtly cried unto them, that ſeeing the footmen were toiled out and wearied, they would alight from their horſes, and take the matter into their hands. The horſemen ſoon obeyed, leapt from horſeback, and ſet forward as if they had flown, to the forefront, where they expoſed their targets in defence of them that fought before the enſigns. Whereat preſently the Infantry began again to take heart, ſeeing the principall men of arms, and noble young Gentlemen in the like kind of ſervice, expoſed to the ſame danger, and ready to take part with them. Then at the laſt were the Latines put back, and their whole battel began to ſhrink. The Gentlemen had their horſes brought to them again, and they mounted on horſeback to purſue their enemies. The footmen likewiſe followed after. There the Dictator omitting no help of God and man, vowed, as men ſay, a Temple to *Caſtor*, and openly promiſed and propoſed rewards
D to that ſouldier that made either firſt or ſecond entry into the enemies Camp. Whereupon they beſtirred themſelves ſo couragiouſly, that the Romans at one brunt both vanquiſhed their enemies, and alſo were poſſeſſed of their tents. This was the noble field fought at the Lake *Regillus*. The Dictator and the Generall of horſemen returned into the City with triumph. For three years after, there was neither aſſured peace between them, nor yet profeſſed war.

Conſuls were *Q. Cœlius*, and *T. Lartius*. After them *A. Sempronius*, and *M. Minutius*. Whiles theſe two were Conſuls, the Temple to *Saturn* was dedicated, and the feaſt called *Saturnalia* inſtituted. After them ſucceeded *A. Poſthumius*, and *T. Virginius*. And in this year and not before, I find in ſome authors, that the ſaid battell was ſtricken near the Lake *Regillus*, and that *A. Poſthumius* ſuſpecting the fidelity of his brother Conſul gave over his place, and ſo was made Dictator. The
E account of times doth ſo vary and is ſo intricate and confuſed, whiles writers diverſly ſet down the chief Magiſtrates, that in ſo great antiquity, not of acts only, but alſo of authors, a man cannot orderly and directly diſtinguiſh, according to ſome writers, who were Conſuls, and what was done in every year.

Temple of *Saturn* dedicated. *Saturnalia* inſtituted.

Afterwards were *Ap. Claudius*, and *P. Servilius* created Conſuls. This year was famous for the news of *Tarquin* his death. He died at *Cumes*, to which place after the defeature of the Latines power he went to *Ariſtodemus* the Tyrant. At which tidings the hearts of the Nobles were well lightned the Commons alſo began to look up. But the joy in the Nobility was above meaſure too exceſſive and licentious. For why? the great men began now to wrong and wring the communalty, whom untill that day they had favoured and pleaſured to their full power. In the ſame year the
F Colony *Signia*, which King *Tarquinius* had erected, was now ſtored again the ſecond time, and the number ſupplied with new inhabitants. And the tribes or wards at *Rome* were now made up 21. The temple of *Mercury* was dedicated in the * Ides of *May*. With the Nation of the Volſcians in the time of the Latine war neither was there peace nor war: for both the Volſcians had levied a power for aid to ſend unto the Latines, if the Roman Dictator had not made good ſpeed: and alſo the Roman Dictator haſtned the more for fear he ſhould in one battell have to deal with Latines and Volſcians both at once. Upon this quarrell, the Conſuls led forth their Legions into the Volſcians Country The Volſcians fearing no revenge for their deſignment (that was intended only, and never came in action) were much troubled with this ſudden and unlooked for occurrent. Not minding therefore to make reſiſtance, and forgetfull of warlike proweſs, they delivered
G 300 of their Noblemens children out of *Cora* and *Pometia* for hoſtages. Whereupon the Roman Legions from thence without any fight were withdrawn. But not long after the Volſcians being ſomewhat eaſed and delivered of their fear, came again to their old biace & returned to their wonted nature, and ſecretly under-hand made preparation anew for war, joyning with them as confederates in this quarrel the Hernikes. They ſend alſo their Embaſſadours all about to move and ſolicite *Latium*. But the Latines, for their late overthrow at the Lake *Regillus*, took ſuch a ſpleen and hatred againſt him whoſoever, that ſhould once put into their heads and perſwade them to take

Wards 21. * 15 of *May*.

*Compagna de Roma.*

arms,

arms, that they could not forbear the very Embassadours, but offer them abuse. They apprehended H
therefore the Volscians, conveyed them to *Rome*, and delivered them to the Consuls: where they revealed and gave intelligence, that the Volscians and Hernicks were out in arms, ready to war upon the Romans. Which being reported unto the Senators, they were so well pleased and contented therewith, that they set at liberty 6000 Latines, prisoners, and sent them home. And concerning a league to be concluded with them, which was like before to have been denied for ever, they referred the consultation thereof, unto the new Magistrates that should next enter. And in good sooth pleasent & glad were the Latins then, for that they had done, and the authors of peace were magnified and had in great reputation. They send moreover a Crown of gold into the Capitoll, for a present to *Jupiter*. With these Embassadours and the present, those prisoners which before were I
set free, came in greater number. Who repaired straight waies to every man his house, where they had been prisoners, yielding them great thanks for their kind usage and friendly entertainment in time of their calamities and miseries, and promised therewith the like courtesie and mutuall hospitality. Never were the Latines at any time afore, both publikely and privately, united more neerly to the Roman Empire.

But as the Volscian war was now at hand, so the City was at discord among themselves. The Senators and Commons hated one another at the heart, and all this arose by occasion especially of certain persons that were indebted, and in danger of their creditors: who muttered and gave out in murmuring wise, how that abroad they adventured themselves and fought for the liberty and dominion of the City, and at home by their own neighbours they were held prisoners and K
oppressed: saying that the freedom of the Commons was more safe in time of war, than of peace, among the enemies rather than their own fellow Citizens. This inward grudge and heart-burning, which of it self still kindled more and more, the notable calamity of one man above all others, set on a light fire. A certain aged person chanced to break prison, and with the arms, badges, and ornaments of all his ancestors, ran into the market place. His apparrell was all to tattered, foule, and loathsome, but the habit or plight of his body much more filthy: so pale, so wan, so lean withall, as if he had been over-pined and starved, his long side beard and hair of his head so overgrown, that they made his visage and countenance wild and gastly. Howbeit, for all he was thus disfigured by this deformity, he was a man well known, and as some said, he had done good service in the wars, had been a chief Centurion, and had the charge and leading of bands in the L
field: and the common people, as pittying his estate, and to move compassion, recounted many worthy exploits of his, to his great credit and singular commendation. Himself likewise shewed the scars of wounds, which in his breast and fore-part of his body in divers places he had received that might testifie his valiant service. The people flocking about him as it were in a common assembly to hear a solemn Oration, enquired of him, how he came to be in that taking, so poor, so disfigured and deformed? He answered, that whiles he served in the Sabine war, he by reason of the continuall forraging, and wasting of the Territory, not only lost the revenews and encrease of his lands, but also his Mannor-house was burnt, all his goods ransacked and spoiled, his cattell driven away: and when a levy and tribute was exacted in a time when he ill might, he was driven to take up money and run in debt; which growing more and more by paiment of in- M
terest, first he was constrained to sell his land, that his father and grandfather had left him, and to turn himself out of all, by making a clean hand of the rest of his goods: untill at length his body also began to winder away in a consumption. Complaining moreover how by his creditor he was not only brought into bondage and thraldom, but also imprisoned, and whipped, and tormented in most cruell and butcherlike manner. With that he shewed before them all, his back lately scourged, with the fresh wales of the lashes newly given him. At the sight and hearing hereof, there arose a great outcry of the people, so that anon the uprore kept not within the compass of the market place, but spread over all the City: in such sort, that as well they that were bound, as they that were loose, came forth from all parts into the open streets calling the *Quirites* and the people pitifully to help. In no corner wanted any companions to take part willingly in this seditious rout: and N
every where in all the streets they run by companies into the common place. Those Senators who chanced to be abroad, at their no small perill light upon this multitude: and had not the Consuls *P. Servilius*, and *App. Claudius* made the better speed, and come upon them to appease the commotion, there would have been some knocks, for hardly could they have held their hands. At whose comming the multitude turned unto them, shewing their irons, and all their other shamefull misusage and misery, saying, This is all the good we have gotten for our warfare: upbraiding every man the services they had performed, some in one place, some in another, requiring them in threatning wise, rather than by way of supplication, to call the Senate together, and they the while stood about the *Curia*, as if they would be judges and moderators of their publike counsell. Very few of the Senators, such only as by chance came that way, could be brought to re- O
pair to the Consuls: as for the rest, they were afraid not only to come into the Councill-house, but also to venture abroad into the market place, so that by reason of their small assembly, there could be nothing done nor determined. Then thought the people indeed they were mocked and dallied withall, and driven off with delaies, surmising, that the Senators which were away, absented themselves not by chance, nor for fear, but only to hinder the proceeding of their cause: and that the Consuls themselves did dissemble and shrink, and without all question made

A dangerous sedition in *Rome*.

A made but a ſcorn and game at their miſeries. This broil ſo increaſed, that hardly could the reverence and Majeſty of the Conſuls reſtrain the peoples rage. But the Senators ſtanding in doubtfull tearms, whether to tarry behind or to come forward would be more dangerous, at length they reſolved to repair into the Senate, and being now at laſt a full and ſufficient houſe gathered, neither the Lords there aſſembled, no nor yet the Conſuls, could well agree amongſt themſelves what to do in this caſe. *Appius* a man of a hot ſpirit, was of opinion to order the matter by Conſular authority and commandment; ſaying, That if one or two of them were laid hold on, the reſt would be quiet. But *Servilius* more inclined to mild and gentle remedies, thought it a more ſafe and eaſy courſe too, rather to bend than to break their angry and ſell ſtomacks. But amidſt

Divers opinions in the Senate houſe.

B theſe troubles there hapned a greater and more fearful occurrence: For certain *Latins* on horſeback rode in poſt, and brought news in haſty and tumultuous manner, that the Volſcians were coming with a mighty and cruel army againſt the City to aſſault the ſame. Which news being heard (ſee how diſcord had of one City made twain) wrought far other effect in the Nobles, than in the Commons. The comminalty lept for joy, and ſaid the gods were now come down from Heaven to be revenged of the Senators pride, and encouraged one another not to take preſtmony, or to enter their names in the Muſter-maſters book, ſaying that they had rather dye at once with all, than periſh alone and none but they: "Let the Nobles (quoth they) ſerve as ſouldiers; "let them take weapon in hand, and abide the brunts and hazards of war, who receive the pro-"fits, the prizes and rewards thereof. But contrary-wiſe the Senate penſive and ſurcharged with

C this twofold fear, as well from citizen as enemy, beſought the Conſul *Servilius* (a man by nature more affable and popular) That he would provide for the ſafety of the Common-weal, beſet as it were round with ſo fearful perils. Then the Conſul diſmiſſed the Senate, and came forth into the aſſembly of the people, where he ſhewed what care the LL. of the Senate had for the good of the commons: "But whiles they were (quoth he) buſy in conſultation for the greateſt part "(I confeſs) of the City, and yet in truth no more but a part, it fell out ſo in the mean while, "that of neceſſity they muſt ſee to the whole body of the Common-wealth, whereof they ſtand "in exceeding fear. Seeing therefore the enemies were almoſt hard at the gates, they could not "poſſibly do or intend any thing before war. Neither (if there ſhould be any reſpite and leaſure "granted) were it either for the commons credit and honeſty, not to fight for their Country,

D "unleſs they had their pay before hand; nor well beſeeming the Nobles and for their reputati-"on, to look unto and take order haſtily, to redreſs the miſeries and calamities of their citizens "upon fear, rather than afterwards with good deliberation, for love and of willing mind. This ſpeech of his he confirmed with an edict, by vertue whereof, he gave ſtreight commandment: *Imprimis*, that no man ſhould keep bound or in priſon, any citizen of *Rome*, but that he might be enrolled before the Conſuls. *Item*, that no perſon ſhould hold in poſſeſſion, or ſell the goods of any ſouldier, ſo long as he abode in the camp, nor arreſt his children or childrens children. This edict being once publiſhed and proclaimed, not only the enthralled debtors there preſent, were immediately by name enrolled, but alſo from all parts of the City, they leapt quickly out of their houſes, ſeeing that now their creditors had no right nor power to detain and arreſt them,

E and ran into the market place for to take a military oath of alleageance, to be true ſouldiers and faithful to the State. A number there was of theſe: neither was there any that more manfully behaved and quit themſelves or took more pains in the Volſcian war. Then the Conſul led forth his power againſt the enemies, and within a little of them incamped himſelf. The night following, the Volſcians preſuming upon the variance and diſcord of the Romans, aſſailed the tents, if haply in the night ſeaſon any of them might have been wrought, to abandon the camp, and come to them, or to practiſe any treaſon. But the Sentinels deſcried them, and upon allarm given, the whole army aroſe, and every man made haſt to his weapons. Thus came that enterpriſe of the Volſcians to nothing. The reſt of the night both parts reſted, and were quiet. On the morrow by break of day, the Volſcians having filled up the trench, aſſailed the bulwarks and rampiers.

F And by that time they had on every ſide plucked up the fences, palliſadoes, and other fortifications, the Conſul, who for all he was called unto inſtantly on every hand, but of the debtors aforeſaid eſpecially above the reſt, to give the ſignal, and to ſound the battel, made ſome ſtay on purpoſe to try the courage of his men: and ſeeing well now their forwardneſs and their ſtomacks, at length gave them a token to ruſh forth, and ſo letteth them looſe, as eager to fight as might be. So at the very firſt onſet the enemies were preſently diſcomfited and put to flight: the footmen followed hard upon them in chaſe, and as they could reach, wounded them behind on their backs, and killed them: the horſemen likewiſe purſued them even to their pavillions, who ſtill feared exceedingly what might become of them: and within a while their very camp alſo, environed about with the legions, and abandoned of the Volſcians themſelves for fear, were forced

G and rifled. The next day following, the legions marched to *Sueſſa Pometia*, for thither the enemies were fled: and within few dayes the Town was won, and put to the ſack, and the ſpoil and pilage given away: whereby the needy ſouldiers were ſomewhat refreſhed. The Conſul in great glory and honour brought back his victorious army to *Rome*. In his way homeward the Ambaſſadors of the *Eretrian Volſcians* diſtruſting their own State, upon the loſſe of *Pometia*, came unto him. To whom after conſultation had with the Senate, and a decree paſſed, peace was granted: but they were fined to part with their Lands. Immediately upon this, the Sabins alſo put the

Romans in a fright, and in every deed it might be called a tumult, rather then a war. For word H
was brought in the night ſeaſon that an army of the Sabins were come in a rode, as far as the river
*Anio*, robbing, ſpoiling, and burning all the villages and hamlets as they went. Forthwith was ſent
thither the whole power of horſes under the conduct of *A. Poſthumius*, who in the Latin war had
been Dictator. After him followed the Conſul *Servilius* with a choſen regiment of footmen. Moſt
of the enemies as they ranged abroad a forraging in ſcattering wiſe, were by the horſemen ſurpri-
zed and incloſed. And when the Infantry beſides marched againſt the Sabins legion, they were not
able to reſiſt: for being tired out, partly with their long journy, and partly with plundring all night
long, and many of them having overcharged themſelves with meat and wine within the villages,
had hardly ſtrength enough to run away. Thus the Sabin war in one night was heard of and end- I
ed. The day following, when as now the Romans were in good hope, that they had peace on every
ſide, behold the *Auruncan* Embaſſadors came into the Senate, proclaming war, unleſs they would
forgo the Volſcian lands, and reſtore them to their rightful owners. And even at one time with
the Embaſſadors was the army alſo of the Auruncans abroad, and had taken the field. The news
whereof, and namely, that they were now in ſight not far from *Aricia*, raiſed up the Romans in ſo
great a broil and hurliburly, that the Senators could neither be conſulted with, and deliver their
opinions in order, nor yet give a peaceable anſwer to thoſe that came as it were with weapon in
hand, being thus forced to take arms themſelves. So to *Aricia* directly in warlike manner they
march, and not far from thence they joined battel with the Auruncans. And in one day that war
had alſo an end. K

Thus when the Roman ſouldiers had gotten victory within ſo few days in ſo many places, and
had now defeated the Auruncans, they looked for the promiſe of the Conſul, and the faithful per-
formance of it by the Senate. At what time *Appius* both upon a proud ſtomack, and arrogant
ſpirit of his own by nature, and alſo to diſcredit and diſanul the word of his fellow Conſul, in all
actions of debt proceeded, and gave judgement with rigor againſt the debtors. Whereupon,
both they that had been before impriſoned, were delivered again into their creditors hands, and
other alſo became priſoners anew. Whereat when as a ſouldier, whoſe caſe it was thus hardly to
be dealt withal, called upon the Conſul his fellow for help, they ran all at once to *Servilius*, at
his hands they claimed a promiſe: every one upbraided and reproached him with their ſervice
in war, with their ſcars there gotten, requiring that he would propoſe the matter again unto the L
Senate, and as a Conſul, ſuccour and protect his Citizens; or like a General, maintain his ſouldi-
ers. Theſe matters no doubt, moved the Conſul: but ſo ſtood the caſe that he could neither will
nor chuſe, but diſſemble, deal double, and temporize with them: ſo fully bent, and wholly wed-
ded to the other part, was not only his colleague, but alſo the whole faction of the Nobility. Thus
by bearing himſelf as a Neuter, and going as they ſay, between the bark and the tree, he neither
avoided the hatred of the Commons, nor yet won favour with the Nobles: whiles the Nobles
took him for a ſoft and baſe minded Conſul, ſeeking to pleaſe all parties, and the Commons for
as crafty and falſe diſſembler: inſomuch as within a ſhort time it appeared he was as much hated
of the people as *Appius*. For, the Conſuls hapned on a time to ſtrive, whether of them twain
ſhould dedicate the Temple of *Mercury*. The Senate put over the deciding of this matter from M
themſelves unto the people: and decreed withal, that to whether of them the dedication of the
Temple was by the peoples election granted, he ſhould over and beſides have the charge to pur-
vey corn and victuals, he ſhould erect and inſtitute a Colledge or fellowſhip of Merchants, and he
in ſtead of the high Prieſt, ſhould undertake the ſolemn feaſts or feſtival days. Then the people
gave the dedication of the Temple to *M. Lectorius*, a principal Centurion of the vanguard: which
as it eaſily appeared, was done not ſo much to grace the man, as who had an higher office be-
ſtowed upon him, then was fit for one of his degree and calling; as to diſgrace and deface the
Conſuls. Hereat one of the Conſuls, yea, and the *Patricii* ſtormed and fumed exceedingly againſt
the Commons. But the Commons took heart unto them more and more, and began to proceed
far otherwiſe, and to take another courſe then they purpoſed at the beginning: for deſpairing of N
the Conſuls and Senats help, when they ſaw a debtor ſued and brought to the bar, they would
run flocking from all parts together, ſo that the Conſuls ſentence and decree could not be heard
for the noiſe and clamour. And decree or judge what he would, no man would obey. And ſo vio-
lently they went to work, that in preſence of the Conſul, the creditors were ſingled out, evil en-
treated, and miſuſed of the Commons, being many together. So the whole fear and hazzard of
the main chance, even of liberty it ſelfe, was now altogether tranſlated from the debtors to the
creditors. In the very neck of theſe troubles, there aroſe a fear of the *Sabin* war, and when it was
determined, there ſhould be a muſter of ſouldiers, no man would anſwer to his name and be en-
rolled. All this while *Appius* raged and took on, "inveying bitterly againſt the nicety and popu-
*Appius* his invective againſt his fellow Conſul. "larity of his brother Conſul, who with his keeping ſilence for diſpleaſing the people, by his ſoft O
"carriage of himſelf, had betrayed the Weal-publick, and over and beſides that, he had not mini-
"ſtred juſtice for the loane of money, nor dealt according to law in that behalf, he had brought
"the matter ſo to paſs that he could take no muſters by vertue of the decree of the *Senate*. How-
"beit (ſaith he) the Common-wealth is not wholly forſaken and forlorne, nor yet the Conſular
"authority utterly caſt down and trodden under foot: for he would himſelf alone, if there were
"no more but he, defend and maintain both his own place, and the Senators dignity. Whenas the

multitude

A multitude therefore ſtood thus malapertly, as their dailymanner was, about the bar: he commanded one principal Captain of ſedition to be attached and had away: and as he was haled to priſon by the Sergeants and Lictors, he appealed. Neither would the Conſul have given place to the appeal (for all he knew the people how they were bent, and what their doom would be) had not his obſtinate ſtiffneſs with much ado been overſwayed more through the diſcret adviſe & authority of the chief nobles & Lords of the Senate, than by the clamorous noiſe & menaces of the multitude: ſo reſolute was he, and his heart ſo couragious, to undergo their ill will and heavy diſpleaſure. Thus grew the miſchief more & more daily, teſtified not with open mouth & broad ſpeeches only, but alſo (which was more pernicious and dangerous) by conventicles, ſecret meetings, and conferen-
B ces. At length theſe Coſſ. ſo odious unto the Commons, went out of their office, to wit, *Appius*, a man wonderous well affected of the Nobles, *Servilius* liked neither of them nor the Commons.

After whom *A. Virginius*, and *T. Vetuſius* entred their Conſulſhip. But then the Commons not knowing what manner of Conſuls they ſhould have, began to aſſemble together by night, ſome in *Eſquiliæ*, others in the *Aventine*: to the end they might not be unprovided and to ſeek upon a ſuddain, what to do in the common place, nor manage their buſineſs hand over head, and at a venture. Which the Conſuls ſuppoſing (as it was indeed) a perilous example, and of ill conſequence, propounded the matter before the Senators: but when they had propoſed it, they could not orderly ask their adviſe what was to be done: they took ſo on, and kept ſuch outcry and clamour at it, on all hands fretting and fuming, that the Conſuls ſhould lay upon the Senate the burden and heavy
C load of that, which properly they by vertue of their authority and office ſhould execute and perform themſelves: and ſurely, if there were any Magiſtrates in the City (ſay they) there would not be thus ſuffered in *Rome* any other counſel but publick: whereas now the State is divided into a thouſand Courts and conventicles: whiles ſome have their meetings and aſſemblies in *Eſquiliæ*, others in *Aventine:* Aſſuredly one only man indeed (for that is more than a Conſul) ſuch a one as *Appius Claudius* was, would ſoon diſpatch and in one minute of an hour ſcatter theſe their unlawful aſſemblies. The Conſuls upon this rebuke and check, replyed again and demanded in this manner: And what would you have us to do (quoth they) for we are reſolved to do nothing ſlackly and coldly, but with as great courage and diligence as ſhall be well liked of the Senators. Whereupon an order paſſed, that they ſhould take muſter and levy ſouldiers with all rigour and ſeverity: adding
D moreover, that the Commons with idleneſs and eaſe were grown over-malapert and too licentious. And when the Senate was diſmiſſed, the Conſuls went into the Tribunal & took their places, and ſummoned by name all the * younger ſort to appear: and none making anſwer to his name, the multitude ſtanding about as it had been to hear ſome publick Oration, ſaid plainly, that the Commons from thenceforth would be no longer deluded, and that the Conſuls ſhould never get ſo much as one ſouldier, unleſs they would ſtand to their word, and make good the promiſe that publickly before was made, and reſtore to every man again his liberty, before they cauſed them to take weapon in hand: to the end they might fight for their country and country-men, and not for their Lordlike Maſters. The Conſuls ſaw well what they had in commiſſion from the Senate & that of all thoſe who within the Councel houſe walls ſpake ſo ſtoutly & gave out ſo great words, there
E was not one preſent to take part of this odious maliſe of the people. And like they were to have a bitter fit and cruel broil with the Commons. They thought good therefore ere they tried the worſt, and dealt by extremity, once again to ask adviſe of the Senate, and to confer with them. But then all the younger ſort of the Senators, approached by multitudes, hard almoſt to the Conſuls ſeats, willing them to give over their Conſulſhip, and to reſign up their rule and authority, to the maintenance whereof they lacked courage. Now when the Conſuls had ſufficiently weighed and tried both wayes, thus at length began they and ſaid. A great ſedition and commotion is toward, my LL. To the end therefore that ye pretend not ignorance, and ſay another day ye were not foretold of it, there is a great ſedition and commotion toward. We require therefore that they who find greateſt fault with our remiſſeneſs and lack of courage, aſſiſt us and ſit with us while we take
F the muſters: and ſince you will needs have it ſo, we will execute it according to their minds, that are moſt earneſt and ſevereſt. Then come they back again unto the Tribunal, and commanded on ſet purpoſe, one of them that were there in ſight to be cited and called by name. But he ſtood ſtill and held his peace, with a company of men gathered round about to guard him, for fear he ſhould have ſome harm or violence done unto him. The Conſul then ſent a Sergeant to attach him, who being repulſed off, then thoſe Nobles which ſate there on the bench to aſſiſt the Conſuls, cried out upon the ſhameful indignity, and ſaid it was intollerable, and ſo ran down in haſt from the Tribunal ſeat, for to aid the Sergeant. But the violent rage of the multitude, who let the Lictor alone, and only ſtayed him from laying hold on the man, turned upon the Patritians. So that the Coſſ. were fain to ſtep between, and then the fray was appeaſed. In which, there being
G no ſtones flying about their ears, nor weapon drawn, there was more clamor, brawling and chafing than any hurt done. Then was the Senate houſe called in a great hurry: and with more confuſion ſat they there in Councel: whiles they that pretended how they were beaten and miſuſed, required that commiſſioners ſhould ſit upon this riot and make due inquiſition: and the ſtouteſt of them gave their determination as much by clamor and noiſe, as by ſentence and opinion grounded upon reaſon. At laſt, when the tempeſt was overblown and their heat allayed, and that the Coſſ. hit them in the teeth, and reproved them, ſaying there was a little diſcretion and gravity in

* From 17 years of age to 47.

A ſedition between the Conſuls and the people.

their Court and Councel-houſe, as in the common Hall, they began in the end to conſult orderly H
and three opinions there were amongſt them. *P. Virginius* would not have it a common and gene-
ral caſe (to wit, that all debtors ſhould be releaſed from their creditors) but his adviſe was, that
they ſhould only be conſidered, who relying upon *P. Servilius* the Conſul his word and faithful
promiſe, had ſerved in the wars of the Volſcians, Auruncans and Sabins. *T. Largius*, he ſuppoſed
and thought this, that it was not a time then to make amends only for good deſerts, and to reſpect
them alone that had done well, and to recompence good ſervice: but for as much as the whole
commonalty was deeply engaged and plunged in debt, unleſs they were all provided for, and good
order taken for them every one, there would be no quietneſs nor end of troubles: yea, and (that
which more is) in caſe they be not all alike regarded, but ſome debtors in better condition than I
others, the diſcord would rather be more kindled than quenched. *Appius Claudius* a man both of
natural diſpoſition fierce and cruel, and alſo by occaſion made more outragious, netled with the
Commons hatred againſt him on the one ſide, and tickled with the praiſe and commendations of
the Nobles on the other ſide, who ever magnified him and lift him up to the skie, ſpake to this
effect: "Theſe ſo great ſtirs and mutinous hurliburlies, my Maſters (quoth he) is not long of the
The Oration of *Appius Claudius* in the Senate. "miſery and calamity, but only of too much liberty of the Commons: who rather upon fatneſs
"are grown wanton and unruly, than for any want unpatient and diſcontent: and all this miſchief
"no doubt is ſprung of this, that they have liberty to appeal. For ſo long as it is in their power to
"flie for help unto thoſe that have erred as well as they, well may the Conſul threaten and give
"out menacing words: as for any rule elſe or command they ſhall have none among them. Come K
"on therefore, let us create a Dictator from whom they cannot make their appeal. Then ſhall
"this furious rage, which now ſetteth all on a light fire, be ſoon huſht and quite extinguiſhed. Let
"me ſee then, who dare beat a Lictor, when he ſhall well know, that he alone whoſe honor
"and Majeſty he ſhall offend and abuſe, hath power to ſcourge him and take away his life. Many
men thought this ſentence of *Appius* to be very hard and cruel; yea, and dangerous withal, in re-
gard of the late precedent of *Virginius* and *Vetuſius*. That other likewiſe of *Largius* was thought
inconvenient, in taking away all keeping of credit with the creditors. The opinion and adviſe of
*Virginius* was ſuppoſed as well in one reſpect as in another moſt indifferent and mean between
both. But by reaſon of the faction and regard of private benefit, which alwayes hath done hurt
and ever will, to publick Counſel, *Appius* prevailed, and he miſſed very little but he himſelf had L
been made Dictator. Which if it had come to paſs, it would ſurely have eſtranged and alienated
quite the hearts of the Commons, in that moſt buſy and dangerous time: when it happened that
the Volſcians, Æquians, and Sabins, were all up at once in arms. But the Conſuls and elder Se-
nators, had great care and conſideration to chuſe ſuch a one, as might by mildneſs of his own na-
ture allay and qualify the exceeding rigour and ſternneſs incident to Soveraign and abſolute au-
thority. They elect therefore to be Dictator, *Marcus Valerius* the ſon of *Voleſus*. The Commons
albeit they ſaw well enough this Dictator created for to curbe them, yet having got by his bro-
thers law, the benefit of Appeal, they feared no ſevere and inſolent proceeding from that houſe
and name. The Edict beſides, that the Dictator ſet forth, which was welneer all one with that
other of the Conſul *Servilius*, much confirmed and ſetled their minds. For ſuppoſing now, they M
had more hold both of the man, and alſo of his authority, and that they might with more confi-
dence rely themſelves on the one and the other, they gave over all debate, and entred their names
into the muſter book: ſo there were enrolled full ten legions. The like army for number was
never levied afore. Of which legions, the Conſuls had the conduct of three a piece, and the Di-
ctator commanded the other four: and high time, it was: for the war might not be deferred any
longer. The Æquians had already invaded the territory of the Latins, and their Embaſſadors
were petitioners to the Senate, either to ſend ſuccour, or to give them leave to put on armor
themſelves for the defence of their confines, and frontiers. It was thought the ſafer and ſurer
way, that the Latins without arming themſelves ſhould be defended, than to permit them again
to take weapon in hand. So the Conſul *Vetuſius* was ſent thither, and he ſtayed them from fur- N
ther foraging and waſting. For the Æquians were departed out of the plains, and truſting rather
in the vantage of the ground, than in their weapons, ſtood upon their guard, kept themſelves ſafe
from danger, upon the high tops of the Hills and Mountains.

The other Conſul who was gone againſt the Volſcians, becauſe he would not alſo loſe any
time, drew the enemy forth (by waſting the country eſpecially) to encamp himſelf neerer, and ſo
at length to fight a field. Now was there a plain in the mids between both camps: where each ar-
my ſtood before their rampiers, embattelled, and ranged in array, with banners diſplayed ready to
fight. The Volſcians were ſomewhat more in number, whereupon they began battail diſorderedly
and as if they ſet light by the enemy. But the Roman Conſul neither advanced forward, nor
ſuffered his men once to ſhout and anſwer again, but charged them to ſtand ſtill with their jave- O
lins faſt in the ground, until the enemies were come within the reach of hand fight, and then to
lay about them luſtily with their ſwords, all that ever they could. The Volſcians out of breath
with running and ſhouting, charged the Romans, who ſeemed for fear to ſtand aſtonied: but after
they once perceived that they were hotly reencountred by them again, and ſaw their ſwords glit-
tering in their eyes, they were troubled therewith, as if they had been entrapped and fallen into
ſome trains layed for them, and ſo turned their backs. And by reaſon they came running before

to

A to battail, their ſtrength would not hold out now to run clear away: The Romans contrarywiſe, becauſe againſt the beginning of the fight they had ſtood quiet, were freſh of body, and ſoon overtook them thus overtoiled, won their camp by force, and after they had driven the enemies out from thence, chaſed them into * *Velitre*, and entred the Town pelmell one with another in a medley the Victor together with them that were vanquiſhed. More bloudſhed there was by execution of them one with another, of all ages and ſexes, as they came in their way, than in the very battail. A very few, even ſuch as without weapon yeelded themſelves, were ſpared and pardoned. * *Belitre.*

Whiles theſe things were a doing amongſt the Volſcians, the Dictator diſcomfited and put to flight the Sabins, with whom he had much cruel war: yea, and forced them to abandon and
B quit their camp. For having ſent his horſemen into the main battail of the enemies, which they had but ſlightly ſtrengthened within, and beſtowed the ranks there very thin, and all to ſtretch out the wings on both ſides more at large, he brake their arraies: and when they were once diſordered, the footmen came in upon them: and in the ſame brunt were they Maſters of their camp, and ſo the war ended. There was not in thoſe dayes a braver battail fought and more renowned, ſetting aſide that only at the lake *Regillus*. The Dictator rode in triumph unto the City. Over and above the accuſtomed honors, both he and his poſterity after him, were allowed a certain place in the great Race or Theater, called *Circus*, for to behold at eaſe the ſolemn games, and there was ſet the Ivory chair of eſtate, called *Sella curulis*. The Volſcians thus vanquiſhed, loſt the territory about *Velitre*, and new inhabitants were ſent thither from the City to
C people and to till the grounds, ſo that it became a Colony.

Somewhat after this, there was a field fought with the Æquians, but in truth, full againſt the Conſul his will, for that they were to climb up a ſteep Hill (to their diſadvantage) for to meet with the enemy. But the Souldiers blaming him for trifling out, and making delayes, to the end that the Dictator might be out of Office before they made return to the City, and ſo his word and promiſe, like the Conſuls before him, ſhould come to nothing; drave him perforce to lead up his army, raſhly and at adventure againſt the Hills. This being an enterpriſe ill ordered, and an error eſcaped, fell out notwithſtanding very well through the cowardiſe of the enemy: who before they were come within ſhot and the darts caſt, amazed at the venturouſneis of the Romans, forſook their holds which they had in moſt defenſible places, and leapt down
D into the valleys over againſt them. There was booty & pillage good enough, and a bloudleſs victory.

Having ſped thus fortunately abroad in three ſeveral wars, the Senators and Commons were not careleſs of home-affairs, what would be the iſſue thereof. The Bankers and Uſurers, what with favor, and what with ſubtil and cautelous policy, had deviſed aforehand and wrought ſuch means, as might fruſtrate and diſappoint not only the Commons, but alſo the Dictator, and put them by their expectation. For *Valerius*, after the return of *Vetuſius* the Conſul, dealt firſt and above all other matters and cauſes at the Councel table, in the behalf of the people that had atchieved ſuch victories, and propounded to know their minds, What ſhould be done with thoſe endebted, endangered, and impriſoned perſons. "Which motion of his being diſliked and re-
"jected: I ſee well (quoth he) that I cannot pleaſe you, ſo long as I perſwade to concord and
E "unity: wiſh ye will (truſt me truly) e're it be long, that the commonalty of *Rome* had more
"Patrons and Advocates like my ſelf. As for me, I will neither bear my citizens any longer in
"hand to deceive them, nor be a Dictator in vain, to effect nothing. Civil diſcord at home, and
"forrain war abroad, cauſed the State to have need of this office. Now, when peace is gotten
"without, behold it is croſſed and hindered within: yet had I rather be preſent at the ſight of a
"mutiny and inſurrection when I am a private perſon, than whiles I am a Dictator. Thus went he out of the Councel-houſe, and yeelded up his Dictatorſhip withal. The Commons ſaw plainly what the matter was, and how upon a diſcontentment and grief that he took in their behalf, for very pitty and compaſſion of them, he gave over the place: and therefore, as if he had fully diſcharged himſelf of his faithful word to them given, (for that there was no default in him, but it
F had been performed indeed) they accompanied him along home to his houſe with hearty affection, praiſing and commending him all the way they went. The Lords of the Senate began then to fear, leſt if the army were broken up and diſcharged, there would be ſome ſecret conventicles, and new conſpiracies contrived: therefore, albeit the muſters were taken by the Dictator: yet becauſe the ſouldiers had ſworn alleageance to the Conſuls, ſuppoſing they were ſtill bound to warfare by vertue of that oath, and pretending a colour that the Æquians renued war, they commanded the legions to be led forth of the City.

The ſpeech of *Valerius* the Dictator in the Senate.

This haſtened the ſedition the ſooner and ſet it forward. At firſt, as men ſaid, they complotted and laid their heads together about murdering and making away the Conſuls, to the end they might be acquit of their oath unto them: but afterwards being better ſchooled and adviſed, that
G no mans conſcience can be cleared of ſcruple, and diſcharged of an oath once taken, by committing a ſinful act and working miſchief, they withdrew themſelves out of the way by the perſwaſion of one *Sicinius*, and without *conge* of the Conſuls, departed as far as Mount *Sacer*, on the farther ſide of the River *Anio*, three miles from the City. This is the more common report, and goeth more currant, than that whereof *Piſo* is the Author (namely, that the commons retired themſelves to *Aventine*.) There, without any head or Captain, they encamped and fortified themſelves within a trench and rampier, and kept quiet for certain dayes, neither taking nor doing harm;

The firſt revolt of the commons of *Rome* into mount *Sacer*.

harm; as having caried with them ſuch things only as were neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of their life. Great fear there was in the City, and in this mutual and reciprocal fear, all men were perplexed and to ſeek what to do. The Commons forlorn of their fellow Commoners doubted the violence of the Senators: the Senators again ſtood in fear and jealouſie of the Commons that remained ſtill behind; and were in ſuſpenſe whether it were better they abode ſtill among them, or followed after their fellows. For how long trow ye, will a multitude once disbanded; reſt in quiet? Again, in caſe any forrain war ſhould ariſe in the mean time, what might enſue thereupon in the end? In concluſion, there was no hope behind to be looked for, but in the concord of citizens: and therefore the commons one way or other, either by reaſonable conditions or unreaſonable, were to be reconciled again and reduced into the City, there was no remedy. So it was thought good and agreed upon, that one *Menenius Agrippa* (a fair ſpoken and eloquent man, gracious withal and well-beloved among the commons, for that he was from them deſcended) ſhould be ſent as an Orator to treat with them. Who being received into the camp, after that old and harſh kind of eloquence in thoſe dayes, ſpake as men ſaith to this effect, and told this tale and parable: "Upon a time (quoth he) when as in mans body, all the parts thereof agreed not, as now "they do in one, but each member had a ſeveral intent and meaning; yea, and a ſpeech by it ſelf: "ſo it befel, that all other parts beſides the belly, thought much and repined that by their careful- "neſs, labor, and miniſtery, all was gotten, and yet all little enough to ſerve it: and the belly it ſelf "lying ſtill in the mids of them, did nothing elſe but enjoy the delightſome pleaſures brought un- "to her. Whereupon they mutined and conſpired altogether in this wiſe, That neither the hands "ſhould reach and convey food into the mouth, nor the mouth receive it as it came, nor yet the "teeth grind and chew the ſame. In this mood and fit, whiles they were minded to famiſh the "poor belly, behold the other limbs, yea, and the whole body beſides, pined, waſted, & fell into an "extreme conſumption. Then was it well ſeen, that even the very belly alſo did no ſmall ſervice, but "fed the other parts, as it received food it ſelf: ſeeing that by working and concocting the meat "throughly, it digeſteth and diſtributeth by the veins into all parts, that freſh and perfect blood "whereby we live, we like, and have our full ſtrength. Comparing herewith, and making his application, to wit, how like this inteſtine and inward ſedition of the body, was to the fell ſtomack of the commons, which they had taken and born againſt the Senators, he turned quite the peoples hearts. Then began ſome treaty of unity and concord: and among other articles it was conditioned and granted, that the Commonalty ſhould have certain ſacred and inviolable Magiſtrates of their own among themſelves, ſuch as might have power to aſſiſt the Commons againſt the Conſuls: *Item*, that it might not be lawful for any Senator to bear that office. So there were created two Tribunes of the Commons, *C. Licinius* and *L. Albinus*. And theſe elected three other fellow officers unto them. Of whom *Sicinius*, the Author of the ſedition or inſurrection was one, who were the other twain is not for certain known. Some ſay there were but two Tribunes created and no more in the mount *Sacer*, and that the ſacred law was there made concerning their immunity.

*Agr. Menenius* his Oration to the Commons.

Tribuns of the common people firſt created.

During this inſurrection and revolt of the commons, *Sp. Caſſius* and *Poſthumius Cominius* entered their Conſulſhips. In whoſe time a league was made with the people of *Latium*. For the eſtabliſhing whereof, one of the Conſuls ſtayed behind at *Rome*: the other was ſent unto the Volſcian war, who diſcomfited and put to flight the Volſcians of *Antium*, chaſing and driving them into the Town *Longula*, which he won. And immediatly he took *Mucamites* a Town of the Volſcians, and after that with great force aſſaulted *Corioli*.

There was in camp then among the flowre of gallant youths, one *Caius Martius*, a Noble yong Gentleman, right politick of adviſe, active beſides, and tall of his hands, who afterwards was ſurnamed *Coriolanus*. Whiles the Roman army lay at ſiege before *Corioli*, and were amuzed wholly upon the Towns-men within, whom they kept faſt ſhut up, and feared no preſent danger at all from any forrain war without: behold, all on a ſuddain, the Volſcian legions that came from *Antium*, aſſailed them: at which very inſtant the enemy alſo ſallied out of the Town. Which *Martius* ſeeing, who by good hap quartered and warded there, with a luſty band of elect men, not only repreſſed and ſtopped the violence of thoſe that iſſued and brake upon him, but alſo whiles the gate ſtood open, fiercely ruſhed in himſelf: and having made a foul ſlaughter of people thereby, at his firſt entrance into the City, and caught up fire at a venture, flung it upon the houſes that ſtood upon and about the walls. Whereupon aroſe a great outcry of the folk within the Town, together with lamentable weeping and wailing of women and children, as commonly is ſeen in ſuch a fright. Which at the very firſt, both hardened the Romans, and alſo troubled the Volſcians: and no marvel, ſeeing the City taken before their face, for which they were come to reſcue. Thus were the Volſcians of *Antium* defeated, and the Town *Corioli* won. And *Martius* through his praiſe, ſo much obſcured and ſtopped the light of the Conſul his fame, that had it not been ingraven in braſſe for a remembrance and monument, That there was a league with the Latines, and the ſame made by *Sp. Caſſius* alone (for that his companion was abſent) there had been no record at all, but forgotten quite it had been, that ever *Sp. Cominius* warred with the Volſcians.

*Corioli* forced.

The ſame year died *Menenius Agrippa*, a man all his life time before beloved indifferently of the Senators and the Commons: but after the inſurrection, much more dear unto the Commons than before. This truce-maker, this mediator for civil attonement, this Embaſſador and Meſſenger from the Senators to the Commons, this reconciler and reducer of the Commons home

The death of *Menenius Agrippa*, and his poverty.

A home again into the City, had not at his death ſufficient to deſray the charges of his funerals: the Commons therefore made a purſe and a contribution of a * Sextant by the poll, and were at the coſt to inter and bury him worſhipfully.

* The ſixt part of As, half a farthing or cue with us.

After this were made Conſuls, *T. Geganius*, and *P. Minutius*. In which year when all was quiet abroad for any war, and the diſſention at home healed up clean, and skinned: another calamity far more grievous entred the City. Firſt, a dearth of corn, and all manner of victuals, by reaſon that the grounds upon the departure of the Commons were neglected and untilled. Hereupon inſued famine, even ſuch as uſually is incident to men beſieged. And verily the houſhold of bondſervants, yea, and the commons too, had utterly periſhed for hunger, if the Conſuls had not
B in time made the better proviſion: by ſending purveiours all abroad to buy up corn, not only into *Hetruria*, by coaſting along the river on the right hand from *Hoſtia*, and on the left hand by Sea, (paſſing through the Volſcians Country) even as far as *Cumes*: but alſo into *Sicily*, there to lay for grain. Such was the hatred of the borderers, that *Rome* was enforced to have need of ſuccor and relief from afar. Now when they had bought certain corn at *Cumes*, it was no ſooner embarked, but the ſhips were ſtayed and arreſted there, by *Ariſtodemus* the tyrant for the goods of the *Tarquins*, whoſe heir in remainder he was. In the Volſcian Country and *Pomptinum*, they could buy none for mony. There, the very Purveiors themſelves were in danger of violence, by the men of the Country. Out of *Tuſcane* there came corn up the *Tyber*, wherewith the Commons were ſuſtained and refreſhed. And conſidering the ſtreights they were in for want of vi-
C ctuals, they had been ſore diſtreſſed and vexed with wars beſides, and that in a very ill time, and unſeaſonable for them: but that the Volſcians, who now were in readineſs, and upon the point to make war, had a peſtilence that raigned hot among them. Which heavy croſs and affliction, the enemies were ſo diſcouraged with, that when the plague began to ſtay, even then they continued ſtill afraid.

The Romans both at *Velitre* augmented the number of the inhabitants and alſo at *Norba*, ſending a new Colony into the Mountains, to be a Fortreſs and ſtrength for all the territory of *Pomptinum*. Moreover, when *M. Minutius*, & *A. Sempronius* were Conſuls, great ſtore of corn was brought out of *Sicily*: and it was debated in the Senat-houſe, at what price the Commons ſhould be ſerved therewith. Many thought the time was now come to wring the Commons, and keep
D them under, and to recover again thoſe royalties, which by their departure were forcibly wreſted and diſmembred from the nobility. But above all others *Martius Coriolanus*, an utter and capital enemy to the Tribuns power and authority, "If they will (quoth he) have their corn and "victuals at the old price, let them reſtore unto the Senators their ancient right and prehemi-"nence. Why ſee I (as one brought under the yoke of ſervitude, and put as it were unto my "ranſome, by Robbers and Theeves) theſe Magiſtrates of the Commons? why ſee I *Sicinius* ſo "mighty? Shall I endure theſe indignities longer than I needs muſt (I that could not bear *Tar-*"*quinius* to be King, ſhall I brook and ſuffer *Sicinius*? Let him depart aſide now, and take his "Commons with him: the way is open to Mount *Sacer* and other Hills: Let them carry away "with them the corn out of our poſſeſſions and Lordſhips, as they did three years ago: let
E "them enjoy, take for their uſe, and ſpend the ſtore, which they in their foolery and fury have "provided. I dare be bold to ſay, that when they are by this calamity once tamed, they will "rather till and husband the ground themſelves, than with weapon in hand, and by way of in-"ſurrection, forbid and hinder the tillage thereof. I cannot ſo ſoon ſay, whether it had been as meet, as I ſuppoſe it was poſſible and eaſy to effect, that the Senators by offering more gentle conditions in the prices of corn and victuals, might have eaſed themſelves of the Tribuns authority over them, and alſo have been disburdened of thoſe impoſitions which will they, nill they, were laid upon them. Well, this ſeemed to the Senate a ſharp cenſure and ſevere ſentence of *Coriolanus*, and for very anger alſo it had like to have cauſed the Commons to riſe up in arms. For they muttered and gave it out in theſe tearms, "That now they were laid at and
F "aſſailed with famine like enemies, defrauded and bereft of their meat and pittance: that the "outlandiſh corn, the only ſuſtenance and food which fortune had miniſtred unto them beyond "all hope, was ſnatched and plucked from their mouths, unleſs the Tribuns be delivered and "yeelded Priſoners hand and foot bound to *C. Martius*, unleſs he might have his pennyworths "of the back and ſhoulders of the Commons of *Rome*. For he was now ſtart up and become "their tormentor and hangman, to command them either to death, or to ſervitude. As he went out of the Councel houſe, they had run upon him with violence, but that the Tribuns, as good luck was, ſerved him with proceſs in time, to appear at a day, and come to his anſwer. Herewith, their furious anger was ſuppreſſed. For now every man ſaw, that he was himſelf to be the judge and Lord of his enemies life and death. *Martius* at the firſt ſcorned the Tribuns thundering
G threats, and gave the hearing, as though he made ſmall reckoning thereof, ſaying: That their authority had power granted by limitation, only to aid, and not to puniſh: that the Tribuns were Tribuns to the Commons, and not to the Senators. But ſo ſpightfully were the Commons bent, and all ſo ſet upon miſchief, that there was no other remedy, but one man muſt pay for it to ſave & excuſe the reſt of the Nobles. Howbeit the Senators did what they could to withſtand them: by oppoſing hatred and diſpleaſure again and making all means, what either privately they were able of themſelves, or jointly by their whole Order and degree, to procure. And firſt, this courſe they

*Coriolanus* enveyeth againſt the Tribuns.

The murmuring of the commons againſt *Coriolanus*.

aſſayed

assayed to stop and overthrow the suit commenced; namely, by setting their followers and re- H
tainers in sundry places to deal with the Commons severally one by one & what they could to af-
fright them from meetings and assemblies together. Afterwards, they came all forth at once into
the *Forum* or common place. A man that had seen them would have said they had been the par-
ties themselves in trouble and accused, ready to hold up their hand at the bar: such praying, such
a beseeching they made of the Commons, in the behalf of this one citizen, this only Senator;
that if they would not in their love acquit him for their sakes, as innocent and unguilty, yet they
would give him unto them as an offender and faulty person. In conclusion, when his day came,
he made default and appeared not, yet continued they still in their angry mood against him. And
being condemned in his absence, for contumacy, departed into banishment to the Volscians, I
menacing his own country as he went, and carrying even then with him the revenging stomack
of an enemy.

The Volscians at his coming received him courteously, and friendly intreated him every day
more than other, as they perceived his anger more and more toward his country-men, by many
complaints he made of them, and threats withal that he oftentimes gave out against them in their
hearing. He made his abode and sojourned in the house of *Accius Tullius*, who at that time was
a mighty great man among the Volscians, and one that ever bare mortal malice unto the Ro-
mans. And whiles the one of them was provoked with an old cankred grudge, and the other set
on and pricked forward upon a fresh quarrel and occasion of anger, they both laid their heads to-
gether and complotted to make war upon the Romans. This only thing stood in their way to K
cross their designs: They thought verily their Commons would hardly or scarcely at all be
brought, to rise and take arms again, which they had so often unhappily attempted: And besides,
their courages were well cooled, and their stomacks abated by the loss of their youth in many and
sundry wars often times afore, and now at last, by the late pestilence and mortality. They were
therefore to go cunningly to work; that for asmuch as the old hatred against the Romans was
grown out and worn away, their hearts upon some new anger might be chafed and galled again.
There were by chance at that time in *Rome*, the great Games and Playes in hand, to be set out
anew the second time, the occasion whereof was this. A certain householder one morning be-
times before the shews and games began, had beaten with rods a poor slave of his under the fork
which he carried on his shoulders, and driven him along through the mids of the *Circus* or *Thea-* L
*tre*: and with that began the playes, as if there had been no matter therein of scruple or Religi-
on. But not long after, one *T. Latinius* a mean Commoner had a dream or vision: In which he
thought that *Jupiter* complained and said, that the Dancer before the playes pleased him never a
whit: and unless those games were newly exhibited again and that very stately and sumptuously,
some great danger should befall the City: willing him withal, to make relation hereof unto the
Consuls. The man albeit in truth he was not without some sense and feeling of Religion and the
fear of God: yet made he no such great scrupie at the matter, but that the reverence he had of the
Majesty and countenance of the Magistrates surmounted and dashed it clean: for fear lest haply
he should become a talking stock in mens mouths, and be mocked for his labour. But this delay
and sleeping of the matter, he bought full dear. For within few dayes his son hapned to dye. M
And because he should be out of doubt what was the cause of this his losse and suddain mis-
fortune, whiles he was troubled in spirit, with anguish and sorrow, behold, the same vision ap-
peared to him again in his sleep, and seemed to ask him whether he had not yet sufficiently paid
for this disobedience and contempt of God? threatning moreover, that in case he made no
greater hast to certify the Consuls thereof, there was a greater judgment and plague toward, and
that very neer. Now was the thing more evident than before, and past all peradventure. How-
beit he neglected and drave it off still, until he was himself overtaken with a grievous disease, and
brought to great weakness in all his joints. Then verily the wrath of the Gods taught him to be
wiser. And being overwearied with harms past and in fear of more presently to ensue, he con-
ferred with his kinsfolk and friends to be advised by them. When he had declared unto them N
what he had seen and heard; namely, how *Jupiter* had so often appeared unto him in his sleep,
and that the fearful displeasure and threatnings of the heavenly Gods were shewed plainly by
sundry mischances fallen upon him: by the full consent of all them that were about him, he was
brought in a litter to the Consuls, into the *Forum* or common place, from whence by the Con-
suls commandment he was carried into the Counsel house. Where, when he had made report
unto the Senators of the self-same things, to the exceeding wonder and admiration of them all,
see another strange miracle: He that was brought into the Senate house a lame creeple of all his
lims, after he had once delivered his errand, returned home to his house (as it is recorded) sound
upon his feet. Hereupon the Senate decreed, That the Games should be set out as magnificently
as could be devised. O

To these solemnities resorted, by the motion and perswasion of *Accius Tullius*, a great num-
ber of Volscians. But before they were begun, *Tullius* according to the complot between him
and *Martius* at home, made a step or errand unto the Consuls at *Rome*, saying that he would
*Accius Tullius* to the Roman Consuls. willingly commune and treat with them apart, of important affairs concerning the State. When
the room was clear, and every man gone, he began in this wise: "Loth I am (quoth he) if other-
"wise I could chuse, to speak ought but well of my country-men and fellow citizens. Yet come I

"not

A "not to complain of any action of theirs already passed, but to give a caveat, and provide that
"nothing be practised hereafter. The nature and disposition (I may tell you) of our people, is
"too too unconstant and unstayed, more I know than I would they were, a great deal: that have
"we found and felt to our great cost and manifold damage, we I say, who verily at this day by your
"long sufferance, and not by good desert of ours, do stand in good terms and peace of safety.
"There is now here a great multitude of Volscians, the Playes and Games ready to be represented
"and celebrate. Your City will be wholly amused in the beholding thereof: I remember upon
"the like occasion, what was somtimes enterprised and wrought in this City by the youth of the
"Sabins; and my heart doth tremble and quake for fear, lest some inconsiderate, rash and foolish
B "part be played by ours: thus much, O ye Consuls, I thought good in our behalf and yours both,
"to give you notice of before hand. As for me, I am minded presently to go from hence home,
"lest I being here seen, might be thought in some word or deed accessary unto them, and so cul-
"pable. Having made this speech he departed. When the Consuls had declared in the Senate this
thing so doubtful, and yet proceeding from the mouth of so sure and certain an Author: behold,
the credit of the man (as commonly it is seen) rather than the likelihood of the matter, caused
them to be wery and circumspect, yea, although there was no such need or cause at all. Where-
upon the Senate made an Act, that the Volscians should be jogging out of the City. And divers
cryers or Bedles were sent out sundry wayes, to command them to avoid and be packing before
night. At the first, the Volscians were only much affrighted, and ran every man to and fro into
C his Inne to fetch away his things. But afterwards in the way homeward, they began to think
more and more of it, and to grow melancholy: thinking it a great indignity, that like polluted and
profaned persons, they should be driven from the Games, on festival holydayes, discarded (as a
man would say) and excommunicate out of the company both of God and man. Thus as they
went along all on a row, as it were in one continued and joynt train, *Tullius* (who was gone afore
as far as the *Ferentine* head) received the formost and chief of them, as every one came, and en-
tertained them with complaints and words of indignation, and drew both them who willingly
gave ear to his words so fitly framed and tending to stir more coles, and also by their means the
rest of the multitude into a plain field lying hard under the high way side. Unto whom, assembled
together as it were to hear a sermon, he thus began to speak: "Admit (quoth he) you could for-
D "get the old wrongs and abuses offered you by the people of *Rome*, the losses and overthrows of
"the Volscian Nation; yea, and all the other quarrels whatsoever; how can ye put up this dayes
"spightful reproach and dishonor received at their hands? who to our great disgrace and shame,
"have begun their solemn Games? Perceived you not how they have triumphed over you to day?
"how as ye departed, ye were a spectacle and pageant to all men, citizens and strangers, and to so
"many neighbour nations adjoyning? how your wives and children were brought as it were in a
"shew to make them sport and to laugh at? what conceit was in their heads (think ye) that heard
"the voyce of the Bedle? what thought they that beheld you as you dislodged? what imagined
"they that happened to meet this ignominious troup as they marched? Even this & no other, that
"there was some wicked sin among us, not to be named, whereby we should as malefactors, have
E "stayned and polluted their games if we had been present at the sight of them, & have committed
"some haynous act, that would require by some satisfaction of sacrifice to be purged? and for that
"cause were driven from having any conversation, fellowship, and society of good and godly men?
"Over and besides, how can you chose but think of this, That we enjoy our lives still, only be-
"cause we hastned our remove, (if this may be called a remove, and not rather a plain taking of a
"flight and running away.) And yet you reckon this no enemy City, where, if ye had stayed but
"one day longer, you had dyed for it every one. Defiance is given already, and war denounced a-
"gainst you; but if ye be men indeed of courage, to their great cost and mischief that have de-
"nounced it. Thus being of themselves kindled enough with indignation, and by these words en-
flamed and set on fire, they went every man his way from thence home: and so effectually sollicited
F each one the people where he dwelt that in fine the whole nation of the Volscians revolted and
rebelled. To manage this war, were chosen General commanders by one consent of all the Cities,
*Accius Tullius* and *Cn. Martius* the banished Roman: in whom of the twain they reposed greater
hope and this their hope failed them not. So as it soon appeared that the puissance of the state of
*Rome*, consisted more in the dexterity of good Captains, than in strong armies of souldiers. For
first he went to * *Circeios*, from whence he expelled the Roman Coloners, and delivered the City
cleer and free unto the Volscians. Then by cross wayes he passed into the Latin street, called *Via*
*Latina*: and regained from the Romans, these their Towns newly gotten afore, *Satricum*, *Longu-*
*la*, *Polluſtia* and *Corioli*. After this he wan *Lanuvium* again, and so forward he forced * *Corbio*,
*Vitelia*, *Trebia*, *Labicos*, and *Pedum*. And last of all from *Pedum*, he marched on toward the City
G of *Rome*, and at *Cluilia Fossa*, five miles off, he encamped and forraged the territory about, send-
ing with the forragers certain guides, to keep them from spoyling and doing harm in the
Noblemens Lands: were it that he were more spightful to the Commons, or that thereby some
discord might arise, between the Commonalty and the Senators: which doubtless had soon
grown so mightily had the Tribuns already by their complaints and accusations, provoked
the Commons forward, (who of themselves were shrewd enough) against the heads and Magi-
strates of the City, but that the fear of forrain dangers, the greatest bond of civil concord
that

*Accius Tullius* to his Coun-try-men.

* Monte Circello.

* *Civita inde-vina vique.*

*Coriolanus* besiegeth *Rome*,

that can be, held them in and knit their hearts together, were they never ſo jealous, ſuſpected, H
and hateful afore one to the other. Herein only was all their difference, that the Senate and
Conſuls, repoſed hope in nothing elſe ſave only in war: the Commons on the other ſide were de-
ſirous of any thing whatſoever, but war.

Now were *S. Nantius*, and *Sex. Furius* Conſuls: who as they were ſurveying and muſtering
the legions, and diſpoſing of a good *Corpus de guard* upon the walls, and other places wherein they
thought it expedient to keep a ſtanding watch and ward: behold a mighty number called and
cryed hard for peace, and with their ſeditious clamors, put them in exceeding fear: yea, and after-
wards forced them to aſſemble the Senate-houſe together, and to propoſe concerning the ſending
of certain Embaſſadors to *Cn. Martius*. The Lords of the Senate ſeeing evidently the commons I
hearts to fail them, accepted and granted the motion propounded. Whereupon were Oratours ſent
The anſwer of Coriolanus to the Roman Orators. unto *Martius* to treat for peace. At whoſe hands they received this heavy and ſtout anſwer:
"If ſo be the Volſcians had their Lands reſtored to them again, then there might be ſome parle
"and treaty of peace: but if they will needs at their pleaſure ſtill enjoy that booty which by war
"they have gotten, then would he in remembrance of private wrongs done unto him by his
"country-men, as alſo of the friendſhip and courteſy ſhewed him by ſtrangers that had given him
"entertainment, do his beſt to make it known unto the World, that his courage and ſtomack is
"incenſed, and not abated and quailed by his baniſhment. Then were the ſame Embaſſadors ſent
again the ſecond time, but they might not be admitted once to ſet foot within the camp. It is re-
ported moreover that the very Prieſts in their *Pontificalibus*, in their rich veſtiments and goodly K
ornaments, went with ſupplication to the tents of the enemies, and turned his heart no more than
the Embaſſadors had done before them. Then the dames of the City came flocking all about *Ve-
turia* the Mother, and *Volumnia* the wife of *Coriolanus*. Whether this proceeded from any publick
Counſel and was done in Policy, or came only of womens fear, I find but little in any records.
But howſoever it came about, this one thing is certain, they perſwaded ſo effectually with them,
that both *Veturia* an aged woman, and alſo *Volumnia* with her two little ſons that ſhe had by
*Martius*, went toward the enemies camp, to ſee if women by their prayers and tears, might ſave
the City, which men with ſpear and ſhield could not defend. When they were come into the
camp, and word brought to *Coriolanus*, that there was an exceeding great train of women thither
arrived: at the firſt, he, as one that had relented, neither for that publick Majeſty in the Embaſſa- L
dors, nor yet at the religious reverence, which he both conceived in mind, and ſaw with his eyes
The ſpeech of *Veturia* unto her ſon *Martius Coriolanus*. in the clergy, ſtood much more ſtifly bent againſt the tears of fifty women. But afterwards one of
his familiar friends, who had ſeen and known *Veturia* there, mourning and bewailing exceedingly
above the reſt, as ſhe ſtood betwixt her daughter in law and her little Nephews: "If mine eyes
"be matches (quoth he) and deceive me not, here is your mother, your wife, and children. Where-
"at, *Coriolanus*, fuming like a man well near beſide himſelf, aroſe from his ſeat, and ran to meet
"his mother, and to embrace her. But the woman falling in ſtead of prayers into a fit of choler:
"Let me know (quoth ſhe) before I ſuffer thee to embrace me, whether I am come to an enemy
"or to a ſon, whether I be in thy camp as a captive priſoner, or as a natural mother. And have I
"lived indeed ſo long, and rubbed on ſtill in this miſerable old age of mine for this, to ſee thee firſt M
"a baniſhed man, and after that to become an enemy? Couldſt thou find in thine heart to waſte
"and ſpoil that countrey which bred thee, which foſtered thee, and brought thee up? And be
"it that thou hither marched with a cruel intent and full of threats, would not thine anger and
"fell wrath ſlake, when thou didſt ſet foot within the borders and marches thereof? And being
"come within the ſight of *Rome*, aroſe not this in thy mind and thought, Within thoſe walls
"yonder is my houſe, there are my houſe-gods, my mother, my wife, my children? Why then,
"belike if I had never been a mother, and born a child, *Rome* had not been aſſaulted. And if I had
"no ſon at all, I might have died well enough in my native countrey, whiles it remained free. But
"as for me, neither can I ſuffer ought, more for thy diſhoneſty and ſhame; nor more to mine
"own calamity and miſery than this: and moſt wretched caitife though I be, yet long time ſo I N
"cannot continue. But for theſe here, look thou well to it, I adviſe thee, and have pitty of them,
"who if thou go on as thou beginneſt, are like to feel untimely death, or endure long captivity.
Then his wife and children hung about him, and clipped him: whereat the women fell a weep-
ing on all ſides, bewailing their own caſe and the ſtate of their countrey. So as at length the
man was overcome. And after he had taken them in his arms likewiſe, he let them go: and him-
ſelf diſlodged and removed his camp backward from the City. When he had withdrawn the
legions out of the territory of *Rome*, he gat himſelf, men ſaid, ſuch hatred and diſpleaſure for this
action, that it coſt him his life: and murdered he was, ſome report one way, ſome another. But
I find in *Fabius* a moſt ancient writer, that he lived until he was an old man: who reporteth this
of him: That oftentimes in his latter dayes he uſed to utter this ſpeech, *A heavy caſe and moſt* O
*wretched for an aged man to live baniſht*. The men of *Rome* envied not thoſe women their due de-
ſerved praiſes. So free was the world in thoſe dayes, from depraving and detracting the glory of
others. For in memorial hereof to all poſterity, there was a Temple built and dedicated to *For-
tuna Muliebri*, *i.* Womens fortune.

After all this, the Volſcians joyned the Æquians unto them, and returned into the territory of
*Rome*. But the Æquians would no longer abide *Aceius* to be their Commander. And upon
this

A this ſtrife between the Volſcians and Æquians, whether of them ſhould appoint a General over the army raiſed joyntly of them both, firſt they grew to a mutiny and afterwards to a cruel battel. Such was the good fortune of the people of *Rome*, that two armies of their enemies, were thus by civil diſcord and contention, no leſs mortal than obſtinate, overthrown and brought to naught. Conſuls then were *T. Sicinius* and *C. Aquilius*. To *Sicinius* were allotted the Volſcians, and to *Aquilius* the Herniks (who alſo were out and up in arms) for their ſeveral Province. That year were the Herniks vanquiſhed, but with the Volſcians they fought ſo, as they departed on even hand, giving and taking the like.

After them were *Sp. Caſſius*, and *Proculus Virginius* made Conſuls. Then was there a league
B concluded with the Herniks, and two third parts of their Lands were taken from them. Whereof the one moity, *C ſſius* the Conſul was minded to diſtribute among the Latins, the other among the Commoners. To this donation he laid too alſo a good portion of ground, which being Commons by right, he found much fault, that it was in the tenure and poſſeſſion of private perſons. This act of his made diverſe of the Senators, namely, ſuch as were great landed men and intereſſed therein, to ſtartle for fear of hazarding their eſtate. Over and beſides, the Senators all in general were in great perplexity, leſt that the Conſul by this largeſs, ſhould riſe by popular favour to ſuch greatneſs, as might prejudice their free hold, yea and endanger the very main chance of publick liberty. And this was the firſt time that the law *Agraria* was publiſhed: and ſo forward unto this preſent hour, it was never debated of, but with exceeding great ſtirs and
C troubles of the State. The other Conſul withſtood this largeſs, with the general conſent of the Senators, and without contradiction of ſome Commoners: who at the very firſt began to miſlike, and utterly abhor, that the donation was ſo common, and from the natural citizens, extended to their allies and confederates. Moreover, they might oftentimes hear even the Conſul himſelf *Virginius*, openly in his ſolemn Orations before the people, to deliver by way of propheſie, and as it were to prognoſticate; "*That this was a peſtilent largeſs of his brother Conſul, and that thoſe* "*grounds would in the end enthral the takers thereof, and that it was the very high way to ſet up a* "*Kingdom again. For to what other intent (I pray you) were their allies, and the nation of the La-* "*tins aſſociate in the ſame? To what purpoſe either, was a third part of the Lands won by conqueſt,* "*given again to the Herniks profeſſed enemies but a while before, but that theſe nations might have*
D "Caſſius *to be ſuch another Captain of theirs, as* Coriolanus *was*. And thus by diſſwading and croſſing the law *Agraria*, he became now to be popular and gracious with the people. Then both Conſuls ſtrived much, who might pleaſe and gratify the Commons moſt. *Virginius*, by giving out that he would maintain and ſuffer the Lands to be divided, ſo they were aſſigned to none but to the citizens of *Rome*: *Caſſius* again, who in the largeſs of the Lands, ſeemed to Court and inſinuate himſelf with the allies and thereby was of the citizens leſſe regarded and reputed. to the end, that by ſome other benefit he might regain the hearts of his country men, was of opinion, and made a motive, that the mony which was received for the Sicilian corn, ſhould be repayed unto the people. But the Commons refuſed and abhorred that, as a very bribe and ready bait for a Scepter and Crown. So greatly were all his gifts, for the deep rooted ſuſpition and jealouſy
E of his aſpiring to a Kingdom, loathed in the conceits of men, as if they had flowed in wealth, and been rich enough. And for certain it is recorded, that ſo ſoon as he left his Office, he was condemned and put to death. Some report, that his own father did the execution: and that upon examination privately had at home within his houſe, he finding him faulty, whipped him firſt, and ſo killed him, and conſecrated the goods and chattels of his ſon, as a *Deodand* to *Ceres*, whereof a Statue or Image was made, with this Inſcription or Title, *Given out of the houſe of Caſſius*. I find in ſome records (which ſoundeth nearer to the truth) that he was by the * Queſtors of *Caſo Fabius*, and *L. Valerius*, endited of treaſon, and being convicted, was by a verdict of the people con-
F demned, and his houſe by order from the whole City, raſed and pulled down. And at this day, it is the voyd yard that lieth before the Temple of *Tellus*. But howſoever he had his tryal and judgement, privately or openly condemned he was when *Ser. Cornelius* and *Q. Fabius* were Conſuls. Long continued not the peoples anger and ſpight againſt *Caſſius*. So ſweet was the law *Agraria* in it ſelf, that when the Author and Upholder thereof was out of the World, they longed to have it on foot again. Which deſire of theirs was the rather ſet on fire, through the pinching niggardiſe of the Senators, who having that year ſubdued the Volſcians and Æquians, kept the ſouldiers faſting and defrauded them of the ſpoil. For what prizes ſoever were gotten from the enemies, the Conſul *Fabius* ſold and brought into the Exchequer or Chamber of the City.

Now was the name of *Fabius* already odious to the Commonalty, for the laſt Conſuls ſake: yet obtained the Senators ſo much, and held their own ſo, as *Caſo Fabius* was created Conſul with *L. Æmilius*. This made the Commonr more malicious and bent to miſchief. And ſedition at
G home cauſed war abroad. Forrain war reſtrain'd civil diſcord for a while. Both Senators and Commons with one accord, under the conduct of *Æmilius* fought fortunately with the rebellious Volſcians and Æquians, and diſcated them. Howbeit more enemies periſhed in the chaſe, than were ſlain in the battel: ſo hotly the horſemen purſued them when they were once diſcomfited and gave not over. The ſame year was the Temple of *Caſtor* conſecrated in the *Ides of *Quintilis*. It had been vowed aſo etime in the Latins war by *Poſthumius* the Dictator. His ſon was created *Duumvir*, for that purpoſe, and dedicated it.

The law *Agraria* firſt publiſhed, concerning the diviſion of waſt lands among the Commons.

*Virginius* againſt the law *Agraria*.

*Sp. Caſſius* put to death for ſeeking to be King.

* Treaſurers of the City.

Temple of Caſtor dedicated. * 15. *of July.*

* Duumvirs for dedication of a Temple.

This

This year alſo the Commons hearts were ſet upon the law *Agraria*, and longed afreſh after the H ſweetneſs thereof. The Tribuns of the Commonalty graced and credited their popular authority, with propounding a law as popular and acceptable to the people. But the Senators ſuppoſing verily that the multitude was furious and outragious enough, and too much of themſelves, without any hire and reward, ſtood in great dread and horror of theſe largeſſes, as the very allurements and provocations, of raſh and heady attempts: & the ſtouteſt champions of their ſide to withſtand the law, were the Conſuls. That part therefore and State of the City had the better hand, not only this preſent year, but for the next enſuing. For they choſe *M. Fabius Caſo* his brother, for the one Conſul, and *L. Verius* for the other, a man of the twain more odious in the eyes of the Commons, in regard of his late accuſation of *Sp. Caſſius*. In which year alſo there was ſtrife and I much adoe with the Tribuns. But both law and law-makers with their glorious bragging and vaunting of their goodly donative, which they could not effect, proved vain and came to nothing. Upon this, the name of *Fabij*, who after three Conſulſhips together one after another, by them born continually without intermiſſion, were inured and tried in the broils and contentions of Tribuns, was in great requeſt and reputation: and in their houſe and family remained ſtill for a good while after, that dignity, as an honor well and worthily beſtowed upon them. Then began the Veientian war, and the Volſcians likewiſe rebelled. But for any wars abroad whatſoever, they had ſtrength enough and to ſpare, if by jars at home among their own ſelves they had not abuſed the ſame.

Beſides this diſquietneſs and affliction of all mens minds, occaſioned by theſe diſſenſions, there K hapned (to amend the matter well) prodigious, and ſtrange tokens from Heaven, daily in a manner threatning both in City and Country the heavy hand of God. And when as the ſoothſayers and wizards were ſent out unto, to ſearch forth the cauſe of Gods wrath and indignation both in publick and private, as well by inſpection of the inwards of ſacrificed beaſts, as by aſpect of birds and fouls, they could aſſign it to nothing elſe but this, that there was ſome errour committed in their ſacrifices and divine liturgie. Thoſe fearful and prodigious ſigns proceeded ſtill ſo far, that one *Oppia* a veſtal Nun, convicted and condemned of inceſt, ſuffered death.

After this, followed *Q. Fabius* and *C. Tullius* Conſuls. In which year the diſcord at home was nothing leſs and the war abroad far greater. For the Æquians roſe up in arms: the Veientians alſo entred the confines, and made much ſpoil. And whiles they were more and more careful L about theſe wars what order to take, *Caſo Fabius* and *Sp. Furius*, were made Conſuls. By this time the Æquians aſſaulted *Artona* a City in *Latium*. And the Veientians having ſped themſelves with prizes and booties, made great cracks that they would give an aſſault upon the very City of *Rome*. Theſe fearful news, which ought to have abated and taken down the ſtomacks of the Commons, made them much more fierce and fell, and they returned of themſelves unto their old biaſs of refuſing warfare: but *Sp. Licinius* their Tribune, thinking now the time was come to enforce upon the Senators the law *Agraria*, upon this exigent and extream point of neceſſity, had taken upon him to ſtop the levying and ſetting out of an army. But he drew upon his own head the whole hatred and diſpleaſure of the Tribuns themſelves and their authority. For the Conſuls oppoſed themſelves againſt him no more bitterly than his own companions in office: by whoſe M aſſiſtance the Conſuls went through with the Muſter. And for two wars at once, there were enrolled two armies. The one under the leading of *Fabius*, againſt the Æquians, the other, againſt the Veientians commanded by *Furius*. Againſt whom there was nothing done worthy of remembrance. As for *Fabius*, he had ſomewhat more to do with his own men than with his enemies. That man himſelf alone was he, that being Conſul upheld the Common-weal, which his army for hatred of their Conſul, had as much as in them lay, utterly betrayed. For when as he (above many other warlike feats and parts of a right worthy General, whereof he ſhewed ſingular proof, both in preparation, and alſo in managing of the war) had ſo marſhalled and ranged his battail, that with ſending out the horſemen only, he diſordered and brake the ranks of his enemies hoſt: behold, the footmen would not follow on after that diſaray: neither, when the exhortation of N their leader whom they hated, prevailed not, could their own ſhame at leaſt-wiſe, and the publick diſhonor for the preſent; no, nor yet the imminent danger like to enſue (in caſe the enemy had taken heart again and made head) force them to amend their pace one jot, and make more ſpeed. Neither could he poſſibly make them (if to do nothing elſe) ſo much as to march ſtill in battail aray: but full againſt his commandment they retire with their enſigns: and as men ſory in their hearts and ill apaid, (he that had ſeen them would have ſaid they had loſt the field) curſing their General one while, and the valiant ſervice of the horſemen another while, they return to their Tents. Neither wiſt the General what way to remedy this ſo peſtilent an example and dangerous precedent. Thus we may ſee, that brave men of ſingular and excellent wits, have been more to ſeek and fail in their skill, how to govern a ſubject than to vanquiſh an enemy. The O Conſul returneth to *Rome*, having purchaſed more hatred of his froward and ſtubborn ſouldiers, than won honor by his martial proweſs. Nevertheleſs, the Senators prevailed ſo much that the Conſulſhip kept reſidence ſtill in the name of the *Fabij*. So, they created *M. Fabius* Conſul, and joyn with him *Cn. Manlius* for his collegue.

The diſobedience of ſoldiers to their Captain.

This year likewiſe, had one patrone and maintainer of the law *Agraria*, to wit, *Tiberius Pontificius* a Tribune. He taking the ſame courſe, and following the ſteps of *Sp. Licinius*, hindered the

A the muſters for a while. And when the Senators were herewith diſquieted again, then *Ap. Claudius* aroſe up and ſaid, "That the year before, the Tribunes power was overmatched, and the "neck of it broken in proof, only for that preſent, but in example for ever hereafter: foraſmuch "as it was well ſeen then by experience, that of it ſelf even among their own ſelves it fell apieces: "and never will there want at any time one good Tribune or other, that would be glad to get "the ſtart and victory of his fellow, yea, and the favour alſo of the better part for to purchaſe the "good of the weal-publike. And that there would be more Tribunes, if more were needfull, "ready to aſſiſt the Conſuls: and if there were but one, even that one were ſufficient to ſtand "againſt all the reſt. So that the Conſuls and LL. of the Councill would but do their endeavour, to B "win unto the State and Senate, ſome certain of the Tribunes, if they might not compaſs all. The politike practiſe of *Appius Claudius* to abate the Tribunes authority.

The Senators being thus ſchooled and taught their leſſons by *Appius*, both all in generall would courteouſly ſalute and friendly intreat the Tribunes, and alſo in particular as many of them as had been Conſuls, according to that intereſt that each man had in any one of them privately, partly by favour and friendſhip and partly by countenance and authority, prevailed ſo with them, that they were willing and well content to employ the Tribunes authority to the good and ſafety of the Common-weale. So by the help of foure Tribunes, againſt one that hindred the good of all, the Conſuls took muſter of the ſouldiers. Then ſet they forward on their voyage to war with the Veientians: unto whom from all parts of *Hetruria* they came to aid and ſuccour; not ſo much for any love that they bare to the Veientians, as in hope that the puiſſance of *Rome* C through inteſtine and civill diſſention would decay and come to nought. For in all the Diets and Aſſemblies of the States of *Hetruria*, the Princes and Peers gave it out and ſaid, That the power and greatneſs of the Romans was everlaſting, if through mutuall diſcord they warred not ſo among themſelves: which hath been found the only bane of wealthy and flouriſhing Cities, whereby mighty Empires became mortall and ſubject to a finall end. "Which miſchief (ſay "they) this long time hath been prevented and delayed, partly through the ſage adviſe and pru- "dent government of the Senate, partly by the patience and long ſufferance of the Commons: "but now they are come to a great extremity. Divided they are, and of one City become twain: "each part have their ſeverall Magiſtrates and laws by themſelves. At the firſt, however they "were wont to be at odds, and to fall out at the muſtering of ſouldiers, yet in war they would D "hold together, and obey their Captains. Howſoever they fared at home in the City, were the "State never ſo far out of order, yet ſo long as martiall diſcipline was on foot and took place, they "might be reclaimed, and all troubles ſtaied. But now, the former uſe and cuſtome of diſobeying "Magiſtrates within the City, is taken up by the Roman ſouldiers in the very Camp. For no "longer ſince than the laſt war of all, in the time of battell and conflict, their whole Army agreed "of their own accord not forced by any extremity that they were put unto, for to give the Vei- "entians, as much as in them lay, even after they had loſt the field, the entire victory and honour "of the day. For they abandoned their enſigns, left their Generall alone in the skirmiſh, and "againſt his will, retired themſelves into the Camp. And ſurely, if they hold on ſtill this courſe, "*Rome* may be won by means of her own ſouldiers: there needs no more to do, but to proclaime E "and make a ſhew of war: For even the very deſtinies and gods themſelves would performe all "the reſt. Upon theſe hopes and deep perſwaſions, the Tuſcans, who afore were wont otherwhiles to have the better, and ſometimes to take the worſe in their wars, put themſelves in arms. The Roman Conſuls likewiſe were in fear of nothing elſe ſo much, as of their own power, their own force and weapons: being affrighted at the remembrance of that foul and ſhamefull example, and that lewd part plaid in the laſt war: leſt peradventure they ſhould put it upon this point of hazard, as to be in danger of two battels at once. And therefore in ſo doubtfull and perillous a caſe, they held off fight, and kept themſelves within their Camp, if haply time and ſpace would aſſwage their anger, bring them into the right way again, and reclaime them to good and reaſonable order. The enemies hereat, as well Veientians as the other Tuſcans, made F the greater haſte, and were more ſharp ſet, and provoked them to the field: firſt by riding up and down before their Camp, hard at the gates thereof, braving and challenging them forth, at the laſt, ſeeing they could not prevail, they fell to rating and railing one while upon the Conſuls themſelves, another while upon the whole Army, in theſe and ſuch like terms: "A gay matter indeed, "and a proper device to ſalve their cowardiſe, and under a colour of civill diſſention to cloak their "fearfulneſs: and the Conſuls forſooth miſtruſt more the faithfulneſs and loyalty of their ſouldi- "ers in ſervice, than they doubted their valour and ſufficiency of ſervice. Mary, here is indeed a "new kind of mutiny. What? Armed men to hold their peace and ſit ſtill? Hitting them in their "teeth beſides, with their new ſtart-up riſing and late ſprung baſe beginning, letting fly againſt them "lies and truths, one with another, and ſpared not. For all this foule ſtir they kept, flouting and G reviling them under their very trench, and hard at their gates, the Conſuls themſelves were not one jot troubled. But the fooliſh and ignorant multitude what with anger, and what for ſhame of theſe reproachfull terms, was much diſtempered: and one whiles wholly gave over to regard and thinke upon home troubles and diſſentions, and had rather than their lives be revenged of their enemies: Anon again, they would not in any caſe gratifie the Nobles and Conſuls, nor wiſh them good ſucceſs. Thus the hatred both againſt the enemies without, and the Conſuls within ſtrove together in their hearts: untill at length forrain occaſions got the maſtry over them: ſo proudly,

The ſpeeches of the Tuſcan Princes in their Councils.

so insolently the enemy scorned and made a game of them. Whereupon they came thick by troups H
to the Generals pavilion, calling upon them for to fight, requiring to put forth the banner and
signall of battell. The Consuls laid their heads together, and as taking good advisement, conferred
on the matter a good while. To fight they were most willing and desirous: but this desire was to
be kept back and dissembled, and thereby augmented: to the end, that by holding off, by opposing
themselves, and making some stay, they might set the souldiers on, and being once set on it, they
might make them follow more eagerly at once. In conclusion, this answer was returned unto them:
That they made too much haste: it was not yet full ripe, nor the time come, to give battell: they
must hold themselves contented, and keep within their tents: proclaiming moreover, that no man
be so hardy as to fight: and whosoever attempted it, without their warrant and commission, they I
would proceed against him with all rigour, as a professed enemy. Thus were they dismissed. And
the less willing they thought the Consuls were, the more eager were they, and set upon a battell.
The enemies besides, when they had intelligence, that the Consuls were not disposed to fight, and
had taken order to the contrary, were inkindled and inflamed so much the more. For now they
supposed they might brave it, and insult upon them safely without danger. For why? The Con-
suls durst not trust the souldiers with weapon in hand: "now were their mutinies come to the
"height and to break forth in extremities: now and never before the Roman Empire and Domi-
"nion was at an end. Presuming confidently upon this ground, they run together unto the gates,
"redoubling a thousand villanous and opprobrious terms, and much ado they had to forbear as-
"saulting the camp. Now could the Romans on the other side hold no longer, & endure this con- K
tumely and indignity, but came running from all parts of the camp unto the Consuls. And now not
leisurely as before, make they request, and by mediation of their chief centurions, but all at once on
every side plied them with outcries and clamours. Now was the matter come to ripeness, yet slow
were the Coss. still and hold off. Then *Fabius* seeing the tumult increased & that for fear of a muti-
ny his brother Consul had yielded already, caused silence to be made by sound of trumpet, and thus
The speech of *Fabius* to his brother Consul. he spake: "I know full well O *Manlius*, that these fellows are able to win the victory: but that
"they will so do I know not, and they themselves have caused me to doubt. I have therefore set
"down my rest, and fully resolved not to give the signal of battell, unless they swear to return out
"of the field with victory. Once did the souldiers in battell deceive a Cons. of *Rome*: but the gods
"in heaven shall they never deceive. Then *M. Flavoleius* a Centurion, one of the formost that cal- L
"led for battell so instantly, "Return will I (quoth he) O *M. Fabius*, victor out of the field: and if
"I fail, then I beseech father *Jupiter*, *Mars Gradivus* and other gods to make me a fearfull example
"and shew their wrathfull displeasure upon me. The same oath after him took the whole army, e-
"very man against himself. Thus when they had sworn the trumpet sounded. Then buckle they
themselves toward battell, full of anger, full of hope. Now they bid the Tuscans revile and rail their
fill: now being at all points armed, they wished they had afore them man to man their enemies,
those that were so lively and lusty with their tongues. Right valiantly bare themselves that day, as
well the Commons as the Nobles. But the name of the *Fabii*, the *Fabii* I say, passed all the rest and
won the spurs. Who in this piece of service purposed to gain again the hearts of the Commons,
which in many civill contentions were set against them. And so they embattelled themselves. The M
enemies likewise both the Veientians and also the Tuscan legions were nothing behind, as making
almost sure reckoning that they should be fought withall no more than the Æquians had been.
Nay they were in hope of some greater disorder amongst them, and that, considering they were so
malecontent, and the occasion so doubtfull they would play a more shamefull part, and shew their
leaders a beastly cast. But it fell out far otherwise. For never in any other war afore, gave the Ro-
mans a hotter charge upon the enemies: so much had they of the one side with spitefull taunts and
reproaches nettled them, and the Consuls on the other side with their long delaies whet them on.
Scarce had the Tuscans any time to put themselves in battell array, but at the very first encounter
and shock, casting their javelins carelesly from them (I know not how) rather than levelling and
charging them against the enemy, they came presently pell-mell to hand-strokes, and to deal with N
their swords, which is the cruellest fight of all other. The *Fabii* among the formost in the fore-
front fought valiantly, shewing their countrimen a brave sight, and a noble example to follow.
Where *Q. Fabius* who had been Consul the third year before, the leader and forwardest of them
all, whiles he advanced himself and rushed amongst the thickest of the Veientians, and scuffled with
many of them together, was not aware of his deadly enemy so near: but behold a certain Tus-
can, a mighty man of strength and skilfull at his weapon, ran him through the breast with his
sword. Which was not so soon drawn forth of his body, but *Fabius* fell down headlong upon
his wound and died. Both armies felt the fall of that one man: and therewith the Romans re-
tired. With that *M. Fabius* the Consul stepped over his body as it lay along, and holding forth his
target between: "Why, souldiers (quoth he) is the oath ye took to run away and retire thus in- O
"to the Camp? And are ye more affraid indeed, of these most dastardly enemies, than of *Ju-*
"*piter* and *Mars*, by whom ye sware? But I, who was not sworn at all, will either make return
"with victory, or else O *Q. Fabius*, fighting here by thee. I will live and die by thy side. To
whom, *Caso Fabius*, who the year afore was Consul, replied again: "Think you brother, with
"these words to make them to fight? Nay, the gods are they that must do it, by whom
"they have sworn. And let us like noble Knights, and for the honour of the *Fabian* house,

"stir

A "ſtir up and animate our ſouldiers by fighting rather than by exhorting. Thus rode the two *Fabii* with lance in reſt into the forefront, and drew the whole battel with them. The fight of one ſide being thus renewed, *Cn. Manlius* the Conſul in the other wing beſtirred himſelf, and did for his part as valiantly: Where hapned almoſt the like fortune. For as in the one wing the ſouldiers followed *Q. Fabius*, ſo in this they cheerfully went with the Conſul himſelf *Manlius*, chaſing the enemies afore him as diſcomfited. And when he was ſore wounded, and thereupon gone out of the battel, his men ſuppoſing him to be ſlain, drew back, and had indeed loſt ground and given way to the enemy, but that the other Conſul with certain Cornets of horſemen, galloped amain into that quarter, and cried aloud that his fellow Conſul was living: and that him-
B ſelf who had defeated the other point, was ready with victory to aſſiſt them, and ſo uphe'd the middle of the Army, that now began to ſhrink. *Manlius* alſo, to encourage his men, ſhewed himſelf in open ſight. Thus the knowledge and preſence of the two Conſuls made the ſouldiers take heart afreſh. Herewithall beſides, were the enemies battalions the thinner and weaker, becauſe they truſting upon their exceeding number, had drawn out thoſe that were to ſerve for ſuccour and ſupply, and ſent them away to aſſaile the Camp. In the ſurpriſing whereof, finding no great ado and ſmall reſiſtance, whiles they had more mind to rifle for pillage, than to fight for the victory, they loſt time. In the mean ſpace the Roman *Triarii*, who were not able to hold out the firſt aſſault and entrance, having diſpatched to the Conſuls certain meſſengers, to give knowledge in what terms they ſtood, caſt themſelves round in a ring, and retired them-
C ſelves to the *Prætorium* or Generals lodging, and of themſelves alone, made head and renewed the fight. Likewiſe *Manlius* the Conſul being ridden back to the Camp, at every gate ſet certain ſouldiers in guard: and ſo encloſed them within, that they could not get forth. The Tuſcans being in this deſperate caſe, fared more like mad men than hardy ſouldiers. For when as they ran here and there every way, according as they had any hope to find iſſue and to eſcape, and had made ſundry offers and attempts in vain: behold one troup of tall fellows in a body, made no more ado, but knowing the Conſul, who by reaſon of brave and goodly armour was a fair mark, charged upon his own perſon. The firſt volley of their ſhot was received by thoſe that ſtood about him, but their violence afterwards could not be endured. The Conſul himſelf was wounded to death, and fell down in the place, and all the reſt were diſcomfited. Whereupon
D the Tuſcans took more heart unto them, but the Romans were ſo diſtreſſed, that they ran all about the Camp in great fear. And in extream jeopardy had they been, but that the Lieutenants caught up the Conſul his body, and made paſſage at one gate for the enemy. Through which they ruſhed forth, and diſmarched diſorderly, untill they light upon the other Conſul preſently after his victory: where they either fell again upon the edge of the ſword, or were ſcattered and put to flight. This brave Victory thus atchieved, was heavy yet and ſorrowful for the death of two ſo noble perſonages. And therefore when the Senate had decreed a Triumph, the Conſul returned this anſwer: "That willingly he could allow thereof in regard of the paſſing good ſervice "performed in that war, in caſe an Army might triumph without a General. But as for himſelf, "ſeeing that his houſe grieved and mourned for the death of his brother *Q. Fabius*, and that the
E "Common-wealth was half fatherleſs as it were, for the loſs of a Conſul, he would not ac-"cept the Lawrel ſo deformed and foully blemiſhed, both with publike and private ſorrow. This Triumph thus by him refuſed, was more honourable than all the Triumphs in the world. By which we may ſee that glory deſpiſed in due time returneth otherwhiles in greater meaſure. Then ſolemnized he with great honour the obſequies one after another, firſt of his fellow Conſul, and then of his own brother. And he himſelf made the funeral Orations for them both. But ſo as in yielding unto them their due commendations, he went himſelf away with the greater part. And not unmindful of that rule which he had learned in the beginning of the Conſulſhip, namely, to win again the hearts and love of the Commons, he divided the cure of his hurt and wounded ſouldiers among the Senators. With moſt of them the *Fabii* were charged, and of
F none were they better tended and looked unto, than of them. Whereupon the *Fabii* now waxed popular, and that, for no other policy and intent, but only to do the Common-wealth good: and therefore with the favour and good will of the Commons, as wel as of the Nobles, *Caſo Fabius* was created Conſul, with *T. Virginius*; Whoſe principal care above all was this, even before war, before muſters, before all things elſe, that ſeeing now in ſome meaſure there was good hope of concord begun already, the hearts of the Commons might be perfectly linked and united together with the Nobles, and that, with all ſpeed poſſible. In the beginning therefore of this year, before that any Tribune of the Commons ſhould prefer the law *Agraria*, he thought good and gave his advice, that the Nobles ſhould prevent all, and go in hand firſt themſelves to perform their part, and ſhew their bounty: namely, in parting the lands gotten by conqueſt, and freely beſtowing the
G ſame as equally as might be, among the Commons. For it was meet and requiſite that they ſhould be poſſeſſed thereof, whoſe ſweat of brows, nay, whoſe bloud had paid for the purchaſe. But the Senators could not hear of that ear, but miſliked of the motion: yea, and ſome of them complained and ſaid, that the lively ſpirit, and couragious diſpoſition of *Caſo*, which ſometimes he had, was now by reaſon of exceſſive glory, grown to be toyiſh and full of vanities. And there an end of civill factions for a time.

*Manlius* the Conſul ſlain.

*Fabius* refuſeth triumph.

But the Latines were much troubled with the incurſions and inrodes of the Æquians. Thither

was *Cæso* with an Army sent, who invaded and overran the very country of the Æquians, forra- H
ging and spoiling as he went. The Æquians thereupon retired,& put themselves into their towns,
and kept close within the walls, whereby there was no memorable field fought. But at their ene-
mies the Veientians hand, they received an overthrow, and that through the rashnes of the o-
ther Consul: and had not *Cæso Fabius* come to the rescue in good time,the whole Army had been
utterly lost.From that time there was neither war nor peace with the Veientians: but their dea-
ling was much what after the manner of robbing. For when the Roman Legions were abroad,
they would leave the field &take to their Cities:when they perceived the Legions were removed
and gone,they would make excursions and waste the country.Thus plaid they mock-holiday,and
dallied with them, shifting off war with quietnes, and quietnes again with war, by turns. So as I
the Romans could neither all wholly rest careles and secure for them, nor yet go through-stitch,
& make an end once for all with them. Besides, other wars were either presently at hand,to wit,
from the Æquians and the Volscians, who could no longer sit still, than untill their fresh grief,
and pain of the last defeature was over-past; or else the Sabins, never other but enemies,yea, and
all *Hetruria*, were like all shortly to rise and take arms. But the Veientian a continual enemy, ra-
ther than dangerous provoked them to anger with reproachful taunts,oftner than with any great
peril or hurt. And yet as little as it was, it might no time be neglected,nor gave them leave to be
employed in the mean while otherwhere. Then came the whole house and kindred of the *Fabii*
*Cæso Fabius* the Consul, to the Lords of the Senate. unto the Senat, in the name of them all spake the Consul in this wise: "My Lords of the Senat,
"the Veientian war had need rather of a resident garrison, as ye know well enough, to keep the K
"frontires,than great forces for expedition. As for you,see ye to other wars. Let the *Fabii* alone
"to deal as private enemies with the Veientians. We dare undertake and warrant,that the State
"of *Rome* shall receive no dishonour nor danger there. We are fully minded and resolved at
"our own proper cost and charges, to maintain and mannage that war, as appropriate and pecu-
The linage of the *Fabii* offer to maintain war with the Veientians in their own persons,and at their proper charges. "culiar to our name and family: the City shall be charged neither with men nor money there.
Great thanks were given them for this their forwardnes. The Consul being come out of the Se-
nat house,was attended home with the whole generation of the *Fabii* who stood at the porch of
the Council Court,expecting the Senats decree.And being commanded to be ready in armor well
appointed the next day, and to give attendance at the Consuls door, they departed from thence
home to their own houses. The bruit hereof spread all over the City. All men extoll the *Fabii* up L
to the skie, saying, "That one family had taken upon them the whole burden of the City. The
"Veientian war now is become(say they)a privat charge,and requireth the power and force on-
"ly that privat persons could make. O that there were two such families more in *Rome* of that
"stomack and valour: that one of them might take the Volscians in hand,and another the Æqui-
"ans. Surely all the nations bordering hereabout might soon be subdued,and the people of *Rome*
"sit still the while and rest in peace. The day following, the *Fabii* armed themselves, mounted on
horseback,and repaired to the *Rendezvous* aforesaid, as they were commanded. Then came the
Consul forth, clad in a rich coat of arms, and standing in his porch, beheld his whole bloud and
linage armed and marshalled in order,and being received in the midst of them,caused the guidons
and Cornets to be advanced. Never marched three along the City an Army either les in num- M
ber,or more renowned for their fame and the admiration of men. Three hundred men of arms
they were and six, all nobly descended, of one stock, of one race and name all. And of all
them there was not one that a sage and prudent Senate would have refused at any time as un-
sufficient,to be a Leader and Commander in the field.Thus furnished with the force and strength
that one only Family could make, they advanced forward, threatning and menacing the ruin
and destruction of the Veientians. There followed a number and multitude of Citizens: one
private company by themselves of kinsfolk, allies, friends, and fellows, casting in their minds
no mean matters, neither of hope nor fear, but all exceeding measure and surpassing: ano-
ther of the common people, moved with a carefull regard, and astonied again in a favourable
applause and admiration of their enterprise, crying with one voice, Hold on right valiant N
Knights, March on a Gods name in happy hour; God grant lucky speed, answerable to your
magnanimous attempts and designments: and look for, at our hands from henceforth, Con-
sulships, triumphs, all rewards and honourable dignities whatsoever. And all the way as they pas-
sed along the Capitol, the Castle, and other Temples they besought the gods, as many as were pre-
sented to their eye, as many as they could conceive in their minds, to vouchsafe that squadron
to be attended upon with good success and fortunate felicity, and soon to return home again
in safety to their native country and loving parents. But, alas the while, in vain were all these
prayers made.Then set they forward on their journey,leaving *Janus* Church on their right hand,
taking the ungracious and unlucky way, from the gate *Carmentalis*, untill at length they came to
* At this day *Fossa* or *Vaica*. the river * *Cremera*.That was thought a convenient place to fortifie in, and there to plant a garri- O
son. After this were *L. Æmylius* and *C. Servilius* made Consuls. And so long as they adventu-
red no farther than forraging the Country, the *Fabii* were good enough, not only to defend
their hold and fort; but all their frontier parts and marches where the Tuscan Territory adjoyneth
to the Roman they so scoured and traversed, between the one confine and the other, that they
kept all their own in safety, and mightily endamaged the enemies. Then surceased they a while,
but it was not long,from wasting and spoiling. By which time both the Veientians had gathered

a

A a power out of *Hetruria*, and aſſaulted the fort of *Cremera*, and alſo the Roman Legions, under the conduct of the Conſul *L. Æmilius*, encountred the Tuſcans in open field. And yet the Veientians had hardly time enough to put themſelves in order of battel: ſo ſuddenly at the very firſt skirmiſh, whiles the files were entring into array under their colours in the vanguard, and the ſuccours and ſupplies a placing and diſpoſing in the rereward, a Cornet of Roman horſe charged them ſo hotly on the flank, that they had not room and ſpace, either to begin fight, or to keep their ſtanding ſure. Thus were they diſcomfited, and chaſed back as far as *Saxa rubra*, *i.e.*, Red rocks (for there they were encamped) where they humbly craved peace. Which when they had obtained (ſee their inbred inconſtancy ſo naturally engraffed) they were weary of it, and repented thereof,
B before the Roman garriſon could be withdrawn from *Cremera*. And ſo the *Fabii* once again skirmiſhed with the Veientian Nation, without preparation of greater war. Neither made they inrodes only, and ſudden violent incurſions into the Territories but ſundry times they encountred with banners diſplaied, and joined battell in plain field. And that one houſe and kindred of the Roman people carried oftentimes the victory away from that moſt mighty and rich City (in thoſe daies) of all the Tuſcans. This took the Veientians at the firſt for a foul diſgrace and indignity. But afterwards they deviſed to lay trains, as occaſion ſhould ſerve, and entrap their fierce and hardy enemy: and well apaid they were and rejoyced, that the *Fabii* upon the good ſucceſs that ſtill followed them, were become more bold and venturous. And therefore divers times when the Romans were abroad a plundering, they would drive cattel in their way, but yet ſo, as they might
C ſeem to light upon them by chance. The ruſtical peaſants made ſhew as if they fled out of the Country, and left the fields waſt: yea, and the companies of ſouldiers ſent out to reſtrain and ſtay their ſpoiling, made ſhew of running away, pretending oftner they were afraid than they had cauſe indeed. So as now the *Fabii* by this time ſet ſo light by their enemies, and thought ſo well of themſelves, that they beleeved verily their power was invincible, and might not be withſtood in any ground, or at any time whatſoever. This conceit and hope of theirs ſet them ſo afloat, and made them ſo bold, that eſpying upon a time cattel far from *Cremera*, (for there was a large plain between) although here and there they might deſcry armed ſouldiers of their enemies, yet from their fort they ran down, with bridle in their horſe neck. And when unadviſedly without foreſight they were patt the ambuſh, which was laid covertly about the very way that they were to
D paſs, and were ſtragling here and there diſorderly, driving the cattel away, which gadded in and out, as their manner is when they be ſcared and affrighted, then ſuddenly ſtart the enemies all at once out of the ambuſhment: ſo as both before and behind, and on every ſide they were beſet and environed with enemies. At the firſt the very houting and outcry they made round about terrified them: afterwards flew their ſhot from all ſides. And as the Tuſcans gathered themſelves together, the *Fabii* were ſoon hemmed within a round battallion of enemies, ſtanding armed thick and cloſe one to another: and the nearer the enemies approached about them, in ſo much leſs room were they enforced alſo to caſt themſelves into a ring. Which, conſidering their arraies were thruſt ſo thick together in ſo ſtraight a compaſs, made their ſmall number appear the leſs, and the multitude of the Tuſcans to carry a greater ſhew. Then forbearing to fight as they firſt intended,
E on every hand alike, and with all at once, they made head to one only place. Thereto they endeavour with might and main, body and armour; and with a pointed pattel wedgewiſe pierced through and made themſelves paſſage. And they took the way that led to a little hill, riſing up with an eaſie aſcent. From whence at firſt they made reſiſtance only and kept their ground: but ſoon after, when by reaſon of the vantage of the hill, they had ſome time to breath themſelves, and to take heart again after ſo great a fright, they forced the enemies alſo to give back that were mounting up the hill. And as few in number as they were, yet by the benefit of the ground they had gotten the better, if the Veientians had not fet a compaſs about the hill ſide, and gained the very top and pitch thereof. Thus became the enemy again to have the upper hand. And ſo
F were the *Fabii* ſlain every man, and not one of them eſcaped, yea, and their fort overthrown and raſed. Three hundred and ſix there were that died, as all writers do agree. One only of the name was left behind at home, well near fourteen years of age, for to renew and encreaſe, as out of a ſtock, the name of the *Fabii*, and to prove in time to come the greateſt prop and pillar that the people of *Rome* ſhould have in their dangers and extremities many a time both at home and abroad. The *Fabii* all ſlain.

But ere this heavy loſs and overthrow happned, *C. Horatius* and *T. Menenius* were Conſuls. *Menenius* was ſent forth with againſt the Tuſcans, puffed now up with pride for this their victory: with whom then alſo he fought unfortunately and ſped but ill. For the enemies ſurpriſed and got the *Janiculum*, and the City had ſurely been beſieged, (conſidering that beſides war they were greatly diſtreſſed for want of victuals, for the Tuſcans were paſſed over the *Tyber*) but that
G *Horatius* the Conſul was called home from the Volſcians. And ſo near approached the enemies in this war and preſſed to the very walls, that firſt there was a skirmiſh on even hand at the Temple of **Spes*: and another again at the gate *Collina*. Where albeit the Romans got but very ſmall odds of the enemy, yet did that conflict upon a little recovery of wonted courage prepare the ſouldiers to better ſervice in the battels enſuing. * Hope.

Now were *A. Virginius* and *Sp. Servilius* created Conſuls. The Veientians after this late deſeat, came no more into the field, yet they robbed and waſted ſtill. And from the *Janiculum* as

from a fortreſs and place of ſafe retreat, they would make excurſions out into the Territory of H
*Rome* all about, and neither cattel nor country people could any where be in ſafety for them. But afterwards, they were overtaken themſelves in the ſame wile that they had caught the *Fabii* with. For as they followed after certain cattel, which were driven forth here and there of purpoſe to draw and train them abroad, they were plunged themſelves headlong into an Ambuſcado laid for them. And the more they were, the greater was their ſlaughter. Upon this foil, their cruel and fell anger gave the occaſion and overture of a greater overthrow. For having croſſed the *Tyber* in the night ſeaſon, they gave the attempt to make an aſſault upon the Camp of the Conſul *Servilius*. But being diſcomfited, and many of them ſlain, the reſt retired themſelves from thence, and with much ado recovered the *Janicle*. Straight after this, the Conſul alſo paſſed over *Tyber*, and en- I
campeth himſelf ſtrongly under the *Janiculum*. The morrow morning by Sun riſing, ſo venturous he was by reaſon of his fortunate fight the day before, and more for the ſcarcity of corn and victuals, which drave him to take (he cared not how raſh and dangerous courſes, ſo they tended to more quick and ſpeedy expedition) full fondly he advanced forward, and marched up the ſteep hill of the *Janicle*, and charged the enemies hold: but being ſet back himſelf from thence more ſhameſully than he had the day before repelled the enemies; yet by occaſion that his fellow Conſul came in the while to reſcue, he and his Army both were ſaved: and the Tuſcans encloſed between both hoſts, were forced to turn their backs, both to one and the other, and were killed every mothers ſon. Thus by a raſh enterpriſe (which as good luck was) ſped well, the Veientian war came to an end. The City then, as it enjoyed peace, ſo it came again to be better ſtored of corn K
and victual: both for that there was ſome grain brought out of *Campania*, and alſo becauſe the old ſtore that was hoorded up came abroad, by reaſon that no man now ſtood in fear of dearth to enſue.

Afterwards upon plenty and eaſe they began to be buſie again, and their heads to work, ſeeking to broach old troubles at home, ſince they had none to occupy them abroad. The Tribunes they fell to ſollicite and infect the Commons, with their venome and poyſon, the Law *Agraria*: inciting them againſt the Nobles that gainſaid it: not in general terms only, but alſo by touching particular perſons. For *Q. Conſidius* and *T. Genutius*, who were for the Law *Agraria*, framed an inditement, and ſued *T. Menenius*. And this was laid to his charge, to wit, the loſs of the fort and garriſon at *Cremera*: for that, he being Conſul lay encamped not far from thence. But of this L
danger he ſoon ſtopped the courſe, both becauſe the Nobles laboured and took his part, no leſs than they had done afore for *Coriolanus*: and alſo the affection and favour that men bare to his father *Agrippa*, was not worn out, and clean forgot. The Tribunes uſed moderation therefore in the penalty, for having commenced a capital action againſt him, and convicted him thereof, they ſet a fine on his head of * 2000 Aſſes. Howbeit this coſt him his life: for he grew, men ſay, into ſuch a melancholick fit for ſhame of this diſgrace, that he fell thereupon from grief of heart unto a pining ſickneſs which followed him to his dying day. Then was there another accuſed and brought into trouble, to wit, *Sp. Servilius*, ſo ſoon as he was out of his Conſulſhip, at what time as *C. Nautius*, and *P. Valerius* were Conſuls. In the beginning of whoſe year the Tribunes *L. Cæditius* and *T. Statius*, called him ſtraightwaies to his anſwer. Who ſuſtained the violence of the M
Tribunes, not as *Menenius* did, by his own intreaty and the praiers of the Nobles, but bare himſelf confidently upon his own innocency, and the good grace wherein he ſtood. Blamed he was likewiſe, and charged for the battel with the Tuſcans at *Janiculum*. But being a man of an hot ſpirit and ſtout courage, as he carried himſelf before in the publike danger, ſo now in his own private peril, by refuting in a bold and ſtout ſpeech that he made, not only the Tribunes, but alſo the Commonalty, and caſting in their teeth and reproving them, for the condemnation and death of *T. Menenius*, by whoſe fathers means the Commons being in times paſt reſtored, had obtained firſt thoſe very Magiſtrates and Laws, whereby at this day they exerciſe ſuch rigour: he went through all his troubles, and with much boldneſs avoided the preſent jeopardy he ſtood in. The teſtimony of his Colleague *Virginius* ſtood him in great ſtead, who produced forth as a witneſs, N
made him partner with himſelf in all his worthy acts. But that proceſs of judgment which paſſed againſt *Menenius* (ſo altered were they now, and repented therefore) did him much more good, and ſtruck it dead ſure.

*T. Menenius* accuſed and arraigned.

* 6. lib. 5. ſterl.

*Sp. Servilius* arraigned.

When this broil and contention was ended at home, the Veientians war began abroad; to whom the Sabins alſo had joyned their power. Whereupon the Conſul *P. Valerius*, with the aid of the Latines and Hernicks, was ſent out with an Army to *Veii*: and incontinently he ſet upon the tents of the Sabins, as they lay encamped under the wals of their confederates, and put ſuch a terrour amongſt them, that whiles they ran forth ſcattering by bands and companies, ſome at one gate ſome at another, to repell the violent aſſault of the enemies, it hapned that the gate which he firſt advanced his enſigns againſt, was won. And within the trench ſmall fight there was, but O
more man-ſlaughter. The tumult and noiſe hereof was heard from out of the Camp into the City. And the Veientians in great fear ran haſtily to their weapons, as if *Veii* had been ſurpriſed. Some make ſpeed to ſuccour the Sabins: others do what they can to aſſail the Romans, who were wholly buſied about the pillage of the Camp. For a pretty while they were put to ſome trouble, diſordered, and withdrawn from their purpoſe: but afterwards they themſelves advanced their banners, and made head againſt the one ſide and the other. The horſemen withall, ſent in by the Coſſ.

brake

A brake the Tuſcans array, and put them to flight. And thus in one hour two armies were defeated, two moſt puiſſant nations, and neareſt neighbours to the Romans vanquiſhed.

Sabins and Veientians vanquiſhed.

Whiles theſe exploits were performed about *Veii*, the Volſcians and Æquians had encamped themſelves in the Country of *Latium*, and harried the marches thereof. Whom the Latines of themſelves, with the help only of the Hernikes, and without any Leader or aid at all from the Romans, forced to abandon their tents: and beſides the recovery of their own goods again, atchieved a great and rich booty. Notwithſtanding all this, the Conſul *Nautius* was ſent from *Rome* againſt the Volſcians. They were not well pleaſed, I believe, with the manner of it, that their allies ſhould wage war at all with their own power and direction, without the Army and conduct of
B the Romans. He ſpared not to work all the miſchief he could, all abuſe and ſpight poſſible againſt the Volſcians: yet could not they be brought to fight a ſet field. Then ſucceeded *L. Furius*, and *C. Manlius*, Conſuls. To *Manlius* fell the charge of the Veientian Province. Howbeit, war there was none at all. But at their own ſute, a truce was granted unto them of forty yeas. And they were enjoyned to find corn and ſouldiers pay. Peace was not ſo ſoon procured abroad, but preſently enſued diſcord at home. For at the inſtigation of the Tribunes, by occaſion of the Law *Agraria*, the Commons were ſet a madding. But the Conſuls skared neither with the condemnation of *Menenius*, nor yet with the peril wherein *Servilius* ſtood, reſiſted all they could. And when the Conſuls were ounce out of their Offi.e, *Genutius* a Tribune laid hold upon them, and arreſted them: and *L. Æmilius* with *Opiter Virginius* enter their Conſulſhip. In ſome Annals or yearly re-
C cords I find *Vopiſcus Julius* Conſul inſtead of *Virginius*. But in this year, whoſoever then were Conſuls, "*Furius* and *Manlius* being indited before the people, went about arraied in vile apparell and "mournful weed to the younger ſort of Senators, as well as the Commons perſwading, adviſing, "and warning them to forbear and refuſe all dignities and offices of ſtate, yea, and all charge of "Common-weal. And as for the Conſuls rods born afore them, their purfled robes with purple, "and chair of ſtate, they ſhould eſteem no otherwiſe of them than of the pageants carried in a "funeral pomp. And that with theſe gorgeous ornaments and enſigns they were but deſtined to "death: much like to beaſts adorned with ſacred white ribbands and labels, appointed to ſacri-"fice. But if the ſweetneſs of a Conſulſhip were ſuch let them conſider now withall, and perſwade "themſelves, that it is become private and overſwaied with the power of the Tribunes: and that
D "the Conſul, as if he were the Tribunes ſerjeant, muſt do all at his beck and command. For if he "quetched never ſo little, if he ſeemed to regard the Senators, or make account of any thing "elſe in the whole State but of the Commonalty, let him ſet before his eyes the exile of *Cn. Mar-*"*tius*, the judgement and death of *Menenius*. The Nobles incenſed with theſe ſpeeches, from thenceforth began to conſult and confer together, not openly and in publike council, but privatly, and apart from the privity of many. And when they were reſolved once upon this point, that thoſe accuſed parties now in trouble ſhould be enlarged one way or other, by hook or crook: then the cruelleſt advice, and hardeſt courſe that could be delivered beſt pleaſed them: and for to put in execution the moſt audacious deſignments whatſoever, there wanted not one or other to give counſel. Well the law day of trial came, and when as the Commons gave attendance devoutly in the
E *Forum*, in great expectations of the ſequel and iſſue, they began at firſt to marvel much, that the Tribun *Genutius* came not down in place: and ſuſpecting ſomewhat becauſe of his long tarrying & delay they imagined that he durſt not for the great men and chief Magiſtrates of the City: and ſo they complained that the common cauſe was forlorn and betraied. At the laſt, they that kept about the door & porch of the Tribune his houſe, brought word that he was found at home ſtark dead. Which news being once noiſed through the aſſembly, mark how an Army is diſperſed and ſcattered when their General is ſlain, even ſo in all the world the Commons ſlipt aſide every one, ſome one way ſome another. But above all others the Tribunes were in bodily fear being thus by their fellow taught how little help or none at all, their ſacred and redoubted Laws afforded. The Nobles could not diſſemble this their joy, nor uſe it with moderation but ſhewed it exceſſively: and
F ſo little repented any one of them of the fact committed, that they avowed it, and took it upon them, and would not ſeem culpable in the action; but gave it out in plain terms, that the Tribunes by foul means were to be tamed & their wings clipped in a miſchief. Upon this their victory, ſo ſhameful a precedent in times to come there went out an edict for the publiſhing of a muſter: and whiles the Tribunes were in this feare daunted, the Conſuls without any contradiction, went through with it clear. But then were the Commons much more offended at their Tribunes ſilence and ſitting ſtill then at the Conſuls rule and imperious government: ſaying, "Farewell freedom "now, farewel liberties and all: now is the old world come again, and the Tribunes authority is "both dead and buried together with *Genutius*. Now they were to go in hand and bethink them-"ſelves of ſome other courſe, how they might withſtand the Senators proceedings: and ſeeing
G "they were deſtitute of all other help to rely themſelves upon, the only way was for the Com-"mons to truſt to themſelves, & ſtand upon their own guard. Wheras therefore, there gave atten-"dance upon the Conſuls 24 *Lictores* or *Vergers*, Commoners all and no better, none more con-"remptible and baſe minded if they met with thoſe that would ſet them at naught: they might "thank themſelves only, and their own timorous conceits & imaginations, that ſuch things were "ſo dread and terrible. Thus having animated & provoked one another with theſe ſpeeches: there was a Sergeant ſent from the Conſuls to one *Volero Publilius* a Commoner, who becauſe he had been

*L. Furius*, and *C. Manlius* enduced.

Their Remonſtrances to the puny Nobles.

*Genutius* a Tribune of the Common people, murdered in his houſe by the practice of the Patritians.

*Volero Publilius* refuſeth to be preſt a ſouldier.

been a Leader in the field of certain bands, pleaded his immunity for being a common ſouldier a- H
gain. *Volero* calleth for help to the Tribunes: but there being no man to reſcue him, the Conſuls commanded the man to be ſtript out of his cloaths, and the rods to be made ready for to ſcourge him. Then quoth *Volero*, "I appeal unto the people, ſeeing the Tribunes had rather have a Citi-
"zen and freeman of *Rome* beaten with rods in their preſence, than be murdered themſelves by
"you in their beds. But the more fiercely he cried on ſtill, the more cruelly fell the Lictor to cut and ſlice his apparell for to uncaſe him. Then *Volero* being himſelf the ſtronger man, and aſ-
ſiſted withall by ſome whom he called unto him, thruſt the Sergeant from him: and where he perceived the maineſt out-cry and loudeſt noiſe of his adherents, that fumed and chafed in his behalf, thither retired he, to ſhroud himſelf among the thickeſt, crying: "I appeal and beſeech the I
"Commons of their protection and ſuccour. Help Citizens, help fellow-ſouldiers. Never ſtay
"and wait for the Tribunes, untill they come, who have themſelves need of your aſſiſtance. Here-
at folk were raiſed and gathered together, and addreſſed themſelves as to a Battel. A foul piece of work was toward, full of exceeding danger, and like it was, that no man would have had regard either of common law or private honeſty. When the Conſuls in this ſo great a broil and ſtorm of outrage came in, to prevent further miſchief, they knew ſoon by experience how ſlenderly guarded againſt danger, the Majeſty of Rulers is, where force is wanting. For their Lictors were beaten, miſuſed, and ill intreated, their rods broken all a peeces, themſelves driven out of the Common place, and forced to take the Senat houſe, doubting how far forth *Volero* would pro-
ceed in the train of his victory. But when the riot was well appeaſed, they aſſembled the Sena- K
tors together, and complained there of their injuries received, the violence of the Commons, and the audacious preſumption of *Volero*. After many opinions and ſharp cenſures delivered among them, the Ancients and Elders prevailed at length, who thought it not good to ſet the anger of the Nobles againſt the head-ſtrong raſhneſs of the Commons. And the Commons ſo highly favoured and embraced *Volero*, that in their next election they made him their Tribune for that year, wherein *L. Pinarius* and *P. Furius* were Conſuls. Who contrary to all mens expe-
ctation, that thought verily he would have exerciſed his Tribuneſhip in moleſting and vexing the Conſuls of the former year, preferred the publike cauſe before his own private grievance, and gave not the Conſuls ſo much as one foul word. Only he preferred a Law unto the people, That the Magiſtrates of the Commonalty might be created in a ward-Leet, or Aſſembly of the Tribes L
and Wards. Thus under a title, which at the firſt ſight ſeemed nothing hainous, paſſed a matter of no ſmall conſequence, but ſuch as abridged the Nobles of all power and authority, to create Tribunes whom they would, by the ſuffrages and voices of their vaſſals and favourites. But when the Senators reſiſted with all their might, the going forward of this Act moſt pleaſing and plauſible to the Commons, and yet none might be found of the brotherhood of Tribunes, that by the authority either of Conſuls or of Senators could be brought to joyn in his way by their negative voice, which was indeed the only means to croſs it: the buſineſs, notwithſtanding in it ſelfe ſo weighty to wield, and ſo hard to be compaſſed, held out with much debating the year through. The Commons then made *Volero* Tribune again. The Senators on the other ſide, ſup-
poſing the matter would now come to a final triall once for all, created for their Conſul *Ap. Clau-* M
*dius*, the ſon of *Appius*: who even for the old contentions maintained by his father, who was both hated of the Commons, and alſo hated them again: and he had for his companion in govern-
ment *T. Quintius*. At the very beginning no matter was treated of before that Law. But as *Vole-
ro* was the firſt deviſer and broacher of it, ſo his fellow *Lectorius* was the more earneſt and hot maintainer thereof, as he came more freſh unto it. The ſtouter he was beſides, by reaſon of his great military glory, for that in thoſe daies there was not a taller man of hands, nor more active than he. Now, when as *Volero* went ſtraight to the ſubſtance of the Law in hand, without any cir-
cumſtance of words, and forbare to inveigh againſt the Conſuls perſon, *Lectorius* began his ſpeech with challenging *Appius* and his houſe, as moſt proud, and cruelly affected to the Commonalty of *Rome*: avouching earneſtly, "That the Nobles had made, not a Conſul, but a butcherly tor- N
"mentor, to afflict and mangle the Commons: but being a rough-hewn ſouldier, and not uſed
"to make Orations, his tongue could not frame to expreſs his mind as freely as he would: and
"ſo his utterance failing him: Since that (quoth he) O *Quirites*, I cannot ſo readily deliver that
"in my ſpeech, as I can make that good indeed which I have ſpoken: Be you here to morrow, and
"in this very place I will either get this Law enacted, or I will lie in the duſt and die for it before
"you all. The next day the Tribunes were gotten into the Temple or hall firſt. The Conſuls and Nobility abode ſtill in the aſſembly of the people, for to hinder the paſſing of the Law. Then commanded *Lectorius* all the reſt to avoid and depart, but thoſe only that were to give their voices. The young Gentlemen of the Nobility ſtood ſtill, and gave no place to the Tribunes Of-
ficer. Then willed *Lectorius* ſome of them to be attached. But the Conſul *Appius* replied again, O
"That a Tribune had authority over none but Commoners: foraſmuch as he was a Magiſtrate,
"not of the people, but of the Commons. Neither could himſelf, of his abſolute power (Conſul
"though he was) obſerving the cuſtome of his anceſtors, command any man to avoid: for that the
"uſuall form of words ran thus, *May it pleaſe you my Maſters, O Quirites if you think good, to depart.*
Soon was he able, thus laying the Law unto him, by way of ſcorn and contempt, to outface *Lectorius*, and put him down. Whereupon the Tribune chafed, and ſet into an heat, ſendeth an

*A Law propoſed that Magiſtrates of the Commons ſhould be choſen in a Tribe-Leet, or ward-Aſſembly, called, Tributa comitia.*

*Lectorius* ſeconderh the preferring of *Publius* his Law.

Officer

A Officer to the Conſul: the Conſul likewiſe, a Lictor to the Tribune, crying often aloud, that he was but a private perſon without command, without Magiſtracy. And doubtleſs the Tribune had been hardly uſed, but that both the aſſembly roſe up in a rage, and took part with the Tribune againſt the Conſul: and alſo there was a concourſe of the multitude, raiſed out of all parts of the City into the Common Hall. *Appius* notwithſtanding ſtood ſtiffely to it ſtill, and abide the brunt of this tempeſtuous ſtorm: neither had this broile ſtaid without ſome bloudſhed, in caſe *Quintius* the other Conſul, had not ſet ſome of the Aldermen that had been Conſuls, to get his brother Conſul by force (if otherwiſe it might not be) out of the Hall, whiles himſelf was in hand, "one while with the Commons, to appeaſe their fury, by way of intreaty and with fair words,
B "otherwhiles beſought the Tribunes to break up the aſſembly, perſwading with them to take "more leiſure in this their heat and anger: for that time and ſpace would abridge nothing of their "power, but would joyn counſel and advice thereto: concluding withal, that both Nobles ſhould "be ruled by the people, and the Conſul ordered by the Nobles. Hardly and with much ado were the Commons quieted by *Quintius*, but far more trouble had the Nobles to ſtill the other Conſul. At the length, when the aſſembly of the people was diſmiſſed, the Conſuls called the Senat together. Where after much variety of opinions, proceeding from fear and anger, according as the one or the other ſwaied among them: look how much longer time they had to reclaime their mind from violent courſes, and ſagely with deliberation to conſider of the matter: ſo much the more their hearts went againſt all contention, and farther ſtriſe: inſomuch, as they yeelded *Quintius*
C hearty thanks, that by his travel between parties, the diſcord was well allaied. And to *Appius* they were petitioners, "That he would be contend, that the majeſty of the Conſull might be no grea-"ter than would ſtand with the unity and concord of the Citizens. For whiles the Tribunes for "their part would needs have all, and the Conſul on the other ſide draw all to them: between this "this plucking and haling there was no ſtrength left in the midſt: and to conclude, the Common-"weal was rent, torn and diſmembred between the rulers therof: who ſtrove rather for the mana-"ging and rule, than for the ſafety and preſervation of the State. Againſt whom *Appius* replied "with a ſolemn proteſtation before God and man, and ſaid, "That the weal publike was aban-"doned, forlorn, and betraied by nothing elſe but fooliſh fear: that the Senat wanted not a Con-"ſul, but the Conſul wanted Senators: who now yeelded to harder conditions than they had be-
D "fore time in mount *Sacer*. Howbeit overweighed at length by the general conſent and accord of the Nobles, he was content: and ſo the law paſſed quietly, was by royall conſent authoriſed. Then and never before were the Tribunes created in a congregation of the tribes, and by their voices. *Piſo* writeth that there were three more made to the other, as if there had been but twain before: and he nameth alſo the Tribunes, to wit *C. Siccius*, *L. Numitorius*, *M. Duellius*, *Sp. Icilius* & *L. Mecilius*. Then had the Volſcians and Æquians, between the civil ſedition of the Romans, & the beginning of war harried & waſted the country: that in caſe the Commons had made an inſurrection, they might have retired to them as to a ſure place of receit & refuge. But when all was huſht & matters compounded between the Nobles and Commons, they removed their camp backward.

The foreſaid law enacted.

*Appius Claudius* was ſent againſt the Volſcians: and to *Quintius* fell the Province of the Æ-
E quians. The ſame rigorous ſeverity continued *Appius* ſtill in warfare, that he uſed at home in the City: but ſo much more freely, for that he was not curbed nor held in by the Tribunes. The Commons he hated, more than his father had done afore, ſeeing he was overſwaied and had taken the foil at their hands: and being the only Conſul, oppoſed againſt the Tribunes power, yet maugre his head, the law paſſed clear away, which the former Conſuls his predeceſſors, with leſs ado, nor with ſo great hope and expectation of the Nobility, had ever hindred and ſtaid. This his anger and indignation gave an edge to that fell ſtomack of his by kind, for to plague and puniſh his ſouldiers with imperious and lordly command. But ſo ſet they were to ſpurn again and diſobey, that by no forcible means they could be tamed doing all things that they did lazily ſlowly frowardly, and ſtubbornly. Neither baſhed they for ſhame, nor ſtood in awe for fear. If his will was they
F ſhould march on apace, they would on ſet purpoſe go fair and ſoftly: If he encouraged them in proper perſon to intend their buſineſs, they would all of them ſlack their former ſervice, whereunto they were entred of themſelves: whiles he was in place, they would hang down their heads and look on the ground: as he paſſed by they would ſecretly curſe him in their hearts. So as that invincible ſtomack of his againſt all hatred of the Commons, would now and then grieve hereat. And wen he ſaw that all the ſhrewdneſs and rigour that he uſed was in vain, and that now he could do no good with his ſouldiers, he fell to checking the Captains and Centurions, ſaying, They had ſpoiled and marred the Army, terming them Tribunes of the Commons, and otherwhiles in taunting-wiſe nicknaming them *Voleroes*. All theſe doings were the Volſcians aware of, and therefore were they more eager and forward, hoping that *Appius* ſhould find the Roman
G Army as froward and diſobedient, as they had been againſt *Fabius*. And to ſay truth they were more crooked and unruly with *Appius* than with *Fabius* a great deal. For they were not only unwilling to have the victory as *Fabius* his Army was, but alſo deſirous to loſe the victory and be overcome. Being brought forth and ſet in battel array, they ſhamefully took their heels and fled into their tents: and never made head and reſiſtance, before they ſaw the Volſcians with banners diſplaied, advancing againſt the munitions of their Camp, and a foul ſlaughter committed upon the tail of their rereward. Then were they driven perforce to fight for very neceſſity, that

The mutiny and diſobedience of the ſouldiers to *Appius Claudius* their Generall.

that the enemy thus far forth Victor, might be kept from the Wall and Trench: and yet ſo, as it H
was very apparant, that the ſouldiers paſſed for nothing elſe, but only to ſave the Camp for being won: for ſome of them rejoyced at their own loſs and defeature. Whereat, the ſtout ſtomack of *Appius* was nothing daunted nor his heart broken: but he minded to deal cruelly with them, and thereupon ſummoned a general aſſembly. Then the Lieutenants, Marſhals, and Colonels, came running unto him advertiſing him in no caſe to try maſteries, and to inforce his authority. The very ground and ſtrength wherof reſteth wholly in the accord of obedient people: adding moreover, that the ſouldiers commonly gave out, that they would not go to the aſſembly: but rather they might be heard every where, calling upon them aloud, to diſlodge and remove out of the territory of the Volſcians: moreover, that the enemy now Maſter of the field, was but a while ſince ad- I
vanced to the gates and rampier, and well near poſſeſſed of them: whereby, they were not only to ſuſpect, but might evidently ſee before their eyes ſome great matter toward of dangerous conſequence. Whereupon at laſt he was over-ruled, and (foraſmuch as his ſouldiers thereby ſhould gain nothing but delay of their puniſhment) remitted the aſſemby for that time: and after proclamation made to ſet forward in their journey the next day, and to depart in the morning very early, he cauſed the trumpet to ſound the remove, and to march away. The Army being gone out of the Camp, and ready to be ſet in order of a march at length, the Volſcians who were gotten up by the ſame ſound of the trumpet, plaid upon the tail of the rereward: the noiſe whereof paſſed from thence to the vanguard, & ſo diſordered the enſigns, ſo troubled the ranks by reaſon of that fright, that neither could the direction and commandment of the Captains be heard, nor the Army be K
brought into battel array. No man minded any thing at all but to run away: and diſorderly in great numbers, they fled back over the dead carcaſſes and armors that lay on heaps, and ſo eſcaped; and never ſtay they their flight, untill the enemy gave over the chaſe. At the laſt, the Conſul having called his ſouldiers together that were run away ſo ſcattering, (for with all the ſpeed that he made after to call them back, he could not reclaim them) encamped without his enemies ground in a place of ſecurity. Then he called them all together to an aſſembly, and inveighed bitterly, and not without juſt cauſe, againſt the whole Army, as having betraied the diſcipline of war, and forſaken their colours: asking every one of them what was become of their banners? And what they had done with their weapons? And as many ſouldiers as were unarmed, as many enſign-bearers as had
*Florus* ſaith, they had the Baſtinado. *vide Carol. Sig. de pœnu.* not their enſigns, the Centurions alſo, and thoſe that received double allowance, and forſook their L
bands and companies, he cauſed to be ſcourged with rods & to loſe their heads. The whole number beſides, were by lot tithed, and every tenth man as it fell out, executed. But contrariwiſe, in the expedition againſt the Æquians, the Conſul and his ſouldiers, ſtrove to exceed one another in curteſie and kindneſſes. *Quintus* was by nature mild and chearful, and the cruelty of his brother
*Quintus* beloved of his ſouldiers. Conſul, that never ſped well, made him take more joy in that his gentle diſpoſition. Whiles the General and his Army conſorted thus together, the Æquians durſt not confront them, but ſuffered their enemies to range all abroad and forrage the country: ſo as in no former wars got they greater booties from thence: and all was beſtowed among the ſouldiers. Over and beſides theſe gratuities, they had their due praiſes and ſolemn commendations, wherein ſouldiers take no leſs delight than in rewards and gifts. So that Army returned home better affected to their General, M
and alſo to the Nobles for their Generals ſake: reporting that the Senate had given to them a loving father, but to the other Army a lordly maſter. This year thus ſpent with variable fortune abroad in war: with grievous diſcord as well at home as abroad, was above all moſt memorable and famous for the Tribe-Leet. A matter of more note, in reſpect of their victory that entred into the action, than of conſequence, in regard of commodity that grew thereof. For the very Leet it ſelf loſt more credit by excluding the Nobles out of that aſſembly, than either the Commons got ſtrength, or the Nobles did forgo thereby. But more troubleſome was the year following, whiles *L. Valerius* & *T. Æmylius* were Conſuls, both for the variance of the three States about the law *Agraria*, and alſo for the arraignment of *Appius Claudius*. Whom, being a moſt bitter adverſary of that law, and a great maintainer and upholder of thoſe that poſſeſſed and held the common N
lands, as if he had been ever a third Conſul, *M. Duellius* and *C. Scœcius* arreſted and endited. Never before that day came to the bar, a perſon to be tried before the people, ſo odious unto the Com-
*Appius Claudius* araigned at the bar. mons: charged with ſo many wrongs done of his own ſo many of his fathers afore him, in regard whereof they were highly diſpleaſed and offended with him. The Nobles likewiſe had not lightly laboured ſo earneſtly nor ſtrained themſelves ſo much for any one as for him. Who being the patron and protector of the Senat, the maintainer and upholder of their port and dignity, a man ever oppoſed againſt all the troubleſome broils of Tribunes & Commons, was now delivered as a prey to the Commons in their anger, and only for that he had overſhot, and paſſed himſelf in heat of contention. But of all the Senators that ever were, *Appius Claudius* of himſelf alone was he, that cared not a ruſh either for Tribune or Commoner, nor yet for his own arraignment. No mena- O
cing threats of the Commons no earneſt prayers of the Senators could once make him, I ſay, not to change his apparel and in humble manner to ſeek and crouch unto men for to be good unto him: no nor ſo much, as when he came to anſwer for himſelf before the people, one whit to mollifie and let fall (as it were) that rough and ſharp kind of ſpeech that he was wont ordinarily to uſe. He kept the ſame ſowre countenance ſtill, the very ſame frowardneſs and crabbedneſs of viſage, the ſame ſpirit of boldneſs in his apology and defence. Inſomuch, as many of the

Com-

A Commons were no leſs afraid of *Appius* ſtanding priſoner, there arraigned at the bar, than they had been of him, ſitting as Conſul in his ivory chair of eſtate. In pleading of his cauſe, he ſpake briefly and at once to the point, with the ſame accuſatory ſpirit that he had ever uſed in all his pleas and actions. With his boldneſs and reſolute conſtancy, he ſo amazed both Tribunes and Commons, that they themſelves deferred the day of giving ſentence, and ſuffered afterward the ſuit to hang and depend ſtill undetermined. But not long after, even before the Law day appointed was come, he ſickned and died. Whoſe funeral praiſes when as the Tribunes went about to hinder, the Commons would not ſuffer, that the death of ſo worthy a man, ſhould be defrauded of the due honour and ſolemn obſequies, and gave audience as quietly and attentively to the commen-
B dation of the man now dead, as they did afore to his accuſation while he was alive: and with a goodly train attended his corps to the grave. *Ap. Claudius dieth.*

The ſame year *Valerius* the Conſul made a voiage with an army againſt the Æquians, and ſeeing he could not train the enemy forth to fight, he made a bravado to aſſail the Camp: but there fell ſuch a terrible ſtorm and tempeſt from heaven, with hail and thunder-claps that he was diſappointed of his enterpriſe. And that which made it more ſtrange and wonderfull, he had no ſooner ſounded the retreat, but the weather proved ſo fair and calm again that he made ſome ſcruple and matter of conſcience, to give a ſecond aſſault unto the trench, as if it had been defended by the ſpeciall power and providence of God. So, all the heat of war turned to the waſting only of the Countrey. The other Conſul *Æmilius* warred with the Sabins. And even there alſo, becauſe
C the enemies kept within their walled towns, the Territories were ſpoiled. But afterwards, the Sabines raiſed with the firing, not only of their villages and hamlets, but alſo of the good towns and burroughs, whereof in thoſe parts there were many, and thoſe well peopled, encountred the forragers: and after a doubtfull skirmiſh, they departed aſunder, and the morrow after raiſed their Camp, and retired themſelves back into a place of more ſecurity, which the Conſul taking for a ſufficient argument and proof, that the enemies were defeated, left them ſo, and diſlodged likewiſe, without any end of the war.

During theſe wars, and whiles diſcord continued in the City at home, were *T. Numitius Priſcus* and *A. Virginius* created Conſuls. Now ſeemed it that the Commons would no longer abide the deferring of the Law *Agraria*. And as they were about to put it to a venture and to try the ut-
D moſt by extremity, they took knowledge partly by the ſmoke and flame of the villages on fire, and partly by the running away of the villagers, that the Volſcians were near at hand. Which occurrent repreſſed and kept down the ſedition which was now come to ripeneſs, and ready to break forth. For the Conſuls forced by the Senate immediatly to the war, by taking the ſerviceable youth with them out of the City, reduced the reſt of the Commons to more quietneſs. And the enemies verily made no further attempt, but after they had given a falſe allarm, and ſet the Romans in a fooliſh fear, diſmarched away as ſpeedily as they could. Then *Numitius* went to *Antium* againſt the Volſcians, and *Virginius* againſt the Æquians: where having well-near received a great loſs and defeat by a train laid for him: ſuch was the proweſs and manhood of the ſouldiers, that they recovered all again, which by the negligence of the Conſul had like to be loſt. But better was
E the conduct and government of the Army againſt the Volſcians. For there, at the firſt skirmiſh the enemies were diſarraied, put to flight, and chaſed as far as to *Antium*, a City (for that time) of right great puiſſance and importance. The Conſul durſt not aſſault it, but wan from the Antiates *Cenon*, another town, but nothing ſo wealthy. Whiles the Æquians and Volſcians thus amuſed the Roman Armies and kept them occupied, the Sabins were come robbing and ſpoiling to the gates of the City of *Rome*. But within few daies after, they themſelves received more damage than they brought, by occaſion that both Conſuls with two armies were entred in great anger into their Confines. In the end of the year ſome peace there was, but diſquieted, as at all times before, with the variance between the Nobles and Commons. The Commons in a peeviſh and angry fit would not be at the Election of the Conſuls. So by the Senators only and their followers,
F there were elected Conſuls, *T. Quintius* and *Q. Servilius*. The like year to the former theſe Conſuls had, ſeditious and troubleſome in the beginning: but afterwards upon forrain war, quiet and ſtill. For the Sabins with a running Camp having paſſed over the plains of *Cruſtuminium*, and put all to fire and ſword about the river *Anio*, were chaſed back, well near from the gate *Collina* and the walls: howbeit they drave away with them exceeding great booties both of people and cattell. Whom the Conſul *Servilius* followed hard with a power ready to bid battell, but could not overtake their main army in any even ground meet to pitch a field in. Howbeit he foraged and waſted the Country all about ſo as he left no corner clear that felt not his fingers, and returned with purchaſe of many rich prizes of all ſorts.

Likewiſe among the Volſcians they ſped well and had lucky hand by the good demeanour both
G of captain and ſouldier. Firſt they joyned battell upon a plain, and fought with very great ſlaughter, and exceeding much bloudſhed on both ſides. And the Romans (who for their ſmall number were more apt to feel the loſs) had loſt ground and diſmarched, if that the Conſul by making a lie for a vantage, and crying that the enemies fled from the other wing, had not encouraged them and renewed the battell afreſh. And ſo by giving a new charge, whiles they thought they had the better, they got the better in very deed. The Conſul fearing again, by preſſing too hard upon the Army, to enforce them to turn and make head, ſounded the retreat. Few daies paſſed *The ſtratagem of the Conſul Quintius.*

between

between, wherein they rested quiet, as though there had been a secret truce agreed between them. H
In which mean space, a great sort of people from all parts of the Volscians and Æquians repaired to the Camp, thinking verily, that if the Romans were aware of them, they would depart in the night season. Whereupon, at the third watch they came to make an assault upon their Camp. *Quintius* after he had quieted the tumult, which upon this sudden allarm arose, and given commandment that the souldiers should keep themselves within their pavilions, brought forth a company of Hernicks to guard the gates, and caused certain cornettiers and trumpetters on horseback to wind and sound before the trench and counterscarpe, and so to hold the enemy in suspence and expectation untill day-light. The rest of the night all was so quiet within the Camp, that the Romans had time enough and good opportunity to take their repose and sleep. This I
shew of footmen in their harnets, whom the Volscians imagined to be more than they were, and all Romans: the neighing besides, and noise that the horses made by reason of their strange riders that they were not used unto, and the sound also of their trumpets and horns that made them to set up their ears, and to stamp and fume outragiously, amused the enemies waiting ever when they would charge upon them. When it was day, the Romans being in heart and fresh, as having slept their fill, came forth and embattelled themselves, and at the first shock discomfited the Volscians, wearied with long standing and overwatched withall. And yet the enemies rather gave ground and retired themselves, than seemed to be driven from their standings, because they had at their backs certain hils, whereunto they might retire behind the *Principia*, and not break their ranks, and so save themselves. The Consul seeing he was come to a place of disadvantage, K
made a stand. The footmen hardly would be staied, calling and crying to the Consul to follow upon them seeing they were discomfited. The horsemen were more eager, riding all about the Consul, and with open mouth cried out, that they would advance before the ensigns. Whiles the Consul held off, in a mammering what to do, for as he was assured of the valour of his souldiers, so he little trusted the ground; they all at once set up a shout, that they would set forward, come what would: and as they cried, so did they in good earnest. And pitching their javelins fast in the ground, that they might more nimbly get up the steep place, they took their full carreer, and ran up the hill. The Volscians having in their first brunt spent all their darts, and other shot which they had let flie, and made no spare, took up stones that lay under their feet, let drive at the Romans as they climbed up, and so thick and threefold they bestowed them, that they annoyed them L
sore, and beat them down the hill. Thus the left wing of the Romans was well-near over-charged, had not the Consul at the point, when as they were ready to retreat, blamed them first for their rashness, and then for their cowardise, and made them for very shame to shake off all fear. First, they stood to it stoutly, and kept their ground, and after, as their strength served them, considering the vantage of the place which the enemies had gotten, they adventured to set foot forward, and won ground with a fresh shout and outcry. And taking their carreer again the second time, they strain all they can, and at length overcame the disadvantage of the place. Now when they were almost at the point to win the very pitch and ridge of the hill, the enemies turned back. Whiles they ran on heaps in disaray, both they that fled, and they that followed, hapned both at once in one company into the enemies Camp, which in that fright was won. The Volscians, as M
many of them as could escape, ran as fast as their legs would carry them to *Antium*. And to *Antium* likewise was the Roman army conducted: and after a few daies siege, was surrendred upon no fresh and new force of assault, but for that presently upon their unfortunate conflict and loss of the Camp their heart were done, and utterly failed.

# The Third Book

## *Of the Histories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome. N

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the third Book.

*SEditions about the Laws* Agraria. *The Capitoll taken and held by banished persons and slaves. They were slain, and it recovered. A survey and Cessment was taken twice. In the former there were found of Roman Citizens* 124214, *besides orphan children, and such as had no children at all, as well men as women. In the other following there were* 132419. *Upon a great overthrow received in the war against* O
*the Æquians,* L. Quintus Cincinnatus *was made Dictator: and being in the countrey at his farme busie about his husbandry, was sent for to the conduct of that war. He vanquished and subdued the enemies. The number of the Tribunes of the Commons, arose to ten. thirty six years after their first institution. The laws of* Athens *were fet from thence by Embassadours, sent for that purpose: to the establishing and publishing whereof, there were ten personages elected in the room of Consuls, which were called Decemvirs, without any other Magistrates: and this hapned in the three hundred and second*

*year*

A *year after the foundation of* Rome. *And as the Government of the ſtate was tranſlated from Kings to Conſuls: ſo was it now from the Conſuls to the Decemvirs. They having propoſed ten tables of laws, and born themſelves modeſtly in that high dignity, were therefore by the conſent of the people, permitted to remain ſtill in office the ſecond year. But after they had committed many inſolent parts, they would not give over their room of Magiſtracy, but held it ſtill the third year: until ſuch time as their obſtinate and intollerable rule came to an end, occaſioned by the filthy luſt of* Appius Claudius: *who being inamoured upon a Virgin ſuborned one to make claim unto her as his bondſlave: whereupon her father* Virginius *was driven of neceſſity to catch up a knife from a butchers ſtall next by, and to kill his daughter: as having no other means to ſave her from the hands of him that purpoſed to abuſe her body unlawfully. The Commons*
B *upon this foul example of filthy leachery, made an inſurrection, and took the mount* Aventine *for their hold, and compelled the Decemvirs to leave their place, and give over their government. Of whom,* Appius *and one of his Collegues (which two had principally deſerved puniſhment) were committed to priſon, and there kept, the reſt were driven into baniſhment. This book containeth beſides the victorious wars againſt the Sabins, Volſcians, and Æquians. And the unhoneſt arbitrement or award of the people of* Rome, *who being choſen Arbitrators between the Ardeats and the Aricins, awarded to themſelves the Land whereabout the ſtrife and controverſy was.*

# *The third Book of* T. Livius.

C AFter the winning of *Antium*, *T. Æmilius* and *Q. Fabius* were created Conſuls. This was that *Fabius* that only remained alive of all the name that periſhed at *Cremera*. Now had *Æmilius* in his former Conſulſhip perſwaded to diſtribute certain Lands among the Commons. And therefore in this ſecond likewiſe, both the favorers of the law *Agraria* were in good hope of the foreſaid law: and alſo the Tribuns ſuppoſing verily that now by the help of a Conſul, that might be brought about and obtained, which oftentimes had been enterpriſed againſt the pleaſure of the Conſuls; took the matter in hand and gave the attempt: and withal, the Conſul ſtill continued in the ſame mind. But the great landed men and many of the Nobles, finding themſelves grieved, and complaining that the chief and head Magiſtrat of the City buſied
D himſelf, with the Tribuns ſuits, and was by large giving away of other mens poſſeſſions, become popular and gracious with the people, turned the whole burthen and odious heavy load of this action from the Tribuns upon the Conſul his head. And a cruel broil was toward, had not *Fabius*, by a device and policy to neither party offenſive, made an end of the matter with expedition. For whereas there were certain Lands gotten by conqueſt from the Volſcians the year afore under the conduct of *T. Quintius*: "There might (ſaid he) a colony be brought to *Antium*, a City neer ad-
"joyning, very commodious, and ſeated by the Sea ſide: ſo ſhould the Commons without any
"grudging or complaints of the poſſeſſors or Land-lords, be ſeized of Land, and the City reſt in
"quiet and Unity. This opinion of his was accepted of all hands. And they created three eſpe-
E cial officers or Triumvirs for the diviſion of the ſaid lands, to wit, *T. Quintius*, *Aul. Virginius*, and *P. Furius*. Then proclamation was made, That whoſoever would hold any of the Land, ſhould give up their names in writing. But plenty, as the manner is, ſoon cauſed lothing: for there were ſo few that preſented themſelves, that to make up the full number of the inhabitants, they were fain to adjoyn unto them certain Volſcians. The reſt of the multitude had rather (as it ſeemed) to keep a calling for Land at *Rome*, than be poſſeſſed of Land elſewhere. The Æquians craved peace of *Q. Fabius*, who was come againſt them with an army: and they themſelves by making a ſodain inrode into the territories of *Latium*, cancelled the ſame and made it void. But the year next following, *Q. Servilius* (for he was Conſul with *Sp. Poſthumius*) being ſent againſt the Æquians, kept a ſtanding camp in the Country about *Latium*. But by the reaſon of a contagious diſeaſe or a
F plague, that raigned in his army, they were of neceſſity forced to keep quiet within their tents. So their war was deferred unto the third year, when as *Q. Fabius* and *T. Quintius* were Conſuls. And for aſmuch as *Q. Fabius*, had upon his victory before granted peace to the Æquians, he had an extraordinary commiſſion directed unto him for the rule of that Province. Who being thither gone with full aſſured hope, that the very fame of him, and noiſe of his army, would quiet the Æquians, ſent Embaſſadors to the Councel of that Nation, with this meſſage: "*Q. Fabius* the Conſul, ſaith,
"that as he caried before peace from the Æquians unto *Rome*, ſo he bringeth now war to the Æ-
"quians from *Rome*; having now his ſword in the very ſame hand, which he gave unto them be-
"fore in friendly manner unarmed. Whoſe treachery it is and perjury, that is the cauſe of this, the
"Gods can witneſs now, and in ſome meaſure will revenge hereafter. Nevertheleſs, he for his
"part, however the caſe ſtandeth, deſireth that the Æquians would yet bethink themſelves of their
G "own accord and repent, rather than ſtand to the extremity and abide thoſe calamities and miſe-
"ries that follow wars. If they would come in therefore and be ſory for that they have done, their
"ſubmiſſion ſhou'd be received, and they taken into the ſafe protection of his clemency, whereof
"already they had experience. But in caſe they perſiſt ſtill in their diſloyalty, and take pleaſure in
"being forſworn; be they well aſſured, that they ſhould have the ire and wrath of the Gods more
"than their enemies to fight againſt them. Theſe words ſo little or nothing at all moved any men there, that the very Embaſſadors had like to have been very hardly uſed and evil entreated, yea,

and an army withal was ſent forth as far as *Algidum* againſt the Romans. When theſe tidings H
were brought to *Rome*, the indignity of the thing and the ſhameful manner thereof, rather than
any fearful peril otherwiſe, raiſed the other Conſul out of the City. So two Conſular or royal ar-
mies approached the enemy in order of battail, ready to try it out preſently by the dint of ſword.
But the day being (as it fell out) welneer ſpent, there cried one aloud from out of the place where
the enemy kept ward: "This is to make a ſhew of war only (ye Romans) and not to war indeed:
"ye ſet your battaillons in array againſt night forſooth, that now draweth hard on: we had need
"of more daylight I wis, for the buſineſs in hand, and to try this quarrel. To morrow therefore
"at Sun riſing, ſee you come again into the field, ye ſhall have fighting fear not, your hands full.
The ſouldiers netled and galled at theſe words, retired back into the camp until the next day, I
thinking the night was long, that kept them from battail: and ſo for that time they refreſhed their
bodies with food and ſleep. On the morrow ſo ſoon as it was day, the Roman hoſt being ſtirring
ſomewhat more early, ſtood ready arranged in array: and at length the Æquians likewiſe ſhewed
themſelves in field. A ſharp fight there was on both ſides, by reaſon that both the Roman ſoul-
diers fought in anger and deadly hatred; and alſo the Æquians upon prickt conſcience, that bare
them witneſs how they embarked themſelves into this danger, and were out of all hope ever to be
truſted again, were forced to hazard all upon a caſt, and venture the utmoſt. Yet were not the Æ-
quians able to endure long, the violent fight of the Romans, but were diſcomfited and put to
flight. And being returned within their own Frontiers, the unruly multitude for all this, were ne-
ver the more inclined to peace, but reproved and blamed their Captains, "That they put the tryal K
"of the iſſue to a ſet field, in which kind of fight the Romans had ſingular skill, and ſurpaſſed
"them. As for the Æquians, they were better at robbing, ſpoiling, and foraging, in making in-
"curſions and inrodes: and a better and ſafer kinde of ſervice it was, here and there in ſundry
"places, to skirmiſh with forces divided, than reduce all into one groſs army, and to pitch a field.
Leaving therefore a guard to defend the camp, they went forth, and with ſuch a tumult invaded
the confines of *Rome*, that the very terror thereof reached unto the City. This ſtir, eſpecially co-
ming ſo ſodainly and unlooked for, made the Romans fear the more. For who would ever have
doubted and ſuſpected, that their enemies ſo lately vanquiſhed, and in manner beſieged within
their own camp, could poſſibly think upon entring into the lands of others, and to drive booties.
Beſides, the ruſtical peaſants came in at the gates, crying, and ſaying, That they were not petty com- L
panies, and ſmall handfuls of theeves and robbers, but (ſuch was their fooliſh fear, augmenting and
making every thing greater) whole armies & legions of enemies were at hand, and marched apace
with banners diſplayed full againſt the City. From their mouths, they that were next made report
unto others. & as they heard news from they knew not whom, ſo they ſet them abroad they cared
not how, but ever in the carriage they added ſomwhat of their own, and coyned lies good ſtore.
Here was running, there was crying al'arm & generally ſuch a confuſion every where, as if the City
had been quite loſt. By good hap *Quintius* the Conſul was returned from *Algidum* to *Rome*. That
remedy cured all and ſtayed the fear. When the tumult was appeaſed, he rebuked the people for
fearing thoſe enemies whom heretofore they had vanquiſhed, and placed good guards over the
gates. Then he aſſembled the Senate, and by the authority and aſſent of the Nobles, proclaimed M
*Juſtitium*, or a general ceſſation or vacation in all courts of law: and went himſelf forth in perſon
with a power to defend the marches, leaving *Quintus Servilius* Provoſt of the City: but the enemy
he found not in the territory all about. The other Conſul performed his affairs paſſing well: who
having certain intelligence, which way the enemies would come, ſet upon them laden with prey,
and (by that means marching more heavily in diſorder) made it a dear booty unto them, even aſ-
much as their lives were worth. For few of them eſcaped the Ambuſh, and all the pillage was re-
covered. So the return of *Quintius* into the City made an end of the publick Lawſtead, or above-
ſaid vacation which laſted but four dayes. Then was a Cenſe or Aſſeſment ſet of mens goods, and
a muſter or view taken of the number of Citizens, together with a ſolemn purging of the people,
called *Luſtrum*, celebrate by *Quintius*. And there were numbred of Citizens 124214 polles, over
and above men and women that lived ſingle, or had no children, and al orphans beſides. And among N
the Æquians afterward nothing was done worth remembrance: for they betook them to their
ſtrong Towns, ſuffering their territory and villages to be conſumed with fire, and ſpoiled. Thus
the Conſul, after he had divers times overrun the Country of his enemies, with a cruel army wa-
ſting and ſpoiling as he went, returned home to *Rome* with great honor and a huge booty. Then
were Coſſ. *Aulus Poſthumius Albus*, and *Sp. Furius*. Some have written them *Fuſii*, who indeed
are rightly named *Furii*. Which I note, leſt any man ſhould think they were ſundry men, whereas
the variety is only in the name. No doubt there was, but that one of the Coſſ. would war with
the Æquians: and therefore the Æquians ſought for aide of the Ecetrane Volſcians. Which
being gladly granted and ſent with ſpeed, (ſuch a perpetual hatred bare theſe Cities alwayes O
againſt the Romans) there was great preparation for war in moſt forcible manner. The Her-
niks having an inckling and knowledge thereof, certified the Romans afore-hand, that the E-
cetrans were revolted and banded with the Æquians. The Colony *Antium* likewiſe was had
in jealouſy, for that when the Town was loſt, many people fled from thence to the Æquians,
who all the time of the Æquian war, ſerved in the field, and proved the moſt hardy ſouldiers
and fierceſt of all others. And now when the Æquians were driven into their Towns, that

multitude

A multitude being ſlipt away and retired to *Antium*, withdrew from the Romans the allegeance of the Coloners and inhabitants there, who were already of their own inclination unſound and not to be truſted. But before the matter was come to ripeneſs, and they entred into any action, the Senate upon intelligence given that they intended only, and were upon the point to revolt, gave the Coſſ. in charge to ſend for the chief men and head perſons of that colony to *Rome*, and to enquire and learn of them in what terms *Antium* ſtood: who being come willingly enough, without any great intreaty, and convented by the Conſuls before the Senate, made anſwer to their interrogatories in ſuch manner, that they were ſent away more ſuſpected, than at their firſt coming: whereupon they reſolved fully of war. *Spurius Furius* one of the Coſſ. to whom that B province by lot fell, having taken his voyage againſt the Æquians, found the enemy ſpoiling and waſting in the territory of the Hernicks: and being ignorant what number they were (for that in no one place they were all diſcovered together) he raſhly joyned battell, and hazarded his power, being in number and force inferior to the other. And at the firſt encounter he was driven back, and retired into the camp: and yet was he not paſt all danger and inſecurity there: for both the night following, and the next day after, the camp was ſo ſtreighty beſet, and ſo hotly aſſaulted, that he could not diſpatch ſo much as a meſſenger from thence to *Rome*. The Herniks ſent word both of the infortunate fight, and alſo how the Conſul and his army were beſieged. With which news they ſo terrified the LL. of the Councel, that they granted *Poſthumius* the other Conſul the ſolemn commiſſion, *To ſee to the State, that it ſuſtained no danger and damage.* C The form of which order and decree, hath been alwayes accounted to ſignify ſome great extremity of the Common-wealth. And thought beſt it was, that the Conſul himſelf in proper perſon, ſhould abide at home to enrol in the muſter book, all thoſe that were able to bear armes: that *T. Quintius* ſhould be ſent as Pro-conſul or Vice-conſul, with a power of confederate Allies to raiſe the ſiege and reſcue the camp: and for the furniſhing of this army, the Latines, the Hernicks, and Colony *Antium*, were commanded to ſend unto *Quintius*, Subitary ſouldiers (for ſo they termed at that time, the aids and ſupplies taken up in haſt and on a ſudden.) Many attempts were made, much skirmiſhing, and ſundry aſſaults for certain dayes on each ſide were enterpriſed. For the enemies being more in number, aſſayed in divers places and ſundry wayes to cut off and diminiſh the power of the Romans, as not ſufficient and able to make head at all D turns. For at one time they both made an aſſault upon the camp, and withal ſent out certain of their forces to waſt the territory of *Rome*, yea, and to give the venture upon the very City, if they could eſpie any good opportunity to offer it ſelf. *L. Valerius* was left behind to defend the City, and *Poſthumius* the Conſul was ſent out to reſtrain and withſtand the waſting of the marches. No point of care or travail on any hand was ſlaked, watch and ward both night and day was ſet in the City, a good *Corps de guard* appointed afore the Gates, and ſouldiers beſtowed upon the Walls: and (that which was needful in ſo great an hurlyburly) for certain dayes it was no Term, or interdiction of Law was obſerved. In this mean while, *Furius* the Coſſ. who at the firſt had quietly endured the ſiege and made no reſiſtance, ſuddenly and at unawares ſallied out at the broad gate called *Decumana*, upon the enemies: and whereas he might E have chaſed them, he made ſome ſtay of that, for fear leſt on ſome other ſide, they would have given aſſault upon the camp. But *Furius* the Lieutenant (who alſo was the Conſul his Brother) engaged himſelf too far, and upon a hot deſire of purſuit and following the chaſe, neither ſaw he his fellows as they retired, ne yet the enemies as they came to charge him on the back. Thus being ſhut out from all the reſcue, after many eſſayes made (but all in vain) to make way through unto the camp, manfully fighting he was ſlain. The Conſul likewiſe hearing that his Brother was environed all about with enemies, returned again to fight; but as he ran more raſhly than warily into the midſt of the skirmiſh, he was ſore wounded, and being hardly and with much ado ſaved by thoſe that were about him, he both diſquieted and daunted F the hearts of his own men, and made his enemies more fierce, luſty, and couragious. Who were ſo animated and ſet on fire, both with the hurt of the Conſul, and alſo with the death of his Lieutenant, that nothing afterwards could ſtand in their way: no force was able to ſtay them, but that they beat the Romans again into their camp: where they were beſieged afreſh being now both in hope, and alſo for ſtrength worſe than they were before. So that their main State thus lying a bleeding, had utterly periſht, but that *T. Quintius* with a ſupply of ſtrangers; namely, a power of Latines and Hernikes, came to the reſcue in time: who charging the Æquians behind, whiles they were wholly buſied in aſſailing the camp, ſhewing them within the Lieutenants head in a great bravery and pride, at the ſame inſtant cauſed a ſally out of the camp, by a ſignal that he gave them a far off, and ſo incloſed round about a great num- G ber of the enemies. Small mas the ſlaughter, but great was the flight and ſcattering of the Æquians in the territory of *Rome:* upon whom (ſtragling here and there and driving their booties afore them) *Poſthumius*, who in divers convenient places had beſtowed certain companies and bands of ſouldiers, ran violently. And as they fled every way in diſaray, they lighted upon *Quintius* as he with the hurt Conſul returned with Victory. Then the Conſuls army bravely did their endeavour, and had a goodly day of them; and was revenged both for their Conſuls wound, and alſo for the death of the Lieutenant and the Squadrons with him. Many loſſes and overthrows were given and taken on each ſide for certain dayes. But in ſo ancient

a matter as this was, hard it is for a man upon his credit, to ſet down preciſely the certain number, either how many fought, or how many were ſlain. Howbeit *Valerius Antias* boldly reckoneth the exact numbers, namely, that there died of the Romans in the Hernicks Country 5300, and of the Æquian robbers, who went up and down ſpoiling and pilling in the territory of *Rome*, were killed by *A. Poſthumius* the Coſ. 2400. The reſt of the multitude, which laden with ſpoil fell into the hands of *Quintius*, were not ſo quit, nor eſcaped with the loſs of ſo few mens lives: for of them the ſword devoured 4000, and to account the number exactly, 200 (quoth he) and 30 juſt. Then returned they on all hands to *Rome*, and the foreſaid vacation or law-ſteed ended. The skie was ſeen much on a light fire, and other ſtrange wonders either appeared indeed, or preſented to the fearful people vain apparitions, and fantaſtical illuſions. However it was, for to avert the dangers by theſe prodigious and terrible tokens preſaged, there were proclaimed feſtival holy dayes for three dayes together. During which time all the Churches were repleniſhed with men and women, making ſupplications and prayers for the favor and mercy of the Gods. The bands and ſquadrons of the Latins and Hernicks, after great thanks given them by the Senate for their good ſervice in this war, were diſcharged and ſent home. But the Antiate ſouldiers, 1000 in number, who after the battell was fought came tardy, and too late for to ſuccour, were diſmiſſed in manner with ignominy and ſhame.

Then was the great Leet or aſſembly held, for the election of Magiſtrates: wherein *L. Ebutius* and *P. Servilius* were created Conſuls: and on the * Calends of *Sextilis* (for on that day) began the year then, they entred their Conſulſhip. A grievous and heavy time it was, and as it fortuned, a year of plague and great mortality, both in the City and Country, as well among brute beaſts as men. And the receiving of the Country peaſants with their cattel into the City, for fear of robbing and ſpoiling, encreaſed the contagiouſneſs of the ſickneſs ſo much the more. For, that confuſed medly of all ſorts of beaſts, both annoyed and empoiſoned the citizens with the uncouth and unuſual ſtink, and alſo ſtifled with ſultry heat and overmuch watching the ruſtical people, lying peſtered together, and thruſt up into cloſe rooms and ſtraight lodgings. The mutual recourſe one to help and Miniſter unto another, and the very catching of the diſeaſe, ſet it all abroad. Thus whiles they had much ado to endure theſe preſent calamities, behold, to mend the matter, all of a ſuddain, the Hernick Embaſſadors bring word, that the Æquians and Volſcians having levied a power joyntly together, were encamped within their limits: and from thence with a mighty army waſted and deſtroyed their territory. Now, beſides that the ſmall aſſembly in the Senate-houſe, was to theſe their allyes an evident token that the City was ſore viſited with the peſtilence, they received alſo an heavy anſwer from them, namely; That the Herniks themſelves together with the help of the Latins, ſhould defend their own: as for the City of *Rome*, it was with the heavy hand and viſitation of the Gods, diſpeopled by the plague: but in caſe the ſickneſs decreaſed in ſome meaſure and took up in any time, they would willingly aid their confederats, as they did the year before, and as they had done at all times beſides. Thus departed theſe allies, and for their ill news they brought thither, they caried with them home again a worſe anſwer and meſſage, to wit, That they ſhould by themſelves ſuſtain that war alone which hardly they were able to ſupport, if they had the power of the Romans to aſſiſt them. Long ſtayed not the enemy in the Hernicks countrey, but went forward from thence into the territory of *Rome*, deſolate already (God wot) without the injury of war, and little need there was of calamity that wayes: where meeting with no man at all, no not ſo much as any one unarmed, and paſſing over all the Country, diſfurniſhed not only of Garriſons to reſiſt, but alſo of people for husbandry and tillage, at length they came to the third ſtone, *i.* within three miles of *Rome*, to the broad port high way, called *Gabina*, leading to *Gabes*. The Roman Coſ *Ebutius*, was now departed this life, and his brother Coſ. *Servilius*, lay lingring on at the point of death, in ſmall hope of recovery. Moſt of the peers and principal ancients were infected, and ſick in bed, ſo was the greater part of the Nobles, and welneer all the ſerviceable men of war: ſo as they were not able to ſet forth an expedition or voyage abroad, as meet was in ſo great a tumult, no nor ſcarce to keep any ordinary ſet guard at home for the defence of the City. The Senators, ſuch as age and ſickneſs would permit, took the charge in proper perſons of watch and ward. The Ædiles of the Commons went the round, and had the charge to ſee all well & in good order: ſo that upon them now reſted the government of the ſtate, & the Majeſty of the Conſuls Regiment. Thus when all was forlorn, no head to direct, no ſtrength of man to execute; the Tutelar Gods, Protectors of the City, and the good fortune alone that ever waited upon her, preſerved the main chance. This made the Volſcians and Æquians to carry with them a mind and intent, rather to deal by way of robbings and ſpoilings, than in any hoſtile manner like profeſſed warriors: for ſo ſmall hope had they, or none at all, of winning the City; ſo little heart ſo much as to approach the walls, that even the very roofs of houſes, which they deſcried a far off, and the ſight of the tombs and graves ſo neer at hand, turned their minds clean, and daunted their courages. So as over all the camp they began to mutter with themſelves, What they meant to ſpend time idly, and ſit ſtill without ſpreading, in a waſt and deſart Countrey; within the mortality and putrified air and corruption, both of people and cattel; when as they might as well invade thoſe parts that ſtood clear and ſound, and namely the rich, plentiful, and fat fields of * *Tuſculum*: and therewith ſuddainly at once they plucked up their enſigns, and by croſs wayes paſſed through the * Lavican countries, even to the mountains of *Tuſculum*: and thither turned they

* The firſt day of Auguſt

* *Frascate.*
* *Val montone*

A they the whole force and tempeſt of the war. In the mean ſeaſon the Herniks and Latins moved not with pity and compaſſion only, but alſo for very ſhame, in caſe they had neither withſtood their common enemies, marching to *Rome* with a cruel army, nor relieved their beſieged friends; joyned their powers together, and ſet forward to *Rome*: where not finding the enemies, and following the bruit that went of them, and tracing their freſh tracks and tooting, they encountred them as they came down from the hilly Country of *Tuſculum* into the vale of *Alba*: Where they made no ſaving bargain of it, but fought to their loſs, ſo as their fidelity unto their allyes, had but bad ſucceſs for that preſent. And in *Rome* there was no leſs mortality of citizens by the ſickneſs, than there were Maſſacres abroad of their allyes by the edge of the ſword. For the other Conſul,
B who alone ſurvived hitherto, now died. There left this life alſo, other noble perſonages, *M. Valerius*, *Titus Virginius*, Augurs: and *Ser. Sulpitius* the *Curio Maximus*. But among the baſe and common ſort, the violence of the diſeaſe raged and ſpread, I know not how far. The Senate now deſtitute of all help and comfort of man, moved the people to devotion, to their beads, and prayers unto the Gods. And commandment was given to all men with their wives and children, to go in proceſſion, to pour out their ſupplications, and crave mercy at Gods hands. Thus being by publick authority called forth to perform that which every man was forced unto by his own proper calamities, they filled all the Temples and Chappels. The Dames and ancient Matrons, lying groveling and ſweeping the Church floors and pavement with their hair and treſſes, hanging looſe down, humbly beſought pardon of the Gods, and an end once of the peſtilence. Whereupon,
C were it that they had obtained the mercy of God, or that the more dangerous and contagious ſeaſon of the year, was now well overpaſt; their bodies by little and little, having eſcaped the danger of diſeaſe, began to recover and wax more healthy.

Then ſet they their minds about the care of the Common-weal, and after certain inter-reigns determined or ended, *P. Valerius Poplicola*, the third day of his Interreign or Regency for the time, createth Conſuls *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, and *T. Veturius Geminus*, or *Vetuſius*, whether ye will: who three dayes before the Ides of *Sextilis*, began their Conſulſhip. By which time the City was grown ſo ſtrong again, that it was able not only to maintain a defenſive war, but alſo to enter the field and aſſail others. When the Herniks therefore gave them advertiſements that the enemies were paſſed over into their borders: they made no delay, but readily and willingly pro-
D miſed their aid, and levied two Conſular armies. *Veturius* was ſent againſt the Volſcians, to begin with them, and to war within their own Country. *Tricipitinus* was oppoſed in the Frontiers of their confederates, to keep them from invaſion and waſting, and went no further forward than to the Herniks. *Veturius* at his firſt encounter and confronting of his enemies, diſcomfited and put them to flight. But *Tricipitinus* whiles he lay ſtill encamped in the marches of the Herniks, miſſed of the army of the Robbers: which was conducted over the Mountains of *Preneſte*, from whence they came down into the Champain, and ſpoiled the territories of *Preneſte* and *Gabes*: and from thence they fetched a compaſs about unto the Mountains of *Tuſculum*. The City of *Rome* likewiſe was put in great fear, rather upon the ſodain occurrent of this alarm, than for any want of power to reſiſt their violence. *Quintus Fabius* at that time was Provoſt or Pre-
E ſident of the City, who put the youth in armor, diſpoſed guards in places convenient, and made all ſafe and in good ſecurity. The enemies therefore who had raiſed a booty out of the parts adjoyning, durſt approach no neerer, but caſt about with their army and retired: and the further they went from their enemies City, ſo much the more careleſs they were, until they light upon the Conſ. *Lucretius*, who by his eſpials and ſcouts, was afore that time acquainted what wayes they would take, and was ready alſo to try battail. So with reſolute and prepared hearts, they ſet upon them, that with the ſodain fear were amazed. And albeit they were in number fewer, yet they diſcomfited and put to flight a mighty multitude of them, and drave them within the hollow vallyes, where becauſe they had no ready way to get out, they kept them incloſed on every ſide in ſuch ſort, that the whole name and nation welneer of the Volſcians, there utterly pe-
F riſhed. In ſome Chronicles I find that there were 13470 ſlain in the fight and chaſe, and 1250 taken Priſoners alive, and 27 enſigns or banners brought away. It may well be that the number perhaps doth ſomewhat exceed the truth, yet a great ſlaughter certainly there was. The Conſul having atchieved this victory, and gotten a mighty great prey, returned into the ſame ſtanding camp again. Then pitched both Conſuls together, and the Volſcians joyntly with the Æquians, rallied their Forces thus decayed and weakened, into one place, and made one entire army. This was the third field fought, in that one year, and by the ſame good Fortune the Romans wan the victory: and having vanquiſhed the enemies, they were Maſters alſo of the camp. Thus the City of *Rome* recovered her ſelf, and returned to her ancient good eſtate. But this happy ſucceſs in war, immediatly ſtirred up civil troubles at home. *C. Terentillus Arſa*, for that year a Tri-
G bun of the Commons, ſuppoſing in the abſence of the Conſuls, good opportunity was offered to ſet on foot the Tribuns actions, and their proceedings: for certain dayes together gave not over before the Commons, to accuſe the great pride and inſolency of the Nobles: but eſpecially he inveighed againſt the Conſuls Regiment, as being too abſolute, and in a free ſtate intollerable. "For in name only (quoth he) leſs odious and hateful it is than that of the KK. but in fact in "very dead, more grievous and cruel. For why? Inſtead of one Lord. the City hath received "twain, and thoſe having authority beyond all meaſure, unlimited and infinit: who being them-

* 11 of *Auguſt.*

*C. Terentillus* inveigheth againſt the regiment of the Conſuls.

"ſelves at their own liberty and unbridled, turned the edge of all ſtreight and dreadful Laws; yea, H
"and the rigor of all puniſhment, againſt the Commons. But leſt this their licentiouſneis ſhould
"continue for ever, he was minded to prefer and publiſh a Law, by vertue whereof there ſhould
"be five men created, who ſhould ſet down certain conditions, to limit and gage the authority
"of the Conſuls: and look what authority and commiſſion the people granted out over them, the
"ſame ſhould the Conſul exerciſe, and no more, and not rule of themſelves, and uſe their own
"will and licentious luſt in ſtead of Law. This act being once publiſhed, and the Nobles fearing,
leſt whiles the Conſuls were away, they ſhould be taken down and yoked. *Quin. Fabius* Preſi-
dent of the City, aſſembled the Senate, who ſo bitterly and ſharply inveighed againſt the Law and
the Law-giver himſelf, that if both the Conſuls themſelves had ſtood about the Tribun of purpoſe I
to contradict and croſs his proceedings, there had been no threats nor terrible menaces left for
them, to have thundred out. "For he laid ſore unto his charge, that he had lyen in wait, and now
"having ſpied the time to fit his purpoſe, had given the venture to aſſail the C. W. and the State.
"And in caſe the Gods in their wrathful diſpleaſure had ſent among them ſuch a Tribun as he the
"year before, together with war and peſtilence, there had been no remedy then, but he muſt have
"had his way, and then they had been all undone. For when the Conſuls both were dead, and
"the City lay bed-rid as it were, in a miſerable confuſion of all things, he would have made laws
"then indeed, to the utter aboliſhing of the Conſuls authority out of the Common-wealth, and
"been a ring-leader to Volſcians and Æquians both, for to have aſſaulted the City. For what
"might not he have lawfully done by vertue of his place? If the Conſuls had either proudly or K
"cruelly proceeded againſt any one Citizen, he might have entred an Action againſt them, and
"convented them forſooth before thoſe very Judges, of whom peradventure ſome one had been
"by them hardly dealt withal. This would have been the courſe and end of it. And he that thus
"did, ſhould not cauſe the Conſuls authority and rule, but the Tribuns power to become odious
"and intollerable: which having been of late well quieted and reconciled unto the Nobles, began
"now afreſh to come unto the old biace, and to be troubleſome again. Neither intreated he him
"not to go on ſtill as he had begun. But ye my Maſters (quoth *Fabius*) that are the reſt of the
"Tribuns, we would requeſt you to conſider well this one point eſpecially: That this power you
"have, was brought in for the ſuccour and relief of every particular perſon, and not to the general
"prejudice and undoing of all. Again, that ye are created Tribuns of the Commons, not enemies L
"of the Nobles. A heavy and lamentable caſe it is to us, odious and hateful unto you, and will
"breed you much ill will and diſpleaſure, in caſe the C. W. now forlorn, ſhould thus be invaded
"and aſſailed. Ye ſhall loſe nothing of your own right, I aſſure you, nay, you ſhall avoid much
"miſlike and hatred of men, in caſe ye be in hand and deal with your brother Tribun, to put off
"this matter and defer it wholly until the Conſuls coming. Why, the very Æquians and Volſci-
"themſelves the laſt year, when both our Conſuls were dead of the plague preſſed not hardly up-
"on us, to proſecute any proud and cruel war againſt us. So the Tribuns communed and perſwa-
ded with *Terentillus*: and this his commenced ſuit or action being adjourned in outward ſhew,
but in very truth let fall quite and diſanulled, the Conſuls forthwith were ſent for home. *Lucre-
tius* returned enriched with a right great booty, but with far greater honor and renown. Who at M
his very firſt coming wan himſelf more glory, by laying abroad in *Mars* field all the prizes, that
every man for three dayes ſpace might know his own and have it away. All the reſt, that had no
owners to come forth and make claim, was ſold in port-ſale. By all mens conſent, the Conſul
was thought worthy of triumph: howbeit that matter was put off, by reaſon that the Tribun had
not yet done with his law: which was the thing that the Conſul thought meet ſhould be firſt re-
garded. The matter was debated and treated for certain dayes, both in the Senate and alſo before
the people. At laſt the Tribun yeelded to the Majeſty of the Conſul, and gave it over. Then was
due honor rendred both to the General and alſo to the army accordingly. He triumphed over the
Volſcians and Æquians: and in his triumph his own legions followed after him. To the other
Conſul granted it was that he ſhould in a kind of triumph called *Ovatio*, ride into the City, but N
without his ſouldiers. The year next enſuing, the Law *Terentilla* was by the whole Colledge or
fellowſhip of the Tribuns revived and propounded again: which put the new Conſuls *P. Volum-
nius* and *Ser. Sulpitius* to ſome trouble. And in the ſame year the skie ſeemed to be on a light fire,
and there was an exceeding earthquake. And that which the year afore was no credit given unto,
was now for truth believed, to wit, That a Cow did ſpeak. Among other ſtrange wonders it
rained fleſh: during which ſhowre, a huge number of fowls flew among, and were reported to
have ſnatcht it and carried it away as it was in falling. But that which fell down and eſcaped their
tallons, lay ſcattered here and there for certain dayes in ſuch ſort, as the ſent changed not at all,
nor the fleſh one jot taken and corrupted. Then the books (of *Sibylla*) were peruſed by the Du-
umvirs deputed over matters of Religion: who fore-told of ſome dangers to enſue by a Company O
of ſtrangers, and gave warning to look leſt haply ſome aſſault ſhould be made upon the higheſt
places of the City, and thereof a ſlaughter and maſſacre enſue. Amongſt the reſt, warning was given
to abſtain from civil diſcord and mutinies: which the Tribuns found fault with, as a deviſed
matter to hinder the law. Whereupon great debate and contention was like preſently to grow.
But behold (that the revolution and courſe of troubles might turn about every year to the ſame
point,) The Herniks bring news that the Volſcians had Æquians for all their wings were well clip-
ped,

The Oration of *Q. Fabius* againſt the Tribun of the Commons.

Prodigious ſights.

A ped, and their forces greatly decayed, began togather and levy new armies: *Item*, That in *Antium* lay the whole weight and importance of the affairs, and all depended upon it: That the Antiat coloners held their councels and had their meetings in open ſhow, at *Ecetra*, but *Antium* was the principal ſeat of the war, and from thence came all preparations and forces whatſoever. As ſoon as theſe news were reported in the Senate, order was given to muſter ſouldiers: and that the Conſuls ſhould part between them the adminiſtration and managing of his war, ſo as the one ſhould have the charge againſt the Volſcians, and the other againſt the Æquians. But the Tribuns rung it out openly in the common Hall before the people, "That this was but a made mat-
"ter of the Volſcian war, and a tale deviſed by the Herniks, who were ſuborned and framed to
B "play their parts in the Pageant, and to ſerve the turn of the Nobles. And that now verily the
"freedome of the people of *Rome* was not oppreſſed or endangered by plain prowes & vertue,
"but finely ſhifted off and dallied cunningly withal, by ſlye and crafty inventions. And for aſmuch
"as now it was an unlikely thing and incredible, that the Volſcians and Æquians after ſo great
"ſlaughter committed upon them, whereby they were all in a manner killed up, ſhould be able of
"themſelves to wage war, there were, forſooth, new enemies ſought out: A faithful Colony near
"adjoyning, was now ſlandred and defamed: war war pretended for a ſhew againſt the guiltleſs
"and innocent Antiats, but in truth, intended with the very Commons of *Rome*, whom they
"meant to drive out of the City in all haſte headlong, ſurcharged with heavy armor, and ſo (by
"turning out their poor fellow citizens into baniſhment, and ſending them away, God knows
C "whither) to be avenged at length of the Tribuns. And thus the Law (ſay the Tribuns, for they
"muſt think their drift is to this end and to none other) ſhould be troden under foot, unleſs
"whiles all is entire and whole, and nothing done, whiles they remain at home in their houſes,
"whiles they be in their gowns, they take heed and look well about them, that they be not diſ-
"poſſeſſed of the City, and take the yoke of ſervitude upon their necks: aſſuring them that if
"their hearts only ſerved, they ſhould want for no help: and that all the Tribuns agreed and were
"of one mind, that there was no cauſe of fear abroad, no force in war to trouble them: laſt of all,
"that the very providence of the Gods the year before aſſured them, that their liberty might with
"ſafety be defended. Theſe and ſuch like Remonſtrances gave the Tribuns out. On the other
part, the Conſuls cauſing their chairs of eſtate to be ſet, even in their ſight and preſence, began to
D muſter. Thither ran the Tribuns down in all haſt, and drew the whole aſſembly of people with
them. And, to make as it were a proof and tryal, ſome few by name were called, and ſtraight-
ways began a ſtir. For whomſoever the Sergeant by the Conſul his commandment arreſted, the
Tribuns charged again that he ſhould be let go. And neither ſide contained within the limits and
compaſs of their commiſſion and rightful authority: but preſumed of their might and ſtrong
hand, to attain unto their defired purpoſe. For even as the Tribuns had demeaned themſelves in
forbidding the muſter, ſemblably the Senators beſtirred themſelves to ſtop the law for going for-
ward: which was propounded every Court day, and when the people might aſſemble. And ever-
more the brawl began, when the Tribuns commanded the people to avoid the Hall, for that the
*Patritij* would not endure thus to be ſet out and excluded. Few or none of the ancients would
E be preſent at theſe troubleſome ſtirs, being ſuch as were not to be managed and ordered by ſage
Councel, but wholly left to the raſhneſs and boldneſs of young and green heads. The Conſuls alſo
were much abſent, and forbare to be in place, for fear leſt in ſuch a confuſed hurliburly their Ma-
jeſty and dignity, might have been ſubject to ſome ſhameful contumely and diſgrace. But there
was among them one *Ceſo Quintius*, a luſty young Gentleman and a ſtout, in regard both of his
noble parentage, as alſo of the goodly tall perſonage and ſtrength of his body. Beſides theſe good
parts that God had beſtowed upon him, he had won himſelf many ornaments by ſundry exploits
atchieved in wars: He had withal an eloquent ſpeech and a good grace at the bar, ſo as, in one
word, throughout the whole City, there was not one thought to be more ready in tounge, or
taller of his hands. This *Ceſo* ſtanding in the midſt of the Nobles, higher to be ſeen above all the
F reſt, as one that in his ſpeech and ſtrength, carried afore him the countenance and authority of all
Dictators and Conſuls, was the only man that bare off the brunts of Tribuns, and ſtorms of the
common people. Many a time were the Tribuns driven out of common Hall, the Commonalty
defeated and put to flight by the conduct of this Captain. Whoſoever came within his reach,
was ſure to go away throughly beaten, and clean ſtripped. So as it evidenly appeared, if this
courſe might have been allowed, the law had ſoon been checked and overthrown. Now when all
the other Tribuns beſides were herewith diſmayed and welnear daunted, *Aulus Virginius* alone,
being one of their fellowſhip, was ſo bold, as to enter an action againſt *Ceſo*, of a capital crime.
By which deed of his, he rather fired, than feared his hot and furious nature. For ſo much the
more eagerly withſtood he the Law, courſed and troubled the Commons, and perſecuted the Tri-
G buns as it were with open war. The plaintiffe in the mean time, ſuffered the defendant to run on
ſtill, and with many outrages to kindle more coals of ill will, and hatred upon his own head, and
to miniſter further matter of crimes to be charged with. And all the while he ceaſed not to prefer
the Law aforeſaid, not ſo much of any hope to bring it to paſs, as to provoke and ſet on work the
giddy head and humorous vein of *Ceſo*. Whereby it came to paſs, that many follies oftentimes
were committed both in word and deed, by the yonger ſort: and evermore the blame light upon
poor *Ceſo*: he alone was alwayes charged, becauſe he had been once ſuſpected. But nevertheleſs
he

The Tribuns oppoſe themſelves againſt the Nobility.

*Ceſo Quintius* a bitter adverſary of the law *Terentilla*.

hee gainsayed and crossed the Law. And *Aulus Virginius* ever and anon would entertain the Commons with these and such like speeches. "See ye not already (quoth he) O *Quirites*, that ye may "not now have *Caso* your Citizen, and the law which you desire both together. But what mean "I to speak of your Law? It is your liberty that he infringeth and setteth himself against, and in "pride and arrogancy he exceedeth all the *Tarquins* that ever were. But wait, ye were best, until "he be made a Consul or Dictator, whom ye see already, being but a private person, to bear him-"self so greatly of his strength and boldness, as to Lord it over you, and rule as a King. Many soothed the Tribune and said the like, adding moreover, how they had been well knocked and beaten at his hands: and were forward enough of themselves to set the Tribune on, to proceed in his commenced action against him. H I

Now was the law day of judicial trial come: and it seemed abroad, that all men verily thought that the very foundation of their liberty consisted in the condemnation of *Caso*. In conclusion, driven he was with much indignity and shame, to creep and crouch unto every man, submissively craving their favor one after another. There seconded him his kinsfolk and neerest friends, the best men of the City, *Titus Quintius Capitolinus*, who had been thrice Consul, spake in his behalf: and after he had reckoned up many honors and dignities, both of his own, and also of his family, affirmed, that neither in the house and race of *Quintii*, nor yet throughout the City of *Rome*, was ever seen so great towardness, no such shew and likelihood of ripe and perfect vertue and proweſs as in *Caso*: saying, that he had been first his souldier, and served under him, and that with his own eys he had seen him oftentimes fight valiantly hand to hand with his enemies in the field. Again K *Sp. Fusius* made this good report of him, That upon a time, when himself was in great distress and extremity, *Caso* was sent unto him from *Quintius Capitolinus*, to help at a pinch: and that there was no one man, by whose good service, as he thought, the Weal-publick at that time was more relieved and restored, then by his. *L. Lucretius* the Consul last year before, glittering in his bright glory so fresh and new, joined with the rest, avowing *Caso* partaker with him in his praise-worthy acts: he recounted his brave combats, rehearsed his noble exploits, both in his rodes and voiages, and also in the pight field: advising & counselling them, that in any hand they would retain him stil for to be a Citizen of their own City, rather then of any other, this excellent young gentleman, furnished with all good gifts of nature and fortune, like to prove a singular stay of the publick affairs, into what City and State soever he should come. As for that heat and hastiness (quoth he) L which was in him misliked and offensive, age and time would dayly diminish, and bereave him of it: grave and sage counsel, which now was wanting, would come on apace every day more then other. Seeing therfore his faults waxed old and faded, his vertues now were in their growth, flourished, and grew ripe unto perfection; they should permit so brave, so rare a person, to live stil among them, and be a good old man in this their City. His father among the rest, *L. Quintius*, surnamed *Cincinnatus*, went another way to work: who not by iterating stil his praises, for fear of heaping more matter of envy and repine, but craving pardon for his wildness and youthful demeanor; besought them for his sake at least wise, to give the son as a present to his father, who neither in word nor deed had ever offended any person. Some took no heed and gave a deaf ear to his prayers, either for modesty and reverence, or for fear. Others complaining how they and M theirs had been beaten and hardly used at his hands, bewraied and shewed plainly by their shrewd and churlish answers what their judgment was. Besides, the common mislike and malice conceived against the defendant, there was one perilous matter and crime above all, that touched him very neer. And that was this: *M. Volscius Fictor*, who certain years before had been Tribune of the Commons, came in against him as a witness, and deposed, how that not long after the plague was in the City, he hapned upon a company of youths as they made a riot and robbery in the *Suburra*: where there arose a brawl and fray, in which his elder brother, a man wel in years, and not throughly recovered of his sickness, was with a buffet with *Caso* his fist fell'd to the ground, and lay there for dead: so as he was fain to be had home between mens arms; and as he deemed, of that blow he died: yet might not he as hainous as the fact was, bring his action and prosecute N the law, for fear of the Consuls of these last years. As *Volscius* thus informed, the whole court was moved therewith, in so much that *Caso* escaped hardly, from being murdered, in that rage and fury of the people. Then *Virginius* commanded to lay hold on the man, and to have him away to prison. The *Patritii* again by force resisted force. *T. Quintius* cried out, That he who was under arrest for to make his appearance, and answer at a day for his life, and who shortly should come to his trial and be judged, ought not before sentence of condemnation, and before he had pleaded for himself, thus violently be misused. The Tribune replied again, That his meaning was not to punish him before he were condemned: howbeit, by his leave he would be so bold as keep him fast in prison, to be forth-coming at the law day; that he who had killed a man, might suffer therefore according as the people of *Rome* should award. Then were the Tribunes called unto for their help, who by the means of an indifferent decree then made, shewed their lawful favours with speed. By vertue whereof they forbad expresly, that he should not be imprisoned, but pronounced that it was their wil and pleasure, that the defendant should personally appear, and a piece of money be promised unto the people, in case that he made default and failed of his appearance. Much question there was what sum of money should be thought reasonable to be promised. And the matter was put over to the Senate to be decided: and whilst the Senators sate O there-

*Caso* recommended by many of the Nobility.

A thereupon, the defendant was kept ſtill in ward within the common Hall. At length they thought good and ſet it down, that he ſhould put in ſureties. And they bound each ſurety in 3000 * Aſſes. But how many of theſe ſhould put in bond, was left to the will and diſcretion of the Tribuns, who aſſigned and determined ten and no more. With ſo many ſureties the plaintiff bound the defendant perſonally and peremptorily to appear at his day. This man was the firſt Roman that went under ſpecial bail, and put in good pledges to make his publick anſwer. Thus being enlarged out of the common Hall and diſmiſſed, the next night following, unawares to the Conſul, he departed to the Tuſcans into exile. When the day of this judgement was come, and that it was alledged for his excuſe, That he was out of the town, and gone into baniſhment: yet nevertheleſs

B *Virginius* aſſembled the people about this matter: but his fellow Tribunes being called unto for their help, diſmiſſed the Court and licenſed every man to depart. But the foreſaid money was cruelly exacted at his fathers hands, ſo that he was driven to ſell up all that ever he had, and for a long time to live apart as a perſon confined, on the other ſide of Tyber, in a poor blind cottage out of the way. This proceſs of judgement, and the preferring of the law aboveſaid together, buſied the City and kept it occupied. Quiet they were for any wars abroad. At what time the Tribunes like Conquerers, ſeeing the Nobles appalled at the baniſhment of *Caſo*, ſuppoſed now their law was in manner fully eſtabliſhed and enacted. And for as much as the more ancient Senators had diſpoſſeſſed themſelves, as it were, of the Common-weal, and medled not for their own parts with the State: the younger ſort, and ſuch eſpecially as were of *Caſo* his crue and ac-

C quaintance, were kindled the more againſt the Commons, and abated not their courage: marry, this good thereby was done upon them, that in ſome meaſure they tempered and ruled their furious affections and violent outrage. The firſt time after the exile of *Caſo*, that the law began again to be propoſed, they being well appointed and banded together, backed alſo with a mighty company of their friends and favorites, ſet upon the Tribunes: taking the occaſion when they charged them to depart out of the hall, in ſuch manner, that no one of them above his fellows was ſingular, or carried home with him any ſpecial praiſe or blame more then another: but the Commons complained that for one *Caſo*, there were now ſtart up a thouſand. All the days between, wherein the Tribunes medled not with their law, none more quiet, none more peaceable then they themſelves. Courteouſly they would ſalute and ſpeak unto the Commons, at all other times

D they would invite them home to their houſes and make them good cheer, aſſiſt them and be preſent with them in the common Hall, ſuffer the Tribunes themſelves without any interruption or impeachment to keep their courts and hold their aſſemblies whatſoever: ſhewing themſelves at no time to any of them either publickly or privately fierce and cruel, but only when they went in hand with the law, for otherwiſe the young Gentlemen were popular enough. And not only in other cauſes made the Tribunes good diſpatch, and went quietly through all their buſineſſes: but alſo the ſame men were choſen again for the next year following without any foul and croſs word: ſo far were they from being offered any forcible violence: and thus by ſoft handling and gentle dealing, they had now by little and little won the Commons, and made them as it were come to hand. And ſo by theſe fine fetches and devices, for one whole year the law was ſhifted off, and

E prettily avoided. The City being now in more quiet ſtate, *C. Claudius* the ſon of *Appius* and *P. Valerius Poplicola*, came to be Conſuls. And no news this new year: for the ſame care ſtill, either about preferring or admitting the law, held the City occupied. As much as the puny Nobles inſinuated themſelves more into the favour and familiarity of the Commons: ſo much more eagerly again on the other ſide, did the Tribunes labour and endeavor with complaints and ſlanders, to bring them into ſuſpition and jealouſie with the Commons; Saying, that there was a conſpiracy intended and contrived: that *Caſo* was in *Rome*: that there were plots laid to murder the Tribuns, and to maſſacre the Commons: that they were ſet on work by ſome great ones, even the Ancients of the Nobles, utterly to aboliſh the Tribunes anthority out of the C. W. and to bring and reduce the City to the ſame paſs again, as it had been before the taking and keeping hold in the

F Mount *Sacer*. Beſides all this, war was feared from the Volſcians and Æquians (ſo ordinary it was, and ſo duly once every year it came about:) yea and with all, another miſchief newly ſprung, and unlooked for.

A rabble of baniſhed perſons, Outlaws and Bondſlaves, to the number of 4500 having to their Captain one *Ap. Herdonius* a Sabin, ſurpriſed in the night the Capitoll and Caſtle, and were maſters thereof. Who immediately killed in the caſtle as many as would not be of their conſpiracie & take armes with them. The reſt, amid this hurliburly ran headlong down into the Market place for fear. The alarmy was given on all hands: and no cry heard but *Arme, Arme, the enemies are in town*. The Conſuls were afraid to put the Commons in arms, and they doubted alſo to let them be unarmed, not knowing what ſudden occurrent this ſhould be, that thus had entred and poſſeſ-

The Capitol ſurpriſed by Slaves and Outlaws.

G ſed the city: whether it were forraign or domeſtical, ariſing from the malice and hatred of the people, or from the treachery and falſhood of their ſervants; Yet they deviſed to appeaſe the uproar: and as they were buſie to repreſs it, the more other-while they ſtirred up new: for the frighted and amaſed multitude, could not be ordered by any commandment. Howbeit at length they reſolved to ſuffer them to take arms, and not all in general, but only (for that they knew not what their enemies were) to have a ſufficient and truſty guard about them, ready at all aſſayes and dangers whatſoever. In this careful ſuſpence and doubt, who were their enemies, and what their

* 9 *lib.* 7. *ſh.* 6. *d. ſterl.*

their number was, they passed the rest of the night, disposing strong watch and ward in all meet and convenient places of the City. But the day light disclosed the war and the Captain thereof. *Appius Herdonius* from out of the Capitol proclaimed freedom to all bondmen that would come and follow him: "taking upon him forsooth to defend the cause of most miserable caitifs: "namely, to restore home again unto their native country all such exiled persons, as had been "wrongfully expelled, and also to take away the heavy yoke of slavery and bondage. Which "thing he could wish it might be effected and brought about with the good will and helping "hand of the people of *Rome*. But in case there were no hope & comfort there, then he would assay the Volscians and Æquians, yea, and procure what means he could, by all hard courses and "extremities whatsoever. Now the Nobles and Coss. began to see more into the matter: and besides those dangers that were in view, and presently threatned, they feared some practise from the Veientians or the Sabins: and lest, there being already so many enemies in the City, the legions and Tuscans should combine together, and come upon them. Over and besides, lest their old enemies and perpetual, the Volscians and Æquians should now at once, not, as aforetime, invade their borders and drive booties, but give an attempt upon the very City, which was already in some part, taken and possessed by enemies. Many and sundry were their fears. But of all other the dread and jealousy of their own bondslaves presented unto them most imminent and present danger: for fear, lest every man harboured his enemy at home in his own house, whom neither he could trust securely, nor yet mistrusts without some jeopardy: fearing lest being once discredited, he might prove the more malicious and bent to do a mischief. And to such streights they were driven, that with all their concord and agreement, they hardly were able to remedy the matter, and to stop the extremity. So greatly the future troubles like to ensue, exceeded those that presently appeared and were in sight, that no man feared either Tribuns and Commons. That mild and gentle kind of malady, in comparison of others, and rising alwayes by occasion of rest from all other, seemed then by reason of a forrein terror, stilled clean and brought asleep. And yet see, that was the only thing in a manner that lay hardest upon them, ready to bear down to the ground their state, which now began already to shrink and reel. For so furiously and madly were the Tribuns bent, that they stifly would stand to it, and bear men in hand, That it was no war, but a vain illusion and colour of war, and no other, that had seised on the Capitol; for nothing else but to withdraw the minds of the Commons from intending and following their Law: and that a sort of clients, followers, and favorits of the Nobility and Gentry were gathered together, who if they might once perceive that the Law were passed, and that all the stir they had made, took no effect, would slip away soon and be gone, in more silence I wis, than they thither came. Whereupon they called the people away from their armor and weapons, and summoned them to an assembly, to go through with their Law and Enact it now or never. In the mean time the Coss. held a Councel, fearing a greater mischief like to ensue from the Tribuns, than the enemies had wrought in the night season. And when word was brought that arms were laid away, and that the people had abandoned their quarters where they were set in guard, then *P. Val.* leaving his collegue to keep the Senat together, departed hastily out of the Court & went straight into the Temple to the Tribuns. "What work is here my Masters (quoth he) you that are Tribuns? "Are ye about to overthrow the State indeed, under the conduct of *Ap. Herdonius*? and who was "not able to solli.it and do any thing with your bondslaves and servants, was his hap so good as to "corrupt and inveigle your selves? Is this your pleasure and to your good liking, whiles the enemy "is over our heads, to have our armor laid aside, and laws preferred? Then turning his speech to "the whole multitude: If ye take no regard nor care (*O Quirites*) of the City, if ye pass not for your "selves yet have some reverence, and stand in fear of the Gods of your native countrey, which by "your enemies are now taken Prisoners and captivate: *Iup. Opt. Max.* that most bountiful and Al-"mighty God, Queen *Juno* and *Minerva*, with all the rest of Gods, Goddesses (and heavenly "wights) are besieged: Outlaws and bondslaves are encamped about your Tutelar Gods, and "have in possession the Protectors and Patrons of your City. Is this, think ye, the form of a wise "and well governed City? is it in good case indeed and as it ought to be? So many enemies not "only within the walls, but also aloft upon the cliff within the Castle, overlooking and comman-"ding both Hall and Court: and all the while, the people assemble in the Hall, Senators sit in "Court like as when we enjoyed peace and were at rest: the Senator he delivereth his opinion at "the Councel boord: the citizens of *Rome* besides, are busy in their scrutinies and giving their "voyces. And had it not been more meet and decent that both Nobility and Commonalty, Con-"suls and Tribuns. God and Man, all armed together, should set to their helping hand, should "run up into the Capitol to deliver, save, and set in quiet that most stately and sacred house of *Jup.* "*Opt. Max.*? O Father *Romulus*, vouchsafe, I beseech thee, that mind and that courage unto thy "successors and posterity, whereby sometime thou didst recover and win again this fortress from "these same Sabins, betrayed and lost by corruption, and for a sum of gold: command them to en-"ter even that way, which thou first ledst, and thy valorous army followed after. Lo, I the Con-"sul, so far forth as a mortal man possibly may, will follow thee an immortal God, and thy foot-"steps. The conclusion of his speech was this, That as he put himself in arms, so all the Romans shall do the like. And in case any man went about to hinder this, he would without regard of Consuls rule and dignity, or Tribuns authority & might, pass for no sacred or inviolable laws: but what

The Proclamation of *Appius Herdonius*, Captain of the slaves.

The Oration of *P. Valerius* to the people.

A or whereſoever he were, in Capitol, in market place, all as one, take him for an enemy, and deal accordingly. Let the Tribuns (for aſmuch as they forbad to take arms againſt *Ap. Herdonius*) command hardly, and ſpare not, to arm againſt *P. Valerius* the Conſul: It ſhould be well ſeen that he would dare and do that by the Tribuns, which the firſt of his houſe and name ſometime had done by the KK. A great broil was toward, and no other like, but that they would have gone together by the ears, and that the mutiny of the Romans, would have been a goodly ſpectacle to the enemies for to behold. But all this while, neither could the law be preferred, nor the Conſul go up into the Capitol. The night at length ſtayed theſe brauls begun, and huſht all. The Tribuns fearing the armed forces of the Conſuls, yeelded to the darkneſs of the night, and gave over. Now
B when the principal Authors of the diſcord were once gone out of the way, The Nobles went about to the Commons, intruding themſelves into their companies as they were met in knots together: where they would enter into talk and diſcourſe with them, according to the preſent occaſions and the time, admoniſhing them to take heed into what danger they brought the State. "For aſmuch as now (quoth they) it is not a matter of debate between the Senators and Com-"mons: but both Senators and Commoners, the Caſtle and ſtrongeſt hold of the City, the Tem-"ples of the Gods their houſes both publick and private, were ready to be yeelded unto the ene-"mies. Whiles theſe things were a practiſing in the common place, for to appeaſe the diſſention: the Conſuls for fear, leſt the Sabins or the Veientians, enemies both, ſhould ſtir and riſe, were gone to the gates, and all about the walls. The ſame night came tidings alſo to *Tuſculum* of the
C taking of the Caſtle, the ſurpriſing of the Capitol, and likewiſe of the troubleſome State wherein the City ſtood. At that time was *L. Mamilius*, Dictator of *Tuſculum*: he forthwith called a Senate together, brought in the Meſſengers of the foretaid news, and thought it very expedient and "needful not to wait until there came Embaſſadors from *Rome* to crave their aid: for that the "preſent peril it ſelf alone, the urgent neceſſity, their ſocial Gods, and the faithful bond of league, "required no leſs at their hands, than to ſend ſuccour: adding moreover, that the Gods would "never give them the like occaſion and opportunity again, to gratify the Romans; to bind and "oblige unto them by a ſound benefit and pleaſure done, ſo mighty a City, and ſo neer a neigh-"bour. Whereupon it was decreed, to reſcue them with all ſpeed. The able men of ſervice were taken up and enrolled, munition and armor given them in their hands: who advancing toward
D *Rome* by break of day, ſeemed a far off to be enemies, and were taken for the Æquians or Volſcians. But afterwards, when this fooliſh fear was overblown, they were received into the City: and marched down in order of battell to the market place. Where, at the very ſame time *Pub. Valerius* having left his fellow Conſul to guard and fortify the gates, was ſetting his men in array. The authority of the man had prevailed with the people, for he promiſed and aſſured them, that if the Capitol were once recovered, and the City ſet in quiet, if they would ſuffer him to be informed what fraudulent and ſecret miſchief was underhand practiſed by the Tribuns under colour of this Law, he would in remembrance of his anceſtors, and of his * ſurname (which in re- * *Poplicola.*
E gard of the affectionate love unto the people, by a ſpecial care, as it were by inheritance from his forefathers, was recommended unto him) not hinder and trouble the meetings and aſſemblies of the Commons, nor croſs and thwart their proceedings. They followed him therefore as their Captain, gain-ſay the Tribuns what they could (for all would not ſerve) advanced forward, and marched up againſt the riſing of the Capitol Hill. The Tuſculan Legion ſtuck cloſe unto them, and followed after. Citizens and Aſſociats both did their beſt, and ſtrove who ſhould regain the Capitol firſt, and have the honor of that day. Each Captain exhorted and encouraged his men. Then began the enemies to fear, and wiſt not well what to truſt unto, but only the ſcituation of the place. The Romans and their allies ſeeing their fear, came forward and advanced their Standards againſt them. Now by this time were they broken into the porch of the Temple. Where *P. Valerius* the Conſul ſlain.
F *P. Valerius* fighting manfully among the formoſt in the vanguard, was ſlain. *P. Volumnius* a Conſular man, ſaw him when he fell: who gave his men in charge to cover his body, and ſtept himſelf into the Conſuls room, and fought in his ſtead. The ſouldiers for heat and eagerneſs of fight, took no regard, and came to no knowledge of this ſo great miſchance, but got the victory, ere they knew that they fought without their Captain. Many of the outlaws were there ſlain, and polluted the Temple with their bloud; Many taken alive Priſoners, and *Herdonius* himſelf was ſlain outright. So the Capitol was again recovered. The captives, as they were either bond or free, were executed every one according to their condition and place. The Tuſculans had thanks given them. The Capitol was cleanſed, purged, and hallowed anew. The Commons, as it is reported, caſt * Quadrants or mites into the Conſul his houſe, that he might with greater pomp of
G funerals be brought to the ground. * Quadrans, a piece of braſs coin, the fourth part of As, and is aſmuch as a cue and c.

When all was appeaſed and in quiet, the Tribuns were earneſt with the Nobles to perform the promiſe of *P. Valerius*: they were inſtant alſo with *Claudius*, to abſoil the ſoul, and keep it from blame of his fellow Conſul late deceaſed: and to permit the law to be ſet on foot, and go forward. The Conſul flatly denied to ſuffer them to meddle with the law, before he had ſubſtituted a fellow in his place. And theſe contentions held unto the time of the grand Election for the ſubſtituting of a new Conſul. And in the month December, after much ſuit, and labouring of the Nobles, was *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, the father of *Caſo*, created Conſul, and preſently to enter into his office. The Commons herewith were much troubled and ſtrucken dead, now that they

The Oration of *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, reproving the Senate and Commons of *Rome*.

they were to have an angry Conſul, and mighty withal: conſidering the favour of the Nobles wherein he ſtood, and his own vertue & proweſs beſides: by reaſon alſo of his three ſons, of whom there was not one, that for hautineſs of mind came behind *Caſo*, and for wiſdom, diſcretion, and moderation (when time and occaſion ſerved) went far beyond him. Who being once entred into his office, in all his publick ſpeeches and orations, continually ceaſed not as well to bridle, reſtrain and keep in the Commonalty, as alſo to chaſtiſe ſharply the Senate; through the remiſneſs of which degree, & want of courage, it was come to paſs, that the Tribuns became now to continue ſtill in office, and not as in the Common-wealth of the people of *Rome*, but as in ſome unruly and diſordered houſe, with their laviſh tongue raigned as it were, and ruled the roſt: ſaying, "That to-"gether with his ſon *Caſo* all vertue and conſtancy, all commendable qualities that graced young "Gentlemen both in war and peace, were chaſed and utterly baniſhed out of the City of *Rome*. "In lieu whereof, bablers, mutinous perſons, and ſowers of ſedition and diſſention, are become "Tribuns the ſecond, yea, and the third time: who by indirect courſes & lewd practiſes live looſe-"ly in the City, like Princes and Kings. That ſame *Aulus Virginius* there, (quoth he) hath he de-"ſerved leſs puniſhment than *Ap. Herdonius*, becauſe he was not in the Capitol with the rabble of "other Rebels? Nay, much more a good deal, if a man will weigh the matter aright and truely. "*Herdonius*, (if there were nothing elſe) yet by profeſſing himſelf to be an enemy, advertiſed you, "and gave you warning in a manner to arm your ſelves. But he, by bearing you down ſo confi-"dently, that there was no war, what did he elſe but diſarm you, and as it were, take your weapons "from you, and offer you naked to the devotion and mercy of your bondmen and outlaws? And "have ye (under correction be it ſpoken, and ſaving the reverence and honor of *C. Claudius* here, "and *P. Valerius* that dead is) advanced your enſigns up the Capitol Hill, before you had rid the "market place and common Hall of theſe enemies? It is a ſhame (before God and man I ſpeak it) "when our enemies were in the Caſtle and Capitol, when the Captain and Ringleader of outlaws "and ſlaves, abode and lodged within the Chappels and Sanctuaries of *Jup. Opt. Max.* to the pro-"phanation and polluting of all, that they at *Tuſculum* ſhould take them to their weapons before "us of *Rome*, and that it ſhould be doubted, whether *L. Mamilius* the Tuſculan General, or *P. V. I.* "and *C. Claudius*, the Roman Conſuls, ſhould ſave the Fortreſs of *Rome*: and that we, who hereto-"fore would not ſuffer the Latines in their own defence, when they had their enemies in their "borders, ſomuch as once to take weapon in hand, ſhould now our ſelves have been ſurpriſed and "deſtroyed, had not they, the very ſame Latins of their own accord, put themſelves into armor for "our ſakes. Is this your ſuccouring and helping the Commons, (O ye Tribuns) for to expoſe and "caſt them unarmed before the enemy, to have their throats cut? I wis, if the meaneſt or baſeſt per-"ſon of your commonalty, which you have diſmembred from the whole body of the people be-"ſides, and made it, as it were the native country of your own, and a Common-wealth peculiar "only to your ſelves; If any one of them I ſay, ſhould bring you word, that his houſe were beſet "round about, with a company of ſervants and ſlaves in armor, you would think it meet that he "were aided and ſuccoured: And when *Iup. Opt. Max.* was beſieged with a power of armed "outlaws and bondſlaves, was he not worthy of mans help? And yet theſe men would be coun-"ted and held for *Sacroſancti*, *i.* Sacred and inviolable, with whom the very Gods themſelves are "not ſacred and inviolate. And notwithſtanding, that ye are thus overcharged and ſtayned with "ſins both againſt God and Man, ye go up and down, and ſay, That this year you will get your "law to paſs, and make it ſure. In truth, if ye preſer it again, then I muſt needs ſay the Common-"weal is ill beſtead, and had a ſhrewd turn that day whereon I was created Conſul, yea, and worſe "a good deal than at what time *P. Valerius* the Conſul was ſlain. But now firſt and formoſt "(quoth he) O Quirites, my colleague and I both, are minded to lead forth our legions immedi-"ately againſt the Volſcians and the Æquians: how the Divine Providence of God hath appoint-"ed it, I know not, but ſurely we find the Gods more gracious and favorable unto us in our wars "ordinarily, than in time of peace. And in what danger we had ſtood of thoſe nations, in caſe "they had known that the Capitol was in the hands and poſſeſſion of outlaws, better it is to gueſs "by that which is paſt, than to try indeed by preſent experience. The Conſul his Oration moved "and galled the Commons. The Nobles took heart, and were in a good belief, that the world was "well mended, and the ſtate better reformed. The other Coſ. more hearty to follow than to lead, and who was well content that his fellow had broken the ice before, and taken in hand to deal firſt in ſo weighty a matter, willingly challenged unto himſelf the charge to perform the part and office of a Conſul, in the execution and accompliſhment of thoſe deſignments. But then the Tribuns made a game therat, and ſetting light at the Conſul his words, inferred again and demanded, how the Conſuls would lead out an army, and no man ſuffer them to muſter ſouldiers. Marry (quoth *Quintius*) we need no muſtering at all: for, at what time as *P. Valerius* armed the Commons to re-cover again the Capitol, they were all ſworn unto him, and took their oath in this form, *To aſſemble together at the Conſul his commandement, and not depart from their colours without his leave and licence.* We will and charge you all therefore, that have taken this oath to preſent your ſelves to morrow, with your armour, at the lake of * *Regillus* without fail. Then the Tribuns began to cavil and wrangle, and would needs have the people diſcharged in their conſcience of that oath: alledg-ing how when they took that military Sacrament, *Quintius* was but a privat perſon. There was not as yet that neglect & contempt of the Gods entred into the world, which now reigneth every where and is ſo riſe: neither did men interpret their oaths, and conſtrue laws, to ſerve their own purpoſe,

* Lago de Praſſo de o de S. Severa.

A purpose, but rather attempered and framed their lives and demeanour thereunto. The Tribunes therefore, seeing no hope to hinder the thing, began themselves to treat about setting forward the army: and the rather, because there ran a rumour abroad, that the Augurs were commanded to attend at the lake *Regillus*: and that by them a place should be hallowed and consecrate there, wherein the Consuls might duly commune and confer with the people, concerning all matters, according to the flight of birds: to the end that whatsoever at *Rome* had passed under a law, extorted by the violent force of the Tribunes; the same might there in a lawfull assembly and generall Session, be abrogated & made void by the suffrages of the souldiers, who without doubt would accord to that, which should stand with the Consuls pleasure. For by reason that there was no B appeale in force without the city, above one mile, the Tribunes themselves also, if they came thither, should be subject as well as the multitude besides of the people, to the commandment of the Consuls. These matters scared them indeed and put them in a bodily fear, but the greatest thing above all the rest that disquieted their hearts was this, that *Quintius* oftentimes had given out and said, that he would not call an assembly of the people for the election of Cos. for that the city was grown so far out of frame and temper, that it might not be reformed and cured with ordinary and usuall remedies: but that the Common-wealth had more need of a Dictator, that whosoever went about to trouble the state of the city, might well know that there was an absolute Dictatorship, that checked all appeales. The Senat was assembled at that time in the Capitoll; thither came the Tribunes with their Commons greatly disquieted and troubled. The multitude cried C out and besought one while the Consuls of their favour, another while the LL. of the Senat of their protection; but could not once remove the Consul from his opinion (such a pitch had he taken) before the Tribunes gave their word and faithfull promise, that they would be wholly ruled and ordered by the Senators. Then the Consul propounded the demands and petitions of the Tribunes and Commons, and the Senat enacted these orders and decrees. First, that neither the Tribunes should that year prefer their law: nor the Consuls lead out of the city any army. Item, from thence forth, the Senat deemed it not to stand with the weal publick, that Magistrats should continue still in place from year to year, and that the same persons should be more then once chosen Tribunes. The Consuls for their part, were overruled and ordered by the Senators. But, say and gainsay what the Consuls would, the same Tribunes were chosen anew: and the Nobles also D because they would not be one ace behind hand with the Commons, would needs choose *L. Quintius* likewise for their Consul again. But all the year through was not the Consul more earnest and vehement in any action and speech whatsoever then in this. Should I marvell my Lords of the Councell (quoth he) that you bear no stroke with the Commonalty, and your authority is so little worth among? Why, you, even your own selves set light thereby: seeing, forsooth, the Commons brake the ordinance of the Senat, touching the continuitie of Magistrates, yea also, because ye would "not seem to yeeld one inch in rashnesse and folly to the multitude, are as ready and willing to "infringe the same: as who would say, this were to have more rule and authority in a city, namely, "to use more levitie, inconstancie, and licentiousnesse. For it is a point of much more lightnes "and vanity, I assure you, for men to disanull the acts and decrees of their own making, then of E "others. Ye that be Senators and Fathers of the C. W. imitate, and spare not, the ignorant, lewd "and inconsiderat multitude: ye that should give good examples to others, sin ye hardly your "selves, and do amiss by the precedent of others; neither then let others by your example do well: "so long as I, for my part, take not after the Tribunes, nor suffer my selfe to be declared Cos. against "an expres act of the Senat. As to you, O *Claudius*, I would exhort you, that both your self would "restrain the people of *Rome* of this their licentiousnes, that thus they have not their desire, and "also that you would perswade your self thus much of me, that so far off will I be from thinking "my honour by you impaired, that rather I will take my glory to be increased by the despising and "refusing of a dignitie, and the ill will and envy abated and diminished, that might grow upon the "continuation thereof. Whereupon both the Consuls jointly together made an edict and proclama- F tion, that no man should (by his voice) nominate *Quintius*, Consul: and if any man did, they would not allow of his election. So there were created Consuls. *Q. Fabius Vibulanus* the third time, and *L. Cornelius Maluginensis*.

The oration of *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* against the Senat

In this year was held a cessing and numbring of the citizens, but touching the *Lustrum*, there was some scruple of conscience, because the Capitol had been taken, and the Consul slain. When *Q. Fabius* and *Lucius Cornelius* were thus Consuls, suddenly in the very beginning of their year began great troubles: for the Tribunes on the one side, as their guise was, set the Commons a-work: the Latines and Hernicks on the other side, sent word of great wars from the Volscians & Æquians: That the Volscian legions were already at *Antium*, and the Colonie it self greatly suspected to rebel. Yet hardly could the Tribunes be brought to agree, that preparation should be made G aforehand to prevent this war. But upon these news, the Consuls parted between themselves the charge of all affairs. *Fabius* was appointed to lead forth an army to *Antium*: and *Cornelius*, to abide at *Rome* for the defence of the city, for fear lest some part of their enemies, as the Æquians manner was, should in running camp make rodes and forge the territories about. The Hernicks and Latines, were by vertue of the league, charged with the finding of certaine soudiers, so as the whole army should consist of 15. parts of confederats and one third of citizens. When, at the day appointed the Allies were come, the Consul pitched down his tents without the gate *Capena*: from whence when he had taken a generall muster and purged his armie, he marched towards *Antium*

and encamped himſelf not far, either from the town, or the ſtanding camp of his enemies: where H
the Volſcians ſeeing no forces yet come unto them from the Æquians, had no heart to fight, but
made preparation how they might keep themſelves quiet and ſafe, within their mure and ram-
pire. The morrow after, *Fabius* made not one entire battell of Allies and citizens mingled toge-
ther, but three battailons ſeverally by themſelves, of three ſundry nations, & ranged them along
all about the counterſcarpe and trench of his enemies. Himſelf was in the midſt with the Ro-
man legions, and gave commandment to obſerve heedfully and mark the ſignall: that the Allies
alſo ſhould both begin battell and alſo retire, when he ſounded the retreat. In like ſort he placed
the horſmen behind the *Principia* at the back of each battel. Thus in three ſundry parts he aſſail-
ed the camp, and invironed it round about, and charging luſtily hard upon them on every ſide, I
he beat the Volſcians down from their rampier, for they were not able to endure his violence. And
having gotten over all their trenches and fortifications, he drave the fearfull multitude clean out
of their hold, that now were retired to a ſide and corner of the camp. The horſmen might not
eaſily get over the trench, and ſtood ſtill of purpoſe to behold the fight, and to mark them when
they ſhould flie: but having once gotten them in the open fields, they chaſed them as they ran a-
way on heaps: and by killing them in their fearfull flight, deſerved their part in that victorie. Great
was the execution both within the camp, and alſo without the rampires, as they fled; but grea-
ter was the pillage, for that the enemies had much ado to carry their armour away with them,
and but that they ſhrowded themſelves as they fled in the woods, they had periſhed every man.
During theſe exploits about *Antium*, the Æquians having ſent before them the talleſt and luſtieſt K
young men they had, ſurpriſed the caſtle of *Tuſculum*, upon a ſudden and at unawares in the night
ſeaſon: and with the reſt of their power they were encamped not far from the wals of *Tuſculum*,
intending to intercept and ſtay the army of their enemies. Tidings hereof came in poſt to *Rome*,
and from *Rome* to the camp before *Antium*: which troubled the Romans as much as if news
had been brought, that the Capitoll was taken. So freſh in remembrance was the late deſert of
the Tuſculans: and the like jeopardy ſeeming to challenge and redemand ſemblable aid and ſuc-
cour. *Fabius* ſetting all other things aſide, cauſed the booty in all haſt to be conveyed out of the
camp to *Antium*: where having left an indifferent guard, he haſteneth apace in order of battel
to *Tuſculum*; by reaſon whereof, the ſouldiers could take nothing with them, but their ar-
mour, and ſuch baked or boyled meats as were at hand ready. The Conſul (*Cornelius*) ſent a con- L
voy of victuals unto them from *Rome*. Thus for certain months continued the war at *Tuſculum*.
The Conſul (*Fabius*) with one part of his hoſt aſſailed the camp of the Æquians: for the other
part he had let the Tuſculans have, to win again their fortreſſe. Againſt all force it was impreg-
nable, but in the end famine conſtrained the enemies to abandon it. To which extremity being
at length driven, they were by the Tuſculans diſarmed and compelled to paſſe naked under the
* yoke. Who as they fled homeward with ſhame enough, were overtaken of the Roman Conſul
in *Algidum*, and put to the ſword every one. After this victory, he encamped with the reſt of
his army at *Columen*, for ſo the place is named. The other Conſul like wiſe, ſeeing that there was
no danger threatning the wals of *Rome*, now that the enemy was diſcomfited & repulſed, departed
himſelf from the citie. So the Conſuls entring two waies the borders of their enemies, made
ſharp war and ſpoiled the Volſcians of the one ſide, and the Æquians on the other. I find in moſt M
writers that the *Antiates* in this year rebelled: and that *L. Cornelius* the Conſul managed that
war and won the town. But for as much as there is no mention made of that matter in any anci-
ent writers, I dare not avouch it for a certaine truth.

* A kind of gallows made with two javelins pitched endlong in the ground, and a third faſtned overthwart to the other.

This war was no ſooner brought to an end, but the domeſticall Tribunes war at home put the
Nobles in fear: for the Tribunes cried out that this was cautelous and fraudulent dealing, thus to
keep the armies abroad, for nothing els but to diſappoint them for publiſhing the law. Yet never-
theleſſe, ſince they had begun it, they would not give over, but go through with it and ſee an end.
Howbeit *P. Lucretius*, preſident of the city for the time, prevailed thus much with them, That all
Tribunitian actions ſhould hang & be deferred unto the coming of the Conſuls. There was beſides
* Treaſurers of Generall Receivers of the city a new occaſion aroſe of freſh trouble. *A. Cornelius* and *Quintus Servilius* * Queſtors, gave N
ſummons to *M. Volſcius* to make his anſwer at a day, who laid to his charge that he without
all doubt, had born falſe witneſſe againſt *Caſo*. For by many preſumptions and evidences it ap-
peared, that neither *Volſcius* his brother, from the firſt time that he fell ſick and took his bed, was
at any time ſeen openly in the ſtreets, or ſo much as to have ſit up, and mended any whit, but of
that diſeaſe which held him many months, he languiſhed and conſumed away to death: nor a-
bout that time, wherein the deponent ſuppoſed the deed was done, was *Caſo* once ſeen at *Rome*:
it being plainly affirmed and proved by thoſe who ſerved together with him in the wars, that
he was ordinarily all the time fighting under his colours as well as they, without any paſport or
licence to depart. And to make this good, many there were that of themſelves privatly challeng-
ed *Volſcius*, and offered to traverſe the law and to be tried by any indifferent and competent
judges. But when as he durſt not abide the triall and to be judged, all theſe things put together O
and ſo conſonant one to the other made men doubt no more of the condemnation of *Volſcius* then
of *Caſo*, which was grounded upon the bare teſtimony of *Volſcius*. The Tribunes were only the
ſtay; who ſaid plainly they would not ſuffer the Queſtors to hold any ſeſſions or judiciall court,
for the trial of the defendant, before they had a ſolemn aſſembly about their law. So were both theſe

matters

A matters put off unto the Conſuls coming. Who being entred with triumph into the city, with their victorious armie, & no words made of the law, many thought the Tribunes were clean danted and ſtriken dead. But they (for that the year now was at an end) aſpiring to be Tribunes the fourth time, left all their hot contention for the law; and reſerved themſelves wholly to argue and reaſon at the aſſembly for the Election of new Magiſtrats. And albeit the Conſuls had bent all their might and main againſt the continuity of the Tribunſhip, as earneſtly, as if a law had been propounded, tending to the impairing and abridging of their majeſty, yet got the Tribunes the maſtrie, and had the hand of them in the end. In this year peace was granted upon requeſt and petition, unto the Æquians. And the Seſſing, which the year before began, was now finiſhed.

B And this was counted the tenth general Survey and ſolemn purging of the citie from the foundation thereof. There were numbred in the Cenſe-book of citizens 132419 polles. A glorious and honourable year it was untill the Conſuls, both at home and in war. For they not onely procured peace abroad, but alſo the citie was, if not in perfect concord and unitie, yet in leſſe trouble than at other times. *L. Minutius*, and *L. Nautius*, that there were created Conſuls, entred upon the reliques of the two matters begun the former year. And much after one ſort, as the Conſuls croſſed the going forward of the law, ſo the Tribunes hindred the judiciall proceeding againſt *Volſcius*. But the new Queſtors were men of more power and greater authority. For together with *M. Valerius*, the ſon of *Valerius*, and nephew of *Voleſus*, was *T. Quintius Capitolinus* created Queſtour, a man that had been thrice Conſul. For almuch therefore, as *Caſo*, the worthieſt

C gentleman of all other, and the very ornament of the youth of *Rome*, could not be reſtored again, neither to the houſe of the *Quintij*, nor the commonweal, he purſued of mere pietie, with juſt & lawfull war, and falſe wittneſs, who would not ſuffer on anythand the innocent perſon to have the liberty to plead in his own defence. And when *Virginius*, moſt of all the other Tribunes, was earneſt to publiſh the law, the Conſuls had two months reſpit given them to conſider therof, and look into it throughly: to the end, that when they had advertiſed the people what ſecret fraud and inconvenience was hidden and lurked therein, they might afterwards ſuffer them to proceed to a ſcrunitie, and gather voices accordingly. This ſpace between granted, brought the citie into a good and quiet ſtate.

But the Æquians would not abide, that long it ſhould continue ſo; Who having broken the league,

D which the year before was made with the Romans, choſe *Gracchus Cluilius* for their governor and generall, who was in thoſe daies the greateſt man among the Æquians. Under the conduct of this *Gracchus*, they enter firſt in warlike manner the country of *Lanuvium*, and from thence into the territorie of *Tuſculum*, ſpoiling and ranſacking as they went: and being loaden with preyes and booties, they pitch their tents in * *Algidum*. Thither repaired from *Rome* into their camp, *Q. Fabius*, *P. Valerius*, and *A. Poſthumius* as embaſſadours, to complain of wounds received, and to demand amends and ſatisfaction according to covenant. The Generall of the Æquians ſeemed to grant them audience, and willed them to declare what meſſage and commiſſion they had from the Senat of *Rome*, unto the oake; for that himſelf had ſome other matters to diſpatch the while. Now there grew a mightie great Oake hard by the General his pavilion, ſpreading

E his boughs even over it, and the ſhadow thereof ſerved for a cold ſitting place. Then one of the Embaſſadors, as he went his way, "Let both the ſacred Oake (quoth he) and what divine power ſoever is ſeated in this place, heare and know, that by you firſt the league is broken, who now re-" gard our preſent complaints, and ſhortly aſſiſt our valiant armies, when we ſhall proſecute " and revenge at once the diſloiall breach, both of Gods laws and mans. So ſoon as the Embaſſadors were returned to *Rome*, the Senat gave direction, that one of the Conſuls ſhould lead forth an armie againſt *Gracchus*, into *Algidum*, and the other have in commiſſion, to waſt the borders of the Æquians. The Tribunes, as their manner was, hindred the muſter and peradventure had ſtaied it altogether, but for a new fearfull occurrent that ſuddainly came in the neck of the other. For a mightie power of Sabines were approached well neer to the wals of the citie, robbing, ſpoi-

F ling and deſtroying all a fore them with ſword and fire. The territorie was pitiouſly round about laid deſolat, and the citie therewith ſore terrified. Then the Commons ſtomacks came down, and gently they tooke weapons in hand: and (ſay what the Tribunes would againſt it) two great armies were enrolled. *Nautius* had the leading of the one againſt the Sabines: and being encamped at *Eretum*, with rodes and incurſions, and thoſe for the moſt part by night, made ſuch foul work and waſt in The Sabines country, that in compariſon thereof, the lands about *Rome*, ſeemed as if they had not been once touched. *Minutius* in his exploits, had neither like good ſucceſſe, nor yet equall courage and valour of heart. For having pitched his tents not far from the enemie, and received no great foile and loſſe at his hands to ſpeak of, yet he kept himſelfe for fear within the camp. Which when the enemies perceived, they grew more bold (as commonly the cowardite of one inceaſeth the courage of another) and aſſailed the camp in the night ſeaſon: but

G ſeeing that plain force little prevailed, the morrow after they raiſed mounts, and caſt trenches round about. But before they had with their countermures and rampires ſtopped up all paſſages, five horſemen being even amongſt the guards of the enemies, brought news to *Rome*, that the Conſul with his armie was beſieged. Nothing could there have hapned ſo little thought of, and unlooked for: whereupon there was ſuch fear, trembling, and quaking, as if the enemies had beſieged not the camp, but the very citie. *Nautius* the Conſul they ſend for, and becauſe they thought him like to doe but ſmall good, they agreed therfore to creat a Dictator, who

* Roequa del Papa.

*L. Quintius* nominated Dictator, found digging his ground with his own hands.

might restore again the distressed state of the C. W. And *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* by consent of all H
men was nominated. Now a world and wonder it is to hear them speak, that in regard of riches
despise all things else, and suppose there can be no great honour and vertue, but where wealth and
riches do flow in excesse. This *L. Quintius*, the only hope of the Romans, the man who was
to set upright their Empire now distressed, occupied then a peece of ground, to the quantity of
foure acres, called at this day *Quintia prata*, *i*, *Quintius* his meddows, on the other side of Tyber,
over against that very place, where now the Arsenal and Shipdocks are, and there was he found
digging a ditch, and bearing hard on his spade, or else a plowing the ground, I wot not whe-
ther, but busie and earnest about some rusticall work, no doubt he was: and after salutations passed
on both sides, between him and the Embassadours that were sent, he was requested by them, that I
he would put on his best gown, and (that which might turn to the good of himself and the com-
monweal) hear a message from the Senat First, he marvelled what the matter should be, & very of-
ten asking of them if all were well? he willeth his wife *Racilia* to bring him forth his Senators robe
straightway, out of his sorie cottage: which he put on his back (but first he brushed off the dust, and
wiped away his sweat, and made himself somewhat mannerly) and then came forth unto them,
who in joyous manner, by way of congratulation, stiled him by the name of Dictator: calling hard
upon him to repair unto the city, and declaring in how doubtfull termes the armie stood. Then
was there barge provided ready for *Quintius*, at the cities cost: and being ferried over the river,
his three sons met him and received him first, then others of his kinsfolk and friends, and after
them the more part of the Senatours. Thus attended with this frequent company, and with the K
Sergeants going before, was he brought to his house. Great concourse there was also of the Com-
mons: but nothing so joyous were they, to see *Quintius*, supposing that government of his over-
great and absolute, and himself a man in time of his rule, too imperious. And for that night verily,
nothing was done, but a good standing watch kept in the city. The morrow after, the Dictator
being come into the common place of assembly before day-light, appointed Generall of the
horse, *L. Tarquitius*, of Noble bloud descended: a man who for mere poverty had ever served on
foot, but of all the flower of *Rome* was reputed and taken to be a brave servitour, and an excellent
souldier. Then *Quintius* with the Generall of horsemen, mounteth into the pulpit aloft: pro-
claimeth a publicke vacation or Lawsteed: commandeth all shop windows through the city
to be shut, and charged that no man should follow any privat businesse of his own. Then as ma- L
ny as were of age to fight, were willed to shew themselves in their armour, before the sun set, in
*Mars* field, every one with victuals dressed for five daies, and with twelve forked stakes a peece
for to to pitch in the rampart. And that whosoever were above that age, and were unweldy, and
not meet for service should dresse and provide victuals for the next souldier unto him, whiles he
himself made ready his armour, and sought for stakes aforesaid. Thus ran the young able men to
and fro, to furnish themselves with stakes, and took whatsoever they could find, and whatsoever
was next hand: no man was forbidden, and so they were all ready with heart and good will, ac-
cording to the Dictator his proclamation. Then went the Dictator forth with the legions of foot-
men, the Master of the horse likewise with his men of arms, in such good order and aray, as might
not only serve for a speedy march to rid ground, but also for a set battell if occasion served. "In M
"both regiments they spared not to encourage and exhort their souldiers, according as the present
"time required: willing them to set foot forward, to mend their pace and make speed, that by
"night time they might reach to their enemies: & not (say they) before there was great need: for
"that the Roman Consul and army were besieged, and had now three daies already been pent
"up fast inclosed: and what might happen in one day or one night, no man knew: for oftentimes
"in the twinciking of an eye, and in the very turning of an hand, there fall out accidents of right
"great moment and importance. On afore space, Ensigne crieth one: follow souldier saith a-
nother. Thus went they also lustily forward, and all to pleasure and gratifie their captains. So
that by midnight they were come into *Algidum*: and so soon as they perceived their enemies
to be neer at hand, they pitched down their ensignes. Then the Dictator rode about as far forth N
as he could see in the dark, and having viewed well the situation, coasting and fashion of the
camp, commanded the Marshals and Colonels to give direction, That all the carriage and bag-
gage, should be laid up together in one place, and that the souldiers with their armour and stakes
only, should come again into their ranks. What he commanded was soon done. Then in the
same order that he marched, he draweth out his host in length, and compasseth the camp of
his enemies, and commandeth them all upon a signall or watchword given) to set up a shout,
and presently upon the shout to cast a trench, & every man stuck down his pale in the rampier. Ha-
ving given this charge, straightwayes the signall followed. The souldiers do that which they
were bidden: the shout was heard over all the camp of the enemies, yea, and into the Consul
his camp: causing in the one great fear, in the other exceeding joy. The Romans rejoycing one O
with another to hear the shout of their fellow-citizens and countriemen, with a conceit of their
coming to rescue, begin of themselves from their sentinels and *Corps de guard*. to threaten
and terrifie their enemies. The Consul set them forward and said, there was now no staying
for the matter, nor delaies to be made: for that it appeared by that alarm, that not only their
friends were come with succours, but also had begun to skirmish: and that it was all to nothing,
that their enemies camp, was already on the outward side assaulted. Whereupon, he command-
eth his souldiers to arm, and to follow hard after him. Thus in the night began the skirmish,

and

A and the legions of a Dictator by their outcry and ſhouting made ſignification that the enemies on that ſide alſo were driven to their ſhifts and in great hazzard. By this time the Æquians had addreſſed themſelves to impeach them in their trenching and making of their rampire, to the end that they might not be compaſſed about: but the al'arme was given and the ſkirmiſh already begun by their enemies within: fearing therefore, leſt they would break through the midſt of their camp, they turned from the pioners and workmen without, to them that fought within, and therby gave the other leave to plie their work and labour all the night long at their pleaſure: and ſo they maintained skirmiſh with the Coſ. untill day light. Now by the break of day they were entrenched on every ſide by the Dictator, and were ſcarce able to hold out batell with one of the ar-
B mies. Then the hoſt of *Quintius*, which preſently upon the finiſhing of the trench returned to their weapons, entring of the mures and rampires of the enemies. Here began a freſh conflict again, and yet the former nothing abated. The enemies then ſeeing themſelves thus diſtreſſed and ſo hardly driven on every ſide, left fighting and fell to intreating: they beſought the Coſ. on one ſide and the Dictator on the other, that they would not get the victorie by effuſion of bloud and cruel maſſacre, but would permit them to go their waies naked without their weapons. The Conſul he poſted them off to the Dictator: who being in great wrath and diſpleaſure, would not be contented without their ſhame and ignominy beſides. But commanded that *Cluilius* their generall with other Colonels and Captains ſhould be brought bound unto him. Item, he enjoyned them to abandon & quit the town of *Corbio*: as for the Æquians bloud, he ſought not for it, he had no need
C thereof: they might depart with their lives. Howbeit, becauſe he would have it now at length, maugre their heads, confeſſed, that the nation was vanquiſhed and ſubdued; his will and pleaſure was, they ſhould paſſe all under the yoke or gallows: the maner wherof is this. They took three ſpears or javelins, and ſet two of them pitched in the ground endlong, and their overthwart faſtned unto the other. Under this kind of gallows the Dictator compelled the Æquians to go. Thus having gotten the tents of the enemies full of all kind of ſtore (for naked he ſent them under the yoke) the whole pillage he beſtowed upon his own ſouldiers only: and rebuking ſharply the Conſuls army and the Co. himſelf, Ye ſhall (quoth he) ſouldiers go without your part of booty
"won of the enemie, whoſe booty ye had like your ſelves to have been. And as for thee, O *L. Mi-*
"*nutius*, untill thou begin to have the heart and courage beſeeming a Conſul, thou ſhalt be a Lieute-
"nant only over theſe legions. So *Minutius* being diſcharged of the Conſulſhip, remained ſtil
D as he was commanded, with the army. But ſo well were men content in thoſe daies, willingly to yeeld obedience to them that better could command, that this army in remembrance hereof as of a favour received, rather then of a diſgrace offered, both ordained for the Dictatour a coronet of gold of one pound weight: and alſo when he went homeward, ſaluted him by the name of their Patron. At *Rome* the Senat being aſſembled together by *Q. Fabius* Provoſt of the citie, decreed that *Quintius* ſhould enter the city in triumph with his army marching in battell aray as he came. Before his chariot was led the commanders of his enemies: the enſignes are carried afore, then followed the army laden with ſpoil and pillage. Great chear and banquets were ſet out, men ſay, upon tables at every mans dore. Thus making merry, they followed the chariot with
E ſongs of triumph, with ſports and merry conceits, as they are wont to do at their great and ſolemn feaſts. The ſame day *L. Mamilius* the Tuſculan, with the approbation and good liking of all men, was enfranchiſed citizen of *Rome*. And forthwith would the Dictat. have reſigned up his office, but that the Court, held for the triall of *M. Volſcius*, endited of bearing falſe witneſſe, ſtaied him: and in truth, the Tribunes would have hindred the judiciall proceeding againſt him, if they had not ſtood in awe of the Dictatour. But *Volſcius* was convicted and had ſentence, and departed to *Lanuvium* in exile. And *Quintius* having taken the Dictatorſhip for ſix months, gave it over the ſixteenth day after he entred into it. About the ſame time the Conſul *Nautius* fought valiantly with the Sabines at *Eretum*: who beſides the waſting of the fields, had an overthrow in fight. *Fabius* was ſent into *Algidum*, to ſucceed in the roome of *Minutius*. In the end of the year, the Tribuns began to ſtir about their law: but becauſe the two armies were abſent, the Senatour prevailed ſo
F much at that time, that no bils were propounded unto the people. The Commons likewiſe obtained, that they might create the ſelf-ſame Tribunes, now the fifth time. The report goeth, that there were ſeen in the Capitol, wolves chaſed away by hounds: for which ſtrange fight, the Capitol was purged. And theſe were the acts of that year. Then followed Conſuls *Q. Minutius* & *M. Horatius Pulvillus*.

36. *lib.* angel gold.

*L. Quintius* triumpheth.

In the beginning of which year, whiles all was quiet abroad, the ſame Tribunes and the ſame law cauſed diſſention and ſedition at home: which would have grown to a farther miſchief, in ſuch heats men were, had not word been brought, as it were of ſet purpoſe, that the gariſon at *Corbio* was ſurprized in the night by the Æquians and put to the ſword: whereupon the Conſuls
G called the Senat together: and order was given, that they ſhould lead a Subitary army and with a running camp invade *Algidum*. Then was the ſtrife about the law laid aſide clean, and a new contention aroſe about the muſters. But the Conſuls with all their authority, were overſwaied of the Commons, by the help and aſſiſtance of the Tribunes. At what time a new trouble put them in fear: for intelligence came, that a power of Sabins were come down already into the territories of *Rome* for to fetch booties and make ſpoil: and from thence advanced againſt the city. Upon which fear, The Tribunes were content that ſouldiers ſhould be preſt, yet not without this covenant indented: That for as much as they had now themſelves theſe five years been triſled off

and deluded, & that this protectorſhip of theirs ſtood the Commons in little ſtead, in regard of their H
ſmall number, therefore, there ſhould from thenceforth be ten created Tribunes of the Commonalty. The Nobles were ſo near driven and to ſuch ſtraights, that will they, nill they, yeeld they muſt thereto: with this proviſo, that they ſhould never after Elect the ſame men Tribunes twiſe. And for fear that this act ſhould after the war was once paſt, turn to nothing, like as others had done before,
Ten Tribunes of the Com. firſt created. they went in hand immediately to call a court for the Election of the Tribunes. So in the 36. year from the firſt Tribunes of the Commons choſen, there were ten created; out of every Claſſis, two. And by an act it was provided, that in ſuch ſort they ſhould be created ever after. The muſters then being taken and ſouldiers enrolled, *Minutius* went with a power againſt the Sabines, but found not the enemy. And *Horatius* becauſe the Æquians after they had put the gariſon at *Corbio* to the I
ſword, and won *Hortana* beſides, fought with them in *Algidum*. Many a man there he ſlew, and drove his enemies not only out of *Algidum*, but alſo out of *Corbio* and *Hortana*. As for *Corbio* he utterly raſed it, for betraying the gariſon there. After this, were *M. Valerius* and *Sp. Virginius* made Conſuls. At quiet they were both at home and abroad. But great ſcarcity there was of corn, by reaſon of the untemperat and unſeaſonable rain that fell. A bill there was preferred, that the mount *Aventine* ſhould be turned to Commons. And the ſame Tribunes were made again: who, all the year following, when *T. Romulius* and *C. Veturius* were Conſuls, in all their Halls and aſ-
"ſemblies, ſtill publiſhed the law: ſaying, it was a ſhame, that their number was thus increaſed
"to no purpoſe, in caſe their affairs ſhould lie dead in their two years, as they had done in the
"whole 5. years paſt. Whiles they were earneſtly debating theſe things, fearfull meſſengers came K
in all haſt from *Tuſculum*, with news, that the Æquians were in the territory of *Tuſculum*. The freſh deſert of that nation would not ſuffer the Romans for ſhame to defer their helping hand. Whereupon both Conſuls were ſent with an army, and met with the enemies in *Algidum* in their wonted haunt and accuſtomed place, where they encountred and ſtruck a battell: in which were ſlain about 7000. enemies. The reſt were put to flight. A huge booty there was gotten, which the Conſuls ſold out-right, by reaſon of the want of mony in their common treaſury. But this cauſed the ſouldiers to repine and grudge, and in the end miniſtred matter to the Tribunes, to accuſe the Conſuls unto the Commons. As ſoon therefore as they were out of their office, when *Sp. Tarpeius* and *A. Eternius* were Conſuls: *Romulius* was arreſted and put in ſuit by *C. Claudius Cicero*, Tribune of the Commons. And *Veturius* was likewiſe troubled by *L. Halienus* an Ædile or L
Warden of the Commons. Condemned they were both the one and the other, to the great indigna-
* 32 *lib* 5 *ſb.* tion of the Nobles. *Romulius* was fined in * 10000 Aſſes. *Veturius* in * 15000. But for all this hard
* 46 *lib.* 17 *ſb.* hap and calamity that befell to thoſe former Conſuls, the new were never a jot more remiſſe and cool in the quarrel: ſaying, Well may we alſo be caſt and condemned, and both Commons and Tribunes never the neerer to compaſſe and enact their law. Then the Tribunes giving over the law, which now by propounding only ſo oft, was waxen ſtale and old, began more gently to deal with the Senatours, praying them to make an end once of all ſtrife and contention. And in caſe that the
"laws of the Commons ſo diſliked and diſpleaſed them, they requeſted them to ſuffer certain Law-
"makers to be created indifferently out of the Commonalty, as well as of the Nobility, who might
"deviſe acts commodious & profitable to both parts and or the equal liberty and freedom of all. As M
"for the ſubſtance it ſelf of this motion, the Senators refuſed not: but they flatly ſaid, that none but of the Nobility ſhould have the making of thoſe laws. Seeing then they agreed thus about the laws, & differed only and ſqaured about the lawgiver, there were Embaſſadors ſent to Athens, *Sp. Poſthumius Albus*, *A. Manlius*, and *P. Sulpitius Camerinus*: who were commanded to exemplifie and
Embaſſadours ſent into *Greece* for an abſtract of their laws. copy out the famous and worthie laws of *Solon*: to ſearch out and learn the ordinances, cuſtomes, and rites of other cities in *Greece*. For any outward wars, this year was quiet, and the year following more quiet, when *P. Curiatius*, and *Sex. Quintilius* were Conſuls, by reaſon of the continual ſilence of the Tribunes: which, as the expectation of the Embaſſadors that were gone to *Athens*, and of ſtrange and forain laws, firſt and principally procured: ſo, two mighty great calamities that roſe both at once, to wit, famine and peſtilence, noiſome and loathſome both to man and N
beaſt, afterwards continued. By means wherof, the fields lay waſt and deſolate, the city diſpeopled with continual burials: many right worſhipful and honourable houſes thereby mourned. *Sergius Cornelius*, the Flamin of *Quirinus* dyed therof. *C. Horatius Pulvillus* the Augur went of it likewiſe: in whoſe room the Augurs (his Aſſociats) choſe *C. Veturius*: and the rather, becauſe he had been condemned by the people. *Quintilius* the Conſul departed alſo this life, and four Tribunes of the Commons. So that this was a year, with manifold loſſes and calamities fouly diſtained. But for enemies all was quiet. After this were *C. Menenius*, and *P. Seſtius Capitolinus* made Conſuls. In which year likewiſe there was no war abroad, mary at home ſome troubles aroſe. By this time were the Embaſſadors returned with the *Athenian* laws. And therfore the Tribunes were ſo much the more earneſt and urgent, that once at length they would ſet on, to deſcribe and put O
Ten Magiſtrates called Decemvirs, inſtituted for the making of awes. down ſome laws. And agreed it was, that there ſhould be created Decemvirs above all appeal: & for the yeare then, there ſhould no other Officers and Magiſtrats be in place. Now, whether any of theſe might be of the Commons or no, that was a queſtion: and hereupon ſome debate and controverſie continued for a good while. At the laſt, the Nobles went away with it, & had the preheminence, upon this condition, that neither the law *Icilia*, concerning the *Aventine* mount, nor other ſacred lawes ſhould be repealed. Thus in the 302 yeare after that *Rome* was built, was the form of the cities government changed the ſecond time, and to the Conſuls from the Decemviri, was the ſoveraign rule tranſlated, like as before, from the kings to the Conſuls.

This

A This change was leſſe notable, in that it long continued not. The beginning of this Magiſtracie was fair and goodly to ſee to, but grew too rank, and exceeded in overmuch licentiouſneſſe. The ſooner therefore it faded and fell away, and the former government was taken up again, and both the name and juriſdiction of Conſuls returned, and was conferred upon twain. The Decemvirs created were theſe: *Ap. Claudius, T. Genutius, P. Seſtius, L. Veturius, C. Iulius, A. Manlius, P. Sulpitius, P. Curiatius, T. Romulius, Sp Poſthumius, Claudius* and *Genutius*, becauſe they had been Conſuls elect for that year, had this dignity beſtowed upon them, in lieu of the other. And *Seſtius* one of the Conſuls the year before, becauſe he had preferred this matter unto the Senators, againſt his fellow Conſuls will. Next to theſe were counted the three Embaſſadours that went to *Athens*, both for that they ſhould be rewarded with this honourable dignity, for their embaſſage into ſo far & remote a country, & alſo becauſe men were perſwaded, that by reaſon of their inſight and skill in forrain ordinances of ſtrange nations, they might be well emploied in ſetting down, and making of new; The reſt made up the number. They ſay, that in the laſt ſcrutinies and ſuffrages at this Election, choice was made of thoſe that were more aged, and farther ſtept in years, to the end they might not ſo fiercely and ſtoutly gainſay and croſſe the opinions and conſtitutions of the other. In this new ſtate of government, *Appius* was the man that bare the greateſt ſtroke, he ruled the roſt and ſwaied all the reſt, ſo highly ſtood he in grace and favour with the people. He had ſo altered his nature, and became ſuch a new man, that all on a ſudden, of a cruel and terrible proſecutor of the Commons, he proved a very *Publicola*, and courter of the Commonalty, and one that lay for to get every gale of popular love and favour that might be had. Every one ſat his tenth day in place of judgement, and miniſtred juſtice in their ſeverall turnes unto the people. On which day, the twelve knitches of rods were born by the Lictors before the ſoveraign judg: as for his nine brethren, they had each of them one ſet jeant to give attendance. In this agreement among themſelves, (which accord otherwhiles when they were privat perſons, had been hurtfull unto them) reſted only and wholly the greateſt equity towards others. A proof and argument of this their moderation, it ſhall be ſufficient to obſerve now in the example and inſtance of one onely matter: for whereas they were created abſolute, and paſt all appeal, it fortuned, that in the houſe of *P. Seſtius*, a Nobleman, there was a dead body found buried, and brought forth openly into the publicke aſſembly of the people. The thing being no leſſe apparent in view, then hainous and horrible in fact, *C. Iulius* a Decemvir, brought *Seſtius* in queſtion therefore, put him in ſuit to anſwer at a certain day, and became plaintif unto the people, and accuſed that defendant, whoſe competent judge he was by order of law. And ſo he yeelded of his own right: adding ſo much to the freedom of the people, as was taken from the power of his own juriſdiction and government. When as now both high and low gave out, that this authority was ſound and uncorrupt, & ſet as it were from Oracle, and Gods own mouth, & al men wiling to accept of juſtice at their hands: then ſet they to it, and went about the making and giving of laws. And with great expectation of men, they ſet out ten Tables, and called the people to a generall aſſembly, commanding them in a good hour, and in the name of God to go, & (that which might turn to the good, to the benefit, and happines of the Commonweal, themſelves their children & poſterity) to read the law there publiſhed: proteſting, that ſo far as ten men could with all their wiſedome foreſee & provide for, had deviſed indifferent lawes, and equall for all ſorts of callings, as well the beſt as the meaneſt. But for as much as the wits and heads of manymen, were of deeper reach to ſee farther into things, they gave them good leave, to caſt in their minds, and ponder with themſelves each particular, yea, and to reaſon together from point to point, and thereof to deliver their opinion openly, what was ſhort and wanting, or what was ſuperfluous, in every article: and look what laws the conſent of all men ſeemed to bring in, thoſe ſhould the people accept, and none other: that it might appear they were not ſo much to approve of them and give their aſſent after they were propounded, as to propoſe and preferre them their own ſelves. And when as they were thought ſufficiently corrected, according to the ſpeeches of men, and as every one ſpake to the ſeverall titles and chapters of the laws, as they were ſet forth: then in the high court of Parlament, aſſembled of all the Centuries & degrees of men, the laws of ten Tables were enacted and eſtabliſhed. Which even at this day, among that infinit number of ſtatuts, heaped and hudled one upon another, are the very well-ſpring and fountain of all juſtice, both publick and privat. After this, there ran a rumour abroad, that two tables were yet wanting, which if they were put unto the reſt, then might the complete body as it were of the whole Roman law be finiſhed and made perfect. The expectation thereof, now that the great Leet-day grew neer for the Election, made men very deſirous to create Decemvirs again the ſecond time. Now the Commons abroad, beſides that they hated the very name of Conſuls, as well as of Kings, ſought not greatly for the protection of the Tribunes: ſeeing that the Decemvirs one after another, yeelded in their perogative, and admitted in ſome ſort the appeal. But afcer that the ſolemn aſſembly for the chuſing of Decemvirs, was publiſhed againſt the * *Trinundinum*, or third market day next enſuing, to ſuch an heighth was the ambition and deſire of this dignity growne, that the very chiefe men, and principall heads of the City (for feare, I beleeve, leſt the poſſeſſions of ſo great a government, in caſe they were not inveſted themſelves in the place, ſhould lie open unto ſome unmeet and unworthy perſons) went about and made court to every man, ſuing in humble manner to thoſe very Commons, with whom they had been at ſtrife & variance, for that honour and dignity, which they themſelves had with all their power and might impugned. The worthineſſe and reputation of men of thoſe years, and having born and gone through

The ten tables of Romans laws.

That is the 27 day following.

through ſuch offices, being now come in queſtion, and ſubmitted to the choiſe and judgement of others, pricked on *Ap. Claudius*, and ſet him forwards. So as a man could hardly know whether H to reckon him among the Decemvirs, or thoſe that ſtood to be Decemvirs again. For otherwhiles he was more like one that ſued for an office, than him that preſently bare office: blaming perſonages of beſt quality in the City, and laying hard to their charge: but extolling the vaineſt & baſeſt of the Competitors. Himſelf in perſon ſorting among the *Duilij and Icilij*, and ſuch like as favoured the Tribunes, went ſwinging and ſquaring in the common place, uſing them as inſtruments to venditare himſelf forth to the common people. So long, as at length his very brethren in office, who until that time had been ſingularly addicted and affectionated unto him, caſt their eies upon him, and began to mark, & marvail much what his meaning was: reaſoning thus among themſelves: I "Surely there is no ſoundneſſe nor goodneſſe herein, but all meer diſſimulation and hypocriſie. "Certainly, it is not for nought, that in ſuch pride of his, there ſhould appear ſo much courteſie. "What? to force his own nature too much within compaſſe: to debaſe himſelf, and ſuffer pri- "vat men to be his fellows, was a ſigne of one, that made not ſo much haſt to forgo a dignity and "promotion, as ſought means to keep it ſtill. Openly they durſt not preſume to check and with- ſtand his ambitious deſire, but aſſaied by pleaſing and ſoothing him up, to repreſſe and bridle his fooliſh affection. And ſeeing he was the younger of his company, they all with one accord laid upon him the charge, to hold the high court for the Election of Decemvirs. Their drift and policy was, that he ſhould not Elect his own ſelf a thing, which unleſſe it were the Tribunes again, (and that was a moſt dangerous precedent and example) no man ever had done before. And he with K all his heart accepting therof, made profeſſion that he would be preſident of that honourable Court and Seſſion, and prayed to the gods that he might perform it for the benefit of the weal-publik. And ſo took the vantage of that opportunity, to ſet forward his own deſign, which they meant ſhould have ſtopped and croſſed the ſame. And after he had by ſecret packing and conveſing with the other competitours, and given the repulſe unto the two *Quintis* (*Capitolinus*, and *Cincinnatus*) and put beſide the Cuſhion his own Uncle by the fathers ſide (*C. Claudius*, a moſt ſtout & reſolut champion of the Nobility) with other citizens of like mark and quality: he createth Decemvirs, ſuch as were not for worth, port, and behaviour, to them comparable and his own ſweet ſelf with the firſt. Which as there was no man thought he ever would have done, ſo all good men miſliked when it was done. With him were elected *M. Cornelius Malugineſis*, *M. Sergius*, *L. Mi-* L *nutius*, *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, *Q. Petilius*, *T. Antonius Merenda*, *Caſo* Duillius, *Sp. Oppius Cornicen.* *M. Rabuleius*. And there's an end of *Appius* playing anothers mans part. Off went his maſk and viſour now, and ſo from thence-forth, he began to ſhew himſelf in his own likeneſſe, and to live in his kind: yea, and to frame his companions to the bent of his bow, even before they were entred into office. Day by day had they their ſecret meetings by themſelves apart from all other: and being once hereby furniſhed with ungratious and proud deſignments, which they had cloſely complotted together, they could no longer hold & diſſemble their pride. Few might have acceſſe unto them: ſeldom would they be ſpoken with, ſhewing themſelves ſtrange, ſurly, & churliſh to thoſe that came unto them. Thus drew they the time on, unto the * Ides of May, which was the uſuall 15. day of May and ſolemn day then of entring into offices of government. In the very begining whereof they M made the firſt day of their magiſtracie noted by an intimation and evident ſhew of exceeding terrour. For whereas the Decemvirs their predeceſſors had obſerved this order, That one alone ſhould have the rods of State born before him, and that this regall ornaments ſhould paſſe round through them all in courſe one after another: Behold, theſe came all of them abroad, and each of them had his xij. bundles of rods carried before him. So that theſe Lictors, 120 in number, with their rods and axes too, faſtned within the rods, took up and filled the whole *Forum* or common place as they went. And for as much as they were created abſolutely, and their commiſſion ran without all appeal, men made this expoſition, that to go with their axes or without was all one, & made no matter at all. Thus was there a ſhew & repreſentation of ten KK. And this terrour grew more and more, not with the meaneſt and baſeſt ſort only, but alſo with the chief and beſt of the N Patritians: ſuppoſing that they ſought to pick a quarell, and miniſter occaſion and overture to ſome maſſacre: that if any man ſhould offer either in the Senat or among the people, to ſpeak one word concerning liberty, forthwith there ſhould be exemplary whipping and heading, to the terrour of all other. For, beſides that, from the people there was no remedy and ſuccour to be had, by reaſon that the appeal unto them was quite diſanulled and taken away: the Decemvirs themſelves drew ſo all in one line together and were ſo combined and linked, that there was no hope at all, that one would thwart and croſſe that which another did: whereas the former Decemvirs could well abide, that their judgements and ſentences ſhould be cenſured and corrected, by the appellations or appeal to one of their brethren in commiſſion: yea, and in ſome caſes put off ſome matters from themſelves to be decided by the people, which ſeemed properly to belong O unto their own juriſdiction. For a while, the fear was to all indifferent: but by little and little the Commons only began to feel the ſmart. The Nobles were forborn and eſcaped clear and ſcotfree: the meaner perſons went to the wals, and with them they dealt according to their luſt and pleaſure right cruelly. The perſon wholly they regarded, and never reſpected the cauſe, as with whom favour and friendſhip prevailed as much as equity and right ſhould have done. At home in their houſes, they determined of matters how they ſhould paſſe: and in open place they pronounced ſentence accordingly. If a man had appealed to one of their bench, from him

unto

A unto whom he fled for relief, he went his waies again by weeping croſſe, repenting that he ſtood not to the order and injunction awarded by the former. It was thought and ſpoken alſo abroad, but the firſt author would not be known, That they had conſpired together, not for the preſent time only to do wrong and injurie, but alſo were confederat between themſelves privily, yea, and had bound it with an oath, to call no aſſembly at all for the electing of new magiſtrats: but being now once inveſted in the ſoveraign rule, to hold the poſſeſſion of the Decemvirſhip for ever. The Commons than began to look about them, to behold and adviſe well the countenances of the Nobles, to ſee if they could from them catch ſome good gale of wind, ſome hope again of liberty, at whoſe hands they fearing bondage, had brought the common-weal to this hard paſſe.

B The LL. of the Senat hated the Decemvirs, they hated alſo the Commons. They liked not of things as they went, and yet were perſwaded that the Commons were well enough ſerved, and deſerved no better: who gaping greedily after liberty were now fallen and plunged into ſervitude and thraldome. Help they would not with the leaſt of their fingers, but rather heap more wrongs upon them: that having a wearifome and tedious lothing of the preſent ſtate, they might fall to a longing deſire after two Conſuls, and wiſh the old world were come again. By this time now was the better part of the year gone and paſt: and the two tables of laws were annexed to the other ten of the former year: which if they might be once confirmed and ratified by a Parliament of the Centuries, there remained nothing behind, for which the common-weal ſhould need theſe magiſtrats: but expected it was certainly, that the aſſembly for Election of Conſuls ſhould out

C of hand be publiſhed and proclamed. Marry, there was one thing hammered in the Commons heads, by what means they might revive again the Tribunes authority; the very grand bulwark of their freedom, and the thing that now had diſcontinued and lien dead. But all this while there was not a word of the new Election. And the Decemvirs, who at the firſt preſented uſually unto the Commons ſight, a crew of thoſe that favoured the Tribunes, for to attend upon their perſons (a thing right plauſible and pleaſing unto the people:) were guarded now, with certain tall penſioners of their Nobility: whole troups of them ſtood about their Tribunal ſeats and places of judgment. Theſe made havock and ſpoil of the Commons and their goods: and look what the mind of a mighty man ſtood unto and luſted after, it was his hap to have it whatſoever. Nay, there was no ſpare now made of their backs and ſides: ſome were ſcourged with rods, ſome loſt their heads

D by the ax. And becauſe this cruelty ſhould not go unrewarded, lightly there was none executed, if he were worth any thing, but his goods went after and were begged or given away. The youth of the Nobility, by this kind of hire well fleſhed; not only oppoſed not themſelves to withſtand theſe wrongful dealings & hard courſes, but carried it afore them, openly profeſſing & avowing that they wiſhed rather their own licentiouſneſs, than the liberty of all. The * Ides of May were now come about, and no new magiſtrates elected in the others roome. Forth come the Decemvirs, (who to ſay a truth and to give them their right, were no other than privat perſons) neither with minds abated for the exerciſing of their imperious rule, nor with fewer regal enſignes, to ſet out and ſhew their honour & dignity. When the people ſaw that, they made no other reckoning but this was plain uſurping of the kings government, and no better: And now farewell freedom

E for ever and a day. For neither had they preſently, nor hereafter were they like to have any man to recover it again. So that now, not they only let fall their hearts and were diſcouraged in themſelves, but alſo grew to be contemptible in the eyes of their neighbour-nations: who diſdained highly, that they ſhould have ſoveraignty of rule, who were not free themſelves, nor enjoyed their own liberty. For the Sabines with a ſtrong power invaded the Territories of *Rome*: and when they had forraged far and neer, and driven away booties both of people and of cattell, without impeachment, they gather their army together again, that had hanged here and there up and down, and entred unto *Eretum*, where they encamp themſelves: laying this for a ground, and building their hope upon their diſcord at *Rome*, that it would ſtay their muſtering. Not only the news that came hereof, but the the flying of the country peaſants, put the whole city in great fear.

F The Decemvirs fall to conſulting what were beſt to do. And whiles they were to ſeek what courſe to take, and between the hatred of the Nobles and the Commons utterly forlorn and deſtitute, there hapned alſo another fearfull trouble in the tail of the former. The Æquians from another ſide were encamped in *Algidum*. And from *Tuſculum* Embaſſadours brought tidings that their country was waſted with excurſions from thence, whereupon they craved their help and aid. Theſe fearfull occurrents ſo troubled and perplexed the Decemvirs, that conſidering the city was now beſet at once with wars from two places, their ſtomacks were come down to conſult with the Senat. They commanded therefore the Senatours to be ſummoned to the *Curia*. And well they wiſt, what a great fit and ſtorm of anger, diſpleaſure and blame was towards: namely, that they would burden them & lay to their charge, how they were the only cauſe both of the country waſted already, and

G of the perils like preſently to enſue: looking for no other, but that there would be given an attempt and ſhrewd puſh, to aboliſh utterly their government, unleſſe they ſtuck cloſely together to it, and by extending their authority ſharply upon ſome few of the ſtouteſt, quail and cruſh the the attempts of others. After the voice of the Bedeil was heard in the Forum or common place, citing the Senatours to repaire into the Councell houſe to the Decemvirs: the novelty and ſtrangeneſſe of the matter, (becauſe they had laid down for a long time the manner of calling them to Councell) cauſed the Commons to marvail and muſe what was befallen, that they ſhould after ſuch diſcontinuance, take up a thing ſo obſolete and out of uſe. And thus they conceived of it,

that

Two tables more added to the former ten.

* 15 day of May.

that they were much beholding to their enemies, and might thank war for this, that any ancient guise and custom of a free city was come up and in ure again. They looked about on every side of the Forum, to see if they might espy a Senator: but few or none could they hear of, any where. Then looked they into the *Curia*, and behold, none at all apeared about the Decemvirs. Whereof their own selves, even the Decemvirs could gather no otherwise, but that in the conceipt, & consent of all men, their government was become odious: & the Commons also thus collected and interpreted, that the Senators met not together, because privat men (such as the Decemvirs were indeed) had no authority to assemble a Senat. And now said they, is the way and entrance made to recover their liberty again, if so be the Commons would join with the Senat: and as the Nobles being called, meet not together in counsel, so the Commons likewise would refuse to be mustered. In this wise muttered and whispered the Commons. And in truth scarcely was there any one of the Senators about the common place, and but few within the city: for very griefe and indignity to see that things went as they did, they had withdrawn themselves into the countrie to their lands: and forgetting the state of the common-weal, they became carefnl of their own privat affairs: thinking themselves so far forth freed from oppression and wrong, as they were remote and sequestred from the society, meeting and conference, with so Lordly & imperious rulers. When they would not assemble at their summons, the officers were sent unto their houses, both for to streine and take away stresses for their contumacie and disobedience, and also to enquire and learn, whether they refused to come at their commandment, or of set purpose or no. And word they bring back, that the Senators were in the country. The Decemvirs were better apaid to hear that, than if answer had come that they were at home and refused to obey. They they gave commandment that they should be sent for: and they warned a Senat house against the next day following: where they assembled more in number then they looked for. Whereupon the Commons supposed that their liberty was bought and sold and utterly betraied by the Nobles, for that the Senat had yeelded obedience to them (that now by right were out of their office) as if they had given lawfull summons, who being privat men had no power at all so to do. But they shewed more obeisance and submission, as we have heard say, in coming to the Councel house, than any disposition to deliver their minds and opinions there, to the liking and pleasures of the Decemvirs. First, *L. Valerius Potitus*, as it recorded, after that *Appius Claudius* had proposed unto them the cause of their meeting, before they were required their advice in order and course, claimed the liberty of the house, to speak in the behalfe of the common-weal. But when as the Decemvirs denied it flatly, yea, and forbad him with threats, upon pain of their high displeasure, he inferred again and menaced, that he would go forth unto the commons, and so began a broil and tumult. *M. Horatius Barbatus* likewise took part with him, and was nothing behind in stoutnesse to maintain the quarell, terming them ten *Tarquins*: "and are ye aware (quoth he) how the Kings were in times past expelled by the the *Valerii* and *Horatii*? And yet the name it was not of "Kings, that men were so weary of and loathed in those daies. For why? it was right lawful to call "*Jupiter* by that name: whereby *Romulus* also the founder of this City, and other Princes his "successours have been called: yea, and the name hath been used and is retained still as a solemn ti-"tle, in the sacred rites of holy *Kirk*. Nay, it was the pride and oppression of the King, that then "was odious, and nothing els, which enormities, if they were in those daies in the King himself, a "lawfull prince, or in the King his son intollerable, who can abide and endure the same in so ma-"ny privat persons? I advise you therefore to take heed how you debar men of their liberty of "speech in the Councel House, lest ye drive them thereby to speak their mind and complain with-"out the Councel House. Neither see I any reason at all, why it were not as lawfull for me "a privat man, to assemble the people to an audience, as for you to call the Senat together to a "Councel. Make triall whensoever ye will, ye shall find how much more forcible our just griefe "will be, in recovering our libertie again, than this greedy desire of yours, holding and upholding "still your usurped, unlawfull, and tyrannicall rule. You have propounded here unto us, forsooth, "concerning the Sabines war: as who would say, the people of *Rome* can be at greater war with "any than with those, who having been created Magistrates only for the publishing and enacting of "certain laws, have left now neither law nor justice at all within the city. Who have taken away "their *Comices*, i. Courts and Leets of Election, their yearly Magistrats, the successive change "and course of bearing rule, the only thing that maketh *Isonomy*, and equality of freedome. Who "being but private men, are possessed both of regall ornaments, and also of roiall government. Af-"ter the expulsion of the Kings, the Magistrats that succeeded were of the Nobility: in proceese of time, upon the rising of the Commons and their departure, there were officers chosen out "of the Commonalty. I demand of you, and I would gladly know, of whether state or body are "ye? Are ye, I pray you, popular, and of the Common people? What have ye ever done with ad-"vice and approbation of the people? Are ye Nobles and Peers? who now for a whole yeers space "almost, have held no Councell of Senators. And now that ye have assembled them, you restrain "them from speaking for the Weal-publick. Well presume not too much, neither bear your selves "upon the timorousnes of others. For, trust me truly, the indignities that men already suffer, "seem more irksom and unsupportable, than whatsoever els they can doubt and fear hereafter. As *Horatius* spake these words aloud, and the Decemvirs could not bethink themselves of some indifferent & mean course either in anger to be revenged, or in lenity to pardon and put up all, nor wist whereto this matter might tend and proceed in the end: then *C. Claudius*, uncle to *Appius*, the Decem-

*M. Oratius Barbatus* against the Decemvirs

A King Sacrifice instituted in the free state.

*C.* Claudius to the Decemvis.

A Decemvir, began to ſpeak, rather by of way praier and intreatie, then in checking and reproving
" wiſe, and beſought *Appius* for his brothers ſoul ſake, who was his own father, to remember
" and regard more that civil ſocietie wherein he was born, then this ungracious and wicked con-
" federacie, contracted with his fellow Decemvirs. And this requeſt I make (quoth he) tender-
" ing your privat eſtate more then the Commonweal. As for her, if ſhe might not by fair meanes
" and with their good wils, obtain her own due and right, ſhe would by foul waies, and in ſpight
" of their hearts recover it in the end. And for as much as of much debate and ſtrife there enſue
" commonly heats of anger and cankred rancour, I am in dread & horror what the ſequel and iſ-
" ſue will be of theſe jars. Now when as the Decemvirs would not permit the reſt to ſpeak, but
only to the point propoſed and occaſion of their meeting, yet they were abaſhed to interrupt
B the ſpeech of *Claudius* and to cut him off: but ſuffered him to goe on untill he made an end. And
in concluſion his opinion and ſentence was, that he would not (to abide by it) agree, that any act
of the *Senat* ſhould for that time paſſe in that behalf. And all that were preſent took his words ſo,
as if *Claudius* deemed no otherwiſe of the Decemvirs, then of private men. Many of them alſo, ſuch
eſpecially as had been Conſuls, were of his mind, and ſaid as much. Another opinion there was,
more rough and ſharp in outward ſhew, but far leſſe forcible and effectuall in deed: adviſing and
willing the Nobles, to make no more ado, but to go together and chuſe an Interregent. For this
man ſeemed yet, to account and judge them Magiſtrates; (bad though they were) that had called
C a *Senat*, and held them in Councell: whereas the former, that would not abide any act to paſſe, reckoned them but for privat perſons. Thus when the Decemvirs cauſe began to ſhrinke and go downward, *L. Cornelius Maluginenſis*, brother to *Cornelius* the Decemvir, being reſerved of purpoſe to give his opinion in the laſt place of al the Conſular Senatours, ſuch as had been Conſuls, pre-
" tending a care that they had of the war, took part with his brother and his Collegues, ſaying, that
" he marvelled much by what misfortune or deſtinie it happned, that the decemvirs ſhould be chal-
" lenged and oppugned, eſpecially by thoſe that had ſtood for the Decemvirſhip, or by their
" friends and aſſociates: and how it came about, that in ſo many months ſpace, whiles the city was
" at reſt and without fear of war, no man made queſtion or doubt, whether they that were in place,
" and governed the ſtate, were lawfull Magiſtrates or no: and now at laſt, when the enemies are
D " in a manner at the gates, they ſhould ſow civil diſſention, unleſſe this were the meaning of it,
" that in a troubled ſtate it would not be ſo clearly ſeen and perceived, what they went about. But
" no man is able (qd. he) to ſet down a true doom, & alledge a ruled caſe in ſo great a matter as this
" is, to men, whoſe minds are buſied and wholly poſſeſſed of a greater care. And therefore my o-
" pinion is, that concerning that point which *Valerius* and *Horatius* charged the Decemvirs with,
" namely, That before the Ides of May their government was determined, and they out of office;
" the Senat ſhould diſcuſſe and debate, when as the wars now at hand were diſpatched, and the
" Commonweal brought once again to quietneſs. And that *Appius Claudius* ſhould make this rec-
" koning even now aforehand, and know that he is to render a reaſon of that high court of Parla-
" ment, which for the election of Decemvirs he called and held, being a Decemvir himſelf:
" namely, Whether they were created for one year only, or to continue ſtill, untill the other laws
E " which yet are wanting, were ratified and confirmd. As for the preſent time, he thought good that
" all other matters ſhould surceaſe, and be paſſed over, ſave the war only: the rumour whereof, if
" they thought to be falſe, and that they were but tales that not only the meſſengers, but alſo the
" Embaſſadours of the Tuſculans reported, then his adviſe was to ſend out eſpials, who upon their
" diſcovery might bring more certain tidings. But in caſe they gave credence to meſſengers and
" Embaſſadours both, then with all ſpeed poſſible to muſter, and the Decemvirs to have the con-
" duct of the armies, and to lead them whither they thought meet: and that nothing els ſhould be
thought upon before this. Which opinion of his, that it might prevail and take effect, the punie
*Sen*atours by importunat convaſſing, obtained. Then *Valerius* and *Horatius* both roſe up the ſe-
cond time more fierce and eager than before, calling upon them aloud, that they might be per-
F mitted to ſpeak concerning the Commonweal: and in caſe they might not be ſuffered by reaſon of
the faction, to have the liberty of ſpeech in the Councel Houſe, they would ſpeak their mind with-
out, before the people. For neither could privat men (as they were) debar them in Senat Houſe,
nor in open aſſembly & to give place unto their imaginary, and pretended imperial enſigns, they
would never be brought. Then *Appius* ſuppoſing the matter wel-neer come to this paſſe, that
unleſſe the violence were reſiſted with like boldneſſe, their rule was at an end, and their autho-
ritie conquered: Ye were not beſt (quoth he) to ſpeak but to the matter, whereupon we ſit in
Conſultation. And when *Valerius* replied again and ſaid plainly, that he would not hold his
tongue for a privat mans commandment: *Appius* ſent a Sergeant unto him. Whereupon *Valerius*
cried for help to the Quirites, from the porch of the Councell Houſe. Then *L. Cornelius* claſping
G *Appius* about the middle, without regard to content him whoſe good he pretended, ſtaied the
ſtriſe. So by the mediation of *Cornelius*, leave was granted to *Valerius* for to ſay his mind at his
own pleaſure. But, for as much as his libertie proceeded no farther, then to ſome few words, the
Decemvirs held on their purpoſe ſtill, and had their deſire. The Nobles alſo, ſuch as had been Con-
ſuls, and the ancients, upon an old cankred hatred that they beare ſtill againſt the Tribuns author-
ity, where upon they ſuppoſed the Commons were much more devoted and affected, then unto the
government of the Conſuls, were rather inclined and willing that the Decemvirs of their own ac-
cord ſhould themſelves afterwards forgo their office, than that upon hatred and malice received

*L. Cornelius* his Speech in the Seat.

against

againſt them, the Commons ſhould take heart of graſſe, and hold up head again. For if with gentle handling of the matter, without ſtir and clamour of the people, the regiment returned again unto the Conſuls, it would haply come to paſſe, that either by meanes of wars coming between, or through the moderation of the Conſuls in their government, the Commons might in time forget the Tribuns quite. H

Thus whiles the Nobles were ſilent and made no more words, a muſter was proclamed, and the younger ſort of people, ſeeing the government of the Decemvirs abſolute and without appeal, made anſwer to their names. And when the legions were enrolled, the Decemvirs took order and agreed betweene themſelves who ſhould go forth to the wars, and who ſhould have the command of the forces. The chiefe & principal of the Decemvirs were *Q. Fabius*, and *Appius Claudius*. I And for that there ſeemed greater war at home then abroad, the Decemvirs ſuppoſed the violent nature of *Appius*, fitter to repreſſe all troubles and mutinies in the citie; and conſidering withall the diſpoſition of *Fabius*, to be leſſe conſtant and reſolute in goodneſſe, then active and quick in militarie ſervice, (for this man having been in times paſt of great worth, both at home, and alſo in war; the Decemvirſhip, and the conditions of his colleagues together, had ſo greatly changed, that he choſe rather to be like *Appius* then himſelf) to him therefore was impoſed the charge of the war againſt the Sabines, together with *M. Rabuleius* and *Q. Petilius* joined in commiſſion with him. *M. Cornelius* was ſent into *Algidum*, with *L. Minutius*, *T. Antonius*, *Caſo Duillius*, and *M. Sergius*, and they ordained and appointed *Sp. Oppius* as aſſiſtant to *Appius Claudius*, for the de- K fence and government of the city, and to have the full authoritie of all the ten Decemvirs. But the Common-weal ſped no better abroad in warfare, than it fared at home. The onely fault in the Generals was this, That they had made themſelves odious to their ſouldiers and citizens: all the blame els lay in the ſouldiers themſelves; Who to the end that nothing might go well forward and proſper under the leading and conduct of the Decemvirs, ſuffered themſelves to their own ſhame, and diſhonour of their captains, to be defeated: for the armies were both by the Sabines at *Eretum*, and alſo by the Æquians in *Algidum* diſcomfited. They that fled from *Eretum* in the dead of the night, had encamped and fortified upon an high ground nearer unto the city of *Rome*, betweene *Fidenæ* and *Cruſtumenia*. And when the enemie purſued them ſtill and provoked them to fight, they would never come forth into the plain and even ground, to encounter with them L in a pight battell, but ſtood upon their guard and defended themſelves, truſting in the ſituation of the place and their rampier, and nothing upon their own manhood and force of arms. But in *Algidum* they committed a more foul and beaſtly fault, and received withall a greater loſſe and overthrow; inſomuch as having loſt their camp with all their tents, the ſoldiers being turned out of bag and baggage, their harneſs and implements of neceſſary uſe, retired for refuge to *Tuſculum*, hoping there to be entertained as gueſts, and to live upon the protection, mercy and devotion of their hoſts and friends: who failed and deceived not their expection. But to *Rome* there came ſuch fearfull news, that the Senatours and Nobles laying apart now all hatred againſt the Decemvirs, thought good to keep watch and ward in the citie: and commanded as many as were able to bear arms, to keep the wals and guard the gates: they gave order alſo to ſend harneſs and armour to ſuppy their want at *Tuſculum*: moreover, That the Decemvirs ſhould aban- M don the caſtle at *Tuſculum*, and with their ſouldiers take the field and keep the camp: That they likewiſe ſhould diſlodge and remove from *Fidenæ*, that lay fortified there and remove into the countrie of the Sabines: ſo that by making wars upon the enemies firſt, they might ſcare and divert them from purſuing their intent of giving aſſault unto the citie of *Rome*. Beſides theſe damages and foils ſuſtained at the enemies hands, the Decemvirs committed both in war abroad, and alſo in the citie at home, two moſt wicked and horrible facts. For whereas one *L. Siccius*, during their abode in the Sabines countrie (upon an odious conceit and malice againſt the Decemvirs) had gone up and down, and in ſecret talke whiſpered in the ears of the Common ſouldiers, ſome mention of creating Tribuns, and of another inſurrection and departure: him the Decemvirs diſpatch before, to ſpie out a convenient plot of ground to encamp in. Now N they had given thoſe ſouldiers in charge, whom they ſent to accompanie him in that expedition to ſet him upon him in ſome fit place of advantage and to kill him. And kill him they did, but to their own coſt: for whiles he fought in his own defence, ſome of thoſe that laid for his miſchiefe, died for it, and lay along about him for companie: for being a right ſtout and ſtrong man of his hands, he ſtood to it courageouſly: and notwithſtanding he was beſet round about, he defended himſelf very manfully. The reſt that eſcaped bring word into the camp, that *Siccius* was fallen unawares into an ambuſhment, and whiles he fought luſtily, was with certain other of the ſouldiers ſlain. At the firſt, credit was given to him that brought the news. But afterwards, when as there was a band of ſouldiers thither ſent by the permiſſion of the Decemvirs, to bury them that there lay dead: they obſerving none of their bodies there, to be diſarmed and de- O ſpoiled, and *Siccius* lying in the midſt of his armour, and all the reſt of the dead with their faces towards him: no corps of enemie, nor footing of them departing from thence, brought away with them his dead carcaſſe, and made report that undoubtedly and paſſe all peradventure, he was murdred by his own companie. Hereupon was the whole camp filled with hatred and deteſtation of this fact, and generally it was agreed, that *Siccius* forthwith ſhould be convaied to *Rome*, had not the Decemvirs made haſt to ſolemnize his funerals ſouldierlike, at the publike charges of the common treaſurie. So interred was he with exceeding ſorrow and mourning

*L. Siccius* murdered by the treachery of the Decemvirs.

of

A of the ſouldiers, but to the moſt ſhameful obloquy and infamy of the Decemvirs, amongſt the common ſort.

Now followeth the other heinous deed committed within the City: which began of wanton luſt, and had as foul and ſhameful an end, as that which upon the carnal abuſing and bloody death of *Lucretia*, caſt the *Tarquins* out of the City, and deprived them of their regal dignity: that both KK. and Decemvirs, might have not only the like ſucceſs and iſſue, but alſo one and the ſelf ſame cauſe of loſing their rule and dominion. *Appius Claudius* enamoured upon a virgin, a commoners daughter, lufted to the abuſe and ſpoil of her body. The father of the maiden *L. Virginius*, was of good calling, and in place of credit in the camp that lay in *Algidum*, and had the leading there B of a company: a man of honeſt example and converſation of life, both at home and alſo abroad in warfare. His wife likewiſe of vertuous diſpoſition: ſo were their Children nurtured and taught accordingly. He had eſpouſed and affianced his daughter in marriage to one *L. Icilius*, a man of ſtout courage (as having been Tribune) and whoſe vertue and valor had been well tried and approved in the quarrel and defence of the commonalty. This damſel in the prime of her years, paſſing fair and beautiful withal, *Appius* (I ſay) caſt a fancy and liking unto, and ſo burned in love of her, that he aſſayed with gifts and fair promiſes to win her good wil. But ſeeing all guarded and ſurely fenced with maidenly ſhamefaſtneſs and honeſty, he bent his mind wholly to cruel and proud violence. He inborneth and ſetteth on a favorite and follower of his, one *M. Claudius*, to make challenge and lay claim unto her as his bond-maid: and not to give place nor yeeld her C unto them, that required to have her at liberty out of his hands, during the ſuit, and until ſhee brought proof of her freedom: ſuppoſing, becauſe the father of the virgin was abſent, he had good opportunity to work this feat, and compaſs his intended injury. As the maiden therefore was comming into the market place, (for there were the ſchools for peties kept, of reading and writing) the Decemvirs man (a broker to ſerve his maſters luſt) laid hold upon her, avowing that ſhe was his bond-ſervants daughter, and therefore his bond-maid: commanding her to follow him, and threatning beſides, that if ſhe made any ſtays, he would have her away perforce. The fearful girl hereat was amazed, and her nurſe withal cried to the Quiritsfor help: whereupon the people came running and flocked together all about them. Now was the name of *Virginius* her father and likewiſe of *Icilius* her ſpouſe, very gracious and popular: ſo that the love and favour D wherein they ſtood, raiſed friends and acquaintance: and the indignity of the thing beſides moved the whole multitude to tender the cauſe of the damſel. When as therefore ſhe was now paſt danger of violence, the party that made claim unto her, ſaid there was no need that the people thus ſhould gather together, for his meaning was to proceed only by order of law, and not with any violent courſe. And ſo he cited her to the court, minding to commence his action againſt her, and put her in ſuit. Then they that were preſent to aſſiſt her, perſwaded her to follow. Now when they were come before *Appius*, ſitting judicially upon his tribunal ſeat, the Plaintif, or challenger aforeſaid, declareth againſt her, and telleth a tale ful wel known to the Judge himſelf, being the author and deviſer of the whole matter and argument: Namely, that the maiden was born in his houſe, and by ſtealth was from thence conveied home to *Virginius*, and ſo was his E ſuppoſed and reputed daughter: this he averred to have certain knowledge of, by pregnant evidences and witneſſes: and would make proof thereof to be moſt true, and let *Virginius* himſelf be the judg, whom the greater part of this wrong deeply touched: in the mean while, it was but meet and reaſon, that the bond-maid ſhould go with her Maſter. The friends and advocates of the damſel, having aliedged and pleaded in her behalf, that *Virginius* was abſent and employed in the affairs of Common-weal: and if he had word thereof, would not fail but be at home within two days: that it was no reaſon, that whiles a father was away, he ſhould be in contention and controverſie about his children: they required of *Appius* therfore to defer and put off the hearing of the whole matter, until her fathers coming, and that according to a law by himſelf in that caſe made and provided, he would grant her to be at large and ſtand at liberty, for to bring in proofs F that ſhe was not bond: and that he would not ſuffer a maid of thoſe years, ripe and ready for a husband, to be more in hazard and danger of her good name, then prejudiced in the trial of her freedom. *Appius* made a long preface and diſcourſe before his decree, namely, how much he favoured and tendered the cauſe of liberty, and to that effect, alledged the ſel ſame law which the friends of *Virginius* pretended for their purpoſe and demand. But ſo far forth, and no otherwiſe, ſhould there be in that law aſſured ſafeguard of freedom, as the caſe altered not in circumſtance of cauſes and perſons. For, this priviledge and benefit held only in thoſe that were claimed to be free, where any man whoſoever might go to law and plead. As for her, who was in her fathers hand & at his diſpoſition there was no other man elſe, unto whom the Maſter that maketh challenge, is to yeeld the right of his poſſeſſion. His pleaſure therefore was, and thus he decreed, That G the father ſhould be ſent for; and that in the mean ſeaſon, he that made title to her, ſhould not be prejudiced thereby, but that he might lead away the wench, promiſing and aſſuming to have her forth-coming, and to preſent her in Court, at the return of him who is pretended and nominated to be her father. Againſt this injurious decree, when as many men rather muttered and murmured then any one durſt refuſe and contradict it, *P. Numitorius*, the maids Uncle by the mother ſide, and *Icilius* her eſpouſed husband, hapned to come in place: and having way made them through the throng and preſs, the multitude thought verily, that by the coming, eſpecially of *Icilius*, *Appius* might have been reſiſted and croſſed. But then the Lictor pronounced that

The tragical Hiſtory of *Virginia*.

*Icilius* his ſpeech to *App. Claudius.*

*Appius* had paſſed an order and decree already, and put *Icilius* back: who cried out aloud (for ſo manifeſt and horrible a wrong had been enough to have moved a very Saint, and ſet on fire a right mild natured perſon.) "Nay, *Appius* (quoth he) thou haſt more need to ſet me back with "force of arms, if thou wouldſt go clear away, and not be ſpoken to, for that which thou wouldſt "do in hucker mucker. This maid, I tell thee, I mean ſhal go with me: I purpoſe to have her "to my ſelfe, an honeſt and pure virgin, and enjoy her in lawful marriage, as my wedded wife: "call therefore unto thee all the Lictors beſides (thou were beſt) that belong unto thy compani- "ons: cauſe both rods and axes to be made ready: I tell thee, *Icilius* his eſpouſed wife, ſhall not "abide in any place without her fathers houſe. What? although ye have taken from the Com- "mons of *Rome* the Tribuns aſſiſtance and protection, and the priviledge of Appeal, two principal "bulwarks for defence of their liberty: ye are not therefore allowed to rule and tyrannize, and "to fulfil your luſt upon our children and wives too. Exerciſe your rigour and cruelty and ſpare "not, upon our backs and ſides in ſcourging us, yea, upon our necks and heads alſo, in taking "them from our ſhoulders: ſo ye forbear to aſſail our chaſtity and honeſty. Whereunto, if any "violence ſhall be offered, I will for my part, call for the help of the Quirites here preſent, in "the behalf of my ſpouſe: and *Virginius* for himſelf will call to the ſouldiers, in regard of his on- "ly daughter: we will cry for help of God and man: and coſt it ſhall our lives before thou go away "with this decree, and put it in execution. I require and charge thee, O *Appius* therefore to be "wel adviſed, and look how far thou doſt proceed. Let *Virginius* when he is come, ſee to his "daughter, how he dealeth about her: and let him know thus much for certain, that if he give "place to this plaintifs aſſertion, and forgo the preſent poſſeſſion of her, he ſhall go ſeek his eſtate "and propriety that he hath in his daughter. As for me, in this quarrel of maintaining the free- "dom of my ſpouſe, I will loſe my life, before I fail in my faithful promiſe to her made. Hereat the whole multitude was moved, and like it was, that ſome mutiny and fray would preſently have enſued. For the Lictors had hemmed in *Icilius* on every ſide. Howbeit they proceeded no far- ther then to big words and high threats: whiles *Appius* laid hard to *Icilius*, "That he did not "this ſo much in the behalf and defence of *Virginius*, as, (being himſelf an unruly perſon, and even "already breathing forth a Tribuns ſpirit) ſought means, and picked occaſion of an uproar and ſe- "dition. Howbeit for his part, he would not that day miniſter unto him any matter thereof. And "that he might now wel know, that he did not this to feed his malapert ſaucineſs, but in re- "gard of the abſence of *Virginius*, and for the name of a father, and the tender reſpect of freedom, "he would not that day ſit to hear and determin the matter, nor award a definitive judgment in "that caſe: but would requeſt *Mar. Claudius*, to ſuſpend his action, and to forbear and yeeld ſo "much of his own right, as to ſuffer the maid to be bailed and go under ſureties, and to be at her "liberty until the next day. But in caſe her father appeared not in Court the morrow after, he "gave *Icilius*, and ſuch as he was, to wit and underſtand, that neither the law ſhould want the "patronage of the maker, nor the Decemvir fail in courage and reſolution: neither would he cal "together his fellow officers and ſergeants, for to keep under ſuch ſeditious and turbulent ſpirits "as he was: but would content himſelf with his own Lictors, and do wel enough. The time now of effecting this injury, being thus deferred, and the maids Advocates gone aſide, they agreed firſt of all upon this point, that a brother of *Icilius*, and a ſon of *Numitorius*, two luſty and nimble young men, ſhould be diſpatched ſtraight from thence to the gate: and that with all ſpeed poſſible *Virginius* ſhould be ſent for home from the camp: for that it ſtood the maid upon as much as her whole eſtate and life was worth; that he would be preſent and ready in due time the day follow- ing, to preſerve her from this hard courſe, and wrongful proceeding. According as they were bid- den, they ſet forward, and ſpared no horſefleſh, until they brought tidings hereof to her father. All this while the plaintif that made challenge to the maid, was very inſtant with *Icilius* to bail her, and put in ſureties. And he again made anſwer, That he went about it as faſt as he could, and did nothing elſe: but indeed trifling out the time on purpoſe, until the meſſengers that were ſent to the camp, were got afore wel onward on their way. Then the whole multitude on all ſides held up their hands, in token that they offered themſelves every one unto *Icilius*, ready to be- come bound. Whereupon, he burſt out into tears for tender heart. Gramercy (quoth he) my ma- ſters all, to morrow I wil uſe your helping hand: for this time I am ſped of ſureties enough. So was *Virginia* ſet at liberty, and bailed by the ſuretiſhip of her kinſfolk. Then *Appius*, after he had ſtayed a while, becauſe he would not ſeem to have ſat for that matter alone, when he ſaw all other ſuits and cauſes omitted, in regard they had to it, and no man coming to him for juſtice, he a- roſe, gat him home to his houſe, and wrote unto his brethren Decemvirs into the camp, that they ſhould not give *Virginius* his paſport, but keep him faſt in durance, and in ward. This wick- ed practiſe (as God would have it) came ſhort. For *Virginius* already had got his diſcharge, and was departed forward on his journey, in the evening by the ſetting of the firſt watch. And very early in the morning came the letters for to ſtay him, but all in vain. For *Virginius* by break of day was arrived: by which time the whole City reſorted into the common place, ſtanding and waiting earneſtly for his coming. And thither he himſelf being in ſoiled and ſimple array, brought his daughter in her old worn cloaths, accompanied with certain Wives, and a great number of Advocates and friends: Then and there began he to go from one man to another, and to labour them hard: and not only beſought their aſſiſtance by way of intreaty and prayer, but alſo requi- red it as due and deſerved: ſaying, that he ſtood dayly in field ready to fight in defence of their

wives

A wives and children: neither could there be reported of any man more hardy exploits and valiant pieces of ſervice in war, then of him ſelf. But what booteth or availeth all this (quoth he) to ſave the City from enemies, in caſe our children be forced to abide the utmoſt extremities that befal unto Cities taken by the enemies? thus went he about preaching, as it were, from one man to another. Likewiſe *Icilius* caſt forth and redoubled like ſpeeches freely and ſpared not. But the train of women, with their ſtill and ſilent weeping, moved men more then any words uttered. All this notwithſtanding, *Appius* in his obſtinate mind (ſo diſquieted was he and wholly poſſeſſed with a forcible ſpirit of humorous madneſs rather then of amorous paſſion) aſcended up into the tribunal. Where, as the plaintif firſt of himſelf was framing ſome ſhort complaint, that by reaB ſon of partial favour and making of great friends, he could not have law and juſtice the day paſt: before that either he had made an end of his demand, or given leaſure to *Virginius* for to put in his anſwer accordingly: *Appius* interrupted the ſpeech, and began himſelf. What preamble it was that he made before his decree, peradventure ſome ancient writers have for truth recorded. But for as much as I cannot any where find, in ſo ſhameful a decree, that which carrieth but a ſhew and ſoundeth like a truth: therefore, that only which is of all agreed upon, I thought beſt to ſet down, even the ſentence barely without any preface at all: namely, *That he judged her in the behalfe of the Plaintif to be his bond-ſervant.* Firſt, all men there, wondered at this unworthy and foul act: and being ſtrucken therewith aſtonied, for a good while after, ſtood ſtill and held their peace. But afterwards, when as *M. Claudius*, went to lay hand on the maid, amongſt the dames C that ſtood about her, and was received with a piteous lamentation, and cry of the women: Then *Virginius* becking with his hands and ſhaking them at *Appius*: "To *Icilius* (quoth he) have "I betrothed my daughter and not to thee O *Appius*: brought her up I have for honeſt and "chaſt wedlock, and not for unclean and filthy whordom: to be a wife another day, and not an "harlot. Is this the manner of it, like bruit and wild beaſts without all regard, to leap and run "upon you care not whom, and to fulfil your fleſhly luſt? How theſe that be here wil ſuffer ſuch "pranks, I know not: but they that are in camp with ſword in hand, I hope, will never put them "up. Now when as he that challenged the maid was by a knot of Women and Advocates that ſtood about her repelled back, then proclamed the Bedle and commanded ſilence. And the Decemvir having his head intoxicate, and altogether carried away with unbridled luſt, brake forth D and ſaid, That he had certain intelligence and was informed of a truth, by manifeſt and aſſured evidences, (and not induced and led thereto by the reviling taunts of *Icilius* yeſterday, and the violent proceedings of *Virginius*, whereof he had the people of *Rome* to bear witneſs, and which might give ſome light and preſumptions) That the night paſt, there were meetings and conventicles in the City, and all to raiſe a mutiny and inſurrection: and therefore, he not ignorant of ſuch a broil and riot toward, was come down into the common place with a guard of armed men: not minding to hurt any one that would keep the peace, but only by vertue of the majeſty of government and authority, to repreſs ſuch as troubled the peaceable ſtate of the City: therefore it were beſt for them to be ſtill and quiet. Go Sergeant (quoth he) cauſe the people to avoid the place, and make room for the maſter to lay hand upon his bond-ſlave: and after he had thundred E out theſe words full of ire and wrath, the multitude of themſelves gave back and made way: ſo the poor ſilly wench ſtood all forlorn and left as a prey to their injurious clutches. Then *Virginius* ſeeing all paſt help and no other remedy: Well *Appius* (quoth he) pardon me firſt I beſeech thee, if upon a fatherly affection and grief of heart, I have let fal ſome ſhrewd and curſt words againſt thee more then was beſeeming: Then, give me leave here before the virgin, to enquire of her nurſe the truth of this matter, that if I have fathered her untruly, I may go hence better apayed and ſatisfied in my mind. Leave being granted, he led his daughter and the nurſe apart from the reſt, neer to the Church of *Venus Cloacina*, hard at the ſhops, called at this day *Novæ Tabernæ*, i. e. the new ſhops or ſtandings: and there having caught a knife from a butcher, he thus ſpake: My ſweet daughter, no other means have I but this only to ſet thee free: and ſo he ſtruck F the damſel to the heart: and looking preſently to the judgement ſeat, Here with this blood I ſacrifice thee *Appius*, and thy head to the Devil. *Appius* with the crie that aroſe upon ſo horrible a fact, being much troubled, commanded *Virginius* to be apprehended: but he with bloody blade in hand, made way where he went, until with a number that followed him apace to bear him company, he recovered the gate. *Icilius* and *Numitorius* took up the bloodleſs corps, and held it aloft to the people, blaming and curſing the wickedneſs of *Appius*: pitying the unhappy and unfortunate beauty of the damſel: and bewailing the hard exigent and extremity of the father. The Matrons followed after and cried: Is this the condition and fortune allotted unto parents for getting and bearing children? Is this the hire and reward of chaſtity and virginity: with other like ſpeeches, which in ſuch a caſe, women in their grief of mind uſe to utter: whoſe ſorrow as it is G more heavy, proceeding from weak and tender hearts, ſo it yeeldeth and affordeth more pitiful and lamentable words, as they make their plaints and dolorous moans. But the men and *Icilius* above the reſt, had no other talk but of the Tribunes authority, and the appeal unto the body of the people, how they were taken away from them, and of other publick indignities and common diſcontents. The whole multitude partly upon the hainouſneſs of this wicked act, and partly for hope by this occaſion to recover again their liberties, were all upat once in an uproar. *Appius* one while commanded *Icilius* to be called, another while for his diſobedience and contumacy to be attached and convented before him. At the length, ſeeing no way made unto the Apparitors, for

*Virginius* his words to *Appius*.

*Virginia* piteouſly killed by her father *Virginius*.

to come by him, paſſed himſelf with a crew of tall gentlemen of the Nobility that were of his H
guard through the throng & commanded to have him away to priſon. By which time there were
gotten about *Icilius* not only the multitude, but the chief Captains and ringleaders of the multi-
tude, *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius*: who having thruſt the ſergeant back, ſaid withal, that if *Ap-*
*pius* had any thing to charge him with by order of law, they would bail *Icilius*, and maintain his
cauſe againſt him, who was but a private perſon: but if he went about to offer violence, he ſhould
ſoon meet with his matches. Hereupon grew a fierce brawl and broil. The Decemvirs officer ſet-
teth upon *Valerius* and *Horatius* to lay hold upon them: but his rods were by the multitude bro-
ken to pieces. Then *Appius* gets him up into the common place of audience, for to ſpeak unto the
people. *Horatius* and *Valerius* follow after him up, to do the like. Them the aſſembly heard with I
patience, but they hiſſed at *Appius* and cried out againſt him. Then *Valerius* took upon him, and
commanded the Lictors to give attendance no longer upon a private perſon. Whereupon, *Appius*
his heart was done and his courage quailed: and ſo ſtanding in fear of his life, he was fain to cover
his face, and to withdraw himſelf in diſguiſed manner, and took an houſe over his head, neer unto
the common place (unknown to his adverſaries) there to ſave himſelf. *Sp. Oppius*, for to reſcue
and ſuccour his Colleague, ruſhed from an other ſide into the place: and there he might ſee force
and might to have got the upper hand of authority. After many devices and conſultations, wher-
with he was diſtracted, and framing himſelf to yeeld conſent on every ſide, at length by the advice
and perſwaſions of many there about him, in great fear he commanded the Senat to be called to-
gether. This appeaſed the multitude, for that they were in hope that (by means of the Senators, K
who many of them, ſeemed to miſlike the acts and proceedings of the Decemvirs) that govern-
ment of theirs ſhould come to an end. The Senat deviſed and took order, not to provoke the
Commons too far: and withal to have a more provident and ſpecial eye, that the coming of *Vir-*
*ginius* into the camp, bred no mutiny in the army. Whereupon were ſent certain of the puny Se-
nators unto the hoſt, that lay encamped upon the hill *Vecilius*, who advertiſed the Decemvirs
from the Senat, to endeavor all they could to keep the ſouldiers in good order, from commotion
and ſedition. But there *Virginius* raiſed a greater uproar and tumult then he had left behind him
in the City. For beſides that, he was ſeen coming with a crew and train almoſt of four hundred
men, who incenſed with the indignity of the late accident, accompanied him voluntary from the
City, his naked drawn knife, and himſelf beſprinkled and embrued with blood, cauſed the whole L
camp to turn their eyes upon him. Moreover, their gowns ſeen in ſundry places within the camp,
made a greater ſhew of citizens in number then was indeed. Being demanded of them what news,
and what the matter was, he wept, and for a good while held his peace. At the laſt, when as
now the multitude, that for fear ran confuſedly together, began to ſtand ſtill and keep ſilence: he
declared orderly from the beginning to the end, every thing in particular, as it was done. Then
lifting up his hands to heaven, and calling to all his companions and fellow ſouldiers, he beſought
them not to impute that foul act unto him, whereof in truth *Appius Claudius* was the author and
cauſe: nor to deteſt and abhor him as a parricide and murderer of his own children: ſaying, that
his daughters life was more dear unto him then his own, if ſhe might have lived free and honeſt-
ly. But when he ſaw her once haled by force, as a bond-maid to be raviſhed and made a ſtrumpet, M
he thought it better to be bereſt of his children by death, then by contumely and reproach: and
ſo upon meer pitifulneſs incurred the ſhew and appearance of cruelty. And but that he repoſed
ſome hope in the aid of his fellow ſouldiers, truſting that they would be revenged for his daugh-
ters death, he would not have remained a liveſman after her. I know well (ſaith he) that you alſo
have daughters, ſiſters and wives of your own: And it is not the death of my child that hath kil-
led and mortified the luſt of *Appius*, but rather the longer it eſcapeth unpuniſhed, the more out-
ragious and unbridled would it be. So that by the calamity of another man, ye are well taught
and warned to beware of the like injury. As for me, I have buried my wife before, who died on
Gods hand: and now my daughter, for that ſhe might not finiſh the courſe of her days, with the
ſafety of her maiden head and chaſtity, hath died, I confeſs, a pitiful and lamentable, but yet an N
honeſt kind of death. As to *Appius*, (quoth he) now can he not fulfil his luſt in this my houſe:
and for any other violence of his whatſoever, I carry the ſame mind and heart ſtill, to defend mine
own body, wherewith I have already ſaved my daughters. Now let other men look to them-
ſelves and their children, as well as they can. As *Virginius* uttered theſe ſpeeches aloud, the whole
multitude with one accord cried and proteſted, they would not fail, but both revenge his grief,
and maintain their own freedom. The Citizens alſo in their ſide gowns, intermingled among the
ſouldiers, made the ſelf ſame complaints: ſhewing how much more horrible thoſe things were
in the eye to be ſeen in fact, then they could ſound unto the ear by bare relation: and withal re-
ported, how at *Rome* the matter was well neer diſpatched already, for that there were certain
come after them, even hard at their heels from thence, who brought word that *Appius* had like O
to have been murdered, and was departed into exile: and ſo far prevailed they with them, that
they gave the alarme, plucked up their ſtandards, and took their way to *Rome*. The Decemvirs
being ſore troubled, both at theſe preſent occurrents which they evidently ſaw, and alſo to hear
theſe news, in what bad tearms all things ſtood at *Rome*, ran up and down, here one, and there
another, into ſundry parts of the camp, for to appeaſe the tumult. When they went to work mild-
ly and gently, they had not a word of them again: but if any one laid his commandment upon
them, and extended his authority, they would beard them and anſwer, That they were men, and

more

A more then that men in arms and ſouldiers. Thus march they in order of battel toward the City, and take the mount *Aventine*, and there ſettle themſelves. And as they encountred any, all their ſong was this, to exhort and encourage the Commons to recover their franchiſes, and to create Tribuns of the Commonalty. Not a word was heard elſe, tending to any violence. *Oppius* aſſembled the Senat together: where it was agreed, not to proceed by way of rigour in any caſe: for as much as they themſelves had given the occaſion of ſedition. But three ancient perſonages, ſuch as had been Conſuls, were ſent Commiſſioners in Embaſſage, as it were, *Sp. Tarpeius*, *C. Iulius*, and *Publius Sulpitius* with commiſſion, to demand of them in the name of the Senat, by whoſe commandment they had abandoned the camp, or what their intent was thus in war-like manner to
B keep the *Aventine*: and why leaving to war with their enemies, they had thus invaded their native Country: They were not to ſeek of an anſwer, only there wanted a man to give the anſwer: for as yet they were grown to no certain head, upon whom they might rely: and ſingly by themſelves they durſt not incur the hatred and dangerous diſpleaſure that might enſue. This only the multitude with one voice cried aloud, to ſend *L. Valerius*, and *Marcus Horatius* unto them, for to thoſe they would make a reſolute anſwer. The Commiſſioners being diſmiſſed, *Virginius* putteth the ſouldiers in mind, and advertiſeth them, how erewhile in a matter not of the greateſt importance, they were in fear and perplexity, becauſe the multitude was without an head: and how an anſwer was returned, although not altogether unprofitable and beſides the purpoſe, yet agreed upon at a venture, and not proceeding from any publick counſel. But now his opinion was, that
C there ſhould be ten choſen to bear ſoveraign rule: who for the honour of warfare and ſouldiery, ſhould be called military Tribuns. And when this dignity was to him offered firſt, Nay (quoth he) reſerve ſtill theſe your good perſwaſions and judgments of me, unto more happy days and favourable times both to me and you. For neither doth the remembrance of my daughter ſuffer me to take joy of any honour in this life, nor (as the ſtate ſtandeth now troubled) is it good for you to have them to be your Magiſtrates, who of all other are moſt expoſed to ill will and diſpleaſure, and in neereſt danger to be hardly thought of. If I may ſerve you in any ſtead, you may make bold, and have no leſs uſe of me, remaining ſtill a private perſon. So they create Tribuns military, ten in number. But all this while was the army as unquiet in the Sabins country. For even there alſo, by the inſtigation of *Icilius* and *Numitorius*, the ſouldiers fell away from the Decemvirs and de-
D parted. For their minds were no leſs troubled and diſquieted with the remembrance renued, of the late murder of *Siccius*, that kindled and ſet on fire by the freſh news of the death of *Virginia*, ſo villanouſly, ſo ſhameleſly laid unto and challenged, and all to ſatisfie the luſt of another. *Icilius*, ſo ſoon as he heard ſay, that there were ten military Tribuns created in *Aventine*, fearing leſt the Election in the City ſhould follow the prerogative of the military Election in the camp, as a predecent to create the ſelf ſame men Tribuns of the Commons, being a man well ſeen and experienced in theſe popular affairs, and reaching himſelf at the ſame dignity and promotion, wrought ſo with his adherents and friends, that before they went to the City, they ſhould likewiſe elect the ſelf ſame number with equal authority. Who entred the City with banners diſplayed, at the gate *Collina*, and marched through the midſt thereof in warlike order, up to the *Aventine*. And
E there joining and uniting themſelves unto the other army, they gave in charge to the twenty military Tribuns, to create out of their number twain for ſoveraign governors to rule all. So they elected *Marcus Oppius*, and *Sextus Manilius*.

The Senators being in great care for the Common-weal, ſat in Councel every day: where they ſpent time oftner in wrangling and jarring, then in ſage advice and politick counſel. The murdering of *Siccius*, the wanton luſt and looſe life of *Appius*, the ſhameful diſgraces received in the wars, were laid in the Decemvirs diſh. At length they concluded, that *Valerius* and *Horatius* ſhould go to the *Aventine*. But they refuſed and would not go, but upon condition that the Decemvirs would give up the Enſigns and Ornaments of that Magiſtracy and government, which by right they ſhould have forgon and departed from, a full year before. The Decemvirs were grie-
F ved and complained, thus to be ſet down & made no better then private men, and ſaid flatly they would not be depoſed from their place of rule, before thoſe laws were fully enacted and confirmed. for which at firſt time they were created. The Commons having intelligence by *Duillius* (who had been a Tribun of the Commons) that by reaſon of continual debate and contention in the Senat houſe, there was nothing done and agreed upon, removed from the *Aventine* unto mount *Sacer*. For *Duillius* ceaſed not to ſuggeſt, and plainly affirm unto them, that the Senators and Ancients of the City would never ſadly think upon any care and proviſion to be made, until they ſaw the City abandoned and deſolate: moreover, That the mount *Sacer* would put them in mind of the conſtant reſolution of the Commons; and that they ſhould well know, that matters would never be ſetled and brought to concord, without they reſtored unto them their pow-
G er and authority again. So they take their way by *Nomentana Via*, which at that time was named *Ficulenſis*, and encamped themſelves in the mountain *Sacer*; doing no harm to any creature as they paſſed along: following therein the modeſty of their forefathers. The whole Commonalty followed after the hoſt: there was not one who for age was able to travel on foot, that drew back and tarried behind. Their children and wives bare them company, in piteous wiſe moaning themſelves, and asking them: whereto they would leave them behind in that City, where neither their honeſt chaſtity might be guarded, nor yet their liberty ſecured and kept ſafe. When as now, by reaſon of his uncouth and ſtrange deſolation, all ſeemed at *Rome* waſte and void,

and none to be ſeene in the publick place, beſides a few of aged men: and when the Senators were H
called into the Senate houſe, the common place appeared empty, naked and forlorn: then there
The remonwrances of *Horatius* and *Valerius*, with others in the Senat, againſt the Decemvirs
were more beſides *Horatius* and *Valerius* that cried out and ſaid, What look you for ſtill my LL. of
the Councel? What? and if the Decemvirs will make no end of their peeviſh frowardneſs, will
ye let things run at ſix and ſeven, until all come tumbling down, or be of a light fire? And what
goodly dominion is this, that you embrace ſo in your arms, that you clip and hold ſo faſt? Will
ye miniſter juſtice and give laws to empty houſes and bare walls? Are ye not abaſhed and a-
" ſhamed, that there ſhould be ſeen in the Place, a greater number well neer of your Lictors and
" officers, then of gowned Citizens, and of all other men whatſoever? How and if the enemies
" ſhould come againſt the City, what would ye do? Nay, what if ſhortly the Commons ſhould I
" march in arms, ſeeing we weigh their inſurrection and departure ſo lightly? Will ye, together
" with the ruin and downfal of the City, end your rule, and not afore? Well, to be plain, ye muſt
" either have no Commons at all, or elſe allow them to have their Tribuns again: there is no
" mean, there is no other remedy. Sooner ſhall we want our Magiſtrates of the Nobility, then
" they will be without their Patrons and Officers of the Commonalty. They wrung and wreſted
" from our forefathers that power and authority fire new, and whereof they had as then, no
" proof and experience: how think ye then, that having taſted now the ſweetneſs of it, they
" will endure the want thereof? eſpecially ſeeing, that we our own ſelves are not of ſo tempe-
" rate carriage in our government and command over them, but that they have need of ſome ſuc-
" cour and relief. And when theſe and ſuch like reaſons were on all hands often alledged and laid K
abroad, the Decemvirs overweighed with the general conſent and unity of the houſe, promiſed:
That ſeeing it was ſo thought good, they would be wholly ordered and ruled by the Senators.
This only they beſought at their hands, and admoniſhed them of, by way of a proviſo, that they
would take order for the ſafety and ſecurity of their perſons: and not by ſhedding their blood, to
fleſh the Commons, and to train them up, and acquaint them with exerciſing cruelty upon the no-
bles and Senators. Then were *Valerius* and *Horatius* ſent with commiſſion to reclaim and call
home the Commons, upon ſuch conditions and capitulations, as they ſhould think convenient:
yea, and to ſet all things in good order and make a final compoſition, with a ſpecial charge to pro-
vide for the ſafeguard of the Decemvirs, againſt the raging ire and violence of the multitude.
Theſe mediators took their journey, and were received into the camp with exceeding joy of the L
Commons, as being doubtleſs, their very ſaviours and redeemers, approved both in the beginning
of their troubles, and now alſo at the very end and upſhot of all. In regard whereof, they were
welcomed with thanksgiving. *Icilius* was the mouth of the multitude, and their prolocutor. Who
when they came to debate and reaſon about the articles of covenants, and that theſe Delegates and
The demands of the Commons in mount *Sacer*.
Committees, required of the Commons, What the demands and points were that they ſtood up-
on? Being already provided aforehand of purpoſe what to ſay, demanded ſuch conditions, as it
was well ſeen, that they repoſed more hope, and relied themſelves rather in equity, and indiffe-
rency, than in force of arms. For they require, *Imprimis*, to have the Tribuns power on foot again,
and the appealing unto the people revived: which before the creation of the Decemvirs had been
the only help and ſuccour of the Commons. *Item*, that no man ſhould be called in queſtion, nor M
any way touched in life, limb, or goods for gathering the ſouldiers or Commons together by way
of commotion, for recovering again their liberties and franchiſes. Only, their demand concern-
ing the puniſhment to be inflicted upon the Decemvirs, ſavoured of cruelty. For they deemed it
meet and reaſon, that they ſhould be yeelded into their hands, and then they threatned to burn
The anſwer of *Valerius* and *Horatius* to the Commons.
them quick with fire. To theſe Articles the Committees ſpake in this wiſe. "As for thoſe capitu-
" lations, which upon counſel and deliberate advice ye have articled, they are ſo reaſonable and
" indifferent, that without your ſuit, they ought to have been offered unto you frankly and free-
" ly: for ye requeſt to enjoy ſuch things as concern the defence of your liberty and freedom, and
" maintain not your licentiouſneſs, to the offence and hurt of others. But as to your ire and wrath,
" it is to be pardoned, rather then to be followed and yeelded unto: as who, under colour of N
" hatred and deteſtation of cruelty, run headlong into cruelty: and before, in a manner, that ye be
" ſet free your ſelves, ye will be Rulers and Lords over your Adverſaries. Alas the while, and will
" our City never be at reſt, and ceaſe from puniſhing: but that either the Nobles will ſcourge the
" Commons of *Rome*, or the Commons whip the Nobles? As for you, ye had more need of a ſhield
" I wis then a ſword. Humbled he is enough, and too much humbled, who liveth in a City on even
" hand, and equal with others, under the ſame laws, neither doing nor taking wrong. And if e-
" ver at any time you mean to ſhew your ſelves dread and to be feared, when you have once re-
" covered your Magiſtrates and Ordinances again, when ye have the law in your own hands, to
" cenſure and judge according to your own diſcretion, then may ye give your doom of our lives
" and goods, as each cauſe requireth. Now for this time it ſufficeth, that ye claim and have your O
" freedom again. Hereupon they all ſubmitted themſelves to the deputed Delegates, permitting
them to do what they would. Who ſeeing they had brought all matters to ſo good a concluſion,
promiſed to return with all ſpeed. So they took their leave. And when they had declared to the
Senators the demands of the Commons, all the reſt of the Decemvirs, perceiving no mention at
all made of their puniſhment (a thing more then they looked or hoped for) denied no one point
thereof. But *Appius*, a man of a fell and cruel nature, and who above all the other was moſt odi-
ous, and lay open to the malice of the people, and meaſuring the hatred of others toward him-

ſelf,

A ſelf, by his own ſpleen that he bare againſt other men: "I wot well (quoth he) what ill fortune wil
"betide me ſhortly: and I ſee plainly, that our adverſaries hold off to wrangle and contend with
"us no longer then until they have weapons given in their hands. To ſatisfie this their malice
"and hatred, we muſt part with our blood: nothing elſe will content them. For mine own part
"to renounce my Decemvirſhip I weigh not: neither paſs I how ſoon I do it. Then was an Act
made by the Senat, that the Decemvirs out of hand ſhould ſurrender their place: and that *Q. Furius* the Arch-Biſhop or High Prieſt, ſhould create Tribuns of the Commons: provided always
expreſly, that the mutiny of the ſouldiers, and inſurrection of the Commons ſhould turn no man
to diſpleaſure and harm. Theſe Acts being paſſed, and the Councel riſen, the Decemvirs came a- Decemvirs reſign up their government.
B broad into the open place of aſſemblies, and there to the exceeding joy of all men, they reſigned
up all their power and authority. Tidings hereof were carried to the commons by the mediators
aforeſaid: and look what people ſoever remained behind in the City, went now forth to accom-
pany them. As this multitude paſſed along forward, they were encountred upon the way with an-
other joyful company from out of the camp. Who rejoyced mutually one in the behalf of the o-
ther, that both freedom and concord were reſtored to the City again. Then the mediators in the
general aſſembly of them all ſpake and ſaid: "To the great good, happineſs and felicity of you and
"of the C. W. be it ſpoken, Return in Gods name into your own country, to your houſes, wives
"and children: but ſee, that as ye have demeaned your ſelves modeſtly in your way hither, hur-
"ting and ſpoiling no mans lands and poſſeſſions, notwithſtanding the need ye were driven unto
C "of ſo many things: ſo ye carry the ſame moderation and ſtay of your ſelves homeward into the
"City. Go into the *Aventine* from whence ye came: and there for good luck ſake, where ye laid
"the firſt foundation & ground-work of your liberty, create ye ſhal your Tribuns of the commons.
"There, will the high Prieſt be ready and give attendance, to call an aſſembly for the grand Ele-
"ction. Great was the accord, alacrity and cheerfulneſs, that they ſhewed in approving all that
was propounded. So from thence they turn their ſtandards and enſigns, and as they marched to
to *Rome*, they ſtrove with all they met on the way, who could ſhew moſt joy and gladneſs: they Tribuns of the Commons created again.
paſs on through the City armed as they were, yet peaceably and without noiſe, until they came
into the *Aventine*. Where the chief Prieſt immediately held the * *Comices*, in which they created * A general aſſembly for election of Magiſtrates.
for Tr. of the C. firſt and formoſt *L. Virginius*, next after him, *L. Icilius*, and *P. Numitorius*, Uncle
D by the mothers ſide of *Virginia*: all authors of their inſurrection and departure: then *C. Sicinius*
deſcended from him in right line who was the firſt Trib. of Comm. created in mount *Sacer*, (as
we find in records) and *M. Duillius*, who before the chuſing of Decemvirs, had right worthily
and notably born the Tribunſhip, and in all combats and commotions with the Decemvirs, ſtuck
cloſe to the Commonalty and never failed them. After theſe were elected, more for hope then a-
ny former deſert, *M. Titinius*, *M. Pomponius*, *C. Apronius*, *Ap. Julius*, *C. Oppius*. Then *C. Icilius* immediately in the very entrance into the Tribunſhip, preferred a bill unto the Commons,
and the Commons enacted it. That the departure and inſurrection of the common people againſt
the Decemvirs, ſhould not be laid to any mans charge, nor bring him into trouble. Then without
farther delay *M. Duillius* went through with an act of his own, to wit, That there ſhould be Con-
E ſuls created, with reſervation of liberty to appeal unto the people. All theſe things paſſed in the
Comices of Commons, aſſembled in the meddows named *Flaminia*, which now they cal *Circus Flaminius*.

Then, by an Inter-regent were Conſuls created, *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius*, who preſently Conſuls elected again.
began their government. Whoſe popular Conſulſhip, as it was without wrong doing to the Se-
nators and Nobles, ſo it was not without ſome offence committed of their part: For whatſoever
was provided for the liberties of the Commons, they ſuppoſed it abridged ſomewhat of their
power and authority. And firſt and formoſt, whereas it was a queſtion and controverſie not well
cleared in law, Whether the Nobles were bound to ſtand to the Acts of the Commons: they made
a law now in a general Seſſion by the ſuffrages of the Centuries, That what ordinance ſoever the
F Commons (being parted by Tribes) had by their voices granted, it ſhould compriſe and bind the
whole body of the people. By which law, the Tribuns acts were armed with a moſt ſharp and
keen weapon to ſtrike withal. Moreover, The other Conſular law concerning Appeal, the only
fort and ſtrength of liberty, which by the Decemvirs abſolute power had been overthrown, they
not only revive again, but alſo fortifie the ſame for the time to come, by making a new law, for-
bidding expreſly that no man ſhould create any magiſtrate abſolutely without the liberty of ap-
pealing: and whoſoever ſhould creat any ſuch, he might rightfully and lawfully be killed, and
that murder ſhould not be counted a capital crime. And when they had ſufficiently ſtrengthned
the Commons, on the one ſide with the benefit of appealing, and on the other ſide with the Tri-
buns power: in favour of the Tribuns themſelves, that they alſo might ſeem ſacroſanct and inviola-
G ble (a thing now almoſt grown out of remembrance) they renewed that high priviledg, with cer-
tain ſolemn ceremonies which having been of long time laid aſide & neglected, were now brought
up again and put in ure. And they ordained them to be inviolate as wel in a reverent regard of re-
ligion and ſcruple of conſcience, as alſo by a ſpecial law in that behalf provided: namely that who-
ſoever hurt either Tribuns of the Commons, Ædiles, Judges, or Decemvirs, his head ſhould be ac- * Proſerpina ſecundum Arnob. & Cic.
curſed and devoted to *Jupiter* and his family ſold in port-ſale at the Church of *Ceres*, *Liber* & * *Libera*. By vertue of this Act, the great Expoſitors of the law deny that any man is a ſacroſanct or
inviolable: but (ſay they) it is enacted only, That whoſoever hurt any of them, ſhall be accurſed.

And

And therefore an Ædile may be attached and led away to prison by superior Magistrates. Which H although it be not warranted by law (for he is hurt, who by this law ought not to be hurt) yet it is a good argument to prove, that an Ædile is not inviolable. Marry, as for the Tribuns, they were indeed by vertue of an ancient oath of the Commons, at what time as they first created that power and authority, inviolable: as they would seem to expound and make construction of the law. Others have been, that thus open and interpret the law, That in this self same Act of *Horatius*, the Consuls also, yea, and Pretors too, (because they are created by the same *auspicia* or bird-signs that the Consuls be) were comprised, and had the benefit thereof. For a Consul is called by the name of a Iudg. But that exposition is confuted, for that in those days it was not the manner to tearm the Consul a Iudge, but the Pretor only. And thus much concerning the Consular Laws. I

The same Consuls also brought up this order and custom, that all the Acts of the Senat should be brought into the Church of *Ceres*, and presented unto the Ædiles of the Commons: which aforetime were suppressed and smothered, yea, and corrupted or perverted at the will and pleasure of the Consuls. After all this, *M. Duillius* a Tribune of the Commons, propounded unto the Commons a Law, and they let it pass and granted it, That whosoever should leave the Commonalty destitute of their Tribuns, or create any Magistrate absolute without Appeal, should be scourged, and lose his head for it. All these Acts, as they passed against the wills and minds of the Nobles: so they went clean without their contradiction: for that, all this while hitherto, there was no rigour and severity that seemed to extend and reach to any one particular person among them. But afterwards, when as both the Tribuns power, and also the Commons freedom, were once K well and surely grounded: Then the Tribuns, supposing now it was full time, that they might safely and without peril give the onset upon them, severally one by one, made choice of *Virginius* to be the first accuser or plaintif, and *Appius Claudius* the first defendant. And *Virginius* had not so soon arrested *Appius* to answer at a day, and *Appius* come down into the Common place, guarded with a company of tall young gentlemen of the Nobility: but presently upon the sight of him and his guard about him, the remembrance of that most cruel and detestable tyranny was refreshed and renued. Then *Virginius*: "Speeches (quoth he) and Orations were devised for doubtful causes: and therefore will I neither spend time in accusing him before you, from whose cruelty ye have by force of arms delivered your selves: nor suffer this wretch, over and besides his other wicked pranks, to shew in the defence of himself his audacious impudence. Therefore, as touching all other lewd parts of thine and wicked designments, O *Appius*, which thou hast for these two years ungratiously and impiously enterprized and practised one on the neck of another, I will do thee some favour, and pardon thee: but for one crime only, unless thou canst acquit thy selfe the better, namely, that thou being the Iudge, against all order of Law, didst not grant unto the party defendant, the benefit of liberty to go at large, during the time of the suit depending, until she might bring proofs of her freedom; for this, I say, I command thee to prison. Now had *Appius* no hope at all, either in the Tribuns helping hand, or in the doom and judgement of the people. Howbeit he both called upon the Tribuns for succour: and also seeing himself tugged and haled away by the officer, and no man to stay his hand: I appeal (quoth he) unto the people. This one word in maintenance of freedom, being heard to come out of that M mouth, that lately had given sentence on his side that impeached the freedom of one, and challenged the party for bond, caused silence. And when every man to himself secretly muttered in this wise: "I see well (when all is done) there are Gods in Heaven, and such Gods as neglect not the affairs of mortal men. Pride and cruelty (although it be long first) at length will surely have a fall, and throughly be punished. Lo, how he is now fain to appeal, who aforetime abolished and took away all appeal: he humbly craveth relief of the people, who heretofore trod under foot all rights and franchises of the people: and see how he is carried to prison, destitute and deprived of the benefit of liberty, who awarded and adjudged a free body to bandage and servitude. Amidst these words, I say, that might be overheard in that confused humming of the assembly, *Appius* also was perceived to call unto the people of *Rome* for relief and mercy. He reckoned N up withal, the deserts of his ancestors in the behalf of the C. W. both at home in the City, and abroad in the wars: he alledged his own unhappy affection (when time was) to the Commonalty of *Rome*, and partaking with them: and namely how with the exceeding displeasure of the Nobility, he resigned up his Consulship, and all for to bring in and establish equal and indifferent laws to both parties. He rehearsed moreover his own laws, which notwithstanding they remained stil in force and strength, he, the law-giver himself, was going to prison. But concerning his own proper parts and deserts good or bad, he would then make trial thereof (he said) when he should be permitted judicially to make his defence: as for the present time, he pleaded the common benefit of the City, to wit, that being a Citizen, he might at the appointed day, speak for himself & stand to the doom of the people: neither feared he the hatred & malice of men so much O as to repose no hope at all in the equity and mercy of his neighbors and fellow Citizens. But and if he were cast into prison and not suffered to come unto his answer, then he would once again call upon the Tribuns of the Commons for their help, and admonish them, not to follow and imitate them, whom they would seem to hate. And in case the Tribuns will be known and avow that they are linked in the same bond and covenant to abolish and take away the benefit of calling unto any one of them by way of mediation (against which they have charged & blamed the Decemvirs for complotting & agreeing together) then he said, that he appealed unto the people.

*Virginius* his accultation of *Appius*.

*Appius* moveth the people in his own behalf.

and

A "and had recourse for succour unto the laws concerning appeal, made as well by Consuls as Tri-
"bunes, that present year and no longer ago. For who may ever hereafter (quoth he) have bene-
"fit of appeal, if it be not lawful for me, who stand yet not condemned, nor attainted, and have
"not pleaded for my self? what Commoner, what mean person may find relief by those laws, if
"*Appius Claudius* may not? It will be seen in me, and my example shall be a precedent and proof
"to others, Whether by these new statutes, lordly rule, or equal liberty be established: whether
"the calling for help by way of mediation & intercession, or by plain appealing against the wrong-
"ful proceedings of Magistrates, be granted in very deed, or but onely pretended in bare shew,
"under vain colourable pretences and foolish Letters Patents. Against all this, *Virginius* made his
B rejoinder and said, That *Appius* was the man alone exempt out of all benefit of laws, and exclu-
ded from all civil and humane society. "Let men but look back toward the tribunal seat, the ve- The replicati-
"ry well-head, as it were, and receptacle, the fortress and hold of all wickedness: whereon that on of *Virgini-*
"perpetual Decemvir practising his cruelty upon the goods, the bodies and lives of free citizens, *us* upon *Appi-*
"menacing whipping and executing hangmans work unto all persons; a contemner both of God *us*.
"and man, guarded with a crue of executioners and butcherly tormentors, rather then Sergeants,
"proceeding on from spoil and bloodshed to set his hart on leachery & carnal lust, plucked a maid
"by birth free, from out of the very arms of her father, as if she had been taken captive in war;
"and that, in the sight of the people of *Rome*, and gave her away to one of his followers, even to a
"groom of his bed-chamber. Where, by a cruel decree of his, and detestable sentence, adjudging
C "her bond, he caused the father to lay violent hands upon his own daughter; where he comman-
"ded, the espoused Husband and Uncle of the Virgin (that took up her body half dead) to be had
"away to the Gaol, as being more displeased with them, for disappointing and putting him be-
"side his purpose of abusing and spoiling her, then for the murder upon her by them committed.
"Adding moreover and besides, That he had built a prison, which he used to tearm, The habitati-
"on and dwelling house of the Commons of *Rome*. And therefore, plead he ever and anon, and
"as oft as he wil, his appeal, I will not give over (quoth *Virginius*) but as oft tender a judg be-
"tween, and be able to prove, that he gave not sentence, and pronounced her free, but bond:
"but in case he wil not abide to be censured by a competent judg, then I command him to be car- *Appius* com-
"ried to prison, as attaint and convicted. Thus was he committed to ward: and as there mitted to pri-
D "was none misliked of this proceeding, so every man was greatly troubled in spirit, to see so great son.
"a personage punished, and the very Commons themselves thought their liberty too large & ex-
"cessive. The Tribun set him down a day (before hand) to plead for himself and make his answer.

Amid these affairs, there came to *Rome* Embassadors from the Latins and Hernicks, to congratulate, and to shew their joy and great contentment, for the unity and concord between the Nobles and the Commons: in token wereof, they brought as a present unto *Jup. Opt. Max.* a crown of gold, not very massie in weight, but according to their ability, which was not much, yet answerable to their devotion: which men performed rather with religion and zeal in those days, than in portly shew and magnificence. By relation and intelligence from them they were certified also that the Æquians and Volscians prepared war with all the power they could make.
E Whereupon, the Consuls were commanded to part their provinces between them. To *Horatius* befel the Sabins, and to *Valerius* the Æquians and Volscians. And when they had proclamed musters against these wars, such was the forward affection and favour of the Commons, that not only the younger folk, but also a great sort of these that by law were dispensed with, and discharged from warfare, and lived of their pensions, offered their voluntary service, and were ready to enter their names into the muster-Masters book: whereby the army was not only in number greater, but also for the goodness of men, more puissant, as having the old, beaten, and experienced souldiers among them. But before they went out of the City, the Decemviral laws (which now are known by the name of the twelve Tables,) they set up openly to be seen, engraven in brass. Some writers have delivered, that the Ædiles performed this office, as they had it in charge The Laws cal-
F from the Tribunes. *C. Claudius*, who upon a detestation and deep hatred of the Decemvirs lewd led the twelve
and wicked enormities, but especially above all others, of the insolent pride of his brothers son, Tables.
which he could no longer abide, had removed and departed to *Regillus*, his old native country. He being now a very aged man returned to sue and intreat for his deliverance out of danger, whose vices he abhorred: and in sullied weed and poor array, accompanied with those of his linage, and other his followers and vassals, went through the common place, and laboured every man one by one, "Beseeching them not to set that brand of ignominy, and bring such a *C. Claudius* his
"stain upon the house and name of the *Claudii*, as that they should be thought worthy of impri- petition in the
"sonment and irons: nor suffer a man of most honourable quality, a singular pattern of Nobili- behalf of *Ap.*
"ty to his posterity in time to come, the Law-maker and founder of the Roman laws, to lie in *Claudius*.
G "chains among fellons, night-theeves and robbers by the high way side: but to turn away their
"minds a while from anger and wrath, and encline to a due regard and consideration of matters:
"and rather at the suit and earnest petitions of so many of the *Claudii*, to forgive them one man,
"than for the hatred of one man to reject the prayers of so many suppliants. As for himself,
"he protested that he did thus much for kindred and names sake. Neither was he reconciled un-
"to him and they made friends again: yet could he wish, that his adverse fortune and poor con-
"dition were relieved. Concluding with this in the end, that as their liberty was recovered again,
by vertue & prowess, so the concord of all degrees & estates might be established sure by clemency.

Some

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other favour, but if *Oppius* the party accuſed, could juſtly charge him with any treſpaſs and of-
fence by him committed, he ſhould not ſpare him, but now a private perſon as he was, exerciſe
*Oppius* dieth in priſon. and redouble his cruelty upon him once again. Well, *Oppius* likewiſe was had to priſon: and there
before the law day, ended his life. The goods of *Appius* and *Oppius* both, the Tribuns did confiſ- K
cate. Their com-partners and fellow Decemvirs fled their country and were baniſhed, and all
their goods alſo were forfeit & confiſcat. And not ſo much as *M. Claudius* the party that laid claim
unto *Virginia* eſcaped, but he was arreſted to anſwer at a certain day, and was condemned. How-
beit *Virginius* of himſelf releaſed him his life, and would not take the extremity, ſo he was ſent away
and confined to *Tybur*, as it were into baniſhment. Thus the poor ſpirit and ghoſt of *Virginia* more
happy after her death, then fortunate during her life, having wandered abroad, and haunted ſo
many houſes for due revenge of her adverſaries: at laſt, when there was not one guilty perſon of
them left unpuniſhed, gave over her walking, and reſted quiet.

Now were the nobles in exceeding fear, beholding the ſame countenance already in the Tribuns,
which they had obſerved in the Decemvirs. But then *M. Duillius*, a Tribune of the Commons, L
wiſely and politickly reſtraining and keeping within a mean this exceſſive power of theirs: "We
"have enough (quoth he) both of our own liberty, and alſo of revenge of our enemies: and ther-
"fore I will not ſuffer for this year, any man more to be arreſted or impriſoned. For I do not like
"that old faults done and paſt, and now as it were cancelled and raſed out, ſhould be revived a-
"gain, and brought in queſtion, ſince that by the puniſhment of the Decemvirs, ſatisfaction hath
"been made for the new: and the continual care and diligence of the Conſuls both twain, for the
"maintenance of your freedom aſſureth me, that nothing will be committed hereafter, that may
"require and need the power of the Tribunes. This moderation at the firſt hand of the Tribun,
put the Nobles out of their fear: but made the Conſuls to be thought the worſe of, (for that they
had been ſo addicted, wholly to the commonalty) in that a Magiſtrate of the Commons had more M
regard of the ſafety and liberty of the Nobles, than the proper Magiſtrate of the Nobility: and
becauſe the adverſe part had their ſul of revenge and puniſhment of the Nobles, before it did ap-
pear that the Conſuls would once ſeem to ſtop the courſe and ſtream of their licentiouſneſs. And
many there were who gave it out, that the Conſuls bare themſelvs too remiſs and ſlack in the
matter, and little reſpected the good and credit of the Nobles, in that they had approved & con-
firmed the Acts that were propoſed by the Tribuns. And no queſtion, troubled as the ſtate was
then of the C. W. they were forced to give place, and do according to the neceſſity of the time.

When the Conſuls had ſet all things in good order within the City, and ſurely grounded the
ſtate of the Commonalty, they went either of them into their own Province. *Valerius* againſt the
armies of the Æquians and Volſcians, which now had joined together in *Algidum*: where ful po- N
litickly he held off, and ſtood upon his defence only: for if out of hand he had put it to the hazard
of a battel, I cannot tell, but I greatly doubt (conſidering how the hearts of Romans and enemies
both, were affected preſently upon the unfortunat conduct of the Decemvirs) it would have turn-
ed to their great loſs, and coſt them an overthrow. He therfore haying encamped a mile off from
the enemies kept his ſouldiers within the camp. The enemies ranged in battel array took up the
whole grounnd between both camps, & when they made bravado's, and challenged them to come
forth and fight, not one Roman would anſwer them again. At length the Volſcians and Æquians,
weary with long ſtanding ſtill, and in vain expecting battel, thinking verily that the honor was in
manner yeelded unto them, departed: ſome into the country of the Hernicks, other ſome to the
territories of the Latins, for to raiſe booties and make ſpoil: leaving behind them rather a com- O
petent guard for defence of the camp, then a ſufficient power to maintain a field fight. Which
when the Conſul perceived, he paid them again with the like meaſure of fear, as they before had
from them received; and with his army ready embattelled, bids them battel: who being privy
to themſelves what forces were wanting, forbare to fight: whereupon the Romans preſently took
a better heart unto them, and made account that their enemies were overcome, being in ſuch a
fear within their rampart. When they had ſtood thus a whole day ready to fight, they retired
back in the evening and gave place to the night. And the Romans full of good hope, refreſhed
their

A their bodies and made much of themſelves, but the enemies nothing ſo hearty and couragious, ſend out meſſengers every way in fearful haſt, to call again the forragers. Such as were near at hand came running back into the camp: thoſe that were farther off, could not be found nor met withal: Now when it was once day light, the Romans iſſue forth of the camp, intending to give an aſſault upon the Rampier, unleſs they would come forth and fight. But when it was far forth day and the enemies ſtirred not at all, the Conſul commanded to advance with their enſigns. The Æquians and Volſcians ſeeing their battell coming forward, began to chaſe and take foul diſdain, for very ſhame that their rampier and trench ſhould protect victorious armies within ths camp, rather than their weapons and valour defend them in plain and open field: and were earneſt B likewiſe themſelves with their Generals for the ſignal of battell, and at length after much importunity obteined it. Now were ſome of them ſallied out at the gates already: and others followed hard after at their heels, keeping their array, and every man coming orderly into his file and rank. By which time, the Roman Coſſ. before the battel of the enemies ſtood ſurely furniſhed with their full ſtrength, came on ſtill and gave the onſet: charged them before they were all come forth, yea, and ere they were well marſhalled that came abroad, being a multitude, waving (as it were) to and fro every way for fear, and looking about themſelves, and to their fellows: and to amuze their troubled heads the more, he aſſails them with a great ſhout and main violence. At firſt the enemies gave back: but after they had gathered their ſpirits together, and were come again to themſelves, and that their Captains on every ſide rated them, and asked them whether C they would yeeld unto them, whom before they had overcome, the fight began again to be renued. "The Conſul on the other part, willed the Romans to remember, that this was the firſt "day, wherein they being newly ſet free, were to fight likewiſe for the freed City of *Rome*: and "therefore they were to win a victory for themſelves, and not after victory gotten, to be a prize "for any more Decemvirs to prey upon. For they fought not now under the conduct and ſtan- "dard of *Appius*, but of the Conſul *Valerius*: who as he was deſcended from the deliverers of "the people of *Rome*, ſo he was one of them himſelf: exhorting them to ſhew now, that in for- "mer battels of late dayes, it was long of the leaders and not of the ſouldiers, that they atchieved "no victories: ſaying, it were a foul ſhame for them, to have had more ſtomack againſt their "own neighbours and citizens, than heart againſt their enemies; and to have ſtood more in fear D "of ſervitude at home, than of bondage abroad. As for *Virginia*, ſhe was but one, whoſe honeſty "and chaſtity was in time of peace hazarded: and *Appius* it was only, and none but he, that in "regard of his unbridled and diſſolute luſt, was the dangerous citizen. But if the fortune of war "ſhould fail on our ſide, and go againſt us, then ſhall our children all be in jeopardy, to be abu- "ſed and ſpoiled at the hands of many thouſands of enemies. Unwilling I am (quoth he) to "preſage ſuch miſeries and to prognoſticate to the City thoſe calamities, which both *Iupiter* "and our ſtock-father *Mars*, forbid and hinder to light upon it, founded upon ſo lucky ſigns and "happy foretokens at the firſt beginning: I put you in mind rather of the *Aventine* Hill, and "Mount *Sacer*: that where within theſe few months you recovered your freedom, thither ye "may carry back again your Empire, ſafe and ſound, unſteined and unfoiled: that all the World E "may ſee that Roman ſouldiers are as forward and nobly minded after the baniſhing of the De- "cemvirs, as they were before their creation: and that by the bringing in of equal and indiffe- "rent Laws, the manhood and proweſs of the people of *Rome*, is no whit decayed nor dimi- "niſhed. Having uttered theſe words among the enſigns of the footmen, he made ſpeed to the "cornets of the Horſemen. Go to, brave gallants, (quoth he) excel the footmen in valour and "and chivalry, like as ye exceed them in honor and degree. At the very firſt ſhock and en- "counter, the footmen forced the enemy to retreat: and being now retired to your hand, ſet "ſpurs to, gallop after them apace, and chaſe them out of the plain field: they will never abide "your violent charge: for even already they are at a bay, and ſtand rather at a ſtay, than make "any reſiſtance. Hereupon they gird out luſtily, and run their horſes among the enemies, diſ- F ordered already, and in diſarray by the ſervice of the footmen. And having broken through their ranks, and paſſed forth even to the rereward: certain of them caſt about in the void and open ground, and when the enemies were about on all ſides to fly, they turned moſt of them away from their camp, and overriding them, they got between them and home, and ſcared them wholly from thence. The footmen and the Conſul himſelf, with the whole ſtrength of the main battell, made forward to the camp, aſſailed the tents, won them, and beſides a great ſlaughter, obtained a booty far greater.

The Oration of *Valerius* the Conſul to his ſouldiers.

When news of this battel was brought, not only into the City, but alſo to the other army into the Sabins country, it was received in the City with joy only and ſolemnity: but in the camp it ſet the ſouldiers hearts on edge, and enkindled them to ſtrive for the like honor and renown. G Now had *Horatius* already partly by ſending his ſouldiers forth, to make incurſions and outrodes: and partly by training and proving them in light skirmiſhes, enured and acquainted them to truſt to themſelves and have confidence in their own good ſervice, rather than to remember the ſhamefull diſgrace and foil, received under the leading of the Decemvirs. And even thoſe ſmall bickerings had done them much good already againſt they ſhould venture upon a ſet field, and heartned them in aſſured hope to win the victory. The Sabins again for their part, ſtill luſty upon their good ſucceſs the year before, ceaſed not to provoke and urge their enemies: very oft asking them what they meant after the guiſe of robbers, to run in and out in ſmall companies, ſo to trifle out

the

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garments, and ſhewed his back and ſides, and the skin all broken with ſcourging: beſeeching no
other favour, but if *Oppius* the party accuſed, could juſtly charge him with any treſpaſs and of-
fence by him committed, he ſhould not ſpare him, but now a private perſon as he was, exerciſe
*Oppius* dieth in priſon. and redouble his cruelty upon him once again. Well, *Oppius* likewiſe was had to priſon: and there
before the law day, ended his life. The goods of *Appius* and *Oppius* both, the Tribuns did confiſ- K
cate. Their com-partners and fellow Decemvirs fled their country and were baniſhed, and all
their goods alſo were forfeit & confiſcat. And not ſo much as *M. Claudius* the party that laid claim
unto *Virginia* eſcaped, but he was arreſted to anſwer at a certain day, and was condemned. How-
beit *Virginius* of himſelf releaſed him his life, and would not take the extremity, ſo he was ſent away
and confined to *Tybur*, as it were into baniſhment. Thus the poor ſpirit and ghoſt of *Virginia* more
happy after her death, then fortunate during her life, having wandered abroad, and haunted ſo
many houſes for due revenge of her adverſaries: at laſt, when there was not one guilty perſon of
them left unpuniſhed, gave over her walking, and reſted quiet.

Now were the nobles in exceeding fear, beholding the ſame countenance already in the Tribuns,
which they had obſerved in the Decemvirs. But then *M. Duillius*, a Tribune of the Commons, L
wiſely and politickly reſtraining and keeping within a mean this exceſſive power of theirs: "We
"have enough (quoth he) both of our own liberty, and alſo of revenge of our enemies: and ther-
"fore I will not ſuffer for this year, any man more to be arreſted or impriſoned. For I do not like
"that old faults done and paſt, and now as it were cancelled and raſed out, ſhould be revived a-
"gain, and brought in queſtion, ſince that by the puniſhment of the Decemvirs, ſatisfaction hath
"been made for the new: and the continual care and diligence of the Conſuls both twain, for the
"maintenance of your freedom aſſureth me, that nothing will be committed hereafter, that may
"require and need the power of the Tribunes. This moderation at the firſt hand of the Tribun,
put the Nobles out of their fear: but made the Conſuls to be thought the worſe of, (for that they
had been ſo addicted, wholly to the commonalty) in that a Magiſtrate of the Commons had more M
regard of the ſafety and liberty of the Nobles, than the proper Magiſtrate of the Nobility: and
becauſe the adverſe part had their ſul of revenge and puniſhment of the Nobles, before it did ap-
pear that the Conſuls would once ſeem to ſtop the courſe and ſtream of their licentiouſneſs. And
many there were who gave it out, that the Conſuls bare themſelvs too remiſs and ſlack in the
matter, and little reſpected the good and credit of the Nobles, in that they had approved & con-
firmed the Acts that were propoſed by the Tribuns. And no queſtion, troubled as the ſtate was
then of the C. W. they were forced to give place, and do according to the neceſſity of the time.

When the Conſuls had ſet all things in good order within the City, and ſurely grounded the
ſtate of the Commonalty, they went either of them into their own Province, *Valerius* againſt the
armies of the Æquians and Volſcians, which now had joined together in *Algidum*: where ſul po- N
litickly he held off, and ſtood upon his defence only: for if out of hand he had put it to the hazard
of a battel, I cannot tell, but I greatly doubt (conſidering how the hearts of Romans and enemies
both, were affected preſently upon the unfortunat conduct of the Decemvirs) it would have turn-
ed to their great loſs, and coſt them an overthrow. He therfore haying encamped a mile off from
the enemies kept his ſouldiers within the camp. The enemies ranged in battel array took up the
whole ground between both camps, & when they made bravado's, and challenged them to come
forth and fight, not one Roman would anſwer them again. At length the Volſcians and Æquians,
weary with long ſtanding ſtill, and in vain expecting battel, thinking verily that the honor was in
manner yeelded unto them, departed: ſome into the country of the Hernicks, other ſome to the
territories of the Latins, for to raiſe booties and make ſpoil: leaving behind them rather a com- O
petent guard for defence of the camp, then a ſufficient power to maintain a field fight. Which
when the Conſul perceived, he paid them again with the like meaſure of fear, as they before had
from them received; and with his army ready embattelled, bids them battel: who being privy
to themſelves what forces were wanting, forbare to fight: whereupon the Romans preſently took
a better heart unto them, and made account that their enemies were overcome, being in ſuch a
fear within their rampart. When they had ſtood thus a whole day ready to fight, they retired
back in the evening and gave place to the night. And the Romans full of good hope, refreſhed
their

A their bodies and made much of themſelves, but the enemies nothing ſo hearty and couragious, ſend out meſſengers every way in fearful haſt, to call again the forragers. Such as were near at hand came running back into the camp: thoſe that were farther off, could not be found nor met withal: Now when it was once day light, the Romans iſſue forth of the camp, intending to give an aſſault upon the Rampier, unleſs they would come forth and fight. But when it was far forth day and the enemies ſtirred not at all, the Conſul commanded to advance with their enſigns. The Æquians and Volſcians ſeeing their battell coming forward, began to chaſe and take foul diſdain, for very ſhame that their rampier and trench ſhould protect victorious armies within ths camp, rather than their weapons and valour defend them in plain and open field: and were earneſt B likewiſe themſelves with their Generals for the ſignal of battell, and at length after much importunity obteined it. Now were ſome of them ſallied out at the gates already: and others followed hard after at their heels, keeping their array, and every man coming orderly into his file and rank. By which time, the Roman Coſſ. before the battel of the enemies ſtood ſurely furniſhed with their full ſtrength, came on ſtill and gave the onſet: charged them before they were all come forth, yea, and ere they were well marſhalled that came abroad, being a multitude, waving (as it were) to and fro every way for fear, and looking about themſelves, and to their fellows: and to amuze their troubled heads the more, he aſſails them with a great ſhout and main violence. At firſt the enemies gave back: but after they had gathered their ſpirits together, and were come again to themſelves, and that their Captains on every ſide rated them, and asked them whether C they would yeeld unto them, whom before they had overcome, the fight began again to be renued. "The Conſul on the other part, willed the Romans to remember, that this was the firſt "day, wherein they being newly ſet free, were to fight likewiſe for the freed City of *Rome*: and "therefore they were to win a victory for themſelves, and not after victory gotten, to be a prize "for any more Decemvirs to prey upon. For they fought not now under the conduct and ſtan- "dard of *Appius*, but of the Conſul *Valerius*: who as he was deſcended from the deliverers of "the people of *Rome*, ſo he was one of them himſelf: exhorting them to ſhew now, that in for- "mer battels of late dayes, it was long of the leaders and not of the ſouldiers, that they atchieved "no victories: ſaying, it were a foul ſhame for them, to have had more ſtomack againſt their "own neighbours and citizens, than heart againſt their enemies; and to have ſtood more in fear D "of ſervitude at home, than of bondage abroad. As for *Virginia*, ſhe was but one, whoſe honeſty "and chaſtity was in time of peace hazarded: and *Appius* it was only, and none but he, that in "regard of his unbridled and diſſolute luſt, was the dangerous citizen. But if the fortune of war "ſhould fail on our ſide, and go againſt us, then ſhall our children all be in jeopardy, to be abu- "ſed and ſpoiled at the hands of many thouſands of enemies. Unwilling I am (quoth he) to "preſage ſuch miſeries and to prognoſticate to the City thoſe calamities, which both *Iupiter* "and our ſtock-father *Mars*, forbid and hinder to light upon it, founded upon ſo lucky ſigns and "happy foretokens at the firſt beginning: I put you in mind rather of the *Aventine* Hill, and "Mount *Sacer*: that where within theſe few months you recovered your freedom, thither ye "may carry back again your Empire, ſafe and ſound, unſteined and unfoiled: that all the World E "may ſee that Roman ſouldiers are as forward and nobly minded after the baniſhing of the De- "cemvirs, as they were before their creation: and that by the bringing in of equal and indiffe- "rent Laws, the manhood and proweſs of the people of *Rome*, is no whit decayed nor dimi- "niſhed. Having uttered theſe words among the enſigns of the footmen, he made ſpeed to the "cornets of the Horſemen. Go to, brave gallants (quoth he) excel the footmen in valour and "and chivalry, like as ye exceed them in honor and degree. At the very firſt ſhock and en- "counter, the footmen forced the enemy to retreat: and being now retired to your hand, ſet "ſpurs to, gallop after them apace, and chaſe them out of the plain field: they will never abide "your violent charge: for even already they are at a bay, and ſtand rather at a ſtay, than make "any reſiſtance. Hereupon they gird out luſtily, and run their horſes among the enemies, diſ- F ordered already, and in diſarray by the ſervice of the footmen. And having broken through their ranks, and paſſed forth even to the rereward: certain of them caſt about in the void and open ground, and when the enemies were about on all ſides to fly, they turned moſt of them away from their camp, and overriding them, they got between them and home, and ſcared them wholly from thence. The footmen and the Conſul himſelf, with the whole ſtrength of the main battell, made forward to the camp, aſſailed the tents, won them, and beſides a great ſlaughter, obtained a booty far greater.

The Oration of *Valerius* the Conſul to his ſouldiers.

When news of this battel was brought, not only into the City, but alſo to the other army into the Sabins country, it was received in the City with joy only and ſolemnity: but in the camp it ſet the ſouldiers hearts on edge, and enkindled them to ſtrive for the like honor and renown. G Now had *Horatius* already partly by ſending his ſouldiers forth, to make incurſions and outrodes: and partly by training and proving them in light skirmiſhes, enured and acquainted them to truſt to themſelves and have confidence in their own good ſervice, rather than to remember the ſhamefull diſgrace and foil, received under the leading of the Decemvirs. And even thoſe ſmall bickerings had done them much good already againſt they ſhould venture upon a ſet field, and heartned them in aſſured hope to win the victory. The Sabins again for their part, ſtill luſty upon their good ſucceſs the year before, ceaſed not to provoke and urge their enemies: very oft asking them what they meant after the guiſe of robbers, to run in and out in ſmall companies, ſo to trifle out the

the time, and thus by peece meal to make of one entire battel many petty and ſmall skirmiſhes? H
Why rather fought they not one field for all, and without more ado, hazzard all upon a caſt, and
commit the whole to the trial of fortune, to ſee unto what ſide ſhe will incline. Then the Ro-
mans, beſides that of themſelves they had gathered heart and courage enough, were with the in-
dignity of this challenge alſo ſet on fire: conſidering, that when the other army was at the point
now, with victory to return into the City, their enemies began to inſult and crow over them with
reproachful tearms: and if now they were not meet and even with them, when ſhould they e-
ver be able to make their parts good? So ſoon as the Conſul perceived the ſouldiers thus to mut-
ter and mumble within the camp, he aſſembled them all together, and thus he ſpake: "Sirs (quoth
*Horatius* the Conſul to his ſouldiers. "he) what ſucceſs hath been, and how the ſervice hath ſped in *Algidum*, I ſuppoſe you have al- I
"ready heard, namely, ſuch as beſeemed the army of a free ſtate and people. By the policy of my
"fellow Conſul, and the manhood of his ſouldiers together, atchieved is the victory. As for my
"ſelf, that courſe will I take, and that reſolute mind will I carry, which you my ſouldiers ſhall
"afford unto me. The war may be drawn out in length profitably: it may be alſo diſpatched and
"ended ſpeedily: If protracted it ſhall be, look how I have begun already to train you, with the
"ſame diſcipline ſtil I wil exerciſe you, and bring to paſs, that your hope and prowes may encreaſe
"every day more then other. If your hearts now ſerve you wel, and that you like to fight it out,
"Go on in the name of God, and in token of your willing heart and valorous proweſs, now ſet
"up ſuch a cry and ſhout, as you wil make when you firſt join battel, and give the charge. After
that they had with exceeding cheerfulneſs ſhouted aloud: God bleſs us all (quoth he) I wil ful- K
fil your deſire, and bring you forth to morrow into the field for to fight. So the reſt of that day
was beſtowed in making their harneſs and weapons ready. When the morrow was come, the
Sabins ſo ſoon as they perceived the Romans ranged in battel array, came forth alſo themſelves,
as ready and deſirous of fight, as they. Here was a battel ſtruck, ſuch as might beſeem two armies,
that truſted on both ſides in their own valour, and made ful account of that days honour. The
one eager and greedy to recover their ancient glory, wonted evermore to have the upper hand,
the other proudly bearing themſelves, upon a new victory lately atchieved. The Sabins beſides,
mended their ſtrength wel with a ſtratagem, for when they had equally divided their battalions
every way, they reſerved two thouſand drawn out of the reſt, extraordinary without the ranks
apart. Who in the very time of the conflict, ſhould hotly charge the left point of the Romans: L
they advancing overthwart with their enſigns, & flanking them on the one ſide, preſſed ſhrewdly
upon that one point, and overcharged it, wel neer environed all about. Then the horſemen of two
legions, 600. almoſt in number, alight on foot from their horſebacks, and as their fellows were
even now ready to retreat, ruſh forward with all ſpeed to the forefront: and withal, made head
againſt the enemy. And firſt, they put life unto them again, for that they entred equally with the
footmen into danger and bare even part thereof: afterwards, for very ſhame, they gave more
boldneſs and animated them to fight. For abaſhed they were, that horſemen ſhould be put to
double ſervice in both kinds of fight, on horſe and on foot: and profeſſed footmen not able to
countervail the horſemen, who had taken them to their feet. So they advance forward to the
battel, which on their part was abandoned, and make haſte to recover the ground which they M
had loſt. And in a trice, at one inſtant, not only the fight was renued, but alſo a battalion of the
Sabins began to ſhrink. The horſemen cloſely among the ranks and files of the footmen, gat again
to their horſes, and from thence rod ſpeedily unto the other ſide, reporting to their fellows the vi-
ctory: and withal, ſharply charged the enemies, who now were affrighted, becauſe the ſtronger
wing of their ſide was diſcomfited: neither were there any in this battel alſo, that were ſeen to
perform better ſervice then they. The Conſul, as an overſeer, beheld all the manner of it, praiſing
thoſe that ſtood to it manfully, and rebuking where they fought but faintly. They were not ſo
ſoon chaſtiſed and reproved but preſently they bare themſelves like hardy men, and did right
good ſervice: and look how much that praiſe excited ſome, ſo much ſhame ſtirred up others. Then
with a freſh ſhout and outcry, they bent their whole force on all ſides, and compelled the ene- N
mies to turn their backs: who were not able after this, to abide the violence of the Romans. The
Sabins ſcattered here and there all over the fields, left their tents for a ſpoil to their enemies:
where the Romans recovered again not the goods of their Allies as before in *Algidum*, but their
very own, which they had loſt by the forraging and ſpoiling of their lands.

For this two-fold victory atchieved in two ſundry battels, the Senat right ſparingly (ſuch was
their miſery) decreed in the name and behalf of the Conſuls, one days thankſgiving and proceſſi-
on, and no more. But the people, the ſecond day likewiſe, without order and warrant from au-
thority, ſolemnized the ſame in great numbers. And this popular proceſſion, diſorderly as it was,
and without formality, was with more good will and better affection of men celebrated, then the
other. The Conſuls of ſet purpoſe (as it was agreed afore) came within the compaſs of thoſe two O
days into the City: and ſummoned the Senat to aſſemble in *Mars* field: where, as they were a-
bout to make ſome ſpeech of their exploits and worthy acts, the chief and principal Lords of the
Senat, complained and ſhewed themſelves grieved, that the Senat was aſſembled on purpoſe, a-
mong the ſouldiers, to ſtrike a terror into them. Whereupon the Conſuls, becauſe they would
give no occaſion of quarrel and fault-finding, called away the Senat from thence into *Prata Flami-
nia*, where now the Temple of *Apollo* ſtands, a place which even then they called *Circus Apolli-
naris*: wher they being denied triumph with one voice and general conſent of the nobles, *L. Icilius*
a Tribun

A a Tribun of the Commons, propounded unto the people, to know what they thought of the Consuls triumph. And among many that ſtepped forth to croſs and diſſwade the bill, *C. Claudius* above all others cried out aloud, that the Coſſ. intended to triumph over the Nobles, and not over their enemies: and that they ſought a thank by way of recompence for a private favour done to the Tribun, and not for an honorable reward, for any vertue and worthy act. For never (quoth he) aforetime, was there held any treaty of triumph before the people: but evermore it was referred to the Senate, to conſider and determine of that honor. Neither had the Kings at any time, impaired the Majeſty of that higheſt Court and degree: what ſhould the Tribuns then meddle ſo much, and have their hand in all matters by vertue of their authority, as to ſuffer no publick
B counſel at all to remain in force? For a City can never be counted free, nor Laws equal and indifferent, but when each degree and eſtate retaineth ſtill their own priviledge, and hold their proper pre-eminence. When the reſt of the principal Senators had ſpoken much to the ſame effect all the Tribes notwithſtanding in general, allowed by their ſuffrages that which the Tribun had propounded. This was the firſt time that ever any triumph was granted by the voyces of the people, without the authority and aſſent of the Senators. But this victory of the Tribuns and the commonalty, had like to have turned to a dangerous ſurfeit of licentious liberty: by reaſon that the Tribuns conſpired together and were fully agreed, to be choſen Tribuns again: and to the end that their own ambition ſhould be leſs ſeen above others, they alledged to the Coſſ. for a ſufficient reaſon (that they likewiſe ſhould continue ſtill in place of government) the agreement and conſent of
C the Senators: through whoſe holding together and drawing in one line the liberties of the Commons, to the great diſgrace and reproach of the Conſuls, were infringed and indammaged. For what would come of it, ſay they, if before the late Laws were fully eſtabliſhed the (new) Conſuls with their factious banding, ſhould ſet upon the new Tribuns: for we muſt not look to have alwayes ſuch as the *Horatij* and *Valerij*, to be Conſuls, men that would not regard their own weal before the freedom of the commonalty. As it hapned very well for that time, it fell to *M. Duillius* his lot eſpecially, to be chief Preſident of the Comices and Election: who like a prudent and wiſe man, forſeeing the heart-burning and hatred, like preſently to enſue, upon the continuance of the ſame Magiſtrates ſtill in place, ſaid flatly, that of the old Tribuns he would not propound any one: and when his brethren in office laboured earneſtly with him, to permit the Tribes to go to a free
D ſcrutiny, or elſe yeeld up the charge to him allotted, of holding the aſſembly, unto his brethren, who would keep the ſame and manage the matter, according to Law rather than to the will and pleaſure of the Nobles: *Duillius* then, ſeeing their earneſt contention, cauſed the Conſuls to be called into their own pues and ſeats, and demanded their minds concerning the Election of the Conſuls: and when they anſwered that they would create new, he having once got them to be the authors of a popular ſentence, and not popular themſelves, went forth together with them into the aſſembly of the people. Now when the Conſuls were brought out into their preſence, and were asked the queſtion, what they would do, in caſe the people of *Rome* ſhould elect them Conſuls the ſecond time, and that, in remembrance of their liberty received and recovered by their means, and for their good ſervice in war, and worthy acts by them performed: he finding them conſtant in the
E ſame mind ſtill, and nothing altered from their reſolution: after he had commended the Conſuls, for their ſteadfaſt perſeverance unto the laſt (as altogether unlike to the Decemvirs) went preſently to the new Election. And when he had created five Tribuns only, ſeeing there were no other competitours enough to reach unto ſufficient voyces of the Tribes, in compariſon of the other nine Tribuns his colleagues, who openly ſtood to be choſen again: he brake up the aſſembly, and from that time forward called no more about any Election. For he ſaid, That he had fulfilled the Law in that behalf, which without ſetting down any preciſe and definite number of Tribuns, ſo that there were ſome left behind, and rooms void, gave authority to thoſe that were created, to chuſe and take unto them more colleagues, to make up the number. And therewith he recited the words of the Law, which run in this form. *If I ſhall propound ten Tribuns of the Commons to be*
F *created, and they ſhall that preſent day make fewer than ten: they by vertue of this Law, ſhall be accounted Tribuns, whom thoſe elected ſhall cauſe and take unto them for their fellows, and as lawful ſhall they be held, as thoſe whom this day ye ſhall create Tribuns of the Commons.* Thus when *Duillius* perſiſted ſtill reſolute unto the end, ſaying, That in any caſe the ſtate might bear five and twenty Tribuns, and having thus conquered the greedy ambition of his colleagues: with great favor and the good liking as well of the Nobility as the Commonalty, he gave up his room. The new Tribuns now in the electing and making choiſe of their companions, curried favour with the Senators, and framed themſelves to their will and pleaſure, in chuſing to them two of the Nobility, and thoſe that had been Conſuls, to wit, *Sp. Tarpeius* and *Au. Æternius*. And Conſuls there were created, *Sp. Herminius* and *Titus Virginius Calimontanus*. Who bearing themſelves in a mean be-
G tween Commons and Nobles, and not greatly inclining to one ſide or other, had peace as well at home as abroad. *Lu. Trebonius*, a Tribun of the Commons, being highly offended with the Senators, and ſpightfully bent againſt them, and ſaying withal, that in the coaptation of the reſt of the Tribuns, he had been cunningly over-raught by them, and betrayed by his colleagues, propoſed a Law, That whoſoever hereafter propounded unto the Commons any Tribuns to be elected, ſhould not give over, but ſtill propound, until he made up the full number of ten. Thus continued he all his Tribunſhip in perſecuting and moleſting the Nobles, never letting them to be quiet: whereupon he was ſurnamed * *Aſper*.

After this, *M. Geganius Macrinus*, and *C. Julius*, being created Consuls, appeased the contentious Orations of the Tribuns, which were begun and raised against the young Gentlemen of the Nobility, so as without any bitter invectives against that authority of the Tribuns, they preserved still the soveraign Majesty of the Nobles: and by means of decreeing matters against the wars of the Volscians and Æquians, stayed the Commons, and kept the City from all sedition and discord: saying, That by civil unity, all would be at quiet abroad: whereas through discord of citizens, forrainers took heart. The care likewise of outward peace, was the cause of inward and intestine concord. But evermore the one state disquieted the moderation of the other: for whiles the Commons were still and in good temper, the puny Senators began to offer them wrong and hard measure. And when the Tribuns would have assisted the weaker side, at first it booted little, and small good they did: but afterwards they themselves escaped not without abuse and hurt: and especially in their latter moneths, when as they received injuries, both by reason of the meetings and packing together of the mightier sort, and also for that toward the end of the year, the edge and vigor commonly of all authority waxeth dull and groweth feeble and weak. So that now the Commons had little or no confidence at all in the Tribunship, unless they might have such as *Icilius* to be Tribuns: and as for these two years last past, they had them but in bare name, and not to any effect and purpose. The elders and ancient fathers of the Senate on the other side, as they believed verily that their youth were too forward and lusty: so they were of this mind, That if there needs must be trespass and excess, they had rather those of their own degree and coat should exceed measure, and have greater stomack, than their adversaries. So tickliſh and dangerous a thing it is to keep a mean in maintenance of liberty: whiles under a colour of wishing and desiring equality, every man advanceth and lifteth up himself so, as that he thrusteth and beareth down another: and in pretending a care and regard that men should not stand in awe and fear of them, they make themselves dread and fearful to others, and so the wrong that we put off and turn from our selves, we impose upon others. As if there were no remedy, but that we must either do, or suffer injury.

Then were made Consuls, *T. Quintius Capitolinus* the fourth time, and *Agrippa Furius*: who found neither sedition within, nor war without. But yet both the one and the other was near at hand. For now could no longer the dissention of the citizens be held in, but needs it must break out. And both Tribuns and Commons rose against the Nobles. For in all the assemblies and meetings of the people, one or other alwayes of the Nobles and Senators were served with process: whereupon grew fresh troubles and new contentions. At the first noise whereof, as if the signal of battel had been given, and the al'arm stricken up, the Æquians and Volscians took arms: and withal, their Leaders and Captains (such as gaped greedily after spoil and pillage) had born them in hand and perswaded them to believe, That for these two years past, they could not go through with their musters proclaimed: for that the Commons refused to obey, and brake their alleagance: which was the only cause that there were no forces sent out against them. Besides say they, The use and manner of their warfare, is now with their licentious looseness, discontinued and clean decayed: *Rome* was now no more a common-wealth and country to her citizens: For, all their anger, quarrels and malice, that they bare aforetime against forrein nations, was now turned upon their own selves: so that at this time they had fit occasion and good opportunity to surprise them, blinded as wolves with mutual rage and fury one against another. Hereupon they joyned their whole power, and first wasted the country of *Latium*: and afterwards seeing none to encounter them and make defence (to the exceeding joy of those that were the authors of this war) they came foraging and spoiling all the way to the very walls of *Rome*, even before the gate *Esquilina*, there braving and vaunting in reproachful and scornful terms before the whole City, telling them how they had laid their fields and territories wast. From whence they retired themselves without revenge and loss, driving their booties afore them, and marched along to *Corbio*. *Quintius* the Consul seeing this, assembled the people, and there (as I have heard) he made to them a speech in this wise. "Albeit "I am not privy to my self, and my conscience accuseth me not of any fault, O *Quirites*, yet am "I exceedingly abashed and ashamed to come forth into this assembly of yours: that ever you "shou'd know, or the posterity hereafter understand, how the Æquians & Volscians (who of late "dayes were hardly comparable to the Hernicks) came when *T. Quintius* was the fourth time Cos. "in warlike manner with banner displayed to the walls of the City of *Rome* & went their wayes "again clear and without any hurt by them received. This shameful dishonor, if I had known it "would have light, so just in this year (and yet for this good while the world hath so gone and "such hath been the course of our life and conversation, that my mind ever gave me there was no "goodness toward) I would have avoided this place of dignity, either by banishment or death, if "there had been no other way to escape it. And might indeed have *Rome* been taken in the time "of my Consulship, if those weapons which were under our gates had been in the hands of valorous men? Then had I indeed enjoyed sufficient honor already. then had I lived long enough, "and a little too long, and might have dyed well when I was but the third time Consul. But who "were they, I pray you, whom these most base and cowardly enemies of ours despised and set so "light by? Were we they that are your Consuls, or you (Quirites) the people of *Rome*? If we were "in the fault, take from us as unsufficient & unworthy persons our rule and government: and if that "be not enough, let us over and besides be well punished and abide the smart. But if the blame be "in you Quirites, let neither God nor man chastise your trespass and offence, only do you repent "your

The Oration of *Quintius* the Consul, to the people of *Rome*.

A "your ſelves, and be ſory therefore. It was not your cowardiſe that they ſcorned and deſpiſed, nei-
"ther was it their own valour wherein they truſted. For why? they having been ſo often defeated
"and driven out of the camp and the field, fined with forfeiture of Lands, forced to go under the
"gallows, and brought into ſervitude, knew very well both themſelves and you alſo. No, no, the
"variance and diſcord between our own ſtates and degrees, is the only bane, and nothing elſe, of
"this City: the jarres and debates, I ſay, between the Nobles and the Commons. Whiles neither
"we have any gage or ſtay of rule and command, nor you know mean of freedom and liberty:
"while you are weary of Noble men rulers, and we likewiſe of the Commoners Magiſtrates, they
"gave gotten heart, and wax bold. Now, (Gods will) what mean you to do, and what would
B "you have? Tribuns of the Commons ye longed and ſought after: for quietneſs and concord ſake,
"we let you have your longing, Decemvirs you had a great miſs of, and them you deſired: we
"granted and permitted them to be created. Weary you were anone, and all too weary of De-
"cemvirs: we forced them to forgo their office. And when your anger continued ſtill againſt
"them, being become private perſons again, we ſuffered to be put to death, and to be exiled, moſt
"noble and right honorable men. When you would needs elect anew your Tribuns of the Com-
"mons, you choſe them at your pleaſure. To create Conſuls from out of your own faction, al-
"though we knew it hurtful and prejudicial to the Nobles, yet have we ſeen that dignity proper
"to Nobility, given away as it were, and made common with the Commonalty. The aſſiſtance of
"Tribuns, the appealing to the people, the Laws and Acts deviſed by the Commons, to be ten-
C "dered and impoſed upon the Nobles, to bind them thereto: and that, under the pretence and co-
"lour of *Iſonomi*, or equal and indifferent Laws, our own rights and priviledges ſhould be over-
"thrown, we have abidden, and do ſtill endure. When will there be an end once of diſcord and
"diſſention? Shall we never have one City of it? Shall we never have this to be the common
"Country of us all? We can be content much better to be at quiet, when we are vanquiſhed, than
"whiles we are victors. And is it not enough for you, that you are dread and feared of us? but ſtill
"you ſeek for more? Againſt us it was, that you took the Mount *Aventine*, againſt us it was that
"you held and kept the Mountain *Sacer*. For when the gate *Eſquilina*, was wel-neer ſurpriſed by
"the enemy, and when the Volſcians our enemies were ready to climb our trench and banks, and
"to ſcale our walls, none of you there was to be ſeen, for to remove and ſet them farther off. A-
D "gainſt us ye play the men againſt us ye can be armed. Well then go to: When ye have here beſet
"the Senate-houſe, taken up the market place and common Hall with ſouldiers, filled the goal
"with Noblemen, and thoſe of the chiefeſt and beſt quality, then with like courage and ſtoutneſs
"of heart ſally forth of the gate *Eſquilina*. Or, if you dare not venture ſo much, behold and view al
"afore you from the walls, diſcover your Lands and territories with fire and ſword waſted & con-
"ſumed, your goods and cattel had and driven away as booties and prizes, your farms and houſes
"burning and ſmoking in every quarter. But all this time the Commonweal only (you think) by
"this means is in worſe plight and poorer caſe, the villages fired, the City beſieged, and the enemy
"goeth his way with the honor of the war. And in what taking, I pray you, is your own private
"eſtate the while? Tidings will come anon to every man particularly, from out of his own livings
E "and poſſeſſions, of his proper loſſes: and what have you at home (if a man may ask) to make ſup-
"ply again? Will the Tribuns make you reſtitution, and amends for all your damages? You ſhall
"have words of them your fill. They will not ſtick to ſpeak, to rail, and let fly ſlanders freely before
"you againſt the heads of the City. Laws upon Laws you ſhall have heaped thick and threefold.
"Aſſemblies, convocations, and ſeditious invectives good ſtore. But from theſe their aſſemblies,
"never came there any of you home to his houſe, richer of one gray groat or ſingle denier, nor in
"better ſtate to live than before. Was there ever any one carried ought from thence to his wife &
"children but hatred and malice, diſpleaſure and rancour, grudges and heart-burnings, both publick
"and private? From which at all times ye have been ſhielded and defended, if not with your own
"vertue and innocency, yet by the help and aid of others. But certainly, when ye ſerved in wars
F "under the conduct of us your Conſuls, and followed not the leading of your Tribuns: when you
"ſerved I ſay in camp, and not in the Hall and common place: when in battel your enemies quaked
"to hear you ſhout and not in your aſſemblies, the Romans were in dread of your *vivas* and out-
"cryes: then you wan prizes, and conquered Lands from your enemies, then you returned home
"with triumph to your houſes, ful of riches and wealth ful of honor and renown as well publick
"as private. Whereas now, you ſuffer your enemies to depart, fraught and laden with your
"goods. Stick to your Ward-Leets, as if you were nailed and faſt pinned to them: dwell ſtill in
"your Hall, and lead your lives continually there: yet muſt you needs war when all is done, fly from
"it as faſt as you can. Grieved it you indeed, and thought you it a trouble and painful thing, to
"take an expedition ſo far as into the Volſcians and Æquians country? Lo, the war is come even
G "unto your gates: if it be not put from thence, it will anon be within the walls, it will ſcale the
"Caſtle and Capitol, it will follow you even into your houſes. Two years ago, the Senate gave or-
"der and commanded that there ſhould be ſouldiers muſtered, and an army conducted into *Algi-*
"*dum*. But we ſit ſtil at home & do nothing, but chide & ſcold (as it were) one at another like curſt
"and ſhrewd women, contenting our ſelves, and joying in a preſent peace: and little ſeeing, that of
"that reſt, there will come ſundry wars again, and that right ſhortly. I know full well, there are
"ſpeeches more pleaſing & plauſible than theſe. But to ſpeak the plain truth for your good rather
"than to flatter and ſooth for your pleaſure, if mine own nature and diſpoſition did not teach and

" admoniſh me, even very neceſſity doth force and conſtrain me. Willing would I be, and moſt H
" willing, O Quirites, to pleaſe you: but much more would I have you to be in ſafety, think what-
" ſoever ye will of me. It falleth out commonly, as a thing that cometh by kind, that who ſo ſpea-
" keth to a multitude in his own cauſe, and for himſelf, is better liked, and heard with more ap-
" plauſe, than he whoſe mind aimeth at nothing elſe but a publick weal. Unleſs peradventure you
" think theſe common flatterers, theſe clawbacks, and men-pleaſers, which give you no reſt, nei-
" ther in war nor peace, do ſtir you up and provoke you for your good. But will you have the
" truth? ye being once ſolicited and pricked on by them, ſerve their turns in good ſtead, either
" for their honor or gain. And becauſe they ſee themſelves to be of no worth and regard, while
" the ſtates do agree, they deſire to play ſmall game, rather than to ſit out: to be Captains of miſ- I
" rule and lewdneſs, rather than of nothing: and in one word, to be the heads, the ringleaders
" and guides of troubles and diſſentions. Whereof, if you be ſo bleſt and happy, as to be weary now
" at length, and will betake your ſelves to the ancient manners and faſhions, both of your own,
" and of your anceſtors, in lieu of theſe new fangles, I will refuſe no puniſhment: nay, let me be
" put to the moſt ſhameful death that is, if I do not before many dayes paſs over my head, defeat,
" diſcomfit and put to flight theſe robbers and deſtroyers of our fields, and ſend them packing out
" of their own camp, and finally tranſlate and remove this terror of war, wherewith ye now are
" ſo affrighted and aſtonied, from our gates and walls, even unto their own Towns and Cities.
Seldom at any time elſe, had there been a ſpeech delivered by a popular Tribune, more acceptable
unto the Commons, than was the ſharp Oration at this preſent of a moſt ſevere Conſul. Yea, and K
the very youth, which amid ſuch terrors of war, had been wont to refuſe ſouldiery, the only keen
and ſharp weapon they had to fight withal againſt the Nobles, now deſired war and to be in
armes. Over and beſides, the country kerns that fled (to *Rome*,) ſuch alſo as were ſpoiled and
wounded in the villages about, reported more foul and cruel outrages in their ears, than were
preſented unto their eyes, and ſet all the City in an hot an angry broil. Now when the Senators
were aſſembled together in the Councel Houſe, then verily they all caſt their eyes upon *Quintius*,
beholding and regarding him well, as the only patron and maintainer of the Majeſty of *Rome*: but
the chief peers and Lords of the Senate ſpake out and ſaid: That he had made an Oration, be-
ſeeming the ſoveraign Government of a Conſul, beſeeming ſo many Conſulſhips by him already
born, beſeeming the whole courſe of his life, that had paſſed oft through many honorable digni- L
ties, and yet alwayes deſerved more. As for other Conſuls, they either in flattering and ſoothing
up the Commons, had betrayed the dignity of the Nobles: or elſe in ſeeking by hard courſes to
maintain the rights, preheminencies and royalties of their ſtate, and to tame the multitude, have
thereby made them more fell and untractable. But *T. Quintius*, he hath made a ſpeech, reſpective
and tending, as well to the royal dignity of the Nobles, as to the concord and unity of the States,
and principally regarding the condition of the times. They would requeſt him therefore, toge-
ther with his brother Conſul, to take in hand the care of the Common-weal. They would requeſt
the Tribuns likewiſe, to joyn in one accord with the Conſuls, and ſhew themſelves willing and
forward, to have the war kept off and put back from their City walls: and in ſo fearful and dan-
gerous a caſe, to reclaim their Commons to their due obedience to their Nobles: ſaying more- M
over, That the native Country, the common mother of them all, calleth unto the Tribuns and
craveth their aid, now that the territories are waſted, and the City at hand to be aſſaulted. Where-
upon, they all agreed generally to decree a muſter, and preſently to make a levy of ſouldiers. And
when the Conſuls had pronounced before the whole people then and there aſſembled, that it was
no time as then to hear excuſes, but that all the younger ſort, ſhould betimes the next morning
by day-light be ready to attend in *Mars* field: and that after the war was ended, they would find
out and appoint a time, to enquire into their allegations and reaſons, that entred not their names:
and that he ſhould be taken for a traytor and rebel, whoſe excuſe they allowed not: the whole
manhood and youth of the City ſhewed themſelves the morrow after in readineſs. Each cohort
or regiment choſe their Centiners or Captains, and every Regiment had two Senators for their N
Provoſt Marſhals. All this was performed (by report) with ſuch ſpeed and expedition, that on
the very ſame day, the ſtandards and enſigns were by the Queſtors had forth of the Armory and
Chamber of the City and brought into *Mars* field: and by the fourth hour (or ten a clock) the ſame
day, ſet forward and advanced out of the field. And this new army, with a few bands of old ſoul-
diers, who willingly of their own accord followed them, marched on and reſted, at ten miles
end. The day following they diſcovered their enemies, and at *Corbio* encamped cloſe unto them.
And by the third day, there was no ſtay on both hands, but they muſt needs encounter and fight.
For why? The Romans for anger were ſharp ſet: the enemies again, upon a guilty conſcience that
they had ſo often rebelled, were grown deſperate. Now, whereas in the Roman army the two
Conſuls were in equal commiſſion, yet gave *Agrippa* place unto his brother *Quintius*, and yeelded O
unto him the entire and abſolute command. A courſe moſt profitable in the managing and exe-
cution of great affairs. And being thus preferred, he again in courteſy anſwered and requited
the others Gentleneſs and inclination to ſubmiſſion, in this wiſe, by imparting unto him all
his Counſels: by parting with him all his honor and praiſe, and by making him his equal,
who was indeed his inferiour and underling. In the battel, *Quintius* commanded the right
pont, *Agrippa* led the left: *Sp. Poſthumius Albus*, the Lieutenant General, had the conduct of
the main battel. And *P. Sulpitius* the other Lieutenant, they ſet over the horſemen. The foot-

men

A men of the right point fought moſt valiantly, and the Volſcians received them with equal valour. *Sp. Sulpitius* with his men of arms, brake through the main battel of the enemies: & albeit he might have retired himſelf the ſame way again unto his company, before that the enemies could bring their ranks again into order, that were diſarayed: yet he thought it better to charge them upon their backs. And in one moment he had diſcomfited and quite defeated his enemies, by aſſailing them behind, and thus affrighting them on both ſides, but that the Volſcian and Æquian Horſemen recharged him, held him play in his own fight, and ſo kept him occupied a good while. "Thereat, *Sulpitius* ſaid, it was no time now to linger and to drive off, but to beſtir themſelves, "crying out aloud, that they were enironed round, encloſed within their enemies, and excluded
B "from their own fellows, unleſs they ſet to, and bent their whole force, quickly to diſpatch the "Horſe-fight: and that it would not ſerve, to put the Horſemen to flight and ſave their lives: but "kill both horſe and man, that none might ride back again from thence into the battel to renew "the fight. And to make head and reſiſtance againſt him and his horſemen, they were never able, "ſince that the main thick battel of footmen had given him ground already. Good ear they gave to his words, and ſoon harkned to his direction: and with one entire aſſault they gave a fierce charge, and defeated the whole power of the Cavallery, unhorſed and diſmounted a number of them, and with their javelins goared both them and their horſes. And there's an end of the horſe-ſervice. Then they ſet upon the battel of the footmen, and diſpatched meſſengers unto the Conſuls with news, what they had done: where alſo by that time, the battel of the enemies began to
C ſhrink. And when tidings came unto the Romans that were already upon the point of victory, they verily were more encouraged: but the Æquians that were about to retreat, were ſtrucken with greater fear. In the main battel firſt began the overthrow; namely, whereas the men of arms before had broken the array. After them, the left point alſo began to be diſtreſſed and driven back, by *Quintius* the Conſul. But in the right there was hardeſt hold, and moſt ado. Where, *Agrippa* being a tall man of his hands and young withal, ſeeing in every part of the battel things go better than where he was: caught the enſigns from the enſign-bearers, advanced them forward his own ſelf, yea, and fell to flinging ſome of them againſt the thickeſt of his enemies. For fear therefore of ſo ſhameful a diſgrace, the ſouldiers beſtir themſelves, and freſhly aſſailed the enemy. And ſo on all hands alike, they atchieved the victory and won the field. Then came a meſſenger
D from *Quintius*, & brought word, that he had the better hand, and was now ready to give an aſſault upon the camp, but would not break in, and enter thereinto before he knew for certain, that they in the left point alſo had gotten the upper hand, and made an end of the battel. In caſe therefore he had diſcomfited the enemy, he ſhould joyn his forces to him, that the whole army altogether might gain the ſpoil and pillage of the tents. So *Agrippa*, who alſo for his part was victor, came to his brother Conſul and the camp of the enemies, and met with mutual congratulation one to the other. There, finding but a few to defend, whom they diſcomfited in the turning of an hand, they brake into the rampier and munitions, without conflict or skirmiſh: and ſo beſides the recovery of their own goods again, which they had loſt by the overrunning of the country, they gained alſo a rich booty, and retired back with their whole army. I cannot learn, that either they themſelves
E required triumph, or the Senate offered them any: and no cauſe appeareth upon record, why they ſhould either refuſe, or not hope for that honor. For mine own part, ſo far as I can gueſs in ſo long diſtance of times, ſeeing that *Valerius* and *Horatius*, who over and beſides the conqueſt of the Volſcians and the Æquians, had the honor alſo of diſpatching and finiſhing the Sabines war, were denied triumph at the Senats hand; theſe Conſuls might not with modeſty, ſue for the ſame; having performed but half the good ſervice of the others: leſt if they had gotten it granted, there might have ſeemed more regard had of the perſons, than of the deſerts.

But this noble and honourable victory over the enemies abroad, thus atchieved, was obſcured and ſouly diſtayned with a ſhameful doom of the people, in a controverſy of their allies, about the bounds and meers of certain Lands. The inhabitants of *Aricia* and *Ardea*, having
F warred oftentimes one with the other, about ſome Lands in queſtion between them, and by giving and taking ſundry foils and overthrows outwearied, choſe the people of *Rome* their Umpire to decide and determine this quarrel. And when they were come with their counſel to plead the caſe, the Magiſtrates granted a Court of Aſſiſes of the people. Where was much arguing and diſpute on both ſides before them: and after the witneſſes were depoſed and that at length the Tribes ſhould be called to the ſcrutinie, and the people give their voices, there ſteps forth an „old father one *P. Scaptius*, a Commoner. And I (quoth he) for my part, O Conſuls if it be lawful „to ſpeak for the good of the State, wil not ſuffer the people to erre, and be deceived in this que„ſtion. When as the Conſuls denied him audience, as being an old fool, and of no credit: and commanded him (as he cryed ſtill that the publick cauſe of the City was betrayed) to be had
G away, he calleth for the aſſiſtance of the Tribuns. The Tribuns then, who lightly are ever overruled by the multitude, rather than able to rule them, yeelded unto the Commons: That for as much as they were deſirous to hear what the old man could ſay, *Scaptius* ſhould ſpeak his mind at large. Then ſetteth he the tale on end, and beginneth thus: I am (quoth he) fourſcore winters old and three on the head of it: and even upon that very ground for which all this ſtrife and vari"ance is, I ſerved as a ſouldier, when I was no young man neither, but one that had been preſt to "wars, and received pay twenty years afore. And it was, I remember well, during the ſiege be"fore *Corioli*. Hither am I now come, to give evidence of a thing by long continuance of time,

A controverſy between the Ardeates and Aricins, decided by the people of *Rome*.

The evidence given by old *Scaptius*.

" worn out clean and forgotten of other men, but freſh in my knowledge and remembrance: to H
" wit, that the Lands thus litigious, and in controverſy, had been ſometime within the confines
" of the *Coriolans*: and after the winning of *Corioli*, were ſeiſed by right of conqueſt, to the Com-
" mons of the people of *Rome*. I marvel much therefore, by what cuſtome and preſcription, the
" Ardeates and Aricines, who never had right and intereſt, and were not poſſeſſed of the land,
" (ſo long as *Corioli* ſtood in proſperity) ſhould hope to defeat the people of *Rome* thereof, whom
" being the LL. in fee of the ground, they had choſen for their Arbitrator. As for me, I have
" but a ſmall while to live, and one foot already is in grave: and yet I cannot find in my heart, but
" (to that Land, which as old, I being a young and luſty ſouldier, did my beſt to fight for, and
" conquered with ſword in hand) make claim now that I am aged, by word and mouth, the only I
" means left me to recover it. I adviſe the people therefore in good ſadneſs, that in a vain reſpect
" of bootleſs modeſty, they condemn not their own cauſe, nor give away their right. The Con-
ſuls marking well what audience was given to *Scaptius*, and that he was heard not only with ſi-
lence, but alſo with good liking and contentment, cryed out upon this abominable practiſe: cal-
ling both Heaven and Earth to witneſs, and therewith ſent for the Lords of the Councel: and
joyning with them, went to the Tribuns, fell in hand with them, and inſtantly beſought them
" not to go forward with this moſt lewd action for the preſent, and a more ſhameful precedent
" for the time to come: namely, that Umpiers and dayes men, ſhould convert the thing in ſuit
" unto their own and proper vantage: eſpecially conſidering, that, Admit it were a lawful thing
" for a judge himſelf to have an eye and regard to his own commodity: yet would there not be K
" ſo much gained and gotten by coming thus between, and interverting the Land, as there would
" be damage and hinderance another way, in alienating by thoſe hard courſes, the hearts of their
" good friends and Allies. For the loſſes (verily) and cracks of name and credit, are ſuch as may
" not be valued at any price. And ſhould the Embaſſadors indeed, ſay they, go their wayes home
" with this goodly award: and make report abroad how they have ſped? ſhould our confederats
" hear this? ſhould our enemies come by the knowledge thereof? with what grief the one? with
" what joy the other? Think ye that our neighbour nations will impute, attribute, and aſcribe
" this, unto the ſpeech made by *Scaptius*, a prating old buſy body, and one that loveth to hear
" himſelf ſpeak in aſſemblies? Nay, this is certain: well may *Scaptius* be famous and much talked
" of, in the playing of this pageant: but the people of *Rome* ſhall incur the obloquy, to have acted L
" the part under the viſour of *Scaptius*, of a cunning promoter, and a falſe interceptor to himſelf,
" of other mens right in ſuit. For, what judge at any time in a private matter, hath done the like,
" as to award the thing in queſtion, unto himſelf? Why, even *Scaptius*, paſt all ſhame and grace
" as he is, would never have done it. Theſe and ſuch like words, ſpake both Conſuls and Senators
aloud in all their hearing. But the covetouſneſs of men, and *Scaptius* that firſt ſet them a longing
and their teeth a watering, prevailed more than they all. The Tribes were called to the Scrutiny
of their voyces, and gave judgment, That the Lands pertained to the common Territory of the
people of *Rome*. Neither can it be denied, but it would have ſo appeared indeed, in caſe it had
been tried before other judges. But now, for all the goodneſs of the cauſe, is not the ignominy
of the arbitrement one jot the leſs: Nay, the Aricines and Ardeates themſelves, thought not M
more ſhamefully and hardly of it, than the very Senators and Peers of *Rome*. The reſt of the year
continued quiet, from all troubles as well domeſtical as forrain.

# The Fourth Book

## *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome. N

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the fourth Book.

*THe Law concerning marriage between the Nobles and the Commons, was propoſed, and with much ado enacted by the Tribuns of the Commonalty: notwithſtanding, the Nobles withſtood it. Tribuns military with full authority of Conſuls, were created. Under this kind of Magiſtracy was the State ruled for certain years, both in City and in war. The Lands of the Ardeates, which had been awarded from them by an arbitrement of the people of* Rome, *were reſtored again unto them, and Coloners ſent to inhabit the ſame. In the time of a great dearth and famine at* Rome, *one* Sp. Melius, *a Roman knight,* O *dealt corn amongſt the people freely, at his own proper charges: by which deed he won the favor of the Commons: and thereby aſpiring to be King, was at the commandment of* Quintius Cincinnatus, *the Dictator, ſlain by the hands of* C. Servilius Hala, *General of the Horſemen.* L. Minutius, *who diſcloſed the treaſon, had a bullock with guilt horns given him for a reward. The Embaſſadors of the Romans, which were murdered by the Fidenates, had their Statues or Images erected at the* Roſtra, *or the common Croſs of the City, becauſe they died in the ſervice of the Common-wealth.* Cornelius Coſſus *a Colonel, having ſlain with his own hand* Tolumnius, *the King of the Veientians, wan and bare away the*

*ſecond*

A *ſecond royal ſpoils.* Mamercus Æmylius *the Dictator, limited the Government of the Cenſureſhip, within the compaſs of one year and ſix months, which before that time continued five years: and for that act, was ſhamefully diſgraced by the Cenſors.* Fidene *was conquered and ſubdued, and thither were Colonets ſent to dwell. Whom the men of* Fidene *ſlew, and revolted from the people of* Rome: *and by* Mamercus Æmylius *the Dictator were ſubdued, and the City forced. The conſpiracy of the bondſlaves was ſuppreſſed.* Poſthumius *a Tribune military, was for his cruelty ſlain by his own ſouldiers. The ſouldiers then firſt, and never before, had their pay out of the common treaſury. Moreover, this book containeth the wars againſt the Volſcians and Veientians, the Fidenates and Faliſci.*

B

# *The fourth Book of* T. Livius.

THere ſucceeded Conſuls after theſe, *M. Genutius* and *P. Curiatius.* A year full of broils, both at home and abroad. For in the beginning of the year, both *Canuleius*, a Tribune of the Commons, propoſed a law, concerning alliance of the Patritians with Commons, by way of mariage. Whereby the Nobles ſuppoſed their bloud to be ſtayned, and the Rights and Priviledges of Families and Houſes confounded. Alſo, whereas at firſt the Tribuns by little and little had moved, That one of the Conſuls might be created out of the Commons: now the matter proceeded ſo far, that of ten Tribuns that then were, the other
C nine propounded this in plain terms for a law, That it might be in the peoples power to chuſe both the Coſſ. (if they would) either out of Commons or Nobility. Mary, if that ſhould come to paſs, the Nobles thought indeed that the ſoveraign rule and authority, was not only made common with the baſeſt ſort, but alſo tranſlated altogether from the great men and beſt of the City, to the commonalty. Glad were the Senators therefore to hear ſay, that the people of *Ardea*, for the wrongful awarding away of their Lands from them, were revolted: and that the Veientians had waſted the Frontiers of the Romans: and that the Volſcians and Æquians grudged and muttered for the fortifying of *Verrugo*; So much preferred they any war, miſerable though it were and dangerous, before a ſhameful and diſhonourable peace. Having heard therefore theſe news, and taken them in the worſt manner: to the end that amidſt the rumour and bruit of ſo
D many wars, the Tribunitian troubleſome ſuits might ſtay and be dead for the time: they command muſters to be taken, ſouldiers to be levied, all furniture of war, and all manner of force to be prepared, and (if it might be) with more indeavour, than it had been when *T. Quintius* was Conſul. Then *C. Canuleius*, after ſome hot words which he ſpake aloud in the Senate; namely, that the Conſuls by frighting the Commons, went about but in vain, to avert them from the regard of their new Laws: and that ſo long as he had any breath in his body, they ſhould never go through with muſter, unleſs the Commons had firſt ratified thoſe things, which by him and his brethren had been propounded: forthwith aſſembled the people together. Thus at one inſtant the Conſuls animated the Senate againſt the Tribune, and the Tribune incited the people againſt the Conſuls. "The Conſuls gave it out plainly and ſaid, that no longer now might theſe furious
E "courſes of the Tribuns be endured. Now were they come to the very height and extremity, "and raiſed more war in effect, at home, than the enemies abroad. Which thing (no doubt) "hapned not ſo much through the fault of the Commons, as of the Nobles, nor of the Tribuns "more, than of the Conſuls. For look what thing was beſt rewarded in a City, the ſame alwayes "moſt increaſed: thus men in peace (we ſee) prove excellent, thus in war they come to be ſingu-"lar. In *Rome* (ſay they) ſeditions ſped ever beſt, and have been reputed both to each one in par-"ticular and to all in general moſt honourable. But let the Senate call to mind the dignity which "they themſelves had received from their fathers, and compare it with that which they were like "to leave to their children: and ſee, whether they may boaſt as the commonalty doth, how that "their condition is much bettered and more glorious than before. Well, neither is there any end
F "now, nor ever will be, ſo long as the Authors of ſeditions be as highly advanced, as the ſeditiō-"ons themſelves are proſperous and fortunate. See what matters and how great hath *Canuleius* "attempted! He would bring in a commixture or rather confuſion of kindreds and houſes, a "perturbation in the managing both of publick and private affairs: that nothing might be ſin-"cere and intire, nothing pure and undefiled: that all difference and diſtinction being taken away, "no man might know either himſelf or his. For what thing elſe do theſe mixtures of ſtates and "degrees by mariages draw after them, without all order and diſcretion: but that like bruit beaſts "in a manner, Commons and Nobles may go and couple together? ſo that the children between "them born, ſhall not be able to tell of what bloud he is deſcended, and to what Religion he doth "belong, being a mungrel as it were, the one half a Noble, the other a Commoner; and not well
G "ſuiting and according with himſelf? They thought it not enough (be like) that all divine and "humane Laws, were confuſed and ſhuffled together: for now theſe mutinous perſons, theſe buſy "heads and troublers of the common people, addreſs themſelves to ſhoot at the Conſulſhip. At "firſt, they ſounded in private ſpeeches and ſecret diſcourſes, only, how to compaſs, That one of "the Conſuls might be created out of the body of the Commons: but now they go roundly to "work and carry it before them: they are ſo bold to prefer laws (forſooth) that the people might "make them both either Nobles or Commons, at their good pleaſure. Whereby (no doubt) they "would make choiſe from out of the Commons, of the moſt ſeditious perſons of all other.

The allegations of the Conſuls againſt the Tribuns of the Commons.

"We

"We ſhall have then the *Canuleians* and *Icilians* to be our Conſ. But *Jupiter* (that great good H
"God) forbid, that ever the Royal and Imperial Majeſty, ſhould come to that low ebb or de-
"ſperate paſs: dye they would a thouſand deaths rather, than ſuffer ſo great a ſhame and indigni-
"ty: knowing this aſſuredly, that their anceſtours alſo, if they had once ſuſpected or forſeen,
"that by granting the commonalty every thing as they deſired, they would not have proved
"more lovely and chearful towards them, but rather more churliſh and untractable: and when
"they had obtained their firſt ſuits, to proceed ſtill to demand worſe and worſe, one thing after
"another: they would ſooner have indured at the firſt, any conteding and debate whatſoever,
"than ſuffered thoſe hard conditions to be impoſed, and put upon them: and becauſe they had
"once relented, that Tribuns ſhould be created, therefore to grant them again the ſecond time. I
"So that as now, there is no quietneſs with them, nor end of quarrels will be none, ſo long as in
"one and the ſelf ſame City, Tribuns and Senators remain together. Nay verily, either this ſtate
"muſt be put down, or that office utterly aboliſhed. And better late than never, to withſtand
"and meet with their raſh and deſperate boldneſs. What? ſhall they without controlment, firſt
"ſow diſcord at home, and then ſtir up forrein wars abroad? and afterwards, againſt thoſe wars
"which themſelves have raiſed, debar and hinder the City, for to take arms and defend it ſelf?
"and when as they have as good as ſent for the enemies to come to their dores, then not ſuffer an
"army to be levied againſt them. But let *Canuleius* (if he dare) ſpeak theſe words out in the Se-
"nate, That unleſs the Nobles ſuffer his laws, as if he were a Conqueror, to be admitted and re-
"ceived, he will ſtay the muſtering? For what elſe is that, but to threaten that he will ſell and K
"betray his country, and ſuffer it to be aſſailed and loſt? What encouragement will ſuch a word
"give as that, I ſay not, to the commonalty of *Rome*, but to the Volſcians, Æquians and Veien-
"tians? Will not they hope, under the conduct of *Canuleius*, to be able to ſcale the Capitol and
"the Caſtle, if ſo be the Tribuns ſhall take from the Nobility their couragious hearts, as they have
"bereaved them already of their right, their honor and dignity? Let him know therefore, that
"the Conſuls are ready, firſt to ſhew themſelves to be Captains and Leaders, againſt the mitchie-
"vous practiſes of their own citizens, before they will make head againſt the armed forces of
"their enemies? Whiles theſe matters were debated of with great contention and heat in the
Senate houſe, *Canuleius* for the maintenance of his laws, and to croſs the Conſuls, made this O-
The Oration of *Canuleius* to the Commons, againſt the Nobility. ration unto the people. How greatly the Nobles have deſpiſed you, O Quirites, how unworthy L
they have ever thought you, to live among them within the walls of one City, me thinks I have,
as often heretofore, ſo now eſpecially and moſt of all perceived: in that they have riſen up alto-
gether ſo fiercely to check and withſtand our propoſed laws. "Wherein, what pretend we elſe,
"but to tell them and put them in mind, That we are, as well as they, citizens: and although we
"are not of the ſame wealth, yet we inhabit the ſame country with them? In the one, we requeſt
"mariage; a thing to borderers, yea, and to forrain nations uſually granted: and to ſpeak of our
"ſelves, we alſo have afforded even to our conquered enemies, the benefit of our City, which is
"far more than marriage. In the other, we move no new matter, but only claim again and chal-
"lenge that, which is the peoples right, to wit, that the people of *Rome* may beſtow their offices
"and dignities, upon whom they pleaſe. What reaſon have they then, I pray you, to ſet all on an M
"uprore, as if Heaven and Earth ſhould go together? and what is the cauſe, that erewhile I had
"like to have had violence offered unto me in the Senate? What moved them to break out and
"ſay, they could not forbear nor keep their hands from me, and threaten to abuſe and violate the
"ſacred authority of the Tribuns? Set caſe that the people of *Rome* may have their free voyces
"and ſuffrages, to elect the Conſuls whom they will, and that no Commoner be denied, ſo he be
"worthy of the higheſt place, for to obtain the ſoveraign dignity. How then? cannot this City
"poſſibly ſtand any longer? and is our Empire come to an end for ever? And all one it is (be like)
"and importeth as much, to diſable a Commoner, for being made Conſul, as if a man inferred, that
"a bondman or a freed libertine ſhould become Conſul. Perceive you not yet (my Maſters) in
"what contempt you live? They would, if they might, bereave you in ſome meaſure of this day N
"light: that ye breath and ſpeak, that ye have the ſhapes of men, they think much, they repine,
"and it goes to their heart. And what elſe? They give it out flatly and ſay (if God will) it is un-
"lawful, that a Commoner ſhould be a Conſul. I beſeech you hear me a little. If we may not be
"allowed to read the Chronicles, nor to peruſe the High-prieſts records and regiſters, know we
"not thoſe things then, that even all ſtrangers know? namely, That Conſuls entred in place of
"Kings, and ſucceeded them, and have no other right, preheminence or dignity at all, than Kings
"had before? Think ye that men have never heard, that *Numa Pompilius*, a man not ſomuch as
"a citizen of *Rome*, much leſs then, a Patritian and Nobly deſcended among them, was ſent for
"out of the Sabines countrey, and by the peoples voyces, and the aſſent of the Nobles, created
"King of *Rome*? Alſo, afterwards, how *L. Tarquinius*, who was no Roman born, no, nor yet ſo O
"much as an Italian, but the ſon of *Demaratus* the Corinthian, a ſtranger inhabitant at *Tarquins*,
"and from thence removing, albeit King *Ancus* his ſons were living, attained likewiſe to the
"crown? Moreover how *Servius Tullius* after him, the ſon of a captive woman of *Corniculum*,
"whoſe father was unknown, whoſe mother a bondwoman, through wit and vertue, obtained
"and held the Kingdom? For what ſhould I ſpeak of *T. Tatius* the Sabine, whom *Romulus* him-
"ſelf, the father and founder of this City, admitted to raign together with him? Well, ſo long as
"no ſtock was diſdained, no race rejected, wherein appeared ſparks of vertue, the Romans Em-

"pire

A "pire became mighty, and flouriſhed. Scorn ye then at this day, a Conſul out of the Commo-
"nalty, when our forefathers deſpiſed not Kings that were aliens and ſtrangers? No, nor when
"the Kings were expelled, was this City denied and ſhut againſt forreiners, that were valorous, and
"men of action. The kinred and whole name (I am ſure) of the *Claudii*, after the Kings were
"exiled, we not only admitted into our City, from out of the Sabins, but alſo received into the
"number of the Patritians and Noble men. And may a meer forrainer indeed become a Noble-
"man, and ſo a Conſul? And ſhall a Citizen of *Rome*, if he be of the Commonalty, be wholly diſa-
"bled and out of all hope for ever of being Conſul? Tell me I pray you, Think ye it not poſſible,
"that a valiant and hardy man, approved both in war and peace, being one of the Commons,
B "may prove like to *Numa*, *L. Tarquinius*, or *Servius Tullius*? and if he do whether ſhall we ſuffer
"him to govern the Common-weal, or no? And whether will ye have our Conſuls, ſuch rather
"as the Decemvirs (the moſt wretched and wicked perſons under the ſun, who, by your leave,
"were at that time of the Nobility) than ſtrangers and new-commers, which of all the Kings
"were ſimply the very beſt? But forſooth, preſently after the KK. were depoſed and expelled,
"there was not one of the Com. a Conſul. What of that? ought no new thing to be ordained,
"and which hath not been already taken up afore? For many things have not yet been practiſed,
"(as in a ſtate newly incorporate) ought not ſuch then to be put in uſe, if they be thought expe-
"dient? While *Romulus* reigned, there were no Biſhops nor Augurs: by *Numa Pompilius* they
"were created. There was no Seſſing of the people at all in the City, no deſcription of Hundreds
C "and Claſſes. By *S. Tullius* they were inſtituted. Coſſ. were never heard of before: when the KK.
"were driven out, they were elected. The time was, when neither the abſolute rule nor yet the
"name of a Dictator was known. In our fathers dayes it firſt began. Tribuns, Ædiles, Queſtors
"there have been none: it was ordained they ſhould be made. Within this ten years, we have
"both created and alſo aboliſhed out of the common-weal, Decemvirs for the making and pen-
"ning of our laws. And who doubteth, but in a City founded for ever to endure, and increaſing
"ſtill infinitely, there will be brought in new Governments, new Prieſt-hoods and ſacerdotal
"dignities, new priviledges both of kindreds and private perſons? And even this one thing in
"queſtion, to wit, that the Com. and Nobles might not joyn in marriage, were not the Decem-
"virs they that firſt within theſe few years made that Edict? A moſt ſhameful enſample and pre-
D "cedent in a free ſtate, and tending to the manifeſt wrong of the Commons. Can there be any
"greater or more notorious injury, than that there ſhould be in a City one part and member, as
"defiled and polluted, thought unworthy of the bond of marriage? What elſe is this, but to ſuffer
"exile and confining within the ſame walls, when they debar us that we ſhould not be either al-
"lied in affinity or knit in kindred? They provide (forſooth) and take order that bloud ſhould
"not be mixed, nor families confuſed. How then? If this do pollute this great gentry of yours,
"which moſt of you deſcended from the Sabins and Albans, have not by right line from the Pa-
"tritians, but by coptation and election into the number of the Nobles, as being choſen either by
"the favour and grace of the Kings, or elſe by the peoples voyces after the KK. were expelled:
"could not your wiſedoms have kept your bloud uncorrupt by ſome private means and proviſi-
E "on, namely, by taking heed neither to eſpouſe wives from among the Commons, nor to ſuffer
"your daughters and ſiſters to be married to any other than Nobles? No commoner (ye might
"be ſure) would have forced a daughter of any noble houſe: no, theſe inſolencies of laſcivious
"luſt are appropriate to Gentlemen only of the Nobility: none of us would have compelled any of
"you againſt his will, to make covenant and contract of matrimony. But I wot, that by an ex-
"preſs law it ſhould be forbidden, and that marriage between Nobles and Commons ſhould be
"condemned, that is it, which to the commonalty is a plain contumely and open injury. And
"why conſer ye not and lay your heads together, that the rich may not marry with poor? That,
"which at all times and in all places, hath been a matter left unto particular policy and conſide-
"ration; namely, That into what houſe ſoever a woman caſt a liking and fancy, there ſhe might
F "be married: and into what family a man obliged himſelf by word, promiſe and covenant, from
"thence he might take a wife: even that, reſtrain ye within the bonds of a moſt proud and tyran-
"nical law: whereby ye might break in ſunder all civil ſociety, and of one City make twain. Why
"forbid ye not by a poſitive Law, that a commoner ſhould not dwell by a Noble-man, or go the
"ſame way that he doth, or frequent the ſame feaſt, or converſe in the ſame market or common
"place of aſſembly? For in effect what difference is there, if a Gentleman marry a commoners
"daughter, or a commoner eſpouſe a Gentlewoman? What right I pray you or condition of ſtate
"is thereby changed? ſurely the children ſtill take after the father. Neither ſeek we for any thing
"elſe by matching with you, but only this, that we may be reckoned in the number of men and of
"citizens. Neither is there any cauſe, why you ſhould ſo contend and ſtand upon it (unleſs it do
G "you good to croſs and take a pleaſure to exerciſe your ſelves in working us diſgrace and ſhame.)
"Finally I would gladly know whether the ſoveraign government of the ſtate reſteth in you or in
"the people of *Rome*? When the Kings were driven out, got you thereby to your ſelves Lordly
"ſoveraignty, or purchaſed all men equal liberty? It muſt needs be granted, that the people of
"*Rome* may at their pleaſure publiſh and ordain a law. And will ye then as ſoon as any law what-
"ſoever, is by them propoſed, appoint a muſter preſently for their puniſhment? and as ſoon as I
"that am Tribun, ſhall begin to call the wards to give their voyces, ſhall you that are Conſuls by
"and by ſwear all the younger ſort, preſs them to warfare, lead them forth unto the field, and

"menace

" menace the Commons, menace I say, the Tribun also? What? If ye had not twise already good H
" experience, how little these goodly threats of yours prevailed against the Commons, when they
" agreed and stuck together, it were somewhat. Will ye say, that ye forbare to strive, ye tendered
" our good, and for pity spared us? Nay rather, to say a truth, was not this the cause that no fray
" was made, For that the stronger side was also the more cool and modester of the twain? Neither
" (O *Quirites*) will there now, I warrant you, be any combate, nor blows dealt: they will al-
" wayes assay and sound, what stomacks and hearts ye have, but never will they feel your fists, and
" try how keen your swords be. Therefore to these wars (be they falsely pretended, or truly in-
" deed reported) O ye Consuls, the Commons are ready prest to follow you: provided alwayes,
" that by granting them liberty of mutual marriage, ye will make at length this City one: that I
" they may be linked, joyned and united unto you, by private alliance and affinity: that hardy and
" valiant men may have hope and possibility, to honors and dignities: that they may be allowed
" fellowship and society in the Common-weal: Finally, that (which is due unto equal liberty)
" they may one with another in alternative course, obey annual Magistrates, and be obeyed again
" in their turns. If any of you shall gainsay and withstand these conditions, prate still and talk at
" your pleasure of wars: multiply and make them as many and as great as ye will; There is not
" one shall give his name, not one shall take arms, not one shall fight for those proud Lords, with
" whom they can have neither fellowship of dignity in the Common-weal, nor alliance of mar-
" riage in private estate. Now when as the Consuls also were come forth into the open assembly
of the people, and that they fell on all hands from continued and long Orations, to short dispute K
and altercation: the Tribun demanded why a commoner might not attain to a Consulship? Unto
whom the Consul returned an answer, as to the substance perhaps truly, so for the present con-
tention not very wisely and to the purpose: Namely, because that no commoner had the Au-
spices: which was the cause why the Decemvirs ordained distinct marriages, lest upon a doubtful
and mingled issue, there should follow a troubled confusion of the Auspices. But hereat, the
Commons stormed and stamped most of all: that as odious men unto the immortal Gods, they
were flatly denied and deemed unworthy to observe the flight and singing of birds. And never
gave they over their heats of clamorous debate (whiles the Commons had gotten unto them a
most sharp Tribun to set them a work and were themselves in obstinacy no whit behind him) un-
till at length the Nobles were overcome and driven to grant, that the Law as touching marriage L
should pass: supposing by that means especially, that the other Tribuns would either clean give
over their suit for making commoners Consuls, or at least wise put it off, until the war were ended:
and that the Commons in the mean while being well pleased and contented with marriage among
the Nobles, would be willing and ready to levy a muster. *Canuleius* for this his victory over the
Nobles, and for the favours he gat among the Commons, became a great and mighty man. Where-
upon, the other Tribuns were kindled to the like combate: and for the proceeding of their Law
also, indeavoured with all their might and main. And albeit the rumour of the war encreased daily
more and more, yet they hinder the levy of souldiers. The Consuls seeing now that no decree
and order could pass the Senate-house, by reason that the Tribuns interposed their negative voyce:
took counsel together with the chief of the Nobility at home in their private houses. And well M
they saw that they must yeeld either the victory to their enemies, or the buckler to their own ci-
tizens. Of all the Senators that had been Coss. only *Valerius* and *Horatius* were not present at
these counsels. *C. Claudius* his opinion was, That the Consuls should put themselves in arms a-
gainst the Tribuns: But the two *Quintij*, *Cincinnatus* and *Capitolinus*, abhorred all bloudshed and
violent proceedings against those, whom by a solemn covenant made with the Commons, they
had received and accepted for to be as sacrosainct and unviolable. But in these counsels they
grew to this point in the end, that they suffered military Tribuns of equal power with the Con-
suls, to be created indifferently from out of the Commons and Nobles: provided alwayes, that
as touching creation of the Consuls, there should be no alteration from the old manner afore-
time. And herewith were both Tribuns and Commons well satisfied and contented. A general N
assembly therefore was proclaimed for the chusing of three Tribuns in Consuls authority, which
being once published: forthwith as many as had spoken or done ought tending to sedition, and
above all others those that had been Tribuns of the people, began in their whited robes to take
hold of men and run to and fro about the common place labouring for this dignity. At the first,
the Nobles partly in despair of obtaining the place (seeing the Commons so set a flote) partly for
disdain and indignation to bear any honourable office joyntly with them of so base condition,
were scared and affrighted from standing therefore: at the last (but they were forced thereto
first by the heads and the chief Lords of the Senate) they were content to be competitors and suit-
ers for the dignity: lest they might seem to be fully excluded forth of the possession of the Com-
mon-weal, and leave it entirely for the Commons. The event and effect of this Court, shewed O
plainly, that mens minds are otherwise affected in contending about liberty and dignity, than
presently after such contentions laid away, they are in weighing and judging aright without passi-
on and affection. For the people satisfied herewith, that there was some account made of the
Commoners, and that they were not shut out, elected military Tribuns all of the Nobles. This
modesty, this equity, this noble mind where shall a man now adayes find in one person, which
then was to be seen in the whole people? In the three hundreth and tenth year after the City of
*Rome* was founded, were the first military Tribuns created, that bare office in the room of the
Con-

A Conſuls, to wit, *A. Sempronius Aratinus*, *L. Attilius*, and *C. Cecilius*: in whoſe government, concord at home cauſed alſo peace abroad. There be writers who affirm, That upon occaſion of the Veientian war, and the rebellion of the Ardeats, becauſe two Conſuls were not able to manage ſo many wars at once, therefore were three military Tribuns choſen: without making any mention of the Law publiſhed, concerning election of Conſuls of the Commons: and that they were inveſted both in the jurisdiction, and alſo in the ornaments of the Conſuls. Howbeit, the exerciſe of that government, ſtood not faſt and ſure, nor continued long. For within three moneths after that they entred, they forewent their office, by a decree of the Augurs, as if there had been ſome error in their creation. It was alledged that *C. Curiatius*, who was Preſident of that Court B of Election, had taken his quarters amiſs for the obſervation of the lucky ſigns by flight of birds, and not according to the Augurs skill. Military Tribuns firſt created, with Conſuls authority.

There came from the Ardeats to *Rome*, Embaſſadors, complaining of wrong received, in theſe terms: That if it might be redreſſed, and amends made, and their grounds reſtored, they ſeemed willing to abide ſtill in league and amity. Anſwer was made them by the Senate, that the judgment of the people, already paſſed, could not be reverſed by the Senate, if it were ſo: nothing elſe but for concord ſake and agreement of the States: beſides, they had neither any precedent to lead them thereto, nor Law and authority to warrant them. Marry, if the Ardeats would wait their times, and put to the Senates arbitrement and diſcretion, the redreſs and eaſement of their injury pretended, it would come to paſs, that in proceſs of time they ſhould not repent of governing C their paſſions, and bridling their choler: and ſhould well know, that the Nobles had a good regard, that there ſhould no wrong be offered unto their friends, as they were careful, that if any were offered, it ſhould not long continue. Thus the Embaſſadors, promiſing, to make a true report, unto their citizens of the matter, wholly as it was: were friendly diſmiſſed, and had their diſcharge.

The Senators ſeeing now the Commonweal, without any ſoveraign Magiſtrate of the chair and of State, went together, and made an Interregent: and whiles they ſtrove whether Conſuls or Tribuns ſhould be created, the Interregent continued many dayes. The Interregent and the Senate laboured, that there ſhould be an Election of Conſuls: the Tribuns on the other ſide, and their Commonalty, were for the Tribuns Conſular. But the Senators prevailed, becauſe both the people ſeeing they were to confer the one office or the other, upon the Nobles, ſurceaſed to ſtrive any D more: and alſo the chief of the Commons, choſe rather to have that Election, wherein they ſhould not be once propounded, than wherein they were ſure to take the repulſe, as unworthy. The Tribuns alſo gave over to contend any longer to no purpoſe, and without effect, ſeeming thereby ſomewhat to gratify and pleaſure the LL. of the Senate. So *T. Quintius Barbatus* the Interregent, choſe for Conſuls *L. Papyrius Mugilanus*, and *L. Sempronius Atratius*. Whiles theſe were Conſuls, the league with the Ardeats was renued. And this is the only evidence and proof, that they were Conſuls that year, for that neither in the ancient yearly records, nor in the Calenders of the Magiſtrates, they are found at all. I take it, becauſe the military Tribuns were created in the beginning of that year: and therefore, although theſe Conſuls were in their ſtead choſen, yet their names were left out, as if the other had remained in office the whole year. Conſuls choſen again.

E *Licinius Macer* affirmeth, that they are mentioned both in the compoſition with the Ardeats, and alſo in the linen books or regiſters in the Church of *Juno Moneta*. Albeit there had been ſo many terrors and bravados, threatned from the borderers, yet both abroad and at home, all was quiet. And whether Tribuns only, or Conſuls alſo choſen in the room of Tribuns governed in this year; certain it is, that the next following, had Conſuls *M. Geganius Macerinus* the ſecond time, and *T. Quintius Capitolinus* the fift time. This was the very year when the Cenſors office came up firſt. A thing that roſe of a ſmall beginning: which notwithſtanding afterwards increaſed to that height, that it had government of the manners and diſcipline of the Romans: and under the jurisdiction thereof, the Senate and Centuries of the order of knights, the diſtinction of worſhip and ſhameful diſgrace, were reduced. Likewiſe, the ſurvey of publick and private Ædifices, F yea, and the tributes, revenues and ſubſidies of the people of *Rome* were at the diſpoſition, ordering, and diſcretion of that office. The beginning of which thing aroſe upon this occaſion: For that the people in many years ſpace had not been aſſeſſed and numbred, and ſeeing the Cenſe could be deferred no longer, nor the Conſuls (by reaſon of wars, from ſo many nations imminent) had leiſure to go about and accompliſh that buſineſs: the Senate therefore made a motion, that the charge being painful, and not for the Majeſty of Conſuls to buſy themſelves in, required a ſpecial Magiſtrate, and a peculiar officer by it ſelf. Under whom ſhould attend the Secretaries and Clerks: who likewiſe ſhould have the keeping and charge of the rolls and publick records: and at whoſe diſcretion ſhould paſs the ſcedules and inſtruments of all Aſſeſments. The Senators therefore accepted gladly of this overture, although it were but a trifling matter: yet becauſe there G ſhould be the more Magiſtrates of the Nobility. Suppoſing (I ween) it would come to paſſe, as (it proved indeed) that ſhortly the power and wealth of thoſe, who bare the office, ſhould win more authority and credit unto the thing. Yea, and the Tribuns alſo made no great ado, but ſuffered it to paſs, being an office (as it was in truth, no other at that time) rather of neceſſity and attendance, than of ſhew, port, or honor: becauſe they would not ſeem to be croſs and peeviſh in every ſmall matter. When as therefore this dignity was of the principal of the City refuſed, the people by their voyces choſe to that Office. *Papyrius* and *Sempronius*, of whoſe Conſulſhip there was ſome doubt: to the end, that by that office they might ſupply and make up

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Cenſors firſt created.

the defect and miſs of a Conſulſhip. And of the exerciſe and function it ſelf, Cenſors were they called. H

Whiles theſe things were a doing at *Rome*, there came Embaſſadors from *Ardea*, craving as wel in regard of their moſt ancient amity, as alſo of the late league renued, their helping hand for their City, welnigh undone and overthrown. For, peace (which wiſely and by right good adviſe they had kept and maintained with the people of *Rome*) they might not enjoy at home, by reaſon of inward debate and domeſtical quarrels. The cauſe and beginning whereof, as it is reported, aroſe from ſiding and factions, which have been and will be to moſt States more pernicious, than forrain wars, than famine or plague, or other adverſities, which men attribute to the anger and wrath of God, as the extremity of all publick calamities whatſoever. There was a maid, a Commoners daughter and no better, by birth, but for her rare beauty of ſingular note and paſſing renown: whom two young men were ſuiters unto. The one of the ſame condition or eſtate that the maid was of, and who relied upon her guardians and tutors, who alſo were of that degree and calling: the other a Gentleman, enamoured on her, only for her beauty. As for him, he had the good wills of the beſt in the City, by whoſe means the ſtrife of partaking, entred even into the houſe of the Damoſel. For the Gentleman in the Mothers judgment, was the more welcome and better liked of, whoſe deſire was, that the maid ſhould be preferred by marriage, and be moſt worſhipfully beſtowed. The Guardians alſo banded themſelves, and laboured for their party. But when as the matter might not be ended within dores, it came to ſuit in Law. And when the reaſons and allegations were heard, both of the Mother, and alſo of the Guardians, the Judges pronounced ſentence of marriage to be at the diſpoſition of the Mother. But might prevailed more than right. For the Tutors aforeſaid, openly in the market place of the City, having amongſt thoſe of their party and faction, complained of that injurious award, with a troup of men by force, fet the maid out of the Mothers houſe. Againſt whom aroſe a ſtronger power of the gentry, and following the young Gentleman, who was incenſed and ſet on fire upon this injury offered. Whereupon inſued a cruel fray. The Commons being defeated, went forth (far unlike to the Commons of *Rome*) armed as they were out of the City, and took for their hold a Hill, and invaded the Lands of the Nobles with fire and ſword: and having gathered to them a multitude of Artiſans and handicrafts men, whom in hope of ſpoil they had called forth, they purpoſe and prepare to beſiege the City alſo, which aforetime had been altogether unacquainted with the like ſtorms. In ſuch ſort, as no kind of calamity that followeth war, was wanting: as if the poor City had been tainted, infected, and poiſoned with the furious madneſs of two brain-ſick young men, ſeeking a woful and deadly marriage, with the utter ruin and deſtruction of their native Country. And neither part thought it enough to war and fight at home among themſelves. For the Nobles ſolicited the Romans for to reſcue their beſieged City: the Commons ſtirred up the Volſcians, to help to force and ſack the City. The Volſcians under the conduct of *Æquus Cluilius* came firſt to *Ardea*, and againſt the walls of their enemies, raiſed a countermure, and caſt a trench, and blocked the Town round about. Which tidings being brought to *Rome*, forthwith *M. Geganius* Conſul, went forth with an army, and incamped himſelf three miles from the enemies: and the day being now far ſpent and drawing toward night, he commandeth his ſouldiers to refreſh and make much of themſelves, and take their reſt: and afterwards at the relief of the fourth watch, he brought forth his enſigns, ſet his men to work, and ſped his buſineſs once begun, ſo that by the ſun-riſing, the Volſcians might ſee themſelves inveſted more ſtreightly by the Romans, then the City beleaguered by them. And on another ſide the Conſul had joyned a ſconce to the wall of *Ardea*, by which way his ſouldiers might go and come in ſafety. The Captain of the Volſcians, who had to that day prepared no victuals, but ſuſtained his army only with the corn which he had for the preſent from day to day robbed by forraging the Country, ſeeing himſelf intrenched, and of a ſudden to be deſtitute of all things, called the Conſul forth to emparle, ſaying, That if the Romans coming was to raiſe the ſiege, he would remove and diſlodge from thence. To which again the Conſul made this reply, That vanquiſhed men were to take, and not to make Articles of Conditions: neither ſhould they, as they were come at their pleaſure to aſſault the allies of the Romans, ſo depart again when they liſt to *Volſci*. He commandeth therefore to yeeld their General, to lay down their weapons, confeſſing themſelves overcome, and to be at his devotion. Otherwiſe he would be a bitter and mortal enemy unto them, whether they departed or tarried ſtil, and carry home to *Rome* the victory of the Volſcians, rather than their faithleſs peace. The Volſcians, when they had aſſayed that ſmall hope they had in their weapons (for all hope elſe was cut off) beſides all other things that were croſs unto them, encountred in a place of great diſadvantage for fight, but worſe for flight: and ſeeing themſelves on every ſide beaten down and ſlain, turned from fighting to intreating, delivered up their Captain, yeelded their weapons, were driven under the Gallows, and in their ſingle doublet and hoſe with great ſhame and calamity, were let go and ſent away. And ſitting them down to reſt themſelves, not far from the Town *Tuſculum*, the Tuſculans upon an old grudge and hatred againſt them, ſet upon them thus diſarmed and naked as they were at unawares, and were ſo meet with them, that ſcarcely there remained any one to carry news of their ill day and unfortunate overthrow. Then the Roman Coſ. appeaſed the troubles at *Ardea*: beheaded the chief Captains of that commotion, and confiſcated their goods to the common cheſt and Chamber of the Ardeats. And ſo by this great favour and benefit of the people of *Rome*, they ſuppoſed the injury of the former arbitrement was done away and recompenſed. But yet K L M N O

the

A the Senat of *Rome*, thought ſomewhat behind ſtill for the cancelling of the memorial of publick avarice. The Conſul returned, triumphing into the City, leading *Cluilius* the Captain of the Volſcians before his chariot, with the ſpoil born afore him of the enemies, whom he had diſarmed, and brought under the yoak. *Quintius* the Conſul again for his part, in his long robe and gown of peace, countervailed (a thing not uſually ſeen) the glory of his Colleague in his bright armor: who had ſo great regard at home to entertain concord and peace among the Citizens, by miniſtring juſtice indifferently, as wel to the higheſt as to the loweſt, that the Senators reputed him a ſevere Conſul, and the Commons accounted him as meek and gentle a perſon. And more he won at the Tribuns hands by countenance and reputation, than by contention and debate. His B five Conſulſhips wherein he carried himſelf after one and the ſelf ſame manner and order: the courſe of his whole life, ever Conſul-like, cauſed his perſon to be in a manner more reverenced then his honourable place. By this means, whiles theſe were Conſuls, no words were made of military Tribuns. Then created they for Conſuls *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, and *Poſthumius Ebutius Cornicen*. Theſe Conſuls, by how much greater and more glorious the acts both at home and abroad, were atchieued by thoſe, whom they ſaw they were to ſucceed (and ſurely that year was right memorable among the borderers, as well allies as enemies, and namely, becauſe the Ardeats in ſo hard diſtreſs, were by them ſuccoured) ſo much the more earneſtly endeavoured for their part, to raze out of mens minds the infamy of that judgement aforeſaid, and made an Act and Decree of the Senat in this form, *That for as much as the City of the Ardeats, by reaſon of Civil* C *troubles, was diſpeopled and brought to a ſmall number of Citizens, there ſhould be enrolled certain inhabitants to be ſent thither for a Garriſon, and defence againſt the Volſcians.* This was openly ingroſſed in publick Tables, and Inſtruments, for a policy, that their ſecret intent and purpoſe of reverſing and diſanulling the arbitrement, might not be perceived by the Tribuns and the Commons. But they cloſely complotted, that when they had enrolled a far greater number of Rutilians than of Romans, for to inhabit *Ardea*, neither ſhould any other lands be divided, but thoſe which by that infamous and unhoneſt award were intercepted: nor that one foot or clod of ground ſhould be aſſigned to any other Roman, before the whole lands were parted among all the Rutilians. Thus the domain that had been in queſtion, returned again to the Ardeats. The Triumvirs for the conveying of a Colony to *Ardea*, were created theſe, *Agrippa Menenius*, *T.* D *Cloelius Siculus*, and *M. Ebutius Helua*. Who, beſides that, they offended the Commons by their ready ſervice and nothing popular, in regard, that they aſſigned and ſet out to their allies, that land which the people of *Rome* judged their own, were not well thought of neither, by the chief of the Nobility: becauſe in the execution of their charge, they did nothing of affection, and for favour. Howbeit they avoided all troubles and dangers that were toward them (albeit they were accuſed by the Tribuns before the people.) For when they had regiſtred and placed the Coloners, they remained ſtill themſelves in the ſame Colony, which they had as witneſs of their innocency, and juſt dealing.

In this year, and the year following, when *Caius Furius Pacilius*, and *Marcus Papirius Craſſus* were Conſuls, there was peace at home and abroad. The plays which had been vowed by the De- E cemvirs, according to the Senats decree, during the time of the Commons inſurrection and departure from the Nobles, were this year ſet forth. *Petilius* ſought for ſome occaſion of ſedition, but in vain. Who being made Tribun the ſecond time, albeit he harped ſtil upon one ſtring, and threatned the ſelf ſame things that he had before, yet he could not bring about, that the Conſuls ſhould propoſe unto the Senat, concerning the diviſion of lands among the Commons: and when as with great ado he had obtained thus much, that the Senators ſhould be moved and their opinions asked, whether they would have an election of Conſuls or Tribuns (Conſular:) determined it was at length, that Conſuls ſhould be choſen. So, that the menaces of the Tribun, that he would hinder the muſter, was a ridiculous matter of game: ſeeing that when the borderers were at quiet, there was no need either of war or preparation for war. After this great quietneſs of the State, F followeth a year (wherein *Proculus Geganius Macerinus*, and *L. Menenius Lanatus* were Conſuls) for ſundry calamities and perils memorable: namely, Seditions, Famine, and hazard of receiving upon their necks the yoak of Kings rule again and that, by the ſweetneſs of a Largeſs. There wanted only forraign war: wherewith if the Common-weal had been afflicted too, hardly could the help of all the gods above, have recovered the State. Theſe calamities began with hunger. But whether it were, for that the year was unſeaſonable for corn, or that they were ſo in love with the plauſible and ſeditious Orations, and of the City it ſelf, that they ſlighted and neglected the Tillage of their ground, it is uncertain. For both the one and the other is reported. The Lords of the Senat blamed the idleneſs of the Commons: and the Tribuns of the Commons laid the weight, one while upon the fraud and naughtineſs, another while upon the negligence and remiſ- G neſs of the Conſuls. At the laſt, the commoners enforced and drave the people (but not againſt the will of the Senate) to chuſe *L. Minutius* Maſter of the proviſion or principal purveior of corn and victuals: a man who in that office proved more lucky to preſerve the liberty of the City then happy in the exerciſe or miniſtery of his charge: albeit at the latter end, he deſerved and had, both praiſe and thanks, for bringing down the price of Corn. Who, notwithſtanding many Embaſſages ſent both by ſea and land to the neighbor nations round about, and all to little purpoſe (ſaving that out of *Hetruria* there was brought ſome little ſprinkling of Corn) nothing eaſed and mended the Market: and therefore he turned again to the diſpenſing or dealing the preſent dearth

See the end of the former Book.

indifferently among all, by forcing every man to confeſſe what corn he had, to open his garners, H
to bring it forth, to vent and ſell that, which he had more then would ſerve a month. But when
by this practiſe, and by defrauding ſervants a portion of their dayly food, and by accuſing the
corn-mungers and expoſing them to the furious ire of the people, he had with all his hard cour-
ſes and ſharp inquiſitions rather laid open then eaſed the preſent need and neceſſity: many of the
common people deſpairing of all hope, rather then they would live thus miſerably tormented,
pining and wearing away in hunger, covered their heads, and threw themſelves headlong into
*Tyber*. Then *Sp. Melius*, by calling a Knight or Gentleman of *Rome*, a man (as in thoſe days) ex-
ceeding rich, enterpriſed a thing, commodious I muſt needs ſay, but a diſhoneſt precedent of dan-
gerous conſequence, and proceeding of a worſe mind and intent of his. For having with his own I
mony bought up the corn out of *Hetruria* by the means of his friends and vaſſals, whoſe mini-
ſtry he uſed: which thing (I believe verily) was an hindrance that all the publick care and provi-
dence, took ſmall effect, and nothing helped the general want and ſcarcity, he deviſed to bring up
a free dole and diſtribution of corn: and to the end that when he had once by this benefit and
liberality won the hearts of the Commons, then he might, what way ſoever he went carrying a
port and majeſty with him above the degree of a private perſon, draw after him a train of the peo-
ple, promiſing him by their favour of ſupport, undoubted and aſſured hope of a Conſulſhip. But
himſelf (as mans nature is unſatiable) not content herewith, aſpired to higher matters then for-
tune promiſed him, and thoſe unlawful, and beyond his reach. And for as much as even the very
Conſulſhip was to be wreſted from the Nobles againſt their wills, he plotted to make himſelf a K
King, and thought that, the only guerdon due for ſo deep reaches and deſigns, and worthy that
great contention and ſtrife which he was to abide with much toil and ſweat of brows. Now
drew the Election on apace for Conſuls, which thing prevented him afore he had brought his
devices to full ripeneſs and perfection. Conſul was created *L. Quintius Capitolinus* the ſixth time,
a man moſt unfit for his turn, that ſhould go about innovations and to change the ſtate: and with
him was joined *Agrippa Menenius*, ſurnamed *Lanatus*. And *L. Minutius*, was either made again
the maſter victualler, or elſe created he was at firſt without limitation of time, to continue ſo long
as the caſe ſhould require. For there is no certainty thereof, but only the name of Corn-maſter,
recorded both years in the linnen Books or Regiſters among other Magiſtrates. This *Minutius*
was vigilant, and as careful for the Common-weal, as *Melius* for his private wealth: and upon oc- L
caſion that men of the ſame quality, to wit, the Commons, were converſant in both houſes, name-
ly, in his own and in the houſe of *Melius*, he came to the knowledge by their means, of *Melius*
his treaſon: and declared unto the Senat the whole complot. Namely, That there was armor and
weapons good ſtore, carried into the houſe of *Melius*: that he kept conventicles there, and made
ſeditious Orations, and that it was paſt all peradventure that he practiſed to be King. As for the
time of working the feat and to put it into action, as yet it was not determined and certainly
known: all other things were already agreed upon. *Item*, that the Tribuns were bribed and hired
to ſell and betray the liberty of the City: That to certain Captains of the multitude divers char-
ges were appointed. And herewithal, he excuſed himſelf (and ſaid) That becauſe he would not
be reputed the author of any uncertain or vain intelligence, he uttered theſe matters ſomewhat M
with the lateſt, and later well-neer, then might ſtand with the common ſafety of the Weal-pub-
lick. Which news after they were heard, and that on every ſide the chief Senators had given both
the Coſſ. of the former year a check, for that they had ſuffered thoſe Largeſſes of corn, and tolle-
rated meetings of the Commons in a private houſe: and rebuked the new Conſuls alſo, for that
they had ſtayed ſo long and waited till a matter of ſo great importance was by the corn-maſter
detected and declared unto the Senate, which required a Coſ. to be not only the informer, but
alſo the reformer: Then *T. Quintius* anſwered, That the Conſuls were blamed without juſt cauſe,
who being bridled with the laws of appealing, tending to the great prejudice and diſanulling of
their ſoveraign government, had not commiſſion ſufficient by vertue of their place, to puniſh the
thing according to the hainouſneſſe and quality thereof, as they had courage and heart thereto: N
and that there was need now, not only of a valiant and ſtout man, but alſo of one that was freed
from all bonds of laws and tied to none. And therefore he would name *L. Quintius* for Dictator:
in whom there was courage anſwerable to that abſolute authority. When all men liked wel ther-
of, *Quintius* himſelf at the firſt refuſed: demanding what they meant, to object and expoſe him,
an unweldy man & ſo far ſtept in years, to ſo great trouble, and manifeſt danger. Afterwards, when
as they replied on all hands, and alledged how in that heart of his for all his age there was more
valour, and in his head more policy then in all men beſides; heaping on him right due and de-
ſerved praiſes, and commendations; and whiles the Conſul alſo importuned him ſtill and gave
not over: then *Cincinnatus*, after he had prayed to the gods immortal, that his decrepit old age in
XIV ſo fearful a caſe, might not turn either to the loſſe or diſhonor of the Common wealth, was by O
the Conſul pronounced Dictator. And he forthwith nominated *C. Servilius Hala* General of the
horſemen. The morrow after when he had ſet and diſpoſed certain guards, in divers places of the
City, and was come down into the common place: the common people wondring at the ſtrange-
neſſe of the matter, had their eyes upon him: and the adherents and complices of *Melius*, and
he himſelf their Captain, ſaw well that the force and power of this ſo great a magiſtrate was bent
againſt them. But they that were not acquainted with thoſe plots and deſigns that tended to the
ſetting up of a King, asked one another, what tumult or ſudden war, ſhould require either a

Dictators

A Dictators majesty, or that *Quintius* after fourscore years of age, should be the only Ruler of the City. With that, *Servilius* the General of the horsemen was by the Dictator sent to *Melius*: Who said unto him, The Dictator calleth thee. Whereat he being afraid, asked again, What he would? and *Servilius* said, That he was to make his answer and purgation, of a crime that *Minutius* had informed against him, before the Senat. Then *Melius* began to retire himselfe back into the rout of his followers, and looking about at the first, shrunk only away from him, and refused to obey. At the last the Apparitor at the general of the horsemens commandment, began to force him to go with him: but he being rescued by the standers by, found his feet and began to fly, and besought the aid of the Com-
B monalty of *Rome*: saying, That the faction of the Nobles conspired his overthrow, and persecuted him for the good he had done unto the Commons, and for his liberality bestowed upon them: beseeching them to help him in that extremity, and not to suffer him to be murdered afore their face and in their very sight. As he spake these words, *Hala Servilius* overtook him, and killed him out-right: and being sprinkled with his blood thus slain, and guarded with a company of tall Gentlemen of the Nobility, he bringeth word to the Dictator, how *Melius* being cited to come unto him, put back the Apparitor, and raised the multitude: and now had suffered due punishments for his deserts. Then (quoth the Dictator) On forth in this valor and vertue of thine, O *C. Servilius*, thou deservest great praise, and hast delivered the Common-wealth this day from tyranny. Then XV
C as the multitude murmured and made a stir upon some doubt, what they should think of the fact, and what might be the occasion thereof; he commanded them to assemble together, and openly avowed the deed, and pronounced that *Melius* was justly slain: yea, albeit he had been cleer from seeking to be King: for that being summoned and convented before the Dictator, and that by the General of the horsemen, he refused and came not: "for my self (quoth he) was set judicially to examine and enquire of the cause: and "upon the trial thereof, *Melius* should have sped no worse then his cause deserved: but "because he went about by violence to withdraw himself from judgment, by violence "therefore was he restrained. Neither was he to be proceeded against as a Citizen, who "being born in a free state, where justice and law were in force: and in that City, where-
D "out he was not ignorant that the KK. were sometimes expelled: and where in one and "the same year, *Collatinus* sisters sons, and the sons of that Cos. that was deliverer of "his Country, detected of a complot and conspiracy of receiving again into the City the "KK. blood, were by their own father beheaded: out of which City, *Tarquinius Col-*"*latinus* Cos. for the detestation only of the name, being commanded to give up his office, "suffered exile: in which City, many years after *Sp. Cassius* for practising and plotting onely "to be King, suffered condigne punishment: wherein also of late time, the Decemvirs, "for a tyrannical pride, where deprived of their goods, banished their country, and bereft "of their lives. That in the same City (I say) *Sp. Melius* should conceive any hope "of reaching to a Kingdom? And a man (I pray you) of what quality and condition? And
E "yet, no gentility of birth, no dignities nor deserts were sufficient to make way to any "for lordly rule and tyranny. Howbeit, the * *Claudii* and *Cassii*, by reason of the Consul- "ships and Decemvirships of their own, by reason of the honourable estate and reputati- "on of their ancestors, and the worship and glory of their linage, took upon them, be- "came haughty and proud, and aspired to that, whereunto *Sp. Melius* had no such means "to induce him: who might have sit him down, well enough, and rather wished and "prayed to God, then hoped once for so much, as a Tribunship of the Commons. And "supposed he, being but a rich corn-master, that with a quart (or measure of corn of "two pounds) he had bought the freedom of his fellow Citizens? or thought he by ca- "sting morsels of bread and victuals afore the common sort, that the victorious people,
F "conquerers of all nations about them, might be allured into thraldom? and whom the "City could hardly brook to be a Senator, him they should endure their King, to have "the regal ensigns and the government of *Romulus*, the first founder of the City, de- "scended first from the gods, and to them ascended up again; why, it was a thing not so "wicked as monstrous. Neither was this act sufficiently satisfied for, with the shedding "of his blood, unless the house and walls, within which so horrible madness was conceived "and forged, were cast down and razed: and unless these goods, which were tainted and "infected with the prices and hire that should have purchased the Kingdom, were forfeit "and confiscate. He commanded therefore the Questors, to sell those goods, and to bring the mony into the common Treasury. And then he caused forthwith his dwel-
G ling house to be overthrown and made even with the ground, that the plot or floor thereof, might be a monument of a wicked attempt, smothered and stifled in the very hope and hatching thereof. This is the place which was called afterwards *Æquimelium*. As for *L. Minutius* he had an Ox with guilded horns given him for an honour and reward without the gate *Trigemina*. The Commons therewith were not miscontented, for that to them he divided *Melius* his corn, at the price of one * Asse a * *Modius*. Among some authors

The Oration of *Quintius* the Dictator, to the people of *Rome*.

* *Sol. Appii.*

* Three farthings Engl.
* *Modius*, a Roman measure, containing a peck within a pint, or the fourth part of *London* bushel, or *Worwickshire* strike. XVI

I find, that this *Minutius* forsook the Nobles and went to the Commons, and was taken in to be the eleventh Tribun of the Commons, and appeased the mutiny that arose upon *Melius* his death. But it was not like that the Senators suffered the number of the Tribuns to be encreased: and especially, that such an example should be given and taken up by a man of their coat: or that the commonalty would not keep it still, if it had been once allowed, or at leastwise attempt it again. But above all, this confuteth and reproveth the false title of *Tribune* set upon his image, for that a few years before, it was by a statute expresly provided, That Tribuns might not chuse and take unto them a Colleague in office. *Q. Cecilius*, and *Q. Junius*, and *Sextus Titinius* were the only men of all the Colledge of Tribuns that propounded not the Law for the honour of *Minutius*, but rather accused unto the Commons, both *Minutius* and *Servilius*, and ceased not to make complaint of the cruel and unworthy death of *Melius*: and in fine prevailed so much, that there should be an election for military Tribuns rather then for Consuls: nothing doubting, but if six were chosen (for so many at that time might be created) some of the Commons also, by promising to revenge the death of *Melius*, might step in and be elected. The Commons for all they were tossed that year with many and sundry troubles, chose no more then three Tribuns with Consuls authority; and among them, *L. Quintius* the son of *Cincinnatus*: Upon the hard conceit and hatred of whose Dictatorship past, they thought to pick some occasion of quarrel and tumult: and *Mamercus Æmylius*, a man of great credit and reputation, was by voices preferred afore *Quintius*, and obtained the first place. And *L. Julius* they created for the third.

XVII

*Tolumnius* murdereth the Roman Embassadors.

Whiles these bare soveraign rule, *Fidene* the Colony of the Romans, revolted to *Lars Tolumnius*, the King of the Veientians, and to the State of the Veientians. And besides their revolting, a more horrible fact they committed. For at the commandment of *Tolumnius*, they slew *C. Fulcinius*, and *C. Julius*, *Sp. Nautius*, and *L. Roscius* the Roman Embassadors, who came to demand the cause of this their change and sudden alteration. Some here do excuse and elevate the act of the King, saying that upon a lucky cast of dice he uttered a doubtful speech, which was by the Fidenatians so taken, as though he seemed to bid the Embassadours to be killed, and that (forsooth) was the occasion of murdering the Embassadours (a thing incredible, that at the comming in of the Fidenatians, his new allies, who were to consult with him and ask his advice, about a murder that should break the law of Nations, his mind should not be turned away from earnest studying about his game) and so this hainous fact proveth to be but an error. More credible it is, that he had a further meaning and deeper reach: namely, that the people of the Fidenatians should be bound unto him, and only rely upon him, being attaint with the guiltinesse of so foul a murder, and not to look and hope for any mercy or favour at the Romans hands. The statues of these Embassadors which were at *Fidene* murdered, were set up openly at the charges of the City in the *Rostra*. [*A publick crosse (as it were) or pulpit in* Rome, *out of which the Magistrates made Orations to the people, beautified with the beak heads of ships and their brasen pikes called Rostra.*] Thus was there like to be a cruel conflict with the Veientians, and Fidenates. Who besides that they were people confining on their frontiers, had also in the beginning of their war given so wicked and horrible a cause of quarrel. Therefore when as the common people and their Tribuns, in regard of the care for the publick State, were at quiet; there was no question, but that *M. Geganius Macerinus* the third time, and *L. Sergius Fidenas* (named (I suppose) so, upon the war which afterwards under his conduct was fought) should be created Consuls. For this man first encountred with the King of the Veientians on this side * *Anio*, and gat the victory: but not without much bloodshed of the Romans. So that the grief was greater for the loss of his own souldiers, then the joy for the discomfiture of his enemies. And the Senate, as in all fearful times and dangerous occurrents, ordained *Mamercus Æmylius* to be created Dictator. Who, out of the brotherhood of Tribuns military in Consuls authority, the year before, named for the General of his horsemen, *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, who had been a Tribun with him, a toward young Gentleman, and a worthy son of so worthy a father. To those souldiers that were by the Consul mustered and levied, were the old Centurions, experienced and skilful warriers, adjoined: and the number of those, which in that last battel were slain, was supplied. The Dictator commanded to follow him as Lieutenants, *Quintius Capitolinus*, and *M. Fabius Vibulanus*. This greater power and authority, and the man likewise nothing thereto inferiour, drave the enemies out of the Roman ground, and set them farther off, even beyond *Anio*. Who removing their camp still backward, seized upon the hills between *Fidene* and *Anio*: neither durst they come down from thence into the open plains, before that the Legions of the *Falisci* came to succour. Then at length, the Tuscans encamped themselves under the walls of *Fidene*. And the Roman Dictator likewise rested and abode upon the banks of the Confluent (where both rivers run into one) and flanked himself thereby. And when he had cast up a trench and rampart afront, reaching across from the one river to the other, the morrow after he brought his power forth, and set them in order of battel. The enemies

* A river now called *Teveron*.

XVIII

A mies were of ſundry minds. The Faliſcians, who hardly could away long with military ſervice farre from home, and truſting withal in their own ſelves, that they were good enough, required battel. The Veientians and Fidenates had more hope in drawing out the war on length. *Tolumnius*, albeit the advice of his own men liked him better, yet becauſe the Faliſcians ſhould not endure lingring warfare, ſendeth a trumpet, and proclameth battel againſt the morrow. The Dictator and the Romans, for that the enemies for the preſent ſhifted off fight, took more heart unto them: and on the next morning, when as now the ſouldiers gave out brave words, and menaced, That unleſſe they might have battel, they would aſſault both the Camp and the Town: the armies of both parts came forth
B into the midſt of the plain, between the two Camps. The Veientians, as being more in number and having to ſpare, ſent covertly out certain companies to fetch a compaſs behind the Hills, who in the time of the conflict ſhould ſet upon the Roman Camp. And in this order ſtood the main Army of three Nations together embattelled. The Veientians kept the right point, the Faliſcians the left, and the Fidenates the middle of the battel. The Dictator in the right point advanced his ſtandard againſt the Faliſcians, and on the left *Capitolinus Quintius* charged the Veientians: and againſt the main battel between both, marched the Coronel of the Cavalry, with his Cornets of horſe. Thus as they ſtood arranged in battel array, for a pretty while was there ſilence on either ſide, and all quiet. For neither would the Tuſcans begin firſt, unleſſe they were urged: And the Dictator looked ever and
C anon backward toward the Capitol of *Rome*, that the Augurs ſhould ſet up a ſignal aloft (as it was agreed between them) ſo ſoon as the flight of fowls gave approbation accordingly: which he no ſooner eſpied, but he put out preſently the men of arms, with a great ſhout againſt the enemies. The army of the footmen followed hard after in the tail, and ſeconded them with a luſty charge. But on no hand were the Tuſcan legions able to abide the force of the Romans. The Cavalry ſtood hardeſt to it, and made head ſtill. For the King himſelfe, the beſt horſeman and moſt valiant of them all, when as on every ſide his enemies charged and preſſed ſore upon him, rode afront them, held out and maintained fight. There chanced then to be among the Roman horſemen, a Tribune or Marſhal, one *A. Cornelius Coſſus*, a goodly tall man of body, and as valiant and ſtrong with-
D al, who ſet before his eyes the noble houſe from whence he was deſcended, and carried this mind, as it was right honourable already by his anceſtors left him, ſo to recommend the ſame to his poſterity more glorious and renowned. This man ſeeing the troops of Romans waving to and fro, for fear of the violence of *Tolumnius*, which way ſoever he bent and turned; and knowing him by his rich and royal furniture, wherein he bare himſelf like a brave Knight, riding all over the battel. "Is this (quoth he) the forſworn breaker of "humane league, is this he that hath violated the laws of arms, and of nations? Now "will I preſently, if it be Gods will that any thing in the world ſhould remain wholly and "inviolate, be his Prieſt, I will ſacrifice and betake him to the ghoſts of our Embaſſadors "deceaſed. Herewith, ſetting ſpurs to his horſe, with bent ſpear in reſt, he rode full a-
E gainſt that one enemy, ſingled from the reſt; ſmote him, and diſmounted him from his horſe. Then bearing upon his ſtaff, alight preſently on foot, and as the King was getting up again, he overthrew him backward with the boſs of his target, and laid him ſtretching long & after many wounds given him, at length faſtned him with his ſpear to the very ground. And when as he was once dead, he diſarmed and diſpoiled him, and ſtruck off his head: and carrying it aloft on his lance, preſented a fearful ſpectacle to the enemies of their King ſlain, and ſo diſcomfited them. Thus was the ſtrength of the horſemen defeated alſo, which only had made the battel doubtful. The Dictator having put likewiſe the legions of footmen to flight, purſued them ſtill, and drave them to their fort, killing them all the way in the chaſe. Many of the Fidenates which knew the coaſts of the Country, fled into the
F mountains, and eſcaped. *Coſſus* with his horſemen paſſed over *Tyber*, and brought home into the City a great booty out of the country of the Veientians. As this battel was in fighting, there was a skirmiſh alſo in the Roman camp, with that part of the forces, which (as it is aforeſaid) was ſent by *Tolumnius* to ſurpriſe it. *Fabius Vibulanus* firſt defended the rampart, ordering his men all within, in compaſs like a garland: and while the enemies were wholly bent about the aſſault, he with the *Triarii* or ſouldiers of the rereward, ſuddenly iſſued forth at the gate, called *Principalis*, on the right hand, and gave an hot charge upon them; Upon which they were affrighted, but there enſued the leſs ſlaughter, becauſe the number was ſmaller. Howbeit, they fled no leſſe in diſarray, than thoſe in the very battel. Thus the Dictator having proſperous ſucceſs every where, returned with triumph into the City, by
G the decree of the Senat, and grant of the people. In which triumphs the greateſt ſhew and goodlieſt ſight of all, was *Coſſus*, bearing the rich & royal ſpoils of the King, ſlain by his own hand. For of him the ſouldiers chanted divers rude ballads without rime and metre, comparing him in their ſongs with *Romulus*. Which ſpoils with a ſolemn manner of dedication he beſtowed and hung up in the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, neer unto thoſe of *Romulus*, which

were the first and only spoils, until that time, called *Opima Spolia*. And as he went he with- H
drew from the Dictators chariot, the eyes of all the people unto himselfe, and hee
in manner alone, carried away the magnificence and glory of that festival day. The Di-
ctator by order from the people, presented in the Capitol for the honour of *Jupiter*, a
* 36. *lib.* sterl. in angel gold. golden Crown, weighing one* pound weight, raised out of the common money of the
City.

Thus have I set down (as following all other writers before me) that *Aulus Cornelius Cossus*, a Colonel or Marshal, brought into the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, the second royal spoils. Howbeit, over and besides, that those spoils onely are by right accounted *Opima*, or royal, which a General hath taken from a General, and we acknowledge none I
for General, but him under whose conduct an high Commission a war is managed, the very title also written upon the spoils, doth check and reprove both them and me. The words whereof are these, [*That* Cossus *being Consul, won those spoils.*] When I once heard say, that *Augustus Cæsar* himself, the founder or repairer of all Temples, entred into the house of *Jupiter Feretrius*, which he re-edified, being by injury of long time fallen to decay, and read it so written in a linnen Jack or Curaze: I thought it little better then sacrilege, to discredit and cancel the testimony of *Cossus* himself concerning his own spoils, and of *Augustus Cæsar*, the benefactor of that very Temple. Which error, if it grow hereon, That so ancient Records and Chronicles, and that the Books of the Magistrates, which being of linnen, and laid up in the Temple of *Moneta*, *Macer Licinius* doth very often quote and K
cite as his Authors, do represent unto us *Aulus Cornelius Cossus*, the seventh year after Consul, with *Titus Quintius Pennus*: let every man abound in his own sense, and have his opinion by himself freely. For more then all this may be alledged to prove, that so famous a battel could not be transferred to that year: because that for three years space about the Consulship of *Cossus*, there was no war at all, in a manner, by reason of pestilence and dearth of corn: so as some records, as it were, mourning, and bewraying the calamity of the time, deliver unto us nothing but the bare names of the Consuls. In the third year, after that *Cossus* was Consul, he was military Tribun in Consuls authority, and in the same year General of the horsemen also: in which government he fought another notable battel with horsemen. But hereof a man may conjecture and guesse what he will. L
But (as I think) we may toss these things of small importance to and fro, according to every mans opinion: and when all is done, the author of this battel his own selfe, having set up these fresh and new spoils in a holy place, in the sight of *Iupiter* himselfe standing thereby, to whom they were vowed, and *Romulus* also, two witnesses, not to bee despised nor abused with a false title, hath written himself, [*A. Cornelius Cossus Consul.*]

When *Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis* and *Papyrius Crassus* were Consuls, the Armies were led forth: the one into the Veientians Country, and the other into the Falisians, and booties both of people and cattel were from thence driven and carried away. As for the enemies themselves, no where in the Country were they to be seen, nor any battel was M
fought: and yet for all that, the towns were not assaulted, because the people at home died of the pestilence. And within the City, *Sp. Melius* Tribune of the Commons sought occasions and pretences to move seditions, but without effect. Who supposing by the popular favour of his name to prevaile and raise some mutiny, both arrested *Minutius* to make his answer, and also put up a bill for the confiscation of the goods of *Servilius Hala*: laying hard to *Minutius* his charge, that *Melius* was falsely accused and circumvented by him: and burdening *Servilius* with the murdering of a Citizen uncondemned. All these surmises were with the people of less credit and importance, than the author himselfe. But the violence of the sickness still encreasing more and more, troubled them: besides the fearful and strange prodigious tokens: but especially, the fresh news that divers houses in the N
Country were by many earthquakes cast down. Whereupon the people went in solemn procession and made their supplications, whiles the Duumvir going afore pronounced the prayers, and the people said after him word for word. But the year following, when *C. Iulius* the second time, and *L. Virginius* were Consuls, was more contagious by reason of the plague, and caused both in Town and Country, so great a fear of utter desolation, that not only there were none set forth in any roads without the territory of *Rome* to raise booties, whiles the Nobility and Commons had no mind of making war: but the Fidenates also of their own accord, who before time had kept themselves either within their Towns, or Mountains, or Fortresses, entred now into the lands about *Rome*, and forraged all the Country. After this, having gotten also unto them a power of the Veientians (for the Falisci- O
ans could not be induced either by the calamity of the Romans, or prayers of their confederates, to take arms again) these two Nations passed over *Anio*, and not far from the gate *Collina* displayed their ensigns. So the fear was no lesse within the City than in the Country. Then *Iulius* the Consul bringeth the forces abroad, and placeth them upon the rampart and

the

A the walls: whiles *Virginius* assembled the Senate in the Temple of *Quirinus*, for to ask their opinion. Where agreed it was, to create for Dictator, *A. Servilius*, surnamed (as some say) *Priscus*, or as other, *Structus*. *Virginius* making no longer stay than until he had consulted with his Colleague, by his permission declared the Dictator in the night season. And he nominated for his General of the Cavalry, *Posthumius Ebutius Helva*. The Dictator commanded every man to be ready without the gate *Collina*, by the break of day: and so many as were able to bear arms were in a readinesse. The Standards and Ensigns were taken forth of the treasury or chamber of the City and brought to the Dictator. Whiles these things were in doing, the enemies were retired and withdrawn to the higher grounds and
B and places of advantage; and thither marched the Dictator with his army in order of battel. And encountring with them not far from *Nomentum*, he discomfited the legions of the Tuscans, and drave them into the town of *Fidene*, and cast a trench about it. But neither could the town be scaled for the high site thereof and the strong walls about it: and to lay siege unto it might not avail: for that they had corn not only to suffice the ordinary need of men besieged, but also plenty to spare, of their old store and provision gathered aforehand. Thus the Dictator being without all hope both of winning it by assault, and also of forcing them to yeeld by composition, purposed in certain places for the neerneſse to him well known, at the backside of the City which was slenderly guarded, most neglected, and for the natural situation the surest, to undermin unto the Castle. And he him-
C self in places fartheſt off from thence, approached close under the walls, with his army divided into four parts, to succeed one another by turns in order: and so, by continual skirmishing day and night, he kept the enemies at a bay and withdrew them from all perceiving and intelligence of the work under ground: until such time as by digging through the hill from the Camp, there was a way and passage made straight up into the Castle. And when as the Tuscans were wholly amused upon the vain threatnings, and bravado's of their enemies before them, nothing minding the present danger wherein they stood: behold, the alarm of their enemies even over their heads, made an out-cry, that the town was taken. In this year *Cn. Furius Pacilus* and *M. Geganius Macerinus*, Censors, appointed and dedicated the Large Hall, named *Villa Publica* in *Mars* field: and there first by them was
D held the Sessing and numbring of the people. I find in *Macer Licinius*, that in the year following, the same Consuls were made again, namely, *Julius* the third time, and *Virginius* the second time. But *Valerius Antias* and *Q. Tubero*, do name *M. Manlius* and *Q. Sulpitius* for the Consuls that year. Howbeit in so different report, both *Tubero* and *Macer* professe that they followed the linnen Records: and neither of them both conceal that which the ancient writers have set down, namely, That the same year were Tribuns military, in Consuls authority. *Licinius* without doubt is addicted to those linnen Registers, and *Tubero* is uncertain of the truth. But among other antiquities, not known by reason of long time, this also is left in doubt and not cleared.

*Fidene* won by a Stratagem.

*Villa Publica.*

After the winning of *Fidene*, great was the fear in *Hetruria*: whilest not only the Veien-
E tians were scared, fearing the like destruction: but the *Faliſci* also, remembring the war began first with them, albeit they were not assistant in their rebellion. When as therefore these two States had sent their Embassadours abroad to the twelve Cities about them, and obtained a Diet or General Parliament of all *Hetruria* should be assembled at the Temple of **Votumna*: the Senat, as if some great troubles were like thereof presently to ensue, thought good that *Mamercus Æmylius*, should be created Dictator the second time. By whom, *A. Posthumius Tubero* was named General of the horsemen. And with so much greater endeavor made they preparation of arms than in the last war afore, by how much more danger there was from all *Hetruria* banded together, than had been from two nations combined and no more. But this business was much more quiet than all men looked for. When
F as therefore news came by Merchants, that the Veientians were flatly denied help, and bidden to end that war by their own means and forces, which they had begun on their own heads: nor seek to embark them in the association of their misery and adversity, unto whom they had not imparted their mind & hope in their upright state, and when they were in their height: then the Dictator, to the end he should not seem to be created in vain, seeing all matter of acquiring renown by war was cut off, desirous yet in time of peace, to doe some notable piece of work for a monument, setteth in hand to abate and diminish the Censorship: either supposing it to be too high an office, or else offended not so much with the greatneſse of the honour, as with the continuance and length thereof. Having therefore assembled all the people together: "For as much as the immortal Gods (quoth he) have under-
G "taken to govern the Common-Weale abroad, and performed all safe and sure: I for my part "concerning that which is to be done at home within the walls, will take order and pro-"vide for the freedom of the people of *Rome*. The greatest preservation, and defence "whereof resteth in this, when offices of great command are not long enduring: but when "they be limited by term of time which may not be restrained or gaged in jurisdiction. As for

A General Diet of all Tuscanie at *Fanum Votumna*.

* *Viterbo* at this day, as it is thought.

*Oriel.*

The Oration of *Mamercus Æmylius*, to the people.

"for other magistracies they are from year to year: but this of the Censors continuing five H
"years, is very heavy and grievous. And hard it is for men to live so many years, even a
"great part of their life, in danger of the same Rulers still. Minded therefore I am, to pro-
The office of Censors reduced from the term of five years, to one and an half.
pose a law, That the Censorship continue no longer than one year and six months. With
great applause and consent of the people, the next day after, he both published the law
and enacted it. And now that ye may (quoth he) O *Quirites*, know in very deed, how
I mislike of these long lasting offices, here presently I render up my Dictatorship. Thus ha-
ving given over his own place, set a limitation to the rule of others, and absolutly ended
one, with exceeding congratulation and favour of the people he was brought home to his
house. The Censors taking it grievously that *Mamercus* had abridged an office of the people I
of *Rome*, displaced him from his own Tribe, laying on him an eightfold tax in the subsidy
Book, disfranchised and disabled him from giving his voice, and made him no better then
*Mamercus Æmylius* disfranchised and made *Ærarius*.
a Tributary. Which disgrace (they say) he took with a noble stomack, looking rather to
the cause of this shameful note, than to the ignominy it self. Moreover, the Lords of the
Senate, albeit they were willing enough that the Censorship nails should be pared and their
power taken down, were offended yet, with this example of the rigour and severity of
those in place: for as much as they all saw plainly, that they should be both longer time and
oftner under Censors, then Censors themselves. But so great an indignation of the people
(by report) grew hereof, that by the authority of no man but of *Mamercus* himselfe, could
they be restrained from offering violence to the very persons of the Censors. And the Tri- K
buns of the Commons, with their continual Orations and Remonstrances, prohibited the
Election of Consuls. When as the matter was well neer brought to the point of an Inter-
reign, they obtained at length with much strife and contention, that there should be mili-
Tribuns Military in Consuls room, chosen again.
tary Tribuns chosen, with Consular authority. But reward of this their victory, whereat
they shot, could they get none: namely, that a Commoner might be chosen for one. They
were all of the Nobility that were created, to wit, *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, *M. Folius*, and *L.*
*Sergius Fidenas*.

The plague that year was the occasion of quietness from all other troubles. A Temple
then was vowed to *Apollo* for the health of the people. Howbeit, great loss was there both
in town and country, by the the mortality of men and murrain of cattel, one with another L
indifferently. And fearing left the husbandmen of the country should be famished, they
sent for corn into *Hetruria* and the country of *Pomptinum*, to *Cumes*, and at last even into *Si-*
*cily*. And not a word all this while about the election of Consuls. So there were military
Tribuns elected, with Consuls authority, all again of the *Patritii*, namely, *L. Pinarius Ma-*
*mercus*, *L. Furius Medullinus*, and *Sp. Posthumius Albus*. That year the violence of the sick-
nesse abated: neither was there any danger or fear of scarcity of Corn, because they had made
provision aforehand. Great sitting and consultation there was in the general Diets of the Vol-
scians and Æquians, and in *Hetruria* at the aforesaid Temple of *Votumnia* about making war.
There, the matter was put off for one whole year: and by an Act or Decree it was pro-
vided, that no Assembly or Parliament during that time should be held: notwithstanding the M
people of the Veientians complained but all in vaine, that the same fortune was like
to happen unto *Veii*, which had fallen already upon *Fidene*, even the utter sub-
version of the State. In this mean season, at *Rome* the chiefe heads of the Commons
having aspired and gaped now a long time, but still in vain, after higher place of
dignity and honour, took their vantage whiles all was quiet abroad, and began
to have their conventicles and meetings in the houses of the Tribunes, and there en-
tertained secret Counsels. Some complained that they were much despised of the com-
mon people: for whereas in so many yeares, There were Tribunes Military crea-
ted with Consuls authority, yet never was there any one of the Commonalty ad-
vanced to that Dignity. Our forefathers (say they) in great wisedom and deep fore- N
cast, have done well to take order, that none of the Nobility at any time should have acces
to any office of the Commonalty: for if that were not, the Commons should have had ere
this some of the *Patritii* for their Tribuns: so odious are we become to those of our own coat,
and are as little set by of the Commons as of the Nobles. Others excused the people, and laid
the fault upon the Senators: by whose ambition, by whose crafty fetches and subtil poli-
cies it came to passe, that the Commons were stopped from the highway to advancement
and promotion. But if the Commons might have any respit or breathing time, and
not be sollicited and tempted by their prayers interlaced with threats: they would remember
themselves and those of their own calling, in giving of their voices: and having once gotten
assistance unto them, would also win the highest pitch and soveraign type of authority. For O
the abolishing therefore of this ambitious seeking and standing for offices, they agree and re-
solve, that the Tribuns should prefer and publish a Law, that no man might wear white more
then ordinary, or refresh the bright hue of his upper garment. while he sued for any dignity. A
smal matter now adayes, and may seem scarcely worth the debating in serious counsel, and

not

A not be ſollicited and tempted by their prayers interlaced with threats: they would remember themſelves and thoſe of their own calling, in giving of their voices: and having once gotten aſſiſtance unto them, would alſo win the higheſt pitch and ſoveraign type of authority. For the aboliſhing therefore of this ambitious ſeeking and ſtanding for offices they agree and reſolve, that the Tribuns ſhould preferr and publiſh a law, that no man might wear white morethen ordinary, or refreſh the bright hue of his upper garment, while he ſued for any dignity. A ſmall matter now adays and may ſeem ſcarcely worth the debating in ſerious counſel, which notwithſtanding at that time, ſet both nobles and commons in a great heat of contention. Yet obtained the Tribuns ſo much, that this law paſſed: and it appeared,
B that the Commons when their blood was once up, would affect their own, and wholly incline to them in their ſuffrages. But to the end that they might not have their full ſcope and put it in practice, an Act of the Senate was, that there ſhould be held an Election of Conſuls. The occaſion thereof, was a tumult or commotion: which, as the Latins and Hernicks advertiſed them, aroſe from the Æquians and Volſcians. *T. Quintius Cincinnatus*, the ſon of *Lucius* (ſurnamed alſo *Pennus*) and *C. Julius Mento* were elected Conſuls. Neither was this fearful news of war entertained any longer. For the enemies having by a ſacred law (which amongſt them was of greateſt force to levy an army) muſtered their power, ſet forth two mighty armies from both parts, into *Algidum*, and there met. Where the Æquians and Volſcians, ſeverally by themſelves encamped ſtrongly, and more earneſtly
C ſtudied the Captains to fortifie their camps, and to train and exerciſe their ſouldiers, than at any time afore. Whereupon, the news was more fearful that the meſſengers brought to *Rome*. So the Senate agreed to create a Dictator. For, although thoſe nations oftentimes had been vanquiſhed by them, yet now they rebelled in more forcible manner, and with preparation, than at any time before. Alſo, by reaſon of the late ſickneſs, the youth and flower of the Romans was ſore diminiſhed. But above all, the private diſcord of the Conſuls one with another, and the debate and difference in all their counſel terrified them moſt. There be that write, how theſe Conſuls had but unlucky fortune, and loſt a field in *Algidum*: and that it ſhould be the cauſe of making a Dictator. But this one thing is certain, that howſoever elſe the Conſuls diſagreed, yet they jumped in one to croſs the wills of the
D Senators, in that they would not nominate a Dictator until ſuch time as after news brought, ſtill worſe and worſe, and yet the Conſuls would not be ruled by the Senators: one *Quintus Servilius Priſcus*, a man, who right worthy and honourably had born the higheſt offices, made this ſpeech: "My Maſters, ye that are Tribuns of the Commons (quoth he) in this "exigent and deſperate caſe, the Senate calleth for your aſſiſtance, that in ſo great hazzard "of the Common-weal, ye by vertue of your authority, would force the Conſuls peremptorily to make a Dictator. Which ſpeech being once heard; the Tribuns ſuppoſing now they had good occaſion offered, to ſtretch and extend their power to the full, departed aſide: and in the name of their Colledge or ſociety, pronounced, That it was their pleaſure and will, that the Conſuls ſhould be obedient unto the Senat: and in caſe they proceeded to
E do farther, then the conſent of that moſt honourable Houſe would bear them out, they would command them to ward. The Conſuls choſe rather to be over-ruled of them than of the Senat: ſaying yet withal, that the prerogative of the higheſt government was by the Senators betrayed, and the Conſulſhip made thrall and ſubject to the Tribuns power, if ſo be the Conſuls might be compelled to do ought by vigour of the Tribuns authority, and (than which, a private perſon could fear no more) be ſent alſo to ward, or committed to priſon. The lot fell to *T. Quintius* (for in this alſo they could not agree between themſelves) to nominate the Dictator: who named *A. Poſthumius Tubertus*, his wives father, a grim Sir, and a man of moſt ſevere and ſtern government. By whom was *L. Julius* nominated for General of the Cavalry: Herewithal was proclamed a vacation or law-ſteed, and that through-
F out the whole City they ſhould go in hand with nothing but war. The taking knowledge of ſuch as pretended to be freed and exempt from ſouldiery, was put off until the war was ended. So that they that were before doubtful, ſuffered themſelves to be enrolled: and ſouldiers were levied out from the Hernicks and Latins, who from both places obeyed the Dictator to their uttermoſt. All theſe things were diſpatched with exceeding expedition. Then the Dictator having left *C. Julius* the Conſul, for the defence of the City, & *L. Julius* the General of the horſemen for all ſudden occaſions incident unto wars, that they might not be to ſeek for any thing whereof they had need in the camp, took with him *Aulus Cornelius* the High Prieſt, & ſaying after him certain prayers, word for word, he vowed great and ſtately playes, in regard of this tumultuous and troubleſome war: and thus departing from the City, and dividing his whole
G army between himſelf and *Quintius* the Coſ. at length he approached the enemies. And like as they had diſcovered the two camps of their enemies, a little ſpace diſtant one from another, ſo they alſo, about a mile from the enemy, intrenched themſelves: the Dictator neer to *Tuſculum*, and the Conſul to *Lanuvium*. So theſe four Armies, and as many fortified camps, had a ſpacious and large plain in the middle, ſufficient not only for ſmall excurſions to skirmiſh in, but alſo to diſplay their armies of both ſides. And all the time that they lay encamped

The ſpeech of *Q. Servilius Priſcus.*

encamped one againſt another, they ceaſed not to make light skirmiſhes: for the Dictator H
was well content, that his men by making proof, and comparing their ſtrength and puiſſance
with their enemies, and aſſaying by little and little to try the event of theſe skirmiſhes, ſhould
conceive aforehand ſome hope of the entire and general victory.

The enemies therefore having no hope left, to ſpeed well in a ſet field and pight battel, aſ-
ſailed by night the Conſuls camp, and put all to the hazard of a doubtful iſſue. The ſudden
cry and alarm, awakned not only the Conſuls, Sentinels, his *corps de guard*, and ſo his whole
army, but the Dictator alſo out of their ſleep. And where need was of preſent help, there
failed not the Conſul, either in courage or counſel. Some ſouldiers ward and defend the
gates, others compaſs the trench, ranged in a round array. In the other camp of the Dicta- I
tor, look how much leſs ſtir there was, ſo much more leaſure had they, and ſtudied what
was moſt needful to be done. Forthwith aid was ſent unto the Conſul his camp, under the
leading of *Sp. Poſthumius Albus*, a Lieutenant. The Dictator himſelf in perſon, with part
of his power, fetching a ſmall compaſs about, gained a place moſt apart from all noiſe and
tumult, and from whence at unawares he might charge upon the back of the enemies. And
leaveth as Vicegerent in the leaguer *Q. Sulpitius*: and to *M. Fabius* a Lieutenant, he com-
mitteth the conduct of the horſemen, commanding him not before day to ſtir with his horſe,
as being unruly and hard to be managed in tumults and troubles of the night. And all things
elſe, that a provident and induſtrious Captain in ſuch a caſe might command and do, that
commanded he, and did orderly. But for one thing above the reſt, he ſhewed ſingular K
proof of policy and courage, and worthy no mean praiſe: in that he ſent out firſt *M. Gega-
nius* with certain choſen Squadrons to aſſail that camp of the enemies, from whence he
knew by his eſpials there was departed a greater part of the forces. Who after that he ſur-
priſed the enemies there, amuſed wholly upon the event of other mens danger, careleſſe
and ſecure for their own ſelves, and therefore neglecting their ſcouts and guards; wan their
hold, in manner before the enemies knew well it was aſſailed. From whence the Dictator
having deſcried a ſmoak (which was the ſignal agreed between them) crieth aloud, that the
enemies camp was won, and commandeth news thereof to be carried every way. Now it
waxed broad day light, and all was clearly to be ſeen: by which time both *Fabius* with the
horſemen, had given the charge, and the Conſul alſo had made a ſally out of the camp, up- L
on the enemies that now already were ſcared. But the Dictator on the other ſide, charging
upon the rereward and the middle battel, came on every ſide with his footmen, and horſe-
men in train of victory againſt the enemies: who were forced to turn round and fight every
way, according to the diſſonant outcries, and ſudden alarms. Thus being environed round
about, they had in the midſt died for it every one, and ſuffered puniſhment due for their re-
bellion, had not *Vectius Meſſius*, one of the Volſcians, a man more renowned for his vali-
ants acts, then noble by his parentage, rebuked with a loud voice his fellows, being rea-
dy now to caſt themſelves into rings, and ſaid: "What? will ye here without making your de-
The ſpeech of *Vectius Meſſius* to his fellow ſouldiers. "fence, without revenge, offer your ſelves to be devoured of the enemies ſword? What
"do you with your armour and weapons? Why began ye war firſt? Are you trouble- M
"ſome and unruly in peace, and cowards in war: What hope have ye in ſtanding ſtill?
"Do you look for ſome god from Heaven to protect and deliver you? You muſt make
"way by dint of ſword. Go to then, and ſtick to it like men, and that way whereas ye
"ſhall ſee me go afore, follow ye after, as many of you as mind to ſee again your home,
"your parents, your wives and children. It is neither wall, nor rampart and trench, but
"armed men that muſt withſtand armed men. In valour ye are their matches, but in reſpect
"of neceſſity (which is the laſt and ſtrongeſt engin of all other) ye are the better. When he had
The valour of *Vectius Meſſius* a Volſcian. theſe words ſpoken, and done accordingly, with a freſh ſhout they followed after, and
made head to that quarter whereas *Poſthumius Albius* had placed againſt them his cohorts:
and compelled the victors to loſe ground, until ſuch time as the Dictator came to ſuccour his N
men thus diſtreſſed, and now ready to retreat: and ſo he bent thither all the force of the
whole battel. In one only man, *Meſſius*, reſted all the hope and fortune of the enemies. Ma-
ny a man was there hurt on both parts, and many a one ſlain outright, and left dead in the
place. So as now the very Roman Commanders, fought not without bloodſhed. Only *Po-
ſthumius* being ſmitten with a ſtone, which had broken and bruiſed his head, went out of the
throng: for neither the Dictator, wounded as he was in the ſhoulder, nor yet *Fabius*, albe-
it his thigh was almoſt nailed to his horſe, nor the Conſul, for all his arm was quite cut off,
once retired or departed out of that dangerous combat. But *Meſſius* amidſt the enemies that
there lay dead on the earth, with a guard about him of moſt hardy & tall men paſſed through
in forcible manner, and eſcaped clear to the Volſcians leaguer, which as yet was not loſt: and O
ſo the whole battel inclined thither. The Conſul, after he had chaſed them, ſcattered in
parties here and there, even as far as to the trench, aſſaileth the very camp and the rampart.
Thither alſo bringeth the Dictator his power to another ſide. Neither was the aſſault leſs hot
there then the fight was ſharp afore. It is ſaid moreover, that the Conſul threw an enſign
within the rampart, to animate the ſouldiers, that they might more eagerly get up after it:

and

A and ſo by recovering the banner again, was the firſt breach and entrance made. Thus the Dictator having broken through the mure, came to cloſe fight and hand-ſtroaks even within the camp. Then began the enemies every where to fling from them their weapons, and to yeeld themſelves priſoners. So being themſelves and their pavillions taken, they were all ſold, but thoſe of Senators calling. Part of the pillage was reſtored to the Latins and Hernicks, namely, to as many as knew their own goods: part thereof the Dictator ſold in port-ſale. And leaving to the Conſul the charge of the camp, rode himſelf triumphing into the City, and gave over his office. Of which his noble and famous Dictatorſhip, they blemiſh the memorial, who write, that *A. Poſthumius* (the Dictator his ſon, for that upon advantage offered of a fortunate ſervice, he departed without leave from
B his quarter and guard) was after his victory atchieved, by his fathers Commandment beheaded. But I liſt not to believe it. And lawful it is for me ſo to do, among ſo divers opinions: and a good proof it is on my ſide, that ſuch imperious and rigorous proceedings were called *Imperia Manliana*, and not *Poſthumiana*. For like it is, that he who had given the firſt example of ſuch cruelty, ſhould have gotten afore all others, that noted title of cruelty. Beſides, *Manlius* it was, that was ſurnamed *Imperious*. But *Poſthumius* is not marked with any odious note at all. *Imperia Manliana.*

*C. Iulius* Conſul, in the abſence of his Collegue, without any caſting of lots, dedicated the Temple of *Apollo*. *Quintius* having diſcharged his army, when he was returned into the City took not that well. But it was no boot to complain in the Senat houſe. Moreover, in this notable year, ſo full of brave and worthy acts, there is recorded one thing, that was thought in thoſe days no-
C thing pertinent to the State of *Rome*, namely, that the Carthaginians (ſo great and mortal enemies in time to come) paſſed the ſeas then firſt: and (upon the occaſion of civil diſſention and diſcord among the Sicilians) with a power landed in Sicily, for to take part with a ſide and faction. In the City of *Rome* the Tribuns of the Commons laboured, that Military Tribuns might be with Conſuls authority choſen: but it could not be obtained. Conſuls were made, *Lu. Papyrius Craſſus*, and *L. Iulius*. The Æquians Embaſſadors ſuing to the Senat for a league, and for that league, pretending very often to yeeld themſelves, and be in ſubjection, obtained a truce only for 8. years. The Volſcians after their overthrow in *Algidum*, fell to continual debate and contention, whiles ſome perſwaded peace, and others war: ſo long, until at length they grew to brawls and mutinies. So on every ſide the Romans were at reſt. The Conſuls underſtanding that the Tribuns of the
D Commons were complotted (for one falſe brother among them bewrayed and detected all) to put up a bill, and make a law, concerning the eſtimation of fines and penalties (a thing right pleaſing and acceptable to the people) they themſelves prevented them, and preferred it. Then were Conſuls, *L. Sergius Fidenas*, the ſecond time, and *Hoſtius Lucretius Tricipitinus*. In whoſe year nothing was there done worthy of rehearſal. After them ſucceeded Conſuls, *A. Cornelius Coſſus*, and *Titus Quintius Pennus* the ſecond time. The Veientians made rodes into the lands of the Romans. And a rumor went, that ſome of the Fidenatian youths were acceſſary unto them, and had their hands therein. For which were appointed as Commiſſioners to make inquiſition, *L. Sergius*, *Quintus Servilius*, and *Mamercus Æmilius*. Some of them were confined to *Hoſtia*, for that they could make no ſound excuſe, and juſtifie their abſence for certain days out of *Fidene*. So
E the number of the inhabitants there, was encreaſed; and their lands, who were ſlain in the wars, aſſigned unto them. An act for fines and penalties.

In that year hapned an exceeding great drouth. For not only there wanted rain water from above, but alſo the very earth lacking her natural moiſture, ſcarcely ſufficed to maintain the running ſtream in main rivers. The ſcarcity of water beſides about ſprings that were dried up, and the ſmall rivulets and brooks cauſed a great death and mortality of cattel for default of drink: whereof ſome died of the ſcab: by contagion whereof the people alſo were diſeaſed generally. The malady firſt began among the ruſtical ſort, the bond-ſlaves and hinds: and afterwards ſpread into every corner of the City. Neither were men only tainted and diſeaſed with this infection: but their minds alſo were troubled and poſſeſſed with ſundry ſorts of ſuperſtitions religions, and
F thoſe for the moſt part ſtrange and forrain: whiles upon vain and fooliſh propheſies, they brought new rites and ceremonies of ſacrificing into mens houſes; and made good gain of ſuch as were given to ſuperſtitious devotion, and made conſcience of every little thing: until ſuch time as now it grew to a publick offence, and the chief of the City were aſhamed to ſee in every ſtreet and chappel, ſtrange and unaccuſtomed purgatory ſacrifices and expiations, for to procure the favour and mercy of the gods. Whereupon the Ædiles had in charge and commiſſion, to look ſtreightly to this diſorder: and that no other gods were worſhipped, then thoſe of the Romans: nor after any other manner than had been uſual in their native country. So their anger againſt the Veientians, and deſire of revenge, was put off unto the next year following, when *C. Servilius Hala*, and *L. Papirius Mugilanus* were Conſuls. And even then, they made ſome ſcruple to proclaime
G war immediately, or to make out any power againſt them: but they thought good to ſend their Heralds afore, to make claim for their own and challenge reſtitution. For whereas of late years there had been a field fought with the Veientians before *Nomentum* and *Fidene*: whereupon there followed no peace but only a truce concluded: both the time was now expired, and alſo before the day they had rebelled. Yet were there Heralds ſent unto them. And when they had demanded amends by a ſolemn oath and other ceremonies according to the ancient manner, they might have no audience, neither were their words regarded. After this there aroſe ſome queſtion, whether the war ſhould be proclamed with the peoples allowance & ſuffrages A great drought about *Rome*, and much mortalitie thereupon.

*Rome* addicted to ſuperſtitions.

or

or the Senates decree were alone sufficient. The Tribuns by giving out and threatning that they H
would stop the musters, obtained in the end, that *Quintius* the Consul should propound this matter concerning the war unto the people. And it passed clear through all the Centuries. Herein also had the Commonalty the better of it, for that they prevailed that there should be no Consuls chosen the year following. So there were four Tribuns military created with Consuls authority, *T. Quintius Pennus* immediately from his Consulship. *C. Furius*, *M. Posthumius*, and *Cornelius Cossus*: of which *Cossus* had the charge and government of the City. The other three after they had mustered, took a journey to *Veii*, and made good proof how hurtful in war is the rule of many Commanders. For whiles every man was inclined to his own counsel and advice, and took divers courses one from another, they made way for the enemies and gave them advantage. For I
the Veientians taking their opportunity and time, entred upon the army thus distracted, whiles some commanded to sound a retreat, others the alarm and to strike up the battel. Whereupon they were disordered and put to flight. But for as much as the camp was neer at hand, thither they retired themselves in safety: so, as the shame they gat was more then the harm in this defeat. The City was pensive and hereupon sorrowed, as not used to take foiles and overthrows. The Tribuns they hated, and required a Dictator; in whom rested ever the whole hope and stay of the City. And when as even in that behalf, they made a matter of conscience, because there might not be any Dictator nominated, but by a Consul, the Augurs were consulted withal: who resolved them of that doubt and rid them of their scruple. So *A. Cornelius* (a consular Tribun) nominated *Mamercus Æmilius* Dictator: by whom he was himself also pronounced Grand Ma- K
ster of the horsemen. At such default was the City then, of right valour and true vertue, that notwithstanding the prejudice by the Censors, yet there was no remedy, but the whole government of the state should rest upon that family, which had been wrongfully disgraced and unworthily noted by the Censors.

Four military Tribuns in Consular authority.

The Veientians proud of their late good success, albeit they sent their Embassadors about all the nations of *Hetruria*, boasting and vaunting that in one battel they had discomfited three Roman Generals, yet could not they with all their solliciting, perswade any to be seen to take part with them in publick action: but they procured divers from all parts for hope of spoil, voluntarily to aid and assist them. The people of *Fidene* only agreed to rebel. And as though it had been in no wise lawful, to begin any war but with some wicked, heinous and execrable fact: like as afore they J
had embrewed their hands, and bathed their swords in blood of Embassadors, so then, they began with murdering their new received Coloners: and so banded themselves with the Veientians. Then consulted the Princes and States of those two nations, whether they should make *Veii* or *Fidene* the seat town of the war. *Fidene* was supposed the fitter and more commodious. So the Veientians passed over the *Tyber*, and translated the war to *Fidene*. Great fear was there at *Rome* to see the army of their enemies removed from *Veii*, and implanted at *Fidene*. And being shrewdly danted by their late overthrow besides, they encamped even before the gate *Collina*. On the walls were armed souldiers placed, vacation in all courts of law was ordained, shop windows shut up, and all more like a Leaguer then a City. Then sent the Dictator the Criers about into all streets and lanes, to summon the Citizens thus terrified, to a general assembly. Where he rebuked them M
for carrying such wavering and doubtful hearts upon so small accidents and events of fortune, having received but a slight loss and smal foil: and that, not through the manhood of the enemy, or cowardise of the Roman army, but only through the disagreement and difference of the Leaders. "Also for that they were afraid of the Veientian enemy, whom five or six times afore they
"had put to the worst and vanquished, and especially of *Fidene*, which had been oftner in a man-
"ner won, then assaulted. As for the Romans and their enemies (saith he) they are even the
"same still that always for so many hundred years, they had been: bearing the same minds, the
"same bodily strength, and the same armor: and even my self am the same *Mamercus Æmilius*,
"and no other, who heretofore discomfited at *Nomentum*, the Veientians and Fidenatians, with
"the Falscians power also adjoined unto them. And as for *A. Cornelius*, he wil no doubt be the N
"same General of horsemen in this battel, as in the former war he was: at what time he being a
"Knight Marshal, slew *Lars Tolumnius* the King of the Veientians, in the sight of two armies:
"and brought into the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, the rich armor of him despoiled. Wherefore
"ye ought to remember this, that we have on our side triumphs, spoils and victory: whereas
"with the enemies remaineth the wicked and detestable fact of killing the Embassadors, against
"the law of all nations: also the massacre of the Fidenatian inhabitants, in time of peace: the brea-
"king of truce, and their revolting now seven times to their ruin and overthrow. Take weapon
"therefore in hand like men: for I trust assuredly that so soon as we shall join our camps together,
"and encounter these most wicked enemies, they shall have no long joy of the shameful discom-
"fiture of the Roman army. And the people of *Rome* shall understand, how much better they O
"have deserved of the Common-weal, who made me Dictator now the third time, than those,
"who for clipping the Censors wings and abridging them of their kingly rule, had distained
"and disgraced my second Dictatorship with the shameful blot of ignominy and reproach.
After this speech, when he had made his vows accordingly: he encamped a mile and an half on this side *Fidene*, flanked on the right hand with the hills, and on the left with the river *Tyber*. And commanded *T. Quintius Pennus* his Lieutenant, to gain the hills afore, and be possessed secretly of that cape or hill, which was on the back part of the enemies. Himself the next morrow

The Oration of *Mamercus Æmilius* Dictator to the Citizens of *Rome*.

when

A when as the Tuſcans, (full of pride and ſtomack for the proſperous ſucceſs of former dayes, which was much better than their ſervice in fight) came forth into the field: after he had ſtayed a while, until the ſcouts and eſpials brought word, that *Quintius* was gotten ſafely unto the Hill top near adjoyning to the Cattle or fort of the Fidenatians, he advanceth forth his ſtandards: and with his footmen ranged in battel array, marched againſt his enemies with full pace: commanding his General of the Horſemen not to charge without his warrant: for that he himſelf "as need ſhould require, would give the ſignal for the aid of his cavalry to come in, willing him "then, to quit himſelf like a brave Knight in remembrance of his glorious combate with a King: "of his rich preſent and oblation: and of *Romulus* and *Jupiter Feretrius*. Thus the legions aſſail B one another and encounter right hardily. The Romans kindled and enflamed with rancour and malice, termed the Fidenatians, wicked and godleſs wretches: the Veientians, Robbers and Theeves; truce-breakers both, polluted with the abominable murder of Embaſſadors: ſteyned with the execrable maſſacre of their cohabitants: faithleſs and treacherous allies, cowardly and daſtardly enemies: thus both in word and deed they ſatisfied their hatred to the full; And at the very firſt ſhock forced their enemies to ſhrink. At which inſtant all at once, there iſſued out of the open gates of *Fidene* a ſtrange army, not heard of nor uſual, before that day; A mighty number armed with fireworks; and ſhining all over with burning lights, after a fanatical and mad manner, ran as if they were carried with ſpirits, upon their enemies: and with the uncouth ſight of this kind of fight, amaſed the Romans a prety while. Then the Dictator buſy in fight, ha- C ving ſent both for the General of the Cavalry with his troups of Horſemen, and alſo for *Quintius* from the mountains, haſtened himſelf to the left point: which being terrified with a ſcarefire more like than a battel, had given place unto the flame, and ſtepped back. Where with a loud voyce he thus ſpake: "What? will ye be overcome with ſmoak like a ſwarm of Bees, and loſe your "ground, and retreat from your naked and unarmed enemies? will ye not put out this fire with re- "doubled ſtroke of brandiſhing ſwords? And will ye not every man for his part, if we muſt needs "fight with fire, and not with weapons, pull from them their torches and firebrands, and fling "them again at their own heads? Go to, I ſay, like hardy men, mindful of the renown of Ro- "mans, remembring the proweſs of your Fathers, and your own ſelves. Turn this fire upon your "enemies City, and conſume *Fidene* into aſhes with her own flames: this diſloyal *Fidene*, which D "by no favors and good turns of yours, ye were ever able to win and pacifie. The bloud of your "Embaſſadors, the bloud of your Coloners thither ſent to people their City, your Frontiers and "Borders by them waſted, put you in mind of no meaner revenge. At the Dictators commandment, the whole battaillon was moved and encouraged. Some catch the firebrands as they flew; others by force ſnatch them from them, ſo that now both battels were armed with fire. The General of Horſemen for his part, renueth the Horſe ſervice: commanding them to pluck the bitts out of their Horſes mouths; and was the firſt himſelf, that ſetting ſpurs to, rode with bridle in Horſe neck, into the midſt of the fire: and the other Horſes alſo being pricked forward, and eaſed of their bridles, carried the riders with full carier againſt the enemy. The duſt riſing together with the ſmoke, took the light from mens eyes, and Horſes both. And that ſight which had terrified the E ſouldiers, nothing at all affrighted the Horſes. Whereſoever therefore the men of arms rode they bare down all afore them as if ſome Houſes had come tumbling upon their heads. Herewith happened a new alarm to be heard, which having cauſed both armies to wonder and liſten thereunto, the Dictator cryeth out aloud, That *Quintius* the Lieutenant and his Regiment, came upon the back of the enemies: and himſelf reenforcing the ſhout, advanceth his enſigns forward more freſhly. When as now two armies, and two divers battels preſſed ſore upon the Tuſcans, and environed them both before and behind: and that the enemies could neither flye back to their camp, nor yet retire or withdraw themſelves unto the mountains, from whence a freſh ſupply of enemies, made head, and affronted them: and that the horſes being unbridled, carried the riders every way hither and thither the moſt part of the Veientians ran ſcattering in diſorder, and highing F them apace, toward the *Tyber*: and the Fidenatians that remained to the City *Fidene*. But in that fearful flight they ran upon their own death. Some were killed on the banks of the River, others were driven into the water, and the ſtream and whirlepits carried them away. And even they that were cunning ſwimmers, what with wearineſſe, and what with faintneſs of their wounds and with fright, ſunk and were drowned: ſo that few of many ſwam over in ſafety. The other army fled through their camp into the City. The ſame way alſo the Romans followed forcibly after: and *Quintius* eſpecially, together with them who erewhile came down from the mountains, and were the freſheſt ſouldiers for fight (as who came laſt into the battel) and ſo afterwards entred pell-mell among their enemies into the gate, climbed upon the walls, and from the walls ſet up a banner to their fellows, in token that they had won the Town. Which as ſoon as the Dictator G eſpied, (for now by this time had he made an entrance into the forlorn, and abandoned camp of his enemies) he brought the ſouldiers, upon deſire to run to a ſpoil, and hoping of a greater ſaccage in the City, ſtreight unto the gate. And being gotten within the walls, marcheth directly forward to the Caſtle, whereinto he beheld the multitude to flye for refuge and ſafety. The execution in the City was no leſs than in the field: which continued untill they threw away their weapons, and craving nothing but life yeelded themſelves to the Dictator. So both City and camp was ſpoiled and ſacked. The morrow after, the Dictator diſpoſed of his priſoners thus; He drew them by lot, and gave to every Horſeman and Centurion one, and to as many as had done more

The words of the Dictator *Mamercus Aemylius* to his ſouldiers.

valiantly than other, two apeece: the reſt he ſold in portſale. And ſo with triumph brought home H
to *Rome* his victorious army, enriched with a great booty: and having commanded the General
of the Horſemen to reſign up his office, himſelf alſo ſurrendreth his own, upon the ſixteenth day
after his creation yeelding up his government in peace, which in time of war, and in a fearful
ſtate he had received.

There be ſome that have recorded in their Chronicles, that there was a battel fought with the
Veientians at *Fidene* by ſhips upon the water. A thing verily, no leſs impoſſible than incredible.
Conſidering that even at this day, the river is not broad enough for ſuch a purpoſe: and at that
time, (as by ancient men we have learned) it was far narrower than now it is. Unleſs haply in
croſſing over the river ſome veſſels or bottoms, that were put out to meet and to receive them, I
were mayed. And ſo, men making the matter greater (as uſually it cometh to paſs) have deſired a
vain title of a naval victory at Sea. The year following, there were military Tribuns, with Con-
ſuls authority, *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, *L. Furius Medullinus*, and *L.
Horatius Barbatus*. Then was there a truce granted unto the Veientians for twenty years, and to
the Æquians for three years, whereas they had made ſuit for more. Reſt there was alſo from all
ſeditions and broils in the City. The year following, having neither war abroad, nor yet ſedition
at home, was famous yet for the playes which in time of war had been vowed: both in regard of
the great preparations that the Military Tribuns made, as alſo for the frequent reſort and con-
courſe of the Nations adjoyning. The Tribuns with Conſuls authority, were *Cl. Craſſus*, *Sp. Nau-
tius Rutilius*, *T. Sergius Fidenas*, and *Sextus Julius Tullus*. The ſight of theſe games and paſtimes, K
whereunto thoſe ſtrangers were come by publick conſent of their States, was unto them more
acceptable in regard of the courteſy of thoſe friends that gave them intertainment. 'After theſe
The Tribuns Orations to the Commons. " playes there enſued ſeditious Orations of the Tribuns of the Commons, who rebuked the com-
" mon multitude, for that they being beſotted with admiration of thoſe whom they had ſo ha-
" ted, kept themſelves in perpetual thraldome. And not only durſt not attempt to put forth them-
" ſelves for to bring in again the poſſibility to have Conſuls of their part, as in times paſt: no, nor
" ſo much as in the creation of Military Tribuns (the Election of whom was indifferent as well
" for Commons as Nobles) were mindful or thought either upon themſelves or their friends,
" and thoſe of their own body; And therefore they ſhould ſurceaſe to marvel, why no man plea-
" ded for the benefit of the commonalty. For, travel is well beſtowed, and danger well adventu- L
" red, where profit and honor might be hoped and looked for. And nothing is ſo difficult but
" men would employ themſelves to enterpriſe the ſame, if for the adventuring of great exploits,
" there might be propoſed as great rewards. But, that any Tribun of the Commons ſhould run de-
" ſperately and blindly into a world of brawls and troubles, with great hazard of his perſon, and
" no hope at all of fruit and profit in the end: for which contention, he might be ſure that the No-
" bles againſt whom he ſtrived would perſecute him with deadly and irreconciliable malice: and
" at the Commons hands, for whom he thus contended, he ſhould be honored and advanced
" never the more. it was a thing neither to be expected, nor required. The only means to get
" courage and magnanimity, is advancement to high place of honor and dignity. And as for them,
" they would not diſdain the meaneſt commoner that was, if they themſelves might be no more M
" deſpiſed. To conclude, the matter were worth the tryal in one or two, whether any commoner
" were ſufficient to bear a great office of ſtate; or whether it were a wondrous thing and ſtrange
" miracle, that a valiant and hardy man ſhould ariſe out of the commonalty. With much a do
" (ſay they) we got and obtained that Tribuns military with Conſuls authority might likewiſe be
" choſen out of the commonalty: and men approved both in war abroad and in affairs of State
" at home had ſued therefore. In the firſt years they being nipped by you, and ſo having the re-
" pulſe, were had in derition of the Nobility: ſo that at length they forbare to give themſelves
" thus contumeliouſly to be miſuſed and made fools. We ſee no cauſe therefore, why that law al-
" ſo ſhould not be repealed wherein a dignity was granted, and never like to be obtained. For
" leſs ſhame would there ariſe, if the law were not indifferent nor reſpective unto them, than as N
" unmeet perſons and unworthy, thus ſhamefully to be paſſed by and take the repulſe. Theſe and
ſuch like ſpeeches were heard with ſo good an ear and general applauſe, that ſome of them were
incited forward to ſue for the Military Tribunſhip: whiles every one promiſed in the time of his
office to do great matters, and to propoſe, ſome one thing, ſome another, for and concerning the
benefit of the Commons. Pretending great hopes of dividing the common Lands, and planting
of colonies abroad, and laying tributes and impoſitions upon landed perſons, for to pay ſoul-
diers wages. But the Tribuns military then in place, deviſed to ſpye out a time, when upon ſome
occaſion of the abſence of much people departed out of the City, the Senators by a privy and
ſecret warning, ſhould at a certain day be called home: and then, whiles the Tribuns of the
Commons were away, an act of Senate ſhould paſſe in this form: That for aſmuch as it was O
noiſed that the Volſcians were entred into the Lands of the Hernicks to forrage and rob, the mi-
litary Tribuns ſhould go to ſee whether it were ſo or no, and that in the mean while there ſhould
be held a general aſſembly for the Election of Conſuls. The Tribuns military took their
journey accordingly, and left *Appius Claudius* the Decemvirs ſon, Governour of the City, a
ſtout young Gentleman and a forward, who from his very cradle bare an inward grudge and ha-
tred againſt the Tribuns and the Commons. And bootleſs it was either for the Tribuns of
the Commons to find themſelves grieved with thoſe, who made the decree, now that they were

abſent,

A abſent, nor yet had they cauſe to quarrel with *Appius Claudius*, becauſe the thing had been contrived and paſt afore his time. So, Conſuls were created, *C. Sempronius Atratinus*, and *Quintus Fabius Vibulanus*. XXXVII

A forrein matter, but yet worthy to be remembred and here inſerred, is reported to have happned that year: to wit, that *Vulturnum* a City of the Tuſcanes, which now is *Capua*, was by the Samnites taken: and that it came to be named *Capua* of one *Capis* their Captain, or (which foundeth more like a truth) of the champian field. But they wan it by this means. For upon occaſion that the Tuſcans were wearied with former wars, they were admitted into the ſociety of their City and territory. And on a ſolemn feaſtival day, when as the citizens had filled their bellies, and
B were ſonnd aſleep, theſe new Coloners the Samnits, ſet upon the old inhabitants, and in the night ſeaſon ſlew them all.

But now to return. Things paſſing thus (as I ſaid before) the Conſuls abovenamed upon the *Ides of December, entred their government. By which time not only they which were of purpoſe ſent to learn the news of the Volſcians, brought word that war was at hand, but Embaſſadors alſo from the Latins and Hernicks, gave intelligence of the ſame. And namely, that never at any time afore, the Volſcians were more buſy and occupied, either in chuſing of good Captains, or in levying an army, giving out theſe ſpeeches abroad and in every place, That the time was now come, either to forget warfare, and lay away ſouldiery, and for ever make account to bear the yoke of thraldom; or elſe not to give one foot, nor come behind thoſe with whom they ſtrove *13 of December.
C for ſoveraignty, either in manhood or in painful travel, or in Diſcipline of warfare. And ſurely they were no vain tidings that thoſe meſſengers reported. But the Senators would take no ſuch knowledge, nor be greatly moved at the matter. And withal *C. Sempronius*, unto whom the charge of that war was allotted, preſuming upon fortune, as if ſhe were alwayes right conſtant and at command, and leading an army of a people uſed to victory, againſt thoſe that were wont to be overcome, did all things raſhly and negligently. So as to ſpeak a truth, there was more Roman Diſcipline in the Volſcian hoſt, than in the Roman. And ſo, fortune (as oftentimes elſe) went with vertue. At the firſt encounter, which by *Sempronius* was unheedfully and unadviſedly begun, before that either the battaillons were reinforced and ſtrengthened with freſh ſupplies of ſuccour, or the Horſemen ranged in convenient place, they ran together, and came to handſtrokes. And the firſt
D token which way the victory would encline, was the manner of ſhout at the firſt charge; which by the enemy was more loud, more ſhrill and continual: but by the Romans diſſonant, unequal, dead and cold, often begun, and often renued: and by their uncertain and variable noiſe, they bewrayed the inward fear of their hearts. Whereupon the enemies ſo much the more eagerly charged them, preſſing upon them with their ſhields, and laying at them thick with their bright ſwords: on the other ſide, the Romans helmets wag, and their creſts nod every way as they look about them: and as they were to ſeek what to do, ſo they tremble and run together on heaps: one while the enſigns ſtand ſtill, and were abandoned of the formoſt fighting in the vanguard, another while they retired in again amongſt their own ſquadrons. Yet was not the flight certain, nor yet the victory. The Romans ſought more to cover and ſhrowd themſelves than to fight: to ward
E blows rather than to ſtrike. The Volſcians ſet forward their enſigns, preſſed upon the main battel, and ſaw more enemies under foot ſlain than running away. And now in all places the Romans retired, notwithſtanding *Sempronius* the Conſul both rebuked and alſo exhorted them to ſtick to it: for neither his commandment nor the authority and Majeſty of his countenance availed ought. And immediately had they all turned their backs on their enemies, if *Sex. Tempanius*, a Decurion of Horſemen, had not in this deſperate caſe, with a reſolute courage and ready adviſe, helped at a pinch; Who cryed with a loud voyce, that thoſe Horſemen which would the ſafety of the common-wealth, ſhould diſmount off their Horſes. And when the Cornets of Horſemen beſtirred themſelves at his words no leſs than if the Conſul had given commandment; "Unleſs (ſaith he) this troup of men of arms, ſtay the violence of the enemies, we ſee the laſt of the XXXVIII
The valor of *Sex. Tempanius*.
F "Roman Empire. Follow therefore in ſtead of banner diſplayed, the point of my lance: let "both Romans and Volſcians ſee, that no nation is comparable to you, either for foot or "Horſe. Whoſe encouragement being approved and received with a ſhout, he advanceth forward, bearing his ſtaff aloft: and what way ſoever they go, they enter and make room with forcible ſway: and where they ſee their fellows in greateſt diſtreſs, thither they make ſpeed, oppoſing their targets afore them. And thus in every place whereas they thruſt themſelves forcibly, was the fight renued: and doubtleſs the enemies had turned their backs, if poſſible it had XXXIX
been, for ſo few to have performed every thing at once. Now when as the General of the Volſcians, ſaw his men not able to withſtand them, he gave a ſignal and charge to give way to this new band of enemies, to wit, theſe Targettiers: until ſuch time as they had put themſelves ſo for-
G ward that they might be excluded from their fellows. Which being done, theſe Horſemen were enclоſed on every ſide: neither could they break through that way which they went, becauſe the enemies were there thickeſt, where they had made their lane before. The Coſ. then, with the legions of the Romans, having loſt the ſight of thoſe that had been a ſhield of defence and bulwark erewhile to the whole army, leſt that ſo many hardy men thus invironed ſhould be overpreſſed by the enemies; reſolved to adventure any peril or hazard whatſoever. The Volſcians were likewiſe diverſly occupied & troubled. For on the one ſide they bare off the Coſ. and legions: on the other ſide they affronted *Tempanius* fore, & the Horſemen: who ſeeing that after many aſſayes and

offers they could not break forth to their fellows, gat up unto a certain little Hill, and caſt themſelves into a ring and ſtood to their defence, not without doing ſome miſchief to their enemies: neither gave they over fighting until night. The Conſul alſo maintained the battel ſo long as he could ſee, and kept the enemy play. So the night parted them aſunder, and uncertain it was who had the upper hand. And for that the event was unknown, who ſped the better, ſo great a terrour came upon both parts in their camps, that leaving the wounded and a great part of their cariages behind, both armies as taking themſelves loſers, recovered the mountains that were next unto them. Howbeit the Hill or bank aforeſaid, continued ſtill beſet round about, until midnight. But when word was brought thither to the Aſſailants, how that their camp was abandoned: they thinking their fellows vanquiſhed, were alſo for their part affrighted, and made ſhift and fled in the dark as well as they could. *Tempanius*, fearing an ambuſhment, kept his men there together until day light. Then went he down with a few to diſcover the coaſts: and finding by enquiry made of the wounded enemies, that the tents of the Volſcians were left and forſaken: he was full glad thereat, and called down his ſouldiers from the mount, and entreth into the Roman camp. Where ſeeing all void and forlorn, and finding the ſame deſolation which was amongſt the enemies: before that the Volſcians upon knowledge of their errour ſhould return again, he took with him thoſe hurt ſouldiers that he could: and not knowing to what quarters the Conſul was gone, marcheth forward the next way to the City of *Rome*. And thither already the bruit of this unlucky fight, and of abandoning the tents, was arrived. But above all the reſt, thoſe Horſemen were bewailed, and great moan and lamentation was made for them as well in private as in publike. The Coſ. *Fabius*, ſeeing the City alſo terrified with this news, kept ward before the gates: by which time, they might diſcover the Horſemen aforeſaid afar off: but not without ſome fear of their parts, doubting who they were. But being ſoon known, they cauſed ſo great contentment after former fear, that in moſt joyful manner, the noiſe went through the City, how the Horſemen were returned ſafe with victory. And out of thoſe mourning and ſorrowful houſes, which a while afore had bid adieu to their friends and kinsfolk, and bewailed their death, they ran into the ſtreets and high wayes by heaps. The fearful dames alſo and wives, forgetting, for joy, all decent and womanly modeſty, went out to meet the army, fell every one with open armes upon their own husbands and ſons, took them about the neck, clipped and kiſſed them, and with all their hand and heart received them; yea, and for exceeding joy were almoſt paſt themſelves.

The Tribuns of the Commons, who had challenged and accuſed *M. Poſthumius* and *T. Quintius*, for that by their default, there was an unlucky fight before *Veij*: ſeemed to have good occaſion and opportunity offered now, by bringing the Conſul *Sempronius* into freſh and new hatred and diſgrace, for to renue the conceived diſpleaſure and malice of the people againſt them. Having aſſembled therefore the people together, with open mouth they declared, that the Commonwealth was betrayed firſt, at *Veij* by the leaders, and afterwards, becauſe they went clear away withal, and unpuniſhed, therefore the army in *Volſci* was likewiſe loſt by the Conſul: and that a troup of moſt valiant knights were thus caſt away and given to be murdered, and the camp ſhamefully left and forſaken. Then *C. Julius*, one of the Tribuns, commanded *Tempanius* the Horſeman to be called, and before them all ſaid, "I would know of thee O *Sextus Tempanius*, whether thou "think that *C. Sempronius* the Conſul, either began battel in good time, or ſtrengthned his bat- "taillons with good ſuccors and ſupplies? or whether thou thy ſelf, when as the Roman legions "and footmen were diſcomfited, of thine own head and policy, cauſedſt the Horſemen to alight "on foot, and thereby reenforced the fight? Afterwards, when thou and thy men of arms were "ſhut out from our battel, whether either the Conſul himſelf came to reſcue, or ſent any ſuccor "unto thee? Laſt of all, whether the morrow after, thou hadſt any aid or reſcue at all? Whe- "ther thou and thy troup of Horſemen brake through into the camp by your own hardineſs and "valor? And whether ye found in the camp any Conſul or army, or rather the pavilions aban- "doned, and the ſouldiers left behind, hurt and wounded? To theſe premiſſes and points, "haſt thou to ſpeak this day upon thy vertue, and the faith of a ſouldier: by which only, in this "war-ſervice the Common-weal hath ſtood preſerved. Finally, where *C. Sempronius*, and where "our legions be? Whether thou went forſaken thy ſelf, or whether thou forſookeſt the Conſul "and the army? And to conclude, whether we have loſt or won the field? To theſe demands, *Tempanius* made (as they ſay) no fine Oration, but a grave pithy ſpeech like a ſouldier: not full of ſelf-praiſes, nor ſhewing any gladneſs for the fault of another, and anſwered in this wiſe: How great skill (quoth he) of martial feats, and what ſufficiency is in *C. Sempronius*, it is not for me a ſouldier to judge, nor yet to make any eſtimate of my General: but it was for the people of *Rome* to determine thereof, at what time as by their ſuffrages and voyces, in a ſolemn Election, they choſe him Conſul. "And therefore ye are not to enquire of me, and to be informed, either of the "policies of a General Captain, or vertues and duties of a Conſul: deep points to be examined, "weighed, and diſcourſed by great wits, reaching heads, and high minds. But for that which I "with mine eye ſaw, I am able to make report and teſtify; namely, That before himſelf was ex- "cluded out of the battel, I beheld the Conſul fighting manfully in the vanguard, encouraging "his men earneſtly, and even amongſt the Roman Standards, and Pikes of the enemies, buſily "employed. After which I was carried from the ſight of my fellows, howbeit by the ſtir, noiſe and "ſhouting, I well perceived, that the conflict continued until night. Neither was it poſſible (as "I thought) for them to break through unto the Hill which I kept, by reaſon of the multitude

"of

The Interrogatories tendred unto *Tempanius* by *C. Julius* a Tribun of the Commons.

The modeſt anſwer of *Tempanius*, to the former Interrogatories.

A "of enemies between. As for the army, what is become of it, I know not: But I ſuppoſe, that "as I my ſelf in an extremity and fearful caſe, defended my ſelf and my men, by advantage of the "ground: ſo the Conſul for to ſave the army, took ſome more ſafe place to encamp in. Neither "think I verily, that the Volſcians ſtood in better terms than the Romans fortune was. And the "darkneſs of the night (no doubt) cauſed errour and confuſion on every ſide, and in all places. After which ſpeech when as he beſought them, not to hold him any longer, wearied with travel, and faint of his wounds: he was with exceeding praiſe both of his valiant ſervice and alſo of his modeſt ſpeech, licenced to depart.

Whiles theſe things thus paſſed, the Conſul by that time, had marched by the way of *Lavicum* B as far as to the Temple of *Quies*: thither were wains, draught-beaſts and ſumpter Horſes ſent from the City, to receive and eaſe the army, toiled out with fight, and tired by journying all night. Within a while after, the Coſ. entred into the City: who endeavoured not more, to put the fault from himſelf, than to extol *Tempanius*, and give him his due deſerved praiſes. Now whiles the City was ſad and heavy for this hard hap, and angry alſo with the Captains: behold, *M. Poſthumius*, who before had been accuſed, was now preſented unto the people, for to wreak their choler and malice upon. He had been a Tribun Military in place of a Coſ. at *Veij*, and now was condemned, & a fine ſet on his head of ten thouſand Aſſes of braſs. But as for *Titus Quintius*, 31 *lib.* 5 *ſh.* ſter. his fellow in government, becauſe that among the Volſcians he had ſerved fortunately as Conſul, under the conduct of *Poſthumius Tibertus* the Dictator: and likewiſe at *Fidene*, as Lieutenant of C the other Dictator *Mamercus Æmylius*, and laid the whole fault of that other time from himſelf upon his collegue before condemned: he was found unguilty and acquit by all the Tribes. It is ſaid that the freſh remembrance of his father *Cincinnatus*, late a right worſhipful citizen, helped him much: Yea, and *Capitolinus Quintius* a very aged man, did him no hurt, who humbly beſought them that they would not ſuffer him, having but a while in this world to live, for to be the carrier of ſo heavy news unto *Cincinnatus*. The Commons made Tribuns of the commonalty, *Sex. Tempanius*, *A. Sellius*, *Sex. Antiſtius*, and *Sex. Pompilius* in their abſence: whom alſo the Horſemen had choſen for their Captains or Centurions, in the former exploit, by the adviſe and counſel of *Tempanius*. But the Senators, becauſe now for hatred of *Sempronius*, the name of Conſuls miſliked and offended them, determined that military Tribuns with Conſuls authority, ſhould be created. So D there were choſen *L. Manlius Capitolinus*, *Q. Antonius Merenda*, *L. Papyrius Mugilanus*.

In the very beginning of the year *L. Hortenſius* the fifth Tribun of the commonalty, accuſed *C. Sempronius* the Conſul of the former year. And when as his other four fellows in office, in the ſight of the people of *Rome* beſought him, not to trouble their guiltleſs Captain, in whom nothing could be blamed or found fault withal, but adverſe fortune: *Hortenſius* could hardly abide, but thought it was but to prove and trye his reſolute conſtancy: and that the party accuſed, truſted not upon the prayer and interceſſion of the Tribuns, which only for a ſhew was pretended, but upon their ſupport and aſſiſtance. And therefore turning one while to *Sempronius* himſelf, demanded what was become of that hauty courage and ſtomack, ſo ordinary in thoſe of Senators calling? and where was that magnanimity which reſted and relied upon innocency? ſince that he ha- E ving been a Conſul, was fain to ſhelter and ſhrowd himſelf under the ſhadow and protection of the Tribuns? Another while directing his ſpeech to his fellow Tribuns: but you my Maſters (quoth he) what will ye do? if I proſecute mine action againſt him ſtill, and convict him in the end: Will ye take from the people their right, and overthrow the authority of the Tribuns among the Commons? When they again ſaid and inferred, that the people of *Rome* had abſolute power to do what they would, both with *Sempronius*, and all others: and that they neither would nor could abridge the people of their judgment. But if (ſay they) our prayers in the behalf of our General, who was to us in ſtead of a father, may not avail, then will we together with him change our weed for company. Nay, God forbid (quoth *Hortenſius*) The Commons of *Rome* ſhall never ſee their Tribuns arrayed in ſoiled and mournful apparel. And as for *C. Sempronius*, I have now no F more to ſay to him, ſince that he hath carried himſelf ſo, whiles he was General, as that he hath gained thus much, as to be ſo dearly beloved of his ſouldiers. Neither was the kindneſs of thoſe four Tribuns more acceptable to the Commons and Nobles, than the good nature of *Hortenſius*, who at their reaſonable requeſt, was ſo eaſy to be pacified and intreated.

It was no long time that fortune fawned upon the Æquians: who embraced the doubtful victory of the Volſcians, and took it as their own. The next year after, when *Cn. Fabius Vibulanus*, and *T. Quintius Capitolinus*, the ſon of *Capitolinus*, were Conſuls: by the leading of *Fabius*, unto whom was allotted that Province, nothing was done there worthy of remembrance. For when as the Æquians had made ſemblance of a battel, and brought their army only in ſight, they were in fearful wiſe ſoon diſcomfited, and ſhamefully fled, miniſtring no matter of great ho- G nor to the Coſ. And therefore was he denied triumph. But yet becauſe the ignominy of the loſſe which happened by *Sempronius*, was partly allayed it was granted that he might enter Ovant into the City. [A General was ſaid to enter Ovant into the City, when ordinarily without his army following him he went on foot, or rode on Horſeback only, and the people in their Acclamations for joy, redoubled *Ohe*. or *Oho*. So that *Ovatio* is as much as *Ohatio*: Howſoever, ſome think that *Ovatio* took the name of ſacrificing a ſheep. But he rode in triumph, when his ſouldiers attended him in his chariot, crying *Io Triumphe*. In this he caried a branch, or ware a garland of lawrel, in the other of Myrtle. So that the Ovation was a leſs honor than the Triumph. And it was granted

* The goddeſs of reſt and Repoſe.

*This within theſe marks* [ ] *take as a marginal note.*

granted to inferior persons, and for meaner desert. Whereas, none usually might triumph, unless H
he were Dictator, Cos. or Pretor, and had slain in field 5000 enemies at the least, won much
spoil and pillage, and augmented the State of the Roman Empire.] Like as the war was dispatched
with less ado than they feared: so in the City, after a calm and peaceable state, there arose between
the Commons and Nobles, a world of discords and troubles more than they expected. Which
began upon occasion of doubling the number of Questors. For when the Consuls had pro-
pounded, that besides two Questors or Treasurers of the City, there should be other twain ready
to attend upon the Consuls, for all services and charges belonging to war: and when the Nobles
also with all their power had approved it, the Tribuns of the Commons entred into a contention
with the Consuls, and required that some of the Questors (for until that time they had been cre- I
ated from out of the degree of the Patritij only) might be likewise of the Commons. Against
which demand, at the first, both Consuls, and also the Nobles, laboured with might and main.
But afterwards having granted thus much, That as the use and practise was in creating of Tribuns
with Consuls authority, so in like manner, in the Election of Questors, the people should have
their free liberty to chuse. And seeing they gained little thereby, and could effect no good, they
wholly let fall their former matter, about increasing the number of the Questors. But although
it were thus by them given over, the Tribuns took it in hand again, and set it on foot: yea, and
other seditious actions besides very often sprang forth, and among the rest, those also concerning
the Law *Agraria*. Upon which troubles, when as the Senate was of mind, that there should be
Consuls rather than Consular Tribuns created; and by reason of the Tribuns stepping between K
with their negative voyce, no decree of the Senate could passe, the government of the Common-
* The vacancy of the soveraign Magistrate. weal was devolved from Consuls to an * Interreign, but not without exceeding great debate:
for that the Tribuns kept the Patritij from meeting and packing together. Now when as the
greater part of the year following was spent, with much strife and contention between the new
Tribuns and certain Interregents, whiles one while the Tribuns stayed the Nobles from assem-
bling together about the chusing of an Interregent, and another while crossed the Interregent for
granting out any Act of Senate or warrant, for the election of Consuls: at the last, *L. Papyrius*
*Mugillanus*, being declared Interregent, sometimes rebuked the Nobles, and sometimes blamed
The Oration of *L. Papyrius Mugillanus*, to the Nobles & Commons of *Rome*. the Commons, and said: "That the Common-wealth neglected and forlorn of all men, was
"taken into protection of the Gods, and guided by their care and providence: standing upright L
"and safe only, upon the truce observed by the Veientians, and the slow speed or small hast that
"the Æquians made to war. From whence, if any trouble should happen to arise, it is your will
"(quoth he) and pleasure belike, that the state should be surprised and assailed, whiles it is with-
"out any Magistrate of the Nobility. For neither is there an army ready, nor yet a Captain to
"raise an army. What? think ye to put back forrain war abroad by civil discord at home? Which
"if they both should come together, there were no other remedy though all the Gods in Heaven
"should set to their helping hand, but that the Common-weal of *Rome* should utterly be subver-
"ted. Yet rather remit every one of you somewhat of the rigor of your full jurisdiction, and
"(for the love of God) take some indifferent course to joyn in unity: the Nobles for their part,
"by suffering Military Tribuns to be created in lieu of Coss. the Tribuns again by no more thwar- M
"ting and interposing their negative, but that four Questors may be chosen by the free voyces of
"the people, from out of the Commons and Nobles, one with another. First therefore was the
High Court held for choosing soveraign Tribuns: and Tribuns there were created in Consular au-
thority, all of the Nobility; namely, *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* the third time, *Sex. Furius Medul-*
*linus* the second time, *M. Manlius*, and *A. Sempronius Atratinus*. When this Tribun last named,
was president of the Election for Questors, and the son of *Antistius* a Tribun of the Commons,
and a brother besides to another Tribun, one *Sex. Pompilius* stood for the dignity, among certain
other of the Commoners: neither all their own means that they could make, nor all the voyces
they could procure, were able to prevail, but that the people preferred persons to the place, accor-
ding to their gentry and high birth: namely, whose fathers and grand-fathers they had seen Con- N
suls. All the Tribuns of the Commons stormed and chafed at this, but especially *Pompilius* and
The complaints of *Pompilius* and *Antistius* against *Atratinus* the Tribun military. *Antistius*, being set on fire at the repulse of these their friends. "What should this mean (say
"they) that none of the Commons, neither in regard of their own merits, nor considering the
"injuries at the Nobles hands, nor yet for desire they might pretend to the first hansel of that au-
"thority, which now was lawful, and never heretofore: that none of the Commons (I say) was
"created, if not a Military Tribun, yet not somuch as a Questor? What, that neither the fathers
"prayer in the behalf of his son, nor a brothers suit in favour of a brother, being Tribuns both of
"them, invested in that sacred authority, and which first was erected for the maintenance of com-
"mon freedom, could ought at all prevail? Surely there is some fraud and jugling in the matter:
"and *A. Sempronius*, hath in the Election used more art and cunning than truth and fidelity, O
Complaining that by his injurious and indirect dealing, their friends had taken the foil. When as
therefore they might not by any violence touch his own person and attach him, being fenced
with innocency in this Action, and secured by vertue of the office which then he bare: they
wreaked their selves and discharged their choler upon *C. Sempronius*, the cousin germain of *Atra-*
*tinus* by the brother: and with the help of *M. Canuleius*, one of their collegues, arrested him for
the ignominious service in the Volscian war. Ever and anon, also the same Tribuns made some
words and motion in the Senate-house, concerning the division of Lands, and revived the law

*Agraria*

A *Agraria* (which *C. Sempronius* at all times moſt ſharply and eagerly had withſtood. Supporting, as it fell out indeed, that the accuſed perſon ſhould either by giving over the cauſe, be leſs eſteemed of the Nobles: or if he ſtood to it ſtill until the time of judgment drew near, he ſhould diſpleaſe and offend the Commons. But he choſe rather to be the object of the diſpleaſure and malice of the people, that were oppoſed and bent againſt him, and ſo to wound his own private eſtate: than to betray the common and publike cauſe: and perſiſted reſolute in the ſame minde ſtill, that there ſhould no bribing donative be granted, that might win and procure favour unto thoſe three corrupt Tribuns: "For it is not land and living (quoth he) that they ſhoot at, for the benefit of the "Commons; that is not their ſeeking: but their drift is to work and procure diſpleaſure unto me: B "and therefore I will for my part, abide that ſtorm and tempeſt with a reſolute mind. And the "Senate ought not to eſteem either of me, or of any citizen elſe ſo highly, as to buy the ſparing "of one man ſo dear, even with the harm and dammage of the whole ſtate. The day of judicial tryal came. When as he had pleaded for himſelf, and ſeemed nothing daunted at the matter: yet for all that ever the Nobles could do, who tryed all means, but in vain, to mitigate and delay the heat of the Commons, condemned he was in *fifteen thouſand Aſſes. The ſame year *Poſthumia* a Veſtal Nun, was called in queſtion for incontinency and inceſt, and came to her anſwer. A Virgin guiltleſs for any deed done: but ſcarcely of good name and fame: by reaſon that ſhe was ſuſpected for her apparel and going more light and gariſh in her attire: yea, and for her wit, more conceited and pleaſant, than became a maid, and nothing reſpective of the ſpeech of the world. C Her tryal was put over to a farther day, and ſhe (after ſhe had twiſe pleaded) in the end was acquit: only the high Prieſt by the adviſe, and in the name of the whole colledge, ſchooled her, and gave her warning to leave her ſports, taunts, and merry conceits: and in her rayment to be ſeen not ſo gay as devout, and wear her garments rather ſainctly than ſightly. The ſame year was *Cumes*, a City inhabited at that time by the Greeks, taken by the Campanians.

The singular conſtancy of *C. Atratinus.*

*46 *lib.* 17 *ſh.* 6 *d. ſterl.*

*Poſthumia* ſuſpected of Incontinency, for her pleaſant wit and gay apparel.

The year following had military Tribuns with Conſuls authority, *Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, P. Lucretius Tricipitinus, Sp. Nautius Servilius.* A year, by the happineſs and good fortune of the people of *Rome*, more notable for a danger eſcaped, than for any harm received. Certain bond-ſervants had conſpired to fire the City in divers places far aſunder: for this intent, when the people ſhould be buſily occupied, here and there, to ſave their houſes, then by force and armes to D ſurpriſe the Caſtle and Capitol. But *Jupiter* turned away and diſappointed their wicked deſigns. For by the peaching and information of twain, the reſt of the malefactors were taken and executed. But thoſe that diſcloſed and revealed the conſpiracy, had ten thouſand pound in braſs mony (which was in thoſe dayes thought to be great riches) weighed them out of the City chamber, and freedom beſides, for their reward.

A conſpiracy of bondſlaves.

31 *lib.* 5 *ſh.* 8 *ſt.*

After this, began the Æquians to renue war: and word was brought ro *Rome* by credible perſons, that certain new enemies alſo, to wit, the Lavicans, joyned together in counſel with the old. Theſe Æquians, were good neighbours: for once a year ordinarily, they uſed to put the City of *Rome* to the pains of warring with them, and not miſs. Embaſſadors then were ſent to *Lavicos*, who brought doubtful anſwers from thence: whereby it appeared that neither at that inſtant they E were ready to war, nor yet were like to continue long in peace. The Tuſculans were charged, to take good heed, and have an eye that way, that no new ſtirs and troubles ſhould ariſe at *Lavicos*. There came Embaſſadors from *Tuſculum*, to *L. Sergius Fidenas, M. Papyrius Mugillanus*, and *C. Servilius*, the ſon of *Q. Servilius Priſcus*: (by whom, being Dictator, *Fidenæ* was won) who were Military Tribuns in Conſuls authority the year following. Theſe Embaſſadors brought news that the Lavicans were out, and in armes, and joyning with the Æquians army, had forraged the country of *Tuſculum*, and encamped themſelves in *Algidum*. Then was war proclaimed againſt the Lavicans. And when by a decree made by the Senate, that two of the Conſular Tribuns ſhould go to war, and one manage the affairs of *Rome*: there aroſe a contention on a Sunday, among the ſaid Tribuns. Every one thought himſelf the meeteſt and moſt ſufficient man, to be General of F the war, refuſing the charge of the City, as a baſe, diſhonourable, and thankleſs office. As the Senators muſed and wondred, to ſee amongſt thoſe that were fellows in government ſo undecent a ſtriſe and contention; then *Q. Servilius*: "Seeing that (quoth he) there is no reverent regard, "either of this honorable houſe, or of the Common-wealth: the father his countenance and "dread Majeſty, ſhall end this debate. My ſon without any lot caſting, ſhall govern the City as "Preſident. God grant, that they which love war ſo well, may manage it with more diſcretion "and concord than they wiſh it. As for a general muſter to be levied out of all the people indifferently, that was not liked of. So ten Tribes were drawn by lot, out of which, the yonger ſort were preſt forth to war under the conduct of the two Tribuns. The ſtriſe which began to be kindled among them in the City, through the ſame deſire ſtill of ſoveraignty, brake forth and G grew much hotter in the camp. In nothing agreed they, ſtriving whoſe opinion ſhould ſtand: each one would have his own way: his own commandments obeyed and none elſe: one deſpiſed another, and were deſpiſed one of the other: until at length, upon the Lieutenants reproof, they grew to this point, and this order was taken: That they ſhould each other day, rule one alone by himſelf abſolutely. Which news being brought to *Rome*, it is reported that *Q. Servilius*, a man for his years and long experience right skilfull, prayed of the immortal Gods, that by the variance and diſcord of the Tribuns, the Common-wealth not more harm, than they had received at *Veios*. Ad as if there were no doubt, but that ſome great loſs and overthrow was

ready

ready to happen, he was inſtant upon his ſon, to levy ſouldiers, and to provide munition for war. H
Neither proved he a falſe and vain Prophet. For by the leading of *L. Sergius*, whoſe day it was to rule, when as the enemy under a colour of fear, withdrew unto the trench, and ſo trayned them thither upon a fooliſh hope to win the camp, even under the very camp of the enemies in an uneven ground of diſadvantage, they were ſuddenly charged by the Æquians, diſcomfited and chaſed down the valley: and many in their fall, which was greater than the flight, were trod under foot and ſlain, and with much ado that day kept they their own tents. The morrow after, when as now the enemies had beſet a great part of the camp, they ſhametully fled away, at the back gate, and forſook the camp. The Captains, Lieutenants, and the ſtrength remaining of the army, which kept to their enſigns and colours, went to *Tuſculum*. Other that were ſcattered here and there I
about the fields by ſundry wayes, made haſt to *Rome*, and reported there the overthrow to be greater than indeed it was. Leſs was the trouble and ſorrow, becauſe men looked for no better iſſue and ſucceſs: and alſo for that, there was help and ſuccour (which they were to have an eye unto in ſo fearful a caſe) provided by the Tribun aforehand. At whoſe commandment, when as the tumult was by the inferiour Magiſtrates appeaſed in the City, eſpials were ſent out in haſt: who brought word that the Captains and the army was at *Tuſculum*: and that the enemy had not removed his camp. And then (which encouraged them moſt of all) by the Senates decree, *Q. Servilius Priſcus* was choſen Dictator, a man whoſe Providence over the Common-weal, the City as many other times afore, ſo in the event of that war had experience of: for that he only ſuſpected the contention of the Tribuns afore this unhappy foil. Who having nominated Gene- K
ral of the Horſemen, his ſon (as ſome ſay) by whom being military Tribun, himſelf was declared Dictator (for others there be that write how *Servilius Hala* was that year General of the Horſe) went forth with a freſh army to war, and having joyned unto him thoſe which were at *Tuſculum*, he pitched his tents, two miles from the enemy. But ſee the fruit of good ſucceſs. The pride and negligence which had been amongſt the Roman Captains, went from them to the Æquians. Therefore in the firſt beginning of the conflict, when the Dictator with his Horſemen whom he ſent againſt them, had diſordered and put out of array the formoſt ranks of the enemies, then commanded he the enſigns of the legionary footmen with all ſpeed to follow hard upon: and one enſign-bearer of his own, who made ſome ſtay, he ſlew with his own hand. Then were they ſo earneſtly ſet to give an hot charge, that the Æquians could not abide their force: and being in L
fight overthrown, when as they fled all amain to the camp, the aſſault thereof was both ſhorter and with leſs ado, than was the battel. When the camp was taken and ſpoiled, and that the Dictator had given the pillage unto the ſouldiers: and that the Horſemen, which chaſed the enemies from the camp, had brought word back, that all the Lavicans were overthrown, and a great part of the Æquians were fled to *Lavicos*: the day following was the army alſo led thither, and the Town compaſſed and beſet round about, ſcaled, and ſacked. The Dictator having brought home to *Rome* his victorious army, upon the eight day after he was choſen, gave over his office. And in very good time, before there was any ſedition ſtirred up about the Law *Agraria*, by the motion of the Tribuns of the Commons, for the diviſion of the Lavicans Lands: the whole body of

A Colony planted at *Lavicos*.

the Senate appointed that a Colony ſhould be ſent to *Lavicos*. So there were ſent from the City M
a thouſand and five hundred to inhabit there, and two acres apiece given them of Land.

After the winning of *Lavicos*, there were created Military Tribuns with Conſuls authority, to wit, *Agrippa Menenius Lanatus*, and *L. Servilius Structus*, with *P. Lucretius Tricipitinus* (all three the ſecond time) and *Sp. Veturius Craſſus*: and the year following *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, the third time, and theſe twain, *M. Papyrius Mugillanus*, and *Sp. Nautius Rutilus* the ſecond time: for theſe two years there was peace abroad, but diſcord at home about the Laws *Agraria*. They that troubled the people, were *Sp. Mecilius*, who now the fourth time, and *Metilius*, who the third time were made Tribuns of the Commons, both abſent. And when they had publiſhed their Act, That all Lands conquered from the enemies, ſhould be divided by the poll: by which Ordinance, the poſſeſſions of a great part of the Nobility became confiſcate, (for ſince their City was N
ſcituate and built in a ſtrange ground, there was in a manner no Land lay to it, which had not been purchaſed by the ſword; neither enjoyed the Commons any, but that which either had been ſold or aſſigned to the Commons) this ſeemed to be a bone caſt between the Nobles and the Commons, to ſet them together at ſtrife and contention. Neither knew the Military Tribuns any way to take counſel in this caſe, albeit one while they aſſembled the Senate, and another while met in private conference with the Nobility. Then *Appius Claudius*, (the nephew or grandſon of notorious *Appius* the Decemvir, created for the making of Laws) the puny of all the counſel

The ſpeech of *Ap. Claudius* to the Senators.

of the Nobility, made (as it is reported) this ſpeech, and ſaid, "That he would impart unto them "that which he had received by tradition from his anceſtours, to wit, an old deviſe, and appro- "priate to his houſe, for that his great grandſire *Appius Claudius*, had ſhewed unto the Nobles O
"the only way, to abate and take down the Tribuns power; namely, by the coming between "and negative voyce of their fellows. For men new come up, and riſen to promotion, might "ſoon by the authority of the chief rulers be brought from their purpoſe, and made to change "their mind, if otherwhiles thoſe great men in place would uſe ſome ſpeech unto them fitted and "framed rather to the time and preſent occaſion than reſpective to their own high place and dig- "nity: for evermore the heart and courage of ſuch, is according to their degree and wealth. And "when they ſee once their fellows poſſeſſed firſt afore them of the cauſe, and thereby crept wholly

"into

A "into all the favour with the Commons, and that no room is left for themſelves to have any "part thereof, they will be willing enough to enc line and condescend unto the Senate, and take "their part: by means whereof, they might wind into the love and good grace of that univer- "ſall ſtate, and particularly with the principal Lords of the Nobility. Which ſpeech, when they all had approved, and eſpecially *Q. Servilius Priſcus*, who praiſed the young Gentleman for that he was not grown out of kind, nor degenerate from the ſtock and race of the *Claudij*, then every man was ſet about this buſineſs, to ſee whom of the Colledge or company of Tribuns they could win and draw to croſs and ſtop the Act for going forward. The Senate now being broken up, the chief of the Nobles caught hold of the Tribuns, and were in hand with them perſwading, ex-
B horting, and aſſuring them, that they ſhould every one in private gratify not only, but alſo the whole body of the Senate in general: and never gave over, until they had procured ſix of them to interpoſe their negative, and to croſs the Law. The morrow after, when as of purpoſe a matter was propounded afore the Senate, about the ſedition which *Mecilius* and *Metilius* had raiſed, by a Largeſs of dangerous conſequence; ſuch ſpeeches were by the principal of the Nobles delivered, that each one for himſelf confeſſed, that now they were to ſeek for counſel, and ſaw no other help nor remedy but in the authority of the Tribuns: to the protection and ſafegard of which Magiſtracy, the Common-weal betook her ſelf, and fled for ſuccour, as being beſet with danger, like ſome poor private perſon, and had no other means to ſave her ſelf: ſaying, That it would be both for themſelves, and alſo for their authority an honorable thing if it might appear, that the
C puiſſance of their Tribunſhip were not more imployed in moleſting the Senate, and making diſcord among the States than in reſiſting the peeviſh wilfulnes of their collegues. Whereupon aroſe a great noiſe through the whole company of the Senators, whiles out of all parts of the Court there aſſembled, they called upon the Tribuns for their helping hand. Then after ſilence made, they (who for the favour of the Lords of the Senate were made aforehand to their cauſe) declared and confeſſed, that they were ready to croſs that act, by their fellows publiſhed, ſeeing the Senate judged it to be prejudicial to the Common-wealth. Theſe Tribuns for the offer of their good ſervice, were by the Senate highly thanked. But the Authors and Patrons of the Act aforeſaid, calling together an aſſembly of the Commons, when they had inveighed againſt their fellows moſt ſharply, terming them betrayers of the Common-wealth, and ſlaves to the Nobles: and u-
D ſing other bitter ſpeeches, gave over their action and ſuit.

Two grievous wars had continued all the year next following (wherein *P. Cornelius Coſſus*, *C. Valerius Potitus*, *Quintius Cincinnatus*, and *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, were military Tribuns in Coſſ. authority) but that the Veientian war was deferred by the ſuperſtitious fear of their own Princes; whoſe grounds, *Tybris* (overflowing the banks) had ſpoiled, and overthrown alſo the villages and houſes that ſtood thereupon. The Æquians likewiſe by reaſon of their loſs received three years before, made no great haſt to aid and aſſiſt the Volans, a people of their own nation. For they had made certain rodes into the Lavicans Country, confining upon them, and warred upon the inhabitants, lately there planted. Which treſpaſs by them done, they hoped to have been able to maintain, by the banding and aſſiſtance of all the Æquians: but being forſaken of their allies, they
E loſt both their Town and territory, only by ſiege, and one light skirmiſh, and never fought for it any memorable war. *L. Sextius* alſo Tribun of the Commons, aſſayed to make an Act, that there might be ſent to *Vola* as well as to *Lavicos*, Coloners to people it: but by the negative of his Aſſociates, who ſhewed, that they would not ſuffer any Statute of the Commons to paſs without the aſſent of the Senate, it came to nothing.

In the year following, the Æquians having recovered and won again *Vola*, and brought a Colony thither, fortified the Town with a freſh power, at what time were Tribuns Military in Conſuls authority at *Rome*, *Cn. Cornelius Coſſus*, *L. Valerius Potitus*, *Q. Fabius Vibulanus* the ſecond time, and *M. Poſthumius Regillenſis*. The war againſt the Æquians, was committed to this *Poſthumius*, a man of a crooked diſpoſition, as his victory ſhewed more than the whole courſe of the
F war. For having levied an army in haſt, and brought it before *Vola*, after ſome ſmall skirmiſhes, he tamed the Æquians, and at length entred the Town. And when he had done with the enemies, he began to quarrel with his own ſouldiers: for whereas during the time of the aſſault, he had given out by Proclamation, That they ſhould have the ſaccage after the Town was once won: he brake promiſe with them. For I am induced to believe that this was the cauſe rather why the army mutined and was diſcontented, than for that in a Town lately ſacked before and in a new Colony, there was found leſs ſpoil than the Tribun made boaſt of. But this diſpleaſure and anger once conceived was made the worſe after that he returned into the City: for being ſent for by his fellows, upon occaſion of the Tribunitian ſeditions, there eſcaped him an indiſcreet ſpeech I muſt needs ſay, yea, and without all ſence, wit, and honeſty. Which he let fall in an aſſembly of the
G Commons: wherein it hapned, that as *Sextius* a Tribun of the Commons, was preferring the law *Agraria*, and ſaying withal, That he would propoſe an Act that Coloners ſhould likewiſe be ſent to *Vola*, for that they were worthy to have both the Town and Lands of *Vola*, who had by ſword and ſpear conquered the ſame. *Poſthumius* caught the word out of his mouth: And that ſhall my ſouldiers, deerly abide (quoth he) unleſs they be more quiet. Which word being overheard, offended not ſo the Com. preſently there in place aſſembled, as the Lords of the Senate awhile after. Moreover the Tribun aforeſaid, an active man and eloquent withal, having among his adverſaries met with a proud humorous ſpirit, and an inſolent and intemperate tongue, which walked

so freely and so long by his provocation, that he uttered these speeches, which bred not only ill will and displeasure to himself, but also wounded the cause, and the whole state of the Patritij. H

The Oration of *Sextius* against *Posthumius.*

This *Sextius* (I say) was busy, and quarrelling with none of all the Military Tribuns, more than with *Posthumius.* And even at that time, taking advantage of the same cruel and inhuman speech of his: Hear ye not, O ye Commons (quoth he) how he threatneth mischief unto his souldiers, as unto bondslaves? "And yet this beast ye will think more worthy of so great dignity wherein "ye have placed him, than those that indue you with house and land, that send you abroad to in- "habit Colonies, that provide habitation for you against old age, that tendring your wealth, take "part and defend you against so cruel and proud adversaries. Begin now henceforth to marvel "why so few take in hand to maintain your cause: For what may they look for, and hope at I "your hands? for honors, which ye bestow rather upon your adversaries, than those that are "affectionate defenders of the people of *Rome.* Ye sighed even now and groaned again, at the "words uttered out of this foul mouth. But what matter makes that? If ye were now to go to "an election, and to give your voyces, ye would no doubt for all that, prefer this man (who "threatneth to mischief you) afore them that are willing and desirous to establish your Lands, "your dwelling places, and the whole state of your substance and living. But when that lewd language of *Posthumius* was reported once to the souldiers, it bred a far greater indignation (be sure) within the camp. How now? (say they) is he, who hath intercepted our booty, and defrauded us poor souldiers of our due, not content therewith, but must menace mischief besides unto us, as his varlets? When as therefore they openly muttered thereat, and the Questor or K Treasurer *P. Sestius* thought that the mutiny might be restrained with the same violence by which it was first raised: he sent an Officer to one clamorous souldier, that kept a noise above the rest. Whereupon arose an outcry and a brawl: and he got himself a good rap with a stone for his labour, that he was fain to go out of the presse. And he that smote him, spake aloud besides, and bad the Questor take now that for his pains in a mischief which the General had threatened his souldiers. *Posthumius* in this hurliburly was sent for, and he, when he was come, made all worse and worse with his sharp examinations, tortures, and cruel punishments. At the last, when he could not see to make an end nor bridle his choler: they all ran on heaps together, at the lamentable cry of those whom he commanded to be choked in the mire and killed under the hurdle: and he half besides himself full foolishly stept down in more hast than good speed from the Tribunal L seat, to chastise one that contested with him, and made a great brawling. Now when as the Lictors and Centurions every where laid about them to make way, and ill intreated the multitude in the throng they moved their patience so much, that in that furious fit of the souldiers, the Military Tribun was by his own army stoned to death. Which horrible act, after it was noised at *Rome*, and the Military Tribuns by the Senates authority, were about to sit in commission for the examination of the death of their collegue, by way of rigour and torture: the Tribuns of the Commonalty opposed themselves, and resisted them. But that contention depended upon another quarrel. For the Senate doubting lest that the Commons for fear of those examinations intended, would in their anger create Tribuns military from out of their own body and degree; were very careful, and studied all they could, that Consuls might be chosen again. But whenas the Tri- M buns of the Commons would not suffer an act of the Senat to pass, and hindred also the election of the Consuls the matter came to an Interreign. But in the end the Nobles had the upper hand. For when as *Q. Fabius Vibulanus* the Interregent, held a Court for the said Election, there were created Consuls *A. Cornelius Cossus*, and *L. Furius Medullinus.*

*Posthumius* stoned to death by his own souldiers.

In the beginning of these Consuls year, the Senate made a decree, that the Tribuns with all speed possible should propose unto the Commons, concerning the inquisition of *Posthumius* his death: and that they should make chief Commissioner and Judge whom they would. The Commons by the consent of the whole people, gave the Consuls commission to see it done, and performed accordingly. Who notwithstanding, that with exceeding moderation and lenity, they dispatched and ended the matter, by punishing a few, who (as it was credibly thought) made N themselves away: yet could they not for all that bring about, but the Commonalty took it very hainously, and in the highest degree, saying. That the Acts and Ordinances, which had been propounded concerning their weal and commodities, those lay a long time asleep in the deck, and nothing done: but an order granted for their bloudshed and death, that was presently put in execution. Of so great force and importance was it. Now this had been the fittest time, that after these mutinous souldiers were chastised, the division of the Volane territory, should have been offered unto them for to comfort their poor hearts again. By which deed (no doubt) their hot desire and longing after the law *Agraria*, had been abated, which tended to dispossess at length the Nobles of the common grounds, which they injuriously were seized of. But this indignity stuck in their stomacks, and was taken neerer to the heart, when they saw the Nobility so stiffly O bent, not only to keep the common grounds in their hands, which they held by force: but also unwilling to divide among the people so much as the wast and void ground, lately gotten by conquest from the enemies: but that it was like, within a while (as all the rest) to be a booty, and divident, to be shared among a few.

An inquisition about the murder of *Posthumius.*

The same year were the legions led by *Furius* the Consul, against the Volscians: who forraged the borders of the Hernicks. But finding not the enemy there, they wan *Ferentinum*, whither a great number of the Volscians had retired themselves. The booty there was less than they hoped for:

A for: by reaſon that the Volſcians, ſeeing ſmall hope of keeping the Town, truſſed up and carried away both bag and baggage in the night, and quit the Town: which was won the morrow after, being left well near deſtitute and empty. All the Lands were given freely to the Hernicks. When this year now was paſſed in good quiet by the modeſty and peaceable carriage of the Tribuns, then in place: there ſucceeded another Tribun of the Commons, *L. Icilius*, when *Q. Fabius Ambuſtus* and *C. Furius Pacilius* were Conſuls. Whiles this man in the very beginning of his year, was buſy in ſtirring new ſeditions (as if it had been a task impoſed upon his name and linage) by propoſing of the Agrarian laws: behold, there aroſe a peſtilence, more fearful than hurtful, which turned away mens minds, from their publick aſſemblies and accuſtomed contentions, to tend their B houſes, and to care for the cheriſhing of their bodies. And (as men verily think) the ſickneſs was leſs dangerous than the ſeditions were like to have been. When as the City was now excuſed, as it were, and well eſcaped with the ſickneſs only of many and death of very few: preſently after this peſtilent year, followed (as it is commonly ſeen) a great dearth of corn, by reaſon of the neglect of tillage. *M. Papyrius Atratinus*, and *C. Nautius Rutilius* being Conſuls. This famine would have been more grievous than the plague, had they not provided well for corn, by ſending forth their Embaſſadors to the neighbour nations all about, inhabiting along the Tuſcan Sea and the *Tyber*, for to buy grain. Proudly were the Embaſſadors prohibited all commerce and traffique with the Samnits, who held at that time *Capua* and *Cumes*: but contrary-wiſe bountifully were they relieved by the Tyrants or Potentates of *Sicilie*. And ſuch was the willing endeavour of C *Hetruria*, that great ſtore of victuals came down the *Tyber*. In what deſolation the City was, during this affliction, the Coſſ. tryed by this: that when they could not furniſh an Embaſſage, but with one Senator, they were compelled to adjoyn two Knights unto them. And ſetting aſide the ſickneſs and dearth, there was no trouble either at home or abroad for thoſe two years. But when theſe ſtorms were once overblown, and that care paſt: then began again the old troubles wherewith the City had uſually been diſquieted: diſſention at home, and war abroad.

A peſtilence.

A famine.

When *M. Æmylius* and *C. Valerius Potitus* were Conſuls, the Æquians made preparation for wars, and handed with the Volſcians. Who albeit they took arms by no publick commiſſion; yet ſuch as would of themſelves ſerve for hire or wages, followed the wars. At the bruit of which enemies (for they were already come over into the Country of the Latins and Hernicks) whiles *Va-* D *lerius* the Conſul muſtered his men and levied ſouldiers: *M. Menenius* a Tribun of the Commons, and a publiſher of the Agrarian laws, oppoſed himſelf againſt him. And when as by reaſon of the protection and aſſiſtance of the Tribun, no man would be compelled to take a ſouldiers oath againſt his will: ſuddenly news came, that the Caſtle of *Carventus* was by the enemies forced. This diſhonor thus received, as it was a cauſe that *Menenius* was hated among the Noblemen, ſo it gave to the reſt of the Tribuns, who were already framed and prepared to withſtand the law *Agraria*, more juſt cauſe to reſiſt their collegue. The matter being thus for a long time protracted by much debating, the Conſuls called both God and man to witneſs, that whatſoever ſhame or loſs either had been already received, or were like to be ſuſteined by the enemies: the blame ſhould be imputed to *Menenius*, who hindred the muſtering. And *Menenius* proteſted again aloud, that if the E unlawful Landlords, would ſurrender the tenure of the common fields which they unjuſtly deteined, he would not ſtay the muſters. Then the nine Tribuns, by ſetting down a decree between them, made an end of the ſtrife: and pronounced by authority of their colledge, that they would aſſiſt *C. Valerius* the Coſ. (all contradiction of their collegue notwithſtanding) to award any penalty reſtreint or chaſtiſement, upon them that refuſed to be enrolled for warfare. The Coſ. being armed with this decree and warrant, after he had cauſed ſome few to be had away by the neck and laid faſt, that called upon the Tribun for help, the reſt for fear were ſworn to ſerve. Thus the army was led forth to the Caſtle of *Carventus*. And although the ſouldiers were as odious to the Conſul, as wickedly bent againſt him, yet at the very firſt coming, having manfully and luſtily diſpoſſeſſed the garriſon, they recovered the fort. The ſouldiers who were ſlipt away from the hold, and F gone a plundering, by their negligence gave the Romans a opportunity to enter and to ſurpriſe it. And a good booty there was: by reaſon that they had continually gotten prizes, and laid up all there as in a place of ſafety. Which being ſold in portſale, the Conſul commanded the treaſurers for to bring the mony into the common Chamber of the City: giving out theſe words withal, that the army ſhould then have part of ſpoil, when they denied not their ſervice in war. Hereupon both Commons and ſouldiers were more angry with the Conſul. And therefore when as by a decree of the Senate he entred the City *Ovant*, in a pety triumph, the ſouldiers according to their licentious manner (in that caſe permitted) followed after with ſongs and ſonnets, anſwering one another in rude rime and groſs meeter, by alternative ſtaves. Wherein the Conſul was greatly blamed, but *Menenius* the Tribun, his name was ſet out to the height, his praiſes were blaſoned and G extolled aloft: and at every time that he was named, the affectionate favour of the people that ſtood in the ſtreets appeared, by clapping of hands and great applauſe, ſtriving much to exceed the ſongs chanted by the ſouldiers. Which cauſed the Nobles to look to it, and troubled them more than the malapert ſaucineſs of the ſouldiers with their Conſuls, which is an ordinary and uſual faſhion among them. And *Menenius* (who doubtleſs had been one of the Military Tribuns, if he had ſued for it) was excluded from that dignity by an Election of Conſuls. So there were created Conſuls, *Cn. Cornelius Coſſus*, and *L. Furius Medullinus* the ſecond time.

Never took he Com. the matter more to the heart, that the Election of Tribuns eſcaped their hands:

hands: which grief of theirs in the Election of Questors, they both shewed and revenged. For H
this was the first time that the Questors were made of the commonalty: so that in chusing of 4.
there was but one place left for *C. Fabius Ambustus*, a Nobleman: and 3 of the commonalty, *Q.*
*Silius*, *P. Ælius*, and *P. Pipius*, were preferred before young Gentlemen, of most noble houses. I
find that the perswaders of the people to use their full liberty in bestowing their voyces, were the
three *Icilij*, (descended of that house, which ever was most malitiously bent against the Nobles)
who were for that year chosen Tribuns of the commonalty, and possessed the peoples heads with a
world of great matters, after which they gaped greedily: but so, as they flatly gave out and said,
They would not stir at all, if the people had not courage enough, so much as in the election of
Questors, which only the Senat had left indifferent to the commonalty and Nobility, to effect I
that which so long they had desired, and now by law was warranted. Thus the Commons assured
themselves hereby of a mighty great victory: and esteemed not the dignity of Questorship to be
the end and type of honor, but that thereby they seemed to have made a way and overture for new
risen upstarts, to be advanced to Consulships and triumphs. The Nobles contrary-wise stormed,
not for that their dignities were made common and imparted to other, but for the utter losse
thereof: protesting that if things went so on end, they would neither get, nor bring up children
any more: who being put from their Ancestors place, and seeing others in possession of their dig-
nity, should be disabled for bearing rule and authority in the state, and be good for nothing but on-
ly to be made Priests for *Mars*, and Flamines for *Jupiter*, imployed about nothing else but to sa-
crifice (forsooth) for the people. Thus on both parts were their minds netled and provoked, K
whiles the Commons took heart, and had three champions of great reputation to back them, and
maintain their cause: and the Nobles, seeing all would prove like to the Questors Election (if it
lay in the peoples choice) addressed themselves to the Election of Consuls, which as yet was not
so free, and indifferent both for Commons and Nobles. Contrary-wise, the *Icilij* persisted still,
and urged the point, that in any hand Tribuns Military should and must be created. For now it
was more than time that the Commons had their part in offices of state. But no Action hitherto
belonging to the offices and charge of the Consuls had been presented unto them, by the hinder-
ing whereof they might wring from them, that which they desired and sought for. But see, how
even then, in wonderful good opportunity, word was brought that the Volscians and Æquians
were departed out of their own Confines, and made an expedition into the Latine pale for to rob L
and spoil. To the which war, when as by vertue of an order from the Senat, the Consuls began to
muster: the Tribuns laboured tooth and nail to hinder it: giving out that this occurrent fortuned
happily on their sides and the Commons. Three there were of them, and all most quick, active and
courragious men: yea (and for commoners) of good birth, and worshipfully descended. Whereof
twain took in hand, by their continual travel to attend and watch the Consuls, to keep them
awork, and either of them to hold one occupied: the third, was appointed to entertain the com-
monalty: and in all assemblies, with their Orations, one whiles to rein them in, another while to
give them the head, as occasion required. But all this while, neither Consuls went through with
the musters, nor the Tribuns with the election which they desired. But afterwards when fortune
began to incline to the Commons side, Messengers came with news, that whiles the souldiers that M
lay in garrison at the Castle *Carventana*, were stept aside to get a booty, the Æquians having slain a
few warders that kept the hold, entred it: and that all the souldiers were slain: some as they ran
into the fort again, others as they were scattered in the fields. This thing falling out so cross a-
gainst the whole State, gave strength yet unto the designments of the Tribuns. For being dealt
withal, that now at length they would surcease from hindering the war, nothing would prevail:
for that they neither gave place to the publick calamity and necessity, nor yet regarded their own
private peril of displeasure: and they obtained in the end that an Act of Senat was granted for to
chuse Tribuns Military. Howbeit with this expresse proviso, it was capitulated; That none of
them who had been Tribuns that year of the Commons, should be eligible and propounded: no,
nor chosen again Tribuns of the Commons for the year following. Whereby no doubt, the Senat N
noted and pointed at the *Icilij*, whom they charged to seek to be Consuls, for a reward of their
seditious Tribunship. Then went the mustering forward, and preparation of war, by consent of all
the States.

Sundry Authors write diversly and make doubt, whether both the Consuls went to the Castle
*Carventana* or whether one of them stayed behind in the City for to hold the foresaid Election.
In this they disagree not, but set down for certain: that when they had assailed the Castle a long
time without effect they were compelled from thence to remove: and that *Verrugo* in the Coun-
try of the Volscians by the same army was recovered, and that great forraging there was, and dri-
ving of booties, both in the Country of the Æquians and also of the Volcians. Now at *Rome*, as
the victory of the commonalty rested in this, that they had the Election which they desired: so O
in the issue and successe of the Election, the Nobles had the better. For besides all mens hope and
expectation, there were three Tribuns Military chosen with Consuls authority, all of the Nobili-
ty, *C. Julius Tullus*, *Cn. Cornelius Cossus* *C. Servilius Hala*. Men say that the Nobles used a subtile
practise and cunning device, which even then the *Icilii* charged them with: to wit, that by inter-
mingling a many of unworthy and unmeet competitors with others of mark and quality, they had
alienated the peoples hearts from the commoners, seeing them to be men of no worth, and loath-
ing the notable baseness that appeared in their persons.

After

A After this, tidings came, that the Volſcians and Æquians (were it that the Caſtle of *Carventus* which they held and guarded ſtill, put them into ſome hope: or their garriſon and fort loſt at *Verrugo* drave them into anger) were up in arms, with all force ready to make war: that the Antiats were the principal and chief in this intended action: that their Embaſſadors had ſollicited the people of both nations, rebuking their cowardize, for keeping within their walls, and ſuffering the Romans the year before, to forrage and drive booties in their territories, and the garriſon of *Verrugo* to be ſurprized and loſt. Moreover, that not only hoſts of armed men were ſent againſt them, but Colonies alſo were planted in their frontiers and marches: and that the Romans not content to divide their lands and goods among themſelves, had beſtowed upon the Hernicks
B the town *Ferentinum*, which they had won from them. At theſe ſpeeches they were kindled and ſet on fire: and in all places whither they went to ſollicit, the younger ſort and able men in great number were levied. So the youth and manhood of all thoſe nations, gathered together to *Antium*, where they encamped themſelves, and expected the enemy. Which tidings being brought to *Rome*, cauſed more fear then need was. And the Senat preſently (which in all fearful occurents was ever their laſt remedy and refuge) gave order that a Dictator ſhould be created. Which thing *Julius* and *Cornelius*, two military Tribuns (they ſay) took in great diſpleaſure. And hereof enſued much heart-burning and diſſention, whiles the LL. of the Senat of one ſide complained in vain of their grievances, That the Tribuns Military would not be ordered by the authority of the Senat: and at the laſt had recourſe to the Tribuns of the Commons for help: alledging withal, that the very
C Conſuls power upon the like occaſion had been by their authority overruled and ſet down. And the Tribuns of the Commons on the other ſide, rejoycing at the diſcord of the Senators, made anſwer again, and ſaid, "That for their parts, they were not able to yeeld any ſuccour at all, who "were of no reckoning themſelves, being reputed neither in the roll of Citizens, nor yet ſo much "as in the number of men. But if to be (ſay they) dignities and honors were communicated to "us, then would we provide and take order, that by no pride of any magiſtrate whatſoever, the "Senats decree ſhould be made fruſtrat and diſanulled. And in the mean whiles, ſeeing the No-"bles were exempt from all reverence of laws, and regard of magiſtrates, let them of themſelves "alſo exerciſe the Tribuns authority if they would. This diſcord falling out ſo unfitly, when ſo great war was in hand, occupied and poſſeſſed mens heads a long time: whiles *Julius* and *Corneli-*
D *us* one after another, thus reaſoned and diſcourſed: That ſeeing they themſelves were Captains good enough for the conduct of ſuch a war, it was not meet that the honour once beſtowed upon them by the people, ſhould be made void and taken from them. Then *Servilius Hala*, who alſo was a Tribun Military ſpake and ſaid: "I have been ſilent thus long, not for that I was doubt-"ful in mine opinion, or to ſeek what to ſay, (For what good Citizen (quoth he) would have his "advice by himſelf, and go from the publick Councel?) but becauſe I had rather, that my bre-"thren of their own accord ſhould give place to the Senats authority, than to ſuffer the Tribuns "power to be called for, againſt them. And even now alſo, if the caſe would permit, I could wil-"lingly give them time and ſpace to retract their too too obſtinat, perverſe and peremptory opi-"nion. But ſeeing that the neceſſities of war, wait not upon human counſel, I will have more re-
E "ſpect and conſideration of the Weal-publick, than of the favor of my brethren. Wher-fore, if the "Senat perſiſt ſtill in that mind and reſolution of theirs, I will the next night following nominat a "Dictator. And if any one withſtand me, I will ask no more, than the power and vertue of the Se-"nats Act. By which ſpeech of his, having won deſerved praiſe and thanks of all men, he declared *Publius Cornelius* Dictator, and was himſelf by him nominated General of the horſemen. A ſingular example to teach as many as beheld him and his Collegues, That otherwhiles favour and honor ſooneſt fall to them that leaſt deſire the ſame. The war was ſmal and nothing memorable: for in one eaſie and ſlight battel were the enemies overthrown and ſlain at *Antium*. The army upon this victory waſted the Volſcians Country, won by force the Caſtle upon the lake *Fucinus*, and within it took three thouſand priſoners: having chaſed all the reſt of the Volſcians within their walls,
F not able to keep their frontiers. The Dictator, after he had performed this war in ſuch ſort, as only he might not ſeem to neglect his wonted fortune but keep it ſtil in ure, returned into the City with greater felicity than glory, and reſigned up his place.

The Oration of *Servilius Hala*.

The Tribuns Military, making no words at all of the chuſing of Conſuls (for anger, I ſuppoſe, that a Dictator had been created) publiſhed the election of Tribuns Military. But then the Senators were in greater care and perplexity, ſeeing their cauſe betrayed even by thoſe of their own company. Wherefore, as in the former year, by foiſting in the baſeſt of the Commons for competitors, they had cauſed even men of good worth to be deſpiſed: ſo, now by procuring the principal of the Nobility, both for honour and for favour, to ſtand for the dignity, they obtained all the places to themſelves: ſo as no one Commoner could be choſen. So there were created four,
G all having afore born that Magiſtracy, *L. Furius Medullinus*, *C. Valerius Potitus*, *Cn. Fabius Vibulanus*, and *C. Servilius Hala*. This man was choſen again to the place, as well in regard of other vertues and worthy parts, as for the late favour which he won by his rare moderation, and ſingular carriage of himſelf.

In that year, for as much as the time of truce with the Veientian Nation was expired, they began by Embaſſadors and Heralds of Arms to challenge of them amends and reſtitution. Whom as they entred into their territory, the Embaſſage of the Veientians encountred in the way requeſting them not to go forward to *Veii*, before they had preſented themſelves to the Senat of *Rome*.

Who being thither come, obtained of the Senat, that for as much as the Veientians were at civil diſcord among themſelves, they would not claim any amends at their hands. Lo, how far they were from ſeeking their own vantage by other mens diſtreſs and calamity. Alſo at the Volſcians hands they ſuſtained damage by loſs of their garriſon at *Verrugo*. But (ſee what a thing it is to ſlack the time) For whereas the ſouldiers beſieged there, by the Volſcians and ſending for aid in due time, might have been reſcued if ſpeed had been made, the army which was ſent for ſuccour, came too ſhort, and after the fray was ended. Only this exploit they did: The enemies, who after their freſh maſſacre committed upon the garriſon, were gone abroad ſtragling for to raiſe booties, were by them overtaken and put to the ſword. The cauſe of this ſlackneſs was imputed to the Senat, rather than the ſoveraign Tribuns: who becauſe intelligence was given, that they in the garriſon reſiſted and defended themſelves moſt manfully, little conſidered, That there is no proweſs of man whatſoever, but by valour again it may be overmatched. Moſt brave and valiant ſouldiers they, that neither whiles they lived, nor after death were unrevenged.

The year following, when *P.* and *Cornelius* both ſurnamed *Coſſus*, *C. Fabius Ambuſtus* and *L. Valerius Potitus* were Tribuns Military in Conſuls authority, began the Veientian war by occaſion of a proud and arrogant anſwer returned by the Senat of the Veientians: Who commanded that the Embaſſadors which came to claim amends, ſhould take this for their diſpatch: That unleſs they departed preſently out of the City and Country, they would ſerve them as *Lars Tolumnius* had done others before. The Senators of *Rome* hardly could digeſt that: and therefore decreed, that the Military Tribuns ſhould propoſe unto the people as ſpeedily as might be, even the day before to morrow, concerning proclamation of open war, and ſending defiance to the Veientians. Which as ſoon as ever it was noiſed and publiſhed, the younger ſort and men of ſervice, murmured and muttered in this manner: "That as yet they had not fully ended the war with the Volſci-"ans: that even of late two whole garriſons were loſt, and their throats cut, and the forts kept ſtil "with danger and great hazard. There is not (ſay they) a year paſſeth over our heads, but one field "or other is fought: and as if we had not work and trouble enough already, there was now in-"tended new war with a moſt mighty nation confining upon us, and which was like enough to "raiſe againſt us all *Hetruria*. And as they were forward enough of themſelves to conceive thus, "and utter theſe ſpeeches, ſo the Tribuns of the Commons were not behind to buzze more mat-"ters into their heads, and ſet all on a light fire: Who gave out ſtill, That when all was done, the "greateſt warring was between the Nobles and Commons: and that the Commons on purpoſe "were to be toiled out with travel or warfare, and expoſed to the enemies for to be murdered: "and that they were to be kept far off from the City, and as it were confined and ſent out of the "way: leſt by being quiet at home, and minding their freedom and Colonies, they ſhould con-"ſult and deviſe, both how to diſpoſe of the common grounds, and to give their voices freely. "And ever as they could meet with any old beaten ſouldiers, they would hold them with talk, "take them by their hands, reckon up how many years they had done ſervice in war, fall to tel-"ling of their gaſhes and ſcars, asking them what whole place they had left in their bodies to "receive new wounds, and what blood was behind to ſpend and ſhed, in the quarrel of the "Common-wealth? When as by iterating theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches, both in their private talk and conference, and alſo other whiles in their publick aſſemblies, they had turned clean away the hearts of the Commonalty from taking war in hand: the foreſaid Act propounded, was put off until a farther day, and lay ſtill for the time. Which no doubt, had been nipt in the head, and never would have paſſed farther, in caſe it had been referred and ſubject to the hard opinion and conceit of men, as then they ſtood affected. In the mean whiles agreed it was, that the military Tribuns ſhould conduct an army into the Volſcians country. *Cn. Cornelius* alone was left at *Rome*. The three Tribuns, after that they perceived the Volſcians in no place encamped, and nothing minded to try a battel, parted themſelves three ways to waſte and forrage the frontires. *Valerius* he marched to *Antium*, *Cornelius* to *Ecetre*. And every way as they went, they ſpoiled all before them, both houſe and field, and all to amuſe & keep the Volſcians occupied that way. But *Fabius* without any forraging at all, came directly to aſſault *Anxur*, which was the ſervice moſt deſired. Now *Anxur* was that, which at this day is called *Tarracine*, a City ſeated upon mariſhes. And on that ſide *Fabius* made ſhew of aſſault. But there were four cohorts under the leading of *C. Servilius Hala* ſent out to fetch a compaſs: who having gained the hill that over-looketh and commandeth the town from that higher ground, with a mighty ſhout and outcry aſſailed the wall, where it was diſfurniſhed of guard to defend it At which ſudden alarm, they were amazed who manned the wall of the baſe town againſt *Fabius*: and ſuffered them to ſet ladders to, and to ſcale. By which means every place was full of enemies. And upon the walls for a good while there was nothing but killing, as well thoſe that fled, as thoſe that reſiſted, armed and unarmed, one with another. So that, albeit they were too weak, yet forced were they to fight: becauſe in yeelding they ſaw no way but one. But upon proclamation once made, that none but armed men ſhould be killed, all the multitude beſides willingly were diſarmed. Of which number there were upon 2500. taken alive. From the ſaccage *Fabius* kept the ſouldiers, until his Colleagues were come: ſaying, that *Anxur* was taken as well by thoſe armies, which had driven away the reſt of the Volſcians from the defence of that place, as by themſelvs. Who being come, the three armies jointly ranſacked it, & had the pillage for their labor of that rich town, that had gathered wealth a long time.

Which

A Which courteſie and bountifulneſs of the commanders, was the firſt thing that reconciled Commons and Nobles together. Over and beſides this munificence of the Rulers, the Nobles alſo began in a moſt happy hour to be liberal unto the multitude. For before that either the Commons or Tribuns made the motion, the Senat decreed, that ſouldiers might have their pay out of the City chamber; whereas before that time, every man in that ſervice had born his own charges. Never was there any thing, by report, ſo joyfully accepted of the Commons: who ran by heaps together to the Councel houſe: took the Senators by the hands as they came forth, and ſaid, "They were now truly called *Patres*, *i.* Fathers, confeſſing that now the day was come that in the "quarrel of ſo bounteous a City, there was no man would ſo long as his breath laſted, ſpare ei-
B "ther limb or life. Seeing that this commodity they ſhould have to help them, namely, that du-"ring the time that their bodies were imployed, and buſily occupied in the defence of Common-"weal, their private eſtate ſhould ſtand at one yet and not decay. And forasmuch as it came of "themſelves, and never moved by any of the Tribuns of the Commons, nor called for and cra-"ved importunatly, by their importune ſpeeches; that was it, that multiplied their joy and made "the boon it ſelf much more acceptable. But the Tribuns of the Commons (who only had "not their part in this common joy and concord of all States) came in with their opinion, and "ſaid, that it would not prove ſo joyous and happy to the Nobles all in general, as they ſuppoſed: "that this courſe and order taken, was at the firſt ſight better then it would be found in the pra-"ctiſe and execution. For how could that money poſſibly be made and raiſed but by levying a tri-
C "bute or payment of the people? they were therefore liberal; but of other mens purſes. But "admit, or ſay, that the reſt would bear it, yet thoſe neither could nor would endure it, who "were paſt war-ſervice, and lived upon their penſions and annual ſalary: who would grudge and "repine, that others hereafter ſhould ſerve in war for more gain then they had in their time "done; who having been charged with the pay of their own ſervice, ſhould now again be put "to contribute to the wages of others. With theſe words they moved part of the Commonalty. Laſt of all, when there was a levy exacted, the Tribuns alſo proclamed, That they would bear as many out, as would not contribute to the ſouldiers pay. The Nobles continued ſtill to maintain that which they had ſo well begun, and were the firſt that opened their purſe, and for that as yet they had no ſilver coin, ſome of them carried groſs pieces of braſs in Wains to the treaſure
D houſe, and made a goodly ſhew of Contribution. When as the Nobles had moſt faithfully paid according to the rate of their wealth: the chief of the Commons alſo, friends of the Nobility, as it was afore agreed, began to lay their penny to theirs: whom when the common ſort ſaw both to be commended of the Nobles, and to be admired and reverenced of the ſouldiers as good Citizens: they all upon a ſudden, refuſing the Tribuns aſſiſtance, began to ſtrive who ſhould pay firſt. And the decree or act being once paſſed, of proclaming war againſt the Veientians, the new Tribuns Military led an army to *Veios*, conſiſting much upon voluntary ſouldiers. Now the Tribuns were *T. Quintius Capitolinus*, *P. Quintius Cincinnatus*, *C. Julius Tullus* the ſecond time, *A. Manlius*, *L. Furius Medullinus* the third time, and *M. Æmylius Mamercus*. And theſe were the firſt that beſieged *Veii*.

E About the beginning of which ſiege, when the Tuſcans held a Councel in a ſolemn aſſembly at the Temple of *Votumna*, they could hardly agree upon this point, Whether the Veientians ſhould be defended by general war of the whole Nation, or no. The year following was the ſiege not ſo hot, by reaſon that ſome of the Tribuns, and part of the forces, were called away to the Volſcian war. The Tribuns Military in Coſſ. authority, that year were *C. Valerius Potitus* the third time, *M. Sergius Fidenas*, *P. Cornelius Maluginus*, *Cn. Cornelius Coſſus C. Fabius Ambuſtus*, *Sp. Nautius Rutilius* the ſecond time. With the Volſcians there was a pight field fought between *Ferentinum* and *Ecetra*; wherein the Romans had the day. Then the Tribuns began to lay ſiege to *Artena* a Town of the Volſcians: where, by reaſon of a ſallying forth by them attempted, the enemies were driven back into the town, and the Romans took occaſion and vantage thereby,
F to break in with them pell mell, and ſo they won all, ſave only the Caſtle. Into this fort naturally fenced, a good company of armed men betook themſelves: but beneath the Caſtle, many a man was either ſlain or taken priſoner. Afterwards was the fortreſs beſieged alſo. Neither could it by aſſault be forced, for that there was a guard ſufficient to man it, conſidering the bigneſs of the place: nor gave the aſſailants any hope of yeelding, for before the town was loſt, they had conveyed all their publick proviſion of corn into the Caſtle. So that the Romans had for very wearieſomneſs departed from thence, but that a bondſlave betrayed it unto them; who let in certaine ſouldiers at a ſteep high place, and thoſe were they that won the fortreſs: for when the warders were by them ſlain, the reſt of the multitude with ſudden fright were ſoon overcome, and yeelded. Thus, when both the Caſtle and town of *Artena* was ſacked and ſpoiled, the legions were
G brought back from the Volſcians, and all the Romans power imployed againſt *Veii*. To the traitor aforeſaid, there was given beſides liberty, the pillage of two houſholds for a reward. And he was named ever after *Servilius Romanus*. There be that think *Artena* was a town of the Veientians, and not of the Volſcians: the occaſion of which error is, for that there was a town of that name between *Cere* and *Veios*. But that town the Roman Kings deſtroyed: and it belonged to the Ceretes, and not to the Veientians: but this other, whereof we have reported the deſtruction, was in the country of the Volſcians.

# The Fifth Book

## *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the fifth Book.

*AT the ſiege of* Veii, *the ſouldiers had holds made them for to winter in. Which being a new kind of ſervice, ſtruck an heat in the Tribuns of the Commons, who complained that they had no reſt from warfare, ſo much as in the winter ſeaſon. Then the Gentlemen of* Rome *began firſt to ſerve upon their own horſes. When the Alban lake overflowed, a certain Prophet or Wizzard was taken captive from the enemies, who ſhould interpret that ſtrange wonder.* Furius Camillus, *after ten years ſiege, wan* Veii: *he tranſlated the Image of* Juno *from thence to* Rome. *The tenth part of the ſpoil and ſaccage he ſent to* Apollo *at* Delphi. *The ſame* Camillus *being Tribun military, whiles he laid ſiege unto the* Faliſci, *ſent back again to the parents, his enemies ſons that were betrayed unto him: Whereupon the* Faliſci *yeelded themſelves, and ſo by his righteous and juſt dealing, obtained victory over them. When one of the Cenſors* C. Julius *was deceaſed,* M. Cornelius *was ſubſtituted in his place: Which was never done again afterwards, becauſe in that five years ſpace,* Rome *was taken by the Gauls.* Furius Camillus, *being indited by* L. Apuleius *a Tribun of the Commons, departed into exile. When as the Senones a people of the Gauls, beſieged* Cluſium, *and the Embaſſadors ſent from the Senat to conclude a peace between them and the Cluſines, fought themſelves in perſon againſt the Gaules in the Cluſines army. The Senones hereupon made quarrel, and with a cruel army came againſt the City of* Rome: *and after they had defeated the Romans at the river* Allia, *they were Maſters of the City, all but the Capitol, into which the able and ſerviceable young men of the City betook themſelves. The elders with their ornaments of ſtate belonging to the offices that each one had born, they ſlew ſitting in the porches and entries of their houſes. And when they were now gotten up to the top of the Capitol, by the back ſide of the hill, they were diſcovered by the gagling of Geeſe, and were turned down, principally by the valour of* M. Manlius. *Afterwards when through famine the Romans were forced to covenant and grant for to give them the ſum of* 1000. *pound weight of gold, and for that to buy their redemption from the ſiege:* Furius Camillus, *who was created Dictator in his abſence, came with an army, whiles the gold was in weighing: and drove the Gauls out of the City, after they had been poſſeſſed of it ſix months, and ſlew them. A Chappel was built to* Locutius: *in that place where before the taking of the City, there was a voice heard, that the Gauls were coming. Whereas it was purpoſed and propounded to remove to* Veii, *becauſe the City of* Rome *was burnt and razed: that courſe by the advice and authority of* Camillus *was croſſed and diſpatched. The people was moved thereto the rather, by occaſion of the omen of a word ſpoken by a Centurion, who being come with his band of ſouldiers into the* Forum, *was heard to ſay thus,* Stand Souldiers, here will be our beſt abiding place.

## *The fifth Book of* T. Livius.

WHen peace elſewhere was obtained, the Romans and Veians were at war, with ſuch mutual malice and hatred; that it ſeemed, whether part were vanquiſhed, ſhould come to final deſtruction. The aſſemblies for the election of the Rulers of both Nations, far differed one from the other. The Romans augmented the number of Tribuns Military in Conſuls authority: for eight of them (ſo as never afore) were created: *M. Æmylius Mamercus* the ſecond time, *L. Valerius Potitus* the third time, *Appius Claudius Craſſus, M. Quintilius Varus, M. Julius Tullus, M. Poſthumius, M. Furius Camillus,* and *M. Poſthumius Albus.* The Veientians contrariwiſe, being weary of ſuing for dignities every year (a cauſe ſometimes of civil diſcord) made themſelves a King. Which offended the people of *Hetruria:* who as they abhorred all regal government, ſo they hated the perſon of the King himſelf. He had aforetime oppreſſed that nation, in regard of his greatneſs and pride withall: in that he had violently put down their ſolemn playes, the intermiſſion whereof was held unlawful and deteſtable. For upon a time, in an anger that he received a repulſe, and by the ſuffrages of the twelve Nations, another was preferred before him to be high Prieſt, in the very midſt of their ſolemn Games and ſports, he took from them the very Players and Actors, whereof a great ſort were his own ſervants. That people therefore given to ſuperſtition above all other, and ſo much the rather for that they excelled in the skill of religious obſerving the ſame, decreed to deny the Veientians their aid, ſo long as they were governed under a King. This decree was ſuppreſſed and not ſpoken of at *Veii* for fear of the King, who would accompted him that ſhould report ſuch rumor, for a ſower of ſedition, rather then an author of news. The Romans, albeit they heard that all was quiet from *Hetruria*, yet becauſe they were advertiſed that in all the Diets and Councels of that Nation, the queſtion was on foot and much debated, made their fortifications at *Veii*, ſo as they ſtood two wayes: ſome looked towards the City againſt all ſallies and eruptions of the townſmen: others fronted *Hetruria*, to ſtop all ſuccours that haply might come from thence. But the Roman Captains having greater hope in long ſiege, then in quick aſſault, began to build wintring harbours (a ſtrange thing to Roman Souldiers.) Their intent was all winter time to keep continual war. Which after it was told at *Rome* to the Tribuns of the Commons

A Commons (who now a long time could find no matter and occaſion of troubles and alteration) they leapt forth into the aſſembly of the people, ſounding and ſolliciting the minds of the Commons, and often ſaying, "That this was the only matter, why a ſet pay was appointed "for the ſouldiers: and that they were not ignorant, that the gifts of enemies would prove to be "beſmeared with poiſon: That the freedom of the Commons was bought and ſold: That their "young men were ſent away far off, and as it were baniſhed from the City and Common-wealth, "ſo that now they had not ſo much ſpare time as winter nor any ſeaſon elſe of the year for to vi-"ſit home and ſee unto their eſtate. What think ye (ſay they) is the cauſe of continuing this "warfare? No other verily ſhould they find it but this, left by reaſon of the frequent number of
B "thoſe young men, in whom the whole ſtrength of the Commonalty conſiſted, there might be "ſomething dealt in, and effected, concerning their commodities. Over and beſides they com-"plained how they were much more hardly uſed, then the Veientians. For as for them, they ſpent "the winter within their own houſes, defending their City, fortified both with goodly walls, and "alſo by natural ſituation of the place: but the Roman ſouldiers abode by it ſtill in labour and "travel, ſhrouded under booths of poor hides, overwhelmed with ſnows and froſts, not lay-"ing away their harneſs and weapons, ſo much as in winter the ordinary time of reſt from all wars "both by ſea and land. This manner of hard bondage, neither the Kings, nor thoſe proud and "imperious Conſuls (before the Tribuns authority was ordained to take them down) nor yet the "Lordly ruling Dictator, nor the inſolent and unſupportable Decemvirs, ever enjoined; thus to
C "dwell in continual ſouldiery, as theſe Tribuns Military do: who exerciſe upon the Com-"mons of *Rome*, an abſolute and kingly authority. What would they do another day, when "they were Conſuls or Dictators indeed, who now but repreſenting only the Conſuls govern-"men (as Vice-Conſuls) are ſo cruel and unreaſonable? But we are well enough ſerved, and juſt-"ly have deſerved no leſs. For that there was not ſo much as one place for a Commoner amongſt "eight Tribuns. Afore time, the Nobles were wont with much labour and toil, to fill but three "rooms: and now they go eight in a rank together, to obtain all charges and dignities of "State and Government: and in that throng, a Commoner cannot have a place amongſt them, "to put his Colleagues in mind (if he did nothing elſe) that they that go to warfare were free-"men yet, and Citizens with them, and not bondſlaves. Who in winter at the leaſt, ought to
D "be brought again to their houſes and homes, and once a year viſit their loving parents, their "ſweet children, and beſt beloved wives: to make ſome uſe of their liberty, and chuſe their "Magiſtrates: Theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches, whileſt they broadly uttered and multiplied, they met at length with an adverſary that was able to match them, *Appius Claudius*, left for the purpoſe at home by his brethren in office, to reſtrain the Tribuns ſeditions: a man ever from his tender youth trained up in the broils and contentions of the Commons. Who certain years before (as we have ſaid) gave ſhrewd and unhappy counſel to diſſolve and put down the Tribuns authority, by the contradiction and inhibition of their own Colleagues. This man being not only in wit prompt and ready, but alſo exerciſed by long practice, made at that time this or ſuch like ſpeech: "If ever doubt were made, O Quirits, whether the Tribuns of the Commonalty have The Oration of *App. Claudius.*
E "for love of your good or their own particular vantage, been always the authors and beginners "of diſcord and diſſention, this year I know aſſuredly, ye need no more ſtand in doubt. And "as I rejoice ye are at length come to an end of this your long wandring, ſo I congratulate "both you, and the Common-weal for your ſake, that this error is cleared, and eſpecially in the "midſt of your proſperity. Is there any man maketh queſtion now, that the Tribunes of the "Commons were not offended, nor took ſnuff ſo much at the injuries at your hands received "(if haply there have ſometimes been any) as at the bounty of the Nobles, towards the Com-"mons, in allowing pay to thoſe that ſerve in war? What think ye elſe, either they feared then, or "would at this day diſturb and diſquiet: but only the concord and agreement of the States? Which "they ſuppoſe tendeth moſt, and is ſufficient, to aboliſh and overthrow the Tribuns authority.
F "And verily, as naughty Artiſans or lewd leeches, ſeek for work ſtill, and would be ever doing: "ſo they likewiſe deſire to have ſomething or other out of frame and amiſs, in the Commonweal, "that to the repair and cure thereof, they might be ever ſent for and emploied. Fo whether do ye "(and ſpeak truth) maintain or impugne the commonalty? Are you the adverſaries or the advo-"cates of them that ſerve in the wars? Unleſs peradventure this be your ſaying, Whatſoever the "Nobles do, it miſliketh us, be it for the good of the common people, or to the prejudice and "dammage. And even as maſters forbid their own ſervants and ſlaves, to have any dealing at all "with ſtrangers, and think it meet and reaſon, that they medle neither hot nor cold with them: "even ſo forewarn ye the Nobles from all commerce and entercourſe with the Commons: to "the end, that neither we by our courteſie and liberalitie, ſhould allure and win them; nor they
G "again become dutiful and obeiſant to us. How much more ought you (I pray you) if there were "any ſpark (I ſay not) of civilitie, but of common humanitie and good nature in you, rather to "favour, and as much as lieth in you, foſter and cheriſh, as well the gracious kindneſs of the No-"bles, as the willing ſervice and obedience of the Commons? Which accord, if it were perpe-"tual, who would not undertake to warrant, that this Seignory and Empire within a while, might "prove the mightieſt and moſt renowned of all thoſe States that border hard upon our confines? "As for this purpoſe intended, and plot deviſed by my Colleagues, whereby they would not have "the army withdrawn away from the ſiege of *Veii*, before the ſervice were brought to an end;

"how it would not be only profitable, but alſo neceſſary, I will hereafter argue and prove. Now H
"for this time, I liſt rather to treat and ſpeak of the preſent condition and ſtate of thoſe, that are
"employed there in warfare. Which Oration of mine, if it were pronounced not before you only,
"but alſo in the camp, and there canvaſſed and ſcanned of by the very army it ſelf, I ſuppoſe, would
"ſeem equal, and be received for good and reaſonable. Wherein, if nothing elſe ſhould come in-
"to my head to ſpeak, I would content my ſelf, and reſt ſatisfied with the only ſpeeches given
"out by the very adverſaries. They ſaid of late, That pay was not to be allowed to the ſouldiers,
"for that never before it had been allowed. How then can they now be offended, and to male-
"content, if they who have ſome new commodity coming to them, be enjoined alſo new labour
"proportionably? For never lightly is there travel any where without gain, nor gain common- I
"ly without travel and employment. Pains and pleaſure, things of themſelves in nature moſt un-
"like, yet by a natural kind of ſociety (I know not how) are linked together. The ſouldier (afore-
"time) thought much to beſtow his labour & ſervice upon the Common-weal, at his own pro-
"per charges: yet was he glad with all his heart, that one part of the year, he might look to home,
"husband his land, and get maintainance to find himſelf and his, both at home in City and abroad
"in war. Now, taketh he contentment, and is well pleaſed, that the Common-weal is gainful to
"him: and with joyful heart receiveth his wages. Let him likewiſe be content, with patience to
"to forbear his houſe and family (ſince he is at no great charge) ſomewhat longer than ordina-
"ry. Might not the Common-wealth, if ſhe would call him to a reckoning, juſtly ſay: Yearly
"pay thou haſt, perform therefore thy yearly ſervice? Doſt thou think it reaſon, to receive full K
"wages for the whole year? and to be employed but ſix months for it? Much againſt my Sto-
"mach, O Quirites, enforce I this point, and dwell ſtill in this one part of my Oration: for
"in this wiſe ought they to reaſon that have mercenary and hired ſouldiers: but we will uſe
"them as fellow Citizens, and think it meet likewiſe that they entreat us kindly, and ſpeak unto
"us as to their native Country. Either it behoved us, not to have begun the war at all; or elſe
"to proceed forward, now it is begun: yea, and for the honour of the people of *Rome*, to finiſh
"it with all ſpeed poſſible. And finiſhed it will be, if we preſs upon our enemies thus beſieged:
"if we depart not afore we have accompliſhed our hope, by the winning of *Veii*. And ſurely, if
"there were no other cauſe but this, even the very ſhame and indignity of the thing, might force
"us to continue ſiege unto the end. In old time the whole power of *Greece* laid ſiege full ten years L
"to one City, and that for one only woman: How far (good god) from their own home? how
"many lands and ſeas between? Are we then loth and weary being within 20. miles of our dwel-
"ling place, and almoſt in the ſight of our own City, to endure the toil of one years ſiege? Be-
"cauſe (forſooth) we have but ſmall cauſe given us to war: and not griefs enough that might
"juſtly provoke us to abide and ſee the end. Seven times already they have rebelled: In peace
"never were they true. Our Country have they ſpoiled and waſted a thouſand times. The Fide-
"nats they have cauſed to revolt from us. Our inhabitants there by us placed, they have ſlain: and
"againſt all law of nations they were the principal inſtruments of that unworthy and unhuman
"murder of our Embaſſadors. All *Hetruria* would they have raiſed up againſt us, and at this day
"about it they go. And when our Embaſſadors came to demand amends, they had like to have M
"run upon them and killed them. And ought we then with theſe kind of men to ſtand at a bay
"and to war coldly and by leaſure? But if ſo juſt an hatred as this move us not: do theſe things
"(I pray you) nere awhit move you neither? Their City is environed and beleaguered with deep
"trenches: blocked with mighty ſconces, whereby the enemy is pent up and pinned within his
"own walls. His fields he cannot till, and what ſo ever was afore tilled, hath been deſtroyed by
"war. If we diſlodge and withdraw our army back, who doubteth, but that they (not for deſire
"only of revenge, but upon neceſſity alſo and conſtraint to prey of other mens goods, having loſt
"their own) will invade and over-run our country? So that by this means we defer not the war,
"but bring it within our own borders and confines. But now as touching that which properly
"indeed concerneth ſouldiers (of whom our good Tribuns of the Commons would now in all N
"the haſte ſeem to have ſo great regard, from whom erewhile they would have wreſted their wa-
"ges:) but what is that (I ſay?) A trench they have caſt, a rampart and platform they have raiſed,
"(matters of exceeding travel and labour) ſo far about: ſconces at the firſt a few, but after as
"their army encreaſed, they have erected very thick in every place. Forts they have built, not
"only to command the town, but alſo looking toward *Hetruria*, to impeach any relief, if any aid
"ſhould from thence come. What ſhould I ſpeak of the rolling frames and towers, the man-
"tilets and other Fabricks? What ſhould I ſpeak of the Tarraces, Tortoiſes, Rams, and all other
"engins of aſſault and battery? Think ye it meet, that after ſo great toil and pains taken, now
"that the works at length are brought to an end, theſe things ſhould be left and abandoned, that
"againſt ſummer we ſhould be new to begin again, and ſweat afreſh about the ſame? How O
"much leſs travail rather is it to keep theſe munitions already made? to be inſtant, and con-
"ſtant to endure, and abide? yea, and to rid our hands of all the care at once? For ſurely we may
"ſoon diſpatch the ſervice, if it be plyed throughly and followed on ſtill without ſtay; and if we
"our ſelves by theſe intermiſſions and reſpits between, make not a long piece of work of it, and
"draw our hope at length. Thus much of the labour and loſs of time. What elſe? Conſidering
"theſe ſo many Parliaments, theſe Diets and Councels continually in Tuſcany, about ſending
"aid to *Veii*, can we forget the danger that we incur by deferring the War? Indeed (as things

now

A "now preſently ſtand) I confeſs the Tuſcans with the Veientians are angry, they hate them and
"deny to ſend: and for any thing by them done, we might win *Veii* out of hand. But who dare
"warrant, that if the war be delayed, they will hereafter be of the ſame mind? Seeing that if the
"Veientians have any reſt and breathing time given them, they are like to ſend oftner their Em-
"baſſages, and thoſe more honourable than heretofore. Alſo the King who newly is ſet up and
"created at *Veii* (the only thing that now offendeth the Tuſcans) in proceſs of time, may be chan-
"ged for another governor, either by agreement of the State (thereby to reconcile the hearts of
"the Tuſcans) or of his own accord: who will not peradventure that his princely regiment ſhould
"be hurtful to the ſafety of his ſubjects. See how many things, how many inconvenien es fol-
B "low and enſue upon that courſe and manner of proceeding. The loſs of the fabrick and fortifi-
"cations, with ſo great labour already prepared and atchieved: the imminent and preſent waſting
"our own borders: the Tuſcans war inſtead of the Veientians. Theſe your devices, O ye Tri-
"buns, are much what like to his, that offering a ſick man ſome kind of meat or drink, for the
"very preſent to gratifie him withal, to pleaſe his palat and to content his taſte, maketh his diſ-
"eaſe long, and peradventure incurable: who might have been recovered out of hand, in caſe at
"once, he would have reſolutly endured the right cure of a skilful Phyſitian. And ſurely, if it
"were not material to the managing of this war in hand, yet would it import much to martial
"diſcipline, that our ſouldiers ſhould be acquainted, not only with the ſweet fruit of a victory
"atchieved. but alſo if occaſion required longer time, to abide this tediouſneſs: and to wait for
C "the end of their hope, be it never ſo long: and if war be not finiſhed in ſummer, to ſtay for win-
"ter: and not as ſummer birds by and by in the fall of the leaf, to look about and ſeek for houſing,
"harbour and covert. Conſider, I beſeech you, and ſee. The love and pleaſure of hunting carri-
"eth men into mountains, woods and forreſts; through froſt and ſnow, after their game: ſhall
"not we then uſe the like ſufferance in the needful exploits of war, which paſtimes ſports, and de-
"lights, are wont to draw and fetch out of us? Think we the bodies of our ſouldiers ſo effeminate,
"their hearts ſo tender and delicate, that they cannot for one winter abide in a camp, and forbear
"their home, but muſt needs war as men at ſea, watching times and ſeaſons, and obſerving the
"quarters of the year? Cannot they endure both parching heat and chilling cold? They would
"bluſh and be abaſhed verily, if a man ſhould therewith charge them: and they would ſtand ſtifly
D "in this, and avouch, That they had both in body and mind manlike ſufferance and patience: and
"that they were ſouldiers as well for winter as ſummer: and that they ſet not the Tribuns a work
"for any patronage of cowardiſe and ſhelter of idleneſs: but remembred well enough, that their
"forefathers were not under ſhade for fear of ſun-burning, nor had their houſes over their heads
"for taking cold, when they firſt created and ordained that magiſtracy of Tribuns. This rather is
"beſeeming the valour of your ſouldiers, this fitteth well the name of Romans, not to have their
"eye upon *Veii* only, and this war now in hand, but to ſeek for fame and glory both by other
"exploits, and alſo with other nations in time to come. And think ye that there would enſue
"hereupon a ſmall crack of credit, and hazzard of reputation? Would ye have the neighbor nati-
"ons confining upon us, conceive thus of the people of *Rome*, That if a City could receive their
E "firſt brunt, and abide their aſſault for a very ſmall while, it need not after to fear any more; Or
"rather ſhould not this dread and terror of our name ſpread all abroad, both far and neer, That
"no wearifomneſs of long ſiege and aſſault, no violence of bitter winter, is able to raiſe the Ro-
"man army from any town once by them inveſted? as knowing no other end of war but victo-
"ry? and whoſe manner of ſervice is not by way of violent force more then of obſtinate continu-
"ance, which (as in all other military occaſions) ſo in beſieging of Cities is moſt needful: the
"greateſt number whereof, being either by ſtrong bulwarks and other fortifications, or by natural
"ſituation impregnable, yet by famine, by hunger and thirſt, proceſs and tract of time only doth
"force and overthrow. As it will (I doubt not) *Veii* at length: unleſs the Tribuns of the com-
"monalty ſuccour our enemies: unleſs that the Veientians find that relief and aid at *Rome*, which
F "they ſeek in vain throughout all *Hetruria*. For can there ought happen to the Veientians ſo
"wiſhed for, as that firſt the City of *Rome* ſhould be full of variance, and then the Camp (as
"it were by a contagion from thence) as full of mutinies? But contrariwiſe I aſſure you, amongſt
"the enemies, ſo good order there is and government, that neither the tediouſneſs of long ſiege,
"nor yet the loathing of Kingly rule, hath cauſed any ſtir or commotion among them. No nor the
"denial of help from the Tuſcans hath one whit troubled and diſtempered their minds: but
"die he ſhall forthwith, that is the author of ſedition. Neither ſhall any man there be ſuffered to
"ſpeak thoſe words, which are ſpoken here amongſt you without any puniſhment or controlling.
"He deſerveth the baſtanado, to be dry beaten and wel cudgelled, that forſaketh his Colours, or
"departeth from his guard and quarter. But here, in open aſſemblies, they that perſwade and
G "counſel not one or two ſouldiers, but whole armies to leave their Standards and Enſigns, and
"abandon the very camp, have audience with applauſe. Inſomuch, that whatſoevera Tribune of
"the Commons ſpeaketh, although it were to betray the City, and undo the whole State, ye are
"uſed to hearken and give good ear to him: and being raviſhed and carried away with the ſweet-
"neſs of that authority, ye ſuffer under it to lurk any miſchief whatſoever. There remaineth now
"no more but this, that the words they give out here with open mouth, the ſame they might
"iterate in the camp among the ſouldiers, to corrupt the army, and not ſuffer them to obey their
"Captains. For to ſuch licentious liberty they are grown at *Rome*, that they fear and reverence

neither

" neither Councel nor Magiſtrate, neither Laws nor ancient Cuſtoms, neither Decree of Senators, H
" nor yet the Diſcipline of Military ſervice.

Now was *Appius* with his Orations good enough for the Tribuns, and able to meet them at every turn: But ſee; (a thing that no man would have thought) a loſs and foil received before *Veii* m de *Appius* to have the better hand of the cauſe, wrought a greater unity among the States, and kindled an ardent deſire to aſſail *Veii* more hotly, and to beſiege it with more reſolution. For when they had raiſed up a mount neer unto the City, and approached in a manner to the walls thereof, with their rolling towers and roofed mantlets, whiles (I ſay) they were not ſo vigilant in the night ſeaſon to tend and watch theſe Fabricks, as they were buſie and earneſt in the day time to rear and plant them; behold, all of a ſudden the enemies opened a gate, and armed in great I numbers, eſpecially with burning firebrands, ſet all on a light fire: and in the ſpace of one hour conſumed both the mount and the mantlets, which had coſt ſo long time in making. And many a man beſides that came to help (but in vain) by ſword and fire loſt his life. Which being reported at *Rome*, made all men heavy and ſad, and cauſed the Senators to take care and fear, how upon this accident, they might poſſibly prevent and ſtay, either commotion in City, or mutiny in camp: doubting leſt that the Tribuns would have inſulted over the Common-weal, as if they had gotten a great conqueſt. At what time, they that were by calling Gentlemen and ſo aſſeſſed, and had no horſes of ſervice aſſigned them from the City, after ſome conſultation together among themſelves, ſuddenly came into the Senat: and having liberty granted of ſpeech, promiſed to ſerve in the wars with horſes of their own. After that the Senat had right honourably thanked and given them K moſt gracious words, the news thereof was no ſooner bruited through the market place and whole City, but behold, all on a ſudden the Commons came running unto the Councel houſe, ſaying, that as they were then to ſerve as footmen, ſo they offered their ſervice to the Commonweal extraordinarily without muſtering, whether they ſhould be led, either to *Veii*, or to any other place whatſoever. And if they were conducted to *Veii*, they would not return again (they ſay) from thence, before they had won that City from their enemies. At which words, the Senators ſo exceedingly joyed above meaſure, that hardly they could temper themſelves. For they took not order, as they did by the Gentlemen and horſemen afore, that they ſhould be praiſed by the mouth of the Magiſtrates thereto appointed, nor called them into the Councel houſe, there to give them an anſwer, neither could they keep themſelves within the Councel houſe L door. But every one of them in his own behalf, ſo well as he could ſignified from aloft, both by word of mouth, and geſture of hand, unto the multitude ſtanding in the *Comitium*, a general joy conceived: ſaying, That the City of *Rome* in that concord and unity would be happy, invincible, and perpetual: commending the horſemen, praiſing the footmen, extolling and magnifying that very day, and confeſſing that now they had ſurpaſſed the courteſie and bounty of the Senat. So that Nobles and Commons both, for joy wept again who could weep moſt, until the Senators were recalled into the Court: where a decree was made, That the Tribuns Military ſhould aſſemble the people, and give thanks both to horſemen and footmen, and promiſe in the name of the Senat, that they would be mindful of their affectionate kindneſs to their Country: and to ſignifie that it was their pleaſure, that they all, who had offered extraordinary ſervice ſo willing- M ly, ſhould have their pay notwithſtanding: yea, and for the horſes alſo there were aſſigned a certain rate and proportion of wages. This was the firſt time that the Gentlemen began to ſerve on horſeback for money. This voluntary army marched to *Veii*, and not only repaired again the works which had been deſtroyed, but alſo went in hand to erect new. And from the City was proviſion of victual brought, with greater care of convoy than afore, that nothing might be wanting to an army ſo well deſerving of the Common-weal.

The year following had for their Military Tribuns in Conſuls authority, *C. Servilius Hala* the third time, *Q. Servilius*, *P. Virginius*, *Q. Sulpitius*, *A. Manlius* the ſecond time, and *M. Sergius* the ſecond time. In theſe Tribuns time, whiles every mans care was bent to the Veientian war, the fort of *Anxur* being neglected, by occaſion that the garriſon ſouldiers were disbanded and N ranged much abroad, and commonly received Volſcian Merchants into the town, was ſuddenly ſurpriſed, by reaſon that the warders of the gates were betrayed. Leſs company of ſouldiers there were ſlain: becauſe that all of them (beſides thoſe that were ſick) found themſelves occupied and traded all the country over, and in the Cities adjoining, like to lawleſs lackies that follow the Camp. Neither was there better ſucceſs at *Veii*, wherein reſted the chief care now, of all their publick affairs. For not only the Roman Captains were more angred one at an other, than courageous againſt the enemy: but alſo the forces of the enemies were encreaſed by the ſudden comming of the Captains and the *Falſcii*. Which two nations of *Hetruria*, becauſe they inhabited next, ſuppoſing when *Veii* ſhould be forced and loſt, that their turn would be next to be warred upon by the Romans: and the Faliſcians beſides, upon a ſpecial grudge and old quarrel of O their own, for that aforetime in the Fidenat war, they had intermedled and intereſſed themſelves, ſent their Embaſſadors to and fro, and by binding themſelves by a ſolemn oath one to the other, came unlooked for with their power to *Veii*. And by chance they aſſailed that ſide and quarter where *M. Sergius* a Military Tribun had the charge of a ſconce. Who gave a great alarm and cauſed exceeding fright: becauſe the Romans ſuppoſed certainly that all *Hetruria* was raiſed out of every part, and there preſent, with all the power they could make. The ſame imagination animated the Veientians alſo within the City, to make a ſally. So was the Camp of

the

A the Romans aſſailed on both ſides. And whiles they ran together up and down, and turned their enſigns every way, and could hardly keep the Veientians within the ſtrength of their fortreſſe, nor yet repulſe the violence from their own fortifications and ramparts, and defend themſelves from their forraign enemies behind: their onely hope was to have help from the greater leaguer: that the legions in ſundry places might make head, ſome againſt the Capenats and the Faliſci, others againſt the ſally of the townſmen. But *Virginius* had the charge of that main camp, one that bare a privat grudge and inward malice againſt *Sergius*, and was hated again of him. This man, when word was brought that moſt of the Fabricks and bulwarks were aſſaulted, that the ramparts and trenches were won, and that the enemies on both ſides charged luſtily, kept his B ſouldiers well appointed in arms: ſaying, that if there were any need of help, his Colleague ſhould ſend unto him, if he would. And he for his part was not ſo arrogant and inſolent, but the other was as peeviſh and wilful. Who becauſe he would not ſeem to ſeek unto his adverſary, nor crave aid at his hand, choſe rather to be vanquiſhed of his enemy, than to overcome him by help of a fellow-Citizen. Thus between them for a good while the poor ſouldiers went to wrack, and were ſlain. At the laſt, forſaking their ramparts, a very few of them eſcaped into the maine camp. But the moſt part, with *Sergius* himſelf, went through to *Rome*. Where when he had laid all the fault upon his fellow in government, it was thought good that *Virginius* ſhould be ſent for out of the camp: and that in the mean while their Deputie, and Lieutenants ſhould command the forces. Hereupon was the matter debated in the Senat, and the two Tribuns kept a C taunting and reviling: and many hard tearms were dealt between them. Few there were that tendered the common good, but took part either with the one or the other, as each of them were fancied and beloved. Howbeit the LL. of the Senat thought good, howſoever that ſo ſhameful chance hapned either through the default, or unlucky fortune of the Captains, not to expect the ordinary full time of the election, but that preſently there ſhould be new Tribuns military created, to enter into their office on the * Calends of October. To which opinion when they were all agreed, the other Tribuns military nothing gainſaid it. But *Sergius* and *Virginius* (for whoſe ſake it appeared that the Senat was weary of the Magiſtrates that year) at the firſt made means & beſought them not to diſgrace and diſcredit them ſo: and afterward aſſayed to croſs the decree: denying that they would give over their place, before the * Ides of December, which was the ſet and uſual day D of entring yearly into new offices. Amid this buſineſs, the Tribuns of the Commons, who had kept ſilence even againſt their wills, ſo long as men were at unity and the affairs of the City proſpered, upon a ſudden brake out and threatned ſharply the two Tribuns Military, that unleſs they would ſubmit themſelves, and reſt in the authority of the Senat, they would commit them to ward. Then *C. Servilius Hala*, a Military Tribun, ſtood up and ſaid, "As for you and your threats, "O ye Tribuns of the Commons, in good faith, I would gladly ſee once, that there were no more "power and authority in theſe here, then will and ſtomack in you. But who ſeeth not that there "is no ſtriving againſt the authority of the Senat? And therefore hold ye content: and forbear "you to ſeek opportunity and occaſion upon our variance to offer wrong. And my brethren for "their parts ſhall either do that which the Senat thinketh good: or elſe if they ſhall continue E "ſtubborn ſtill in their contumacy, I will preſently nominate a Dictator, to force them to leave "their office. This ſpeech was approved with a general accord. And the Senators being glad that without the terrors and affrightments of the Tribuns authority, there was found out another greater power to bridle magiſtrates: the two military Tribuns aforeſaid, were overweighed with the conſent of all parties, and held a new election of military Tribuns, to begin their government on the * Calends of October: and before that day they reſigned up their places. Thus were *L. Valerius Potitus* the fourth time, *M. Furius Camillus* the ſecond time, *M. Æmilius Mamercus* the third time, *Cn. Cornelius Coſſus* the ſecond time, *C. Fabius Ambuſtus*, and *L. Julius Tullus*, Tribuns military in Conſuls authority.

* 1. day of *October.*

* The 13. day of *December.*

* 1. day of *October.*

In whoſe time many worthy Acts were performed both at home and abroad. For not onely F they had war in ſundry places at one time, namely, at *Veii*, at *Capena*, againſt *Falerii*, and with the *Volſci*, to the end that *Anxur* might be won again and recovered from the enemies: but at *Rome* alſo, what about muſters and paying the tribute for ſouldiers pay, there was much trouble. Beſides, there was ſome variance, about taking in certain Tribuns of the Commons to the reſt: and the two arraignments of thoſe, who a little before had governed in Conſuls authority, cauſed no ſmall ſtir. But the principal care of the Tribuns military, was that the muſter ſhould go forward. Neither were the younger ſort and ſerviceable men only preſt forth, but the elder alſo compelled to give their names, and to keep watch and ward in the City. But look how much greater was the number of ſouldiers, ſo much more money they needed for their payment. And the ſame was levied by a contribution: but unwillingly of as many as tarried at home. For that beſides the levy G they were enjoined to become ſouldiers alſo, in defence of the City and to ſerve in perſon for the Commonwealth. Theſe things, grievous as they were of themſelves, ſo by the ſeditious Orations of the Tribuns in their aſſemblies, they ſeemed more grievous and heavy. Who argued and diſcourſed thus, "That wages was appointed for ſouldiers to this end, only that what by warfare, "and what with exactions and impoſitions, they might undo the Commons, and make an end of "them at once for ever. One war (ſay they) hath now continued three years, and the ſame, on "ſet purpoſe, ill managed, that it might be drawn out the longer. Again, in one muſter there were "armies enrolled for no fewer than four wars, whereunto beardleſs boyes and old craſie men,

were

" were taken up and haled forth. Now there was no difference of winter or ſummer: ſo as the H
" poor Commons at no time can have any reſt. Who now at laſt are taxed alſo and racked to the
" uttermoſt, ſo that after they have brought home with them their bodies overtoyled with travel,
" weakned with wounds, and laſt of all, waſted and ſpent with age: and finding all things at
" home unhusbanded by reaſon of the long abſence of the maſters and owners, they muſt be fain
" to pay tribute even out of their poor decayed quick ſtock, and repay again with great uſury to
" the Common-wealth, their wages received in war, as it were upon intereſt.

Between the muſters of one ſide, and the levy of ſouldiers pay on the other ſide, and their minds occupied about greater affairs, at the election of Tribuns of Commons, the number could not fully be made up: Whereupon there was great labour made, that into the rooms that were void, I there ſhould be ſome of the Nobility taken in and admitted. When that could not be obtained, yet to impeach and overthrow * the Tribuns law, it was effected or brought to paſs that they ſhould aſſume unto them for Tribuns of the Commons, *C. Lacerius*, and *Marcus Attilius*, by the might and practiſe no doubt of the *Patritii*. It hapned, ſo that the ſame year *C. Trebonius* was a Tribun of the Commons, who would ſeem to undertake the patronage and defence of the Law *Trebonia*, and diſcharge it as a duty to that name and houſe belonging. He ſpake aloud and ſaid, " That " whereas the Tribuns Military had won that, whereof ſome of the Nobles had born the repulſe " in their firſt ſuit, and that the Law *Trebonia* was diſanulled, in that certain Tribuns of the Com- " monalty were taken into their fellows, not by ſuffrages and free voices of the people, but by the " rule and commandment of the Nobles: and that the matter was come to that paſs, that either K " Noble men, or their favourites and followers were to become Tribunes of the Commons: that " their ſacred laws were taken from them perforce, and the Tribuns authority wreſted from out " of their hands by violence: all theſe inconveniencies he complained to have hapned through " the fraudulent practiſe of the Nobles: and the miſchievous lewdneſs and treachery of his own " companions in office. Thus whiles there grew great heart-burning among them, and that not the Nobles only, but alſo the Tribuns of the Commons, as well they, which were elected, as they that were electors, were hardly thought of by the people: Then three of the Company, *P. Curiatius*, *M. Metilius*, and *Minutius* fearing ſome ſhrewd turn, like to fall upon *Sergius* and *Virginius*, (the Tribuns military of the former year) and by ſerving proceſs, giving them a day to anſwer, turned from themſelves the anger and diſpleaſure of the Commons, upon thoſe two perſons: L publiſhing openly, " That whoſoever were grieved for the muſters and the Tribute, whoſoe- " ver thought the war long, and the continual ſouldiery tedious, whoſoever ſorrowed for the " dammage and diſcomfiture received at *Veii*, whoſoever for the loſs of their Children, Bre- " thren, Kinſfolk, or any of their alliance had heavy and mournful houſes: to them they offered " liberty and power to vent their publick and privat grief, upon theſe two guilty perſons and of- " fenders, *Sergius* and *Virginius*, the very cauſes of all the miſchiefs and calamities that were hap- " ned. For why? the adverſary charged them with no more then was confeſſed by the very par- " ties: who finding themſelves both faulty, laid the blame one upon the other: whiles *Virginius* " reproached *Sergius* with running away, and *Sergius* laid treaſon to *Virginius* his charge, in that " he denied his help in time of need. For to ſay they were both of them ſo inconſiderate and M " fooliſh only, were to ſpeak beyond all compaſs of belief. But much more likely it was, that " there was ſome packing rather, and that the matter was contrived, and practiſed of ſet pur- " poſe, and by an ordinary and common fraudulent plot of the *Patritii*. By whoſe means both " at the firſt the Veientians gat opportunity to fire their works, thereby to draw out and pro- " long the war, and alſo now the army was bought and ſold, and the Roman camp betrayed to " the *Faliſci*. And all this to no other end, but that the youth and flower of the City might wax " old at *Veii*, and that the Tribuns might not propoſe and conſult with the people about the di- " ſtribution of lands, or any other commodities of the poor Commons, or in frequent and full " aſſembly of Citizens intend and follow their publick actions, and withſtand the conſpiracy of " the Gentry and Nobles. Moreover there is already (ſay they) a prejudice paſſed againſt theſe N F " offenders both by the Senat and people of *Rome*, and alſo by their Colleagues. For as they " were diſplaced and depoſed from their office, by an Act of the Senat: ſo when they refuſed to " give over, they were for fear of a Dictator forced by their own companions to reſign up their " government: and the people of *Rome* had created other Tribuns military to enter into their " charge, not upon the uſual day which was in the * Ides of *December*, but forthwith in the Ca- " lends of *October*: as who would ſay, the Common-wealth had not been able to ſtand any lon- " ger, if theſe men had remained ſtill in place. And yet for all this, theſe perſons thus convicted " and fore-condemned by ſo many prejudices, come now to be judged of the people: thinking " they are ſufficiently quit, and diſcharged, yea, and have ſuffered puniſhment enough, in that " they were two months ſooner then ordinary, made private perſons; and perceive not, that O G " thereby was taken from them the power only to do any harm, and no puniſhment inflicted up- " on them. For as much as even their very Colleagues, who had not offended, were likewiſe " diſcharged as well as they; Let the *Quirites* therefore and people of *Rome*, take that heart to " them again, which they had upon the late overthrow freſh and bleeding new, when they be- " held the army running in fearful flight, ſore wounded and agaſt, arriving at the gates, bla- " ming no fortune, nor any of the gods, but only theſe their two brave leaders. And as for us, " we know aſſuredly that there is not one of all them here preſently aſſembled, who that day cur-

ſed

* *Lex Trebonia* publiſhed by *L. Trebonius*, See the third Book.

The invective ſpeech of *C. Trebonius* againſt *Sergius* and *Virginius*.

* The 13. day of *December*.

A "sed not in his heart and deteſted the head, the houſe, and whole eſtate of *L. Virginius*, and *M.*
"*Sergius*. Neither is it convenient, that upon whom, erewhile every man prayed that the anger
"and vengeance of God would light againſt them now when they both may and ought, they
"ſhould not extend their full power with rigour. Since that even the very gods never lay hand
"themſelves upon ſinners and offenders: but it ſufficeth that they arm the wronged and oppreſ-
"ſed perſons with means and opportunity of revenge. The Commons upon theſe ſpeeches mo-
"ved with indignation, condemned theſe two offenders in * 100000. brazen Aſſes a piece: not- * 26. lib. 5. ſo.
withſtanding that *Sergius* pleaded for himſelf, blamed the common fortune of war, and laid all *ſol.*
upon fortune: and *Virginius* beſought them (but both in vain) that he might not be more un-
B happy, and ſpeed worſeat home, than abroad in war. Thus the peoples wrath being diverted
upon theſe two, obſcured and darkned the remembrance both of the aſſumption and admitting
of the Tribuns aforeſaid, and of deluding and diſanulling the Law *Trebonia*. The Tribuns thus
having got the upper hand, to the end that the Commonalty might have a preſent reward for a-
warding this doom, publiſh the Law *Agraria*, and forbid the levying of the Subſidy for ſouldi-
ers pay: ſeeing there was need of pay for ſo many armies: and ſped ſo well they had, in the ma-
naging of warfare, as they were like to come to an end, without any warring at all. For at *Veii*
the pety camp which was loſt, being recovered again, was fortified with ſtrong bulwarks, and fur-
niſhed with good guards. The Tribuns Military, *M. Æmylius* and *Q. Fabius*, had the charge
there. And as for *M. Furius* in the Faliſcan, and *Cn. Cornelius* in the Capenat Country, they could
C meet with none enemies without their town walls. But they drave away booties, and waſted their
marches, by firing their villages and their corn: but as for their towns, they neither aſſaulted nor
beneged them. But in the Volſcian country, after their territory was waſted, *Anxur* alſo was
aſſaulted (but in vain) for that it was ſituate on high. Whereupon *Valerius Potitus*, who had the
charge of that province, ſeeing that force would not prevail, began by trench and rampart to lay
ſiege to it, and inveſt it round. The affairs of war abroad ſtanding in theſe tearms, there aroſe
domeſtical ſtrife and ſedition at home: and the ſame was followed more earneſtly and with greater
ado, than the wars were managed without. And when by reaſon of the Tribuns there could no
ſubſidies and exactions be gathered, nor money for ſouldiers pay ſent to the Generals, and that
the ſouldiers called on them hard, and were haſty for their wages: the camp alſo had like to have
D been troubled and infected with the contagion of thoſe civil mutinies. During theſe heats and an-
gry fits of the Commons againſt the Nobles, albeit the Tribuns of the people ſaid, That now the
time was come of eſtabliſhing their freedom, and tranſlating the chiefeſt dignity from the *Sergii*
and *Virginii*, to the Commoners, ſuch as were men of valour and action: Yet they prevailed no
more then thus, that one only of the Commonalty, (as it were to make entrie and take poſſeſſion
in the right of that dignity) to wit, *P. Licinius Calvus*, ſhould be created Tribun Military with Con- *P. Licinius Cal-*
ſuls authority: the reſt were all of the Nobility, *Pub. Manlius*, and *P. Titinius*, *P. Melius*, *L. Furius* *vus* the firſt
*Medullinus*, and *L. Popilius Volſcus*. The very Commons themſelves marvelled that they had ob- *Commoner*
tained ſo great a thing, and not he only who was created, a man that aforetime had never been *advanced to*
in place, and born no magiſtracy, yet an ancient Councellor of State, an elderly perſon, and well *ſoveraign go-*
E ſtept in years. Neither as yet is it for certain known, why he firſt and above all others was coun- *vernment.*
ted a meet man to have hanſel, or make eſſay of this new dignity and promotion. Some think,
that for his brother *Cn. Cornelius* his ſake, who had been the year afore a Tribun Military, and
had given to the horſemen triple pay, he was through favour drawn in, and called to ſo great ho-
nour. Others, for that himſelf had picked out a convenient time, and made a plauſible Oration,
that both Nobles and Commons liked very wel, concerning the agreement and unity of the States.
The Tribuns of the Commons rejoicing highly for this their victory in the Election, remitted
and called in the Inhibition of the ſubſidy or impoſition aforeſaid, the thing that moſt of all pre-
judiced the ſervice of the Common-wealth. By means whereof paiment was made in all dutiful
obedience, and ſent it was unto the army. Then within ſhort time was *Anxur* (in the Volſcians
F Conntry) recovered: by occaſion that on a feſtival holy day, the watch and ward of the City was
neglected. This was a year notable and famous for the cold and ſnowy winter, ſo as the high ways
were choaked up, and *Tyberis* was unnavigable; Howbeit, by reaſon of proviſion brought in a-
forehand, the price of corn aroſe not. And for becauſe *P. Licinius*, as he entred his government
without any troubles, and with greater joy and contentment of the Commons than indignation
of the Nobles; ſo alſo ruled and executed it all the year long accordingly: therefore their teeth
watered at the next election alſo, to make Tribuns military of their own body. Only *M. Veturi-*
*us*, of all the Nobility that ſtood in ſuit for the dignity, had a place among them. But as for the o-
ther Tribuns Military in Conſular authority, all the Centuries in a manner choſe Commoners, to
wit, *L. Titinius*, *P. Menenius Racilius*, *Cn. Genutius*, and *L. Attilius*.

G After this hard Winter, either by reaſon of a diſtemperature and diſpoſition of the weather,
ſuddenly changed to a contrary, or upon ſome other hidden and unknown cauſe there followed
preſently a contagious and dangerous ſummer, by occaſion of a peſtilence, noiſom to all kind of
living creatures. Of which incurable malady, when as neither the reaſon could be found, nor
any end thereof ſeen, the Books of *Sibylla*, were by a decree of the Senat peruſed: and Duumvirs
appointed for Divine Rites and Ceremonies, by celebrating a Lectiſtern (then firſt inſtituted in
the City of *Rome*) to appeaſe and pacifie *Apollo*, *Latona*, and *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Mercury* and *Nep-*
*tune*; feaſted them (as it were) for the ſpace of eight days together, & for that purpoſe they ſet out
three

three beds or banquetting tables, with as magnificent and ſtately furniture as could be for that time poſſibly deviſed. Which ſolemnity was privatly alſo performed. All the gates and doors through the City ſtood wide open: al ſorts of viands were ſet out abroad to be uſed in common: open houſe kept for all comers, one with another, as well unknown ſtrangers as their acquaintance, with all friendly welcom, and entertainment. Kindly, and courteouſly would they talk and deviſe, even with their adverſaries: all chiding and brauling was laid aſide and put under foot. The priſoners alſo for that time were enlarged, yea, and conſcience made afterwards, that any ſhould be laid or kept in irons, unto whom the gods had vouchſafed that gracious meed. H

But all this while much trouble there was, and many alarms before *Veii*, by reaſon that three wars were joyned now in one. For when as all at once the Capenats and the Faliſci came (in maner as afore, about the fortifications and trenches of the Romans) for to reſcue the beſieged, they were forced to make head, and hazzard a doubtful battel againſt three armies. But the beſt help they had, was the remembrance of the late condemning of *Sergius* and *Virginius*. Therefore having conducted by a neerer way, their forces from the greater camp (which before lay ſtil and would not come to ſuccour) they ſet upon the Capenats backs, as they turned againſt the rampart of the Romans. The battel there begun, made the Faliſci alſo afraid: in which affright of theirs they ſuddenly ſallied out of the leſſer hold, in ſo good time that they forced the enemies to turn their backs, all quaking for fear. And having got the upper hand, they followed the train of the victory, and in the chaſe made a very great ſlaughter and deſtruction of them. And not long after, the forragers that waſted the land of the Capenats, as they ranged abroad here and there, encountred the reſidue and remnant of this battel, as if fortune of purpoſe had preſented them to their hands, and ſwept them up clean. Alſo many of the Veientians as they fled back into the City, were cut in pieces before their very gates: whiles they within for fear leſt the Romans at once ſhould ruſh in, made the gates faſt and ſo ſhut out the hindmoſt of their own men. Theſe were the atchievances of this year. I K

And now approached the Election of the Tribuns military, whereof the nobles had in a manner a great care then of the war: as who ſaw now that the ſoveraign rule was not only parted with the Commonalty, but welneer on their own behalf quite loſt. Therefore albeit of ſet purpoſe they had prepared moſt noble and excellent men to ſtand in ſuit, whom to paſs by and let ſlip, they thought the people would have been aſhamed: yet nevertheleſs they themſelves (as if they had been the parties that ſtood) tried every way, and not only ſought the help of men, but alſo craved it at the hands of the gods: making it great ſcruple and a matter of conſcience: and alledging that the elections for two years paſt were not according to the wil of God: as appeared by this, ſay they, that in the former year there was an intollerable winter, and ſuch as portended ſome heavy judgements from above; how alſo the year following, there were no prodigious tokens ſhewed aforehand, but even the very events and effects thereof, were ſeen and felt: namely, the peſtilence both in Country and City, through the very indignation, no doubt, of the gods, for that in the fatal Books of *Sibylla* it was found out, that they ought to have been pacified, for the diverting away of that peſtilent influence. As if in thoſe ſolemn aſſemblies which ought in the name of the gods & religiouſlly to be held, the gods thought it an indignation and unſeemly thing, that the honorable offices of ſtate ſhould be made common: no diſtinction of degrees, no difference of horſes obſerved, but all confuſed and ſhuffled together. The people therefore being driven into amaze, not only in regard of the Majeſty and Dignity of thoſe that were competitors, but alſo of a very remorſe of conſcience, choſe for Tribuns military in Coſſ. authority, all of the Nobility: and a good part of them, the moſt honorable perſonages of the reſt, to wit, *L. Valerius Potitus* the firſt time, *M. Valerius Maximus*, *M. Furius Camillus* the third time, *L. Furius Medullinus* the third time, *Quintius Servilius Fidenas* the ſecond time, *Quintus Sulpitius Camerinus* the ſecond time. Howbeit in this year no great exploit worthy of record, was performed at *Veii* under theſe Tribuns. All the ſervice that was, conſiſted in forraging and waſting. The two Lord Generals raiſed huge booties, to wit, *Potitus* from *Falerii*, *Camillus* from *Cæna*: leaving behind them nothing whole and untouched that might be ſpoiled by fire or ſword. In this mean time, many fearful prodigious tokens were reported, the moſt part whereof were ſlenderly credited, for that of each there was but one only author: and becauſe there were no ſoothſayers, by whom they might make procuration therefore (ſince that the Tuſcans were now profeſſed enemies) they were altogether neglected. But one eſpecially there was, which all men had an eye and regard unto, namely, for that a certain pool within the Alban forreſt, without extraordinary rain from above, or any other occaſion which might make the thing ſeem leſs miraculous and wonderful, was riſen unto an unuſual height. Certain Orators therefore were ſent to the Oracle of *Delphi*, to know what the gods foreſignified by that prodigious token. But they, as god would, met with an interpreter of the Deſtinies neerer home, to wit, an ancient Veientian. Who (upon a time, when as the ſouldiers, both of the Romans and Tuſcans, let fly one at the other taunts and ſcoffs from their ſtations and guards) thus ſpake in prophetical wiſe: That until the water were drained and let out of the Alban poole, the Romans ſhould never be maſters of the town of *Veii*. Which ſaying of his was at the firſt contemned as a fooliſh word raſhly let fall from him: but after, it began to be much talked of, ſo long, until a certain Roman ſouldier, from out of his ward, enquired of a townsman that warded next unto him (for now by reaſon of long war they had entercourſe of ſpeech one with another) what he was who had caſt out ſuch an ambiguous riddle of the Alban Lake? L M N

The Alban lake riſen to a wonderful height. O

When

A When he heard that he was a ſouthſaier, being himſelf alſo a man not without ſome ſenſe of religion, he trained that wiſard forth to communication, pretending that he would gladly be reſolved himſelf, as touching a particular prodigious object that troubled his mind: & therefore requeſted him at his good leiſure, to take ſo much pain as to confer with him, and give him counſell about the expiation and diverting the danger thereof. Now when they were both gone a good way from their fellows, unarmed, and without all fear and ſuſpition one of the other, the Roman being a luſty tall young man, caught the feeble old fellow in the ſight of them all, and notwithſtanding a great ſtir that the Tuſcans made (but all in vain) had him away perforce to his own company; Who being brought before the General, was ſent afterwards to *Rome* unto the Senat And being de-
B manded what the meaning of that ſhould be, which he had prognoſticated and preſaged concerning the Alban lake, anſwered thus: "Certainly the gods were offended with the people of *Veii* that day on which they put this into his mind to bewray the fatall and inevitable deſtruction of "their State and country: and therefore that, which as then he being ſtirred by divine inſpiration "had propheſied, neither might he call back again and unſpeak: and beſides, happily by conceal- "ing thoſe things, which the immortall gods would have to be publiſhed, there might be commit- "ted as great ſin, as by diſcloſing myſteries to be concealed. Thus therefore (quoth he) is it writ- "ten in the fatall books of fortunes, and thus in the Tuſcans learning, to us is delivered, *That when the Alban water overflowed, if then the Romans with due and religious ceremonies let it out, they ſhould have the victory of the Veientians: but before that, the gods would not forſake the wals of the*
C *Veientians.* Then went he on ſtill, and ſhewed what was the ſolemn and right maner of deriving the water. But the Nobles ſuppoſing authour to be the light of credit, and not of ſufficient account in ſo weighty a matter to beleeved, reſolved to expect the Embaſſadors, and the anſwer of the Oracle of *Apollo*. But before theſe meſſengers were returned from *Delphi*, or any expiation found out for this Alban miracle, the new Tribuns Military with Conſuls authority, *L. Julius Tullus, L. Furius Medullinus* the fourth time, *L. Sergius Fidenas, A. Poſthumius Regillenſis, P. Cornelius Maluginenſis, A. Manlius*, began their government.

The propheſie the Deſtruction of *Veii*.

In that year there aroſe new enemies, the Tarquinians; they ſeeing the Romans buſied with many wars at once, with the Volſcians at *Anxur*, who laid ſiege to the fort there: with the Æquians at *Lavicos*, who aſſaulted the colony of the Romans: beſides, with the Veientians the Fa-
D liſcians and Capenats: and that within the City there was no greater quietneſs, by reaſon of variance between the Nobility and Commons: ſuppoſing, I ſay, that hereby they had good opportunity to do ſome injury and harm, they ſend forth certain bands of ſouldiers lightly appointed, into the territory of *Rome*, to forrage and make ſpoil: thinking that the Romans would either put up that wrong at their hands without revenge, becauſe they would not charge themſelves with a new war: or encounter them and make head with a ſmall power and the ſame but ſlender and diſfurniſhed. The Romans was more offended at the indignity of theſe bravadoes, then they cared much for the ſpoil done by the Tarquinians. And thereupon they neither made much ado about the matter, nor drove it out any long while. *A. Poſthumius* and *Ln. Julius* levied a power without any ordinary muſter (for letted they were by the Tribunes of the Commons) even in a man-
E ner of voluntary ſouldiers, whom they had procured with good words and comfortable ſpeeches. And paſſing throughout the country of the *Carits* by croſs & crooked waies, ſurpried the Tarquinians upon the ſudden, as they returned from plundering, & laden with great prizes. Many they ſlew, all they eaſed of their loading: and thus having recovered the ſpoils of their lands, they returned to *Rome*. Two daies were allowed for the owners, every own to own his proper goods: & on the third day, ſuch goods that were unknown (whereof the moſt part belonged to the enemies) were ſold in port-ſale: and that mony which was made thereof was divided among the ſouldiers. All other wars, and eſpecially the Veientian, had doubtfull iſſue. For now the Romans deſpairing of all mans help, regarded and expected only the courſe of deſtinies and the will of the gods. By which time the Embaſſadours were retuned from *Delphi*, bringing the anſwer of the Oracle, agreeable
F to the former anſwer made by the wiſard, with was taken priſoner: and it ran in this forme: *Beware O Romans that the Alban water be not kept too long in the pool. Bewar thou let it not diſcharge it ſelf into the ſea. Let it forth and wtear the fields therewith, by ſundry rivulets or ſtreams thou ſhalt waſt it and draw it dry. Then aſſault valiantly the enemies wals, remembering that out of that City which ſo many years thou haſt beſieged, victory is promiſed to thee aſſuredly, by thoſe deſtinies which now are revealed. And after the war ended and conqueſt atchieved, ſee thou bring unto my temple, an ample and honourable preſent: and perform the ſacred ceremonies of thy country according to the old cuſtome, and renew thoſe a freſh Which have of late time been neglected.* Here grew this captaine prophet above ſaid to be greatly accounted of: and the Tribunes military, *Cornelius* and *Poſthumius*, began to take his counſel and
G advice, about the procuration of the Alban miracle, and to appeaſe the gods in due order. And found it was at laſt where it was that the gods blamed the neglect of ceremonies & for letting the ancient ſolemnities and ſacrifices: and that certainly it was nothing elſe, but that there was an errour committed in creation of the Magiſtrats: and they ſo created, had ſolemniſed the Latine holidaies wrong and celebrated the ſacrifices in the Alban mount amiſſe. The only purging or expiation wherof was, that the Tribunes military ſhould give over their office, and that they ſhould take new Auſpices againby the flight & ſinging of birds, and ſo to proceed to an Intetreign. All which things were according to a decree of the Senat performed. Whereupon there interregens

The anſwer of the Oracle.

gents ſucceeded one after another. *M. Valerius, Q. Servilius Fidenas, M. Furius Camillus.* But all this while no end there was, nor intermiſſion of troubles and diſſentions. For the Tribunes of the Commons diſturbed and ſtaid the aſſembly for the election ſo long, untill it was agreed that the greater par of the Tribunes military ſhould be created from the Commons. H

During theſe affaires, the Tuſcans held certain Diets and Councels at the Temple of *Voltumna:* where when the Capenats and Faliſci required that with one common aſſent and reſolution, all the people of *Hetruria* ſhould raiſe the ſiege from *Veii*, this anſwer was returned: "That here- "tofore they had denied the Veientians their help in this regard, that they were not to ſeek for "aid at their hands, from whom in ſo weighty a matter they had not ſought for counſell: but now "their own fortune made anſwer for them. For ſuch was the difficulty of their preſent eſtate, I "That if they would, yet they well could not: conſidering eſpecially how into that part of *He-* "*truria* there were newly arived to ſeat themſelves there, the Gauls, a ſtrange nation unto them: "with whom they neither had aſſured peace, nor yet certain war to truſt unto. Howbeit for bloud- "ſake, and for the very name, and in regard of the preſent perils of their kinſmen, they would "grant thus much: that if any of their youth would go forth to the war willingly and of them- "ſelves, they would be no hindrance. Now was it noiſed at *Rome*, that a mighty great number "of theſe enemies were come to raiſe the ſiege. Whereby the civill diſcords of (as it is commonly ſeen upon a generall fear) began to wax more calm and to ſlake. For the principall Tribe that had the prerogative to give their firſt voice, choſe *P. Licinius Calvus* Tribune Military, without his own ſuit (but not againſt the will of the Nobles) a man of approved good carriage, and moderati- K on in his former government, but exceeding old. And it appeared evidently, that all the reſt for that year, ſhould be choſen anew after him, out of the Colledge of thoſe that had been Tribunes Conſular beforetimes: namely, *L. Titinius, P. Menenius, Cn. Genutius, L. Attilius*: who before they were elected and pronounced, *P. Licinius Calvus* ſpake in this manner (by the permiſſion of the Interregent) unto the other Tribes, that were called in their right and orderly courſe, to their ſuffrages. "I ſee well, my maſters O ye Citizens of *Rome*, That in this election, wherin ye have in remembrance our former Magiſtracy, ye gueſſe and preſage happily againſt the year enſuing, "concord and unity: the only thing at this time of all others moſt profitable: in caſe I ſay, you "chuſe again, thoſe who by experience alſo are become now more ſufficient. But as for me, you "ſee I am not the ſame man I was: but a bare ſhadow and name only is all that is left of *P. Lici-* L "*nius*. The ſtrength of my body craſie, and feeble, the ſenſe of my eies and ears dim and dull: "my memory faileth, the quickneſſe of my ſpirit grown heavy and lumpiſh. But behold (quoth "he, laying hand on his ſon) this young man, the very image and portraiture of him, whom ye "afore time made Tribune Military, the firſt that ever was out of the commonalty. Him trained and "brought up after my own order and diſcipline, in ſtead of my ſelf, I bequeath, I give, I dedicate "unto the commonweal. And I beſeech you O *Quirites*, that the dignity which of your ſelves you "have offered unto me, without my ſeeking, you would beſtow upon him at his own humble ſuit, "and the rather ſhew him this favour at my earneſt requeſt in his behalf. The father had his deſire granted. And ſo his ſon *P. Licinius*, was with them, whom before we named, declared Tribune Military in Conſuls authority. *Titinius* and *Genutius* Tribunes Military, made an expedition M againſt the Faliſci and Capenats; Who managing the war in greater heat and courage, than with ſage adviſe and counſel, plunged themſelves headlong into an ambuſhment of their enemies. *Genutius* paid for his raſhneſſe, and made amends by an honorable death; For he was ſlain even before the enſignes, valiantly fighting in the vanguard of the battell with the formoſt. But *Titinius*, having after much fear rallied his ſouldiers, retired himſelf unto an high hill, and made head again. Howbeit he durſt not encounter the enemy on even and plain ground. The ſhame of this defeat was greater than the loſſe otherwiſe. And yet it had like to have turned into a right great damage and overthrow. So great was the fear, not at *Rome* only, whither much news came diverſly reported: but alſo in the camp before *Veii*, that hardly could the ſouldiers be kept from running away. For it was noiſed all over the camp, that the Capenats and Faliſcians had got the vi- N ctory, ſlain the Generals and the whole army: and that all the flour and ſtrength of Tuſcany was not far off. But at *Rome* there was much more hurli-bury: For there it was verily beleeved, that the leaguer about *Veii* was aſſaulted, and that, part of the enemies already were coming in warlike maner againſt the City: ſo as they came running on heaps to man the wals. And even the very matrons and dames of the City, whom publike fear had cauſed to leave their houſes, fell to their beads and ſupplication in the churches: beſeeching the gods to avert and divert deſtruction from the houſes, Temples, and wals of the City of *Rome*, and to turn away that fear from them upon *Veii*: if they renued aright their feſtivall daies, if they made ſatisfaction by ſacrifice for the prodigious ſights, and no otherwiſe.

The Oration of *Licinius Calvus* to the people.

Now by this time were the ſolemn plaies & the Latine holidaies renewed, now was the water O let out of the Alban lake into the fields, now *Veii* drew neer to her final end, haſtned by the courſe of the Deſtinies. Therefore there was created *M. Furius Camillus* Dictator, the fatall captain, predeſtined to deſtroy that City, and to ſave his own country: who appointed *P. Cornelius Scipio* Colonell of the horſmen. The change of the General made a change ſoon of all things elſe. The hopes of men were other than afore, the minds of men were altered, yea, the fortune of the City ſeemed not the ſame. But firſt of all, he proceeded by martiall law againſt them, who in that fearfull fright

A fright at the laſt al'arm, were fled from *Veii*: and taught his ſouldiers not to fear their enemies moſt, but likewiſe to ſtand in awe of their own Commander. And after he had publiſhed to take muſters upon a certain day, himſelf in the mean while rode poſt to *Veii*, there to encourage the hearts of the ſouldiers. From thence he returned to *Rome*, for to levy a new army: and there was not one that refuſed to ſerve under his ſtandard. For even the youth of the forrainers both Latins and Hernicks, came & offered their ſervice in that war. Unto whom, when as the Dictator had in the Senat houſe yeelded thanks, and that all things now were in ſufficient readineſs, by a decree of the Senat he made a vow, that when he had won *Veii*, he would incontinently celebrat the great games, and reedifie and conſecrat anew, the Temple to dame *Matuta*, which afore time had been
B dedicated by King *Servius Tullius*. Thus when he was gone forth from the City, and his army on foot, with greater expectation of the people then hope: firſt he fought a field with the Faliſcians and Capenats in the Country of *Nepet*, [*called at this day Nepe*] where he ordered all the exploits with as great diſcretion and policy as might be: and as it commonly falleth out he ſped as well and fortune favoured his deſignes. He not only defeated his enemies in battell, but alſo drave them out of the field, and gained a huge booty, whereof the greateſt part came to the Treaſurer his coffers; and ſomewhat (though not much) was given to the ſouldiers. From thence he marched with his armour to *Veii*, and there he cauſed more ſconces and baſtillons to be made, and to ſtand thicker together. And having made proclamation, that none ſhould fight without ſpeciall commandment, he withdrew the ſouldiers to the making of trenches and rampiers, from their skir-
C miſhes that they made oftentimes, and that raſhly, between their camp and the wall of the town. The greateſt work of all the reſt and moſt laborious, was the undermining that was begun into the Caſtle of the enemies. And to the end that this work ſhould not be intermitted, nor yet the continuall labour ſtill under the ground might over-toil them: he divided the pioners into ſix parts, and each of them wrought ſix hours round by turns, ſo that both night and day, they never gave over before they had wrought a way to the Caſtle. The Dictator ſeeing now the victory as it were in his hands, and a moſt rich City ready to be taken, and that there was like to be ſuch ſaccage, as never had been the like in all the wars put together aforetime: leſt that he might incur either any mutiny and anger of the ſouldiers in pinching and ſcant parting of the pillage, or diſpleaſure and diſcontentment of the Rulers and Nobles of *Rome*, by ſo prodigall a largeſſe in ſharing all: diſ-
D patched his letters to the Senat, to this effect, "That wheras by the goodneſſe of the immortall "Gods, his own policy and direction, and the travell of his ſouldiers, the City *Veii* was now in "a maner at his devotion; what they would advite, ſhould be done with the rich ſpoils thereof. "There were two divers opinions that mightily diſtracted the Senat: the one of the old *P. Licinius*, whoſe mind being asked of his ſon, ſpake firſt (by report) and ſaid: that his opinion was, there ſhould a proclamation be publiſhed abroad among the people, that whoſoever would be partaker of the booty, ſhould go to the Leaguer before *Veii*. The other of *Ap Claudius*, who finding fault with this new, prodigall, unequall, and undiſcreet largeſſe, in that they thought it unlawful and unfit, that the treaſure got of the enemies ſhould come once at leaſtwiſe to the common purſe of the City, which had been emptied ſo often by reaſon of wars: was of advice, "That the ſoul-
E "diers ſhould have their pay out of it, that the Commons thereby might be eaſed, in the "charges of the ſubſidy levied of them: for ſo ſhould every mans houſe equally feel the ſo- "ciety and part of that benefit, and the hands of idle perſons remaining at home in the town gree- "dy now of rifling, and who would be fingering of Pillage, ſhould not pluck from the hardy "warriors their due rewards. For as much as it is uſually ſeen, that as the valianteſt man "commonly aimeth at the greateſt part of travell and perill, ſo the more coward alwaies reach- "eth at the biggeſt portion of the ſpoil, and hath his hand deepeſt therein. Contrariwiſe, *Li-* "*cinius*, alledged that ſuch mony laid up would be alwaies ſuſpected and odious, and would mi- "niſter matter unto the Commons of criminations & finding one fault or other, whereof ſeditions "and commotions may ariſe, and would give occaſions of new laws to be preferred: and there-
F "fore better it were: that by this gift and boon the hearts of the Commons were won and recon- "ciled: who being ſpent and eaten out by reaſon of their charges of ſo many years, herewith "might be well relieved. And that they ought to taſt the fruit and ſweetneſſe of the booty out "of that war, in which they had ſpent their years, and were waxen old men. And that it "would be more welcome and acceptable, that every man ſhould be his own carver, and with "his own hand catch from the enemie what he could, and bring it home with him, than if they "ſhould receive much more by a great deal at the diſcretion and pleaſure of another. And the "Dictator himſelfe (ſaith he) hath avoided as neer as he could, the diſpleaſure, hatred, and offence "that might ariſe thereof, and therefore poſted it off to the Senat: the Senat ought likewiſe "ſeeing the matter is put to them, to let the Commons alone therewith, and permit every man to
G "have ſuch ſhare as the fortune of war will allot him. This advite which made the Senat grati- "ous with the people, was thought to be the ſafer and better of the twain. Whereupon procla- "mation was made, That whoſoever would have part of the ſpoil of *Veii*, ſhould ſhew himſelfe "before the Dictator in the camp. So there went a huge multitude, that they filled the camp againe. Then the Dictator after ſacrifice done, and advice taken of the lucky ſignes of birds, went forth and commanding his ſouldiers to take armes and weapons in hand, ſpake theſe words "and ſaid: "By thy conduct and the inſtinct of thy divine power O *Pythius Apollo*, I let for- "ward to the winning of the town of *Veii*, & now to thee I vow the tenth part of the ſpoils there-

Difference in the Senat about the pillage of *Veii*.

"And thee withall (ô Queen *Juno*) who at this hour doſt inhabit within the compaſſe of theſe H
"wals, I beſeech, that thou wouldſt vouchſafe, to follow us after conqueſt into this city, ours
"now, and thine within awhile: whereas thou maieſt be ſhrined in a Temple meet for thee, and
"the grandeur of thy majeſty. Having made theſe praiers, with an exceeding multitude he inveſt-
ed the city, and aſſaulted it round on all parts: to the end that they within might have leſſe perce-
vance of the peril intended towards them from the undermining. The Veientians little knowing that
they were betrayed, partly by their own prophets, and partly by the Oracles abroad, and that ſome
of their gods were invited and bidden to part of the ſpoil and ſaccage, and other by vowes and
praiers trained and called out of their own city; began to look after the temples of their enemies
& their new habitations: little weening that this was their laſt day, & fearing nothing leſs than that I
their wals ſhould by undermining be overthrown, and that their Caſtle was full already of enemies:
every man for himſelf ran armed to the wals, marvailing what the matter ſhould be, that whereas
for ſo many daies ſpace no man ſtirred out of the Romans Leaguer, then of a ſudden (as if it were in
a wood rage) they ran upon head ſo raſhly to the aſſault. But hereto belongeth a tale; That
when the Veientian King was at ſacrifice, this voice of the Southſaier was overheard out of the
mine under ground, *That he whoſe hap was to cut forth the Inwards of that ſacrifice ſhould obtain
victory*, and moved the Roman ſouldiers, to break out of the undermning, and to catch up the
entrails and bowels, and carry them to the Dictator. But as in things of ſo great antiquity, it ſuf-
ficeth me, that thoſe which carry ſome likelyhood of truth, be received for true: ſo for fabulous
matters fitter indeed to make a ſhew in a ſtage play (where people take delight in ſuch miracles) K
then to be ſadly beleeved, it will not quit for the pains either to avouch them, or diſavow them.
The mine or cave at the ſame time (no doubt) full of choſen ſouldiers, yeelded forth all at once ar-
med men into the Church of *Juno*, which was in the caſtle of *Veii*, and ſome of them ſet up-
on the backs of their enemies that were on the wals: others pluck up the portcullis of the
gates: ſome of them, whiles from the houſes the women and ſervants flung down ſtones and
tiles, caſt fire abroad. So that every place was full of cries and voices, partly of them that fright-
ed others, and partly of thoſe that were affrighted, with a confuſed ſcreecking of women and
children. When as now in a moment, the armed ſouldiers were thrown down from the wals e-
very where, and the gates ſet open: whiles ſome entred marching in aray, others ſcaled the naked
The City of *Veij* won by *Camillus* wals, the city was filled with enemies: and skrmiſhes there were in every place. After great maſ- L
ſacre and execution committed, the fight began to quail: and the Dictator commanded the Bedles
to proclame and give commandment, to ſpare the unarmed. Thus the bloudſhed ended. Where-
upon the unarmed people began to yeeld: and by permiſſion of the Dictator the ſouldiers ran to
the ſpoil. Which being brought in ſight of the Dictator, of greater price and value a good deal,
than either was hoped or looked for: it is ſaid that he ſtretched forth his hands towards heaven
and praied, "That if his own fortune and the felicity of the people of *Rome* were thought by any
"god or man to be exceſſive, the envy belonging thereto might be mitigated with as ſmall
"privat loſſe of his own in particular, and with as little common calamity of the people of
"*Rome* in generall, as might poſſibly be. And it is recorded, that in this maner praying and wor-
ſhipping, as he turned himſelf about, he ſlipt forward and caught a fall. And as men afterwards M
gueſſed by that which fell out, it was ſuppoſed that the ominous token preſaged the condemnation
of *Camillus* himſelf, and the ruin of the city of *Rome*, which hapned within a few years after to be
forced and ſacked. Thus was that day ſpent in the ſlaughter of enemies, and in rifling of that
moſt wealthy city. The morrow after, the Dictator ſold in portſale the bodies of as many as
were freeborn. That mony only came into the common treaſury not without ſome anger and
repining of the Commons. And as for that booty and ſpoil which they brought with them away,
they counted themſelves beholden therefore, neither to the Generall himſelf (who to colour and
excuſe his own nigardiſe had referred the matter to the Senat: wherein he might have uſed his own
liberty and diſcretion) nor to the Senat: but unto the houſe of the *Licinii*, whereof, the ſon
propounded the matter before the Senat, and the father was the author of ſo popular an over- N
ture.

When as now worldly and earthly riches, were carried forth and tumbled out of *Veii* by heaps,
then began they to remove and have away the ſacred gifts and oblations of the gods with the gods
themſelves, but after the maner of devout worſhippers, rather than of greedy ſpoilers. For choſen
there were out of the whole army, certain youths in the flower of their age, who having their bo-
dies clean waſhed, and being arraied in robes, had in charge to carry Queen *Juno* to *Rome*, and
entred into the Church with great adoration and reverence: and at the firſt very charily and religi-
ouſly laid hand upon her, for that (after the Tuſcan maner) there uſed none to handle that Image
but the Prieſt of one certain tribe. After this, when as one of them, whether it were upon a certain
divine inſpiration, or in ſome youthfull ſport, caſt out theſe words, *Wilt thou march to* Rome *dame
Iuno?* The reſt with one voice cried aloud, That ſhe gave a nod, and ſeemed thereto to give aſ- O
ſent: whereupon this alſo was added to the tale, that ſhe was heard to ſay, *I will*. But for certain
it is reported, that ſhe was ſtirred out of her footſtall, with the help of a ſmall lever, and that as
ſhe willingly was diſplaced, ſo ſhe was eaſily removed & tranſlated, and ſo ſafe and ſound conveied
into the mountain *Aventine*, there to abide and remain for ever; which was the place aſſigned un-
to her by the vows of the Roman Dictator. And there *Camillus* according to his vow, dedicated to
her afterwards a temple. This was the finall end and fall of *Veii*, the richeſt City of all the Tuſcans,

which

A Which even in the laſt and utmoſt calamity ſhewed her mightineſs, and having been beſieged round about continually the ſpace of ten ſummers and winters, & in that time done much more annoiance and hurt then it receiued, was now at laſt through the neceſſity of fatall deſtiny, gained rather by long ſiege and ſecret undermining, then won by forcible aſſault and violence.

When tiding came to *Rome* of the winning of *Veij*, albeit both the prodigious ſights that were ſeen, had been expiat by ſacrifice, and that the anſwers of the Prophets and wiſemen, yea, and the Oracles of *Apollo* were well known: and that ſo far forth as mens counſel and policy might help, they had choſen for Generall *M. Furius*, the moſt noble captain and warrior of all other: yet conſidering they had there warred ſo many years with variable fortune, and receiued many loſſes and
B overthrows, their joy was exceeding great, as if a thing had hapned unlooked for. And before that the Senat could make a decree, all the churches were full of the dames of *Rome* giving thanks to their gods. And the Senat ordained by an act, that ſuplications ſhould continue for four daies, the like as never had been before time in any war. The Dictator alſo was met upon the way as he came home by all degrees and eſtates in great number, and was more welcomed and honoured then any man afore time, to that day. And the triumph far exceded the uſuall maner of the ſolemnity to that day belonging. But moſt of all was he himſelf all goodly to be ſeen, entring into the city in a chariot drawn with white ſteeds. And that was thought an honour, not only unmeet for the quality of a citizen, but hardly beſeeming the condition of any man whatſoever. For they made it a matter of conſcience, that their Dictator ſhould be equall with *Jupiter*, and the ſun, in reſpect of their horſes: for which only cauſe eſpecially, the triumph was more glorious than gra-
C cious, and taken in good part. Then aſſigned he & ſet out to Queen *Juno* a church in *Auentine* hill, and dedicated another to dame *Matuta*, and ſo having atchieved and performed thoſe divine and humane deeds, he reſigned up his Dictatorſhip.

The temple of Queen *Juno*. The temple of *Matuta*.

After this began ſome ſpeech about the Preſent to *Apollo*. Unto whom, when as *Camillus* ſaid that he had vowed the tenth part of the ſpoil: and the Prieſts and Prelats thought good that the people ſhould diſcharge their conſcience in that behalf: there could no ready mean be found how to command them to give back again the ſpoil, that the due portion thereout might be ſet apart for the holy oblation. At the length they grew to this point, which was thought the eaſieſt courſe of all, that whoſoever would acquit himſelf and his houſe in conſcience, ſhould, after he had made an eſtimat to himſelf of his own ſhare in the ſpoil, bring the value & price of the tenth part into the
D common Cheſt: that thereof might be made a golden oblation, meet for the ſtate of that Temple, beſeeming the power of that god, and anſwerable to that dignity of the people of *Rome*. Yet even this contribution alienated the hearts of the people from *Camillus*.

A mid theſe affairs there came Embaſſadours from the Volſcians and Æquians, to treat for peace, and peace obtained they, rather becauſe the city, wearied with continuall wars, might now take reſt and be at quiet, than for any deſerts of them that ſued for it. After *Veij* was taken, the yeat following had ſix Tribunes Military in Conſuls authority, two *P. Cornelij*, namely, *Coſſus* and *Scipio*, *M. Valerius Maximus* the ſecond time, *C. Fabius Ambuſtus* the ſecond time, *L. Furius Medullinus* the ſecond time, and *Q. Servilius* the third time. Unto the *Cornelij* fell out by lot the Faliſcan war, to *Valerius* and *Servilius* the Capenats. Who neither aſſaulted their cities by force, nor
E wearied them with ſiege: but forraged the countries, and drave booties away of ſuch things as were in the fields, not a tree that beareth fruit, not any fruitful things beſides, eſcaped their hands. This diſtreſſe and calamity ſubdued the Capenats: who thereupon ſued for peace, and had it granted. But amongſt the Faliſcians the war continued ſtill. In the mean time, at *Rome* there were ſundry ſeditions. For the appeaſing whereof, it was thought good to ſend a Colony to *Volſci*, and thither three thouſand citizens were appointed in checkroll. And Triumvirs were thereto choſen, who divided to every man three acres of ground and a half, and one twelfth part. That began to be deſpiſed, becauſe they thought it but a poor comfort offered to ſtop their mouths withall, and to put them beſide a greater hope. For why ſhould the Commons be ſent away into the Volſcians land, ſeeing there was *Veij* within their eye-ſight, a moſt fair city, and the land about more plen-
F tifull and large than that of *Rome*? And as for the city it ſelf, they preferred it, either for the ſite, or ſtate of privat or publick buildings and other places, before the city of *Rome*. Moreover a motion alſo was made (which, after that *Rome* was won by the French, was more hotly followed) concerning a General tranſmigration and removing to *Veij* for ever. Marry, they intended that *Veij* ſhould be inhabited, partly by the Commons, and partly by the Nobility: ſaying, That the people of *Rome* might well enough inhabit two cities joyntly in one ſtate of Commonweath.
"Againſt all this, the LL. of the Senat laboured what they might, and plainely ſaid, they
"would ſooner dye in the ſight of the people of *Rome*, than any of thoſe matters ſhould paſſe.
For why? if there were now in one city ſo much diſſention, what would there be in twain? Would
G "any man be ſo mad, as to prefer a conquered city, before his own country that had conquered
"the ſame? and ſuffered *Veij* after it is won to be in better eſtate then it was afore, even when
"it was at the beſt? Finally, well might they be forſaken at home in their own country by their citi-
"zens, but to forſake their country and citizens, they would never be brought by any force what-
"ſoever. They would not follow to *Veij*, *T. Siccinius* as their founder, (for he amongſt the Tribuns
"of the Commons perſwaded this Act) and leave their god *Romulus* the ſon of a god, the firſt
ſtockfather and beginner of the city of *Rome*. Whiles theſe matters were in handling with foule
ſtir and much debate and variance (for the nobles had won to their opinion ſome of the Tri-

Tribunes) there was nothing else that staied the Commons hands from outrage, but this, that H
when there was an outcry made to begin the quarell, and to set them together by the ears, the
chiefe and principal Senatours first came forth to the multitude, and offered themselves to be laid
at, smitten and slain. In regard of whose age, dignity, and honour, they forbearing to do violence,
were likewise for shame staied in their mood, for any the like attempts besides. *Camillus* taking
vantage hereof, ever and anon in all places, made speeches unto the people, and said: "That it
"was no marvell truly, that the city was in a rage and madnes, which being charged with a vow,
"made more care of all things else, then to discharge their conscience thereof, and see it perform-
"ed. As for the collation and gathering of a small donative, rather then a tithe, he said nothing of
"it: seeing that every man privatly bound himself thereto, and the body of the people stood fre- I
"ed therefrom. But one thing there was that his conscience would not suffer him to hold his peace,
"that out of that booty only which was of moveable things, the tenth was appointed to be levi-
"ed: as for the city and ground that was won, which also was compriſed within the vow
"there were no words at all made. When as the debating of this matter, which to the Senat seem-
ed doubtfull and hard, was put over to the Priests and Prelats: their colledge calling to them *Ca-
millus*, thought good, that whatsoever the Veientians had before the vow made, and whatsoever
after the vow, came into the hands of the people of *Rome*, the tenth part thereof should be con-
secrated to *Apollo*. So both the city and the lands were valued: and mony taken forth of the city
chamber. And the Tribunes military Consular enjoyned therewith to buy gold. Whereof there be-
ing not store enough, the dames of the city, having their assemblies and meetings by themselves K
for to consult therabout, by a common decree made promise to the Tribunes military, and brought
into the exchequer their own gold, and all the ornaments and jewels they had. This was as ac-
ceptable a thing, and as well taken of the Senat, as ever any had been: and for this liberality (men
say) they had this honour granted unto them, as to ride to church and to plaies in hanging or
ship-coaches, and as well on working daies as holidaies, to be at their wagons. When the gold
was of every one received by weight and prised to the worth, that they might again be paid mony
therfore: it was agreed that a standing cup of gold should be made therof, and presented as an ob-
lation to *Apollo* at *Delphi*. So soon as they had eased and disburdned their minds of this religious
vow, the Tribunes of the Commons began sedition anew. So as the multitude was incited and
stirred up against all the peers, but above all other against *Camillus*; charging him, that what by con- L
fiscating and consecrating the booty of the Veientians, he had brought it to just nothing. Those no-
bles that were absent they blamed and they cried out against mightily, but of such that were pre-
sent in place, and offered themselves unto them in their anger, they had some reverence. Now so
soon as they saw the matter in question to be deferred and continued past that year, they chose again
for the year following, those Tribunes of the Commons, which were the authors of that act and
law. The Nobles likewise endeavoured the same for those that should oppose themselves against
the law. So the Tribunes of the Commons (a good part of them) were chosen the very same again.
But at the Election of the Tribunes Military, the Patritij after very much ado got at length, that
*Furius Camillus* was created. They made semblance and pretended, that they would be provided
of a Generall for war, but indeed their purpose was to be furnished of an adversary to withstand M
the acts and proceedings of the Tribunes. Together with *Camillus* were made Tribunes Military
in Consuls authority, *L. Furius Medullinus* the sixt time, *C. Æmylius*, *L. Valerius Publicola*, *Sp.
Posthumius*, *P. Cornelius* the second time.

In the beginning of the year, the Tribunes of the Commons stirred not untill *M. Furius Camil-
lus* was gone against the *Falisci*, as his charge required for that war. And by delaies afterwards the
matter was well cooled. As for *Camillus*, whom of all other they most feared to be their adversary,
he waxed great and glorious, by his service against the Falisci. For when as at the first, the enemies
kept themselves within the wals, thinking it the safest way: he by wasting their country, and
setting fire upon their villages, forced them to come forth of their town, howbeit they feared to
be too bold, and to go far forward: and encamped themselves a mile and lesse from the town; N
reposing their safety and security in nothing else, but in the dangerous and hard passage, the waies
all about being rough, ragged, and stony, in some places straight and narrow, in other up hill and
steep. *Camillus* having tak en a prisoner out of the fields, and being guided by his direction, late
in the night dislodged his camp, and betimes in the morning at break of the day, shewed him-
self upon the higher rounds a good deal. The Romans on three sides, fell to fortifie by trenching and
casting rampiers, whiles the rest of the army stood ready ranged for the batrell. And where-
as the enemies assaied to hinder the work, he discomfited them and put them to flight, where-
upon the Falisci were so frighted, that as they fled amain in disaray, they passed beyond their
own camp, which was neerer; and made as fast as they could to the town. Many were slain and
many wounded, before that in this affright they could hit upon the gates. Their camp being taken, O
the booty thereof came into the Questors coffers, with the great gruding and anger of the
souldiers. Howbeit yeelding to the severity of discipline and good government: the same vir-
tue which they had hated before, they now honoured and held in admiration. After this was
the city besieged, and sconces and platforms raised about it. Otherwhiles also, as occasion
was offered, the townsmen would sally forth and assaile the Romans camp, and make light skir-
mishes. Thus the time passed without any great good hope of either side: for that they within
the town besieged, had of their former provision more store of corn & other necessaries than they

that

A that lay at ſiege without. And it ſeemeth they would have had as long a peece of worke there, as they had at *Veij*, had not fortune yeelded to the Romans General, both a trial of his approved vertue in war and alſo ſpeedy victorie.

It was the manner among the Faliſcians, to entertain for the government of their Children one that ſhould teach and inſtruct them in ſchool, and withall bear them company whereſoever they went: and many children together (as the guiſe continued ſtill even to this day in *Greece*) were committed to the charge and tuition of one man. As for the Nobles and principall mens ſons of this City (as it is uſually every where elſe) a ſpeciall man had the teaching of them, ſuch an one, as was thought moſt learned and the greateſt clerk of all other. This man, having in time of peace
B begun to bring the children forth before the town ſide, to diſport and exerciſe themſelves, gave not over his wonted manner now in time of war. And uſing ſtill to train them abroad one while neerer, an other whiles further off from the gate: it fell out ſo, that one day what with paſtime, and what with pleaſant talk and diſcourſes, he drew them further then he accuſtomed: and ſeeing his time, went forward as far as the enemies *corps de gard*, and ſo forth on, till he had brought them within the compaſſe of the camp, and even to *Camillus* his pavilion. Where to his wicked intended act, he added alſo a more graceleſſe ſpeech, ſaying, "That he yeelded * *Falerij* into the *Monte Fiaſcone.*
"Romans hands, in that he gave them thoſe children to do with what they would, whoſe parents were the rulers and commanders of the city. Which words when *Camillus* heard, thou comeſt not The words of *Camillus* to the traiterous ſchool-maſter of the Noblemens ſons of *Faleri*.
"(quoth he) lewd wretch as thou art, with thy lewd and curſed preſent, either to a people or to a
"captain like thy ſelfe. We have not indeed with the Faliſcians any league at all, by covenant of
C "man concluded and eſtabliſhed: yet by nature, there is and will be ſtill a kind of amity or ſoci-
"ety between us and them. There are laws due for war as well as for peace: and thoſe have we
"learned to obſerve no leſſe juſtly, than valiantly. We bear arms not againſt that ſilly age, which
"uſually is ſpared in raſing and ſacking of towns, but againſt armed men, and thoſe who being,
"by us neither harmed nor provoked, have aſſailed the Romans camp at *Veij*. And yet thoſe ene-
"mies (as bad as they be) like as thou haſt for thy part exceeded them in a new and ſtrange kind of
"wickedneſſe: ſo will I conquer I doubt not, by feats that the Romans profeſſe: by vertue, by
"travell, by hardy fight: like as I have done *Veij* already. After this he cauſed him to be ſtripped naked, and ſo with his hands bound behind him, he delivered him to the children, for to bring him back to *Falerij*: and gave them rods withall, wherwith they might whip and drive this traiterous
D perſon forward into the city. At which ſight the people at the firſt came running together: and then the Magiſtrats called a Councell to ſit upon this ſtrange occurrent. But ſee what a change it wrought in their hearts. They who a while before were with hatred and anger ſo cruelly ſet, as that they wiſhed rather in a maner to be deſtroied with the Veientians, then to accept of peace as the Capenates had done: now through out the whole city required to be at accord with the Romans. No talk in the Market place, no ſpeech in the Councel houſe, but of the faithfulneſſe and truth of the Romans, and of the juſtice of their General. And with one generall conſent of all, Embaſſadours were ſent to *Camillus*, into the camp. And from thence by permiſſion of *Camillus* to the Senat of *Rome* they went, to deliver up *Falerij*: and being admitted into the Senat houſe, in this wiſe (by report) they ſpake: "In that victory (right honourable) which neither God nor
E man can chuſe but allow, are we by you and your General overcome and vanquiſhed. And here we The Oration of the Embaſſadors of *Falerij* to the Senat of *Rome*.
render our ſelves into your hands: ſuppoſing this (than which to a conquerour there can be no-
thing more honourable) that we ſhall live better under your government, than under our own pro-
per laws and liberties. The event & iſſue of this war, hath afforded to mankind two worthy exam-
ples to follow. Ye for your part have made choice to obſerve faithfulneſſe in war, rather then to at-
"chieve a preſent conqueſt: and we again, by this your faithful dealing induced and provoked,
"have willingly yeelded unto you the victory: confeſſing our ſelves now preſently to be your liege
"& lawfull ſubjects. Send whom you will, to receive our armor, our hoſtages, our town with open
"gates. Neither ſhal you ever repent of our alleagance nor, we think much of your rule & go-
vernment. *Camillus* had thanks both of the enemies and of the citizens. The Faliſci were charged
F with mony for that years pay, that the people of *Rome* might be freed of their ſubſidy. Thus when peace was granted, the army was brought back again to *Rome*.

When as *Camillus* was returned after this conqueſt of his enemies into the City, with much better commendation, than when as in triumph he rode in a chariot drawn with white horſes through the city, as being now famous for his juſt dealing and faithfulneſſe: ſecretly the Senat was abaſhed for very reverence of the man, and could no longer bear, but without further delay to acquit him of the vow he made. So there were ſent *L. Valerius*, *L. Sergius*, *A Manlius* as Embaſſadors in one galley unwafted, to preſent unto *Apollo* at *Delphi* by way of obligation, a ſtanding cup of gold. Who not far off from the narrow ſeas of *Sicily*, were encountred & borded by certain Liparenſian
G pirats or men of war, and had to *Lipara*. Now the maner was of that city, as common rovers uſe to do) for to divide the prize among them. Haply the chief officer or Magiſtrat for that year, was one *Timaſitheus*, a man more like to the Romans than his own countrimen. Who having himſelf ſome reverent regard of the name of Embaſſadours, and the preſent of the god to whom it was ſent, and the occaſion thereof: poſſeſsed the multitude alſo (which alſo rightly reſembleth their governor) with due religion and prick of conſcience. This head ruler brought the Embaſſadors into their logding, & entertained them courteouſly at the cities charges, waſted them with the convoy of a ſufficient fleet: accompanied them in perſon to *Delphi*, and from thence conducted

them

them home again safe to *Rome*. Whereupon by an act af the Senat, there was a contract made with him of amity and mutuall entertainment, and gifts bestowed upon him at the cities cost. The same year there was doubtfull war with the Æquians, so it was uncertain both in the army and at *Rome* whether they had won or lost the victory. The Generals for the Romans, were of the Tribunes Military, *C. Æmylius*, and *Sp. Posthumius*. At the first they warred both together, but after, when the enemies were in fight discomfited, it was agreed, that *Aemylius* should keep *Verrugo* with a garison, and *Posthumius* wast the borders. Where, as he marched somewhat negligently with his army out of order, as presently after field won, the Æquians set upon him, and having put him in fear chased him to the hils next hand. The fright whereof came from thence to the other garrison also at *Verrugo*. *Posthumius*, after that he had retired his men into safty and assembled them together, and there in an Oration greatly blamed and cried out upon their fear and running away: and that they were discomfited by a most dastardly fugitive enemy: the whole host cried out with one voice, that they deserved to be told of it, and confessed that they had committed a foul fault: but they themselves would make amends therefore: and promised that the enemies should carry it neither to heaven nor hell, nor joy long therewith. Requiring that he would conduct them presently to the enmies camp (which in sight was pight upon a plain) protesting to refuse no extremity of punishment, if they were not masters of it before night. He then commended them, and willed them to refresh their bodies, and to be ready at the relieve of the fourth watch. Now lay the enemies likewise in the passage, to intercept the Romans, as they fled by night from the hill, even in the way which leadeth to *Verrugo*. And before day they encountred together (but you must think the moon shone all night) and saw how to fight, as well as by day light. But the noise being heard to *Verrugo*, strake so great fear amongst them, thinking the camp of the Romans had been assailed, that for all *Aemylius* could do to hold them, and to beseech them to the contrary, they fled scattered unto *Tusculum*. From whence the news came to *Rome*, That *Posthumius* was slain, and his army lost. But he riding about the host (after that in the morning betimes the day light shewed them that followed apace on every side, that there was no fear of ambushments and forlayings) charged them with their promises, and set them in such a heat, That the Æquians could no longer abide their violence. Then slew they the enemies in the chase every one, and made havock of them as they fled, more like men that do things a in fury and rage then by plain valour. And presently from the Tidings from *Tusculum* (which put the city in a vain & causeless fright) there came from *Posthumius* letters, dight with lawrell; importing news, that the Romans had the victory, and the Æquians the overthrow.

Because as yet the actions and sutes aforesaid of the Tribuns of the Commons could come to no end: but the Commons laboured to continue the Tribuneship in them that were the maintainers of the law preferred, and also the Nobles endeavoured to make those rulers again that had opposed themselves against the same law. But as the Commons in their own Election prevailed and had the better: so the Nobles were revenged of them againe for this griefe they tooke, by an Act of the Senat, that Consuls (hated Magistrates of the Commons) should be created. Thus after fifteen yeares were Consuls reelected, *L. Lucretius Flavus*, *Servius Sulpitius Camerinus*.

In the beginning of this year, when as the Tribunes of the Commons bestirred themselves stoutly to go through with their law, for that none of their brotherhood was about to deny and nip the same: and whiles the Consuls for that very cause resisted them as earnestly, and the whole city was here-about amused: the Æquians won *Vitelia*, a Colony of the Romans, seated within their own country. Most part of the Coloners (because the town being by night betraied and won, yeelding unto them free passage to escape away on the back side) fled safe to *Rome*. So that service befell unto *L. Lucretius* the Consul; Who went with a power and vanquished the enemies in fight, and with victory returned to *Rome* to a greater conflict a good deal. *Aulus Virginius*, and *Quintus Pomponius*, two Tribunes of the Commons the two years past, were accused: for whose defence it was for the Credit of the Senat, That the Nobles should agree and stick close together. For no man laid to their charge either dishoneſt behaviour in life, or corrupt carriage of themselves in their office, but only this, that to please and gratifie the Nobles, they had set themselves against the Tribunes law. Howbeit the anger of the Commons went beyond the favour of the Senat, and (that which was a most shamefull precedent) they (guiltlesse men) had fine set on their heads of * ten thousand pound of brasse coin; Whereat the Nobles took great displeasure. *Camillus* openly blamed the Commons for this their wicked part: who now setting themselves against "their own patrons, perceived not that by a perverse proceeding in judgement against their Tribunes, they had lost their liberty of opposing themselves with their negative voice: and take that away once, and farewell all authority of the Tribunes for ever. For where as they hoped "that the Nobles would endure the unbridled and licentious liberty of that office, they were much "deceived: for if these hard courses of the Tribunes might not be restrained by help of the same "Tribunes, the Nobility would find some other weapon to fight withall. He rebuked the "Consuls also, for that they suffered those Tribunes to faile of their protection and safe conduct, "who had done and said nothing but by the authority and warrant of the Senat. Whiles openly he used to make these and such orations to the people, he thrust himself daily more and more into mens anger and displeasure. But to stir up the Senat against the foresaid law, he ceased not still: willing them, that when the day came of proposing the law, they should come into the Common Hall, with no other mind but this, to remember they were to fight for god and country

* 2 lib. 5. sh. sterle.

*Camillus* rebuketh the Commons.

*Camillus* his speech in the Senat.

A try, for the temples of the gods, and the very ſoile wherein they were born. And as for his own ſelf privatly, if it were lawful for him amidſt theſe civil troubles of his native country, to "think upon and reſpect his own proper glory, it were right honourable for him, to have the city "which he had won, peopled and reſorted unto : and daily to behold and enjoy the memorable "monument of his own glory : to ſee before his eies the very City, whereof the counterfeit was "born in the pomp of triumph : and that all men elſe ſhould tread in the ſteps of his noble acts. "But he thought it a ſhamefull and abominable thing, that a City left and forſaken of the immor-"tall gods, ſhould be inhabited : and that the people of *Rome* ſhould dwel in captive ſoil, and to "make this exchange, to leave a naturall country which hath conquered, for it that hath been con-
B "quered With theſe perſwaſions & exhortations were the chief rulers excited, the Nobles old and young, came in multitudes, (when as the law ſhould be propounded) into the Hall. And as they were diſperſed and ſorted into Tribes, every one taking hold of thoſe of his own tribe, began to beſeech them even with tears, not to forſake that Country now, in the quarrell whereof they and their fathers had fought moſt valiantly and happily : ſhewing herewith ever and anon the Capitoll, the Temple of *Veſta*, and other Temples thereabout of the gods : that they ſhould not therefore drive the people of *Rome*, as exiled and baniſhed out of their native ſoil from their own home and houſegods, into their enemies City, nor bring the matter thus about, that it had been better that *Veii* had not been won, rather then *Rome* ſhould be abandoned. Becauſe their dealing was nothing but by way of praier and perſwaſion, and in their praiers much mention and naming of the gods,
C the moſt part of them were touched in conſcience : ſo as more Tribes nipped that one law forgoing forward, than gave their voices to approve it. Which victory was ſo joyfull to the Nobles, that the morrow after, by the motion of the Conſul a decree was made, That amongſt the Commons ſhould be a diviſion of ſeven acres for a man out of the Veientian lands : and not for houſeholders only, but that conſideration and reckoning ſhould be had alſo in every houſe of all free born perſons : to the end, that they ſhould be willing to breed up children to the like proof, and for the hope of like commodity. When the Commons by this bountifull gift and liberality, were well pacified and ſtilled, there was no ſtir at all to hinder the election of the Conſuls. So there were created Conſuls, *Lu. Valerius Potitus*, and *M. Manlius*, who afterwards was ſurnamed *Capitolinus*.

Theſe Conſuls ſet out the great ſolemn games and plaies, which *M. Furius*, the Dictator had
D vowed in the Veientian war. In the ſame year the Temple of *Juno Regina* vowed by the ſame Dictator and in the ſame war, was dedicated. And it is reported, that the dedication thereof was celebrated with exceeding great reſort and forward endeavour of the dames of *Rome*. War there was (but not greatly to be ſpoken of) *Algidum* with the Æquians, for that the enemies were in a maner diſcomfited before that they joyned battel. *Valerius* becauſe he followed ſtill and killed the enemies in chaſe, was allowed by decree to triumph at full : and *Manlius*, that he ſhould enter into the city only Ovant, in petty triumph. The ſame year aroſe a new war with the Volſcians: againſt whom by reaſon of a famine and peſtilence that grew about *Rome* upon exceeding drought and heat, an army could not be led forth. For which cauſe the Volſcinians puffed up with pride, joyning unto them the Salpenates, invaded firſt the country about *Rome*. Whereupon war was
E proclamed againſt both nations. *C. Julius* the Cenſor departed this life. In whoſe room *M. Cornelius* was ſubſtituted. Which after bred ſome ſcruple of Religion, for that *Rome* in that five years ſpace was taken. So that never after that is there any Cenſor choſen into the place of the deceaſed: And the Conſuls alſo being ſick and thereby diſabled to govern, it was thought good to take new counſell & advice of auſpices or tokens of birds, by an Interreign. When as therfore by an act of the Senat, the Conſuls had reſigned their office, *M. Furius Camillus* was created Interregent. Who named after him *P. Cornelius Scipio* : and he afterwards *Lu. Valerius Potitus* to be Interrex. By whom were made ſix Tribunes Military with Conſuls authority : that in caſe any of them ſhould be ſick and craſie, yet the Common-wealth ſhould have governours enough. The firſt day of *July* entred they into their office : namely, *L. Lucretius*, *Servius Sulpitius*, *M. Aemylius*, *Lu. Furi-*
F *us Medullinus* the ſeventh time, *Agrippa Furius*, *C. Aemylius* the ſecond time. Of theſe *L. Lucretius* and *C. Aemylius* had in commiſſion to go againſt the Volſcians : but *Agrippa Furius*, and *Servius Sulpitius* againſt the Salpinates. And firſt were the Volſcians fought withall. A great war in reſpect of the number of enemies : but for the conflict and battell, nothing fierce and ſharp. For their army at the firſt encounter was put to flight, and eight thouſand ſouldiers were by the Roman horſemen environed, whereupon they threw their weapons away and yeelded. The tidings of this war cauſed the Salpenates not to adventure upon fight : but they kept themſelves armed within the wals, and ſtood upon their gaurd. The Romans then all abroad drave booties both out of the Salpinats Country, and the Volſcians, and no man withſtood their violence: ſo long untill the Volſcians wearied with war, and truce granted unto them for twenty years, upon this con-
G dition, to make reſtitution again to the Romans of their goods, and to pay the ſouldiers for that year their wages.

The ſame year one *M. Caditius* a commoner, gave notice to the Tribunes that in the new Cauſey, where now there ſtandeth a Chappel above the Temple of *Veſta*, there was in the ſtil time of the night a voice heard, louder than any mans, willing that the governours might have intelligence, that the Gauls were coming. This, by reaſon of the baſeneſſe of the author (as commonly it is ſeen) was not credited : beſides, they were a nation far remote, and therefore leſs known and of ſmall accompt. Thus were not only the advertiſements of the gods deſpiſed, when as their fatal time of de-

ſtruction

struction was toward: but also the help of man (which rested only in *Furius Camillus*) they rid out of the City. Who being arested to appear at a day by *L. Apuleius* a Tribune of the Commons, and to make answer for the saccage of *Veii*, and having buried about the same time his son, a towardly young Gentleman, sent for home to his house, those of his own tribe, his skinfolk and followers, wherof a great part were of the Commons. And when he had sounded their minds, and received this answer from them, That they would defray and lay down so much, as he should be condemned in: but as to acquit him, that they could not possibly. Hereupon he departed in exile: praying to the immortall gods, that as he was guiltlesse and wrongfully dealt withall, so they would with all speed, cause that unthankful City to stand in need, and to have a misse of him. In his absence condemned he was in * fifteen thousand pounds of brasse coine. When this citizen was thus expulsed, who if he had tarried still, (so far as we may make reckoning of any earthly security) *Rome* could never have been won: behold, embassadors came come from the Clusines, requesting aid against the Gaules.

*M. Furius Camillus* goeth into the exile.

* 39 *lib.* 7 *ss.* 6 *d sterl.*

This nation (as it is reported) allured with the sweetnesse of corn and wine especially (dainty chaffer and a new delight in those daies) passed over the *Alps*, and possessed those countries which had been aforetime by the Tuscans inhabited. The voice goeth, that there was one *Arunx* a Clusine, who had brought wine into Gaul, to entise that people withall, upon an anger and displeasure that his wife had been defloured by one *Lucumo* (whose guardian *Arunx* himselfe had been) a young gentleman of great might and power, and whom *Aruns* could not chastise and bridle, without assistance of forrein forces: This man was the Gauls guide in passing over the *Alps*, and the principal instrument to set them a work for to assault *Clusium*. I would not for my part deny, but that the French were brought to *Clusium* by *Aruns* or some other Clusine: but most certain it is, that they who assaulted *Clusium*, were not the first that passed the *Alps*. For the Gauls two hundred years before they assaulted *Clusium* and won the City of *Rome*, came over into *Italy*. Neither fought the Gauls first with this nation of the Tuscans, but long afore, and that oftentimes, with those that dwell between *Apenninus* and the *Alps*. For, the Tuscans had all soveraign command, both by land and sea, before the Roman Empire was erected. The names of upper and nether sea, wherewith *Italy* is compassed about, as it were an Island, may be a sufficient proof, how great and puissant they were: seeing, that the one is by the generall name of the Nation, called of Italians, the Tuscan sea: & the other the Adriatick, of a town of colony or the Tuscans called *Adria*. The Greeks do call the self same seas that (*a*) *Tyrrhene* and the Adriaticke seas. These Tuscans bending to both seas, inhabited those countries, consisting of twelve Cities: having sent before on this side *Apennine*, toward the nether sea, and afterwards beyond the (*b Apennine*, as many Colonies in number according to the Princes at the first beginning, and held in possession all those parts beyond the *Po* unto the *Alps*, except that Angle only of the Venetians, that are seated about the gulf of the Adriatick sea. And doubtlesse, the Nations about the *Alps*, especially the Rhetians, had their beginning thus: whom the very country it self made savage, so they as retained nothing of old, but the sound of their language, and the same broken and somewhat corrupted. Now for the coming of the Gauls over into *Italy*, thus much we have learned. In the daies of *Priscus Tarquinius* King of *Rome*, the (*c*) *Celtes* which are a third part of the Gauls, were under the rule of the (*d*) *Bituriges* who chose a King over the Celtes, named *Ambigatus*, a great potentat and mighty, both in regard of valour and vertue, and also of his own privat wealth and publick weal: for that under his regiment, Gaul was so fertile of corn, and grew so populous, that the exceeding number of the people could not well be governed. This man being of great age, and desirous now to disburthen his Realm of that pestering multitude, declared that he would send *Bellovesus* and *Sigovesus* his sisters sons (two forward young men) to seek adventures, into what lands soever the gods and goddesses should by their token direct them: giving them commission to gather what number of men they would, to the end that no nation might withstand their coming. So it fell to *Sigovesus* lot, for to enter the forrest and woodland country of *Hercinia*. *Bellovesus* his fortune was a good deal better, to take his way (by the gods guidance) unto *Italy*: and he leivied of the *Bituriges*, (*e*) *Averni* (*f*) *Senones* (*g*) *Hedui* (*h*) *Ambarri* (*i*) *Carnutes* and (*k*) *Aulerci*, those that might be spared out of those Countries: and setting forward with a mighty power of footmen & horsmen, came unto the (*i*) *Tricastides*. Now stood the *Alps* full against them in their way, which I marvel not were thought & insuperable impassable, as having not as yet any way made over them, (so far as any constant record maketh date) unlesse we list to beleeve the tales of *Hercules*. Now when as the Gauls there, were hemmed in as it were on every side with those high montains, and that they looked every way about them how they might get over those high hils reaching up to the heavens, and so passe (as one would say) into an other world; they were staied there and went no further, upon scruple of conscience, for that it was reported, that certain strangers seeking land to inhabite, were by the people of (*m*) *Sallies* set upon and assailed. These strangers were the (*n*) *Massilians*, who sailed from *Phocis*. This the Gauls supposing to be a fortunate presage of their successe helped them forward, and took part with them: so as what place first they gat after they were landed, they fortified within the wide or broad forrests. They themselves passed through the Country of (*o*) *Taurini*, and over the straights of the *Alps*, called (*p*) *Julia*: and having vanquished the Tuscans in fight not far from the river (*q*) *Ticinus*, hearing that the Country wherin they abode and setled, was called *Insubrium* (after the name of a territory and shire of the Heduans) they following and imbracing the lucky name of that place, so conformable to the other of their own, builded

*a Mar. Tosco or Mar de Marseille.*
*b Monte Fiscello.*

*t Languedoc Provence, and Daulphen.*
*d Berry at this day.*

*e Auvergne.*
*f Sens.*
*g Bugognions.*
*h Charrolois.*
*i Chartres or Chartrame.*
*k Eureaux.*
*l Entrecasteaux.*

*m Salies.*
*n Of Marseilles*

*o Piemont.*
*p Iuien.*
*q Tecino.*

builded a City and called it (r) *Mediolanum*. Afterwards another power of Germans with their captain *Elitovius*, following the steps of the former Gauls, by the same streights (with good leave and favour of *Bellovesus*) passed over the *Alps*, and remained there: and where now (s) *Brixia* and (t) *Verona* two towns stand (the (u) *Libui* than inhabited those parts) made their abode. After these, the *Saluvii* passed over, who expelled all the Ligurians that dwelt on this side the river *Ticinus*, but only the *Levi*, an ancient nation. After them the (x) *Boii* and (y) *Lingones* passed over the hill (z) *Penninus*, dispossessed the Tuscans & the Umbrians of their territorie, yet so as they kept them within *Appenninus*. Then the *Senones* which were the last commers of these strangers, inhabited the country from the river (a) *Vfens* unto (b) *Athesis*. This nation I find to have come to (c) *Clusium*, and afterwards from thence to *Rome*; marry it is not certaine whether this nation alone came, or that they were aided by all the Gauls, that dwelt on this side the *Alps*.

r *Millaine.*
s *Brescia*
t *Verona.*
u About *Laverro.*
x *Burbonois.*
y *Lumbha.*
z *S. Bernardi*
a *Ausente.*
b *Ladice.*
c *Chiusi.*

The Clusines terrified with this new war, advising well both their number and the unaccustomed looks, and visages of the men, which they had not seen afore, and the strange armour withall: & hearing besides that the legion of the Tuscans both on this side the *Po* and beyond, had been oftentimes by them discomfited: Albeit in the Romans they had no interest at all in regard of any league or amity, only this, that they had not maintained their kinsfolk the Veientes against the Romans, sent their Embassadors to *Rome*, to crave aid of the Senat. Aid they obtained none: Embassadors there were sent three, the sonnes of *M. Fabius Ambustus*, who in the name of the Senat and people of *Rome* should treat with the Gauls and perswade with them, not to set upon the confederats and friends of the people of *Rome* namely, such as at whose hands they had received no wrong: saying moreover, that if they would put the Romans to it, The Romans were to defend Gauls by war, howbeit they thought it better, if it might be, to have no wars at all: but that the them a new-come nation should grow into knowledge and accquaintance, rather by peace than by war. The embassage was mild and mildest enough, but the Embassadors themselves were over fierce & hasty, and more like Gauls than Romans; Who having done their message in the assembly of the Gauls, were thus again answered. "Although the name of the Romans was but of late heard of, yet they, yet they were perswaded that they were hardy men, at whose hands the Clusines in their fear, sought and requested succour. And whereas they choose rather to defend their allies by way of embassage, than by open war, they likewise neither disdained nor refus'd peace which they offered: If the Clusines would grant the Gauls (which wanted ground to inhabit) a part of their marches, whereof they held in possession more than they did well people and occupy: Otherwise, no peace would be had. And hereof would they have an answer whiles the Romans were in place: and if they were denied ground, they would also fight even before the Romans face, that they might make report at home, how much the Gauls went beyond other men in valour & chivalry. And when as the Romans demanded again what right they had to require ground of the owners or to threaten war? For what interrest or title had the Gauls in Tuscany? They again stoutly made answer; that they carried their right in their swords point, and that valiant men were Lords of all the world. So they were on both sides so set on fire, that they ran to their weapons & skirmish'd with the Tuscans. Then against all law of nations (a thing that hastned the destruction of the Roman City) the Embassadours took arms. Neither could this be so secret but it was known; For even before the ensignes of the Tuscans, there were seen three most noble & valiant knights of the Romans for to fight: so far exceeded the valour of those strangers above all the Clusines. Moreover and besides, *Quintus Fabius* riding out of the battell on horseback charged his lance upon the captain of the Gauls, as he fiercely assailed the ensignes and battel of the Tuscans, ran him through and slue him: and as he rifled and disarmed him, the Gauls took knowledge of him, and throughout the whole host notice was given, that it was an Embassadour of the Romans. So, leaving their quarrell against the Clusines, they sounded the retreat, and threatned the Romans. There were of them, that thought good presently to advance forward to *Rome*: but the elder sort prevailed, that there should be sent Embassadors first to complain of the injuries, and to require that for the law of arms broken, the *Fabii* should be yeelded unto them. When as the Gaul Embassadours had declared their message according to their commission, the Senat nothing liked of the *Fabians* deed, and thought the barbarous Gauls required nothing but just and reason. Howbeit suit of friends and privat respects, would not permit to make an act of that, in personages of so great mark and nobility, which they deemed meet and requisit. Therefore to the end it might not be imputed to them & they blamed, if peradventure any foil or overthrow should hap unto them, by warring with the Gauls: they referred the hearing and discussing of the Gauls demands unto the people. Where might and favour so much prevailed, that even they who were in question to be punished, were created for the year following Tribunes Military in Consuls authority. At which the Gauls being offended (as good cause they had) with open threats and menaces of war returned again to their company. There were with the three *Fabii*, *P. Sulpitius*, *Longus*, *Quintus Servilius*, the fourth time, and *P. Servilius Maluginensis*. When as now so great danger was towards and neer at hand (see how fortune blinded mens eies, when as she will have her sway and not be hindred) that City which against the Fidenat & Veient enemy & other nations bordering thereby, tried the utmost help, and oftentimes made a Dictator: now being threatned with a strange enemy never heard of before, coming to war upon them from the Ocean sea, & the farthest parts of the world, sought neither for governor nor help more then ordinary. Even those Tribuns by whose rash

The answer of the Gauls to the Embassadors of *Rome*.

deal-

dealing that war was first caused, had the managing of all: and made no more choise, nor musttring H
of souldiers than usually had been in common wars: making but a light matter of it and of no consequence, & setting little by, and elevating the rumour of the war. The Gauls in the mean time (having heard, how on set purpose those breakers of human law were soon advanced to honour, & how their embassage was deluded and dallied with, all on fire, as they are a nation that way impatient and in anger outragious) pluckt up their standards forthwith and marched with all expedition on their voiage. At whose noise and hurliburly (as they passed by in such hast) when as the towns thereby were put in fear, and ran to their weapons, and the country peasants fled away: they with open mouth gave out and signified, that they went to *Rome*. All the way as they journied, what with horse and men, both in length and breadth, they took up a mighty room in their march. But I
what with the fame that went before, and the messengers of the Clusines and of other people that followed one at the heels of another, this speedy coming of the enemies brought right great fear and terrour to *Rome*. For notwithstanding, that they went with a power of men in all hast suddenly mustered, hardly met they them at eleven miles end, where as the river *Allia* running down from the hils of *Crustuminum*, with a very deep channell (not much beneath the highway) dischargeth it self into the *Tyber*. And now by this time the whole country before them, and all the coasts about were overspread with the enemies. And (as they are a nation naturally given to vain tumults and therein born and bred) with an hideous and dissonant kind of singing (like a black Santus) they filled also about with a fearfull and horrible noise. There the Tribunes Military without getting aforehand a convenient place to pitch their tents in, without fortifying the same with any trench K
or rampiers, whereunto they might safely betake themselves, even without any regard of God, whom at leastwise they should have been mindfull of, if they had forgotten man, without Auspices and bird-tokens, without reconciliation to God by sacrifice, full unhappily and in an ill hour, ranged their battels divided into wings, for fear of being compass'd with multitude of enemies. Yet might not the vanguard answer the breadth of the enemies, not withstanding they made their ranks and files so thin, that the middle ward of the battell was weak, & scant joyning close together. On the right hand there was a little higher ground, where they thought to bestow men for supply, which as it gave the first occasion of fear and running away, so was it the only safety of them that fled. For *Brennus* the Duke or Prince of the Gauls, fearing exceedingly in that small number of the Romans, some stratagem, and supposing that the higher ground was for this purpose kept, L
That when the Gauls should have encountred with the forefront of the legions, then the rescues would charge them both upon their backs and their flanks, displaied and advanced his standards against those in rescue: nothing doubting but if he had once driven them from their hold upon higher ground, on the plain he should soon have the victory, considering that in number he overwent them. See how the Barbarians had not only luck, but policy also on their sides! Contrariwise, the Romans in their camp were nothing like themselves, either for captains or souldiers, Their minds were so possessed with fear and thinking of running away, and so forgetfull besides, that the greater part of them chose rather to flie to *Veii*, (their enemies City) although the *Tyber* were full in their way, then to take the streight course to *Rome*, to their wives and children. For a while, the advantage of the ground defended those that were for rescue: but in the rest of the M
host, so soon as they that were next, heard the shout from the sides, and those that were farthest off from behind, before any stroke strucken, and before they were once touched, they fled from their unknown enemie, in a manner before they saw him. And so far off they were from trying fight, that they answered them not so much as with a countershout again. So as there were not any slain in fight. But they were killed behind at their backs, even by occasion of their own selves, who with their hurrying hindred one another in their flight. About the bank of *Tyber*, whereunto the whole left wing was fled down, and had flung away their weapons, there was a great slaughter; For many of them that could not swim, and were weak by reason of their weighty corselets and other harnesse, were drowned and swallowed up of the surging whirlpools. Howbeit, the most part escaped safe to *Veii*. From whence they came to *Rome*, not only no succour to guard the City, N
but not so much as a messenger to bring news of this their overthrow. But from the right wing which kept farther from the river, and the more under the hill, they all went to *Rome*. And finding not so much as the gates of the City shut, they all fled into the Castle. The very Gauls themselves astonied at so wonderfull and sudden victory, stood still at the first in a great amaze, as who knew not what had hapned, and wist not what to make of it. Afterwards they feared some ambush, and at length fell to gathering the spoils of them that were slain, and to lay all their armor and harnesse upon heaps, as their maner is. At last, seeing no enemy nor shew of bostility, they put themselves in their journy forward, a little before sunsetting, and marched to the City of *Rome*. Where, upon word brought by the foreriders, that the gates were not shut, nor any ward kept afore the gates, nor armed men upon the wals, they stood in the like amaze as before, upon so strange and wondrous O
a thing. But fearing the night and the situation of a City unknown, they set them down, and rested between *Rome* and *Anio*, having sent their espials and scouts about the wals and gates, to understand what their enemies meant to doe in so desperat a state. The Romans, for that a greater part had taken their way to *Veii*, then to *Rome*, and weening that there was none left alive, but those that were fled back to *Rome*; bewailing and bidding adue, both to those that were deand those alive, set the whole City almost a weeping and lamenting. But afterwards the publick fear astonied them, and took all sense away of their privat sorrows, when they heard

once

A once that the enemies were come. And within a while, as these barbarous people coasted and ranged about the walls by troups, they might hear their yelling, their houting, and uncouth confused hideous cries. So were they held all the time in suspence of mind, untill the second day after: one while thinking, that at their first coming they would have surprised the City, for unless they had so meant, they would have tarried (they thought) at *Allia* still: again, a little before sun-setting (because the day was well-nigh done) they supposed they would enter upon them before night. But anon they feared that they deferred this enterprise untill night was come, to the end they might strike a greater fear & terror amongst them. And last of all, the day light approaching, astonied them clean: so as they were in a continual agony, even until the mischief came indeed which they so long
B doubted. & that now the bloudy banners of their enemies were displaied before their gates. Howbeit neither that night nor the day following, was the City in the like fear, as when they fled so fearfully at * *Allia*. For being past hope that the City could be defended with so small power as remained, they determined that with their wives & children, all their serviceable youth, such as were meet to bear arms, yea, and the more able men, and strength of the Senat should retire themselves into the Castle & Capitol: and after they had thither brought their armor and corn, from thence as from a defensible place to protect their gods, their men, and the Roman name: to save from fire and sword (so far as they could) the Flamin of *Jupiter*, the vestal Nuns, and sacred images, and holy reliques of the City: and not to abandon the worship and due solemnity unto them, so long as any were left alive, to do them honour and worship. For thus they conceived, That if the Castle & Ca-
C pitol, being the seat of their gods, if the Senat, which is the head & chief of their publike counsel, if the hardy and fighting yong men remained after that imminent ruin and fall of the City, the less would be the loss of the aged folk, a number, (God wot) left behind of purpose in the City, no otherwise like but to perish. And to the end that the multitude of the common sort might bear this more patiently, the elders that had triumphed aforetime, and been Consuls, openly gave out and said, That they would live and die together with them. Neither would they with those bodies of theirs which were unmeet to bear armour, and to defend the City, surcharge and pester the company of able and armed men, in this their penury & want of victuals. These and such like were the consolations and comforts of the ancients among themselves now resolute to end their lives. After which, they turned their exhortations to the companies of the young and lusty men, whom
D they followed into the Castle and Capitol, recommending unto their manhood and to their youthful courage, all the estate remaining of that City, which for the space of three hundred and threescore years, had in all their wars been victorious, and gotten great conquests. Now when they, in whom rested all hope and help were departed, and had taken their leave of them, that resolved fully not to survive the winning and destruction of their City: as the very thing in it self, and the sight thereof was a lamentable and woful spectacle unto them, so the pitious weeping of women, and their uncertain running up and down, following now after one, and now after another: and asking their husbands and children, to what end, to what fatal destiny they betook them, was as dolorous a pageant, as could happen to any earthly creature. Nevertheless, a great sort of them accompanied their friends into the Castle, and no man either bad or forbad them. For al-
E though it was good and commodious for the besieged, namely, to diminish the number, and discharge themselves of the feeble multitude, yet it seemed unto them an inhuman and unkind part. The rest of the common people especially, whom so small an hill was not able to receive, and could not possibly be kept in so great scarcity of corn & victuals, departed by heaps out of the City: and marching as it were in one company together in a row took their way to *Janiculum*. From thence they divided themselves sundry waies. Some slipt into the fields and country, some to the next Cities there bordering, without any Captain, without any common consent: every one following his own hope, his own head and wit now that all publike counsel was in despair, and past remedy. In this mean while, the Flamin of *Quirinus*, and the religious Vestal virgins leaving the regard of their own private affairs, consulted with themselves what sacred Images to carry with them, and
F (seeing their strength would not serve to rid away and save all) what to leave behind them, and what place was meetest to bestow and lay them up most safely. They agreed at length and thought it best, to put them in small barrels or rundlets, & within the ground to bury them in a little chappell, standing next to the Flamins house: which place for very devotion unto this day, may not for any thing be spit upon. All the rest they parted amongst themselves. And every one carrying her own burden, took the way, which over the wooden bridge leadeth to *Janiculum*. Upon the ascent or rise of that hill, when *L. Albinus* (a Commoner of *Rome*) saw them going, as he among other company (which unmeet for war, departed out of the City) carried his wife & children in a wain: he making even then in that hard calamity, a difference yet between divine and humane things, and thinking it an impious part, and void of all religion, that the publike Priests with the sacred
G Images of the people of *Rome* should go on foot, whiles he and his were seen riding at ease in a wagon, caused his wife and children to alight and come forth, and set the Nuns with their holy Images in their room, and brought them to *Cære*, to which place they minded to go. All things now being set at *Rome* (as in such a time could be) in order sufficiently, for the defence of the Castle; the aged persons above said being returned to their houses, waited for the comming of the enemy, with hearts prepared and resolved to die. Such of them as had born offices of the chair, to the intent, that they might end their daies in the ornaments & robes of their former estate and

*Cominate vel Rio de Mosso. Leandro.*

honour, and according to their vertue and deserts: in their most stately garments and habiliments, H
which they wear when they carried their sacred chariots upon festival daies, or wherein they rode
in triumph, now sat upon their ivory chairs in the very midst and entry of their houses. There be
that write, how they willingly devoted and bequeathed themselves to die for their Country and
Citizens of *Rome*: and that *M. Fabius* the High Priest read and pronounced unto them a certain
hymn and prescript form of prayer, to that purpose. The Gauls, both for that now they had rested
from fight a whole night, and so their choler was somewhat cooled, and also because they had not
in any place fought a bloudy and dangerous battell with them, nor even at that time won the
City by any assault or force, entred the morrow after into the City, without anger and heat of fu-
rious rage, by the gate *Collina*, standing wide open, and so passed forward to the common place of I
assemblies, casting their eyes about them towards the Temples of the gods, and to the castle, which
only presented some shew of war. And there leaving a sufficient guard, lest haply from the Castle
and Capitol they should be violently assaulted, after they were once asunder parted, they fell to
ransack and rifle: and meeting none at all in the void streets, some rush by heaps into the houses
next hand, others go to those that were furthest off, supposing them at least wise to be untouched,
full of riches, and fit for to fill their hands. From thence again (as frighted by reason of such deso-
lation, and fearing lest haply any fraud of the enemy might entrap them as they wandred one from
another) they returned round in a ring together, into the market place, and the places near therto.
Where, when they saw the Commoners houses fast shut to & locked, and contrariwise the state-
ly palaces of the Noblemen and chief Senators standing wide open, they were at a stand, and doub- K
ted more in a manner to enter upon the open places than the shut. And they beheld as it were
with capping and crouching after a reverend manner, certain ancient personages sitting in the por-
ches and entries of their houses, who besides their ornaments and apparel, above the ordinary e-
state of men, for a certain majesty which they carried in their countenance and gravity of visage,
resembled the gods. And when as they turned to them, & stood looking upon them, as if they had
been Idols and sacred Images, *M. Papyrius*, one of them, when a Gaul began to stroke his beard
(which then they used all to wear long) with his ivory staffe (as they say) gave him a rap on the
pate, and moved his patience. Whereupon he was the first that was murdered, and so the rest were
all killed as they sat in their chairs of state. After this massacre of these honourable personages of
the Nobility, they fell upon all the rest, and spared no creature: they ransacked their houses, and L
when they were empty, set fire on them. But whether it were that they were not all of them de-
sirous to destroy the City utterly, or that it was the mind of the Leaders and chief of the Gauls,
that for a terrour there should be seen some scarefires (if haply for the love of their houses, they
that were besieged, might be induced to yield themselves:) or that all their houses were not
burned at once, to the end that the remainder of the City might be as a pawn and pledge to mol-
lifie their enemies, and make their hearts to relent; howsoever, I say it was, the fire for the
first day (as usually in Cities forced and won) spread not all abroad every where, to make a ge-
nerall havock. The Romans from the Castle, seeing the City full of enemies, and in every street
running up and down, and in all places fresh calamities and miseries one in the neck of another,
were not able to conceive the same in mind and spirit, no, nor so much as to have the right use M
of their ear: and eyes. For to what place soever the shouts and noise of the enemies, the how-
ling and wailing of women and children, the noise of fire, and the ratling and cracking down-
fals of houses turned them aside in exceeding fear, thither they bent their minds, their faces,
and eyes, as men by fortune set up aloft, as upon a stage or scaffold, to behold the fall and ruin
of their Country: reserved to save nothing of all their wealth and substance, but only their
own bodies: by thus much, more miserable and pitifull above all others that ever were besieged,
in that being shut out from their native Country and City, they were besieged and beheld it, and
all that they had, in the enemies hands. Neither as ill as the day was spent, followed there a better
night. Yea & when after this troublesome night the like morrow was come, there was no time but
ministred still some heavy object: and one spectacle or other of new and fresh calamities. And N
albeit they were loaden and over-whelmed with so many miseries, yet they nothing at all let fall
or abated their courages, but resolved still, notwithstanding they saw all fired, all ruinate and laid
even with the ground, manfully to defend that poor naked little hill which they held, and was
their only hope left them to recover their freedom. And now seeing the same desolations daily
happen they were so inured to misery, that past all sense and feeling of their own state and private
fortune, they regarded nothing but their armour on their backs and swords in their hands, as the
only remnants and reliques of their hope. The Gauls likewise for certain daies, had made war
with the poor houses only of the City, and all to no purpose: and when they perceived in all this
burning and ruins of the City, so conquered, nothing now left but armed enemies, who were not,
for all so many calamities, one jot terrified, nor their minds once enclined to yeeld without fur- O
ther force and violence were used; they determine to try the utmost, and to make an assault up-
on the fortress. So on the morrow morning very early at sound of trumpet, all the whole multi-
tude of them, arranged themselves in the market place. From whence with an out-cry and shout,
under a fence of targets over their heads, they approach the Castle. Against whom the Romans
behaved themselves, neither unadvisedly, nor fearfully, strengthning their wards and quarters,
with a good *Corps de guard* against all Advenues: and whereas they saw the banners displayed,

that

A that way they oppoſed their ſtrongeſt guards: and ſuffered the enemies to climb up the hill, ſuppoſing that the higher they were got up, ſo much the eaſilier they might be beaten down. And being come up to the midſt of the cliff, there they ſtaied: and thence from the higher ground, which of it ſelf in manner bare out againſt the enemy, with all their force they charged upon the Gauls, overturned them, and ſent them down headlong: ſo as never after that, e ther any part of them, or all together would attempt that kind of ſervice. Being therefore paſt hope to get up by force and arms, they make preparation for long ſiege: whereof until that time they had no mind: both for that the corn which was within, they had conſumed in burning of the City, and in the mean ſpace, that which was in the country about, was carried and brought to *Veii*. Whereupon they divided
B their Army, purpoſing with one part thereof, to forrage and drive booties all about the nations thereby adjoyning, and with the other to inveſt the Caſtle: to the end, that the forragers abroad might bring in corn to ſerve them that lay at the ſiege. Now as thoſe Gauls departed from the City, it was their hap and fortune to come to *Ardea* (where *Camillus* abode in exile) there to make triall of the Romans valour. This *Camillus* being more penſive in the behalf of the publike calamity, than carefull of his own: ſpending his ſpirits and waſting his body with crying out upon gods and men: thus fretting and chafing with himſelf, and wondring what was become of thoſe valiant and hardy men, who under his conduct won *Veii* and *Faleriis*, and who had fought other wars more valiantly alwaies than fortunately: of a ſudden he heard that the Army of the Gauls approached, and that the Ardeates in great fear, fell to conſultation thereabout what to do: and
C even as if he had been inſpired from God above, he put himſelf forward and entred into the midſt of the people aſſembled, who heretofore, had abſtained and forborn ſuch publike meetings and conſultations. And thus he ſaid: "You my Maſters of *Ardea*, mine old friends ſometime, "and now my new neighbours and fellow-Citizens, for ſo it is fallen out by your kindneſs & de- "ſerts, and by mine own fortune and condition: let no man think, that I, forgetfull of mine own "eſtate, am come forth hither into this audience. But the preſent object and publike danger for- "ceth every man to utter and bring forth in ſo fearfull a time and buſineſs as this is, what help he "can. And when ſhall I ever be thankful unto you for your favours and demerits, if now I ſtand "ſtill and do nothing? Or where ſhall I ever ſtand you in ſtead, if not in war? By my skill herein, "I flouriſhed in my Country, and being in war invincible, was in peace by unthankfull neigh-
D "bours and unkind Citizens baniſhed. And now have ye good occaſion offered, and opportu- "nity (O ye Ardeates) both to make recompence, for thoſe ſo great pleaſures and curteſies in "times paſt received of the people of *Rome*, as your ſelves do well remember, (and therefore be "it ſpoken without upbraiding and reproaching of any mindfull perſons) and alſo to win great "honour of war, unto this City, by defeating a common enemy unto both. This nation, which "thus cometh towards us with a diſſolute and diſordered army, are thoſe to whom God and na- "ture hath given bodies more big and corpulent than ſtrong and able, hearts more ſtout and cou- "ragious than conſtant and reſolute: whereby they bring with them alwaies into the field more "ſhew of terrour, than true valour and execution. Whereof, the late foil and diſcomfiture of the "Romans may be a ſufficient proof and triall. They won the City when the gates ſtood open unto
E "them: a ſmall power from the Caſtle and Capitoll was able to withſtand and repell them. And "weary already of the tediouſneſs of ſiege, they are fain to depart, ſtragling up and down, and "wandring along the country. Their manner is when they have filled their bellies with wine and "good victuals, (which they devour full greedily and haſtily whereſoever they can come by it:) "ſo ſoon as night cometh on, without any place of defence, without watch or ward to lay them- "ſelves along like bruit beaſts, here and there by the waters ſides. And now upon their good ſuc- "ceſs, are they more ſecure and retchleſs, than they were wont to be. If ye be diſpoſed to defend "your wals, & not all to turn French, gather your ſelves together & at the firſt watch of the night "arm, and to your weapons: Follow me to a maſſacre, and not to a skirmiſh: for if I do not deliver "them unto your hands faſt aſleep to be hewn in pieces like ſheep and oxen, I refuſe not to ſee the
F "ſame end of mine eſtate at Ardea, that I have found already at *Rome*. There was not one there, howſoever affected he was, friend or foe to *Camillus*, but was perſwaded that the like warrior was not in thoſe daies to be found again. The aſſembly being broken up, they refreſh their bodies, ready to fight ſo ſoon as ever the Signall ſhould be propounded. Which being put forth, in the beginning and firſt watch of the night, they were ready with *Camillus* at the gates. And gone they were not far from the town, but they found (as it was foretold them) the Gauls camp without *Corps de guard*, neglected on every ſide: and it with a mighty cry they aſſail. There was in no place fight, but killing every where: and their naked bodies (as they lay faſt aſleep) were hacked and cut in pieces. Howbeit, ſome of thoſe that were furtheſt off, being ſcared out of their couches, not knowing what violence or from whence it was, took to their heels and fled: other-ſome ſtumbled at una-
G wares upon the very enemy. A great part of them being come into the territory of *Ardea*, were by the townſmen, who ſallied out upon them as they were diſperſed, environed and ſlain. The like ſlaughter to this there was of the Tuſcans in the Country of *Veii*: who had ſo little pity and compaſſion, to ſee a City which well near for four hundred years ſpace bordering upon them, was now ſurpriſed by a ſtrange enemy not heard of afore, that even at that very time they made rodes into the Territory of *Rome*, and laden with booty from thence, purpoſed to aſſail even *Veii* alſo and the garriſon, being the only place and means of reſcue, and the laſt hope of the Roman name.

The Oration of *Camillus* in the Aſſembly of the Ardeates.

The Roman ſouldiers that lay in garriſon there, had eſpied theſe Tuſcans ranging about the coun- H
try, and gathered together in a body to drive booties afore them: and withall they deſcried their Camp pitched not far from *Veii*. Where, at firſt they pitted their own eſtate, but after, they fell into an indignation and anger that the Tuſcans alſo, from whom they had diverted the Gauls war upon themſelves, ſhould in their calamities thus ſcorn them and have them in deriſion: ſo as they could ſcarcely temper themſelves and forbear, but preſently ſet upon them. But being ſtaied perforce by Captain *Coditius*, a Centurion whom they themſelves had made their Ruler, they put off this exploit untill night; Only their Commander and Leader was not to be compared with *Camillus*: elſe all the ſervice was atchieved in the ſame order, and with as good ſpeed and happy ſucceſs. Over and beſides, by the guidance and direction of thoſe priſoners which remained unſlain I
over-night, they went forward as far as *Salinæ*, to another power of the Tuſcans, and in the night following, upon a ſudden they made a greater havock and ſlaughter of them, and ſo in joyous manner with double conqueſt they return to *Veii*. At *Rome* in this mean time, the ſiege for the moſt part was but cold and ſlack, and all quiet on both ſides: whiles the Gauls regarded and looked to this only, That none of their enemies ſhould make an eſcape through their guards. At what time a certain valiant yong Roman behaved himſelf ſo, as his own countrimen and enemies too had him in great admiration. There was a ſet ſacrifice or ſolemnity to be celebrated by the houſe and linage of *Fabii*, in the Mount *Quirinalis*. For the accompliſhment whereof, *Caius Fabius Dorſuo* in his holy robes, after the Gabins faſhion, bearing in his hand the holy complements thereto belonging, came down from the Capitol, paſſed through the midſt of the enemies *corps de* K
*guard*, and nothing moved whatſoever was done or ſaid to terrifie him, went on forth right to the mount *Quirinal*. And when he had there performed and diſpatched all ſolemnities, returning the ſame way with like conſtant countenance and comly pace, hoping aſſuredly, that the gods would be merciſull and gracious unto him, whoſe worſhip he had not left undone for any fear of death: he retired again to his company into the Capitol: whether it were that the Gauls were aſtonied at his wondrous boldneſs, or rather were touched in conſcience with a reverent regard of Religion, wherein that nation is very zealous and devout. At *Veii* in the mean while, they gathered not only heart every day more than other, but ſtrength and forces alſo; for that not only Romans thither repaired out of the country, ſuch as either in diſcomfiture of the battell, or for the calamity of the City now taken, had been ſcattered: but alſo out of *Latium* divers of their own accord L
had flocked thither, to have their ſhare in the pillage. Now they thought it high time to return to their country again, and to deliver it out of the enemies hands. The body was ſtrong enough, but without an head it was. The very place put them in mind of *Camillus*, and a great part of the ſouldiers were ſuch as had atchieved proſperous exploits under his leading and conduct. And *Coditius* gave out plainly, that no god or man ſhould make him give over his government, but would himſelf as mindfull of his own place, call for a General. So by general conſent it was agreed, that *Camillus* ſhould be ſent for from *Ardea*, but with the advice before of the Senat which was at *Rome*. So modeſt were they in all their carriage, and ſo preciſely obſerved they (even in their deſperate caſe) the due reſpect and regard of every action. Now to paſs through the wards of
The adventure of *Pontius Cominius*. their enemies, was an hard and dangerous adventure. To this exploit therefore, *Pontius Cominius*, a valorous young man, promiſed his ſervice. Who bearing himſelf upon a bark or corke under M
him, hulled along the *Tyber* down the water to the City; and ſo the next way from the ſtrand, over a ſteep cliff (which was negligently or not at all guarded by the enemy) he paſſeth through the Capitoll, and being brought to the Magiſtrates, declareth there his meſſage from the Army. When he had received the Senates decree to this effect: *Imprimis*, That *Camillus* ſhould be called back again out of exile by a Ward-leet, or the ſuffrages of the *Curiæ*: *Item*, that by the voices of the people he ſhould be created Dictator out of hand: and that the ſouldiers might have for their
*Camillus* choſen Dictator. Generall whom they deſired: the meſſenger returned the ſame way back again to *Veii*. And Embaſſadours were ſent to *Camillus* at *Ardea*, who conducted him to *Veii*. But I would rather believe that he departed not from *Ardea*, before he had certain intelligence of the Act of the Senate. N
And for that neither without the will of the people, he might change the place whereto he was confined, nor unleſs he were named Dictator, have the conduct of the Army; there paſſed an Act of all the Wards, and Dictator was he declared in his abſence. Whiles theſe things were a doing at *Veii*, the Caſtle of *Rome* and the Capitoll was in very great danger. For the Gauls, either having found out a mans footing, that way as the meſſenger went from *Veii*, or eſpied at the cliff of *Carmentis*, an eaſie place to climb up: in a clear night ſent a man before unarmed to aſſay the paſſage, & then gave him up his armour, and where it was ſteep, one helped, lifted up, and drew up another, as the difficulty of the place required. So as they got up to the top with ſuch ſilence, that not only the Sentinels were not aware of them, but alſo the dogs (a watchfull creature at every noiſe in the night) were not once awakened therewith. But they could not ſo eſcape the geeſe, O
which were conſecrated unto *Juno*, and for all the ſcarcity of victuals, were ſpared and not killed up. And this it was that ſaved them all. For with their gagling and fluttering of their wings, *M. Manlius* who three years before had been Conſul, a right hardy and noble warrior, was awaked. Who taking weapon in hand, ſpeedily went forth and raiſed the reſt withall to take arms. And whiles all elſe made haſt in a great fright, he ſtroke the Gaul who now ſtood upon the top, with the boſs and pike of his buckler, and turned him down. The fall of whom overturned them that

were

A were next. Then ſlew he others, (whiles they were in fear) who had laid their weapons out of hand, and took hold of the ſtones whereto they clinged cloſe. By which time, the reſt being come together, ſome flinging darts, others caſting down ſtones, tumbled their enemies back, and the whole power of them loſt their ſure footing and fell down headlong. This tumult being appeaſed the reſt of the night (ſo far forth as men might with troubled minds, ſeeing that even the danger, paſt diſquieted them) they gave themſelves to ſleep. When day was come, the ſouldiers by ſound of Trumpet were ſummoned to aſſemble before their Tribunes, and conſidering there was reward due both to well-doing and miſ-doing: *Manlius* firſt for his valour was commended and rewarded, not only by the Tribunes military, but alſo by conſent of all the ſouldiers. Upon whom,
B they amongſt them all, beſtowed and brought home to his houſe (which ſtood upon the Caſtle hill) wheat-meal by the half-pints, and wine by the quarts. A matter of ſmall reckoning to be ſpoken of: but in that ſcarcity this might be an argument of their love and affection, when every man beguiled his own belly, pluckt from himſelf and the neceſſities of his life, and conferred the ſame to the honour and recompence of that one man. Then were ſummoned to appear the ſentinels of that place where the enemy climed up undeſcried. And when as *P. Sulpitius* a Tribune Military, had pronounced that he would exerciſe martial law upon them all, the ſouldiers cried out with open mouth, and laid all the fault on one watchman: and ſo for fear of a mutiny he ſpared all the reſt: and with their generall conſent and approbation, he cauſed that undoubted guilty perſon to be thrown down from the rock. Whereupon they were more careful and circumſpect
C in their watch, both amongſt the Gauls (becauſe it was commonly noiſed that there paſſed meſſengers to and fro between *Veii* and *Rome*: and alſo amongſt the Romans, for the remembrance of the late danger by night. But above all other miſeries that follow war and ſiege, the famine was ſore in both the Armies. The Gauls were plagued with peſtilence beſides: for that they had pitched their tents in a place lying between two hils; exceeding hot by reaſon of the fires, and full of ſmoak, carrying both duſt and aſhes, when any wind was ſtirring: which be things that of all others, that nation cannot abide, as being uſed to wet and cold. Thus being ſmothered with heat, and therewith ſtifled and choaked again, they died with contagious diſeaſes like rotten ſheep. And now for idleneſs that they would not bury them ſeverally one by one, they laid the dead bodies on heaps one with another, and ſo burnt them: and made that place famous and no-
D table by the name of *Buſta Gallica, i.e.* Gaulbury. Hereupon, they grew to make ſome truce with *Buſta Gallica.* the Romans, and emparled together by ſufferance of the Generals. In which parlies, when as the Gauls very often alledged the famine, and upon that extremity perſwaded them to yeeld: it is ſaid that the Romans for to put them by that opinion of them, in many places from the Capitol flung out loaves of bread into the very ſtations and *corps de guard* of the enemies. But at length neither could their hunger be diſſembled, nor ſuſtained any longer. Therefore, whiles the Dictator muſtereth a power at *Ardea* by himſelf, he commandeth the Generall of horſemen *L. Valerius*, to have away the Army from *Veii*: and maketh ſo good preparation, and furniſheth himſelf ſo, as he might be able to match his enemies, and to charge upon them. In the mean ſeaſon, the army of the Capitol wearied out with watching and warding, having ſurmounted all humane miſeries beſides
E hunger, which only of all others, nature would not ſuffer to be overcome: looking day by day for ſuccour from the Dictator now at laſt when not only their food, but their hope alſo failed them, and were grown to that weakneſs, that when they went to keep their guard, they could hardly bear the weight of their armour, they agreed and gave conſent either to yield or to ranſome themſelves upon any condition, they cared not what. Whiles the Gauls alſo gave forth plainly, and ſaid, they might be entreated for a ſmal conſideration to give over ſiege. Then the Senat went together, and gave Commiſſion to the Tribunes Military, to bargain and go through with them. So by a parley or treaty had between *P. Sulpitius* Tribune Military, and *Brennus* the Duke of the Gauls, a concluſion was made, and that people, who within a ſhort time ſhould be Lords of the world, were valued and eſteemed at a * thouſand pound weight of Gold. This in it ſelf was * 36000 lib. English.
F a moſt odious and ſhameful thing, but there was adjoyned thereunto a foul indignity. For the Gauls brought forth falſe weights and uneven ballances. And when the Tribune refuſed them, behold, the inſolent and proud Gaul would needs have his ſword weighed too for vantage, adding this ſpeech moreover, (which was intolerable for the Romans to hear) *Woe worth men conquered, and down with them ſtill.* But neither God nor man would abide the Romans to live ranſomed. For by good hap, before that ſhameful ſum of money by compoſition was paid, before (I ſay) that upon ſome wrangling that fell between, all the Gold was weighed out, cometh the Dictator in the manner, and commandeth the gold to be had away, and the Gauls to void. And when as they made reſiſtance and pleaded the capitulation and bargain, he again replieth, and ſaith, That the compoſition was not good, nor ought to ſtand, which after he was made
G Dictator, had been by an inferiour Magiſtrate concluded, without his commandment & warrant: and withall warneth the Gauls to prepare themſelves to fight: commanding his own ſouldiers to caſt all their bag and baggage down on a heap, to put on their harneſs, to make ready their weapons, and by dint of ſteel, and not by weight of ſword to redeem their Country, having in ſight before their eyes the Churches of their gods, their wives and children, and the ſoil whereon the City ſtood (deformed now with miſeries of war) and all things elſe which they ought by good reaſon to defend, recover, and be revenged for. Hereupon he marſhalled his battell as the

ground would give him leave, being the plot only of a City half ruinate and lying along, and with- H
all of it self naturally uneven. Forecasting and providing for all things with special choice and preparation to serve his souldiers turn, as far as martiall skill could possibly reach. The Gauls affrighted at this so strange an occurrent, betook them to their weapons, and in a furious fit of anger rather than with any considerate discretion, they ran upon the Romans. Now had Fortune turned her wheel: now Gods help and mans policy assisted the Romans. Therefore at the first encounter the Gauls were discomfited with as little difficulty, as they themselves had atchieved the victory at *Allia*. Afterwards also, in another more set battell in the way of *Gabes*, about eight miles from *Rome* (to which place they were fled) they were vanquished by the conduct and leading of the same *Camillus*. For there were they slain in every place, their Camp taken, and not I
so much as one left to bring news of their overthrow. The Dictator having thus delivered his Country out of the enemies hand, returneth again with triumph into the City. And in all the sports and pleasant ditties which the souldiers rudely after their manner devised, he was stiled *Romulus* the father of the Country, the second founder of the City, which were no vain titles of commendation.

When he had saved his Country thus in war, he preserved it afterwards again undoubtedly in time of peace, namely in gainsaying their transmigration to *Veii*: whiles both the Tribunes enforced that matter more earnestly, now after the burning of the City, and the Commons also of themselves were more enclined thereunto, than before. Which was one cause, that after his triumph he resigned not up his Dictatorship: being requested also by the Senat not to leave the City in so K
doubtful terms of perplexity. And first and formost (as he was evermore a most precise devout man and religious) he proposed those things which concerned the immortall gods: and causeth an act of the Senat to be made. *Imprimis*, that all the Temples (for that the enemies had held and possessed them) should be repaired, bounded out new, and purged. *Item*, that the manner of cleansing them should be searched out of the books of *Sybilla* by the Duumvirs. Moreover, that with the inhabitants of *Care*, there should be made a league of publike and mutual hospitality, for receiving the sacred Images and Priests of the people of *Rome*: by the means and favour of which people, the honour and service of the immortal gods was not forelet and discontinued. *Item*, That there should be set out the Plaies called *Capitolini*, for that *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* had stil defended and preserved his own seat, and the Refuge of the people of *Rome*, in that fearful L
time of trouble. And that *M. Furius* should ordain a guild, or fraternity out of those that dwelt in the hill of the Capitol, for the celebration of those plaies. Finally, to the end there should be also some satisfaction and expiation made of that night voice which being the fore-messenger and warning-giver of their destruction before the coming of the Gauls, was heard and yet neglected, a motion was made, that a Temple should be erected in the new causey to *Aius Locutius*. The Gold which was recovered by force from the Gauls, as also that which out of other Temples in that fearful hurly-burly, was brought into the chancel or chappel of *Jupiter*, because they could not call to mind precisely into which Churches they were to carry it again accordingly, was all judged holy and sacred to *Jupiter*; and order taken that it should be bestowed and laid up under his shrine. And how devout the City was, appeared before in this, That when there was not gold M
enough in the common chest, to make up the full sum of the ransom that was agreed upon between them and the Gauls, they took that which the matrons and wives of *Rome* contributed, and all to spare and save the gold appointed to holy uses. The Matrons were therefore thanked, and this honour besides done unto them, That after their death they as well as their husbands, should be openly praised in a solemn funeral Oration. When those things were once accomplished which appertained to the Gods, and all that belonged to the Senate for to do: then and not afore, upon the stirs that the Tribunes kept with the Commons continually, with their speeches in all their assemblies, soliciting them to leave the ruins of the City, and to remove with all they had to *Veii*, a town readily furnished to their hand: then (I say) and not before, *Camillus* accompanied with the whole Senat, came up into the common place of audience, and there before the N
people spake in this wise. "So grievous to me, O *Quirites*, is all contention and variance with the
"Tribunes of the Commons that while I lived at *Ardea* I found no other comfort and solace, in
"that most heavy and woful banishment of mine but this, That I was far enough off from those
"debates and jars. In regard whereof, I would never have come again, I assure you, but that you
"called me back, both by act of Senat, and also by approbation of the people. And it is not in me
"any change of mind but your calamity and distressed estate, that hath forced me to return again
"unto you. For this was the very point that you stood upon, namely, that our country might con-
"tinue still and keep her ancient place: and not Iwis, that I should remain and dwell therein a-
"gain. And even now verily, would I be still and keep silence willingly, but that this quarrel also
"is in the behalf of my foresaid country: the which to fail (so long as life doth last) for others O
"might be a shamesul reproach, but for *Camillus* it were most impious & abominable. For to what
"end have we returned to it again? To what purpose, when it was besieged have we delivered it
"out of the enemies hands, if when we have recovered it, we our selves abandon and leave the
"same? And when as the gods and men of *Rome* kept still, and inhabited the Capitol and the ca-
"stle, notwithstanding the Gauls were Lords, and possessed of the whole City, is it possible that
"both Castle and Capitol, after the City is regained, should be forsaken and abandoned of the
"Roman

The Oration of *M. Furius Camillus* to the people of *Rome*.

A "Roman victors? And shal our prosperous hand over our enemies bring greater desolation to our
"City, than adversity hath? Verily, if it were so, that we made no reckoning of that religion and di-
"vine solemn service, instituted even with the foundation of our City: & that we counted all va-
"nities that have been delivered unto us by tradition from our ancestors: yet so evident a power
"of God hath assisted the Romans, that I must needs think, that men can now no longer neglect
"the worship of God. For consider with me I pray you, either the prosperity or the adversity of
"these years late past, one after another; ye shall find, that as long as we served God and followed
"his will so long we prospered & went forward: and all the while that we despised the same, we
"ever went backward and fell to decay. And first and formost the Veient war (reccunt I beseech
B "you) how many years lasted it? how troublesome and painful was it? And ended it was not, be-
"fore that by the direction and advertisement of the gods, the water was let out of the Albane
"pool? What shall I speak of this late & strange calamity of our own City? Began it (and say truth)
"before that voice which came from heaven was made so light of, concerning the coming of the
"Gauls? before the law of nations was by our Embassadours broken? and before that through the
"same neglect of the gods, that fact was by us winked at and put up, which indeed should have
"been punished and revenged? This was the cause that we were vanquished, made captive, put to
"our ransome, and suffered such condign punishment both at Gods hand and at mans, as that we
"are made an example and amazement to the whole world. Then our adversity and affliction put
"us in mind of our religion, and the fear of the gods. We fled into the Capitol to the gods, even
C "to the very seat of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*: and when our own privat estate went to havock,
"the sacred monuments yet and holy Images, some we hid in the earth, some we conveyed away
"into the neighbour Towns, and removed them out of our enemies sight. And albeit we were
"forlorn and given over both of God and men, yet gave not we over, nor discontinued the ser-
"vice of the gods. And therefore gave they us our country again, they gave us victory, and the
"ancient honour of war which we had lost: and upon our enemies heads, who (blinded with co-
"vetousnes) in the weighing of gold brake both covenant and fidelity, they have turned all fear-
"fulnes, all flight & slaughter. Considering then, O Quirites, by these so great and apparent signs,
"& testimonies in the course of this world, what it is to serve God, & what it is to dishonor him,
"perceive ye not what wickedness we go about to plunge our selvs into, being scarcely got forth
D "and escaped out of the shipwrack and perill of our former sin and calamity? A City we have
"founded and built, by the will of God and due observation of Augury and Auspices, no corner
"therein, but full of religion, full of divine Majesty: and for solemn sacrifices, there are set daies
"when they shall be celebrated, there are places also appointed wherein they ought to be perfor-
"med. And are ye about then, O Quirites, to leave all these gods both publike & privat? how sor-
"teth this deed of yours with that, which lately during the time of the siege, was seen with no less
"admiration of our enemies, than our own selves in that Noble young Gentleman *C. Fabius*?
"when through the pikes of the Gauls, he departed out of the Castle, and performed a solemn
"duty of the house of *Fabius*, even upon the mount Quirinal? What, can ye allow and like that
"the sacred ceremonies of privat families, should not so much as in time of war be intermitted:
E "and suffer now the publike sacrifices and the Roman gods, in time of peace to be neglected, and
"the City abandoned? That our High Priests and Flamins should be less curious and precise in
"the publike service of God, than a private Citizen was in the Anniversary feast of his family
"and kindred? But peradventure some one may say, We will do the same at *Veii*, or we will send
"from thence our Priests hither for to execute that ministry. Neither of which can be done, sa-
"ving the due observance of holy ceremonies. For, to say nothing in general of all other holy
"daies, and of all the gods besides; In that one high feast and solemn dinner of *Jupiter*, can a Pul-
"vinar be celebrated, or a sacred Table be spread and furnished in any place, but in the Capitol?
"What should I speak of the eternal fires of *Vesta*? and of that Image, which as a pawn and secu-
"rity of our imperial state, is kept within the safegard of that Temple? What should I speak of
F "those your *Ancilia* and Scutcheons? O *Mars Gradivus*, and thou father *Quirinus*: are ye well
"contented that all these festivall and sacred solemnities, which are all of equal time with the Ci-
"ty, yea, and of more antiquity (some of them) than the foundation of the City, should be forsa-
"ken in a profane place: But see what ods there is between us and our ancestors? They left un-
"to us certain solemn feasts and sacrifices to be celebrated in the Alban mountain and in *Lavini-*
"*um*. Was it then a matter of conscience and religion, that some festival solemnities were brought
"unto us from our enemies Cities to *Rome*? And shall we translate the same from hence to our e-
"nemies City *Veii*, without a great and hainous offence, that would require expiation? Do but call
"to mind I pray you, how often our feasts and sacrifices have been renewed and reformed clean,
"for that some one old accustomed ceremony, either by chance or for want of taking heed, hath
G "been over-slipt and left out. And even of late, what was it else that (after the strange miracle of
"the Alban Pool) relieved our Common-weal so distressed with the Veient war, but the reforma-
"tion of our divine service, and renewing of our Auspices? And more than this, we as it were in
"remembrance of antient religion and devotion, have both brought unto *Rome* forrain gods,
"and also have instituted and devised new. What a notable and festival day was that (in regard of
"the exceeding zeal and forward affection of the Matrons) upon which Queen *Juno* late tran-
"slated from *Veii*, was dedicated in *Aventine*? And to *Aius Locutius*, for a voice from heaven

heard

" heard in the new cauſey, we cauſed a Temple to be erected. The Capitoline plaies have we ad- H
" ded to other ſolemn feaſts & thereto we have ordained and founded a newguild or fraternity,
" even by the advice of the Senat. And what need was there, that we ſhould have done any of theſe
" things, if we meant, together with the Gauls, to leave the City of *Rome*? If we abode not in
" the Capitol (ſo many months while we were beſieged) willingly and without conſtraint? And
" if we were for fear of our enemies, held back from going elſewhither? Thus much of our feſtival
" daies and temples. But what ſhall become now, I pray you of our Prieſts? Never think ye once
" of it, what a unfull deed you are about? As for the Veſtall Votaries and Nuns, it is certain this
" is their only place, forth of which nothing ever could drive them but the winning of the City.
" The Flamin of *Jupiter* may not lie forth of the City one night: and will ye make theſe Prieſts I
" of Romans to become Veientians? And ſhall thy virgins indeed, O *Veſta*, leave thee now? and
" ſhall the Flamin dwelling in a ſtrange place, for every night he is abſent, taint with ſo great im-
" piety, both himſelf and the Common wealth? As for other matters, which we do with great ſo-
" lemnity by the direction of the Augurs (and all well near within the Pomery or compaſs of the
" City) how can we forget or neglect them? Namely, the Ward-leet or aſſembly of the *Curiæ* for
" matters of war: alſo the other of Centuries, wherein ye chuſe your Conſuls and Military Tri-
" bunes, where can they be held (if we reſpect the will of the gods and regard the Auſpices) but in
" the places accuſtomed? Shall we remove all theſe to *Veii*? or ſhall the people repair hitherfrom
" thence with ſo great trouble and inconvenience, to a deſolate City, forſaken of God and man,
" whenſoever they would hold thoſe aſſemblies? But the preſent neceſſity (they will ſay) forceth us K
" to leave a town that is waſted with fire, and wholly ruinate, and to go to *Veii*, where all ſtands
" ſafe and ſound, and not to put the poor Commons to the toile and charge of new building. That
" this is a pretence and cauſe rather deviſed, than meant in earneſt, if I ſhould ſay nothing, I think
" appeareth manifeſtly unto you already, O Quirites, who remember that before the coming of
" the French men, whiles your publike buildings and privat houſes were whole, and whiles the
" City ſtood upright on foot, this ſelf-ſame motion was made and debated, as touching the remo-
" ving to *Veii*. Conſider now ye Tribunes what difference there is between mine opinion and
" yours: ye are of mind, that if it had not then been meet to be done, yet now verily it were
" good and requiſit: I contrariwiſe (but marvel not I pray you before you hear what I will ſay) am
" of opinion, that albeit we might have then gone, whiles our whole City flouriſhed, yet now we L
" were not to leave it thus ruinate & decayed. For at that time we had ſome cauſe to remove into
" a conquered City, namely, Victory, a glorious thing to our ſelves and our poſterity: but this re-
" moving now, were reproachfull and ſhamefull to our ſelves, but glorious and honourable to the
" Gauls. For we ſhall not be thought to have left our country as conquerours, but to have loſt it as
" conquered. And ſhall it be ſaid, that our running away at *Allia*, the winning of our City, the be-
" ſieging of the Capitoll hath impoſed this neceſſity upon us, as to leave our houſe and home and
" to make ſhifts, to ſeek our own exile and departure out of that place which we are not able to
" defend? And were, indeed, the Gauls able to pull down and raſe that City of *Rome*, which the
" Romans ſhal not be thought able to reedifie and ſet up again? What remaineth now in caſe they
" ſhould come upon us afreſh, with a new power of men, for certain it is that their multitude is M
" incredible) & were willing to dwell here in this City by them conquered & by you abandoned;
" but that ye gently permit and ſuffer them? Nay, What and if not the Gauls, but your old enemies
" the Æquians and the Volſcians would remove and come to *Rome*, would you be willing to have
" them become Romans, and your ſelves Veientians? Would ye not rather, that this deſert and
" waſt ground as it lieth, were yours, than to be a City peopled by your enemies? For I cannot ſee,
" I aſſure you, whether of the twain, were more to be deteſted. And becauſe (forſooth) ye are loath
" to fal to building, are ye reſolved to abide theſe miſchiefs & theſe ſhamful reproaches? If through-
" out the whole City there might not be built a more commodious or ſtately houſe, than is that
" cottage there of our founder, were it not better to dwel in cottages like ſhepherds & peaſants, ſo
" it be among your ſacred monuments and houſhold gods, than all at once generally to go into N
" exile? Our anceſtors and forefathers being a mixture of divers countries, and no other than herd-
" men, finding in theſe parts nothing but woods and bogs, in a ſhort time built a new City out of
" the ground: and are we loath, having yet our Capitol, our caſtle ſafe, the Temples of our gods
" ſtanding ſtill, to reedifie it now that it is burnt. That which every one of us would have done, if
" our houſes had been fired, refuſe we altogether to do in the common ſcarefire of the City? Give
" me leave a little. What & if by ſome villany, or by miſchance there ſhould be a ſcarefire at *Veii* &
" by reaſon of the wind (as it is often ſeen) the flame ſpred & catch, and ſo conſume a great part of
" the City, ſhall we go from thence by and by, and ſeek to *Fidenæ* or *Gabii*, or ſome other City
" near at hand to remove unto? Is the very native ſoil of our country, and this ground which we
" call our mother, of no power at all to keep us here, but doth the whole love and affection of O
" our country reſt in the ſuperficial outſide, and in the timber and rafters of our houſes? Verily,
" confeſs I will unto you (although I take leſs pleaſure to remember the wrongs you did me than
" the calamity which I endured) when I was abſent and in exile, ſo often as I thought of my coun-
" try, all theſe things ran in my mind: the hils, the plain, the *Tyber*, the coaſts all about, which was
" my daily proſpect, and this air, under which I was born and brought up. All which, O Quirites,
" let them move you rather now with an affection to them for to tarry ſtil in this your habitation,

than

A "than disquiet you hereafter, and torment you for the want and miss of them, when you have
"once left and forgone them. Not without good cause both God and man chose this place for
"the building of this City: most healthy and wholsome hils: a very convenient and commodi-
"ous river; to bring in corn and other fruits out of the inland parts, to receive provision and o-
"ther victuals from the sea-coasts: the sea it self near enough for commodities, and not exposed
"and open by too much nearness to the dangers of forrain navies: the very heart and centre of
"all *Italy*, a place as a man would say, naturally made, and only for that City to grow and encrease
"in. And that doth the very largeness and greatness of a City so newly founded, plainly prove.
"It is now three hundred threescore and four years, and not above, since the foundation there-
B "of, O *Quirites*. Amongst so many Nations of greatest antiquity, thus long ye have made war:
"and all this while (to say nothing of particular Cities) neither the Volscians together with the
"Æquians peopling so many towns, and those so strong, nor all *Hetruria* so mighty by sea and
"land, and containing the whole breadth between the two seas, are in war to you comparable.
"Which being so, what reason have you (in the devils name) when ye have had sufficient proof
"already of it, to try again new experiments? considering now, that albeit your valour and vertue
"may go with you elsewhither, yet surely, the good luck and fortune of this place can never de-
"part and remove from hence? Here is the Capitoll, where sometimes upon the finding of a
"mans head, answer was made by diviners and wizards, That in that very place should be the
"head of all puissance, and the imperiall seat of the whole world. Here, at what time as the Ca-
C "pitoll, by the direction of the Augurs should be voided and cleared of all other Chappels, Lady
"*Juventus*, and god *Terminus*, to the great joy of our forefathers, would not suffer themselves to
"be stirred out of their place. Here are the fires of *Vesta*, here be the Scutcheons come down from
"heaven, here are all the gods, favourable & gracious still unto you, so long as here ye make abode
"and remain. *Camillus* in all his Oration throughout moved them much: but that part thereof
"touching religion (by report) was most effectuall. But that which struck it dead, and put all out
"of doubt, was a certain word that fell out to be spoken fitly to the purpose. For at wat time as
"the Senat a while after was gathered together in the Court *Hostilia*, to debate about these things
"and certain companies of souldiers that returned from their guards, chanced in the mean time
"to march through the market place, one Captain hapned to speak in the *Comitium*, and said,
D "*Pitch down thy ensign standard bearer, here will be our best abode.* Which voice was not so soon
"heard, but both the Senat being come out of the Council House, cried with one accord, That
"they took that omen for good luck, and happy presage: and also the Commons all gathered
"thereabout, approved the same. After this, when the foresaid Act of transmigration was once
"clean dashed and abolished, the City began to be built confusedly, and without order. Tile was
"allowed at the common charges: to dig either stone, or hew timber, every man had liberty
"where he could, putting in sureties, that within the compass of that year they would finish their
"buildings. The haste they made, caused them to have no regard of drawing out the streets di-
"rectly, whiles every man built in the void places without respect of his own or other mens
"ground. Which is the cause that the out-sinks and vaults which first were conveyed through
E "the common streets, now run every where under mens houses, and the form of the City seemeth
"as if it were built at random (as every man could catch a place for himself) rather than distinct-
"ly ranged, and set out in good order unto them.

# The Sixth Book

## *Of the Histories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

F

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the Sixth Book.

*IT containeth the fortunate wars against the Æquians, the Volscians and Tuscans. Four Tribes were added to the former,* Stellatina, Sabbatina, Promentina, Arniensis. M. Manlius, *who had defended the Capitoll from the Gauls, whiles he discharged the debs of those that were in danger of their creditors, and released such as were then imprisoned, was convicted of aspiring to be King, and thrown down from the cliff* Tarpeia. *In whose reproach a decree was made by the Senat, that none of the house of* Man-
G lius *should be surnamed* Marcus. C. Licinius, *and* L. Sextius, *Tribunes of the Commons, proposed a law, that Consuls also might be chosen out of the Commons, who were created before from among the Nobles only. And albeit the Senators withstood them with earnest endeavour, yet by reason that for five years space the same Tribune continued the only Magistrates of the City, they went through with that law and got it enacted. And* L. Sextius *was created the first Consul that ever was of Commoners. A second Law there passed likewise, That no man might possess above five hundred acres of land.*

What

# The Sixth Book of T. Livius.

H

The Recapitulation of the former five Books.

WHat acts from the building of the City of *Rome* unto the taking of the ſame, the Romans have atchieved, firſt, under the government of Kings, afterwards of Conſuls and dictators, Decemvirs, and Tribunes Conſular, as well in the wars abroad as ſeditions at home; I have in five books declared. Matters obſcure, both in regard of exceeding antiquity (as things that a far off hardly be diſcerned:) and alſo for that in thoſe daies there were very few writings and monuments, the only faithfull ſafegard, and true remembrancers of deeds paſt: and beſides, whatſoever was regiſtred in the Commentaries of the Prieſts, and in other publike or privat records, the ſame for the moſt part, when the City was burned periſhed withall. But now from henceforward, their civill affairs of policy, and martiall exploits in war, enſuing after a ſecond beginning of the City (as ſpringing again with more freſh ſhoots and fruitfull ſprouts from the root of the old ſtock) ſhall be delivered in more plain and certain manner. I

*Camillus* bare the Dictatorſhip a whole year, which otherwiſe was limited within ſix months.

And to begin withall, look by whom the ſtate firſt was underpropped and ſet upright, upon him (as chief and principall) it ſtill bare and reſted, and that was *M. Furius*: whom the Romans would not ſuffer to give up his Dictatorſhip before one year was fully expired. As for thoſe Tribunes (Conſular) in time of whoſe government the City was loſt, they liked not that they ſhould call and hold an aſſembly for Election of Magiſtrates the year following. So the matter came to an Interreign. Now while the City was buſie in continuall work and labour, about reedifying and repairing their buildings, *Q. Fabius* ſo ſoon as he was out of his office, was by *C. Martius*, a Tribune of the Commons, arreſted to make his anſwer at a day appointed. Who laid to his charge, That he contrary to the Law of Nations, had fought againſt the Gauls, unto whom he was ſent in embaſſage, and as an Orator only. But he avoided his judiciall triall, by his death: and died ſo juſt againſt the time, that many men thought it was voluntary and wrought by his own hands. Then *P. Cornelius Scipio* firſt entred upon the Interreign: and after him *M. Furius Camillus* the ſecond time. He created Tribunes Military in Conſuls authority, *A. Valerius Publicola* the ſecond time, *L. Virginius*, *P. Cornelius*, *A. Manlius*, *L. Æmylius*, and *L. Poſthumius*. Theſe men preſently after the Interreign, were not ſo ſoon entred into office, but before all other things, they conſulted with the Senat in matters concerning Religion and conſcience. And firſt of all they commanded, that all the inſtruments of leagues and confederacies, the ordinances and laws alſo (& thoſe were the twelve tables & certain Statutes made by the Kings) ſhould be ſought up as many as could be found extant. Whereof ſome were publiſhed abroad, even amongſt the Common people: but ſuch as pertained properly to holy Rites, and divine ſervice, were by the Prieſts and Prelates ſuppreſſed; eſpecially, of purpoſe to hold the minds of the people in a reverent awe of religion and devotion. Then began they to reaſon and debate about the diſmal daies. K

*Q. Fabius* cadited.

Diſmal daies. † 18 of *July*.

And the fifteenth day before the * Calends of *Auguſt*, ſo notorious for a twofold loſs and overthrow; upon which day at *Cremera* the *Fabii* were all ſlain, and after at *Allia* an unfortunate field was fought, even to the utter ruin and deſolation of the City, they named of the latter misfortune, *Allienſis*: and ſet this unlucky mark upon it, That it ſhould be reputed unmeet and inconvenient for any buſineſs as well publike as private. Some think, becauſe upon the next day following the * Ides of *July*, *Sulpitius* the Tribune Military could not by ſacrifice find any tokens of happy ſpeed, nor obtain the grace and favour of the gods; whereupon three daies after, the Roman hoſt fell ſhamefully into the hands of the enemies: therefore, the morrow alſo after the Ides was interdicted, and men were commanded to forbear and abſtain from doing ſacrifice: and thereupon likewiſe, the day next following the Calends and the Nones, were by tradition held as ominous and diſmall as the other. L M

† 16 of *July*.

But long they might not quietly ſit about the deviſing of means to reform the Common-weal, and ſet it upright again after ſo grievous and dangerous a fall. For of the one ſide, the Volſcians, their old enemies, took arms, intending the finall deſtruction of the Roman name. On the other ſide, the Merchants brought news, That the Princes and chief of all the Nations of *Hetruria* were banded and confederate together in a Diet held at the Temple of *Voltumna*, to make war upon them. Beſides a freſh and new fear came upon them by reaſon of the rebellion of the Latines and Hernicks, who after the battell at the pool *Regillus*, for the ſpace almoſt of an hundred years, had continued faſt in loyall league and amity with the people of *Rome*. Therefore being thus greatly affrighted on every ſide, that all the world might ſee apparently that the State of *Rome* was not only hated of her enemies but deſpiſed alſo of her allies: it was thought good and reſolved upon, that by his direction and rule, the Common-wealth ſhould now be maintained and defended, by whoſe conduct and guidance it was relieved and recovered: and that *M. Furius Camillus* ſhould be created Dictator. He being declared Dictator, named *Q. Servilius Hala* for Generall of the Horſemen. And having proclaimed a law-ſteed (or vacation from Courts of Law) he took muſter of all the younger ſort and ſerviceable men: but ſo, as the elder people were not left out, as many as were of ſtrength ſufficient for ſervice. Unto whom he likewiſe miniſtred the military oath of Alleageance, and enrolled them by hundreds in the muſter book. When he N O

had

A had thus levied a power of men, and furnished them with armour, he divided them into three parts. The one he opposed against *Hetruria* in the Country of *Veij*: another he commanded to lie encamped before the City. Over these *A. Manlius* a Tribune military was made Captain: those which were sent against the Tuscans had *L. Æmylius* for their Commander. A third part he himself led against the Volscians: and not far from *Lanuvium* (the place is called *Ad-Metium*) he began to assault their Camp. The enemies had put themselves on this their journey, with a kind of scornful contempt, as thinking the whole manhood in a manner of *Rome*, was by the French clean spent and wasted. But when they heard once, that *Camillus* was the Lord General, it stroke such a fear and terrour among them, that they were glad to defend themselves by the strength of
B their trench and rampier, yea, and to fence it round about with huge-piled heaps of wood and trees, that their enemies might have no passage to enter in upon their munitions. Which when *Camillus* perceived, he gave order to set on fire that Barricado which stood in his way. And as good hap was, the wind was big and high, and blew full upon the enemy. So that not only he made way by fire, but also with the flames thereof that went toward the Camp, with the vapour likewise and smoke, and the crackling noise of the green wood, he so amated & astonied the enemies, that the Romans had less ado to pass the trench and pallisado, into the Camp of the Volscians, than in getting over the mound and enclosure consumed with fire. Having thus defeated and slain his enemies, and won withall the Camp in the same brunt, the Dictator gave the whole spoile unto the souldiers: which to them was so much the more welcome, as they less hoped for it at their
C General his hand: who was never known to be lavish of gift, and over-liberal in dealing rewards. After this he followed them that fled, in chace, wasted and forraged their whole country, and at length (in the seventieth year of the war) he wholy subdued the Volscians, and forced them to yield subjection. After this conquest, he departed from thence against the Æquians, who likewise made preparations for war. Their forces he surprised and defeated at *Bola*, and assailed not only their Camp, but also forced the City, and at the first assault won both.

But whiles fortune smiled thus, what way soever *Camillus* went, as being the only stay of the Roman state: so on another side the fear of peril greatly encreased. For the Tuscans well near all up in arms, lay before *Sutrium*, and besieged it being in league with the people of *Rome*. Whose Embassadours came unto the Senat to entreat for succour in their distress, and had a decree granted unto them, that the Dictator with all speed should rescue the Sutrines. But being so straightly
D beleaguered, that they might not abide the delay of this their hope, for that the townsmen, who were but few in number, were over-wearied with working, watching, and bloudy fighting, (all which lay still upon the same men without intermission) they were driven by composition to surrender up the City to the enemies: and being disarmed and sent away with a single sute of apparrel (after a piteous sort all a-row) departed the town, & left their dwelling places. But see, it fortuned that *Camillus* at the same time came in the very manner with the Roman Army and met them. At whose feet the multitude all sorrowful lay prostrate: their Nobles and chief men in this extremity fell to beseech him to be good unto them: the women and children which went along with them, as partakers and companions of their exile, seconded them with woful tears and lamenta-
E tions. But he willed the Sutrines to forbear their mourning plaints, and give over their dolefull moan: saying that he brought the Tuscans heavy and weeping cheer. Then caused he his souldiers to lay down their packs and load, the Sutrines likewise there to abide with a mean guard, and his men to follow him with armour and weapons only. Thus marched he forward with his Army lightly appointed for ready expedition, and advanced before *Sutrium*. Where; according to his expectation, he found the enemies all careless and secure (as commonly it falleth out upon a prosperous success.) No warders, no *corps de guard* quartered before the walls, the gates wide open, the Conquerours here and there sacking, rifling and flinging the goods out of their enemies houses. So was *Sutrium* in one day twice won. The Tuscans (for all their former victory) were hewn in peeces on every side, by a new-come enemy. They had no time to cast themselves
F round nor gather together into one place, no, nor to take weapon in hand: whiles every man for life, made in all haste to the gates, if haply any way they might escape into the fields. But when they came thither, the gates they found fast shut, for so the Dictator had given order afore-hand. Hereupon some betook themselves to their weapons: others (namely, such as hapned to be armed when this sudden tumult surprised them) fell to call their fellows together for to begin a skirmish: which no doubt in that desperate case of the enemies had been hotly fought, had not the Criers and Trumpets which were sent into all parts of the City, made proclamation to lay down their weapons, to spare them which were unarmed, and that none should have any harm but those that were found in arms. Upon this, even they who in that extremity and despair were fully bent to fight it out, for hope of life on all hands flung away their weapons: and thus disar-
G med as they were (for as the case stood, it was the safer course) presented themselves to the enemy. A great number of them were bestowed in several places, and were attended upon with good guards. And before night the town was delivered again unto the Sutrines, safe and sound without any hurt at all done unto it, as being not won by force, but surrendred upon composition. *Camillus* then returned with triumph into the City of *Rome*, victor at one voyage in three sundry wars. The greatest number by far, of prisoners, whom he led before his chariot in triumph, were Tuscans: whom he sold in port-sale at the spear, and raised such a sum of mony, that when he had

*Sutrium* is twice won in one day.

had out of it repaid the dames [of *Rome*] to the worth of their gold, there were of the ſurpluſage H
thereof three bouls made of maſſie gold: which with the title and inſcription of *Camillus* his
name, were for certainty, before the Capitol was burnt to be ſeen in the chappell of *Jupiter* ſet
up and beſtowed at the feet of *Juno*.

The ſame year, there were enfranchiſed and made Citizens of *Rome*, ſuch Veientians, Capenates and Faliſcians, as in the time of thoſe wars were fled to the Romans: and for theſe new Citizens were certain lands ſet out. Thoſe alſo, who for idleneſs loath to build at *Rome*, were gone to *Veii*, there to inhabit the vacant houſes, were by an Act of the Senat recalled home from thence. And they at the firſt, grumbled & refuſed to obey: but after that a day was ſet them, & they threatned upon pain of death to return again to *Rome*; as ſtout as they were, and obſtinate all of them I
together, now for fear every one became obedient. As *Rome* now increaſed in number of inhabitants, and became well peopled: ſo on all hands in every place they fell to building new edifices: whiles the Common-wealth ſomewhat eaſed them of charges, and the Ædiles by vertue of their office called hard upon them, haſtning them forward as to a publike work; yea, and every man pri-
*Rome* new built. vately made all ſpeed poſſible, according as each ones need required, to make an end and finiſh his own houſe. So as within the year the City was new built and ſtood on foot again.

At the years end was the great Election held for Tribunes military in Conſuls authority. Wherein were created *T. Quintius Cincinnatus*, *Q. Servilius Fidenas* the fifth time, *Julius Tullus*, *L. Aquilius Corvus*, *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, *Ser. Sulpitius Ruffus*. One army they ſet out and led againſt the Æquians, not to war with them (for they granted themſelves conquered) but upon K
meer ſpight and deadly hatred, to waſte all their borders utterly, and to leave them no power and ſtrength to enterpriſe any new rebellion. The other, into the territory of *Tarquinii*. Where, two towns of the Tuſcans, *Cortuoſa* and *Contenebra*, were by aſſault won and raſed. At *Cortuoſa* was no reſiſtance made. For the Romans ſurpriſed them on a ſudden, and at the firſt ſhout and impreſſion they were maſters of it: The town was ſacked and burned. As for *Contenebra*, it endured the aſſault for ſome few daies: but the continual labour, ſlacking neither day nor night overcharged them: wheras the Roman Army divided into ſix parts, fought ſix hours in their ſeveral turns round one after the other. And the townſmen being but few, and thoſe overtoiled, were fain without any ſupply, ſtill to maintain freſh skirmiſhes. Whereupon at laſt they retreated back & yielded, giving the Romans leave to enter the City. The Tribunes were of mind and thought good, that the L
ſpoil ſhould be confiſcat and go to the common treaſury: but the commandment and proclamation was more ſlack than their purpoſe on that behalf. For whileſt they lingred and protracted time, the ſouldiers already had ſeiſed in their prizes: and taken from them again without much offence and hatred, the booty could not be. In the ſame year, becauſe the City ſhould not flouriſh in private buildings only, the Capitol was alſo built of ſquared aſhler ſtone: A piece of work even
The Capitoll built of ſquare ſtone. in this ſo glorious eſtate, and magnificence of the City, to be had in price and eſteemed excellent. And now before this time, the Tribunes of the Commons, whiles the City was buſied about their buildings, began often to move for the Laws *Agrariæ* (about the diviſion of the lands) in all their aſſemblies and ſpeeches before the people. For to draw them on and to ſet forward their hope, they preſented unto them very often the Pomptine Territory, which then above all others, ſo pre- M
ſently upon the ſubduing and ſubverſion of the Volſcians by *Camillus*, was, no doubt, the rightfull poſſeſſion of the people of *Rome*. Complaints were made, that thoſe grounds ſuſtained much more detriment and damage by the Nobility, than they had received before from the Volſcians. For they, ſo long only as they were able to bear arms and maintain war, made inrodes thither: but the Noblemen forcibly entred and made havock in the poſſeſſions of the common lands: and unleſs (before they had ſet ſure footing there, and got all into their hands) a diviſion were made, the Commons ſhould never enjoy one foot of ground there. Theſe Remonſtrances of the Tribunes little moved the Commons, both becauſe few of them reſorted to the common place of aſſemblies, whiles they plied their building: and alſo for that money was away, and their purſes ſo emptied in the charges of workmen, that they had little mind of holding thoſe lands, which to ſtore N
and ſtock they were not able.

The City was now given much to their devotions and religions, and the rulers alſo ſomewhat ſuperſtitious upon their late calamity: Inſomuch as they minded to renew the Auſpicia [or the ſolemnity of preſages taken by bird-flight] for ſome errour ſuppoſed therein: and therefore they agreed that the government ſhould return to an Interreign. So there were Interregents one after
The Temple of *Mars* dedicated. another, *M. Manlius Capitolinus*, *Ser. Sulpitius Camerinus*, *L. Valerius Potitus*. *Valerius* at length held the aſſembly for to elect Tribunes Military in Conſuls authority, and created *L. Papirius*, *Cn. Sergius*, *L. Æmylius* the ſecond time, *L. Licinius*, *T. Valerius Publicola* the third time. Theſe preſently after the Interreign, began their government. That year, the Temple of *Mars* vowed in the Gauls war was dedicated by *T. Quintius*, a Duumvir deputed for the executing of holy duties. O
Four new Tribes adjoyned to *Rome*. Four Tribes of new Citizens were now adjoyned, *Stellatina*, *Pomatina*, *Sabbatina*, *Arnienſis*. and theſe made up the number of the 25 Tribes. And now *L. Sicinius* a Tribune of the Commons, was in hand with the people in greater number aſſembled together, about the Pomptine lands: and more enclined they were and forward to hearken after grounds, than they had been afore. And whereas it was moved in the Senat houſe, to make war upon the Latines and the Hernicks, that matter was not followed, but put off to a further time: by reaſon of preparation for a greater war,

becauſe

A *Hetruria* was already up in arms. And all was laid again upon *Camillus* his ſhoulders, who was made Tribun Military with Conſuls authority, and had five other brethren in office joyned unto him *Ser. Cornelius Maluginenſis*, *Q. Servilius Fidenas* the ſixth time, *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, *L. Horatius Pulvillus*, *P. Valerius*. In the beginning of the year, the minds of men were turned clean away from the careful regard they had of the Tuſcan war, by reaſon that a number of people that fled out of the Pomptine country, came all of a ſudden in great haſt to the City, and brought word, that the Antiates were up in arms, that the nations of the Latins had ſent their able youth to that war cloſely underhand, thereby diſavowing it to be any action of the State and ſtanding upon this point, that by the covenant there was no proviſo, but that voluntary ſouldiers might ſerve
B in what wars ſoever they would. Now had the Romans been well taught, and learned, to ſet light no more by any wars. The Senat therefore thanked the Gods, that *Camillus* was in place of government, who if he had been a privat perſon, was no doubt to have been nominated and created Dictator: yea, and his companions in office confeſſed frankly that he was the only man to have the ſoveraign and abſolute Regiment of all, in caſe there were any fearful and dangerous war toward: and were fully reſolved, to yeeld up all their intereſt in government unto him, thinking it no diſparagement at all unto them, nor any loſs of their own honour and reputation, in conferring the ſame upon the Majeſty of ſo worthy a perſon. The Senat highly commended the Tribuns, and *Camillus* was much abaſhed in his mind, howbeit he gave them hearty thanks, and ſpake in this wiſe. "A weighty burthen (quoth he) I ſee is impoſed upon me by the people of
C "*Rome*, in that they have elected and nominated me Dictator now the fourth time: a greater "charge is enjoyned me by the Senat; the whole ſtate and body of which order, hath delivered to "ſingular good opinion and judgement of me: but the heavieſt load of all is laid upon me by the "exceeding kindneſs and obſequious benignity of theſe my honourable brethren and collegues. "If any painful travel of mine therefore, and watchful care may be redoubled, I wil earneſtly en- "deavour, I wil ſtrain and ſtrive to anſwer thereunto: that the opinion which the City with ſo "great conſent hath conceived of me, right as it is exceeding great, ſo it may continue ſtill and be "perpetual. As to that war of the Antiats, there are more brags and threats than any danger "and peril from thence. But as I would counſel and adviſe you to be afraid of no war, ſo I would "not have you to be careleſs and ſecure of any. The City of *Rome* is beſet on every ſide: partly
D "envied, and partly hated of her neighbour borderers. Need there is both of more Captains, and "alſo of more armies, to manage the affairs of the Common-weal. I think it good therefore "(quoth he) O *Valerius*, that you aſſiſt me in government and counſel, and have the leading to- "gether with me of certain legions againſt the Antiat enemies. That you *Q. Servilius*, with an- "other army wel appointed, and in readineſs, lye encamped hard by the City ſide, having an "eye and good regard, leſt either *Hetruria* in the mean while, (as of late dayes) or the Latins and "Hernicks (who trouble us now afreſh) break out and make ſome riſing. Aſſured I am, that you "wil behave your ſelf, and quit you in this ſervice ſo worthily, as may anſwer the famous me- "mory of ſuch a father and grandfire as you have had, may beſeem your own honourable per-
E "ſon, and thoſe ſix Tribunſhips which you have already performed. As for *L. Quintius*, let "him leavy a third power of men, conſiſting of thoſe that are by reaſon of ſickneſs or otherwiſe "excuſed for warfare, and are above the ordinary age for military ſervice, to be in ſtead of a gari- "ſon for defence of the City and the Walls. Let *L. Horatius* provide harneſs, weapons, corn, and "other neceſſaries for war, at all occaſions whatſoever. Finally, O *Sergius Cornelius*, we your fel- "low Tribuns, ordain you Preſident of this publick Councel, the *Cuſtos* and keeper of Religion "and Church-matters, of general aſſemblies, of the Laws and all other civil affairs of policy what- "ſoever. Now when they had all made promiſe, and that moſt willingly to do their endea-
vour in performing their ſeveral charges, *Valerius* whom he had joyned with himſelf in commiſſion, added moreover and ſaid, That as he would take *M. Furius* to be Dictator, ſo would he
F be unto him again in ſtead of his Coronel of Horſemen. And turning to the Lords of the Senat, exhorted them, that what opinion they had of one only Soveraign General, the ſame hope they would conceive of the whole war. The Senators hereat took great joy and contentment, giving out willingly with one accord, that they hoped exceeding wel of war, of peace, and generally of the State. Neither ſhall the Common-weal (ſay they) ever ſtand in need of Dictator, ſo long as ſuch Magiſtrats be in place, ſo jointly agreeing in one mind together, ſo indifferent and ready as well to obey as to rule, and rather yeelding their proper praiſe to the honour of the Common-weal, than diſmembring and plucking from it to their private glory and reputation.

The Oration of *M. Furius Camillus* to his companions in government.

After a Vacation or Law-ſteed proclaimed, and the Muſters taken and paſt: *Furius* and *Valerius* ſet forward to *Satricum*: whither the Antiats had not only ſent the flour of all the Volſci,
G the choice youth out of a freſh fry and new generation; but alſo had raiſed a mighty power of Latins and Hernicks, out of thoſe Nations that by long peace were moſt freſh and luſty. Theſe new enemies and old thus combined together, troubled the minde of the Roman ſouldier, and made him to ſtartle. Which when the Centurions reported to *Camillus*, as he was Marſhalling and ſetting his battels in array; and that in theſe terms; to wit, that the hearts of his ſouldiers were diſquieted and diſmayed, that they took themſelves but ſlowly to their weapons, made ſtaying and idling when they ſhould come forth of their tents, yea, and that there were ſome of them overheard to ſay, that, They muſt fight one to an hundred, and that ſo great a multitude of

their enemies (if they were unarmed) might hardly be encountred, much leſs, being ſo well armed H
and appointed: he mounted preſently upon Horſeback, and rode before the enſigns, and then
turning himſelf afront his army, traverſing between the ranks and arraies; "What heavineſs is
The Oration of *M. Furius Camillus* to his ſouldiers. "this my ſouldiers (quoth he) what means this ſtrange and unwonted lagging behind? Why?
"Know ye not your enemy? Know ye not me? Or, know ye not your own ſelves? The enemy,
"what is he elſe but the perpetual matter and ſubject of your valour and glory? And ye again are
"the men, who under my conduct (to ſay nothing of the winning of *Falerii* and *Veii*, and of the
"ſlaughter of the Gauls Legions, put to the ſword by us, even when our native City was by them
"taken, and they maſters thereof) of late, and but the other day, made a three-fold triumph, upon
"a triple victory, over the ſame Volſcians, Æquians and people of *Hetruria*. What, do ye not I
"agnize and accept me for your General, becauſe not as Dictator, but as Tribun, I gave you the
"watchword, and put out the banner of battel? For mine own part, I ſtand not much upon ab-
"ſolute and ſoveraign command over you: no more likewiſe ſhould ye regard ought elſe in me,
"but mine own ſelf. For never yet did my Dictatorſhip make me hauty and ſet me up aloft, no
"more than my baniſhment abated my courage and caſt me down. We are the ſame men ſtill all
"of us: and ſince we are come to this war, furniſhed with the ſame means that we carried with
"us unto the former, let us look for the ſame event of our ſervice, and no worſe. So ſoon as ye
"ſhall encounter and joyn battel with them, perform each one that which he hath been taught
"and wonted to: the journey ſurely will be ours, and they (no doubt) ſhall run away. Then after
"he had ſounded the battel, he alighteth from his Horſe, and caught the enſign-bearer that ſtood K
next him, with his hand, haled him forward againſt the face of the enemy, crying very often aloud,
On afore with thy banner, Port-enſign, and advance forward, ſouldier. When they ſaw that *Camillus* in perſon, a man well ſtept in years, and thereby weak to perform the parts of bodily ſtrength,
put himſelf forth againſt the enemy: all at once they preſſed forward, ſet up an outcry and ſhout-
ed, every man calling upon his next fellow, to follow their General for ſhame. Over and beſides,
ſome ſay that by the commandment of *Camillus*, there was an enſign flung into the very battel
among the enemies. Whereupon they of the forefront, beſtirred themſelves luſtily to recover it
again. And thereby were the Antiates firſt diſcomfited, and the fear not only came upon them
in the vanguard, but entred alſo and reached as far as the rereward, that ſtood ready for ſupply.
And as the violent force of the ſouldiers, provoked by the preſence of their Captain, much trou- L
bled the enemy: ſo nothing more daunted the hearts of the Volſcians, than the very ſight of *Ca-*
*millus* himſelf, when they chanced to eſpie him. So ſurely carried he the victory with him, which
way ſoever he went! And that appeared moſt evidently in this, That when he ſaw the left wing
at the point to give back and run away, he took himſelf in all haſt to his Horſe, rode thither with
his light footmans buckler, and with his only preſence renewed the fight; ſhewing unto them how
the reſt of the battel had the better. Now were the enemies put to the worſt, and the victory en-
clined to a ſide. But their multitude both hindred themſelves in their flight: and alſo a long peece
of work the wearied ſouldiers of the Romans had to put ſo great a number, all to the ſword. But
behold, there fell a great tempeſt of rain all of a ſudden, which powred down with ſo mighty
winds and ſtorms, that it rather put them by the execution of aſſured victory, than parted any M
battel or ſtayed the fight. Whereupon the retreat was ſounded: and the night enſuing, whiles
the Romans were at reſt, made an end of the war. For the Latins and Hernicks forſook the Volſ-
cians and departed home, with as ill ſpeed, as their enterpriſe was bad. The Volſcians ſeeing
themſelves abandoned and left in the lurch by them, (upon whoſe truſt and confidence they had
*Satricum* won. rebelled) quit the camp and field, and put themſelves within the walls of *Satricum*; whom *Ca-*
*millus* at firſt began to beſiege, caſting a trench and rampier about them, raiſing baſtillons and
plat-forms againſt the Town. And ſeeing his munitions and fabricks by no ſallying forth of the
enemies impeached, he ſuppoſed there was no ſuch courage in them, that he ſhould need to ſtand
ſo long about the hope of victory: and thereupon, encouraged his men not to wear themſelves
out in a tedious and toilful piece of ſervice, as if they lay at the ſiege of *Veii*: aſſuring them that the N
victory was in their hands already: and ſo with exceeding cheerfulneſs of his ſouldiers, he ſet lad-
ders upon every ſide, ſcaled the walls, and entred the Town. Then the Volſcians flung away their
weapons and yeelded themſelves.

But the General his mind was bent upon a greater exploit, and that was the winning of *Anti-*
*um*, being the ſeat Town of the Volſcians, and from whence the beginning of the laſt war aroſe.
Howbeit becauſe ſo ſtrong a City might not be won without great preparation of artillery, ordi-
nance & engins of battery, leaving his collegue behind him with the army, he went himſelf to *Rome*,
to perſwade with the Senat for to deſtroy and raſe *Antium* utterly. And whiles he was emparling
with them (ſuch was the will of God I believe, that *Antium* ſhould ſtand ſtill & continue longer)
there came Embaſſadors from *Nepet* and *Sutrium*, craving aid againſt the Tuſcans, ſaying: That it O
was more than high time, that they were ſuccoured and relieved. Upon which occaſion it fell out,
that *Camillus* was withdrawn thither from *Artium*. For ſeeing that thoſe two Towns ſtood even
againſt *Hetruria*, as it were the very keyes and bar-gates from thence: both the enemies laboured
to gain them afore-hand, againſt the time that they went about to make new wars; & the Romans
alſo held it a matter of great conſequence, to reſcue and defend thoſe frontier Towns. The Senat
therefore thought good to be in hand with *Camillus*, for to leave *Antium*, and to undertake the
war with the Tuſcans. The City-legions under General *Quintius*, were appointed unto him.

And

A And albeit, he rather would have had the leading of that army, which lay now in the Volſcians Country, and which he had good tryal of, and were acquainted better with his government, yet refuſed he nothing: only he required to have *Valerius* his aſſociat ſtill, and joyned with him in commiſſion. So *Quintius* and *Horatius* were ſent to ſucceed *Valerius* in the Volſcian war. *Furius* and *Valerius* took their voyage from the City to *Sutrium*, and found the one ſide of the Town poſſeſſed already by the Tuſcans. On the other ſide, the Townſmen, for that the enemy had ſtopped all paſſages between, hardly able to repel the force of the aſſailants. But the coming of the Roman aids, and the name beſides of *Camillus*, (ſo highly renowned as well amongſt the enemies as Allies) both for the preſent gave them heart to abide the brunt, and ſtick to it ſtill that B were before at the point to give over: and alſo gained time and reſpit to come in with freſh ſupplies and ſuccours. *Camillus* therefore divided his forces, and gave direction to his collegue, for to bring about his power, to that ſide which the enemies held, and there to make an aſſault: not ſo much for any hope he had by ſcaling the walls to win the City; as by withdrawing the enemies thither, not only to eaſe the Townſmen of their toil, and give them a breathing time (who were now wearied with aſſaults) but alſo to get himſelf ſome opportunity and vantage, to enter the City without skirmiſh and reſiſtance. Which being put in execution on both hands accordingly, and performed at once: the Tuſcanes beſet with a two-fold fear round about, ſeeing the walls aſſailed moſt fiercely one way: and the enemy got within the Town another way: flung out at one gate (which as it hapned was not beſet) and in great haſt all together ſought to eſcape C away. But as they fled, they were ſlain by heaps both within the Town and abroad all over the fields. The greater number were killed within the walls by *Furius* his ſouldiers. *Valerius* his men were more ready and nimble in the chaſe, and gave not over the execution until the night came, that they could not ſee and diſcern them.

*Sutrium* recovered.

When *Sutrium* was thus recovered and reſtored again to their allies they led forward the army to *Nepet*: which Town the Tuſcans held wholly, as ſurrendred already into their hands. Every man thought it would be a buſie peece of work to win that City again: not in this regard only, that it was fully in the enemies poſſeſſion, but alſo becauſe ſome of the Nepeſins, by treaſon had yeelded it up. Howbeit, they reſolved to ſend unto the heads and principal citizens, that they ſhould ſever themſelves from the Tuſcans, and perform on their behalf truſty and faithful loyalty, D like as they had craved and beſought at the Romans hands their friendly help and protection. From whom they received this anſwer again, That it lay not now in them to do any thing at all, for that the Tuſcans kept the walls, and warded the gates. Whereupon they firſt terrified and ſcared the Townſmen with foraging and ſpoiling their territory: after that, ſeeing they made more reckoning of keeping their faithful loyalty to their enemies unto whom they had lately ſurrendred, than obſerving the league with their friends, which they had long before concluded; they provided themſelves out of the fields of a number of faggots, of bruſh wood, and ſuch like trouſs, and ſo approached the City with the army, filled up the ditches cloſe to the walls, ſet ladders to, and at the firſt ſhout and aſſault given, the Town was taken. Then proclamation was made, that all the Nepeſines ſhould part with their armour and weapons, and ſo many as were found unarmE ed, ſhould be ſpared. But the Tuſcans, as well armed as unarmed, were put to the ſword every one. As for the chief authors that perſwaded the Nepeſines to deliver the Town to the enemies, they were beheaded. The harmleſs multitude had their goods reſtored, and ſo the Town was left with a garriſon. Thus the two Tribuns (Conſular) having regained out of the enemies hands two confederat Cities, returned in great glory to *Rome* with their victorious army.

*Nepet* taken.

The ſame year the Latins and Hernicks were required to make amends for harms done, and reſtitution of goods wrongfully detained: and the cauſe demanded why of late years, according to a covenant in that behalf provided they had ſet forth no ſouldiers to the Romans wars. Anſwer from both Nations in their ſolemn Councels was returned: "That neither the fault was general, "nor proceeding from counſel of the State, in caſe ſome of their youth ſerved under the Volſcians: F "and yet themſelves had well payd already for their lewd and raſh projects, in that not one of "them was come home alive. And as to the not ſending forth of ſouldiers, the cauſe was, for "that they were in continual fear and danger of the Volſcians: which noiſome plague (as it "were) ſticking ſo cloſe unto their ſides, unleſs they could be rid of, notwithſtanding ſo many "wars one in the neck of another. When relation hereof was made unto the Lords of the Senat, they thought ſo well of their anſwer and excuſes, that they deemed they had quarrel and occaſion good enough to war upon them, if they might have had while and time as well to follow it.

The excuſe of the Latins and Hernicks.

In the year following, when *A. Manlius*, *P. Cornelius*, *Titus* and *Lucius Quintius*, both *Capitolini*, and *L. Papirius Curſor* the ſecond time, were Tribuns Conſular, there aroſe a grievous war G abroad, and a more dangerous ſedition brake forth at home. The war, from the Volſcians, banded with the Latins and Hernicks, that were fallen away and revolted. The ſedition (where it was leaſt feared) from a perſonage of noble linage deſcended, of great name and reputation, *M. Manlius Capitolinus*. Who being a man of too lofty and hauty a minde, deſpiſed all other of the Nobility, and envied one above the reſt, *M. Furius*, ſo ſingular, as well in regard of his honourable dignities, as his worthy parts and commendable vertues. He could not brook and endure, that he only ſhould ever be Lord General in the field: who now was exalted ſo high above others, that even thoſe who were created with him in equal authority, he accounted not as

The diſcontentments of *M. Manlius*, intending ſedition.

his peers and fellows, but employed as his Ministers and Servitors. "Whereas (quoth he) if H
"men would weigh aright, and duly consider every thing, *M. Furius* could never have delivered
"his Country from the siege of the enemies, had not the Capitol and Castle cliff been saved by
"me afore. *Camillus* set upon the Gauls, when they were amused in receiving their gold, when
"they were upon terms of peace, and their hearts quiet and secure: whereas my self chased them
"away whiles they were in arms, and at the point to win the Castle Hill. In that exploit of *Ca-*
"*millus* the souldiers, had each one his share proportionably of the glory, who together with
"him did their parts: but in the service performed by me, no earthly creature was fellow and
"partner with me. With these conceits he fed his own humour, and puffed up his proud spirit,
being withal by corrupt disposition of nature, hot and hasty, arrogant and insolent. Discontented I
besides, that of the Nobility, his gifts and qualities were not esteemed of that worth, as in his
own judgement they deserved: first, of a Senator he became popular, and began to break his mind,
and impart his designs unto the Magistrats of the Commons: finding fault with the Nobility, and
complaining of them: soliciting and inveigling the Commons, to cast a liking and favour toward
himself: carried away with the vain gale of the peoples opinion: not guided by sage counsel and
discretion: and in one word, chusing rather to be of great name, than of good and honest re-
port. And not contenting himself to deal in the Laws *Agrariæ*, about the division of Lands,
which had alwayes ministred to the Tribuns of the Commons matter enough of mutinies and se-
ditions; he began to intermeddle between the debtors and their creditors, and to overthrow all
keeping of credit. And indeed, deep debts are sharp goads, and prick shrewdly: threatning K
not only poverty and shame, but also terrifying the bodies of free men with hard imprisonment,
little ease, and Irons. Now there were exceeding many far in debt (a thing most dangerous and
hurtful to mens state) even of the richer sort, by reason of their great expenses defrayed in buil-
ding. The war therefore of the Volscians, which was it self of great importance, but much
more, in regard of the Latins and Hernicks Rebellion withal, was in shew pretended, as a cause
to seek for to have a more soveraign and absolute power to govern the State: but in truth, these
new designments and plots of *Manlius*, rather than the war, forced the Senat to creat a Dicta-
tor. And *A. Cornelius Cossus* being created, nominated for his General of Horse, *T. Quintius Ca-*
*pitolinus*. The Dictator, albeit he saw a greater contention toward, at home than abroad, yet
(were it that the war required some speedy expedition, or because by victory and triumph, he L
thought to make his Dictatorship more mighty and powerful) he took musters, and set forward
into the Pomptine Land, into which parts he had intelligence, that the Volscians had proclaim-
ed their forces, to repair.

A digression of the author.

I doubt not, but they that read in so many books already, of these continual wars fought with the Volscians, besides their tedious satiety of reading, will muse also at this (which to my self was likewise a wonder, when I perused the writers that lived neer about the times of these acts) how these Volscians and Æquians, so often vanquished and defeated, were furnished with supply of souldiers to maintain their wars. But seeing by the ancient Chroniclers it hath been overpassed with silence, what should I alledge, but only mine own opinion and bare conjecture, which every man hath liberty to put in for himself? Likely it is, that either between the times of wars (as now M we see in the Roman musters) they used to breed up one supply under another, of the younger sort, to the maintenance and renuing so oftentimes of their war: or that their armies were not alwayes levied out of the same States, albeit the wars go under the name of one and the self-same nation: or that those countries yeelded in those dayes an infinit number of freemen, which now are well near wast and desart, but for some Roman slaves, which keep those parts yet from being void and dispeopled, as having but a very small seminary, or none at all, left, of serviceable souldiers.

Certainly, the Volscians army, as all authors agree, was very great at this time: albeit of late dayes by the leading and conduct of *Camillus* they were sore weakned, and their strength much abated. Besides, there were with them in field, the Latins and Hernicks, some of the Circeians, and other Coloners from *Velitræ*. The Roman Dictator having that day pitched his camp, and N the next morrow come abroad with happy tokens of good speed from the Birds: having also slain a sacrifice, and procured thereby the favour and grace of the Gods, in joyous manner shewed himself unto his souldiers: who according as they were commanded, were ready early in the morning, by break of day in arms, attending the sound of Trumpet for battel. The day is ours (quoth he) my valorous souldiers, if either the Gods or their Prophets can foretel future events.

The Oration of *A. Cornelius Cossus* Dictator to his souldiers.

"Therefore as resolut men of assured hope, and such as shall encounter with far meaner than our
"selves, pitch we our javelins down at our feet, and draw our swords only. Neither would I
"have you to run out of the main battel, and to give the charge, but to keep your ground, to
"stand stedfast, and abide the first shock of the enemy. And when they have spent their volley of
"shot in vain, and shall with full force come upon you as you stand, then brandish your swords, O
"and let them glitter in their eyes, and think every man of the Gods, that they will help the Ro-
"mans. The Gods I say, which in happy hour, by the lucky approbation of their Birds, have
"sent us into the field to fight. And as for you, O *Quintius*, keep your Horsemen close to-
"gether, marking advisedly the first beginning of the skirmish: and when you see the battels
"buckle together pell-mell, and come to hand-strokes, whiles they are busied and occupied one
way, fright them another way with your Horsemen, ride among their ranks as they fight, and
break their arraies. Thus fought both Horse and Foot according to his direction. And

as

A as the legions wanted not a worthy Captain, no more misſed the Captain of happy ſpeed. The multitude of the enemies truſting upon nothing but their own number, which they meaſured and compared together only by their eye, interviewing both the one army and the other, raſhly gave battel, and as raſhly gave over again. In ſhout only and ſhot ſhewing themſelves hot and eager at the firſt encounter: but were not able to abide the ſword-fight, the cloſing together foot to foot, and the firy countenance of their enemies, which for the very heat of their courage, ſhined and gliſtered fully in their eyes. So the forefront being put back, a fear came upon them likewiſe, that ſtood behind for ſupply, and withal, the Horſemen for their parts ſet to and fought moſt terribly. Whereupon the ranks of the enemies in ſundry places were broken and all ſet out of
B order, ſo as their battailons ſeemed to flote and wave up and down to and fro, in ſuſpence whether to fight or flye. Afterwards, when they ſaw the formoſt ſmitten down and ſlain, and every one thought no other but his own turn was next to be killed, they turned their backs and fled. The Romans came forward ſtill and chaſed them. And ſo long as they went their way armed and thick hudled together, it was the footmens work to purſue them: but when it was perceived once, that they flung away their weapons on all hands, and that the enemies army fled diſperſed all abroad in the fields: then were the troups of Horſemen ſet out after them, with this caveat and charge, to make no ſtay and forlet the time, by killing them one by one, and ſo to give the main multitude of them in the mean while ſufficient reſpit to eſcape: but that they ſhould content themſelves, only to let flye ſome ſhot amongſt them, and by ſcaring them to hinder their running: and when
C they were ridden beyond, to croſs upon them and ſtay them, until the footmen might overtake them, ſlay them down right and make an hand of them clean. Thus fled they, and thus were they followed in chaſe until night. The very ſame day was the Volſcians camp taken and ranſacked, and the whole pillage, beſides the bodies of free men, was given unto the ſouldiers. The greateſt part of the priſoners were Hernicks and Latins: and thoſe not of the common ſort, and ſuch as might be thought to have ſerved for pay: but there were found among them certain young Gentlemen of good mark, a plain proof and evidence, that the Volſcian enemies had aid from thence by the publick and general warrant of the State. There were known alſo to be among them ſome of the Circeians; yea, and certain of the Veliterne colony likewiſe. All of them were ſent to *Rome*. Where being examined before the chief of the Senators, they confeſſed every one in plain terms, the re-
D volting of their own Nation like as they had before bewrayed it unto the Dictator. The Dictator ſtill kept his forces together within the ſtanding camp, making no doubt, but that the rulers and Senators of *Rome* would determine to war upon thoſe countries.

The Volſcians defeated.

But even at that time a greater heap of troubles which aroſe at home, cauſed him to be ſent for to *Rome*, by occaſion of a ſedition which grew daily more and more: and by reaſon of the Author thereof (a man of quality and note) was more feared than any uſually had been afore time. For now by this, had *M. Manlius* not by ſpeeches only, but by plain deeds alſo, (which in outward ſhew ſeemed popular and plauſible) ſhewed evidently upon what troubleſome and tumultuous ſpirit all proceeded. For ſeeing upon a time a Centurion, of good worth for his ſervice in war, condemned in an action of debt, and upon an execution of judgement carried to priſon:
E he in the mids of the *Forum*, came running unto him with a rout and crew of his followers and retinue, laid hand on him, and took him perforce from the officers: and after he had given out ſome words aloud touching the pride of the Senators, the cruelty of the uſurers, the calamities of the Commons, the valour and preſent diſtreſs of the party; Marry then (quoth he) have I done a great deed, to no purpoſe, in ſaving the Capitol and the Caſtle with this right hand of mine, if I could abide to ſee my fellow ſouldier (as if he were taken priſoner of the Gauls by way of conqueſt) had away into bondage and captivity, and laid up faſt in gyves and fetters. And therewith openly in ſight of all the people paid the whole debt downright on the nail, unto the creditor: and ſo after the uſual and ſolemn ceremony by a braſen peece of coin and the ballance, he ſet him at liberty out of the creditor his hands, and let him go at large; "Who prayed hear-
F "tily to God and man, for to requite accordingly *M. Manlius* his only deliverer, and the very "patron and protector of the Commons of *Rome*. And when he was once got into that unruly "and ſeditious throng, he preſently himſelf ſet all a madding, ſhewing the ſcars of his wounds "received in the Veientians and Gauls wars, and in other ſervices one after another: ſaying, "That whiles he thus followed ſouldiery, and rebuilded his houſe that was deſtroyed, he became "indebted, and that ſo deeply (by reaſon that the intereſt alwayes overgrew the principal, which "he by that means had paid and paid again) that he was not able to creep out of the uſurers book, "but was plunged therein over head and ears. And now behold (quoth he) by the only good-
"neſſe of *M. Manlius*, I have the liberty again to ſee the light of the Sun, to behold the Com-
"mon place, to look my neighbours and fellow citizens in the face: at his hands I acknowledge
G "to have received all the benefits that mine own parents could give me: unto him I vow what-
"ſoever in me is left, and in his quarrel to ſpend that little life and blood which remaineth in my
"body: and in one word look what priviledge I may injoy in right of my country, and in the
"communion of the Gods, publick or private, the ſame do I impart and communicate with that
"one man. By theſe ſpeeches the Commons were ſet on and pricked forward mightily, as wholly devoted unto one perſon; and who but *Manlius* now in every mans mouth? And preſently in the nick he entred into another action that tended more effectually to mar all quite, and to ſet every thing out of order. His Land in the territory of *Veii*, which was the chief and capital

The mutinous ſpeeches of a Centurion.

Manor of his inheritance, even the faireſt flower of his garland, he ſet upon ſale, cauſing it openly H
to be cryed; and ſaid withal, I will not O *Quirites*, ſo long as I have one foot of ground, or any
thing elſe left, ſee one of you condemned and upon execution carryed to priſon. This ſet them ſo
a flote, that they were ready, as it ſeemed, to follow him as the only protector of their liberties,
in any action, were it right or wrong, they cared not which way, all was one with them. Be-
ſides, at home in his own houſe, he ſpared not to caſt out ſlandrous ſpeeches againſt the Senators,
as if he had been at the open Croſs, making Orations. Amongſt which, without all regard whe-
ther he ſpake true or falſe, he let fall theſe words, "That the Senators kept in ſecret certain hid-
"den treaſures of the Gauls gold, and were not now contented to hold in poſſeſſion the com-
"mon grounds, but they would alſo embezle the treaſure publick, which if it came abroad, the I
"Commons might ſoon be acquit and diſcharged of their debts. This gap being once laid open,
and this light given the people, they thought (ye may be ſure) an unworthy indignity, that when
there was gold to be levied for redemption of the City out of the Gauls hands, it then ſhould be
gathered by a general contribution of all: and the ſame gold, now recovered from the enemies,
ſhould be as a prey in the clutches of a few. Therefore they followed inſtantly upon him and
were very earneſt to know, where ſo great a maſſe of mony and ſtoln good was hidden. But when
he poſted them off, and ſaid he would in due time diſcloſe all: they were not content, but ſetting
all other matters apart, their whole care was employed about this buſineſs, and nothing elſe. So
as it plainly appeared that neither he ſhould reap a mean thank if he reported a truth, nor incur a
ſmall offence and diſpleaſure, in caſe he told a falſe tale. K

Things hanging thus in theſe doubtful terms, the Dictator who was ſent for, returned from the
army into the City. The next day he aſſembled the Senat: and after he had throughly ſounded
and felt the minds of them, that were there met, he commanded the Senators not to depart from
him: and aſſiſted as he was with that company, he cauſed the Ivory chair of eſtate to be ſet in the
*Comitium* or common Hall, and ſent a ſerjeant for *M. Manlius*. Who being thus peremptorily
ſummoned by the Dictators expreſs commandment, gave warning by a token to his complices and
favourits, that there was a broil and fray toward: and with a mighty retinue of his followers, he
preſented himſelf before the Tribunal. On the one ſide, ſtood the Senators, on the other the
Commons: either part beholding their Captain, as it were in a pight field ready to joyn battel.

The ſpeech of *A. Cornelius Coſſus* Dictator to *M. Manlius*. Then after ſilence made, "Would to God (quoth the Dictator unto *Manlius*) I and the Sena- L
"tors of *Rome*, might in all other things ſort as well with the Commons, as I am aſſured, we ſhall
"agree all together about thee, and the matter which I ſhall ask and demand of thee. I ſee thou
"haſt put the City in ſome good hope, that by the Gauls treaſure which the principal and chief
"of the Senators detain with them ſecretly hidden, all men may keep their credit, and fully pay and
"diſcharge their debts. Which I for my part, ſo God me help, am ſo far from hindring, that con-
"trary-wiſe I would exhort thee, O *M. Manlius*, to eaſe the Commons of *Rome* of the uſurers
"book: to diſcover theſe fellows and make them known, that gape ſo greedily after the common
"treaſure, and to diſappoint them, and turn them out of this their privy booty. Which if thou
"do not effect, either for that thy ſelf wouldſt have a fleece with them, or elſe becauſe it is but
"a forged tale that thou haſt made of thine own fingers ends, I will not fail, but commit thee M
"to ward, and ſuffer no longer the multitude upon a vain and deceitful hope, thus by thee to be

The anſwer of *Manlius* to the Dictator. "abuſed and diſquieted. To this, *Manlius* made anſwer and ſaid. "I was nothing deceived but
"wiſt well enough, that a Dictator was created not againſt the Volſcians, who are enemies (for-
"ſooth) ſo oft as our great Maſters think it for their purpoſe: nor againſt the Latins and Hernicks,
"whom they drive and provoke to rebellion by falſe and forged ſurmiſes: but againſt my ſelf and
"the Commons of *Rome*. For now I ſee well, that the Dictator profeſſeth to maintain and bear
"out the Uſurers againſt the Commons: and that againſt my ſelf, for the favour that the multi-
"tude beareth unto me, there is matter deviſed to charge me withal, and to procure my utter
"ruin and overthrow. Doth it offend and grieve you indeed, O *A. Cornelius*, and you my Lords
"of the Senat, that the people thus ſtand about me on every ſide? Why do not ye every man for N
"his part, by your good deſerts divide aſunder this company, and draw them away with you from
"me? Namely, by your mediation and interceſſion, by giving your word for them, by ridding
"out of gyves and priſon your fellow citizens, by ſaving them that are condemned, from being
"awarded to the thraldom of their creditors, and out of the overplus and ſuperfluity of your own
"living and goods by relieving their preſent need, and ſupplying their neceſſities? But what mean
"I to perſwade you to forgo any thing of your own, and beſtow it upon them? Take another
"courſe with them, and make them another offer. Do but deduct out of the principal debt, that
"which hath been payd, for conſideration of the loan; you ſhall ſoon ſee that my retinue will
"make no greater ſhew, than any other mans elſe. But why am I the only man ſo careful of the
"citizens and people? Certainly, I can make no better anſwer hereunto, than if one ſhould ask me, O
"wherefore I alone ſaved the Capitol and the Cliff? As I then yeelded my helping hand to all in
"general. ſo will I now to my power relieve each one in particular. For as touching the treaſure
"of the Gauls: the thing in it ſelf being eaſy, this demand of yours maketh hard and difficult.
"For what need you ask me that which you know already your ſelves? Why lay you not that
"open which is in your ſecret boſom, rather than to have it ſifted and bolted out? but that there
"is ſome privy jugling, ſome cunning practiſe and packing therein? The more ye would ſeem to
"have your leiger demain to be ſought into and detected: ſo much the more, I fear me, ye will

"hide

A "hide it even from the eyes of those that are watchful and quicksighted. And therefore am not
"I to be forced to reveal and shew where your stoln goods are: but you would be made, if you
"were well served, to bring them abroad into the view of the World. At these words, the Dictator commanded him to leave off these fooliſh vapourings and trifling ſhifts: urging him either to go through with his challenge and prove it true: or if he could not juſtify it, to confeſs that he had falſely ſlandred and wrongfully charged the Senat, and ſought to bring upon them the ill will and hatred of men, for a vain ſurmiſe and ſuſpition of Theevery. But as he ſtoutly inferred and replied again, that he would not ſpeak at the pleaſure of his enemies, nor owed them any ſuch ſervice: he commanded him to be had away to priſon and kept in bonds. And as he was
B apprehended by the Officer, "O *Jupiter* (quoth he) *Optimus Maximus*, O *Iuno* Queen of heaven, *M. Manlius* apprehended.
"O *Minerva*, with other gods and goddeſſes, that inhabit the Capitol and the Caſtle; Suffer ye
"your Knight and Defender, to be thus tugged, miſuſed, and evil entreated by his adverſaries?
"And ſhall this right hand wherewith I defeated the Gauls, and drave them from your Chap-
"pels and ſhrines, be now pinnioned and manacled? There was no one man there, that ſaw and heard him, who could indure this indignity. But this City, as moſt patient of all other Cities to abide any juſt, righteous and lawful commandment of the Magiſtrate, contained her ſelf and was content in ſome caſes to be overruled: ſo far forth, that againſt the authority and abſolute power of the Dictator, neither the Tribuns of the Commons, nor the Commons themſelves, durſt either caſt up their eyes to look awry, or once open their mouths. But after *Manlius* was com-
C mitted, it was for certain known, that a great ſort of the Commoners, changed their weed and put on their worſt apparel and mourning array: many a man let his head and beard grow long; yea, and a number of them with ſad and heavy cheer, kept commonly about the Goaldore.

Now when the Dictator triumphed over the Volſcians, his triumph bred him more hatred and diſpleaſure than honor and glory: for it is commonly ſpoken, that he got it at home and not abroad, and triumphed over a citizen not over an enemy: and this only wanted, (ſay they) to make up his pride to the full, that *Manlius* was not led before his chariot. Whereupon there was like to grow much ſcandal and very ſedition. For the appeaſing and mitigation whereof, the Senat upon a ſudden, without any motion made, of themſelves became bountiful, and aſſigned 2000.
D citizens of *Rome* to be ſent to *Satricum* to inhabit as a Colony. And to every man was ſet out *Satricum* made a Colony, and peopled with Romans.
two acres and an half of Land apiece. Which the Commoners conſtrued to be a matter of nothing, a ſmall boon beſtowed upon a few, the very hire and reward for betraying *Manlius*. So that this proved a miſchief for a remedy: and by this ſalve, the ſore rather feſtered and rancled, than healed up, and the ſedition thereby fretted more and more. For now the crew of *Manlius* his followers made ſhew of greater mourning and heavineſs, in their vile clothes and ſad countenance, after the guiſe of perſons accuſed during the time of their troubles. And when the fear and terrour was once overblown, by reaſon that the Dictator after his triumph reſigned up his authority, then folks hearts were ſet at liberty, and their tongues walked at will. Some were heard in open audience to upbraid the multitude and caſt in their teeth, "That it was their fa-
E "ſhions alwayes to lift up and advance their Protectors and Defenders into high places, and The ſeditious ſpeeches of the multitude in the behalf of *M. Manlius*.
"afterwards, in the very pitch of danger and point of downfal, to forſake and leave them deſti-
"tute. Thus was *Sp. Caſſius* ſerved, that ſollicited the Commons to the diviſion of Lands: thus
"was *Sp. Melius* overthrown, that put his hand to his purſe, and at his own proper charges kept
"extream famine from the hungry jawes of the poor citizens. Semblably, *M. Manlius* endea-
"vouring to deliver a great part of the City (drowned as it were and overwhelmed in debt) and
"to enlarge them and ſet them abroad at liberty, now for his pains is betrayed unto his deadly
"enemies: ſo that the Commons do feed and frank up, even for the ſhambles and butchers knife
"the fautors and maintainers of their weal and liberty. And ought indeed (ſay they) a Noble
"man, that ſometimes had been Conſul, thus to be miſuſed, if he anſwered not to the good liking
F "and pleaſure of the Dictator? Suppoſe, he had over-reached and made a lie afore, and ſo had
"not a preſent and ready anſwer at the time: was there ever any ſervant and ſlave, for leaſing caſt
"in priſon and laid up in Irons? And how could they forget that night, which was like to have
"been the laſt night that ever the Romans ſhould have ſeen: that fatal night of their final deſtru-
"ction for ever? Or how could they chuſe, but have ſtill in their eye the army of the Gauls, climbing up the Cliff *Tarpeia*? and how *M. Manlius* in perſon, ſo bravely beſeen in his armour,
"all ſweating, all bleeding, reſcued and ſaved *Jupiter* himſelf in a manner out of the enemies hands?
"What? Did they think that with half-pound meaſures of wheat meal, they had ſufficiently re-
"compenſed the Saviour of their Country? And whom they had well near canonized amongſt
"the holy hallows of Heaven, or at leaſt-wiſe by his new addition of * ſurname made equal to
G "*Jupiter Capitolinus*, was it well done to ſuffer him, impriſoned in chains, lying in a dark dungeon, * *Capitolinus*, becauſe he ſaved the Capitol.
"to draw his lively breath at the pleaſure of the Hangman? Was he alone able to ſuccour you all,
"and are ye all not able to help him alone? Thus ceaſed not the multitude to exclaim and make their plaints, and would not depart from that place, no, not all the night long, but threatned to break the priſon by force; until ſuch time as they got that remitted, which otherwiſe they would have wreſted, and *Manlius* by an act of the Senat was releaſed out of priſon and enlarged. Whereby the mutiny was never the more ended, but rather a Captain given them to maintain the Sedition.

About

About the same time the Latins and Hernicks, the inhabitants also of the Colony *Circeia*, and they of *Velitre*, who came to excuse themselves for the Volscian war, wherein they were charged to have had their hands, and required to have the captives delivered, for to proceed against them, according to their own Laws, had a heavy answer. But the Coloners received the sharper check and rebuke, because they being Roman citizens, were entred into that wicked plot and abominable action, to combine against their native Country. And they were not only denied their prisoners, but also (wherein the Romans dealt more favourably with the rest that were their Allies) were warned and commanded in the name of the Senat, to avoid and that with speed out of the City, from the sight and presence of the people of *Rome*; for fear lest the priviledge of Embassage, provided for the security and safe conduct of forrainers and not of citizens, should not serve to protect them. Now when the Sedition of *Manlius* was set on foot again, somewhat before the end of the year, the great assembly was holden for the Election of Magistrats: wherein there were created Tribuns in Consuls authority *Serg. Cornelius Maluginensis* the second time. *P. Valerius Potitus* the second time, *M. Furius Camillus* the fifth time. *Ser. Sulpitius Ruffus* the second time, *C. Papirius Crassus*, *T. Quintius Cincinnatus* the second time, all of Senators calling.

In the beginning of this year, peace they had with forrain nations; a matter very commodious both for the Senat and the Commons. For the Com. in this regard, that being not called away by any musters, they had some good hope (especially having so mighty a champion) to be rid at once for ever of usury. For the Senators again, because their minds being not distracted by any fear from abroad, might attend about curing and healing the intestine maladies at home. When both parts therefore were now more sharp set, and eagerly bent, they thought out of hand to trie what would be done, and to make either a shaft or a bolt of it. *Manlius* calling the Com. to his house, devised with the principal heads of them both day and night, to bring in a change and alteration of the State: and fuller of stomack, anger and gall he was now a good deal than aforetime. Netled he was, the rather by his late disgrace and shame, who never before had been touched in credit, nor tasted of any reproach and contumely. Heart he took unto him, for that the Dict. durst not execute that rigor against him, which *Cincinnatus Quintius* had extended upon *Sp. Melius*: and it seemed unto him, that not only the Dict. sought to wind himself out, and in resigning up his room, to avoid the offence given by his imprisonment; but also that the very Senat was not able to endure the manner of proceeding. With these imaginations being puffed up and galled too, he failed not withal to prick forward and exasperate the minds of the Commons, who of themselves already, were kindled and set on fire. And with these and such like speeches he entertained them. "How long (quoth he) I pray you, will ye be ignorant, and not know what "ye may do, and what power ye have? A thing that nature it self would not have so much as "the very dumb beasts, but to understand. Do but count how many you are in number your "selves, and how few adversaries ye have against you. If ye were but one to one, yet (I would "think) you should more eagerly strive for to maintain your liberty, than they, to set up their "Lordship. For, look how many favourits ye have been, following and courting one patron, so "many shall ye now be opposed to one enemy. Make but shew only of war, ye shall have peace. "Let them see you once ready to make head and offer violence, soon will they yeeld and part "with their right; Either ye must adventure, all joyntly together to do somewhat, or else make "account each one, to abide and suffer all. How long will ye stand looking from every side upon "me? I for my part, surely, will not fail any one of you. Look ye then to it, that fortune fail "not me. I, even I, that was your redeemer and deliverer, was all at once (when it pleased mine "enemies) taken down and made no body. And ye, all of you saw him led to prison, who saved "every one of you from prison. If happily those mine enemies should attempt to do me more "spight, Where am I then? and what were I best to trust unto? Should I look for that end that "*Cassius* and *Melius* came unto? Ye do well to signify how you dread the presage, and "wish the contrary. And the Gods forbid that it should so come to pass. But look not "that ever they should come down from Heaven to protect me. That mind they must "give you, to preserve me from so hard a hap, like as they gave me a resolute heart, both "in mine armour to save you from barbarous enemies, and in my gown to defend you from "proud citizens. Is there so little courage in you (so mighty a people otherwise) as to think "it sufficient, and to stand contented, if you may be backed only, and meet with some help "against your enemies; and to know no other scufling with your adversaries (the Senators) but "wherein you suffer your selves to be commanded in the end? This baseness cometh not to you "by kind. By use and custome only, you are become their vassals and subjects. For what is the "cause ye are so couragious against your enemies abroad, that ye think it meet and reason to rule "and govern them? No other in truth but this, because with them you have been ever wont to "strive for soveraignty, whereas against these ye have been used rather, to make some slight proof "and tryal what you may do by your liberty, than to do your best, and to put your selves forth "for to maintain it and extend it to the most. And yet what manner of captains soever ye have "met withal to lead you, and howsoever affected ye have been your selves, obtained ye have hi-"therto all things that ye shot at, were they never so great: Such was your might, or such was "your felicity. Wherefore now it is high time to give the adventure of greater matters also. "Make but tryal only of your own good fortune, and of my self, whom I hope ye have had happy

The seditious Oration of *M. Manlius* to the Commons of *Rome*.

"experience

A "experience of already: with leſs ado ſhall ye be provided of one to over-rule and command the
" Senators, than ye have been hitherto of thoſe, that were to reſiſt only their imperious govern-
" ment. Down we muſt with theſe Dictatorſhips and Conſulſhips both, and lay them levell with
" the ground: that the commonalty of *Rome* may once be aloft, and bear up the head. Beſtir
" your ſelves therefore, and play the men. Hinder proceſs and courſe of law for actions of debt.
" I profeſs my ſelf a Patron of the Commons, which name my care over you, my faithfulneſs to
" you, hath indued me with. And if you pleaſe to entitle your leader and Captain, with a more
glorious * ſtile of honour and Majeſty, ye ſhall find it more potent and available to effect that
which you long for and deſire. And ſo from that time forward, began ſome practiſe to ſet up the
B Government of a King: But neither who were the agents in this action, nor to what terms theſe
plots proceeded, is it plainly enough recorded. But on the other ſide, the Senators ſat in Coun-
cel, and debated about the Seceſſion and ſecret meeting of the Commons in the privat houſe of
*Manlius*, and that houſe, which ſtood (as it fell out) upon the Caſtle Hill: likewiſe of that immi-
nent engine and fabrick, deviſed for the overthrow of the preſent liberty. Many were of opinion,
and ſpake it aloud, That there was need of a *Servilius Hala*, who not by commanding a publick
enemy of the State to priſon, would provoke him and make him more eager; but by diſpatching
of one wicked member out of the way, and cutting him off, might end this inteſtine and civil war.
But they came down at length, and grew to a reſolution, in words milder, yet indeed and effect
all one, *That the Magiſtrates ſhould have a careful eye, that by theſe miſchievous plots and practiſes of*
C M. Manlius, *the Common-weal incurred no dammage and hurt*. Then the Tribuns in Conſuls au-
thority, and the other Tribuns of the Commons (for even they alſo ſeeing, that in the loſſe of the
publick liberty of all, their power likewiſe ſhould come to an end, had yeelded to be adviſed and
ruled by the Senat) laid all their heads together, and conſulted what courſe was beſt to be taken.
When as no man could bethink of any way, but plain violence and bloudſhed (a peece of work in
all appearance, of great adventure and doubtful hazard) then *M. Menenius*, and *Q. Publius*, two
Tribuns of the Commons ſtepped forth and ſaid. " What mean we to make that, a quarrel be-
" tween the Senators and Commons, which the whole body united of the City, indeed ſhould un-
" dertake againſt ſo dangerous and peſtilent a member? Why trouble we our ſelves to ſet upon
" him and the Commons with him, whom by the means of the very Commons themſelves, it were
D " the ſafer courſe, and leſſe offenſive to aſſail? that being ſurcharged and overweighed with his
" own power whereupon he preſumeth, he may fall down and take his overthrow. We are
" fully minded to arreſt him, to convent him judicially, and call him to his anſwer. Nothing is
" leſſe popular, and more odious to the people, than to hear of Kings government again. The
" multitude ſhall not ſo ſoon ſee and perceive, that our quarrel is not with them, but that they
" ſhall become his competent Judges, and paſs upon him, who now are his Advocats: alſo, that
" his accuſers from out of the Commons, ſhall behold one of the Nobility to hold up his hand at
" the bar, and the inditement framed, upon the crime of uſurping the Kingdom: but (be ye ſure
" of it) they will tender and favour the fair looks and perſon of no man, before the cauſe of their
" own free eſtate. When all the houſe liked well, and allowed of this adviſe and overture, they
E made no more ado, but ſerved *Manlius* with proceſs to anſwer at a day appointed. Which was
not ſo ſoon done, but the Commons at the very firſt, began to ſtorm and be enraged, eſpecially
when they ſaw the accuſed man, during his trouble ſo rufully arraied, accompanied with none of
the Senators, nor ſo much as one of his kindred and affinity, no, nor his very brethren *Au.* and
*T. Manlius*. A thing before that day never ſeen nor known, but that in ſo great a danger as this
was, the neereſt kinsfolk in bloud, did change their weed. For even when *Ap. Claudius* his ad-
verſary, yea, and the whole linage and name of the *Claudii*, were mournfully clad, and poorly ap-
parelled. Now ſurely (ſay they) it is a very compact amongſt them all, that this popular man, ſo
gracious and welbeloved, ſhould be confounded and overthrown, becauſe he was the firſt that
ever fell away from the Senators to the Commons. When the day was come of his arraignment,
F I can find in no author, what was objected againſt the priſoner by his accuſers, directly tending to
prove the crime of aſpiring to a Kingdom, but only the conventicles of the multitude, certain ſe-
ditious words, his overmuch largeſs, and his forged ſurmiſe and falſe information of the gold. I
doubt not but there was matter of great importance, urged and enforced againſt him, ſeeing that
the Commons delay in proceeding to his condemnation, was not long of his cauſe, but occaſioned
by the place only. This one thing ſeemeth worthy to be noted, and for all mens learning, that
how notable and how great ſoever his honor, worſhip, and commendable parts were; the foul
and curſed deſire of tyrannical rule, made not only unpleaſant and without grace, but alſo odious
and deteſtable in the eyes of the people. He brought forth, as it is reported, welneer four hun-
dred men, whom he had laid out mony for *gratis*, and without any intereſt or conſideration:
G thoſe whoſe goods he ſaved from port-ſale, and kept from the bondage of their creditors, after
they were condemned. Over and beſides, he not only reckoned up, but ſhewed alſo in open
ſight, the honorable teſtimonies of his ſervice in the wars: as the ſpoils of his enemies by him
ſlain and diſarmed, to the number of 30. gifts beſtowed upon him by Generals in way of reward
40. amongſt which were two goodly * mural garlands for ſcaling and entring upon the walls
firſt: eight * civick coronets for ſaving the lives of citizens in danger. Moreover, he preſented
there in place, the parties themſelves in perſon, whom he had reſcued out of the enemies hands:
and amongſt them he nominated *C. Servilius* at that inſtant General of the Horſemen, and now
abſent.

* i. of King. *M. Manlius* aſpireth to a Kingdom.

A form of commiſſion granted in great dangers of the State.

On overture to the overthrow of *Manlius*.

*M. Manlius* arraigned, and anſwereth for himſelf.

* Faſhioned in form of the battlements of a wall.

* Made of oke branches.

abſent. And when he had rehearſed his noble feats of arms, and amplified them according to the height of their worth in a moſt glorious and eloquent Oration, as one whoſe words were ſutable and anſwerable to his deeds: at the laſt he ſtript his breaſt bare, and ſhewed the ſcars there remaining of wounds received in the wars: and ever and anon looking to the Capitol, very often he called aloud upon *Jupiter* and the other Gods, to help him now in this extremity and peril of his ſtate: and prayed that the ſame mind which they had given him to defend the Capitol cliff, and even to the ſafegard of the people of *Rome*, they would vouchſafe the ſame people, in this diſtreſs of his woful calamity: beſeeching them both all and ſome, to look up to the cliff, and to the Capitol, to turn themſelves toward the Gods there, and ſo to proceed to judgement of him. All the whiles the people were cited and called by their Centuries, and the priſoner ſtretched forth his hands, and converted his prayers from men to the Gods; the Tribuns evidently ſaw that unleſs they freed the eyes of the people from beholding the memorial of ſo great a deſert, it would never be that ſo long as their minds were thus foreſtalled and poſſeſſed with that benefit of his, they would find the enditement, were it never ſo true. So the matter being put off and deferred to another day, the people were ſummoned to aſſemble in the grove *Petelinus*, without the gate *Flumentana*, from whence they might not have a ſight of the Capitol. There the accuſation prevailed more than compaſſion, and the matter went againſt him: and ſo with hard and obdurat hearts, they pronounced a heavy and dolorous ſentence, and which the very judges themſelves had in horror. Some there be that ſay there were Duumvirs ordained for the purpoſe, to make inquiſition and ſit upon this treaſon againſt the State. Thus being condemned the Tribuns cauſed him to be thrown headlong down the rock *Tarpeia*. Which place was the ſelf ſame that yeelded to that one man a monument and memorial both of ſingular glory, and alſo of extream puniſhment and ignominious death. After his death there remained two infamous marks behind him of ſhame: the one publick, occaſioned by his dwelling houſe. For whereas it was ſituate, where now the chappel and work-houſe, or mint-houſe of *Moneta* ſtandeth, an Act was propoſed unto the people, That none of the Senators linage ſhould dwell on the cliff or Capitol Mount. The other proceeding more properly from his own line and kinred: For that by a general decree of the houſe of *Manlii* it was provided, That none of that family and race ſhould ever after bear the name of *M. Manlius*. This was the end of him, who, but that he was born in a free City, had been a right worthy and renowned man.

But the people being now paſt all danger from him, calling to mind and conſidering without all affection, his vertues as they were, found a miſſe of him ſhorly after. Yea, and for the peſtilence alſo which enſued ſoon upon, for that there could be no cauſes known of ſo great mortality, was imagined of many a man, to have grown upon the execution of *Manlius*: arguing thus, That the Capitol was polluted with the blood of the Saviour thereof: and the Gods took no delight and pleaſure to have (as it were) preſented unto their eyes, the puniſhment of that man, by whoſe means their Temples had been delivered out of the hands of the enemies. Upon this plague and ſcarcity of corn withal, and the common brute that ſpread abroad both of the one and the other, there enſued the year following many wars, when as *L. Valerius* the fourth time, *A. Manlius* the third time, *Ser. Sulpitius* the third time, *L. Lucretius*, *L. Æmylius* the third time, and *M. Trebonius* were Tribuns Military in Conſuls authority. For beſides the Volſcians, who by deſtinie were appointed for ever in a manner to buſy and keep occupied the Roman ſouldiers; beſides the Colonies *Circeia* and *Velitre*, which a long time were about to rebel; beſides *Latium*, that ſtood in doubtful terms and was ſuſpected, the Lanuvines alſo, who had been a moſt faſt and loyal City, all of a ſudden roſe and became new enemies. The LL. of the Senat ſuppoſing all this grew upon contempt, for that the revolting of the Veliterns, who were their natural citizens, had ſo long time eſcaped puniſhment, decreed with all ſpeed to move the people to denounce and proclaim open war againſt them. And to the end that the Commons might be more forward in this Military ſervice, they created certain *Quinqueviri* for the diviſion of the Pomptine Lands: and *Triumviri* for the planting of a colony at *Nepet*. Then they propounded unto the people, that they would appoint and determine of the war to be made. And notwithſtanding the Tribuns of the Com. laboured earneſtly, but all in vain, to diſſwade, yet the tribes throughout generally granted it, and gave their voyces for war. All that year paſſed in preparations only, but no army ſet forth by reaſon of the plague: which protracting of time and long delay, gave the inhabitants of the Colonies reſpit to ſue unto the Senat for peace. Many of them were inclined and ſtood thus affected, to ſend a ſolemn embaſſage with humble ſupplication to *Rome*: but that (as commonly it falleth out) the publick peril was entangled and intereſſed with the jeopardy of ſome privat perſons: and the authors of the backſliding and revolt from the Romans, fearing leſt they alone ſhould bear all the blame, and be delivered up as a ſacrifice to ſatisfy the wrath of the Romans, turned away clean and alienated the Colonies from all conſultation of ſeeking for peace. And not only in their Councel-Houſe was this Embaſſage then croſſed, but many of the Commons alſo they excited to invade the territories of *Rome*, to drive booties, and make ſpoil. This new wrong by them offered, clean put them by all hope of peace. In that year was the firſt rumour raiſed, concerning the Rebellion alſo of the Preneſtines. And when the Tuſculans, Gabines, and Lavicanes, into whoſe marches they had made inrodes, complained unto the Senat, and laid much matter againſt them they received at their hands ſo calm and cold an anſwer, that it ſeemed they gave leſs credit to their complaints, becauſe theſe were not willing they ſhould prove true.

Five officers called *Quinqueviri* created.

The

A The year following, *Sp.* and *L. Papirius*, new Tribuns Military with Consuls authority, led the legions to *Velitre*, whose four Collegues, *Ser. Cornelius Malugmensis* the fourth time, *Q. Servilius*, *C. Sulpitius*, *L. Æmylius* the fourth time, were left Tribuns behind for defence of the City; and for fear lest they should hear some intelligence of new and fresh stirs out of *Hetruria*, where they suspected all would be naught. At *Velitre* they had the better hand of their enemies: there they found more Prenestins well neer, that came to succour, than the very Coloners themselves. For the City was so neer at hand, that it both gave the enemies occasion to flye the sooner, and yeelded them the only place of safe refuge, after they were fled. The Tribuns forbare to assault the Town, as well in regard of the dangerous enterprise, as also for that they
B thought it not good to hold fight to the utter destruction of that Colony. Letters were dispatched to *Rome* with tidings of victory, implying more sharp informations against the Prenestins than the Veliterns. So by an Act of the Senat and assent of the people there was proclaimed war against the Prenestins; who in the year following joyned with the Volscians, and by force wan *Satricum* a Colony of the people of *Rome*, notwithstanding it was manfully and valiantly defended by the Townmen even to the last; where most beastly and cruelly they exercised their victory upon those that they took prisoners, and put them to the sword. The Romans took this in a very ill part: and elected *M. Furius Camillus* Tribun Military the seventh time: who had for his companions in office, *A.* and *Lucius Posthumius Regillensis*, *L. Furius* and *L. Lucretius*, and *M. Fabius Ambustus*.

The cruelty of the Prænestins.

C The Volscian war was appointed to *Camillus* extraordinarily: and to assist him therein, it fell to *L. Furius* his lot, one of the State-Tribuns, not so much for the good of the Common-weal, as to minister unto his fellow all matter of honour and renown: as well in publick, (for that he set all upright again, which by the rashness of *Lucius* was faln down) as also in private, for that out of his errour and misdoing *Marcus Furius*, rather sought for thanks and love at his hands, than aimed at any vain glory to himself. *Camillus* was now far grown and stept in years and very aged, and when in the assembly for Election, he was about to take the usual form of oath, for to excuse his feeble and crasy body, the people with one consent would not permit him. Howbeit for all his age, he caried a lively spirit and lusty courage with him still: his senses were all fresh and sound: and the late civil affairs had stirred him up and gave him an edge, who now had no
D great mind to manage martial exploits. So he gathered a power of four legions, consisting of 4000. apiece, and made proclamation that all his forces should be ready the next day, at the gate *Esquilina*, and then he put himself in his journy to *Satricum*. The enemy who had won the Colony, nothing dismaid therat, and trusting in the number of his souldiers, wherein he had the better by ods, expected and stayd his coming there. And so soon as he understood that the Romans approached, forthwith came into the field, minding without delay to put it to an hazard and try it out: presuming, that the skill of the Romans General, were he never so singular (in whom their enemies only trusted) would little or naught avail, in regard they were so few in number. The Roman army was as hot as they, and one of their Generals as forward every way. And presently without any stay, had they tried the fortune of a battel, but for the policy and rule
E of one man; who by holding off, and protracting time of fight, sought so to help himself through good order and skill. But so much the more the enemy urged still, and was more sharp set: so as now he not only ranged his men before his own camp in battel array, but also set forward into the mids of the field: and advancing himself with ensigns displayed, neer unto the trench and rampier of his enemies, made a proud bravado and shew of his strength, whereupon he bare himself so confidently. This could the Roman souldiers hardly endure: and *L. Furius* one of the Tribuns Military, had more ado by far to digest and put up that at the enemies hand. And a venturous Knight he was, both by reason of his youthful years and natural disposition: and also puffed up with hope of the multitude, which commonly taketh heart, and presumeth upon smallest grounds, and buildeth upon greatest uncertainties. And the souldiers being of themselves al-
F ready hot enough, he inflamed and set them more on fire, by elevating and making light of his fellows reputation, in regard of his old age, the only thing that he could alledge: giving out ever and anon, "That wars were for young-men, that mens hearts flourished and faded as their *L. Furius* to his souldiers.
"bodies did; which was seen in *Camillus*, who of a most valorous and forward warrior, was
"now become a draw-back and a temporiser, and one that would take his leisure: and he that
"was wont, so soon as he came to a place, with the first assault to win Forts and strong Towns,
"now within his mures and rampier sat still and trifled out the time. And what hopes had he?
"Dreameth he, that either his own power should encrease, or his enemies strength decrease?
"What occasion, what opportunity of time, what place of vantage for ambush laid he for?
"Tush, these policies and inventions of the good old man, are cold and dull, God wot. In faith,
G "*Camillus*, as he hath lived long enough, so hath he gained glory enough. To what purpose then
"(quoth he) should we suffer the whole puissance of a City, which ought indeed to be immor-
"tal, for to age and wax old with the body of one man, whom all men see to be but mortal. With
these and such like words he had drawn away the whole camp after him: and when from all
parts thereof, they called hard, and cryed for battel; "We are not able (quoth he) *M. Furius*, to *L. Furius* to
"keep in and repress any longer the violence of our souldiers: and as for the pride of the enemy, *M. Furius.*
"whose courage by our delayes we have encreased and who insulteth over us, it is intolerable.
"Give place then, you that are but one man, and yeeld unto us all. Suffer your self to be over-

"come

"come with reason and counsel, that you may sooner overcome by force and arms. Hereunto H
"*Camillus* made answer again: What wars soever (quoth he) unto this present day have by mine
"own entire conduct, and sole direction been managed, neither can you nor the people of *Rome*
*M. Furius* his answer to *L. Furius*, and the souldiers. "deny, but that in them you never repented, either of my policy or happy success. Now I know
"full well, that I have a companion joyned with me, in government & rule of equal commission;
"for the prime and lustiness of youth, much above me, and my better. And as to the army, I have
"indeed been used ever to command, and not to be commanded: but yet my fellows authori-
"ty, I cannot be against. Let him do in Gods Name, what he thinketh good for the Common-
"weal, and God speed his hand. Only in regard of mine old age I crave this favour, that I may
"not be set in the forefront: but for other labours, look what an old man may or ought to do I
"in war, therein surely I shall not fail. And this one thing would I crave at the hands of the im-
"mortal Gods, that some notable mishap befal not, to make my former counsel good and praise-
"worthy. But neither would men be ruled by his advise so profitable and wholesome, nor the
Gods vouchsafe to hear his prayers so holy and devout. Then *Lucius Furius*, the author and prin-
cipal perswader of battel, setteth the vangard in array. *Camillus* he fortifieth the Regiments and
Squadrons for supply in the rereward: but above all, he placeth a strong guard before the camp.
Himself took up his standing on a higher place, to behold and mark the issue of another mans
counsel. So soon as at the first brunt and encounter, they rustled and made a noise with their ar-
mour, the enemies on purpose (of policy, and not for fear) gave footing and lost ground. Now,
there was behind them on their back a prety rising of an Hill, between their camp and the battel: K
and by reason that they were well stored of men, they had left behind them in the camp certain
strong companies armed and well appointed: with this instruction, that whiles both armies were
hard in fight, and when their enemies should come neer their trench and rampier, they might sally
out on a sudden upon them. The Romans following out of measure upon the enemies as they re-
treated, were drawn upon the disadvantage of the ground, and gave occasion and fit opportunity
unto the enemy to issue out of the camp upon them. So the terror returned upon the supposed vi-
ctors, by reason both of the new supplies of the enemies, and also of the fall and descent of the
Hill: and forced the battel of the Romans to give back. The Volscians that charged them from
out of the camp, and were fresh and lusty, pressed hard upon them: they also that made as though
they fled, began now to fight again. The Romans souldiers forgetting now both their late lusti- L
*M. Furius Camillus* to his souldiers, flying away. ness, and their ancient honour, retired not easily and softly in good order, but plain turned their
backs on all sides, fled amain by heaps, and ran away toward their own camp. Whereat *Camillus*
being by them that attended about his person, mounted upon a good Courser, and with all the
speed he could make, opposing the Squadrons of the rereward against the enemy: "Is this (quoth
"he) the fight, you souldiers, that ye so called for? what God, what man can ye lay the weight
"on now? It was your rashness and fool-hardiness afore: and it is your dastardly cowardise
"now, and nothing else, that is the cause of all this. Followed ye have already one General.
"Follow *Camillus* now a while: and as ye have been alwayes wont by my leading, once more
"win the victory. What look you toward the hold and the camp? there is no coming thither,
"there is no being there for any of you without victory. At the first they were ashamed, and M
stayd themselves from farther flight: but after that they saw once the ensigns wheel about, and
the Squadrons turn again, they made head, and charged the enemy amain. And the General
himself, a man renowned for so many triumphs, and besides, for his venerable age so revered, even
amongst the formost ensigns, amid the greatest perils, and most distresses, advanced forth in per-
son. Hereupon every one for his part, set the better leg forward, provoked his fellow withal, and
encouraged one another, so as with a cheerful and lively shout, the whole field rang again. Nei-
ther was the other Tribun behind hand for his part: but being sent by his Collegue unto the
Horsemen (whiles he in the mean time marshalled again the Footmen in order) not by way of
chiding (for what might he avail thereby, so long as he was himself in fault as well as the rest?)
but laying aside all Lordly command, fell wholly to entreating, and besought them both all and N
some to quit themselves like men, and acquit him of the guilt and blame of that unlucky dayes
*L. Furius* to his souldiers. work. "Indeed (quoth he) when my brother *Camillus* would not agree thereto, but expressely
"forbad, yet I chose rather to be partaker of the folly and rashnes of all, than the wisdome and
"sage advise of one. *Camillus* (come what will of it, speed you well, or speed you ill) seeth the
"glory will be his: but I, unless the battel be revived, shall take such part as you all, (a most mi-
"serable and pitious case) but the shame will redound and light upon my head and none else.
Well, at length they agreed, and thought it best to abandon their Horses to bestow them among
the waving and disordered companies, and on foot to make head upon the enemies. Thus they go
both together, as bravely minded with resolution, as they were richly and gorgeously armed. And
in what part soever they saw the footmen most distressed, there wanted neither in the Generals O
nor in the souldiers, courage in the highest degree to fight it out lustily. Well was it seen by the
happy event, that valorous endeavours speed ever well. For the Volscians the same way that
erewhile they made semblance of giving ground upon a counterfeit fear, now fled in good sadness
The Volscians defeated. as hard as they could. A great number both in the conflict, and after in the chase were slain. As
for the rest that remained in the camp, which presently at one brunt was won, more of them
were taken prisoners than killed. In the view & account taken of the captives, there were some of
them known to be Tusculans, who were severed apart from the rest, and brought before the
State-

A State-Tribuns. And upon examination, confeſſed flatly, that they ſerved by the publick warrant of the City. *Camillus* herewith diſquieted, for fear of war from ſo neer neighbors, ſaid he would forthwith have thoſe priſoners with him to *Rome*, that the Lords of the Senat might not be ignorant how the Tuſculans were revolted from their ſociety. In the mean while, his brother Tribun might, if he ſo pleaſed, have the regiment of the leaguer and the hoſt. That days work had taught him now, not to prefer his own ways before the better counſel of another. And yet neither he himſelfe, nor any man elſe in the army, thought that *Camillus* would quietly digeſt this fault of his, whereby the State of the Commonwealth was driven upon ſo dangerous a point of downfal. And as wel in the hoſt, as alſo at *Rome*, it was riſe and currant in every mans mouth:
B that whereas the fight with the Volſcians was variable, and the ſervice doubtful: for the ill ſpeed, the diſcomfiture, and the running away, *L. Furius* was all in fault: but for the good ſucceſs, *Camillus* only had all the honour.

When the captives were brought into the Councel Houſe, and the Lords of the Senat were of opinion and determined war againſt the Tuſculans, and had laid the charge thereof upon *Camillus*, he requeſted to have an aſſiſtant joined with him in Commiſſion: and being left to his own choice to take whom he would of all his Companions in office, contrary to all mens expectation, he choſe *L. Furius*. By which moderation of his affections, and good carriage of himſelf, he both delayed the infamy of his Collegue, and wan himſelf great glory and commendation. Yet for all this, proceeded not they to any war with the Tuſculans. For they by their conſtant obſervation *The prudent diſſimulation of the Tuſculans:*
C of peace, kept off the violence of the Romans, which by force of arms they had not been able. When the Romans entred and invaded their territory, they went not ſo much as out of thoſe places that lay neer the high way, whereas the enemy marched: they forlet not the tilling of their grounds, but kept the gates of their City wide open, came forth ſolemnly in their long gowns to meet with the LL. Generals in the way, and brought victuals right courteouſly to ſerve the army, as well out of the City as Country. *Camillus* having pitched down his tents before the gates, and deſirous to know, whether there were the ſame appearance of peace within the wals, as bare ſhew abroad in the Country, entred the City: and ſeeing the doors ſtanding open, the ſhop-windows up, all kind of wares ſet out to ſale upon the bulks: the Craftſ-men and Artiſans buſily every one occupied at his work: the Grammar ſchools ringing again with a chirm of ſcholars, learning and
D ſaying their leſſons; the ſtreets full of women and children amongſt the other common people going to and fro about their buſineſs: he could perceive no where about him any thing that carried a reſemblance of fearful men, no, nor ſo much as of thoſe that made any wonder at their coming in that warlike order. Thus caſt he his eyes into every corner, ſeeking where this war ſhould be. For there was not ſo much as any token to be ſeen, either of ought removed out of the way, or brought in place, upon this preſent occaſion; but all in ſo ſetled quietneſs and peace, as if they had ſcarcely heard any inkling or rumor of hoſtility. Being therefore overcome with this patience and ſufferance of the enemies, he cauſed their Senat to aſſemble, unto whom he ſpake in this wiſe: "Ye alone to this day of all that I know, O Tuſculans, have found the only armor of *Camillus to the Senat of Tuſculum.*
"proof, and the forcible ſenſe indeed, to ſave your ſelves and all ye have from the Romans ire.
E "Go your ways to *Rome* unto the Senat there. The Lords of the Councel wil weigh and conſider,
"whether ye deſerved more puniſhment before, then pardon now. I wil not foreſtal and pick my
"ſelf a private thank for a publick benefit. At my hands ye ſhal have this favour and liberty, to
"ſpeak for your ſelves and plead your own cauſe: as the Senat ſhal think good, ſo ſhal you ſpeed
"of your ſuit. After that the Tuſculans were come to *Rome*, and their Senat (who but a while afore had been faithful Allies and kept their allegeance) ſeen to ſtand waiting with heavy cheer, and giving their attendance at the entry of the Court and Councel Chamber: the Lords of the Roman Senat, were preſently moved thereat, and cauſed them forthwith to be called in, and received by way of hoſpitality, more like then hoſtility. Then the Dictator of *Tuſculum* made this ſpeech and ſaid: "Right honorable Senators, we againſt whom ye have proclamed and made war, *The Dictator of Tuſculum to the Senat of Rome.*
F "came forth to encounter your Generals and Legions, armed and appointed as ye ſee us at this
"preſent ſtanding in the porch of your Councel Houſe. This was our array, this was the habit of
"our Commons, and always ſhal be, unleſs at any time we ſhal put on arms for you and in your
"quarrel. Thanks we yeeld to your Captains and to your Armies, that they have beleeved rather
"their eyes than their ears: and where they ſaw no hoſtility at all, there they offered none themſelves. That peace which we have ſhewed and obſerved, the ſame crave we humbly ſtill at the
"hands of your clemency. Turn we beſeech you from us your forces thither, where war is to be
"found. And if we muſt needs make trial (by ſuffering ought) of your puiſſance and power bent a-
"gainſt us, we will try it ſurely without armor. This is our full reſolution, God grant it prove
"as fortunate, as it is well meant and proceeding from a ſingle heart. As for the treſpaſſes, where-
G "upon ye were moved to denounce war againſt us: although it be bootleſs and to no purpoſe to
"diſprove that by words, which by deed is already proved: yet ſurely, were they never ſo true,
"we think verily, that without prejudice to our ſelves, we may ſafely confeſs the ſame, ſince that
"we have ſo evidently repented thereof. And for you, ſo long as you be worthy to have ſo full
"ſatisfaction made, it ſkilleth not what default or tranſgreſſion be committed againſt you. Thus much in effect ſpake the Tuſculans. At the very inſtant they obtained peace: and not long after, the right of free burgeoſie, to be made Citizens of *Rome*. So the Legions were withdrawn back again from *Tuſculum*. Thus *Camillus* having won great honor by his policy and valour both, in the Vol-

ſcian war: by his happy ſucceſs in the journey of *Tuſculum*: by his ſingular patience and carriage of himſelf, toward his companion in government, as well in the one place as the other, went out of his Magiſtracy: there being created Tribuns Military for the next year, *L. Valerius* the fifth time, and *Pub. Valerius* the third time, *C. Servilius* the third time, *Licinius Menenius* the ſecond time, *P. Papirius*, *Serg. Cornelius Maluginenſis*.

There was this year need of Cenſors alſo, by reaſon eſpecially of the doubtful rumors that ran concerning debts: whiles of the one ſide the Tribuns of the Commons did aggravate the greatneſs thereof, and made it ſeem an odious matter: and they again of the other ſide, did elevate and made litle of the ſame for whom it was good and beneficial, that the lent mony ſhould be thought abroad, in danger of being loſt: for that (ſay they) the debtors cautelouſly rather would not, than for ability could not, keep their credit and make paiment. So there were created Cenſors *C. Sulpitius Camerinus*, *Sp. Poſthumius Regillenſis*. And this matter now already commenced, was broken off by the death of *Poſthumius*, becauſe it would have bred a ſcruple to chuſe another Cenſor in the room of him deceaſed. When *Sulpitius* therefore had reſigned up his place, it fell out ſo that other new Cenſors upon ſome error committed in their creation, exerciſed not their office: and to chuſe a third time they made a ſcruple, ſo tender conſcienced were they, as if the gods were not well pleaſed with that office for that year. But the Tribuns would not endure this deluding of the Commons, but gave it forth that it was intollerable: ſaying, "That the Senat ſought to avoid "the exhibiting of publick records and books, which gave teſtimony of the valuation of every "mans ſubſtance to the worth: becauſe they would not have the ſums of debts to be ſeen and "known; which might bewray and plainly ſhew, that one part of the City was even eaten up and "devoured of the other: and in the mean time the poor Commons ſo deeply engaged, were pack-"ed away, and ſent forth againſt theſe enemies and thoſe: and now without all regard and diſ-"cretion, they ſought occaſions to quarrel and make war in every place. From *Antium* to *Satri-"cum*, from *Satricum* to *Velitre*, from thence to *Tuſculum* have your Legions been poſted. And "now, forſooth, there is war intended againſt the Latins, Hernicks and Preneſtins: for hatred "rather of the Citizens here at home, then of the enemies abroad: and all to wear out the "Commons with continual wars, and to afford them no breathing while within the City: that "in time of reſt, they might remember and think upon their freedom, keep their rooms in com-"mon aſſembly, where they might at the length hear their Tribuns voice pleading for the eaſe-"ment of uſury, and for a final end of all injuries. But and if the Commons had the heart, and "carried that mind with them, as to call to remembrance their anceſtors liberty, they would ſuf-"fer neither any Citizen of *Rome* to be awarded to bondage for debt, nor any muſters for to be ta-"ken, until a view were made and juſt accompt had, of every man his debts, and ſome courſe ta-"ken for abating the ſame: that each man might know, what he had of other mens goods, what "remained of his own: whether his body were left free, or at the mercy of his creditor, to lie in "cold iron and baleful priſon. This hire and ſalary of ſedition, this reward once propounded a-forehand, ſtirred up (you may be ſure) a mutiny ſoon after. For whereas there were many adjudged to be bound unto their Creditors, and the Senators had decreed new Legions to be believed, for the bruit and rumor that went of the Preneſtin wars: both matters began to be hindred for taking any effect, as well by the Tribuns help as the Commons accord. For neither would the Tribuns ſuffer thoſe that were condemned to be led to priſon: nor yet the younger ſort of the Commons, enter their names in the Muſter-maſter his book. And the Senators for the preſent, leſs minded the execution of judgement for the Creditors behoof, then the muſtering. For why? News came already, that the enemies had put themſelves in their journey from *Preneſte*, and were encamped in the Sabins country: And all this while, the very tidings hereof rather quickned and provoked the Tribuns of the Commons to the broil that was begun, than frighted them any jot from it. Neither would any thing ſerve to quench the ſedition in the City, until the war was come in manner to the very walls. For the Preneſtins had intelligence given them, that in *Rome* there was no army gathered, no General certainly known: the Senators and Commons at jar and together by the ears. Their Captains hereupon, taking this advantage and opportunity, with a running camp invaded, ſpoiled and waſted the fields all afore them as they went, and came with banners diſplayed before the gate *Cullina*. Great fear was in the City, every man cried Alarm, ran up to the walls to man them, and to the gates to ward them. And at the laſt they left their mutinies, turned to the wars, and created *T. Quintius Cincinnatus* Dictator. He appointed for his General of horſemen, *A. Sempronius Atroninus*. This was not ſo ſoon voiced abroad, (ſo great a terror went always with that magiſtrate) but the enemies withal diſlodged and departed from the walls: and the younger ſort of the Romans, without any trifling and drawing back, upon the proclamation, gathered together. Whiles forces were thus ariſing at *Rome*, the enemies pitched their camp not far from the River *Allia*: and as they forraged the Country all about, they bragged and vaunted among themſelves, that they had got that very plot of ground, which was ever fatal to the deſtruction of the City of *Rome*. "Here wil be (ſay they) the "like fight, from hence wil they fly, no doubt, as ſometimes they did before in the Gauls war. For "if the Romans feared that diſmal and unlucky day, noted with the infamous name of this place; "how much more wil they dread the river *Allia* it ſelf, in memorial of their ſo great overthrow, "than the only bare day *Allienſis*? Certainly, when they are come hither, they will think they ſee "again the grim looks, and hear the hideous voices of thoſe ſavage Gauls. Thus rolling & toſſing with

The Tribuns of the Commons againſt the Senat.

The Preneſtins invade the territory of *Rome*.

A with themselves these toyish conceits, rising of as vain and foolish presumptions, they rested wholly and reposed their full hope in the lucky perswasion only of the place. The Romans contrariwise knew full well, that their enemies the Latins, were (whersoever they were) the very same men still, and no other, whom for the space of one hundred years they held peaceably and quietly as their devoted vassals in subjection. And as for the place noted indeed, for the memorial of that late defeat and loss sustained, it might rather stir them up and set an edge upon them to abolish and cancel the remembrance of that shameful disgrace, then put them in fear, that any ground should be so unfortunat, as to be a bar unto their victory. Nay, if the very Gauls themselves came now in their way, they would so fight with them even in that ground, as they
B did at *Rome*, in the recovery of their country: as they did the morrow after at *Gabii*: when they bare themselves so valiantly, that no one enemy that entred within the walls of *Rome*, went ever home again to tell news how they sped, well or ill. Thus on both sides being resolute, and courageously bent, they met at *Allia*. The Roman Dictator discovering the enemies arranged in battel array, within sight. "See you not (quoth he) O *A. Sempronius*, how they have stayed at *Allia*,
"presuming upon the luckiness of the place? No surer confidence, no greater help may they have,
"I pray God. But you, with trusty armor, keen weapons, and doughty courage set spurs to horse,
"gallop amongst the thickest of their main battel with your horsemen. I, with the legions on foot
"will advance mine Ensigns, and display them, in their faces, and charge them hotly when they
"are disbanded once, and put in fear. Assist us now, and aid us, O ye gods (the witnesses of our
C "league) and punish them duly for their deserts, both in dishonouring your divine Majesty, and
"deceiving us in your name, whom they called solemnly to witness. Neither horsemen nor footmen could the Prenestins abide, but at the very first shout and shock were the ranks broken. And seeing their Battailions in no place whole and kept together, they fled: and amazed as they were in that confused fear, and carryed away beyond their own camp, they stayed not running for life until by good footmanship they were come within the sight of *Prenaste*. There, all such as had been scattered in the flight, met together, and chose a plot of ground, to fortifie in that haste as well as they could: lest peradventure, if they had put themselves within the town, forthwith their villages should have been fired, and after all consumed and spoiled, the town also might fortune to be besieged. But when the Roman Conqueror after the rifling of their camp at *Allia* was
D once come toward them and discovered, they abandoned that Fort also, and gat within the town *Preneste*, thinking themselves scarce safe enough within the walls thereof. Eight towns besides there were under the seignory of the Prenestins, against which the Dictator warred round: and having won them all, one after another without much ado, he brought his army against *Velitre*, and got that town also by assault. Then came he to the principal head and very seat town of the war, *Prenaste*, which was not by force won, but by surrender yeelded up into his hands. And *T. Quintius* thus having obtained one victory in a pight field, won two camps and holds of the enemies, conquered by force nine towns, and regained *Preneste* surrendered unto him, returned home again to *Rome*. In his triumph he carried aloft the Image of *Jupiter*, surnamed Emperor, which he brought from *Preneste*, and set it up in the Capitol, where it was placed and dedicated be-
E tween the shrines of *Jupiter* and *Minerva*: and in a table of brass fixed under it, was the monument of this noble exploit recorded and engraven in these or such like words: [*T. Quintius Dictator, by the gracious help of* Jupiter. *and all the rest of the gods, won nine Towns.*] So on the 20. day after his creation, he resigned up his Dictatorship.

Then was the assembly holden for electing of Tribuns Military with Coss. authority, who were equally chosen from out of the Nobility and the Com. Of Nobles were created, *P.* and *C. Manlius*, with *L. Julius*. The Commons yeelded *C. Sextilius*, *M. Albinus*, and *L. Antistius*. Upon the two *Manlii*, for that in blood and degree they were above the Commoners, and for favour more gracious then *Julius*, the province of the Volscians was bestowed extraordinarily, without casting lots or parting together by agreement of the Collegues amongst themselves. Which both they them-
F selves rued, and the Senators also (that would have it so) repented afterwards. For without any espials, sent out aforehand to scour the coasts, they had set forth certain cohorts or companies (of footmen) a forraging, and when upon a false alarm that those were beset & intrapped, they marched themselves apace after, to their rescue & convoy, & kept not with them stil, the reporter of these tidings (who being indeed a Latin and an enemy, but disguised in the habit of a Roman souldier, had deceived them) they fel headlong into a train and ambushment laid of purpose for them. And whiles they made resistance with main force only in a ground of great disadvantage (giving & taking the like measure) they were killed & slain on either side. But in the mean time their enemies from another quarter entred the camp of the Romans lying open in the plain. Thus in both places, things went but badly and untowardly, & all through the rashness and unskilfulness of the leaders.
G And what remained unfoiled for the fortune of the people of *Rome*, that was preserved by the hardy and resolute valor of the Roman souldiers only, without the help of general and commander. Upon which news reported at *Rome*, at the first it was thought good to chuse a Dictator: but afterwards, when tidings came, that all was whole & the Volscians quiet, and that it was well seen they knew not how to use victory when they had it, nor to take the opportunity of the time, whiles it offered it self: both the Generals & the army were sent for home from thence & so for the Volscians they were at rest afterwards. Only in the very end of the year, there arose some new stir & sudden tumult, by reason that the Prenestins having sollicited the people of the Latins, entred into

rebellion again. In the ſame year the men of *Setia* made moan of themſelves for want of people, H
and thither new Coloners were aſſigned to inhabit there.

Albeit the Romans ſped but badly in wars, yet the quietneſs at home was ſome comfort; which the Tribuns Military choſen from out of the Commons had procured, by reaſon that they were ſo gracious and reverenced among thoſe of their own coat and faction. All the beginning of the year following, was at the firſt on a light fire with hot diſcord and mutiny, when *Sp. Furius*, *Quintius Servilius* the ſecond time, *Licinius Menenius* the third time, *P. Clœlius*, *M. Horatius* and *L. Geganius* were Tribuns Military with Conſuls authority. The matter and cauſe of which ſeditious broils, were the debts above ſpecified. For the due inquiſition wherof, and to know to what ſums they amounted, *Sp. Servilius Priſcus*, and *Clœlius Siculus* were made Cenſors, but ſtopped I
they were for doing any thing, by occaſion of wars. For firſt, fearful meſſengers in all haſte brought word, and after, the flight of the Country people confirmed it, that the legions of the Volſcians were entred into the confines, and fell to ſpoiling every where the territory about *Rome*. Notwithſtanding which fear and forraign terror, ſo little were the civil diſcords appeaſed, that contrariwiſe the Tribuns of the Commons extended their power with more violence to hinder the levy of ſouldiers, until they had indented and capitulated with the Senators, that ſo long as the wars laſted, no man ſhould either contribute and be charged with any impoſt, or be ſued in any action of debt. When the Com. took hold once of this eaſement and liberty, the muſters were delayed no longer. And after they had levied and enrolled two new legions, it was thought convenient that the legions ſhould be divided, and two armies ſent forth into the Volſcians Country. So *Furius* and *M. Horatius*, went on the right hand along the ſea coaſt to *Antium*. *Q. Servilius* and *L. Geganius* on the left hand, by the way of the mountains to *Ecetra*. But on neither ſide met they with the enemy. Whereupon they fell to forraging the Country, not here and there in ſcattering wiſe, as the Volſcians had done, after the manner of robbers, at ſtarts upon advantage taken of their enemies diſcord, and by ſtealth for fear of their valour: but being a full power and army of men and juſtly provoked to anger, the longer they continued there, the fouler work they made. For the Volſcians ſtanding in fear, leſt in the mean while they ſhould be encountred with a power from *Rome*, had made roads only into the utmoſt frontiers; But contrariwiſe, the Romans made ſtay in the enemies land, the rather to train them forth and draw them to a field-fight. Having therefore burned up, in a manner, all the uplandiſh houſes and granges, and ſome villages I
alſo, and left behind them no fruitful tree ſtanding, nor the ſown corn for hope of grain, and driven away whole booties of men, women, and cattel, which they could light on without the walls; they reduced their armies of both ſides home again to *Rome*. In this mean while the debtors had ſome little reſpit to breath themſelves in. But ſo ſoon as all was quiet from enemies abroad, they began a freſh to be ſued and troubled by their creditors at home. And ſo ſmall hope they had to be releaſed of their old uſury, that they fell into a new, by reaſon of a contribution collected toward a wall, which the Cenſors had ſet out to be made of ſquare Aſhler ſtone. To yeeld unto this impoſition and burden, the Commons were driven, becauſe there was no muſter for the Tribuns of the Commons to hinder. Forced they were likewiſe through the might and power of the great men, to admit for Tribuns military, all of the Nobility, to wit, *L. Æmylius*, *P. Valerius* the M
fourth time, *C. Veturius*, *Servius Sulpitius*, *L.* and *C. Quintii Cincinnatii*.

By the ſame ſtrong hand alſo they prevailed ſo much, that without impeachment of any man, all the younger ſort took the military oath, ſo that they levied three armies againſt the Latins and Volſcians: who joining their legions together, had encamped themſelves at *Satricum*. One army was gathered for the defence of the City: another to be ſet out againſt all ſudden wars, if haply elſewhere ſome tumult ſhould ariſe: & a third, of all other the ſtrongeſt, was under the conduct of *P. Valerius*, and *L. Æmylius*, led to *Satricum*. Where, finding the enemies embattelled in good array upon a plain & even ground, they charged upon them preſently. But ere that they had got the victory evidently in ſight, and were but only in ſome good hope of having a fair day of their enemies, the rain ſo poured down with huge ſtorms and tempeſts, that it parted both hoſts aſunder. N
The morrow after began a freſh conflict. And for a good while, the legions of the Latins eſpecially, which by long alliance with the Romans had learned their manner of warfare, ſtood to it as valiantly, and ſped as fortunatly as the Romans. At length, the Roman horſemen that road in amongſt them, brake their ranks; and when they were once diſarrayed, the footmen diſplayed their enſigns, and advanced upon them: and look how much the Romans battel ſet forward, ſo much the enemies gave backward. But when they began once to faint in their ſight, than the violence of the Romans was intollerable. Thus the enemies were diſcomfited and ſcattered: and flying not toward their camp, but to *Satricum*, which was two miles off, they were by the horſemen eſpecially beaten down, trod under foot and ſlain. Their tents were taken and rifled. From *Satricum* they diſlodged, the next night after the battel was fought and marched in great haſte (as if O
they fled) to *Antium*. And albeit the Roman army followed them by the tracks hard at heeles, yet their footmanſhip ſerved them better in their fear, than it did the Romans, for all their anger. So the enemies put themſelves within the town walls, before the Romans could overtake them, and either cut off the tail of their rereward, or force them to ſtay. All be his, ſome days were ſpent in waſting the Country. For neither were the Romans ſufficiently pipvided with warlike engins of battery and artillery to aſſail their walls, nor they well appointed to abide battel in plain field. Then aroſe ſome diſcord within the town, between the Latins and the Antiats. The

Antiats,

A Antiats, of one side wearied with calamities that follow long wars, wherewith all their life time they had been exercised even to their old age, were of mind to yeeld. The Latins by reason of their late revolt and rebellion (whiles after so long peace, their courages continued yet fresh) were more forward and earnest to maintain wars still. But when they saw on both sides that they might do as they purposed, and follow their own designments, without being hindered one of another, their strife was soon ended. So the Latins leaving their fellowship & society of peace, so unhoneſt & dishonourable (as they thought it) departed from them, and stood out still to revenge their own quarrels. But the Antiats being well rid of these Councellors of their, so cross unto all wholsome courses, tending to their good and safety, yeelded up their town and country to the Romans. But
B the anger and furious rage of the Latins, for that they could neither annoy the Romans by wars, nor keep the Volscians still in arms, brake out thus far, that they fired the City *Satricum*, which had been the first place of refuge, after their defeat and unhappy fight. Neither left they any house in that City standing, but set fire upon all indifferently, as well profane as holy edifices: onely the Church of Dame *Matuta* they spared. From which, it was neither any religion and conscience of their own, nor fear of the gods that kept them, but (as men report) a fearful voice heard out of the Temple with heavy threats, unless they held their hands, and kept them far enough from burning the sacred habitations so impiously. In this rage and mad fit of theirs, to *Tusculum* they go: for very spight that they forsaking the general counsel of the Latins, had not onely yeelded themselves to be in league with the Romans, but also became incorporate Citizens
C with them. And coming upon them on a sudden, while their gates were open, at the first shout the whole Town, all but the Castle, was surprized. The Townsmen with their Wives and Children were thither fled: and sent messengers to *Rome* with certificat to the Senat of this sudden and unlooked for accident. And with all speed (as appertained to the fidelity of the people of *Rome*) an army was led to *Tusculum*: whereof *L. Quintius* and *Servius Sulpitius*, had the conduct. At *Tusculum* they found the gates fast shut against them, and the Latins, as men both besieging and besieged. And whiles of the one side they intended the defence of the walls, on the other side assaulted the Castle, at one time they were afraid themselves, and put others in fear likewise. But the coming of the Romans wrought a great change and alteration in the hearts of both parties. For it caused the Tusculans of fearful men to become exceeding cheerful: and the
D Latins who made full reckoning to win the fortress out of hand, as being masters already of the town, had but small hope now to help and save themselves. The Tusculans they set up a great shout from the Castle: and answered it was again with a greater from the Roman army. The Latins were put to it hard on both sides: For neither were they able to abide the violence of the Tusculans running down the hill upon them, nor to put by and keep off the Romans, coming hard under the walls, and assaying to break the bars of the gates. First, they scaled the walls and and gat upon them: after, they brake the port-cullis down. Thus the Latins environed with enemies both before and behind, that presled sore upon them, having neither strength enough left to fight, nor room of ground to make an escape, were slain in the midst between the enemies, every mothers son. So when *Tusculum* was recovered out of the enemies hands, the army was
E brought back again to *Rome*.

But the more quietness there was that year without the City by reason of prosperous wars, the more encreased the violence and hard dealing of the Senators within: and the calamities of the Commons grew every day more than other. For they wanted means and were not able to pay for the interest that needs must be paid. When nothing therefore was to be had, to make paiment out of their goods, they were adjudged and awarded to satisfie their creditors in their body and name: and so their punishment served in stead of keeping their credit and discharging the consideration. Whereupon, not only the meanest of the Commons, but also the very chief, began now to let fall their hearts and stoop so low, that there was not a witty and nimble headed man and of experience amongst them, that would put himself forth to stand to be a Tribun Military, in
F concurrence with the Nobles, (which they had so earnestly shot at and laboured for) no, nor so much as to bear and sue for any offices of the Commons. So as the Senators now, seemed to have recovered again for ever to themselves, the possession of that dignity, which the Commons of late, for some few years, had usurped and occupied over their heads. But that this order side might not joy too much hereat, a small occurrent hapned between which (as it falleth out most commonly) gave the occasion and first footing to an enterprize of much importance.

*M. Fabius Ambustus* a great and mighty man, as well amongst those of his own calling, as also with the Commons, (whom he was reputed never to despise, as other did of his condition and estate) had two daughters married forth: the elder unto *Servius Sulpitius*: the younger unto *C. Licinius Stolo*, a man verily of good worth and reckoning, but yet a Commoner. And *Fabius* dis-
G daining not this alliance and affinity, wan himself much love and favour among the Commons. Now it fell out so, that these sisters were upon a time together in the house of *Servius Sulpitius*, then Trib. Military: and as they passed the time away (as the manner is) in much good talk, discoursing one with another of many matters, it chanced that a Sergeant or Verger of *Sulpitius*, at what time as he was coming home from the *Forum* or cõmon hal, rapped as the order was, with his rod at the door. When the yonger *Fabia* not acquainted with those fashions was therat somewhat amazed, her sister making a wonder at her ignorance, laught her to scorn. But that laughter (as womens minds got wot, are soon kindled with a litle) set her a work & hammered in her head.

Beſides, the train of many that came about her, waiting and giving attendance, ready to know her H
pleaſure and what ſhe would, mended the matter much. I ſuppoſe ſhe thought her ſiſter happily
wedded, and repented her own marriage; upon an ill and ſiniſter judgment, whereby every man
repineth that his neighbor and neereſt of kin eſpecially, ſhould go beyond him and do better then
he. Upon this diſcontentment and freſh heart-burning of hers, her father haply ſeeing her diſmaid,
asked her whether all was well at home? But when ſhe would have turned the cauſe of her grief
another way, (for that it ſtood neither with her love and kindneſs towards her ſiſter, to envy her
eſtate; nor yet with the reverent honor that ſhe was to yeeld unto her husband, to find fault with
her own) he with mild queſtioning came about her ſo, that he drew from her the truth: ſo as
ſhe confeſſed her grief to ariſe upon this, that ſhe was diſparaged; and namely, married not accor- I
ding to her quality, but into an houſe uncapable both of worſhip and favour. Then *Ambuſtus*,
comforting his daughter, willed her to be of good cheer, and ſaid, That ere it were long, ſhe
ſhould ſee the ſame ſtate, the ſame advancement and dignity at home, which ſhe had ſeen already
in her ſiſters houſe. Hereupon began he to plot with his ſon in law, joyning alſo unto them, *L.*
*Sextius*, a ſtout young man, and one that was like enough to come to preferment, but that he
was not of noble race. Good occaſion and opportunity they ſeemed to have of compaſſing ſome
alteration in the State, by reaſon of the exceſſive debts that men were grown into: for the redreſ-
ſing and eaſing of which malady, the Com. had no other hope, but in advancing ſome of them-
ſelves into the ſoveraign room of government. They thought it needful therefore, preſently to
addreſs themſelves to the execution of theſe deſignments, conſidering that by endeavor and indu- K
ſtry, the Commoners were climbed to that degree already, from whence if they would enforce
and put themſelves forward, they had but one ſtep more unto the higheſt, and might be equal
with the Nobles, as well in honour as in vertue and proweſſe. And for the preſent, it was thought
good to make them, two Trib. of the Com. in which office they might open a way unto them-
ſelves, for other dignities. So *C. Licinius* and *L. Sex.* propoſed laws, all tending to abate the pow-
The Laws of *Licinius* and *Sextius*. er and might of the Nobles, and wholly for the good and benefit of the Com. One, as touching
taking order for debts: That when ſo much was defaulked and deducted out of the principal, as
had been paid for the uſe and intereſt, the reſidue ſhould be diſcharged by even portions in 3. years
A ſecond, concerning a proportion and quantity of lands, That no man might hold in poſſeſſion
above 500. acres. The third, That from thenceforth there ſhould be no election of Trib. Military, L
but of Coſſ. provided always, that one of them be choſen out of the Com. Matters all of right great
weight and conſequence, and ſuch as without exceeding ſtrife and contention, could not poſſibly
be carried and obtained.* Thus when all thoſe things at once lay a bleeding, and were in hazzard
to be loſt, which the whole world unmeaſurably coveteth and longeth after, to wit, land, money,
and promotions: the Senators were put in a bodily fear, and began to ſtartle. And laying their heads
together both in publick conſultation and privat conference, they could deviſe no other remedy,
but that which in many commotions already they had tried, namely, the ſtepping between and
negative voice of ſome of the Tribuns. And ſo, to croſs thoſe bills aforeſaid put up by theſe two
Tribuns, they had wrought and made to their purpoſe certain of their own brotherhood. Who
ſo ſoon as they ſaw the wards and tribes called forth by *Licinius* and *Sextius*, to give their ſuffra- M
ges, being well backed and guarded with the aſſiſtance of the Senators, would ſuffer neither thoſe
laws to be read, nor any other beſides (as yearly they uſed) to paſs by the voices of the Commons.
Thus the two Tribuns aforeſaid, having oftentimes (but ever in vain) aſſembled the people toge-
ther, and ſeeing their laws ſtill nipped, as it were, in the head for ever going forward; "It is ve-
"ry well (quoth *Sextius*) and ſince ye like ſo well that theſe inhibitions may prevail ſo much:
"we will likewiſe defend the Commons with the ſame weapon and no other. Go to now my
"Maſters of the Nobility, proclaime an election for the creation of Trib. Military: I will make
* *I forbid.* It was the negative voice of Tribuns. "I trow, that this word [* *Veto*] ſhall do your ſelves no good at all: howſoever now ye take ſo
"great pleaſure to hear our brethren keep that note ſtill, and evermore ſing that ſweet concent of
"muſick. And ſurely, thoſe threats proved indeed to good earneſt and took effect. For there was N
no election at all but of Ædiles and Tribuns, and thoſe both of the Commons. For *Licinius* and
*Sextius* being choſen Tribuns again, ſuffered no Magiſtrates of the Chair, or of State, to be crea-
ted. Which defect and deſolation of ſoveraign Magiſtracy continued in the City for the ſpace of
five years: whiles the Commons for their part choſe the ſame two Tribuns ſtill, and they again
ever laid a bar and put in a caveat againſt the election of Tribuns Military.

All other wars, as good hap was, were aſleep for the time. The Coloners only of *Velitre*, upon
ſo long reſt and quietneſs began to be luſty and wax wanton: and for that there was no army of
the Romans ſtirring abroad, they not only made inrodes ſundry times into the territory of *Rome*,
but alſo aſſailed the town *Tuſculum*. And when the Tuſculans, the ancient Allies and new en-
franchiſed Citizens of *Rome* craved help, the Senators and Commons both, were moved eſpeci- O
ally for very ſhame to ſuccour them. And the Tribuns of the Commons yeelded at length, and per-
mitted an aſſembly for election, to be holden by an Inter-regent: and Trib. Military there were
created, *L. Furius*, *A. Manlius*, *Ser. Sulpitius*, *Ser. Cornelius*, *A.* and *C. Valerii*; Who found not
the Commons ſo tractable in the muſtering, as they were pliable in giving their voices at the Ele-
ction. Yet after much ado & great contention they levied an army, and ſet forward on their jour-
ney: drave the enemies not from *Tuſculum* only, but forced them within their own walls: beſieged
*Velitre* more ſtraightly a great deal, and in more forcible manner, than *Tuſculum* had been by them.

Howbeit

A Howbeit, they that began the siege were not able to win the town. For before that time, were new Tribuns Military chosen, *Q. Servilius*, *C. Veturius*, *A.* and *M. Cornelius*, *Q. Quintius*, *M. Fabius*. Neither performed these Tribuns any notable exploit at *Velitre*. But the State at home stood in more dangerous terms than before. For besides that *Sextius* and *Licinius*, the publishers of those laws aforesaid, were now the eighth time made Trib. of the Commons again, *Fabius* also a Tribun Military, *Stolo* his wives father, was seen openly in the action, to set forward and perswade for the same laws, which in very deed himself had devised. And whereas at the first, eight of the Colledge or Company of the Tribuns of the Commons, had crossed the proceeding of them: now there were but five left that shewed themselves, and those (as commonly they use to do that dis-
B band from their own faction) like men bereaved of their wits and amazed, being indeed the tongues and trunks that others spake by, pretended and made allegations in their prohibition, only as they were schooled and taught their lessons at home: (to wit) That a great sort of the Commons were in the army at *Velitre* and absent, and that the solemn Session or Assembly for enacting laws, ought to be adjourned until the return home of the souldiers: to the end that all the Commons generally, might give their voices concerning their own commodity and benefit. *Sextius* and *Licinius* with part of their brethren Tribuns, and *M. Fabius* one of the Tribuns Military, being their own craftsmasters, knew well enough by so many years experience, how to manage and handle the minds of the Commons: and plied the chief of the Senators (produced forth before the people) so hard with interrogatories of every particular that was proposed, that they weari-
C ed and tired them out; Demanding, "how they could require to be allowed themselves to pos-
"sess more then 500. acres a man; whereas the Commons had but two a piece divided amongst
"them? Whether that every one of them might in equity hold the lands, well neer, of 300.
"Citizens: and a Commoner to have hardly ground enough for to build him a necessary house
"upon, and to serve for a place to bury his dead? Also, whether their will and pleasure was, that
"the Commons oppressed with usury, should yeeld their bodies to bear irons and suffer torment,
"unless they paid the interest before the principal? And that daily by whol companies they should
"be had away from the bar, condemned to thraldom; and Noble mens houses to become goals,
"filled and pestered with prisoners? And whersoever a Patritian dwelt, there should be a privat
"prison? These indignities and piteous matters to be heard, when they had with a loud voice
D charged upon them, even before those that were afraid of the like measure themselves; with more indignation and disdain of all that heard them, than they themselves shewed in the uttering and delivery: "But these Senators say they (and that they redoubled) will never make an end either
"of getting more land still into their hands, or spoiling and undoing the Commons with usury,
"until the Commons make once out of their body one Consul, for to be the maintainer and pro-
"tector of their liberty. As for the Tribuns of the Commons, they were now just nothing set by:
"as who by their priviledge of Inhibitions and negative voices, spoiled themselves and over-
"threw their own power. And never will there be any indifferent and equal course taken, so long
"as the Nobles keep the soveraign place of command, and the sword to strike whiles the poor
"Commons have only the buckler hand to ward all venues. For unless the government be parted
E "between both alike, the Commons shall never have their due and equal portion in the Com-
"mon-weal. Neither is it reason that any man should stand contented with this only, that in the
"Election of Consuls, the Commons are eligible and capable of the dignity: for in case, it be not
"concluded absolutly, that one Consul at the least should be of necessity a Commoner, there wil
"never be any at all. Have ye forgotten already (say they) that notwithstanding an Act made, That
"there should be Tribuns Military created rather then Consuls, for this intent that Commoners
"might aspire and reach unto the chief place of honor; yet for all that in 44. years space, there
"was not so much as one of the Commoners chosen Tribun Military? And will any man beleeve
"that they will of their own accord confer upon the Commons (when otherwise they may chuse)
"that dignity in the disposing only of two places, who were ever wont in the making of Tribun
F "Military, to take up eight rooms all wholly to themselves? And will they allow them a way
"unto the Consulship, who thus long have held the (Consular) Tribunship so guarded as no man
"might have access thither but themselves? Nay, it must be got by a positive law, which in their
"Assemblies for Election, by favour and grace might not be obtained. One of the Consuls rooms
"must be set aside, past all peradventure and question, and that for a Commoner, to enter into:
"For as much as if it stand still upon a choice, the mightier man will ever go away with the game
"clear. And whereas heretofore they have been wont to alledge and say, That the Commons af-
"forded not sufficient and able men to bear the offices of the chair and of state: that, now cannot
"be truely objected. For was the Common-weal, I pray you more slackly and negligently govern-
"ed upon the (Consular) Tribunship of *P. Licinius Calvus* (who was the first Commoner that e-
G "ver was made Tribun Military) than it was ruled for those years space in which there was not
"a Tribun Military but of the Nobility? Nay, on the contrary side it will be justified that some of
"the Nobles were condemned after they were out of their Tribunship, and not one of the Com-
"moners. And whereas not many years past, we began to make Questors or Treasurers out of the
"Commons, like as we did Tribuns Military, the people of *Rome* repented never of the choice of
"any one of them. It remaineth now, that the Commoners bear the office of Consuls too; That
"were a fortress of their liberty, that were a strength and sure hold to trust unto. If they were
"once come and stept to that degree, then may the people of *Rome* think assuredly and be per-

*Sextius* and *Licinius* against the Senators for the common people.

swaded

"swaded, that the KK. are baniſhed indeed out of the City, and their freedom fully eſtabliſh- H
"ed for ever to endure. For, from that day forward ſhall the Commons be partakers of all thoſe
"things, wherein the Nobles now ſurpaſs them: namely, ſoveraign rule and authority, martial
"renown, parentage and Nobility: great ornaments doubtleſs, unto themſelves to enjoy here in
"this life: but far greater to leave behind them unto their Children and Poſterity. These and ſuch like Orations when they ſaw to be plauſible, and willingly accepted, they preferred a new Statute, That in ſtead of the two Duumvirs for holy Ceremonies and matters of the Church, there might be choſen ten Decemvirs: Provided always, that one part of them ſhould be created forth of the Commons, and another from among the Nobles. The Seſſion for enacting of all thoſe Laws, they deferred until the army was returned, which lay then at the ſiege before I *Velitre*.

But the year was come about and fully expired, before the legions were reduced home from thence: and by that means the whole buſineſs about theſe new Laws, hung ſtill in ſuſpence, and was put off unto the entrance of the new Tribuns Military. As for the Tribuns of the Commons, the Commonalty choſe the ſame again, even thoſe twain who had been the propoſers of thoſe Laws. And the Tribuns Military were theſe, *T. Quintius, Ser. Cornelius, Ser. Sulpitius, Sp. Servilius, L. Papirius, L. Veturius*. Preſently in the beginning of the year, they put unto the jump and final trial what ſhould become of thoſe Laws. And when as the Tribes were called, and none of the Tribuns Collegues ſtepped between to ſtop the proceeding of the Law-givers: the Nobles were afraid, and ran unto their two laſt helps, to wit, the higheſt and abſolute of- K fice, and the greateſt man among them. They thought it good therefore to create a Dictator. And *M. Furius Camillus* was nominated, who elected unto him *L. Æmylius* for General of the horſe. The Law-makers likewiſe for their part, againſt ſo great preparation of their adverſaries, armed at all parts the cauſe of the Commons, with ſtout ſtomack and couragious heart. And having aſſembled an Hall of the Commons, they called forth the wards to give their voices. At what time the Dictator accompanied with a great train of Nobles, full of wrath and menacing frowns, took his place and ſet him down. And after the matter was canvaſſed firſt, by the ordinary conflict of the Tribuns among themſelves, whiles ſome propounded, and others gainſaid the Law with their negatives voices; and that by how much in right the prohibition was the ſtronger, ſo much it was overweighed in favour and affection both of the Laws and Law- L
givers: and when the firſt Tribes had given their voice (* *Uti rogatis*) affirmatively: then *Camillus*, For as much as (quoth he) O *Quirites*, ye are ruled now by the will and pleaſure, and not by the authority of the Tribuns, and as in times paſt ye obtained the priviledge of a negative voice and * Interceſſion by your departure and Seceſſion, ſo now ye make it void and nothing worth, even by the ſame force that ye got it by: I, choſen Dictator as well for your ſake as for the whole Common-wealth, will aſſiſt your priviledge of Interceſſion, and by mine abſolute authority maintain this your help and ſuccour, now reverſed and overthrown. If therefore *C. Licinius* and *L. Sextius*, give place unto the negative voice and interceding of their fellows in Office; I will not in a meeting and aſſembly of the Commons, once intermedle, nor bring in the authority, of a Magiſtrate of the Nobles: but if they ſhall go forward ſtill (notwithſtanding all prohibition) to M
impoſe and give Laws unto the City, as if it were won by conqueſt of the enemy, I will not ſuffer the Tribuns power by their own ſelves to be defaced and come to nothing. But (all theſe big words notwithſtanding) when the Tribuns of the Commons made but a tuſh thereat, and went never the leſs forward with their enterprize, then *Camillus* throughly angred indeed, ſent his Lictors and Sergeants to command the Commons to avoid the place and depart: Threatning withal, that if they proceeded thus, he would take a Military oath of all the younger people, and lead an army preſently forth of the City. This put the Commons in a very great fright, but it ſet their Captains and Ring-leaders, rather in a greater heat of contention, than abated their courages one jot. And when he ſaw no relenting on either ſide, he gave up his office: Whether it were that there was ſome error in his creation (as ſome have written) or becauſe the Tribuns of the N
Commons had put up a bill to the Commons, and they granted it: that if *M. Furius* (as Dictator) had proceeded to any action, he ſhould have a round fine ſet on his head of 500000 * Aſſes, I know not certainly. But I beleeve that he was terrified upon ſome unlucky ſigns of the birds, rather then with any ſuch ſtrange Act never heard of before, and without precedent. And hereunto am I induced, both in regard of the diſpoſition of the man ſo well given and of ſo good conſcience, and alſo for that *P. Manlius* was immediatly named Dictator in his ſtead. For to what end ſhould *Manlius* have been created Dictator for that broil and ſtir, wherein *M. Furius* had taken the foil before? Again, ſeeing the ſame *M. Furius* was Dictator the next year following, doubtleſs, he would never for ſhame have reſumed that office, wherein the year before he had received the foil and diſgrace, to be ſo overruled. Over and beſides, at the ſame time when as this bill was O
ſuppoſed to have been preferred, concerning his fine, either he might have withſtood it too, (whereby he ſaw himſelf to be bridled) or elſe he had not been able to have hindred ſo much as thoſe, for which this alſo was propoſed. Finally, it was never ſeen to this day wherein we live, ſo long as the Tribuns and Conſuls with their factions and parts-taking have been at variance and debate with all their might and main, but evermore the authority of the Dictator controlled them all, and put them down.

Between the former Dictatorſhip of *Camillus* now reſigned up, and the new by *Manlius* accepted

* (*As ye propound*) The form of an Affirmative voice in their ſcrutinies.

The Oration of *M. Furius Camillus* the Dictator to the Quirites.

* *Interceſſion* ſignifieth here the priviledge of the Tribuns of the Commons to deny and ſtop any Act, that it paſs not.

* 1250. *l* ſterl.

A ted and begun, there was an assembly of the Commons summoned by the Tribuns, in time as it were of a vacancy or Interreign: wherein the overture was made and evidently it was seen, which of the laws proposed the Commons liked better, and which the Law-givers. For those that concerned usury and land, they granted to pass, but that other of a Commoner to be Consul, they denied and dashed quite. And surely both matters had been dispatched fully and established at once, but that the Tribuns said directly, that they required the Commons, to give their voices and speak to all three directly together. After this, *P. Manlius* the Dictator favoured somewhat, and helped the cause of the Commons, by nominating out of the Commons for his General of horsemen, *C. Licinius*, who had been a Tribun Military before time. The Senators B stormed hereat, as I find in records. And the Dictator was wont to excuse the matter unto them, alledging for himself the neer affinity and kindred that was between him and *Licinius*: saying also, that the dignity of the General of horsemen was no greater then of a Tribun Consular. Now when the election day was published for the Tribuns of the Commons, *Licinius* and *Sextius* so demeaned themselves, that by pretending that they would not any longer now continue in the office, they set the Commons on to be most earnest and hotly bent for that, which they under colour of refusal, desired and sought for. They seemed, forsooth, to alledge and say, "That for these nine years they had stood, as it were, in battel array, and affronted the States "and Nobles of the City, to the right great peril of themselves in privat, and to no good effect "at all in publick: and now together with them, both the laws proposed, and the whole strength C "of the Tribuns authority, were waxed old and decayed. At the first their Laws were crossed "by the interceding of their brethren Tribuns: afterwards by packing away the youth of the Ci- "ty to the Velitern war: and last of all, the Dictators lightning flashed in their faces, and their "thunderbolts shot against them. "Now (say they) neither their fellow Tribuns withstood "them, nor forraign wars hindered them, nor yet the Dictator himself, as who for his part hath "given a good fore-tokening and presage of a Consul Commoner, in electing his General of "horsemen out of the Commons. The very Commons and none else, are they that hurt them- "selves, and delay their own goods. Who might presently if they would, have their City, their "common Hall, and place of assemblies freed from these Creditors: yea, and their grounds re- "covered again from the unjust Land-lord; Which benefits and liberties, when are they like D "to weigh and esteem with thankful minds accordingly, if in the very time that they are to ac- "cept the Laws devised for their own wealth and good, they cut off all hope of promotion and "honour, from the publishers and proposers thereof? For it standeth not with the modesty of "the people of *Rome*, to require to be eased themselves of Usury, and to be set in possession again "of the land, wrongfully withheld from them by the mighty men: and then to leave those old "Trib. by whose means they have come by those good commodities, to shift for themselves, not "only without honor, but also without all hope of honor. Let them first therefore set down with "themselves, and resolve, what they are minded to do: and afterwards in the election of Trib. de- "clare the same openly. If they would be willing to speak affirmatively to those Laws, all jointly "as they were propounded, then there were some reason to chuse the same Trib. again: and then E "would they enact & establish finally that which they had published. But in case their wil was to "accept of that and no more than which served each privat mans turn then there was smal need "or none at all to have them stil in office, with the envy and grudging of so many. And to be short, "neither would they accept of the Tribunship any longer, neither should the Commons have "those Laws ratified, which were already granted. When as all the rest of the Senators were "struck into their dumps and blank, for the very indignity to see things thus go: At the last, one *Appius Claudius Crassus* (the nephew or sons son of that notorious *Appius* the Decemvir) upon a malicious mind and fell stomack, as it is reported, rather then for any hope he had to dissuade the matter, stood up, and to this effect answered that so stout and peremptory speech of the Tri- buns, in this manner. "It can be no strange matter to me, nor unlooked for, O Quirites, if that F "which hath been the only thing at all times objected by seditious Tribuns against our house, I "also should hear at this present: to wit, that the whole name and linage of *Claudii*, have ever "from the first beginning, regarded nothing more in the Common-weal, than the Majesty and "honor of the Senators and the Nobles, and always set and opposed themselves against the good "and well-fare of the Commons. Of which two challenges, the one I neither can, nor will deny "and disavow: namely, that we, since the first time that we were enfranchised Citizens, and ther- "with at once taken into the number of Senators, have endeavoured and strained our selves, that "it might be said and that truely, that the honor and dignity of that state and degree, into which "it was your good pleasure we should be incorporate, and graced with, was by us augmented, "rather then impaired. And as for the other challenge, this I dare be bold, in mine own behalf, G "and in the name of my ancestors and progenitors, to aver, O Quirites, that (unless a man would "think whatsoever is done for the Weal-publick generally, is directly against the Commons, as "if they were meer aliens of another City) we to our knowledge have practised nothing, witting "and willing, either whiles we lived privat, or during the time we bare office, prejudiciall to "commonalty: and that neither in deed nor word we can be justly charged to have wrought and "contrived any thing contrary to your good: although peradventure somewhat hath fallen out "cross against your will and mind. But were I not a *Claudius*, and of that family, nor descended "of noble blood, but some one of the Burgesses or Citizens: and knew my self to be but free

The Oration of *Appius Claudius* against the Tribuns of the Commons.

born,

"born, both by father and mother, and to live in a free City: could I (think ye) hold my tongue? H
"but frankly speak and say, that these perpetual Tribuns (God save all) *L. Sextius*, and *C. Licini-*
"*us* I mean, have for nine years (for so long they have played *Rex*) taken so much upon them, and
"been so bold as to say they will not permit you to have free voices, neither in solemn assemblies
"for elections, nor in Sessions and Parliaments for allowing and ordaining Laws? Upon condi-
"tion (quoth one of them) you shall make us Tribuns again the tenth time. What is this else but
"to say? That, which other sue for, we so scorn and disdain, that accept of it we will not, with-
"out good hire and recompence. And what reward and consideration is this, good Sirs, for which
"we may have your Worships, our ever Tribuns? Marry (quoth he) that ye will accept jointly
"together and at once, all our laws, whether they like you or dislike you: whether they be good I
"and wholsom, or bad and noisom. Now I beseech you good *Tarquins* (Tribuns of the Com-
"mons I would have said) imagin I were one of the ordinary Citizens, and should from out of
"the multitude assembled, speak out and say: Pleaseth it your good grace, Sir, that out of these
"laws propounded, we may chuse those that we think good and wholsom for us, and refuse and
*Appius* speak-eth in the per-son of *Sextius* or *Licinius*, within these marks [] "disanul the rest. [O (quoth he) that may not be. Thou mayst allow, belike, and ordain, concer-
"ning usury, concerning lands, which tend to the commodity of you all. But now beware of bugs.
"This monstrous and portentous wonder must in no case be permitted in *Rome*, that thou shoul-
"dest see *L. Sextius*, and this perillous fellow *C. Licinius* to be Consuls, which thy heart riseth at,
"and which goeth against thy stomack. Nay, nay, either accept of all, or I will propound none at
"all.] This is all one, as if a man should give him that is hunger-bitten, and ready to starve, poyson K
"and meat together: and bid him either forbear the wholsom food to preserve his life, or else
Now speaketh *Appius* in his own person. "to take the deadly bane to hasten his death. But if this were a free State indeed, would not ma-
"ny a one have cried out and said, Avant you and your Tribunships, out upon you with your
"laws. What Sir? How if your Mastership will not put up and prefer that which is commodi-
"ous and profitable for the people to accept: is there none, think you besides, that will propound
"it? If any Nobleman, or if any *Claudius* (which they take to be more odious) should thus
"say, *Either take all, or I will propose none at all.* Which of you, Quirites, would endure it? why?
"will ye never regard the substance more then the person; the matter rather then the man? But
"all is well taken and heard quickly, which that magistrate shal say. And wil ye always hear with
"the wrong or deaf ear, whatsoever any of us shal hap to speak? Wel, the words are naught, L
"and the speech (without question) very uncivil and rude. Now let us see what manner of law
"it is, that they storm so at, because by you it is rejected. In good faith, O Quirites, much like
"unto their language. This I require (quoth he) that it might not be lawful for you to make
"Coss. whom ye wil. For what else demandeth he, who would have it enacted by expres tearms,
"that one at least of the Coss. must be a Commoner of Necessity, and leaveth it not unto your
"choice to make two Noblemen Coss. If we had wars at this day, such as sometime the Tuscan
"war was, when *Porsena* was master of the *Janicle* and kept that piece against us; or such as the
"Gauls war of late days was, when the enemies were LL. and possessed of all the City here, but
"the Capitol and fortress only; set case, that *L. Sextius* should be prickt and propounded ei-
"ther with this *M. Furius* here in place, or with any one other of the Nobles, and stand to be Cos. N
"would ye abide that *Sextius* should be undoubtedly Coss. and *Camillus* at devotion and in ha-
"zard to take repulse? Is this indeed to bestow your dignities indifferently with even and equal
"hand? That two of the Commons, forsooth, may be elected Consuls, and not two likewise of
"the Nobles? And that one of them must needs perforce be created out of the Com. and in the
"election of both, the Nobles may be overslipt? What society is this, what community and par-
"ticipation? Wil not this serve thy turn and content thee, that wherein thou hadst no title nor
"interest afore, thou shouldst now have thy part: unless in seeking to have a portion, thou pluck
"all unto thy self? I fear me, (quoth he) if both Consuls might be made of the Nobility, ye
"would chuse none at all of the Commonalty. What is this else but to say? Because willingly of
"your selves, ye would not chuse unworthy persons and unmeet, I wil bind you therefore of ne- N
"cessity, to elect those whom otherwise ye would pass by. And what followeth hereupon but
"this, that the Commoner who standeth with two *Patritii*, may plainly say, and that truly, he is
"not by voices chosen, but by vertue of a law, and so acknowledg no benefit received of the peo-
"ple, nor be beholden at all to them, for their grace and favour? Thus seek they means to wring
"your dignities from you, and not the way to sue for them: and would so obtain the greatest, as
"that they might not be obliged & bound unto you for the least: and had rather get honours and
"offices by advantage taking and cunning sleights, then by their own vertue, desert, and wor-
"thiness. But there is some one that scorneth to be pried and looked into, and to be considered
"as he deserveth: who thinks it meet, that he alone among the other Competitors, that contest
"and stand in suit, should be sure of offices and promotions, and will not submit himself to your O
"censure: who would have your suffrages, of voluntary, to be constrained: of free, to be thrall and
"servil. I speak not of *Licinius* and *Sextius*: whose years of their continual government ye reckon
"upon, and mark up in the Capitol, as they used sometime, to count the years of the Kings
"reign. But what is he this day in the City, of so base, so abject and low condition, that by the ad-
"vantage and benefit of this law, hath not easier access to a Consulship than we and our children
"have? As for us truly, ye may sometime miss of chusing us, would you never so fain: but for them
"ye must needs, yea, though full against your mind. And thus much concerning the indignity

and

A "and unworthineſs of the thing; For, dignity and worthineſs, I take, to be matters properly to
"men pertaining. What ſhall I ſpeak now of Religions, and of the ſolemnity of the Auſpices,
"which imply a meer contempt and injury done to the immortal gods? Who knoweth not,
"that by the approbation of the gods teſtified by flight of birds, this City was firſt founded?
"that by the ſame Auſpices, all hath been ordered and directed, as well in war abroad, as in peace
"at home? And who be they that have to do with theſe tokens and preſages, by ancient cuſtom
"and tradition from our forefathers? Forſooth even the Nobles and none elſe. As for the Magi-
"ſtrates of the Commons, none are choſen with regard of flight, ſight, and feeding of the birds.
"But to us, they do ſo properly belong, that not only thoſe Magiſtrates of the Nobles, which
B "the people create, they do not otherwiſe elect but by obſervation of the birds; but we alſo our
"ſelves, without the aſſent and voice of the people, do nominate an Interrex by means of the
"birds: yea, and in the private actions of our life, we are guided by them at home, which theſe
"Commons uſe not in their very offices. What then meaneth he elſe, but to take theſe *Auſpicia*
"out of the City, who by creating Commoners to be Conſuls, depriveth the Nobles thereof, who
"only may have and uſe them? Now let them mock on and ſcoff at our religions. Let them deride
"our Ceremonies. What makes matter (ſay they) if thoſe pullets peck or eat not? What if they
"come ſomewhat late out of their coup or cage? What if a bird ſing auk or crow croſs and con-
"trary? How then? A great piece of matter ſurely. Small things, I confeſs they be: but as
"ſmall as they are, our anceſtors by not contemning them, have brought this C. W. to a flou-
C "riſhing ſtate. And we now adays, as if we ſtood not in need of the grace and favour of God,
"poliute all holy rites and ceremonies. And therefore let our prelats and high Prieſts, our Au-
"gurs, and King at ſacrifices be created (it skilleth not how) even out of the common multitude:
"Let us ſet upon any mans head (it matters not whoſe, ſo he come in likeneſs of a man) the Mitre
"of *Jupiter* his Flamin. Let us commit the keeping of the Anciles or heavenly ſhields, and the
"ſecret ſanctuaries; let us commit the gods themſelves and the charge of their holy ſervice to
"thoſe, unto whom we may not lawfully nor without impiety. Let no lawes be publiſhed nor
"Magiſtrates created ſolemnly, with regard of birds at all, and of the wil of the gods. Nor in the
"Centuriate aſſemblies holden by degrees, and Curiat-meetings by the wards and pariſhes; let
"not the Senators be Preſidents and have their authority and royal aſſent. Let *Sextius* and *Lici-*
D "*nius*, like *Romulus* and *Tatius* raign together, as fellow KK. in the City of *Rome*, becauſe they
"give away ſo freely, the monies, lands and territories from others. So ſweet and ſavory it is to
"prey upon other mens goods. Never conſider they, nor look ſo far into the matter, that by one
"of theſe goodly laws, our fields wil be deſart and waſte, by ejecting and diſpoſſeſſing the right-
"ful land-lords: and by the other, all credit in borrowing and lending, in taking and putting
"forth of money ſhal be aboliſhed. And then farewel all humane ſociety, commerce and inter-
"courſe whatſoever. In theſe reſpects therefore, thus I conclude, and would counſel you, in any
"wiſe to ſtop, fruſtrate and diſanul the overture and proceeding of theſe laws: and in ſo doing,
"I pray God bleſs and ſpeed you wel. This Oration of *Appius* thus far only prevailed, that the
time of publication of theſe Acts, was cut off and deferred. But the ſame Tribuns *Sextius* and *Li-*
E *cinius*, being choſen again the tenth time, propounded this law and had it enacted, That of the
Decemvirs for divine ſervice and Church matters, ſome ſhould be created of the Commons: So,
five of them were of the Nobles, and five of the Commoners: whereby they ſeemed to have gai-
ned already one good ſtep onward unto the Conſulſhip.

The Decemvirs created.

The Commons contenting themſelves with this victory, yeelded unto the Senators, that for the preſent without any mentioning of Conſuls, there ſhould be elected Tribuns Military. So there were created *A.* and *M. Cornelii* the ſecond time, *M. Geganius*, *P. Manlius*, *L. Veturius* and *P. Valerius* the ſixth time. At what time, when as (but for the ſiege of *Velitre*, which was like to be for ſervice a long piece of work, rather then for iſſue, doubtful in the end) the Romans were at reſt for any forraign troubles, the ſudden and unlooked-for news of the Gauls war, drave the Ci-
F ty to chuſe *M. Furius* Dictator the fifth time: who took unto him for his General of the horſe-men, *T. Quintius Pennus*. *Claudius* writeth, that this year the Gauls were fought with, about the river *Anio*: and that there was that noble combat upon the bridge, in which, *T. Manlius* in the fight of both armies ſlew in ſingle fight a Gaul that had challenged him and given defiance, and deſpoiled him of his coller of gold. But there be more writers that induce me to beleeve, that this exploit was performed ten years after: and that in this year the Gauls had a battel given them by *M. Furius* Dictator, in the Albans land: where the Romans had neither doubtful nor dangerous victory, although the French made them afraid at firſt in remembrance of their former overthrow. Many thouſands of this barbarous nation were ſlain in field, many alſo fell upon the ſword in their camp after it was won. Some were ſcattered and fled, and thoſe moſt (who took the way to
G *Apulia*) ſaved themſelves from the enemy, both by flying ſo far, and alſo for that upon fear they were ſo diſtracted and parted one from another. The Senators and Commons agreed and made a decree, that the Dictator ſhould triumph. Who ſcarcely had made an end of that war, but he was welcomed home with a more hotter and more dangerous Sedition within the City. For after many ſharp bickerings and contentions the Dictator and Senat both, were overmatched and o-vercome, yea, and forced to accept the Tribuns laws aforeſaid. And alſo in deſpite of the Nobili-ty and do what they could, there was an aſſembly held for election of Conſuls: in which *L. Sex-tius* was created Conſul, the firſt Commoner that ever ſat in Conſuls chair. But the broils ſtaid

*L. Sextius*, the firſt Commoner that was choſen Conſul.

ſtaid not there. For, by reaſon that the Nobles denied to approve & give aſſent thereto, the matter was like to grow unto a Seceſſion and general departure of the Commons, yea, and to other fearful tearms and perilous threats of civil wars and inteſtin troubles. Howbeit, by means of the Dictator, the flames were quenched and the diſcords appeaſed, upon theſe capitulations. *Imprimis*, that the Nobility ſhould accord unto the Commons, to have one Conſul from among themſelves. *Item*, that the common people ſhould be content that the Nobles might out of the *Patritii* create a Pretor or Lord chief Juſtice for *oyer* and *determiner* in cauſes within the City. Thus when after long anger the two ſtates of the City were grown to unity and concord, the Senat thinking it a worthy matter (& good cauſe they had verily as ever any time before) willingly determined, for the honour of the immortal gods, to ſet out thoſe moſt ſtately [Roman] playes. And whereas before they had continued but three daies, to add one more, and to celebrate them full four. And when the Ædiles of the Commons refuſed that charge & excuſed themſelves, the younger Gentlemen of the Nobility cried all with one voice, That they would moſt gladly do that ſervice and honor to the immortal gods, ſo as they might be made Ædiles for that purpoſe. Thanked they were generally of all hands; and the Senat made a decree, That the Dictator ſhould propoſe unto the people, that two men of the Nobility might be Ædiles, and that in all the Aſſemblies and Elections for that year, whatſoever paſſed, ſhould be ratified by the ſoveraign aſſent of the Senators.

# The Seventh Book

## *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

### The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the Seventh Book.

*TWO new officers of State, to wit, the Pretorſhip and Ædileſhip of the Chair; were adjoined to the reſt. The City was ſore viſited with the peſtilence: which was more noted by reaſon of* Furius Camillus *who died therein. The remedy and end whereof, whiles they ſought to procure by bringing in new and ſtrange Religions, at length they deviſed ſtage-playes, which then firſt were ſet forth.* M. Pomponius *a Tribun of the Commons, arreſted* L. Manlius *for his exceeding rigour in taking muſter of ſouldiers: and for confining and hardly intreating his own ſon,* T. Manlius, *for no crime or hainous offence. And the young man himſelf, whoſe confining and miſuſage was laid unto his fathers charge, entred the bed-chamber of the ſaid Tribun, drew his Skean and forced him to ſwear unto him, that he would let fall his ſuit and proceed no further. Then all miſchiefs intended, were laid apart and had an end.* Curtius *armed at all pieces, mounted upon a Courſer, rode headlong into the wide gaping chink or gulf within the City of* Rome, *and ſo it preſently filled up again. The ſame young* Manlius, *who had freed his father from the troubles of the Tribun, entred into combat with a French-man, that challenged any one of the Roman Souldiers to ſingle fight, ſlew him, took from him his colar of Gold, which he ware about his neck afterwards himſelfe, and thereof was called* Torquatus. *Two Tribes more were added,* Pontina *and* Publicia. Licinius Stolo *was condemned by a law of his own making, becauſe he held in poſſeſſion more then five hundred Acres of ground.* M. Valerius *a Colonel of one thouſand foot, killed a Gaul, who challenged him to fight: and that, by the means and help of a Raven that ſetled upon his Morion, and with tallons and bill annoyed his enemy, and thereupon was he named* Corvinus. *For which vertue and valorous Act, he was the year next following created Conſul, being not full three and twenty years old. Amity was concluded with the Carthaginians. The Campaines being warred upon by the Samnites, craved aid of the Senat againſt them: and when they could not ſpeed, yeelded their City and Territory to the people of* Rome. *Whereupon it was thought good, ſeeing both they and theirs, were now become proprietary to the people of* Rome, *that they ſhould be defended by force of arms againſt the Samnites. When* A. Cornelius *the Conſul, had led his hoſt into a place of diſvantage and was in great peril, he was by the induſtrious ſervice of* P. Decius *a Colonel ſaved: who having gained the hill top, which commanded the ridge, whereon the Samnites lay encamped, gave the Conſul opportunity to eſcape and paſs into a plain ground: and himſelf, notwithſtanding he was environed by the enemy, brake through them, and gat away. The Roman ſouldiers left in garriſon at* Capua, *having conſpired to keep the City to their own behoof, were detected and their plot diſcloſed: and for fear of puniſhment, revolted from the people of* Rome *contrary to their allegeance: but by the policy and wiſdom of* M. Corvinus, *they were reclamed from their outrage, and reſtored again to their countrey. Moreover, this book containeth the fortunate wars againſt the Hernicks, Gauls, Tyburts, Privernats, Tarquinians, Samnites, and Volſcians.*

The

A

# *The ſeventh Book of* T. Livius.

HEre enſueth a year of eſpecial note and mark, for the Conſulſhip of a man newly riſen: alſo for two new offices, the Pretorſhip and Ædilethip of the Chair. Both which dignities, they of the Nobility purchaſed to themſelves in lieu of granting to the Commons one place of the two Conſuls. The Commons beſtowed the Conſulſhip upon *L. Sextius* for his good ſervice, in propounding the law, whereby that promotion was firſt ob-
B tained. The Nobles conferred the Pretorſhip upon *Sp. Furius Camillus* the ſon of *Marcus*: and the Ædileſhip upon *Cn. Quintius Capitolinus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio*, perſonages of their own order and degree: So gratious were they with the people in *Mars* field. *L. Sextius* had companion with him in government, *L. Æmilius Mamercus* one of the Senators. In the beginning of the year, much debate there was and hard hold, both as well about the Gauls who at the firſt ranged abroad over all * *Apulia*, and were now (as the report went) gathered together: as alſo concern- * *Puglia.*
ing the Rebellion of the Hernicks. But all matters being put off on purpoſe, until a further time, becauſe nothing ſhould be done by this new Conſul a Commoner, all things were ſtill and quiet, as if it had been vacation or *Non-term*: this only excepted, that the Tribuns muttered and could not endure with patience, that for one Conſul of the Commons, the Nobility had got to them-
C ſelves three Magiſtrats, all of the Patritii, ſitting like Conſuls, with their purſled and purpled long Robes in Ivory chairs of eſtate, And as for the Pretor beſides, as L. chief Juſtice to hear and decide cauſes, he was fellow with the Conſuls, and with the ſame Auſpices and authority created. Hereupon the Senat was abaſhed to be inſtant and to enforce that Ædiles of the chair ſhould be choſen out of the Nobility. And firſt it was agreed amongſt them, that every ſecond year they ſhould be elected forth of the Commons: Afterwards, indifferently one with another in common, without that regard. Now when *L. Genutius* and *Q. Servilius* were Coſſ. and all at good reſt for any home-ſedition or forrain war: behold, leſt they ſhould at any time be void of care and danger, there began a great plague; In which died, as men ſay, one Cenſor, one Ædible Curule, three Tribuns of the Commons: beſides, many a dead corps from among the multitude, was ca-
D ried forth, proportionable to the reſt. But above all, the bitter death of *Camillus* and much lamented (notwithſtanding the long and goodly time he had in this life) cauſed this peſtilence to be much ſpoken of and remembred. For he was (in truth) the only perſon in all fortune both of proſperity and adverſity, as well in peace as war: a rare and ſingular man before his baniſhment, and during the ſame more famous and renowned: either in regard that the City had a miſs of him, and being taken by the enemy in his abſence ſought unto him for his help; or in reſpect of his happineſs, in that together with his own reſtitution home he therewith reſtored his natural country. And after this, for 25 years ſpace (for ſo long he lived afterwards) he bare himſelf anſwerable to the title of ſo great glory: accounted worthy to be ſurnamed and reputed a ſecond founder after *Romulus*, of the City of *Rome*. All this year long and the next which followed, when *T. Sulpitius*
E *Peticus*, and *C. Licinius Stolo* were Conſuls, the ſickneſs continued. By reaſon whereof, nothing was done worth remembrance, but that for to obtain the mercy and grace of the Gods, there was a Lectiſtern ſolemnized, which was the third ſince the City was firſt founded. But when by no device of man, nor help of the Gods, the violence of the ſickneſs aſſwaged; their minds and conſciences were ſo poſſeſſed with ſuperſtition, that among other pacifications and appeaſings of the heavenly ire, the ſtage-playes (a ſtrange and new device for a warlike and martial people, who afore time uſed only to behold the ſolemn games and feats of ſtrength and activity, in the great Liſts or Race called *Circus*) were (as men ſay) firſt begun and ordained. But (as all beginnings Stage-players firſt at *Rome* inſtituted.
lightly are) a ſmall thing (God wot) it was at firſt: without ſong and metre, without geſture and action ſutable unto ſong and verſe, and the ſame alſo meer outlandiſh. For the players, who were
F ſent for out of *Hetruria*, as they danced the meaſures to the minſtrel and ſound of flute, geſtured not undecently withal, after the Tuſcan faſhion. But in proceſs of time the youth began to imitate and counterfeit them, jeſting pleaſantly beſides one with another, and ſinging in rude rimes and diſordered metre: and their geſture was ſorting with their jeſts and ditties. Thus was this thing firſt taken up, and thus with much uſe and often exerciſe, practiſed. And hereupon our own Country Actors and artificial profeſſors of this feat, were called *Hiſtriones*, of *Hiſter* a Tuſcan word, which ſignifieth a player or dancer. But theſe uttered not (as they uſed afore time) in their turns one after another, diſordred, confuſed, and rude verſes, like to the looſe and baudy Feſcenine rimes: but went through and rehearſed out, whole Satyrs, full of muſical meaſures, with a ſet concent of ſong alſo, to the inſtrument of the minſtrel, and with geſture agreeable there-
G unto. Certain years after, *Livius*, who was the firſt that after the uſe of Satyrs, ventured to ſet [Andronicus]
forth an Enterlude, of ſome one argument and uniform matter, is reported to have been himſelf (as they were all no doubt in thoſe dayes) the Author and Actor both, of his own verſes and ſongs: But being ſo often called on by the people to play, that he became hoarſe again, and loſt his voyce, he gat leave to ſet a boy to ſing before the minſtrels. And ſo being ſilent himſelf, he acted the ſong with more agility and nimblenes of motion a good deal: for, not employing his voyce, he had no hindrance of liberty in geſture. Then began the players to have others to ſing, and they themſelves uſed their voyces only in acting their parts in Comedies dialogue-

wiſe. After that, by this order taken and Law of Playes, they came from laughter and pleaſant conceited Mirth, and that this paſtime and ſport turned by litle and litle to a methodical Art and profeſſion: Then the youth leaving to Comœdians, the acting of parts in Enterludes, began after the old manner to let flye, one at another, merry ſcoffs and jeſts, interlaced within their rime and meeter, which thereupon were afterwards called *Exodia*, and were inſerted commonly in the Atellan Comedies. Which kind of ſport the youth learned firſt of the *Oſci*: and having once taken it up, they held it ſtill, and would not ſuffer it to be diſtayned and diſhoneſted by common players. And hereof cometh it, that the Actors in the Atellane Interludes were neither diſplaced out of their own tribe, nor made *Ærarii*, but ſerved in the wars, and have the Cities pay, as if they were not baſe Comœdians, and Profeſſors of infamous players craft. Thus have I thought good, among the ſmall beginnings of other things, to ſet down the Original of Stage-players alſo: that it may appear, that the thing ariſing from a conſiderate entrance, is grown now to this foolery and exceſſive ſumptuouſneſs, as hardly can be defrayed by moſt rich and wealthy Kingdoms. And yet theſe players at firſt, employed about a religious buſineſs, neither rid mens minds of ſcruple and ſuperſtition, nor eaſed their bodies one jot of ſickneſs. But rather, when by occaſion of an overflow and inundation of the *Tyber*, the *Circus* or Theatre was drowned, and their playes in the very midſt hindred and interrupted, this occurrent mightily troubled and affrighted them, as if the Gods had turned away their face and countenance, and rejected all their endeavours in theſe appeaſings of their wrath and indignation. Therefore in the time that *Cn. Genutius*, and *Æmylius Mamercus* were Conſuls the ſecond time, when mens minds were buſied and troubled more in ſeeking means to pacify the wrath of the Gods, than their bodies vexed with diſeaſes; the elder ſort and grand ſigniors called to mind that in old time there was a plague aſſwaged and gave over, by the driving and faſtning of a ſpike or great nail by the Dictator. The Senat upon a religious devotion perſwaded herewith, cauſed a Dictator to be created, for to faſten the nail aforeſaid. And there being choſen *L. Manlius Imperioſus*, he nominated for his General of Horſemen, *L. Pinarius*. There is an old law written with ancient letters, and in antique words, *That the chief Prætor for the time being, ſhould in the * Ides of September drive a ſpike or nail.* Well, a nail was driven, and ſtuck faſt on the right ſide of the Temple of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*, on that hand where as *Minervas* Chappel ſtandeth. That nail, becauſe in thoſe dayes there was but little writing ſhewed, as they ſay, the number of the years. And thereupon that Law was ſet up in *Minervaes* Church, for that *Minerva* was the inventreſs of numbring. And *Cintius* a diligent writer of ſuch monuments, and a ſtudious Antiquary, affirmeth, That at *Volſinii* there ſtuck ſuch ſpikes to be ſeen in the Temple of *Nortia*, a goddeſs among the Tuſcans, to quote and repreſent the number of the years. Now, as concerning the Temple of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*, *M. Horatius* the Conſul (by an act in that behalf provided) dedicated it, the year next enſuing the expulſion of the Kings. Afterwards, the ſolemn manner and cuſtome of faſtning a nail, was transferred from the Conſuls to the Dictators, as to the greater and more abſolute Magiſtracy. And in proceſs of time, this cuſtome being diſcontinued, it was thought a thing in it ſelf worthy, for which a Dictator ſhould be created.

The ſuperſtitious driving of a nail.

*13 of Septem.

*L. Manlius* being elected [as is aboveſaid] for this cauſe, as if he had been called to that dignity for ſome war, and not to free the people from their ſcruple of conſcience: and intending himſelf war againſt the Hernicks, plagued the youth with a grievous muſter: until at length all the Tribuns of the Commons taking againſt him, oppoſed themſelves: and were it by force, or for very ſhame he relented, and reſigned up his room. Nevertheleſs, in the entrance of the year next following, when *Q. Servilius Hala*, and *L. Genutius* the ſecond time were Conſuls, *M. Pomponius* a Tribun of the Commons arreſted *Manlius*. His cruelty in taking of the muſters was odious, not only for the loſs and dammage that the citizens ſuſtained thereby, but alſo for tearing and mangling their bodies, partly by ſcourging them with rods, who anſwered not to their name, and partly clapping irons upon them in priſon. But above all, his own cruel diſpoſition by nature was hateful, and the ſurname *(Imperioſus)* offenſive, eſpecially to a free City. This name he got by plain ſhew of his cruelty, exerciſed no leſs upon his neereſt friends and kinsfolk, yea, and his very own bloud, than upon ſtrangers. For amongſt other matters, the Tribun laid ſore to his charge, that having a young man to his ſon, detected of no lewdneſs and diſhoneſt life, him he had baniſhed (as it were) out of the City, from his houſe and home, debarred from the common Hall and open ſight of men from the company of his mates and companions, ſet him to drudgery and ſervil work, and betaken him as it were, into a priſon and houſe of correction: where, a Dictator his ſon a young Gentleman highly deſcended by this daily miſery of his, was taught to know, that he had indeed a Lordly and imperious Sir, to his father. "And for what great offence, I "pray you? Becauſe he was not ſo fair ſpoken, nor all the readieſt with his tongue. Which in- "firmity and defect of nature, ought not a father to have born withal and cloaked (if there had "been any goodneſs, any common humanity in him) rather than to puniſh it, and by rough "handling, and ſharp uſage, to make it more known and notorious? Why? even the very brute "beaſts, if it chance that any of their breed or young ones prove but untowardly, feed and che- "riſh them ſtill nevertheleſs. But as for this *L. Manlius*, he augmenteth one inconvenience and "default in his ſon, with another: whom being but ſoft and ſlow of nature, he keepeth down the "more: and that litle life and ſmall metal that is in him, he goeth about to quench and dull at "once by this peaſants life and ruſtical uſage, and converſing amongſt the cattel and beaſts.

*L. Manlius Imperioſus.*

The complaints of *M. Pomponius*, a Tribune of the Com. againſt *L. Manlius.*

Theſe

A These bitter complaints and accusations moved the patience, and stirred the stomacks of every man else, sooner than the young man himself. Who contrary-wise was grieved in his mind, that he should be a cause of his fathers troubles, thus to incur the ill will and obloquy of the people. And that all the World, both Heaven and Earth might know, that he desired rather to succour and help his father, than to assist his adversaries and foes, he entreth into a course beseeming and bewraying (I must needs say) a rude and rustical mind. Which, although it savour nothing of Civility, yet for his kindness and dutiful piety to his father, deserveth commendation. One morning betimes he gets him up, and unknown to every one of the house, with a good skein close by his side, to the City he goes: and from the gate streight wayes directly to *M. Pomponius* the Tribun The kindness of *T. Manlius* to his father.
B his house. Heteileth the Porter, that he must needs speak with his Master out of hand, willing him to let him understand, that *T. Manlius* the son of *Lucius*, was there. And being immediately let in, (for the Tribun hoped, that the son was throughly angred with his father, and brought new complaints, and one matter or other against him, or some devise and overture how to proceed in the commenced Action) and salutations passed to and fro between the Tribun and him, he said, that he was to talk with him apart out of all mens hearing. So the room being voided, and all commanded to depart far enough out of the way, he draweth out his skein: and leaping aloft upon the bed, stood there, and held it full bent against him, and threatned presently to give him the stab, unless he would swear the oath he should render unto him, namely, never to call an Assembly or Hall of the Commons together about his fathers inditement, or impanel a Jury against him.
C The Tribun affrighted (seeing the naked weapon glittering before his face, himself all alone and unarmed, the other a tall and lusty young fellow, and, that which was as much to be feared as the rest, fool-hardy, and presuming upon his strength) took the oath in that form as he put it unto him. And afterwards he gave it out plainly and confessed (for his excuse) that by this means he was forced in spight of his heart, to surcease his suit, and give over his enterprise. But the Commons were not so much offended at the son, for giving such an adventure in his fathers quarrel: but they could have been more contented and better pleased, that it had lien in their power to have passed their voyces, for the condemnation of so cruel and proud a prisoner, as they had under their hands. And the more praise-worthy was this design of the son, because so great rigor of the father, wrought no alienation at all in his heart, from the affection at duty that he owed unto
D him. So not only the father escaped his arraignment, but this action of the young man turned to his own honour and preferment. For whereas, this year it was first ordained, that the *Tribuns or Colonels should be chosen by voyces of the legionary souldiers (for aforetime, as at this day, the Generals themselves made them, whom they call *Ruffult*) in six places (for so many were elected) he obtained the second room: and that, in regard of no desert otherwise, either at home or abroad, which might win him this favour, as who had spent his youth in the country altogether, far from the civil society of men.

* A Tribun in a Legion, called *Chiliarchus*, i. a Colonel or leader of a 1000 [footmen]

The same year, by earth-quake or some other forcible violence, the common place called *Forum*, clave and opened wide, welneer in the mids, and sunk down to an exceeding depth: neither could that chink or pit be filled up by casting in of earth (notwithstanding every man laboured and
E brought what he could) before that they began to enquire, according as they were admonished by the divine Oracles, what it might be, wherein the most puissance and greatness of the people of *Rome* consisted. (For the wisards prophesied, That if they would have the state of *Rome* to remain sure for ever, they should dedicate and offer it, whatsoever it was, unto that place.) And when they were in doubt what this should be, it is reported, that *M. Curtius*, a right hardy knight *M. Curtius* his valor and resolution.
and martial young Gentleman, rebuked them therefore, because they doubted whether the Romans had any earthly thing better than armour and valor? Herewith, after silence made, he lift up his eyes, and beheld the Temples of the immortal Gods, scituat neer to the *Forum*, and the Capitol likewise; and stretching forth his hands, one while toward Heaven, another while to the gaping chinks and gulf in the earth, toward the infernal spirits beneath, he offered and devoted him-
F self to assured death. And mounting upon a brave courser, as richly trapped and set out, as possibly he could devise, armed as he was at all pieces, he leapt Horse and man and all into the hole. The people, both men and women, threw in after him sundry gifts and oblations, and fruits of the earth in great plenty. The place was after called *Curtius Lacus*, of his name, and not of that *Curtius Lacus*, *Curtius Metius* in the old time, who was a souldier under *Titus Tatius*. If I could by any means search out the truth, I would not spare for any pains in that behalf. But now seeing that by reason of antiquity the certainty is not fully known, we must go by the common voyce and report of men. And verily the name of the lake is more renowned and noble by occasion of this later and fresher tale, than the other.

After the expiation of so great and prodigious a wonder, much consultation there was in the
G Senate that year, as concerning the Hernicks: for having sent their Heralds unto them for restoration of harms done, but to no effect, they determined with all convenient speed to propose unto the people, for to proclaim war against the Hernicks, and bid them defiance. The people generally with one voyce liked thereof, and approved it. The charge of that service and exploit fell to *L. Genutius* his lot, to undertake. Now for that he was the first Consul of the Commons that by his own auspices and conduct should manage war, the City was in great expectation of the sequel and issue: and according to the event that should fall out, good or bad in this journey, they were to judge, whether they had done well or amiss to communicat these dignities with the Commons.

*L. Genutius* Conſul ſlain.

But it fortuned ſo, that *Genutius* being with great preparation and power ſet forth againſt the enemies, was entrapped by an Ambuſcado, his legions upon a ſudden fear unlooked for defeated, himſelf (the Conſul) environed round about, and ſlain by them, that wiſt not whom they ſlew. Which tidings being brought to *Rome*, the Senators were not ſo penſive and ſorrowful for the common calamity, as they fumed and took on moſt inſolently, for this unhappy expedition and conduct of the Commoner Conſul: and muttered in all places theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches: "Now let them "go and create Conſuls again out of the commonalty, and tranſlate the *Auſpicia* whither they "ought not. What? Becauſe the Senators by an Act of the Commons, might be defeated and diſ-"poſſeſſed of their dignities, could ſo inauſpicate and irreligious a law prevail likewiſe againſt the "Gods immortal? Who now themſelves have taken the matter into their own hands, and main-"tained their power, their deity and Auſpices: which were not ſo ſoon medled withal, and pol-"luted by one that had no right thereto, nor lawful title, but both the whole army, and Captain "alſo, were vanquiſhed and overthrown; to teach them for ever hereafter, how they make their "ſolemn Elections of Magiſtrats confuſedly, without regard of the rights and royalties of noble "houſes. Theſe ſpeeches both Councel-Houſe and common place rung again withal. So the Conſul *Servilius* with conſent of the Nobles, named for Dictator *Appius Claudius*, who had afore-time in an Oration before the whole aſſembly of the Commons diſſwaded the proceeding of that law; and now with greater authority blamed the miſhap of that counſel, which was by him miſ-liked and reproved. A muſter was proclaimed, and a publick Vacation. But before that the Dicta-tor and theſe new enrolled legions were gone as far as the Hernicks confines, the other army under the leading of *C. Sulpitius* the Lieutenant, by occaſion of an occurrent that fell out there, got a good hand againſt their enemies. For when as upon the death of the Conſul, the Hernicks ad-vanced in ſcornful and contemptuous manner, cloſe under the camp of the Romans, with a full hope to be maſters of the ſame; behold, what with the exhortation of the Lieutenant, and what for anger and indignity, wherewith the ſouldiers ſtomacks were full, they made a ſally out againſt them. Whereupon the Hernicks came ſo far ſhort of their accompt, that they had no hope to aſſail, no, nor approach the rampier: and ſo in diſaray they diſmarched and departed. Afterwards by the coming in of the Dictator with a freſh power, the old army was reenforced double. The Dictator in a ſolemn audience, having praiſed the Lieutenant and his ſouldiers for defending their tents ſo manfully, both encouraged them that heard themſelves ſo highly commended according to their deſerts, and alſo whetted on the reſt to perform the like valorous ſervice. The enemies on the other ſide were nothing ſlack to prepare themſelves to fight again: who in remembrance of the honour they had already won, albeit they were not ignorant that the Romans forces were redoubled, encreaſed their own power alſo. For the whole Nation of the Hernicks, even as many as were able to draw ſword, were called forth to the wars. Eight cohorts by themſelves conſiſting of four hundred in a band were enrolled, even the moſt able and choice men of all others. This elect and eſpecial flour of their youth and manhood, they fed with hope and encouraged the more to this ſervice, becauſe they had taken order they ſhould have double pay. Freed they were beſides from all other labour and Military toil that being thus reſerved to intend the fight and no-thing elſe, they ſhould make reckoning and know, that they were to indeavour and ſtrain them-ſelves above the ordinary carriage of ſouldiers. Placed alſo they were in the battel, apart from the other ranks: to the end their valour and manhood might be more ſeen and marked. Between both camps of the Romans and Hernicks, there was a plain of two miles in length: and there in the mid way in a manner, was the battel fought. Firſt, the fight was doubtful on both ſides, whiles the Roman Horſemen charged and recharged again, but ever in vain, to ſee if they could break their battailons. Thus when the ſervice on Horſeback, proved leſs in effect than in attempt, they asked the adviſe and craved leave of the Dictator: which being granted, they abandoned their Horſes, and with a mighty ſhout, ran forth before the enſigns, and renewed the battel afreſh. Neither could they have been any longer endured, but that thoſe extraordinary bands oppoſed themſelves, and received them with equal might of body and valour of heart. Then was the fight maintained between the brave youth and principal flour of both nations. And look what ſlaughter there was by common hazard of war, as well of the one ſide as of the other, the loſs was greater for the quality of the perſons, than the proportion of the number. For the reſt of the common ſouldiers, as if they had ſhifted from themſelves the whole conflict, and betaken it to the van-guards only, repoſed their own event and hap in the manhood of others. Many a man on both parts was ſmitten down and dyed in the place, but more were hurt and wounded. "At laſt, thoſe "Horſemen that diſmounted, fell to call and rebuke one another, asking what hope remained elſe "beſides? If neither on horſeback they were able to drive the enemies back, nor on foot force "them to give ground and remove them, what third kind of ſervice looked they for? Why leapt "they out ſo luſtily and bravely into the forefront before the enſigns? and fought in the place of "others? With theſe words provoking one another, they pluckt up their hearts, and with a freſh ſhout ſet foot forward and gave a new charge. Firſt, they compelled the enemies to retreat and loſe their ſtanding: then to give more ground: and at length plainly to turn their back and run a-way. Hard it is to ſay, being ſo equally and indifferently matched as they were, what it was that turned the ballance and gave the victory: unleſs it were the perpetual fortune that ever followed both nations, able to advance the ſpirit and courage of the one, and to daunt and abate the hearts of the other. The Romans had the Hernicks in chaſe, all the way long, ſo far as to their camp: but

becauſe

A becauſe it was far in the evening, they ſtaid from aſſailing it. For by reaſon that it was long ere the Dictator could by ſacrifice gather any aſſured token of Gods favour, he ſounded not the battel before noon: whereby it continued until night. The morrow after, were the Hernicks fled and their camp abandoned: only ſome hurt and wounded ſouldiers were found left behind. But one troup of them that forſook their enſigns (when as neer unto their walls and forts their banners were diſcovered, ſlenderly accompanied, and with few about them) was ſcattered abroad over the fields, and in great fear ſtragled all about, and ſhamefully fled away. And yet this victory of the Romans coſt them well the ſetting on, and ſpent ſome bloud: for they loſt a fourth part of their men: and that which was no ſmall dammage unto them, ſome of the Roman Horſemen alſo were B ſlain.

The next year following, when *C. Sulpitius* and *C. Licinius Calvus* the Conſuls, were gone with a power againſt the Hernicks, and finding not the enemy abroad in the country, had by force won *Forentinum* a Town of theirs: in their return homeward, the Tyburts kept their gates ſhut againſt them. And after many complaints and unkindneſſes ripped up between them: this laſt quarrel was it, that moved the Romans by their Heralds (after reſtitution and amends demanded) to ſend defiance, and proclaim war againſt the people of *Tybur*. That *Titus Quintius Penus* was Dictator that year, and *Serg. Cornelius Maluginenſis* General of his Horſemen, it is agreed upon by all authors. *Macer Licinius* writeth that he was created for the holding of an aſſembly for Election of Magiſtrates, and that, by the Conſul *Licinius*: becauſe when his fellow Conſul made haſt C to have the Election before the war, thereby to continue his own Conſulſhip, it was thought good to withſtand and meet with his naughty deſire in that behalf. But *Licinius* [*Macer*] in uſurping to his name and family, that praiſe and commendation, maketh himſelf to be of leſs credit in writing of the reſt: eſpecially, ſeeing that in none of the old records, I find mention of any ſuch matter. Mine own mind giveth me rather, that the Dictator was created becauſe of the Gauls tumultuous war. For certainly that year they encamped themſelves three miles from *Rome*, beyond the bridge of * *Anio*, in the way *Salaria*. The Dictator having proclaimed a Vacation, * *Teveron.* becauſe of theſe troubles of the Gauls, received the Military oath of all the younger ſort; and with a puiſſant army departed the City, and upon the very banck on this ſide of *Anio* pitched his tents. In the mid way between them and the enemies there was a bridge: which they D would not break down on either part, leſt they ſhould be thought fearful cowards. But about the ſeizing and gaining of that bridge, firſt, there was many a skirmiſh: and judged it could not be, conſidering the equal forces of both ſides, who ſhould be maſters of it. Then advanced forward unto the bridge (void of all guards) a mighty tall and big Frenchman, and as loud as ever he could ſet out a throat, maketh this challenge; Now (quoth he) let the braveſt gallant that *Rome* hath, come forth and ſpare not, to combat if he dare, that the event of us twain may ſhew whether nation is more valiant and warlike. The brave Knights and youths of *Rome*, held their peace a good while, both abaſhed to refuſe the challenge, and alſo unwilling to run upon the preſent hazard of a ſingle fight. Then *T. Manlius*, the ſon of *Lucius*, even he who releaſed his father from the Tribuns troubles, goeth forth of his quarter unto the Dictator. "Without your leave and expreſs *T. Manlius to* E "commandment (quoth he) O Noble Soveraign, I would never preſume to fight out of my ranck *the L. General.* "and ſtanding, no, not if I ſhould ſee aſſured victory before mine eyes: but if it will pleaſe your "Excellency to give me licence, I will ſhew unto that beaſt yonder (that ſo proudly and luſtily is "come forth leaping before the enemies enſigns, and braving as you ſee) that I am deſcended of "that houſe and race, that gave the whole army of the Gauls the foil, and turned them down the "Cliff *Tarpeia*. Then ſaid the Dictator unto him, God bleſſe thee *T. Manlius*: On forth a Gods Name, in this thy dutiful mind and zeal that thou carrieſt both to father and Country: Go on I ſay, and with the help of the Gods, perform the Roman name to be invincible. Then his fellows and companions hoip to arme the young Gentleman. A light footmans ſhield he takes unto him, and a ſpaniſh blade by his ſide, more handſome to fight ſhort and cloſe. Being thus armed F and ſet out, they bring him forth againſt this vainglorious Gaul, ſet all upon joyful fooliſhly, and (as the ancient writers have thought it worth the noting and remembrance) ſcornfully lolling and blaring out his tongue. Then the reſt departed every man to his own quarter and ward: *The combat* and the two armed Champions were left in the midſt, more like a feſtival ſpectacle and pageant *between T.* to behold, than any fight in field, ſuiting to the manner, guiſe, and law of combat, conſidering *Manlius and a* they were not equally matched, if a man ſhould judge by the eye and outward view. The one of *mighty big* them of perſonage mighty and exceeding tall, his coat armour of ſundry colours and gay, his har- *Gaul.* neſs glittering and all damasked and engraven with gold. The other, a man of a middle * ſta- * *Six foot high,* ture of Souldiers, no great ſhew of armor, and that rather fit and handſome, than gaudy to be- *or five foot* hold: without any hooping, ſinging, and joyous vaunting of himſelf, without vain-flouriſhes *and ten inches.* G and ſhaking of his weapons in the air: but he had an heart full of reſolute courage, ſtomack, and cloſe anger within, reſerving all his fierceneſs and eagerneſs unto the very combat and tryal of fight. As they ſtood thus between the two armies, and ſo many men all about looking on, in doubtful ſuſpence between hope and fear, the Gaul like as he had been a huge mountain aloft over the other, ready to fall upon him, held forth his target with the left hand to bear off the ſword of his enemy coming againſt him, and let drive a down-right blow edgelong, that it reſounded again upon his ſhield, and did no harm at all. The Roman bearing his own ſword with the point upward, and with his ſhield having ſmitten the nether part of his enemies target,

and turned it aside, got with his whole body close within him, and without the danger of being H
hurt: and when he had wound himself between his enemies body and his swords point, he re-
doubled one or two foins, and thrust him up into the belly at the groin, and so overthrew him.
There lay the Gaul along, and took up a great ground in length. When he was down, without
any further mangling and tormenting his carcass, he despoiled him only of his colar of gold, which
embrued as it was with blood, he did about his own neck. The Gauls with fear and admiration
of this fight were astonied. The Romans with great cheerfulness came forth of their wards and
quarters to meet their champion, and with great praise and congratulation brought him before
the Dictator. And as they merily cast forth (as the manner of souldiers is) certain pleasant ditties,
ballad-wise, but without artificial skill of poetry, they were heard to surname him **Torquatus*: I
which afterwards was taken up and commonly used, and became an honorable name to his poste-
rity, and the whole house besides. Besides all this, the Dictator bestowed upon him a coronet of
gold for a reward, and openly before the whole audience of the army, highly and wonderfully com-
mended that fight of his. And certainly, that combat was of such consequence, and made so much
to the event of the whole war, that the night next following, the host of the Gauls, fearfully aban-
doning their tents, departed into the Tyburtin country: and being drawn into a society of war
with the inhabitants of **Tybur*, and liberally by them relieved with victuals, they passed within
a while into *Campania*. Which was the cause that the next year, *C. Petilius Balbus* the Consul
(when his fellow *M. Fabius Ambustus* was by lot, sent with commission against the Hernicks) led
an army, by the appointment of the people, against the Tyburtins. To the aid of whom, when K
the French were returned out of *Campania*; there was foul spoil and havock made in the Lavican,
Tusculan, and Alban territories, by the leading and conduct, no doubt of the Tyburtins. And
whereas the State stood well contented that the Consul should be the General commander, a-
gainst these enemies the Tyburtins; this new trouble and tumult of the Gauls, caused a Dictator
for to be created. And that was *Q. Servilius Hala*, who named for his General of Horsemen, *T.
Quintius*. And by the authority and assent of the Senators, he vowed to set out the great games,
in case he sped well in this war. The Dictator having commanded the Consul with his army to
tarry still, that by his own conduct of war he might keep in the Tyburtins, took the oath of all the
younger people: and there was not one refused to go to the war. Not far from the gate *Collina*
was this battel fought, in the sight of their Parents, Wives and Children. Great incouragements, L
doubtless, to cheer up and animate men, absent and far off: but now before their eyes, partly,
for shame, and partly, for pitty and compassion, they set the souldiers all on fire. After much
blood-shed on both sides, at the last the army of the Gauls turn back: and being put to flight, they
made hast to *Tybur*, the very strength and fort of the Gauls war. But as they fled straggling one
from another, they were encountred by the Consul *Petilius* not far from *Tybur*. And when the
Tyburtins issued forth to succour them, they with the rest were beaten into the Town. Likewise
the other Consul *Fabius*, first in small skirmishes, and at last in one notable pight field, vanquished
the Hernicks, at what time as his enemies charged upon him with all their forces and whole
puissance. The Dictator having highly commended the Consuls, both in the Senat-house and al-
so in a publick assembly of all the people, and attributed the whole honour of his own Acts unto M
them, gave up the Dictatorship. *Petilius*, obtained a double triumph, over the Gauls and the
Tiburts. For *Fabius* it was thought sufficient, that he should enter into the City Ovant, in a pety
triumph. The Tyburtins scoffed and made good game at the triumph of *Petilius*. For, "where
"was it (say they) that they encountred and joyned battel with us? There went forth indeed out
"of the City gates a few of us to behold the flight and fright of the Gauls: but seeing our selves
"also to be set upon, and killed one with another as we came in the way, we retired back, and
"and got the City over our heads. And was that such a doughty deed, that the Romans should
"think, it deserved a triumph? But that they may not deem it still, so noble and so wondrous an
"Act, to make some stir, and raise a tumult in the enemies gates: they should themselves see short-
"ly greater fearfulness, even under their own walls. Hereupon, the year following, when *M. Po-* N
*pilius Lenas*, and *Cn. Manlius* were Consuls, at the first watch of the night, they came from *Tybur*
in warlike manner to the City of *Rome*. This sudden occurrent, hapning so fearfully in the night
season, stroke a mighty terrour into them, that hastily awakened out of sleep. Besides, many there
were that wist not, either what enemies they were, or from whence they came. Howbeit they
cryed Alarm with all speed, on every side. The gates were fortified with warders, the walls
manned with strong guards. When as early in the morning, they were descried to be but a mean
number of enemies before the Town, and those none other but Tyburtins; the Consuls sallied
out at two gates, and assailed both wayes their forces, as they were now come under the walls
ready to scale. Then was it seen that they were thither come presuming rather on the vantage of
the time, than trusting in valour and manhood: so little were they able to abide the first brunt and O
charge given by the Romans. Furthermore, it was well known that this their comming turned to
the Romans good: for, the discord that was now breeding between the Senators and the Com. for
fear of this so neer danger was quite staied. But in the next war that ensued the enemies came after
another sort, and were more terrible to the fields and country, than to the City. For the Tarquini-
ans over-ran all the marches of the Roman pale, wasting and spoiling all those parts, especially that
border upon *Hetruria*. And after restitution & amends demanded, but to no effect, the new Coss.
*C. Fabius* & *C. Flaminius*, by the ordinance of the people proclaimed war against them. The rumors
also

* Wearing a colar, or Carquan.

* *Tivoli.*

A alſo of the Gauls war began to be riſe. But amid theſe manifold and fearful troubles, this was their comfort, that the Latins had peace granted unto them, upon their own ſute: and from thence a great power was received, according to the ancient league, which for many years ſpace, they had let paſs and diſcontinued. The Roman forces by this aid well ſtrengthned, made a lighter matter of it, when they heard that the Gauls were arrived already at *Preneſte*, and were ſet down and encamped about *Pedum*. It was thought good, that *C. Sulpitius* ſhould be choſen Dictator, named by *C. Plautius*, ſent for to the ſame purpoſe. Unto whom *M. Valerius* was appointed for Commander of his Horſemen. Theſe marched againſt the Gauls with the choice ſouldiers of two Conſular armies. This was a lingring war and protracted longer a great deal, than both parties liked of. At the
B firſt, the Gauls only were ſharp ſet and eager of battel: but afterwards the Roman ſouldiers, by ruſhing into fight and skirmiſh, exceeded far the fierceneſs and forwardneſs of the French. The Dictator was nothing pleaſed herewith, to put all upon the hazard of fortune, when there was no need at all, eſpecially having to deal with that enemy, whom tract of time and diſadvantage of the place, made daily worſe and worſe: being unprovided beſides of victuals and making long abroad without any fenced fort: moreover, of that ſtomack and conſtitution of body, as ſerved wholly for expedition and quick ſervice, and by ſmall delayes waxed feeble and faint. Upon theſe conſiderations the Dictator held off ſtill and drew the war on length, and had proclaimed a grievous puniſhment if any without his expreſs commandment ſhould fight with the enemy. The ſouldiers could not well brook this: but firſt within their wards and watches began among themſelves to carp at
C the Dictator: and otherwhiles they let flie at the LL. of the Senate in general, blaming them for their direction in that the Conſuls had not the managing of this war. They have choſen indeed (ſay they) a ſingular General on ſet purpoſe, a Captain alone, who thinks whiles he ſitteth ſtill and doth nothing, the victory will fall from Heaven, or flie into his very lap. After this they began openly abroad, and in the day time, to caſt out the ſame, yea, and worſe ſpeeches too and more malepart: namely, that they would either fight, and ask the Dictator no leave, or go along in order of battel to *Rome*. The Centurions alſo joyned themſelves to the ſouldiers: and not only in conventicles and knots together, there was whiſpering and grumbling: but in the very * *Principia*, yea, and within the quarter of the L. General his pavilion, were heard confuſed ſpeeches together in one accord. So as the multitude began now to grow to a full aſſembly, and from all
D parts to call and cry aloud, to go preſently to the Dictator: and that *Sex. Tullius* ſhould in the name of the whole army ſpeak unto him, as beſeemed his vertue and courage. This *Tullius* now had been ſeven times already a primipilar or principal Centurion: neither was there in the whole army, of all thoſe that ſerved on foot, a man more renowned for feats of arms. He going before the army of footmen, ſteppeth to the Tribunal. And when as *Sulpitius* marvailed, not ſo much to ſee that company, as the leader of the company *Tullius*, who of all the ſouldiers had ever been in beſt order and moſt obedient. "This is the matter (quoth he) O Noble Dictator and nothing "elſe, The whole army in general, ſuppoſing themſelves by you condemned of cowardice, and in a "manner to their utter ſhame abandoned, and diſarmed, have intreated me to plead their cauſe "before your Majeſty. And I for my part, I aſſure you, in caſe we might be charged to have loſt
E "ground any where, in caſe we had turned our backs upon the enemy, in caſe we had loſt our en-"ſigns ſhamefully, would think it yet a reaſonable ſuit to be obtained at your hands, that you "would give us leave to amend that which is amiſs, to correct our former fault with hardineſs and "valour, and by ſome freſh and glorious exploit, to cancel the remembrance of ſo foul a foil and "ſhameful diſhonor. Even thoſe very Legions that were deſeated and put to flight at *Allia*, after-"wards in their return from *Veii*, recovered the ſame country of theirs by valour, which they had "once before loſt through cowardice. But we by the goodnes of God, through the felicity of your "ſelf and the people of *Rome*, have hitherto kept both the army unfoiled, & honor unſtained. And "yet I ſcarce dare ſay honour; if ſo be, that not only our enemies may with all reproachful tearms "ſcorn and flout us, as if we were women pent in & mewed up cloſe within our rampier: but alſo
F "you our General (the more is our grief) deem us your army to be heartleſs, handleſs & armour-"leſs: and before any tryal of us made, to deſpair of us, as if you took your ſelf to be a Commander "& Leader of a ſort of maimed & feeble perſons. For what elſe may we think of it, that you, an old "experienced Captain and a moſt valiant warrior, ſhould ſit, as they ſay, with one hand in another, "doing nothing? For howſoever the truth is indeed, more meet it is, that you ſhould be thought to "doubt of our valor, than we of yours. But if this be not a device of your own ſetting, but a publick "plot laid: and ſome matter agreed upon among the Senators at home, rather than any war of the "Gauls, keepeth us away from thence, confined as it were from the City & our own houſes: then "I beſeech you whatſoever I ſhall ſay, you would think it as ſpoken not by the ſouldiers to their "Lord General, but by the Commons to the rulers and Senators. Who may thus reply, that as ye
G "have your policies and counſels, ſo will they have their deſigns & wayes of their own likewiſe. "For who would think I pray you, that we are your ſouldiers, and not your ſlaves: ſent to war, and "not into baniſhment? If any ſet out the banner of war unto us, lead us forth into the field, and "ſound the battel, ready we are to fight like men, and like Romans: but if there be no need of war, "we wil rather ſit ſtil at home than in the camp. And thus much ſuppoſe as ſpoken to the Lords "of the Senat. But we thy ſouldiers, O worthy General beſeech thee firſt to give us leave to fight, "then deſirous are we to conquer and under thy ſtandard and conduct to conquer: to preſent thee "with a glorious garland of lawrel, and in triumph to enter with thee into the City: and after thy

* A place in the camp.

The Oration of *Sex. Tullius* unto the Dictator.

"chariot to go up with joy and mirth to the Temple of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*. This Oration H
of *Tullius*, the multitude ſeconded with their petitions, calling aloud unto the General on every
XIV ſide, to ſound the alarm, and command them to arm. The Dictator, albeit he thought the mat-
ter in it ſelf good, but not handled in good manner; and for example ſake not to be allowed: yet
promiſed to ſatisfy the ſouldiers deſire. "And calling *Tullius* ſecretly apart, queſtioned with him
"what this matter meant, what precedent or cuſtom they had for their warrant? *Tullius* earneſtly
"beſought the Dictator, not to think him to have forgotten either military Diſcipline, or his own
"place, nor yet the Majeſty of his Soveraign. And whereas he had not withdrawn himſelf away
"from the multitude being in a mutiny, nor refuſed to be their ſpeaker (who lightly reſemble
"thoſe that are their ring-leaders) it was only for fear leſt ſome other ſhould have ſtept in place, I
"ſuch as the unruly people in mutinies are wont to ſet up for their Captains. As for himſelf, do
"nothing he would, without the pleaſure of the General. Howbeit, he would adviſe him to look
"well about him, and carefully to ſee to it, that he keep his army in order, government, and obe-
"dience. And high time it is now, and would not be deferred. For conſidering their hearts were
"kindled already, and their bloud up, they would be their own carvers, and chuſe themſelves
"both time and place, if the General would not grant it them the ſooner. Whiles they were
thus in ſad communication, there hapned two Roman ſouldiers to take perforce from a Gaul cer-
tain ſumpter Horſes, which feeding without the camp, he was driving away. At whom, the Gauls
let flye ſtones good ſtore. And thereupon roſe an alarm from the Roman *Corps de guard*, and run-
ning out there was apace, on both ſides. So as now they had grown to a full skirmiſh and battel K
indeed, had not the Centurions ſpeedily ſtickled them, and ended the fray. Upon which occur-
rent, the credit of *Tullius* with the Dictator was confirmed: and ſeeing the caſe would abide no
delayes, he proclaimed battel againſt the morrow. The Dictator notwithſtanding he had yeelded
to fight a field, as preſuming more upon the courage of his men, than their forces: began to de-
viſe with himſelf, and caſt about every way, how by ſome ſtratagem he might ſtrike a terrour a-
mong the enemies. And having a ſubtle wit and nimble head of his own, this new policy he
thought upon: which afterwards many warriors, both of our own country, and of others alſo,
The ſtratagem of *C. Sulpitius* the Dictator. yea, and ſome even in our time, have uſed and put in practiſe. He gave order, that the mules
ſumpters ſhould be taken off their backs, leaving only two courſe twillies or coverings upon them,
and ſetteth the muletors aloft thereon, furniſhed with the armour of certain captives, and ſick L
and diſeaſed perſons. Of theſe he made wel-neer one thouſand, and joyned unto them one hun-
dred good Horſemen. All theſe, he chargeth in the night time to get above the camp into the hills,
and among the Furs and woods, to beſtow themſelves cloſe: and not to ſtir from thence, before
that he gave them a ſignal. Himſelf, ſo ſoon as it was day light, began with great warineſs and
conſiderate care to embattel and arrange his army in length along the very foot of the mountains:
to the end, that the enemy might have the hills full againſt him. Thus having ſet out and directed
theſe counterfeit cornets of Horſe, to ſcare the enemies with, who, as it fell out, did more good
in a manner, than the other forces indeed; at the firſt the vanguard of the Gauls thought that the
Romans would not come down on even ground: but afterwards, when they ſaw them upon a
XV ſudden deſcended, they alſo, as deſirous of fight, ran on forward preſently to joyn battel, and be- M
gan the fight before the Captains had ſounded. The Gauls charged the right wing more fiercely,
ſo that hardly they might have been abidden, had not by good hap the Dictator been there in per-
ſon. "Who called upon *Sextus Tullius* by name, and rebuked him, demanding whether he had
"given his word unto him, that the ſouldiers ſhould in that ſort fight? What is become (quoth
"he) of theſe, that with out-cries and open mouth called for battel? Where are thoſe threats
"now, that they would begin to fight a field without commandment of the General? Lo, your
"General himſelf calleth upon you as loud as he can, to fall to your buſineſs, and goeth armed be-
"fore the enſigns in the vanguard: will any now follow after that erewhile would needs lead the
"way afore? Fierce (I ſee well) in camp, fearful in the field. And no fable it was that they heard
"him ſpeak. Whereupon for very ſhame they were ſo pricked forward, that without caſting any N
perils, or minding preſent danger, they ran upon the darts and ſhot of their enemies. This vio-
lence of theirs, as if they had been welneer out of their right wits, at the very firſt troubled and diſ-
ordered the enemies. The Horſemen that were ſent out hard after them, forced them to turn back,
when they were once in diſarray. The Dictator himſelf ſeeing the battel of one ſide to ſhrink, ad-
vanced forward with the enſigns againſt the left wing, unto which he ſaw the main multitude to
reſort and gather together, and withal he gave the ſign to them that were within the hills, accor-
ding as it was before agreed. And when from thence alſo a new ſhout aroſe, and that they were
ſeen to march ſide-long overthwart the hill, toward the Gauls camp; then for fear leſt they ſhould
be ſhut out from their hold, they gave over all fighting, and ran by heaps to their camp. Where
*M. Valerius* the General of the Horſemen encountred and affronted them. For he ſeeing the right O
wing diſcomfited had ſet a compaſs about, and ridden to the fortifications and munitions of the
enemies. Whereupon they fled to the mountains and the woods. Moſt of them were received by
the counterfeit ſhew of Horſemen, and by the muletors caught up, and came ſhort home: but as
many of them as fear drave through into the woods, were (after the heat of the battel was paſt)
cruelly ſlain and hewn in pieces. Neither was there any one, ſetting *M. Furius* aſide, that triumphed
more worthily over the Gauls, than did *C. Sulpitius*. He conſecrated alſo in the Capitol a good
weighty maſs of gold, got out of the Gauls ſpoil, and compaſſed it within an encloſure of ſquare
ſtone.

A ſtone. The ſame year, the Conſuls likewiſe warred, but with diverſe fortune and ſucceſs. For by *C. Plautius*, the Hernicks were vanquiſhed and ſubdued. But his companion *Fabius* fought raſhly and unadviſedly againſt the Tarquinians. The loſs in the battel received, was not ſo much, but that the Tarquinians ſacrificed three hundred and ſeven Roman ſouldiers whom they took priſoners. This foul and ſhameful execution, cauſed the ignominy of the Roman defeat afore to be much more notable, and talked of abroad. Beſides this loſs, was the Roman territory much waſted (to help the matter withal) by the Privernats, and after them by the Veliterns, who made ſudden inrodes into the Country. The ſame year alſo were two more Tribes added, *Pomptina* and *Publicia*. The votive ſolemn playes or games likewiſe, which *Marcus Furius* the Dictator
B had vowed, were then ſet forth and performed.

Then and never before was the firſt law put up to the people by *P. Petilius*, a Tribun of the Commons, and that by the conſent and approbation of the Senators, againſt the exceſſive ſuit and ambitious ſtanding for dignities. By which law men ſuppoſed, that the ambition principally of certain perſons new riſen and of the firſt head, who were wont to haunt fairs and places of great reſort for that intent, was repreſſed and kept under. But the year enſuing when *C. Martius* and *Cn. Manlius* were Conſuls, *M. Duellius* and *M. Menenius* two Tribuns of the Commons, went through with a law and got it enacted, which was not ſo well liked of the Senators, to wit, concerning Uſury of one in the hundred. But the Commons were ſo much the more forward and better contented, to grant and accept it. Over and beſides thoſe new wars the year before intend-
C ed, the Faliſci were declared new enemies: and that, for two quarrels pretended againſt them; One, for that their youth had ſerved againſt the Romans under the Tarquinians: the other, becauſe they had not delivered again thoſe Romans which fled unto *Falerii*, after their defeat and unlucky fight, notwithſtanding the Heralds had made claim unto them and demanded them. This Province fell to *Cn. Manlius*. But *Martius* had the leading of an army into the Land of the Privernats, which by reaſon of long peace was unfoiled yet, and in very good ſtate, and thereby enriched his ſouldiers with good prizes. For, to the plenty and ſtore that there was found, he added his own bounty and liberality; in that he ſet out nothing for the common Treaſury, but favoured the ſouldiers, and gave them leave to better their own private eſtate. The Privernats lay ſtrongly encamped before their own City: and when he had aſſembled all his ſouldiers toge-
D ther; "Now (quoth he) I give unto you the enemies camp and their City for a booty, ſo you "will promiſe me to quit your ſelves like men, and to be as ready to fight as to ſpoil. Hereupon, with a great cry they call for the Signal of battel: and ſo advancing forward and exalting themſelves bravely and couragiouſly, with aſſured hope of victory, to battel they go. There, even before the enſigns in the vanguard, *Sextus Tullius*, of whom we ſpake before, cryed out aloud, Behold, Noble General (quoth he) how thine army performeth their word given unto thee: and therewith laying down his Javelin, with drawn ſword confronteth the enemy. Then follow after *Tullius*, all they that fought in the vanguard before the Standards, and at the firſt ſhock put the enemies to flight, followed the chaſe and drave them into the Town. And as they were ſcaling the Walls, the Town was rendred up into their hands. So he triumphed over the Pri-
E vernats. By the other Conſul there was no worthy exploit done, but that as he lay encamped before *Sutrium*, he propoſed a law to paſs by the Tribes, (a courſe never taken before, and without example) concerning a twentith part or viceſime, to be levied of their goods that were made free. The Lords of the Senat (becauſe by that Act there accrewed no ſmall revenue to the Exchequer, that was now waſted) allowed thereof and gave their aſſent. But the Tribuns of the Com. moved not ſo much at the quality of the law in it ſelf, as at the dangerous precedent given, ordained under pain of death, That no man ever after ſhould in making of laws withdraw the people apart: For, if that were once by law permitted, there would be nothing, were it never ſo pernicious to the people, but it might be enacted by ſouldiers, that have ſworn to their Conſuls allegeance, and were at his devotion. The ſame year was *C. Licinius Stolo* at the ſuit of *M. Popi-*
F *lius Lenas*, condemned upon his own ſtatute in * 10000 Aſſes, for that he together with his ſon, was poſſeſſed of a thouſand acres of Land, and under colour of freeing his ſon, he had deluded the ſtatute in that caſe provided. * *26 lib. ſt. ſter.*

After this, the two Conſuls *M. Fabius Ambuſtus* the ſecond time, and *M. Popilius Lenas* the ſecond time made two wars. That which *Lenas* fought with the Tyburtins was performed with eaſe and facility, For having driven the enemies into the Town, he forraged their fields. But in the other war, the Faliſci and the Tarquinians, diſcomfited in the firſt battel the other Conſul. Their greateſt fear aroſe upon this occaſion. For, their Prieſts carrying afore them light burning torches, and ſnakes beſides, went after a lunatick and frantick manner, and with ſo ſtrange and uncouth a ſhew troubled and diſordered the Roman ſouldiers. And therewithal, at that ve-
G ry inſtant the ſouldiers, as if they had been diſtracted, beſides themſelves, and aſtonied, diſmarched fearfully and ſtumbled upon the munitions and fortifications of their camp: But after, when as the Conſul, Lieutenants and Colonels mocked and rated them, for being ſcared like children with theſe vain bugbears: for ſhame ſuddenly they took heart again, and like blind men ran upon thoſe very ſame things, that before they had fled from. And ſo after they had diſpatched this vain deviſe and preparation of their enemies, they fell upon the armed men indeed, diſcomfited their whole army and put them to flight: and being the ſame day maſters of their camp, with a rich booty returned victors, both recounting in their military merry ditties nd

ſongs,

A law againſt ambitious ſeeking for offices of government.

A law againſt Uſury.

songs, the fooliſh preparation of the enemy, and alſo condemning their own fearfulneſs. After this, the whole nation of the Tuſcans aroſe, having for their leaders the Tarquinians and the Faliſci, and came as far as *Salina*. Againſt which fearful danger, was *C. Martius Rutilius* choſen, the firſt Dictator that ever was of the Commoners: who named for his General of the Horſemen a Commoner likewiſe *C. Plantius*. But the Senators thought this a ſhameful indignity, that the Dictatorſhip alſo ſhould now be choſen in common: and did all they could poſſibly to hinder, that there ſhould be nothing decreed toward the war, nor any preparation made for the Dictator. But ſo much the ſooner, and with more readineſs, all that the Dictator propoſed, the Commons granted. So he departed from the City, and marched on both ſides of the *Tyber* (tranſporting his army in boats and planks faſtned together) to what place ſoever he heard the enemies were gone: and ſurpriſed many forragers of them, as they wandred and ſtragled one from another, in the fields. He ſet upon their camp alſo, and wan it: and after that he had taken eight thouſand priſoners, and either ſlain or chaſed all the reſt out of the Roman pale; he triumphed, by the ſuffrages of the people only, without the approbation and aſſent of the Senators. And for aſmuch as they would not in any caſe have an aſſembly for Election of Conſuls, held either by the Dictator a Commoner, or by the Conſul: and becauſe the other Conſul *Fabius* was buſied abroad in the wars, and not returned; therefore, the matter fell again to an Interreign. So there were Interregents one after another, *Q. Servilius Hala*, *M. Fabius*, *Cn. Manlius*, *C. Fabius*, *C. Sulpitius*, *L. Æmylius*, *Q. Servilius*, and *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*. During the ſecond Interreign, there aroſe ſome variance, for that both Conſuls were *Patritii*, *i.* of the Nobles. And when the Tribuns interpoſed themſelves, and croſſed thoſe proceedings, *Fabius* the Interregent, alledged a Law out of the twelve tables in theſe terms, *That whatſoever the people ordained or granted laſt, the ſame ſhould be good, and ſtand firm and ratified:* and in ſuffrages and voyces of the people, were compriſed their grant and ordinance. But when the Tribuns, for all their gainſaying and ſtepping between, could prevail no more, but to prorogue the * Comices for the Election, there were at length two of the Nobles created Conſuls, *C. Sulpitius Peticus* the third time, and *M. Valerius Publicola:* who the ſame day they were choſen, entred into their office. Thus in the 400 year after the foundation of the City, and the 35 after it was recovered from the Gauls, the Commons loſt the Conſulſhip again, when they had enjoyed it nine years. And two Conſuls of the *Patritii*, upon the Interreign, began to govern, to wit, *C. Sulpitius Peticus* the third time, and *M. Valerius Publicola*. The ſame year was *Empulum* won from the Tyburtins, without any memorable warlike exploit: were it that, under the conduct of both Conſuls there jointly together, the war was managed, as ſome have written: or that about the ſame time the Tarquinians Country was by the Conſul *Sulpitius* over-run and waſted, whiles *Valerius* led forth a power againſt the Tyburts. But more ado had the Conſuls at home, with the Commons and Tribuns. The Conſuls thought now, it concerned them in truſt and credit, as well as in vertue and valour, that as they, being *Patritii* both of them, had received the Conſulſhip, ſo they ſhould make over the ſame again to twain of the Nobility: and either wholly to give up their intereſt and title for ever, if ſo be the Conſulſhip ſhould now become a Commoners dignity: or elſe to keep it wholly in their poſſeſſion, whereof they were firſt ſeized intirely, in right of their anceſtours. On the other ſide, the Commons fumed and ſtormed in theſe and ſuch like terms. "What ſhould we live any "longer? and why are we accounted citizens? In caſe, that which was firſt got by the vertue "and power of two only perſons, *L. Sextius*, and *C. Licinius*, we cannot now all of us together "hold and keep? Certainly, better we were to endure the KK. and Decemvirs again, or any o- "ther heavier and more fearful name of abſolute and Lordly Empire, than to ſee both Conſuls of "the Nobility: and that we, may not both rule and obey in turns, but that the one part ſetled in "the place of rule for ever, ſhould think us, the Commons, born for nothing elſe but to obey and "ſerve. The Tribuns themſelves were nothing behind to ſet forward theſe troubleſome mutinies. But when the people are up once altogether and in commotion, the principal leaders are hardly ſeen above the reſt in the action. And when as they were come down into *Mars* field ſundry times to aſſembly, but ever to no purpoſe and effect, and that many Comitial dayes of aſſembly were paſſed over, only in ſeditious troubles: at the laſt, the Commons being overmatched through the ſtiffneſs and obſtinacy of the Conſuls, took the matter ſo grievouſly to the heart, that when the Tribuns brake forth into theſe ſpeeches; "Now farewel freedom for ever: now are we driven, "not only to forbear coming into *Mars* field, but alſo to abandon and forſake the City, taken "captive and oppreſſed by the Lordly rule of the Nobles; and therewithal departed: the Commons "with ſorrowful cheer did the ſemblable, and followed after. The Conſuls being thus left deſtitute of one part of the people, yet nevertheleſs went through with the Election, as few as they were there remaining. And Conſuls there were elected of the Nobility both, *M. Fabius Ambuſtus* the third time, and *T. Quintius*. In ſome annals or yearly records, I find Coſſ. *M. Popilius*, inſtead of *T. Quintius*.

*C Martius Rutilius* firſt Dictator of the Commons.

* *i.* The aſſembly of the people.

XVIII

XIX

In that year, were two wars performed with proſperous ſucceſs. And the Tyburtins were fought withal until they yeelded. From them was the City *Saſſula* won by force: and other Towns had taſted of the ſame fortune, but that the whole Nation laid arms aſide, and ſubmitted themſelves to the Conſul his mercy. He triumphed over the Tyburtins: otherwiſe the conqueſt was mild and gentle enough, without extremity of execution. But the Tarquinians were cruelly dealt withal: and many a man of them ſlain in field. Of the priſoners that were taken, whereof

A whereof there was a mighty number, there were 358 of the Noblest and greatest Gentlemen chosen out, and sent to *Rome*. The rest of the common sort were put to the sword. Neither sped they better at the peoples hands that were sent to *Rome*. For in the mids of the *Forum*, were they all beaten with rods and beheaded. This execution made quittance with them, for sacrificing the Romans in the market place of the Tarquinians. This good success in war caused the Samnits also to seek for peace and amity. Their Embassadors were courteously answered by the Senat, and so upon covenants they were received into society. But the Commons sped not so well at home in the City, as abroad in warfare. For albeit the Usury was well eased by bringing it down from twelve to one, in the hundred: yet the poorer people were overcharged with the payment of the B very principal, and became bond and thrall to their creditors. Whereby the Com. in regard of their privat streights, that they were driven unto, never troubled their heads with the making of both Consuls of the Nobles, nor with the Assemblies and Elections, nor other publick affairs. Still the two Consulships remained among the *Patritii*. And created there were Consuls, *C. Sulpitius Peticus* the fourth time, and *M. Valerius Publicola* the second time.

Now when as the City was earnestly amused upon the Tuscan war, by reason that the news went, how that the people of *Cære*, for very pity and compassion, and in regard also of consanguinity, took part with the Tarquinians: behold the Embassadors of the Latins turned them clean against the Volscians. Which Embassadors brought word, that there was an army levied already from thence and in arms, even now upon the point to invade their borders; and would from them en- C ter the territory of *Rome*, and spoil as they go. The Senat therefore thought good to neglect neither business, and gave direction, that to both places certain legions should be appointed, and the Consuls to cast lots for their several Provinces and charges. But afterwards, the greater care was taken for the Tuscan war, upon intelligence given by *Sulpitius* the Consul his letters, whose commission was against *Tarquinii*, that the countrey was wasted and spoiled all about the Roman-*Saline*, [or Salt-pits] and part of the booties carried away into the confines of the Cærits: and that the youth of that people were doubtless employed in the driving of that booty. Whereupon *Valerius* the Consul, who was opposed against the Volscians, and encamped in the marches of *Tusculum*, was called back from thence, and commanded by the Senat to nominate a Dictator. Who named *T. Manlius*, the son of *Lucius*, and he taking to him *A. Cornelius Cossus* for his General of D the Horsemen, contenting himself with his Consular army, by the authority of the Senat, and the peoples suffrages, proclaimed war against the Cærits, and sent them defiance. Then were the Cerits afraid of war indeed, and not afore, as though there had been more force in their enemies bare words, to denounce and signify war, than in their own deeds, who by spoiling and plundering, had provoked the Romans to war. Then saw they plainly that they were overmatched and not able to make their parts good: then repented they that they had made such wast and spoil, cursing the Tarquinians for solliciting them to revolt, not one of them making any preparation of armour or war: but every man labouring what he could, that Embassadors should be sent, to crave pardon for their trespass and offence. When their Embassadors were come to the Senat, they were from thence put over to the people. And then they besought the Gods, whose E sacred Images they had received in the French war and devoutly kept and cherished, That the Romans now in their flourishing estate, would take that pity and compassion of them, which they in times past had of the Romans, in their calamity and hard distress. And turning to the chappels of *Vesta*, they called upon the Flamins and Vestal Virgins, sometime their guests, whom they so chastly and religiously had received and given intertainment unto, saying in this wise. "Would "any man believe we had deserved no better, but thus of a sudden, without cause given, to be re- "puted enemies? Or suppose we had done somewhat smelling of hostility, would any man impute "it rather to deliberat counsel, than to some fit of heat and folly? And that we would blemish and "mar our own good deserts, especially conferred and bestowed upon so thankful persons, with "new misdeeds and shrewd turns? and chuse to make the people of *Rome* their enemies now in F "their wealthy and flourishing State, and in their most happy felicity of war: whose friendship in "their adversity we had embraced? Beseeching them not to term that considerate advise, which "rather were to be called force and necessity. For the Tarquinians, say they, passing with a cruel and "puissant army through our country & requesting nothing but away, had drawn with them some "of our rustical Peasants, to assist them only in fetching of that booty, which now so heavily is "laid to our charge. Whom if you please to have them yeelded, we are ready to deliver them: if "to be punished they shall suffer accordingly: most humbly craving, that their City *Cære*, the very "sanctuary of the people of *Rome*, the harbour and habitation of their Priests, the place of receit "for the Roman sacred images and reliques, they would grant unto them safe from the calamity of "war, and exempt from the slander thereof: and the rather for the professed vestal Virgins sake, G "so kindly intertained, and for the love of the Gods, by them so devoutly honored. The people were moved, not so much with the justice and equity of the present cause, as for their old deserts and good turns to forget rather the harm sustained than the good received. Whereupon, the people of *Cere* were pardoned & agreed it was that a truce for one hundred years should be registred among the Acts of the Senat. Then were the forces diverted against the Falisci, who were tainted likewise with the same offence. But the enemies would no where be found. They wasted therfore al over their confines: & forbare to assail their Towns. So they withdrew their legions to *Rome*. The rest of the year was employed in repairing their wals & Towers: and the Temple of *Apollo* was dedicated.

The Embassadors of *Cære*, to the people of *Rome*.

XXI

dicated. In the very end of the year, the contention between the Senators and the Commons, H brake off the Election of the Consuls: whiles the Tribuns stifly denied to suffer any assembly therefore to be holden, unless it were according to the Law *Licinia*. And the Dictator again was as stoutly and stifly bent, to abolish wholly out of the City the Consulship, rather than it should be indifferent for the Nobility and common people. Thus by adjourning the Election, the Dictator left his office, and the matter grew to an Interreign. And the Interregents, finding ever the Commons maliciously set against the Senators, succeeded one after another unto the eleventh Interregent: and all the while continued the discord and variance. The Tribuns they called on hard for the maintenance of the Law *Licinia*. The Commons, they had an inward grief that stuck neerer to them, upon the excessive usury that still increased: and each mans privat care and grievance, brake I out in their publick contentions and debates. The LL. of the Senat weary of these troubles, commanded *L. Cornelius Scipio* the Interregent for the time being, for concord and unity sake, in the Election of Consuls to observe the Law *Licinia*. So *P. Valerius Publicola*, had joyned with him in fellowship of government, *Caius Martius Rutilius*, one of the Commons.

Now whiles mens minds were enclined once to concord, the new Consuls labouring to ease also this matter of usury, the only spill or bone (as it were) between, that seemed to hinder the uniting of their hearts, and impeach the general agreement; took order publickly for the payment of debts, by creating five officers or *Quinquevirs*, whom of the despensing and disposing of the publick monies, they called *Mensarii*. And surely, for their equity and careful diligence, they deserved in all monuments and records to be remembred and renowned. And these they K were, *C. Duellius*, *P. Decius*, *M. Papirius*, *Q. Publius*, and *T. Æmylius*; who underwent and managed this matter, so intricat and difficult to be dealt in: so grievous and combersome to both sides for the most part, but evermore to one at the least. Which they performed both with indifferent moderation otherwise, and also with some cost and defray of charge, rather than any loss and dammage to the State. For the long debts and more entangled, rather in regard of the debtors slackness and negligence, than their want of ability, either the City out of the common stock crossed out of the book, by setting up certain counters or tables with ready coin in the publick Hall (provided, that there were good security unto the City by sureties and cautions put in aforehand) or else the goods of men valued at indifferent and reasonable prices discharged. So as not only without any wrong done, but also without the complaint of both parties, a mighty deal of L debts was satisfied and paid.

Five bankers instituted, called *Mensarii*.

All debts cleared in *Rome*.

After all this, a vain fear of the Tuscan war, upon a false Alarm given, that their twelve Nations conspired and were confederate together, caused a Dictator to be chosen. So *C. Julius* was named in the camp: for thither to the Coss. was the patent of the Senats decree sent. And to him was joyned as General of the Horsemen, *L. Æmylius*. But all was quiet without the City; Within the City the Dictator gave the attempt, that both Consuls should be created of the Patritii: which brought the government for the time to an Interreign. And the two Interregents that were in that while (to wit) *C. Sulpitius* and *M. Fabius*, obtained that which the Dictator had reached at in vain; namely, that both Consuls might be created of the Nobility: for now the Commons were more pliable and tractable, by reason of the fresh benefit received, in the easement M and satisfying of their debts. So there were chosen *C. Sulpitius Peticus*, he, who was the former of the twain that gave over the Interreign, and *T. Quintus Pœnus*. Some there be that give to *Quintius* the addition of *Cæso* for his surname [and of *Caius* for his forename.] Both of them went forth to war; *Quintus* against the Falisci, and *Sulpitius* against the Tarquinians. Who, for that they could never meet with the enemy in open field, by burning and spoiling made war with the fields rather than with the men. By which lingring continuance, as it were of a languishing consumption, the stubbornnes of both Nations was so wel tamed, that they made petition first to the Consuls, and by their permission after to the Senat, for a truce, and obtained the same for the term of forty years. Thus the care was laid aside of the two wars, which seemed so neer at hand. And whiles there was some rest from Arms, it was thought good because the payment of debts above- N said, had changed the owners and masters of many things, that there should be held a general Sessing of the citizens. But, when there was an assembly summoned for the chusing of Censors, *C. Martius Rutilius* professing himself to stand for a Censorship, even he that had been the first Dictator of the Commons, troubled the peace and unity of the States of the City. This he went about (as it seemed) in a very undue and unseasonable time. For, both Consuls were then of the Nobility, as it fell out, who gave it forth that they would not admit him to be a Competitor, nor propound his name at the Election. Howbeit, both he by earnest perseverance in his resolution obtained that which he went about: and also the Tribuns with all their might endeavouring to recover their right, which was lost in the Election of the Consuls, set to their helping hand. And as the countenance and Majesty of the man himself, seemed worthy of the highest type of honor: O so the Commons were right willing, that by the same man who had opened the way unto the Dictatorship, the Censorship also should draw to that side, and be in part conferred upon them. Neither in the assembly was there any variance in the Suffrages, but that, together with *Manlius Nævius*, *Martius* should be created Censor. This year likewise had a Dictator, *M. Fabius*, not for any fear of war, but because the Law *Licinia*, for the choice of Consuls, should not be revived and observed. The General of the Horsemen unto the Dictator was *Q. Servilius*. And yet for all the Dictatorship, the agreement of the Senators together, was in the Election of the Consuls

XXII

*C. Martius Rutilius* a Commoner, chosen one of the Censors.

A Consuls no more force then it was in the chusing of the Censors. For *Popilius Lenas* was Consul, of the Commons, and *L. Cornelius Scipio* of the Nobles. And the commoner Consull, by good fortune, proved more famous of the twain. For when upon tidings brought, that a mighty army of the Gauls were encamped in the Latine country, this Gauls war was laid extraordinary upon *Popilius*, because *Scipio* lay grievously sick. Who having soon levied an army, and commanded all the younger men, to meet him in their armour at *Mars* his Church, without the gate *Capena*, and that the Questors should bring thither the Standards and ensignes out of the *Aerarium* [City chamber] and after he had chosen out of them, fully four Legions, he delivered all the residue of souldiers unto *P. Valerius Publicola*, the Pretor: and moved the LL. of the Senat to enroll another army to be in readiness, against all uncertain occurrents of war, what need soever the City B should have. And now himself being at all points throughly furnished, setting forward to meet the the enemie. Whose power because he would know, before he had triall therof with the uttermost hazard, he began to cast a trench and raise a rampier upon the next hill unto the Gauls camp, that he could come unto. The Gauls, a fierce kind of people and by nature eager of fight, having discovered afar of the Roman ensignes, embattelled themselves forthwith, as ready to bid battel. But when they saw the Roman army not brought forth into the plain and even ground, but that they were strongly defended, not only by the height of the place, but also with a ditch and palisado, and supposing them to be smitten with fear, and the fitter therefore to be assailed, for that they were at that instance busily occupied about their other fortifications; with an hideous noise and horrible shout, gave the charge upon them. The Romans gave over their work never the C sooner (they were the Triarii of the rereward that made these fortifications) but the spearmen or javelottiers of the vanguard, and the *Principes* of the middle ward, who stood ready armed in guard for the defence of the pioners, made head and received them with fight. Besides their valour, the higher ground was their vantage: so as all their darts and spears light not in vain (as commonly they do that are flung and lanced on levell ground) but stuck all fast as being poised with their own weight: so that the Gauls being surcharged with darts either sticking through their bodies, or fast set in their shields, and so weighing them down; having also run themselves upon the hil; first, as doubtfull what to do, made stay, afterwards, when protracting of time had discouraged themselves, and encouraged their enemies, they were driven back and fell one upon another; and in that confusion made greater havock and worse, then the slaughter was by the enemy: and crush- D ed they were to death, more in that croud and thrust, then were slain by sword. Yet were not the Romans sure of victory: for when they were come down into the plain, there was a new piece of work to begin, and a fresh trouble behind. For the Gauls, by reason of their number, little feeling such a losse (as if a new army had started up in sight, out of the ground) stirred up their fresh souldiers and unfoiled, against the enemy in his victory. Whereupon the Romans made a stand and staied their eagernesse: both because they being already wearied, were to abide a new conflict; and all for that the Consul, whiles he laid about him with the formost, without regard of his own person, was wounded well neer the left shoulder with a pike, and thereupon for a while was departed out of the battell. By occasion of which lingring, the victory had like to have been lost again: but that the Consul when his wounds were dressed and bound up, came back again E with speed to the formost ensigns, and said: Why stand you still sirs? ye have not to deal now, with the Latins or Sabins your enemies, whom after ye have conquered by the sword, ye may make of enemies friends and confederats: but upon very savage beasts we have drawn sword. Either we must have their blood, or they ours. From the camp ye have driven them back: chased ye have them headlong down the hill side: over the bodies of enemies lying along, now ye stand: fill the plain "also with their dead carkases, as ye have done the hils already: and never look that they will "flie, so long as ye stand still. You must advance your ensigns, and charge the enemy afresh. With these exhortations they fell to it the second time, and forced the former rankes and files of the Gauls to lose ground: and then with pointed close battailons of footmen, they brake through into the heart of the main battell. Whereupon the barbarous people being distaraied, such as had F neither certain directions to follow, nor Captains to command, turned their force upon their fellows, were scattered here and there about the plains, fled in this pursuit beyond their tents, and made toward the fort of *Alba*; which among many hils that stood of even height, they espied mounting above the rest. The Cos. followed the chase no farther than their camp: both because his hurt made himself unwieldie, and also for that he was unwilling to put his tired army to a new labour, considering the enemy had gained the hils tops, and so rested from farther pursuit. And when he had given the whole pillage of the camp to his souldiers, he brought back to *Rome* his army with victory, and inriched with the spoils of the Gauls. The Consul his wound staid his triumph, which was a cause also that the Senat wished and longed for a Dictatour, to hold the assembly for for the Election of Consuls, whiles the other were sick.

G *L. Furius Camillus* being chosen Dictator, had joyned unto him *P. Cornelius Scipio* for his Generall of the horsmen. He restored again to the Senators their ancient possessing of the Consulship: and for this good turn, was himself with exceeding affection of them all, created Consull. And for his companion he chose unto him *App. Claudius Crassus*. But before the new Consuls entred unto their office, *Popilius* with great love and favour of the Commons triumphed over the Gauls: who mumbling and muttering among themselves, would often ask one another, whether there were any repented of a Commoner Consul: rating withall at the Dictator, who despising

*M. Popilius Lenas*, the Consul exhorteth his souldiers to fight.

*Popilius a* Commoner triumpheth.

the law *Licinia*, had got for his reward a Conſulſhip; which was more ſhamefull and infamous, H
in regard of his privat ſeeking for it, (for being Dictator he had made himſelf Conſul) then for any
publick harm and injury. This year for many and ſundry troubles was very famous. The Gauls from
the Alban woods (for that they were not able then to endure the cold of winter) ranged all over
the Champian and ſea-coaſts, and waſted the country. The ſeas likewiſe were dangerous by rea-
ſon of the Greeks navy. Alſo all the tract along *Antium*, and the river of *Laurentum*, even to the
very mouth of *Tyber*. So as the rovers and men of war by ſea, and the land robbers of the
French, met both together, and ſtruck once for all a dangerous battell: and then departed aſun-
der, the French unto their ſtanding camp, the Greeks back unto their ſhips: both doubtfull, whe-
ther they had won or loſt. Amid theſe troubles, the greateſt fear by far, aroſe from this, that the I
Latine Nation held certain Diets and Councels at the grove of *Ferentina*; and when the Romans
demanded ſouldiers from them, flat anſwer was made, That they muſt no more think to command
"them whoſe aid they ſtood need of. And as for the Latins, they were reſolved rather to bear
"arms in defence of their own liberty, then fight for the maintenance of the dominions of ſtran-
"gers. The Senat being grieved and perplexed as well for theſe two forrain wars, as alſo for the
revolt of their confederats, ſeeing no other way, but to keep them in by fear, whom loialty
would not reſtrain, commanded their Conſuls in their muſtring, to extend and ſtrain to the ut-
moſt the whole ſtrength of the State: for now that their Allies failed them, they were to truſt up-
on their City forces onely. From all parts therefore, the youth as well without in the country, as
within the City were taken up, and ten legions (as men ſay) were enrolled of ſouldiers, amounting K
to 4200. foot and 300. horſe in a legion. Which puiſſant army, if now at this day any forrain
wars were toward, theſe mighty forces of the people of *Rome*, which the whole world is hardly
able to contain, if they were united and brought into one together, would not eaſily make again:
ſo great are we grown in wealth only and ſuperfluous delights, to which we ſtrive and apply our
minds.

Among other heavy occurrents of that year, *Ap. Claudius* one of the Conſuls, in the very
preparation of the wars, departed this life. Whereupon the whole government was devolved upon
*Camillus*. To which ſole Conſul, either for his quality and worthineſſe otherwiſe (not meet to
be controlled by the abſolut command of a Dictator) or for the lucky preſage of his name ſo for-
tunate in all the tumultuous wars of the Gauls, the Lords of the Senat thought it not decent and L
convenient that there ſhould be a Dictatour adjoyned. The Conſuls having ordeined and appoin-
ted two legions for defence of the City, and parted the other eight with the Pretor *L. Pinarius*,
bearing in mind his fathers valour and manhood, undertook the Gauls war himſelf, without caſt-
ing lots therefore: commanding the Pretor to keep the ſea-coaſts, and to put the Greeks back
from landing on the ſhore. He went himſelf down into the country of *Pomptinum*, and becauſe
he was not willing to give battell in the champian, unforced thereunto; and thought the enemy
might be wearied out well enough by keeping him ſhort, for forraging and fetching in booties,
who of neceſſity was driven to live of prey, choſe a convenient place for a ſtanding camp. Where,
XXVI as they paſſed the time quietly in their wards, as a ſetled Garriſon: there cometh forth a mighty
Gaul in perſon tall and beg, for armour brave and glorious: who clattering his ſhield and M
ſpear together, and thereby making ſilence, gave defiance and challenged by his interpreter
The combat between a Gaul and *Valerius* ſurnamed thereupon *Corvinus*, the Romans to a combat, man to man. There was one *M. Valerius* a Colonell of footmen, and a
very young man, who thinking himſelf nothing leſs worthy of that honour than *T. Manlius*, having
firſt known the Conſul his pleaſure, advanced himſelf forth apart from the reſt, armed at all points.
But this conflict (as touching the proweſs of the men) was leſs notable than the other, by reaſon that
the hand of God came between & took a part. For as the Roman was ready to joyn and cope, be-
hold ſuddenly a raven ſetled upon the creſt his of morion, even ful in the face of his enemie. Which
at the very firſt, the Colonell took joyfully as a token of good luck ſent from heaven. Afterwards
he praied devoutly, that the God or goddeſſe whoſoever, that ſent unto him from above
that augurall foul, to preſage and foreſignifie the future event, would be favourable and gratious N
unto him. And lo, (a wonder to be ſpoken) the bird not only held the place ſtill, which it firſt
light upon, but alſo, as often as the champions buckled and cloſed together, mounting up with the
wings made at the eies and the face of the enemie, with beak and claws both, ſo long, until *Valerius*
killeth him. For the Gaul being affrighted at this ſo ſtrange & wondrous a ſight, both his eies dazel-
ed, and his mind was mightily troubled. Then the raven took his riſe, flew on high quite out of
ſight towards the Eaſt. All the while the camp on both ſides was quiet hitherto. But after that
the Colonel began to riſle and diſarme the Body of the ſlain enemy, neither could the French
keep themſelves within their Stations, nor the Romans contein, but run with more ſpeed unto
their Conquerour champion. And ſo about the bodie of the Gaul that lay along dead, began
ſome skirmiſh, and thereof grew a ſharp and cruell battel: for now not only the companies
of the next quarters, and *corps de guard*, but alſo the whole legions on both ſides, came a- O
broad and fought. *Camillus* commanded the ſouldiers, joyous for the victory of the Colonell,
joyous alſo for the gods, ſo favourable and ready to help, for to go to battell: and ſhewing very
often unto them the Colonell, ſet out bravely and enriched with the ſpoiles of his enemie,
"Follow this brave gentleman, good ſouldiers (quoth he) and about the dead champion of the
"Gauls killed their whole troops, and lay them along. In this fight appeared the help of God
and manevidently: and they fought it out with the Gauls, and had no doubtfull conflict: both

armies

armies had so conceived and deeply imprinted before hand in their mind, the future event of these two souldiers that had fought together. Between the formost, whose concurse had raised others, there was a sharp conflict: but the rest of the multitude, turned back before they came to the volley of darts. And first they were scattered along the Volscian and Falern countries: but afterward they took their waies toward *Apulia* and the lower Adriatick sea.

The Consul having assembled the souldiers to an audience, solemnly before them all, commended the Colonell, and rewarded him with ten oxen and a coronet of gold. Himself, by direction from the Senat, to attend the war by sea, joyned camp with the Preter. And there, because through the cowardise of the Greeks that would not come into the field, the war was like to be long and lingring, he nominated, by the authority of the Senat, *T. Manlius Torquatus* for the Dictatour, to hold the Election of Consuls. The Dictatour having named for his Generall of horsmen, *A. Cornelius Cossus*, held the Election, and with exceeding favour of the people, declared for Consul one like himself, and tracing the steps of his own vertue and glory, *M Valerius Corvinus* (for that was his surname afterwards) in his absence: a young man, I say, three and twenty years old. *To Corvinus* was adjoyned companion in government a Commoner, *M. Popilius Lenas* the fourth time. *Camillus* performed no memorable exploit with the Greeks: for neither were the Greeks good souldiers on land, nor the Romans at sea. At the last being kept from landing; and failing, besides other necessaries, of fresh water, they left *Italy*. Of what people, or of what nation in Greece this fleet consisted, is not certainly known. I would think verly, that they were the Tyrants or potentats of *Sicily*, above all other. For all Greece beyond them, at that time wearied and toiled out with civill wars, much feared the greatnesse of the Macedonians. After the armies were discharged, and that both abroad there was peace, as also at home quietnesse, through the unity of the States: lest they should be glutted with too much joy, behold a pestilence arose in the City and constrained the Senat to command the Decemvirs, to overlook the books of *Sibylla*: and by direction thereof, was a *Lectisterne* celebrated. The same year there was a Colony drawn out of the Antiats, to people *Satricum*, and the town was repaired for them, which the Latins had destroied. Also there was at *Rome* a league concluded with the Carthaginian Embassadours, who came of purpose to sue for society and amity. The same rest continued still both at home and abroad, when *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *C. Plautius* the second time were Consuls. The usury which was before after one in the hundred, became now but half so much. The paiment of debts was dispenced & ordered into three years by even portions, so as a fourth part should be paid out of hand. And albeit some of the Commons (for all that) were pinched therewith, yet the Senat had more regard to see credit kept with the chamber of the City, then of the difficulties of privat persons. The greatest matters were well eased, in that they forbare to collect the tribute and to muster souldiers. CCCXVII.

The third year after that *Satricum* was reedified by the Volscians, *M. Valerius Corvinus* the second time Consul with *C. Petilius*, upon news of *Latium*, that Embassadors from *Antium* went about to the nations of the Latins, soliciting them to rise up in arms, was commanded to make war upon the Volscians, before the enemies forces were greater: who put himself on his journey with a fierce army toward *Satricum*. Whither when as the Antiats and other Volscians were come to meet him, with a power provided aforehand, against any preparations from *Rome*, presently without any stay they joyned battel, as being through a deep setled and long hatred, malitiously bent one against the other. The Volscians, a nation more hasty to rebell, than hardy to fight, being defeated in a battel, fled amain and highed apace to put themselves within the wals of *Satricum*. But when the wals were not able to save them, for that the town being environed and invested round with souldiers, was ready to be taken by scaling, there were upon 4000. of them, besides the common sort not meet for service, that yeelded themselves. The town was rased down and burnt; only they spared the firing of *Matutas* church. And the whole laccage and spoil was bestowed upon the souldiers. But there were not comprised within this booty, the 4000 that yeelded. Those the Consul in his triumph caused to be led bound before his chariot: and after that sold them, & brought a round sum of money into the treasury. Some write, that this number of captives, were bondslaves. And that is more like to be true, than that they should be sold, who yeelded themselves. After this followed Consuls, *M. Fabius Dorsuo*, and *Servius Sulpitius Camerinus*. Then began the Auruncan war upon a sudden invasion that they made. And for fear lest the action of that one State and City, had been the resolution of the whole Latine nation and by their maintenance, there was created Dictator (as if it had been against all *Latium* already up in arms) *L. Furius Camillus*: who chose for his General of horsmen, *Cn. Manlius Capitolinus*. And (as the use had been in time of great troubles and sudden tumults) he mustered without any respect of Immunity and Exemption, and therewith proclamed a Cessation of all courts of law: and the legions with all speed possible were led against the Auruncans, where they found, that they carried the mind of plunderers rather then of warriors. So that in the first battel, that war was dispatched. Howebeit the Dictator, because they not only made the quarrel and warred first, but also offered fight without any drawing back, supposing there were some need of Gods help withall from heaven, had vowed a temple to *Juno Moneta*: and after he had obtained that he vowed for, and therby was charged to perform his vow, so soon as he was returned home to *Rome* with victory, gave up his Dictatorship. The Senat commanded two officers called Duumvirs to be created for the edifying of that temple, according to the magnificence of the people of *Rome*. The place was appointed and set out on the CCCXVIII. The temple of *Juno Moneta*.

[Capitoll] hill, even the very plot of ground, where ſometime before ſtood the dwelling houſe of H
*M. Manlius Capitolinus.* The Conſl. having imploied the Dictatour his army in the Volſcian war, ſurpriſed at unwares the town *Sora* out of the enemies hands. The Temple of *Moneta* was dedicated the year after it had been vowed, when *C. Martius Rutilus* the third time, and *T. Manlius Torquatus* the ſecond time, were Conſuls. Immediatly upon the dedication of that church, there enſued a ſtrange wonder, like unto that old marvel of the hil *Albanus*; For it rained ſtones, and in the day time it ſeemed to be dark night. And the books of *Sibylla* being peruſed (for that the City now was mightily given to ſuperſtition) the Senat ordeined, that there ſhould be a Dictator named for the ordeining of certain feaſts and holy daies. So *P. Valerius Publicola* was choſen, and with him, *Q. Fabius Ambuſtus* Generall of the horſmen. Order was given, that not only the Tribes ſhould I
go in ſolemn proceſſion with their praiers and Letanies, but alſo the nations that bordered upon them: with a preciſe direction unto them, upon what daies every one ſhall make ſupplication. That year (as it is reported) there paſſed heavy judgments and the Sentences of the people againſt the Vſurers, with whom the Ædiles had commenced ſuit. And without any notable cauſe to be remembered, they grew to an Interreign. Upon which, that ſomething might be thought thereby done, both Conſuls were made of the Nobles, *M. Valerius Corvinus* the third time, and *A. Cornelius Coſſus.*

XXIX

Now from hence-forth will we treat of greater wars, both for the puiſſance of the enemies, and alſo for their far diſtance: as well for their ſpacious countries they inhabited, as long tract of time that they continued. For this year began the Romans to bear arms againſt the Samnits, a nation powerful in wealth, and valiant in field. After which war, fought on both ſides with alter- K
native fortune, there ſucceeded *Pyrrhus* their enemy, and after *Pyrrhus* the Carthaginians. To ſee (good Lord) the wonderfull ſtirs and troubles, and how often the Romans fell into extremities of perils, that their Dominion and Empire might ariſe unto this greatneſs and high ſtate, which hath much ado to hold its own, and ſtand maintained. But the cauſe of the Romans war with the *Samnits, being in ſociety and amity linked together, aroſe firſt from others, and not upon any quarrel between themſelves. At what time as the Samnits warred unjuſtly (as being more mighty) upon the * Sidicins: they as the weaker and forced to flie for ſuccour unto the richer, banded with the Campains. Who bringing with them a greater name, than power (in deed) to aid and aſſiſt their Allies, & flowing in riot and ſuperfluous delights, happed in the country of the Sidicins to be foiled & defeated by the other, who had been inured and hardened by continual uſe of arms: and ſo after- L
wards drew upon their own heads, the whole violence and poiſe of the wars. For the Samnits letting the Sidicins alone, went to the head, and ſet upon the Campains, as it were the very fortreſſe and caſtle of defence for al the borderers. For wel they wiſt that there they might win victory as eaſily: but riches & honour at their hands they were to atchieve much more. And when they had gained and held with a ſtrong garriſon, the hils called * *Tifata*, that were adjoyning, and commanded the City *Capua*; From thence they deſcended with a fourſquare ranged battell into the plain that lyeth between *Capua* and *Tifata*: where a ſecond field was fought: In which the Campanies had the overthrow, and were beaten within their wals. Having therfore no hope neer hand, and ſeeing the ſtrength of their youth greatly decaied, they were conſtrained to ſeek for aid of the Romans. Whoſe Embaſſadors being admitted into the Senat, and having audience given M
them, ſpake much what to this effect. "The people of *Capua*, moſt noble Senators, hath ſent us in "ambaſſy unto you, to crave at your hands friendſhip for ever, and ſuccour for the preſent. Which "amity if we had requeſted in our proſperity, well might it ſooner have begun, but knit had it been with a weaker bond and not ſo durable. For then, remembring our ſelves to have entred league and ſociety on even ground, and in equall eſtate with you; friends haply we ſhould have been as we now are, but bounden and devoted unto you, we had never been. But now, in caſe by your "commiſeration and pity we be gained and won; and in our diſtreſſe, by your aid, helped and re- "lieved; we muſt needs affectionatly embrace a benefit from you received, unleſſe we would be "thought unthankfull wretches, and unworthy of any help either of God or man. And albeit the "Samnits, have been before us intertained in friendſhip and confederacy, yet we think that no N
"ſufficient bar, but that we may alſo be received into the ſame. Only thus much it ought to make "for them, as to be preferred before us in antiquity of time, and degree of honour. For in that alliance between you and the Samnits, there is no expreſſe clauſe, no caveat or proviſo contained, "againſt the making of any new confederacie. And ſurely, alwaies heretofore ye have thought "it cauſe good enough of your friendſhip, if the party who ſought the ſame, were but willing "and deſirous to be your friend. We Campains (albeit our preſent condition ſuffereth us not "to ſpeak magnifically) giving place to no nation but your ſelves, either for the ſtately port of "our City, or goodneſſe, and fruitfulneſſe, of our ſoil, in entring into your acquaintance, ſhall "not a little, I ſuppoſe increaſe and better your good eſtate. And firſt for the Æquians and "Volſcians, thoſe eternall and perpetual enemies of this City, they ſhall not ſo ſoon at any time O
"ſtir and put out their heads, but we will be ſtreight upon their jacks. And look what ye firſt "ſhall find in your hearts to doe for our ſafty, the ſame will we alwaies do for your Empire "and honour. And when thoſe nations be once ſubdued that are between you and us (which your "vertue and fortunat felicity, promiſeth will be ſhortly) then ſhall your dominions reach all the "way in a continued train, as unto us. A pitifull and lamentable caſe it is, that our preſent for- "tune urgeth us to confeſſe; To this exigent and hard terms of extremity are we Campains dri- "ven (right honourable) that ſubject we muſt be, either to our friends or to our enemies. If ye

defend

** Abruzzo* and the Duchie of *Benovente*, as far as *Naples.*

* The Inhabitants of *Sidicinum*, otherwiſe called *Tyanum* or *Thrano.*

* *Monte di Capua.*

XXX

The beginning of the Samnit war.

The Embaſſadors of the Campains in the Senat at *Rome.*

A defend us, yours will we be; forsake us once, we must be the Samnits. Consult ye now therefore
" deliberatly, whether ye had rather, that *Capua* and all the territorie of *Capua*, should be annexed
" unto your power and State, or added to the Samnits Seignory. your mercy your succour, O No-
" ble Romans, ought in equity to extend unto all men, but especially unto those, who by yeelding
" their relief and helping hand (even above their power) unto others, that inplored and humbly
" besought succour, are now themselves fallen all, into the same streights of necessity. And yet,
" to say the truth, we fought in shew and semblance of word for the Sidicins; but in very deed
" and effect for own selves. For considering a neighbour nation, bordering even upon us, to be
" robbed and spoiled most wrongfully by the Samnits; we well foresaw, that when the Sidicins
B " were once set a burning, the same fire would soon be driven and reach unto us. For now are not
" the Samnits come to assail us, as discontented for any injury received: but, as well pleased that
" they have cause of quarrell offered and presented unto them. For if it had been but a revenge
" only of anger upon some pretended wrong, and not a mean and occasion, to satisfie their greedy
" appetite: had it not been enough for them, that they had vanquished and put to the sword our
" Legions once in the Sidicine country, and a second time in Campain it self our own territory?
" what a cankered and a mortall malice is this, which bloodshed and massacres in two battels can
" not satiate or aswage? besides the wasting of our fields, the driving away of booties, as well of
" people as cattell, the firing of villages, the ruin and havock they made; and in every place no-
" thing but fire and sword. Could not their anger and wrath have been satisfied with all this? But it
C " is their greedy and unsatiable covetousnes and nothing else that must be filled. That is it which
" carrieth them, that haleth and draggeth them to the assault of *Capua*. At it their teeth water, that
" most goodly and beautifull City will they either destroy, or be LL. thereof themselves. But may
" it please you Romans, to gain it afore by your own benefit and good desert: rather then suffer
" them to seiz upon it, by wrong and mischief. I speak not this before a people that useth to make
" it strange and goodly to undertake any rightful and just wars. If ye but shew a copy of your coun-
" tenance, as if ye would aid and succour us, I suppose ye shall have no need at all of further
" war. The Samnits overweening of themselves and contempt of others, reacheth to us only,
" further it proceedeth not. So that under the very shaddow of your assistance, *O* Romans, we
" may be safely covered and protected. And whatsoever we shall hereafter gain thereby, what-
D " soever we shall be of our selves (even as much as we are worth) ready are we to acknowledge it
" all yours. For your sake shall the Campain ground be tilled: for your behoof shall the City *Ca-*
" *pua* be resorted unto and frequented: and accounted shall ye be of us, no less than founders, pa-
" rents, yea, and as the immortall gods. There shall be a borrough or Colony of yours, that
" shall go beyond us in obsequious dutifulnes towards you. Do but afford unto us Campains, O
" Noble Senators, a token of your gracious countenance, yeeld us your invincible name as a
" powerfull deity, and bid us hope assuredly, that *Capua* shall remaine still and continue in safe-
" ty. What a number think ye of all sorts and degrees of people, followed and accompanied
" us, when we came from thence? How left we all places filled with their vows, their praiers
" and tears? In what expectation now, do the Senat and of people *Capua*, our wives and chil-
E " dren, attend our return? Assured I am, that the whole multitude stand about the gates looking
" toward the high port-way that leadeth from hence thither, waiting to know what news, ex-
" pecting what answer, my LL. your pleasure is that we should report back from you unto them,
" so carefull, so heavy, so perplexed. One word presenteth unto them safety, victory, life and
" liberty: the other, I dread to presage what it may import. Wherefore to conclude, determine of
" us, either as of them that shall and will be, your confederates and faithfull Allies; or else such
" as must be worse then nothing. After that the Embassadors were withdrawn aside, and the Se-
nat fell to counsell: although a good part of them were of opinion, that the greatest and wealthiest
City of all *Italy*, the most plenteous country and near to the sea, might be as it were the garner
and storehouse, whatsoever variable changes of corn and victuals might happen: yet they set
F more by keeping their faith and promise, then of that great commodity that might accrew unto
them: and thus by direction of the Senat made the Consul answer. " The Senat judgeth you O
Campains worthy of aid: but meet it is that we entertain your amity, so, as a more ancient so-
ciety and friendship be not thereby violat and broken. The Samnits a train league, and confede-
" rat with us. We must needs therefore debar you from making that war against the Samnits,
which should sooner dishonour the gods then hurt and wrong men. Howbeit, as equity and
" reason doth require, we will to our Allies and friends send our Embassadours, to intreat them to
" offer no violence unto you. To this answer the chief man of the Embassage (according as he had
commission from home) replied and said. " For as much as ye are not willing to defend our right
" and cause, by just and lawfull power against violence and injury: your own yet, I am sure ye
" will maintain. Therefore my LL. of the Senat, here we yeeld up in your hands, and to the
G Seignory of the people of *Rome*, the whole nation of the Campains, the City *Capua*, our lands and
possessions, the sacred temples of the gods, and all things else both holy and profane. And what-
soever from henceforth we shall suffer and abide, we will sustain as it your liegement and subjects,
wholly devoted as vassals unto you. At which words they all held up their hands unto the Con-
suls, shed tears plenteously, and fell down upon their knees in the very entry of the Councell
house. The *Senat* moved with consideration of the changeable course and turn of human for-
tune, in the world, to see so great and mighty a people of puissance, so pompous for superflu-

The answer of the Consul to the Embassadors.

The Citizens of *Capua* surrender to the Romans their City and territory.

ous abundance and magnificence (at whose hands but a while before, the nations bordering had craved and begged their aid) to carry with them now so base and broken hearts, as of their own accord, to submit themselves and all they had in the whole world, to the power and devotion of others: were perswaded now it was a matter of trust and faithfullnesse, not to abandon and see betraied, those that thus were reduced under their protection. Neither thought they, that the people of *Samnium* could in any equity or colour of Justice, invade that land, or assault that City, which was surrendred and annexed to the imperiall State of *Rome*. Whereupon presently they agreed to dispatch Embassadors unto the Samnits, who had incharge and commission to make declaration unto them; First, of the Campains petitions: secondly, of the answer of the Senat returned unto them, implying the remembrance of the Samnits amity: last of all, of the Campains surrender. Then to request and desire them in regard of their mutuall society and friendship, to spare and forbear those, that were their vassals, and not with any hostility to invade that territory, which was become subject to the people of *Rome*. If by this courteous dealing they could do no good, then, to command the Samnits in the name of the people and Senat of *Rome*, to abstain from the City *Capua* and the country of the Campains When these Embassadours debated these matters in the Councel House of the Samnits, they returned so stout and arrogant an answer again, not in these terms only, That they would go forward in the war begun; but (that which more was) the rulers coming forth of their Councell House, even whiles the Embassadors there stood, called to the captains of the cohorts, and with a loud voice commanded them forthwith to make a rode into the Campain country, for to spoil and fetch booties. This Embassage being returned home again to *Rome*, the Senators setting aside the care of all other matters, sent their heralds to demand restitution: and for default therof, after the solemn maner to proclaim open war. Whereupon they decreed with all speed possible to propound this matter to the people: and by the consent of the people, both Coss. with two armies departed the City, *Valerius* into *Campania*, *Cornelius* into *Samnium*: and pitched their tents, *Valerius* at the foot of the hil *Gaurus*, and the other at *Satricula*. The Samnit legions presented themselves first to *Valerius* (for that way they supposed all the forces would be bent) for indignation also, against the Campains, because they were so ready one while with their own succours, & another while in sending for the aid of others against them. And so soon as they discovered the Romans camp, in all hast (every one for his part) called lustily to their captains for to strike up and sound the battell: assuring themselves, and saying plainly, that the Romans should speed as well in succouring the Campains, as the Campains had done before them in aiding the Sidicins. *Valerius*, after he had amused the enemies not many daies together, with some light skirmishes, only to make triall of them what they could do, put forth the * signall of battell at the last, but first exhorted his souldiers in a short speech in this wise, "That neither this new war nor new enemy should terrifie them: for as much as the farther they warred from the City, the more cowardly Nations they were and lesse warlike still to "whom they went. That they should not esteem the valour of the Samnits by the late losses & defeats of the Sidicins or Campains: For whosoever they be that contend & fight together, one side "or other cannot chuse, but go to the wals. The Campains, doubtlesse, had the overthrow rather through their own effeminat tendernesse, as flowing too much in excesse and superfluity of "pleasures, than by their enemies hardinesse and valour. And what were two only fortunat battels of the Samnits, in so many ages, to be set against so many honourable victories of the people "of *Rome*? Who, from the first foundation of their City, may number more Triumphs well neer "than years: who have by war subdued all Nations about them, the Sabines, *Hetruria*, the Latins, Hernicks, Æquians, Volscians, and Auruncans. And as they ought to go into the field, every "man presuming & trusting upon his own manhood and glorious warfare: so should they have an "eye, and consider, under whose leading and regiment they were to enter into battell. Whether "he were a man that in the hearing of his souldiers, could only make goodly and magnificall Orations, fierce in brave words, void of Military works: or he who himself knew how to handle "his weapon, to advance before the standards, yea, and to be employed even in the midle of all "the battell. I would have you (quoth he) my souldiers, to follow my deeds and not my words, "and of me to learn, not only discipline, but also good example. I have not by bribing and factions, nor yet by courting and Orations (usuall matters among Noblemen) but by this right hand "of mine, attained unto three Consulships, and to the highest honour. The time had been indeed, "when a man might have said thus unto me: No marvell, For why? You were a gentleman of "noble blood, descended from those that were the deliverers of their country: & in the same year "that the City had first a Consul, this house of yours had the Consulship. But now the case is altered, the way unto a Consulship, is as open to you Commoners, as to us of the Nobility. Now is it "not the guerdon of birth and gentry, as aforetime: but the reward and recompence of vertue "and valour. And therefore my souldiers, shoot at the highest dignities, and aim at soveraign "honour. And although ye that are men, have by the grace and approbation of the gods, given "unto me this new addition of surname [*Corvinus*] yet have not I forgot the antient name of the "*Publicolas*, appropriat unto our family. I love and ever will (as alwaies I have done) the Commons of *Rome*, at all times alike, both abroad in wars, and also at home in peace, as well a privat "person, as in my offices, were they little, or were they much: whiles I was Tribune, whiles I was "Consul; and no changling have I bee throughout all my Consulships, one after another. Now for "this present enterprise which we are about, with the help of God, & in his name, have a cast with me

Defiance given by the Romans to the Samnits

A coat of arms of purple or scarlet colour hanging forth at the Generall his pavilion.

The exhortation of *Valerius Corvinus* to his souldiers.

A "me for a new and freſh Triumph over the Samnits. Never was there a Generall more familiar with his ſouldiers: as willing as the meaneſt of them, to lay his hand upon any baſe offices that that were to be done; yea, and in the very training and exerciſes of the ſouldiers, at what time as equals try maſteries of activity and ſtrength, one with another, gently would he otherwhiles take the foil, as well as the victory, and ever keep one countenance ſtill: not rejecting or refuſing any one whoſoever would offer to match him, or be his mate. For deed, benigne and bounteous to his power, and as occaſion required: in his words, no leſſe mindfull of the freedom of others, than reſpective of his own place and dignity: and (than which, there is nothing more popular) look by what vertuous demeanour & carriage of himſelf, he ſought to attain unto honours and B promotions, with the ſame he bare them, and went through with them. Therefore the whole army with incredible cheerfulneſſe accepting this exhortation of their captain, iſſued forth of the camp into the field. Never was there battell fought more indifferently on both ſides. Their hope was like, their forces equall, with full truſt and confidence in themſelves, and yet without contempt of their enemies. The Samnits, for to whet their courage, preſumed upon their freſh and late atchieved acts, and their double victory but few daies before. The Romans on the contrary ſide, ſtood upon their honour and reputation for the ſpace of four hundred years, and their conqueſts every ſince the foundation of their City. Yet they were troubled, both the one and the other, to deal with a new and unknown enemy. The manner of their fight ſhewed what ſtomacks they carried. For the conflict was ſuch, as for a good while they ſeemed on neither part to yeeld one foot.

XXVIII

The familiarity of *Corvinus* with his ſouldiers, and his other good parts,

C Then the Conſul, ſeeing they could not by mere force be cauſed to retreat, thought to ſet a ſudden fear among them: and therefore aſſaieth, by ſending in the horſmen upon the formoſt enſignes, to break their rancks, and put them in diſarray. But when he ſaw, that in ſo ſmall room of ground they toiled themſelves in vain, and could not well manage their troops and cornets, nor break in upon the enemies, he rode back again to the van and forefront of the Legions, and diſmounted from horſback, "We that are footmen (quoth he) when all is done, muſt do the deed I ſee well. Come on then, and as ye behold me (which way ſoever I go) by dint of ſword to make "way and entrance into the enemies battell: ſo every man for himſelf, down with him that "ſtandeth next in his way. Straightwaies ſhall ye ſee, that where as now their ſpears and pikes "ſtand glittering and bent upon us, there will be a wide lane made over their ſlain carcaſes. He

A cruell battell between the Romans and Samnits.

D had not ſo ſoon ſpoken theſe words, but the horſmen at the Conſuls commandment, ran upon both the wings and points, and made way for the footmen to enter the main battell. Firſt and formoſt the Conſul in perſon chargeth the enemy, and whomſoever he hapned to encounter, him he killeth in the place. This goodly fight ſet the reſt on fire: and then every man did his beſt, laid about him manfully, and carried it afore him right worthily. The Samnits ſtood to it ſtill and moved not, albeit they got more knocks and wounds then they gave. Thus when the fight had continued a good while, notwithſtanding much bloody ſlaughter about the Samnits enſignes: yet no flying was there on any ſide: ſo reſolut were they, by death only to be vanquiſhed. Whereupon the Romans feeling their own ſtrength for wearineſſe decaied and ſpent, and but little day left, inflamed with anger, gave a freſh charge all at once upon the enemies. Then (and not before) began they to ſhrink and give ground, and encline to flight: Then were the Samnits taken priſoners E and ſlain thick. Few or none had eſcaped alive, but that the night came ſo faſt upon them, that it interrupted the victory, rather then ended the battell. *Both* the Romans themſelves confeſſed, they never fought with a more ſtubborn and obſtinate enemy: and the Samnits alſo being demanded the primitive cauſe, which forced them (ſo ſtifly bent as they were) to run away at the laſt, ſaid, that the Romans ſeemed to have burning fire in their eies, and to carry in their faces and viſages the furious rage of mad and frantick perſons: and thereat firſt began they to be affrighted, more then at any thing elſe. Which fearfulneſſe of theirs, they bewraied not only by the preſent event of the battell, but alſo by their diſlodging and departure away in the night. The morrow after the Romans were maſters of their empty and naked camp: unto which all the whole F multitude of the Campaines came running in number to rejoice and congratulate their victory.

XXXIV

But this joy had like to have been fouly blemiſhed with an overthrow and defeat in *Samnium*. For *Cornelius* the Conſul being depared from *Satricula*, had engaged his army unadviſedly within a foreſt, through which went an hollow valley or lawn, forlaid on both ſides with an ambuſh: neither diſcovered he his enemies over his head, before ſuch time as he could not retire with his enſignes into a place of ſafe receit. But whiles the Samnits ſtaied only untill he had brought his army fully down into the bottom of the vale, *P. Decius*, a Colonell of footmen, eſpied in the foreſt one little high hill, which commanded the place where the enemies lay encamped: and as it was for an army heavily armed, and charged with carriage, hard to be got up unto: ſo for them that were lightly appointed and burdened, nothing difficult. He perceiving the Conſul troubled G in mind and affrighted: See you not (quoth he) O *Aulus Cornelius* yonder hill top above the enemie? That is the very fortreſſe of our hope and ſafety, if ſo be that we can gaine the ſame luſtily, as the Samnits have left it blindly. I require no more of you, but to let me have the *Principes* and ſpear men of one only Legion. And when with them I have once ſeized the top thereof, let forward you from hence and fear not, neither make doubt to ſave your ſelf and the army. For the enemie being under us, and lying open to all our ſhot, cannot ſtir without great loſſe and preſent miſchief. As for us, either the fortune of the people of *Rome*, or our own manhood ſhall work

The policy and valour of *P. Decius*.

our

our evaſion. Being commended by the Conſul, and having received that troop and guard which H
he demanded, he marcheth cloſe through the woody paſs, and was not deſcried by the enemie be-
fore he approached the place that he went to get. And whiles they all were amaſed thereat and
wondred, and wholly turned their eies to himward, he both gained the Conſul ſome time to
withdraw his army into a more convenient and open ground, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the hill top,
and there reſted. The Samnits, whiles they turn their enſignes to and fro, (as men that loſt the
vantage of both ſides) could neither make after the Conſul, but through the ſame valley, wherein
a while before they had him under their ſhot, nor yet erect their ſquadrons, and march up that hill,
which *Decius* over them had already gained, But being more angry with thoſe, that thus had diſap-
pointed them of the fair means they had of a brave exploit, and conſidering withall the neerneſſe I
of the place, and their ſmall number which were gotten thither, they were one while of mind to en-
viron the hill round with armed men, and to keep *Decius* from the Conſul; another while, to
make them way, that when they were come down into the valley, they might ſet upon them.
Thus whiles they were in doubt what to do, the night overtook them. *Decius* at the firſt, was
in good hope to fight with them from the higher ground, as they mounted up againſt the hill: but
afterwards he marvelled much, that they neither began to charge upon him, nor yet when they
were diſappointed and put by that purpoſe, through diſadvantage of the ground, fortified them-
P. *Decius* to his under captains, ſelves with trench and rampier, and other pioners work. Then calling the Centurions unto him;
"what unskilfulneſſe (quoth he) of military ſervice, what ſupine ſlackneſſe and ſloth is this? and
"how got theſe lozels the victory of the Sidicins and Campains? Ye ſee their enſigns waving hither K
"and thither: one while hudled they are in one together, another while advanced and diſplaied at
"length. As for munitions & fortifications, no man beginneth any: and by this time we might have
"been entrenched round about. But if we ſtay here longer then for our vantage, we might be
"counted lazy lubbers like them. Come on then, go with me, that whiles day light ſerveth, we may
"ſee in what places they quarter their guards, and what way we may get from hence and eſcape.
All this went he to eſpie and diſcover himſelf in perſon, clad in a common ſouldiers jacket, lead-
ing with him the other captains in the habit of their ſouldiers; to the end that the enemies might
not take mark of the Generall himſelf, how he went about to view them. After this, when he had
diſpoſed the ſentinels and *corps de guard*, to all the reſt he commanded a watchword to be given,
that when the trumpet ſounded the ſecond watch, they ſhould come all unto him armed, and L
P. *Decius* to his ſouldiers. make no noiſe at all. When they were thither aſſembled with ſilence, as he had commanded, "This
ſtilneſſe my fellow ſouldiers (quoth he) muſt ye keep whiles ye hear me ſpeak, and forbear all gi-
ving aſſent by uttering your voices (as ſouldiers uſe to do) When I ſhall have delivered my mind to
you, let as many as like thereof, go ſoftly on the right hand, and not ſpeak a word: and look what
"ſide is greater, that courſe ſhall ſtand and take place. And now liſten what my conceit is, and
what I would have done. The enemy hath not inveſted you here, as men either fled away for
"fear, or lagging behind for ſloth and idleneſſe. The place have ye won by manhood: by man-
"hood muſt ye from thence eſcape. In coming hither, ye have already ſaved a brave army of the
"people of *Rome*: and now by breaking out from hence, ſave your own ſelves. Worthy you are
"that being but a few, have ſuccoured many, ye ſhould not ſtand in need your ſelves of any M
"mans help. With that enemy ye have to deal, who yeſterday through their ſenſeleſſe ſloth, over-
"ſlipped their happy opportunity to defeat our whole army; who were ſo blind, that they ſaw
"not this hill of ſo great importance even over their heads, before it was by us gained: who being
"ſo many thouſands, could neither debar us from climbing up, as few as we were, nor when we
"had got the place, compaſſe us about with a trench, having ſo much day as they had. Theſe ene-
"mies, whom ye have thus deluded & beguiled, whiles they were awake, and had their eie-ſight,
"ye are to deceive when they are faſt aſleep, nay, you muſt doe ſo indeed, there is no other reme-
"dy. For at that paſſe we are now, that I am rather to ſhew you, in what terms of extremity ye
"ſtand, then to adviſe you to the execution of any good counſell. It is no conſulting at this time
"whether ye ſhould here ſtay, or depart hence; ſith that beſides your weapons, and hearts ſetting N
"up reſt upon their weapons, fortune hath left you nothing at all. And die we muſt without
"doubt for hunger and thirſt, if we dread the ſwords point more than befitteth hardy men, and
"valorous Romans. One way there is therefore, and but one way of ſafety, even to make a brave
"ſally through and away. This muſt we do, either by day or by night. And that doubt is ſoon
"cleared. If we look for the morrow day, what hope have we, but that the enemy will caſt a
"ditch and bank even round about us: who already as ye ſee lying under this little riſing, have
"compaſſed it with their very bodies. Now, if ſo be that the night be a convenient and favourable
"time for irruptions and ſallies, as in truth it is: then, this hour of the night certainly, is of all o-
"ther the fitteſt. At the ſecond watches ſound ye are come hither, at which time all men are in
"their moſt ſound and dead ſleep. Amid their bodies being faſt aſleep, ſhall ye go. Either by ſi- O
"lence deceive them unawares, or if they perceive you, affright them with a ſudden outcry. Do
"but follow me, as ye have done already, I will follow the ſame fortune that guided me hither.
"Now as many of you that think this good counſel, and a courſe like to ſpeed well, make no more
"ado but paſs on my right hand. So they all paſſed, and followed after *Decius* as he went through
the quarters void of watchmen and warders. Now were they eſcaped the mids of the camp, when
a ſouldier, as he clambered over the watchmens bodies, lying heavy aſleep, chanced to ſtumble at
a ſhield, which gave a ſound again. Wherat the watchman being awakened, raiſed his next fel-

low

low; and they being ſtart up, call up other, not knowing whether they were enemies or fellows, whether the gariſon of *Decius* on the hill was broken forth, or the Conſul had ſurpriſed the camp. *Decius* then, ſeeing his ſouldiers could not paſſe clear and undeſcried, commanded them to ſet up a ſhout. And therewith he amaſed them with a new fright, who were already drowned in drowſineſs; ſo as they could neither take weapons readily, nor make heed againſt them, nor yet purſue after them. Whiles the Samnits were thus amazed and in confuſion, the Roman gariſon had by this time ſlain the warders whom they met, & were marching towards the Conſul his camp; as yet was ſomewhat of the night to come: but now they ſeemed to be ſafe, and paſt all danger. Then (quoth *Decius* on forward in this courage of yours, O hardy Romans; This your paſſage and re-
B turn to and fro, all ages ſhall extoll and praiſe. But for the full ſight and view of ſo great valour, we had need of broad day light: for ye deſerve better, than that the ſtil night ſhould hide you in ſo
" glorious a return of yours into the camp. Let us here reſt, and wait for day. His words were obeied; and ſo ſoon as the day brake, he diſpatched a meſſenger afore unto the Conſul: and ſo with exceeding joy they made ſpeed to the camp. And when it was known in the camp by the privy watchmen, that they who had put their lives in moſt dangerous hazard for the ſafty of them all, were themſelves returned ſafe: then every one came forth to meet them as faſt as they could, with praiſes and commendations, calling them both all & ſome, their ſaviours: praiſing the immortall gods, and giving thanks, yea, and extolling *Decius* to the skie. This was the triumph of *Decius* in the camp, as he marcheth through the midſt thereof with his armed gariſon, whiles every man
C caſt his eies upon him, and made him a Coronell, equall to the Conſul in all kind of honour. When he was come to the *Pretorium*, the Conſul by ſound of trumpet, called all the army to an audience, and as he entred into a diſcourſe of the deſerved praiſes of *Decius*, *Decius* himſelf interrupteth him, and cutteth off his ſpeech. Whereupon the Conſul put off the Oration. *Decius* then perſwadeth the Conſul, to ſet aſide all other things, and whiles the occaſion and opportunity was offred, he urged him effectually, to give an alarm to the enemies, both while they were amazed with this ſcare by night, and alſo lay ſcattering about the hill, as it were in their ſeverall ſconces. Beſides, he thought verily that ſome were ſent out after him to make freſh ſuit, and wandred aſtray in the forreſt. So the Legions were commanded to arm, and being departed out of the camp, and by means of the eſpials better acquainted with the foreſt, they were conducted by
D a wider and more open way toward the enemy, whom ſuddenly they ſurpriſed & charged, unawares and unprovided as he was. And for as much as the Samnit ſouldiers were ſtragling abroad, and moſt unarmed, and could neither rally themſelves and take arms, nor retire into their trench, they drave them at firſt with fear into their camp: after, whiles the guards about it were diſordered and troubled, they were maſters thereof alſo. The noiſe was heard all about the hill, and cauſed every man to flie out of his hold. So a great part of them took their heeles before the enemy could come. But ſo many as for fear were driven within the trench (& thoſe were ſome 30000) were all ſlain: and the camp rifled & ſpoiled. The Conſul having atchieved this exploit, called an aſſembly; and not only finiſhed the praiſes of *Decius*, as he before began, but alſo amplified them with freſh commendation of this new ſervice. And beſides other military gifts, he rewarded him with a
E crown of gold, a hundred oxen, and one ſpeciall white one, fat and fair above the reſt with guilded horns. The ſouldiers who together with him held the hill aforſaid, had given unto them for ever after, a double proportion of corn, and for the preſent one oxe a piece, and two ſingle liveries. After the Conſul his reward was beſtowed, the Legionary ſouldiers themſelves put upon *Decius* his head a wreath of green graſſe, in token of a delivery from ſiege, and with notable thouts and loud cries approved this gift. Another chaplet or garland alſo, in token of like honour, did his own band and company ſet upon him. And thus being adorned with theſe ornaments of honour, he ſacrificed that choſen white oxe unto *Mars*; and beſtowed his hundred oxen among thoſe his ſouldiers, who had accompanyed him in that exploit and ſervice. To the ſame ſouldiers the legions gave a pound meaſure of wheat meal, and a * ſextar of wine, a piece. All theſe particulars were performed and done with great cheerfulneſs, and ſeconded with thouting and acclamation of
F the ſouldiers, to ſignifie their good liking and generall aſſent.

A third battel was fought at *Sueſſula*: wherin by *M. Valerius*, was put to flight the hoſt of the Samnits. Whereupon, the whole manhood and flower of their youth that remained at home were ſent for and aſſembled, determining to fight it out and trie their fortune once for all. Fearfull news hereof came from *Sueſſula* to *Capua*: and from thence carriers and poſts were diſpatched to *Valerius* the Conſul, for aid. Forthwith he advanced the ſtandards, and leaving the cariages belonging to the camp, with a ſtrong guard, he marched forward in great haſt: and not far from the enemie, took a little plot of ground to encamp in; as having beſides their horſes of ſervice, no beaſts at all for cariage, nor a rabble of ſlaves and varlets that follow the camp. The Samnits (as if without further delay they were to fight) embattelled themſelves. But ſeeing none to encoun-
G ter them, they came with banner diſplaied to the very camp of the enemies. And there ſo ſoon as they beheld the ſouldiers upon the rampier, and underſtood by them that were ſent out of purpoſe to view the circuit of the camp, in how ſmal compaſſe they had fortified, gueſſing therby how few their enemies were; there ran a noiſe throughout the army, to make no more adoe but to fill up the ditches, to cut through the banks, and ſo preſently to break into the camp. And even in that raſhneſſe had the war been decided and diſpatched, but that the captaines held in the violence of the ſouldiers. But for as much as their own number ſo great, required good ſtore of victuals

P. *Decius* to his ſouldiers.

XXXVII.

P. *Decius* ſolemnly praiſed and rewarded.

The ſouldiers alſo recompenſed.

A garland called *Obſidionalis*

* Sextarius much about our wine meaſure called a quart.

victuals, and was both by their lying before *Suessula*, and also by their long stay there without fight brought to scarcity well-neer of all things: it was thought good, that whiles the enemies kept within their hold as affrighted, the souldiers should be sent about the country a foraging. In which mean time they supposed that the Romans likewise, would have spent all, who were thither come lightly appointed, and had brought no more corn with them then they could carry on their shoulders, besides their armour. The Consul having espied the enemies straggling over the country, and their guards slenderly manned, after a brief exhortation to his souldiers, led them forth to give an assault upon their camp. Which when they had won at the first shout and onset, and killed more of the enemies within their tents, then either upon the gates or upon the rampier; he caused the ensignes that he had taken, to be brought together into one place: and leaving there two legions, for a guard and defence, with a straight charge, that untill he came again, they should forbear to rifle and make spoil, he went forward in order of battell. And when the horsmen which he made out afore, had like hunters driven the scattred Samnits, as it were, within net and toil, he fell upon them and committed an exceeding great slaughter. For frighted as they were, they knew neither at what signall they should rally themselves together, nor whether they should make speed to the camp, or flie further away. But so great was their fright and flight both, that there were brought to the Consul, 40000 shields, more indeed then there were men slain: besides 170 ensigns, together with those that were won in the camp. Then returned he unto the enemies tents, and bestowed the whole pillage there, upon the souldiers. And such was the happy successe of this war, that it both caused the Falisci being in truce, to sue unto the Senat, for a league: and also turned the Latins, who had prepared their forces already from warring with the Romans, to wage war upon the Peligni. Neither rested the fame of this so fortunate a victory within the marches of *Italy*: for even the Carthaginians also, sent their Embassadors to *Rome*, with gratulation, and a present of a golden crown weighing * twenty five pounds, to be set up in *Jupiters* Temple within the Capitoll. Both Consuls triumphed over the Samnits: and *Decius* followed after, all goodly to be seen, with his gifts and worthy praises: whiles the souldiers, as their manner was, with merry jests and rude ditties, magnified and renowned the name of the Colonell no less than the Consuls.

A notable defeat of the Samnit.

After this the Embassadours of the Campains and the Suessians had a day of audience: and upon their humble request it was granted, that thither should be sent a standing garrison to winter there, for to stop the excursions and invasions of the Samnits. But *Capua*, even then no good place for military discipline, wrought an alteration in the souldiers there: who having once got a taste, and taken a delight in a world of pleasures of all sorts, quite forgot their own naturall country. For they of the garrison, began to lay plots and devise how to get *Capua* from the Campains: even by the same wicked practise, by which themselves had won it first from the ancient possessors and inhabitants, saying, "It made no matter, and they were but rightly served, in case their own "precedent lewd example, should return upon their own heads. Again, why should the Campains, "not able to defend themselves, nor maintain their liberties and goods, be LL. of the most plentiful "country of *Italy*, and of a City answerable and correspondent thereunto, rather then the victorious army, which with their sweat and blood had repelled and expelled the Samnits from them? And "was it any reason, that they who had yeelded to be vassals unto them, should enjoy that fruitfull "and pleasant tract, while they themselves wearied with fighting, struggled still and wrestled in a "pestilent air, and dry barren soil, about the City of *Rome*, and within that City, indured the set-"led, inveterat and intestin mischief & plague of usury, that surcharged them daily more and more? Whiles these projected conspiracies were contrived in secret conventicles, and as yet not broached and divulged to all mens knowledge, the new Consul, *C. Martius Rutilus* came in place: whose lot it was to be L. Deputy of the province *Campania*, leaving his fellow *Q. Servilius* in the City, who having intelligence by the Captains and Colonels, of all the particularities of those designes: being a wise man, both for his old age and long experience (as who was now Consul the fourth time, and withal had been Censor and Dictator) thought it best to dissemble the matter, and to make void and frustrat the present heat and outrage of the souldiers, by deferring and prolonging their hope, as if they might put in execution their plots at their best leisure, whensoever they pleased. He raiseth therefore a rumour, that the garrisons should in the same towns winter again the year following. [For divided they were into sundry Cities of *Campania*: & the web begun at *Capua*, was spred from thence through all the forces.] By means of this good respit to bethink themselves and advise of these matters, the mutiny for the present was well quieted. The Consuls then led forth the souldiers into the summer places of abode and repose, and purpose while he had the Samnits in quietness to cleanse the army by the casheiring & discharging those busie bodies and troublesome spirits: pretending colourably, and saying, That some of them had served already so long as the law required, others were well now stept in years, or waxen feeble and their strength decaied. Some had their passports limited, and were sent home: at the first one by one singled out, afterwards, certain whole cohorts or bands, as having wintered far from their dwelling places, from their goods and substance. Under a pretence and colour also of military services and imploiments, whiles to me were dispatched one way, some another, a great part of them were rid clean away. All this multitude, the other Consul and the Pretor kept still at *Rome*; devising this cause, and that, of delaies and abiding behind. And verily at first, they being not aware of this delusion, were not unwilling to visit home. But after that they perceived, that

A Mutiny and conspiracy of the garrison souldiers at *Capua*.

The singular policy of *M. Rutilius* the Consul.

neither

A neither they who were dismissed first, returned again unto their colours, nor any in a manner discharged else, but such as had lien in winter garrison at *Capua*: and those especially, who of them were the authors of the conspiracy; first they marvelled, and afterwards feared in very deed, that their complots were revealed and come to light, and that now presently, they should be put to examinations and tortures, abide arraignment and judgement, be executed secretly apart one by one, and suffer the insolent lordlinesse, and cruell tyranny of Consuls and Senatours over them. These and such like speeches sow they and whisper secretly, hat were in the camp, when they saw the principall authors of the mutiny, who were the sinews and strength thereof, by the wily policy of the Consul to be dismembered from them. One cohort of them, being not far from *Anxur* sat them down ot *Lautulæ*, in a narrow passe or wood between the sea and the mountains, to intercept and stay, whomsoever the Consul sent about this or that pretended businesse as is aforesaid. Soon were there gathered together a right strong power: and nothing wanted to make a shew of a full army, but only a head and Captain. And disordered as they were, they went robbing and spoiling, as far as the Alban country, and under the hill of long *Alba* they encamp themselves within a trench and rampier. Which work being finished, they spend the rest of the day in consultation about chusing a Commander, little trusting any one there present in place. And who possibly (say they) could be sent for as far as from *Rome*? What Senator or Commoner was there, that either wittingly would venture upon so great and dangerous an enterprise: or to whom the cause of an army, enraged upon an injury received, might safely be committed? The next C morrow, whiles they reasoned still about this point, and sadly debated the matter, some of the wandring and vagrant forragers of the Country thereabout, bring certain inteligence, that *Titus Quintius* imployed himself in husbandry, and held a farme in *Tusculanum*, minding neither the City, nor dignities of state and Common weal. This man was come of noble lineage, and having served with great credit and honour in the wars by a wound received, was lame of a leg, and gave over souldiery, determining to lead the rest of his life in the country, sequestred far from all courting and ambitious suing for civill offices. They had not so soon heard his name, but presently they took knowledge of the man, and (that which might turn to their good) agreed with one accord, he should be sent for. Small hope there was that he would willingly do any thing: they thought therefore to use force and to bring him to it by fear. So, in the dead time of the night, they D that were sent thereto, entred the farm house, and finding *Quintius* found and fast asleep, they awakened him: propounded unto him either rule and honour, or else pre ent death: and no mean between, in case he made stay and refused to go with them: and so they haled and brought him to their camp. Incontinently he was saluted L. Generall at his first coming. And when the man was affrighted at this sudden and wonderful occurrent, they endue him with the ornaments and ensigns to that honor belonging, and will him to lead them as their commander to the City of *Rome*. Thus having plucked up the standards, in this heady fit of their own, rather then upon any advise or counsell of their captain, they march in warlike maner with an army toward *Rome*, within eight miles of the City, upon the causey or street way, now called *Appia Via*: and had approached immediatly in that train to the very City, but that they heard there was a power coming against them, and a Dictatour created to withstand them, to wit *M. Valerius Corvinus*, toge- E ther with *L. Æmylius Mamercus* General of horsmen. So Soon as they were come in enterview one of another, and took knowledge of the armor and ensigns: the remembrance of their native country wrought with them straightwaies a mitigation of their mood. They were not yet so far gone, nor so hardy, as to shed civill blood: neither had they knowledge of any other wars but forrein: and the uttermost rage and maddest fit that ever they proceeded unto, was counted their Secession and departure away from their own countrymen. And therfore both captains and souldiers on either side sought means to meet together, and draw to imparle. *Quintius* for his part, who having had already his hands full of wars in defence of his country, could worse brook taking arms against the same: *Corvinus* likewise for himself, as one that with loving affection embraced all his fellow-citizens, but the souldiers especially, and above al others those of his own army that fought F under his banner, came forth to a parle. And forthwith as soon as he was once known, he had no lesse reverence done of unto him of the adverse part, than silence and audience given of his own men. The immortall gods (quoth he) O souldiers as well those which are common to you all, as mine own particular patrons, when I took my leave of the City, I adored and worshipped in this wise, craving humbly upon my knees at their hands, to vouchsafe me the honour, not of a victory over you, but of procuring concord and unity among you. Occasions there "have been, and will be enow else where, to win glory and warlike renown: From "hence, peace onely is to be sought. And even that which among my vowes that I made "I besought so devoutly of the immortall gods, it lieth in you to make me enjoy. Doe "but call to minde that neither in *Samnium*, nor among the Volscians yee are encamped, but upon Roman ground: that those hils which yee behold, are the hils of G "your native soile: this army which yee see, are of your own Countrymen and fellow "Citizens: and my selfe your Consull, under whose conduct and Auspice, yee have "the yeare past twise defeated the Samnite legions, twise by mere force woon their "campe, and driven them out of the field. I am, sirs, that *M. Valerius Corvinus*, whose

no-

A mutiny and sedition of the garrison souldiers of *Campania*.

*T. Quintius* surprised by the rebels and made their leader against his will.

The Oration of *Valerius Corvinus* to the Rebels

" nobleneſſe yee have had triall of, not by any wrongs done, but by good turnes on H
" your part received. Authour have I been of no proud law, nor cruell Act of Senat
" againſt you: a man in all my government and rule that I bare, more rigorous to my
" ſelfe than ſevere to you. And if ever there were one, who might be proud either of
" Noble race and gentry, or of his own vertue and valour, of majeſty and high calling or
" honourable dignities; of ſuch progenitors am I deſcended, ſuch proofe of proweſſe have I
" given: at that age attained I to Conſular honour, and being three and twenty years old,
" I was able to have been feared and dread, not of Commons onely, but alſo of the Sena-
" tors. But what deed or word hath paſſed from me in your knowledge, more grievous
" and odious when I was once Conſul, then all the time I was but a Colonel? the ſame courſe held
" I ſtill during my two Conſulſhips enſuing: and ſuch ſhall my cariage be, and none other, I
" whiles I am Dictator: that I will be no more mild and gratious to theſe here about
" me that are mine and my countries ſouldiers, then to your ſelves affronting; who are,
" I tremble to ſpeake it forth, mine enemies. Ye ſhall therefore draw ſword upon me, before
" I draw upon you. The trumpets from thence ſhall begin ſound, the ſhouting from thence
" ſhall ariſe, the charge from thence ſhall be given firſt, if we muſt needs go to it and
" fight Now, find in your hearts (if you can) to do that which neither your fathers nor
" grandfathers before you ever could: no, nor they who went away and departed unto
" the mount *Sacer*, nor thoſe who afterwards held and kept the *Aventine*. Expect, untill
" your mothers and wives, with their hair hanging about their ears, come forth of the City
" to meet with you one by one, as ſometimes they did to *Coriolanus*. Then, the Volſcian K
" legions were quieted and pacified, becauſe they had one Roman for their leader: will
" not yee then, being a whole army, all of the Romanes, furceaſe this unkind and im-
" pious warre? And thou *T. Quintius*, howſoever thou art come there to ſtand, whe-
" ther with or againſt thy will; in caſe there be no remedy, but fight wee muſt, retire thy ſelfe
" amongſt the hindermoſt: nay, with more honeſty flie thou ſhalt, and ſhew thy naturall coun-
" trimen a fair paire of heeles, then fight againſt thy country. But ſtand ſtill hardly with ho-
" nour and credit among the formoſt to make attonement: thou ſhalt be a truce-maker in this our
" parley and conference, to all our goods. Ask and have, any reaſonable and indifferent con-
*T. Quintius to his ſouldiers.* ditions: although in truth we were better to yeeld unto hard and unequall capitulations,
" than wickedly and ungodly, one to fight with another. *T. Quintius* with teares guſh- L
ing out at his eies, turning to his owne companies: " And even me alſo (quoth he)
" O ſouldiers (if need there be at all of mee) yee have a much better captaine for peace than
" warre. As for him who even now uttered thoſe words in your hearing, was neither
" Volſcian nor Samnit, but a Romane, even your owne Conſull ſometime, ſouldiers, and
" your own Generall heretofore: whoſe Auſpicate conduct, you having tried for you,
" and in your defence; doe not prove now againſt your ſelves to your perdition. Others
" had the Senate to ſend as captaines, who would have fought more maliciouſly with you: but
" they have made choice of him who above all others, could beare with you, yea, and for-
" bear you that have been his ſouldiers: whom you of all others eſpecially might truſt, as ha-
" ing been your Generall. Peace, yee ſee, even they deſire that are to get the victory. M
" And what is it then we ought and ſhould deſire? Why then ſet we not anger and
" hope aſide, two falſe motives, two deceitfull guides and counſellers; and betake
" our ſelves and all wee have to a man of approved truſt and fidelity? Theſe words being
" liked well of all (as appeared by a Generall ſhout) *T. Quintius* went forth before the
*T. Quintius to his Dictator.* enſignes in the forfront, and pronounced that the ſouldiers ſhould be at the Dictatour his
devotion and pleaſure: beſeeching him to conſider and undertake the cauſe of poor and
wretched citizens: and having taken it into his hands, to maintaine and protect the ſame, ac-
cording to that faithfulneſſe wherewith hee uſed to governe the Commonweale. As for
" himſelfe privately, he would not intend ought for his owne ſecurity: neither repoſed
" he hope in any things elſe but innocency. The ſouldiers indeed were to be capitulate, as N
" once heretofore the Commons, and a ſecond time the legions had done with the
" Senatours: namely, that this their revolt and pety rebellion might not be laid un-
" to their charge, and their hurts and utter undoing. Then the Dictatour, after hee
had firſt commended *Quintius*, and willed the reſt to be content and of good cheer, rode
poſt to the City, and by the adviſe of the Senatours, preferred a bill unto the people
*Military ordinances enacted.* in the grove *Petelinus*: *That the mutiny and inſurrection ſhould turn no man to fear
and danger.* He beſought the *Quirites* alſo of this much favour beſides, *That nei-
ther in jeſt nor earneſt, this ſhould be laid in no mans diſh.* The ſame time there was
propoſed beſides, a ſacred military law under pain of death, *That no ſouldiers name
once entred into the muſtermaſter his booke, ſhould be raſed out againſt his will:* With O
this branch annexed over and beſides, *That no man who had been aforetime a co-
lonell or Tribune, ſhould after have the leading of bands, and be a Corporall.* This was fol-
lowed hard and urged by thoſe of the conſpiracy, in regard of one *P. Salonius*, who in maner
each other year had been either a Colonel, or a chief * Centurion, whom now they call *Pri-
mipili.* Him the ſouldiers ſpighted much, and were maliciouſly ſet againſt, becauſe he had alwaies

* The next degree to a Colonel.

oppoſed

A posed himself against their conspiracies and innovations, and took not part with them who fled from *Lantulæ*. But when this one point could not be obtained of the Senat, for the favour they bare to *Salonius*: then *Salonius* himself besought the Senators that they would not regard his honour more than the concord of the whole City: and so at length it also was granted and enacted. As unreasonable a demand was this also, *That of horsemens pay*, (and that was triple at that time) *some Asses should be deducted, for that they also had withstood the conspiracy*. Over and besides, I find in some writers, that *L. Genutius*, a Tribune of the Commons, published this Law unto the people, *That Usury might be made altogether unlawfull*. Likewise in other Acts of the Commons it was provided, *That no man within ten years space should be capable of the same Office twice: nor in*
B *one year bear two Offices: and that both Consuls might be of the Commons*. Which if they all were granted to the Commons, it appeareth that this insurrection carried some sway and force with it. In other Chronicles it is recorded, that neither *Valerius* was chosen Dictator, but that all this business was by the Consuls managed: nor so great a multitude of Conspirators rose, before they came to *Rome*, but even in *Rome* took arms: nor yet that they came by night, in forcible manner into *T. Quintius* farm-house, but in the dwelling house of *C. Manlius*: and that he was taken up by the rebels to be their General and from thence went as far as four miles end, and there encamped in a fortified place: that the motion of Concord arose not from the Captains, but that of a sudden when both Armies stood aranged in order of battel they fell to greeting one another: and that the souldiers began to take one another by the hands and embrace with tears: and that the
C Consuls seeing the souldiers so backwark from fight, were forced to move the Senat for an attonement. So as among ancient writers, there is no certainty set down but that a sedition there was, and the same appeased. But the rumor thereof and the cruel war which the Samnits begun withdrew certain nations from the Romans society and alliance. For besides the faithless and untrusty League (a long time) of the Latines: the Privernats also with sudden rodes, invaded and wasted *Norba* and *Setia* two Colonies of the Romans near bordering and adjoyning.

# The Eighth Book

D

## *Of the Histories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the Eighth Book.

*THe Latines, together with the Capuans revolted: and the Latines having sent their Embassadors to the Senat (of* Rome) *offered and presented peace, upon this condition only, that they would create*
E *one of their Consuls out of them. This Embassie thus declared,* Annius *their Pretor, who had audience in the Capitoll, as going down from thence, took such a fall, that he died in the place.* T. Manlius *caused his own son to lose his head, because, contrary to his expres commandment, he had fought against the Latines, notwithstanding his good success in that combate. At what time as the Romans were greatly distressed, and like to lose the field.* P. Decius *then Coss. with* Manlius *devoted and offered himself to present death, for to save the Army: and setting spurs to his horse, rode into the midst of the enemies battell: where he was slain and by his death recovered victory to the Romans. The Latines yielded and rendred themselves. When* T. Manlius *returned into the City, there was not one of all the youth came forth to meet him, and do him honour.* Minutia, *a professed Vestall Virgin, was condemned for her incest, or incontinent life. The Ausonians being subdued, a Colony was planted in* Cales, *and another likewise in*
F Fregellæ. *Many Roman dames were detected of practising poyson: and most of them were forced to drink of their own empoysoned cup first, whereof they died presently. Whereupon was the first Law then ordained against poysoning. The Privernates, when they rebelled were vanquished and afterwards ended with the Burgesse of the City of* Rome. *The Palæpolitans were defeated in battell first, and after siege surrendred upon Composition.* Quintius Publilius, *who blocked them within their walls, was the first man that had his Commission renued, and continued still in government, when the ordinary time was expired: and by means of the Consuls had a triumph granted unto him. The common people were delivered from the danger of their creditors, by occasion of the filthy lust of one of them,* Lu. Papirius *who would have forced and against nature abused* C. Publius, *a debtor of his. When* L. Papirius *the Dictator was returned from his Army into the City for to take the Auspices anew, by reason of some errour supposed in the for-*
G *mer,* Q. Fabius *the General of the horsemen, having in his absence espied the opportunity and advantage of performing a worthy exploit gave battell contrary to his Edict, and put the Samnites to the worse. For which cause, when the Dictator would seem to punish him accordingly* Fabius *made an escape and fled to* Rome. *And when his cause would not bear him out, he had his pardon at the earnest sute and prayers of the people. This book containeth also the fortunate exploits against the Samnites.*

H

# The Eighth Book of T. Livius.

NOw was *C. Plautius* Conſul the ſecond time, with *L. Æmylius Mamercus*, when as the Setines and Norbans brought tidings to *Rome* of the Privernats revolt, with complaints of harms ſuſtained at their hands. News came likewiſe, that an Army of Volſcians, under the conduct of the Antiats, were encamped at *Satricum*. Both theſe wars fell by lot to *Plautius*. Who taking his journey firſt to *Privernum*, forthwith bad them battel: and with no great conflict gave his enemies the overthrow. The Town was won and reſtored again to I the Privernats, with a ſtrong garriſon therein placed, but two parts of their Lands were taken from them. The Army thus having obtained victory, was conducted thence to *Satricum* againſt the Antiats. Where was a cruel battel fought with much bloudſhed on both ſides: and when as the tempeſtuous and ſtormy weather parted them aſunder, before that either ſide enclined to victory, the Romans no whit wearied with that conflict ſo doubtful, addreſſed themſelves to fight againſt the morrow. But the Volſcians having taken a view and account what men they had loſt in fight, were not of like mind to adventure the hazard again: and therefore as vanquiſhed men they diſlodged by night in diſorder, and fearfully took their way to *Antium*, leaving behind them their wounded, and part of their baggage. Great ſtore of armour was there found, both upon and among the ſlain bodies of the enemies, and alſo within the Camp: Which the Con- K
The goddeſs *Lua*. ſul promiſed to dedicate to dame *Lua*, and ſo he forraged and ſpoiled the confines of the enemies, even as far as the ſea coaſt. But againſt the other Conſul *Æmylius*, who was entred into the Sabellian land, neither were the Samnits encamped, nor their Legions oppoſed any where. Whiles therefore with fire and ſword he waſted their Countrey, the Samnits Embaſſadours came unto him, craving peace: but being by him poſted off to the Senate, after they had audience given, they let fall their ſtout ſtomacks, and requeſted peace for themſelves with the Romans, and liberty to make war againſt the Sidicins: which petition they enforced with more reaſon and equity. "Firſt, in that they had entred into amity with the people of *Rome*, during their proſpe- "rity, and not as the Campains in their adverſity: again, they were to take arms againſt the Si- "dicines, enemies alwaies to themſelves, and never freinds to the people of *Rome*: who alſo, L "neither in peace (as the Samnits) ſued for friendſhip and alliance, nor in time of war (as the "Campains) ſought for aid and ſuccour: and finally, were neither under the protection of the "people of *Rome*, nor yet their vaſſals and ſubjects. When as *T. Æmylius* the Prætor had conſulted with the Senate, about theſe points demanded by the Samnits, and that the LL. thought good that the league with them ſhould be renewed; the Prætor in the name of the reſt, made anſwer to the Samnits, "That neither the fault was in the people of *Rome*, that the confederacy between "them was not perpetual; neither gainſaied they, but foraſmuch as they were weary themſelves "firſt, and repented of the war commenced through their own default, the league might yet be "newly made again. Touching the Sidicins, they would be no hinderance, but that the Samnite "people, might uſe their liberty and do what they thought beſt, either for war or peace. The M
League being thus concluded and confirmed, and they returned home, preſently the Roman Army was brought from thence upon receit of a years pay, and corn for three months, according to the capitulation covenanted with the Conſul, in conſideration of a truce granted, untill their Embaſſadors were returned.

The Samnits, with the ſame forces which they had employed to withſtand the Roman war, went forth againſt the Sidicins with undoubted hope, ſpeedily to win the City of their enemies. Then, had the Sidicines before made an offer to yield themſelves unto the Romans, but ſeeing the Nobles to reject them, as coming too late, and wreſted as it were perforce from them in their laſt extremity, they tendred the ſame to the Latines, who were already of their own accord riſen up and had taken arms. The Campains likewiſe (ſo ready and forward were they to bear in mind N an injury of the Samnits, rather than a good turn of the Romans) forbare not to joyn in this quarrel. Thus was there raiſed a mighty power of ſo many Nations banded together, under the conduct of the Latines, and invaded the borders of the Samnits, where more hurt was received by rodes than skirmiſhes. And albeit the Latines in fight had the better hand, yet were they well content for avoiding ſo many conflicts, to depart out of the enemies country. Which gave the Samnits leiſure to ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*, who before the Senat complaining, that they endured the ſame meaſure ſtill, being now aſſociats, which they had abidden before when they were enemies: beſought moſt humbly, "that the Romans would be ſatisfied with that victory of the "Campains and Sidicins, their enemies, which they had got out of the Samnits hands, and not "ſuffer them to be trodden under foot by thoſe Nations, the moſt daſtards and cowards of all O "others: requeſting moreover, if ſo be the Latines and Campains were under the dominion of "the people of *Rome*, that they would command them by vertue of their authority to forbear the "Samnits country: and if they refuſed to obey, then to chaſtiſe and keep them in by force of war. To theſe demands they framed a doubtful anſwer, as being loath and abaſhed of the one ſide to confeſs, that the Latines were not at their devotion, and fearing again on the other ſide by reproving and provoking them to turn away their hearts, and loſe them for ever. And this was the anſwer. "As touching the Campains, their caſe was otherwiſe, who were not by covenants and conditions

A "ditions in forme of League, but by voluntary and ſimple ſubmiſſion under their protection: and
"therefore they ſhould be quiet whether they would or no: but as for the Latines, by any capi-
"tulation compriſed in their accord, they were not prohibited to levy war with whom they liſt.
Which anſwer, as it ſent the Samnits away, in doubt what to think what the Romans would do;
ſo it eſtranged and alienated the Campains for fear: and made the Latines more ſtout, as ſuppoſing
the Romans now would give them the head & yield any thing unto them. And therefore under a
colour of preparing war againſt the Samnits, they ſummoned and held many Councils one after an-
other: and in all their meetings and conſultations, their Princes and chief men ſecretly amongſt
themſelves did nothing but plot and practice war with the Romans. In which conſpiracy alſo the
B Campains had their hand as deep as the reſt, even to bear arms againſt thoſe who had been their
Protectors. But although they did what they could to keep all cloſe of purpoſe, and were deſirous
before the Romans ſhould ſtir, to be ſecured from the Samnits, (an enemy preſſing hard upon their
backs) yet nevertheleſs this complot was diſcovered, and intelligence thereof given at *Rome*, by
means of certain perſons linked to the Romans in privat acquaintance and mutuall hoſpitality.
Hereupon were the Conſuls commanded to reſign their Magiſtracy before the ordinary time, that
ſo much the ſooner there might be new created againſt ſo great a danger and preparation of war.
But here roſe a ſcruple of conſcience, that the aſſembly for Election ſhould be holden by them,
whoſe government was thus ſhortned and abridged. Whereupon they proceeded to an Inter-
reign. And two Interregents there were one after another, *M. Valerius* and *M. Fabius*: who crea-
C ted Conſuls, *T. Manlius Torquatus* the third time, and *P. Decius Mus*.

In that year, it is recorded for certain, that *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, arrived in *Italy* with a
Navy: who, no doubt if he had ſped well at his firſt entrance, would have proceeded farther and
warred upon the Romans. In this age flouriſhed *Alexander* the Great in glorious conqueſts, who *Alexander* the Great.
being this man his ſiſters ſon, and a warrior invincible, whiles he atchieved feats of arms in ano-
ther part of the world, hapned to die in his beſt time and prime of his youth. But to proceed for-
ward. The Romans although there was no doubt but that their aſſociats, and namely, the Latines
were revolted: yet, as though they were carefully buſied about the Samnits only, and nothing in-
tended them; they ſent for to *Rome* ten of their chief Peers, pretending to give them in charge
what their pleaſure was to have done. At that time the Latines had two Prætors or Provoſts, *L.*
D *Annius* of * *Setia*, and *L. Numitius* of *Circeia*, both Roman Colonies. By whoſe means, beſides *Sig-* * Sezza.
*nia* and *Velitre*, being alſo Colonies of *Rome*, the Volſcians were ſollicited likewiſe to take arms.
And thought good it was, that thoſe Latine Prætors by name, ſhould be cited with the reſt. No
man was ignorant for what intent they were ſent for. The Prætors therefore, called a Council be-
fore they went, and there declared how they were convented by the Senat of *Rome*, demanding
their advice what anſwer to make as touching thoſe matters, wherewith, as they ſuppoſed, they
ſhould be charged. When ſome were of this opinion, ſome of that; then *Annius* ſpake and ſaid: The ſpeech of *Annius* in the Council of *Latium*.
"Although I my ſelf have moved you to reſolve upon an anſwer, yet I think, it concerneth us more
"in our main eſtate, to determine what to do, than what to ſay. And when we are grown to a re-
"ſolution once of our affairs, and what courſe to take, an eaſie matter will it be to frame words fit
E "for the purpoſe. For if even now already under a ſhadow and pretence of an indifferent league,
"we can abide and find in our hearts to endure bondage, what ſtandeth in the way, but that ha-
"ving abandoned and betraied the Sidicines, we be obedient not only to the Romans command-
"ment, but alſo to the Samnits? and anſwer the Romans in theſe plain terms, That at their beck
"only, and if they do but nod their head, we will preſently lay down all arms? But if at length, the
"deſire and longing after liberty do touch our hearts, and give an edge unto our ſpirits: if there
"be a league between us: and if confederacy ought to be nothing elſe but a ſociety and equal frui-
"tion of liberty and priviledges: if, I ſay, we may now glory and vaunt, whereof ſometimes we
"were aſhamed, that we are of kin to the Romans, and of their bloud: if they have an Army of aſ-
"ſociats, by the addition whereof they redouble their forces, and which the Conſuls in leaving or
F "levying their proper wars, will not part and ſever from their own: why is there not equality in
"all things elſe? Why is not one of the Conſuls a Latine? Look where is part of power and for-
"ces, there alſo is part of rule and command. And certainly even this in it ſelf is not a matter of ſo
"great honour unto us, as who have granted and confeſſed *Rome* to be the head of *Latium*: yet by
"long patience and continual ſufferance only, we have brought to paſs that it might ſeem honou-
"rable. But if ever ye wiſhed to ſee the day wherein ye might participate in government and re-
"cover your liberties again, lo, that time is now come preſented unto you by your own valour, and
"the gracious goodneſs of the immortal gods. Tried their patience ye have in denying ſouldiers:
"who doubted not but that they were in a great choler and angry at the heart, when we brake a
"cuſtome of two hundred years preſcription and above: yet nevertheleſs this grief have they put
G "up and given us not one foul word. We warred upon the Pelignians in our own name and quar-
"rel: and they, who aforetimes allowed not us the liberty ſo much as to defend our own mar-
"ches of our ſelves, nothing gainſaid and croſſed it. That the Sidicins were taken to our mercy and
"protection, that the Campains revolted from them and ſided with us, that we levied an army a-
"gainſt the Samnits their confederats, they heard and knew well enough: and yet they ſtirred not
"once forth of their City. How come they to be ſo calm and quiet, but upon a privity and know-
"ledge, both of our puiſſance and of their own weakneſs? I am able to avouch by the report of
"men of good credit, that when the Samnits complained themſelves of us, they had ſuch an an-

"swer again of the Senat of *Rome*, that it plainly appeared that they themselves pretended not to H
"require that *Latium* should be under the Roman Empire. Do ye but take upon you, and lay
"claim unto that which they secretly yield unto you themselves, and repossess it at your pleasure.
"Now if any man be affraid to be the speaker, Lo, here am I, who profess to be the man, and to
"say thus much not only in the audience of the people and Senat of *Rome*, but also of *Jupiter* him-
"self, who is reliant in the Capitol, namely, That if they will have us to be of the League and con-
"federacy, they shall admit from among us one of the Consuls, yea, and a part of the Senat. As he
with great spirit and boldness, not only advised this, but promised also thus to do; all that were
present with a general applause and assent permitted him to do and say whatsoever he thought
expedient for the common good of the Latine nation, according to that trust which they re- I
posed in him. So soon as he was come to *Rome* (with other Embassadors) he was admitted into the
Senat, and audience given him in the Capitol. Where when *T. Manlius* the Consul, by the autho-
rity and direction of the Senators, had dealt with him and the rest, not to make war upon the
Samnits their confederats: *Annius* raging like a conqueror, as if he had won by force and arms
the Capitol; and not as an Embassador, who was to deliver his mind and message safely, by the
protection of the Law of Nations, began in this sort: "The time required (quoth he) now at
"length, O *T. Manlius* and ye Senators of *Rome*, not to treat and deal with us in any affairs by
"way of authority and commandment, namely, when you saw *Latium* by the favour of the gods
"to flourish exceedingly both in men and munition, as having subdued the Samnits, confederate
"with the Sidicins and Campains, and now also combined with the Volscians: and besides, even K
"your own Colonies and townships too, have made choice to submit themselves to the Latines
"rather than the Romans. But forasmuch as you cannot find in your hearts of your selves, nor see
"how to make an end of your proud and outragious Lordship and tyranny; We, albeit we are a-
"ble to restore *Latium* unto her ancient freedom by force of arms, yet for kindred sake wil be con-
"tent to offer indifferent articles and equal conditions of peace, forasmuch as it hath pleased
"the immortal gods, that we are equal unto you in power and puissance. *Imprimis*, there is no re-
"medy now, but your two Consuls must be one a Roman, and the other a Latine: *Item*, that the
"number of Senators be elected as well out of the one nation as the other. *Item*, that we become
"one people incorporate, and one Common-wealth. And to the end that there may be one im-
"perial seat, and one name of all, and therefore we or you must needs yield, we are content a Gods L
"name (and to the good of both nations may it prove) that this City and State of yours be coun-
"red the better and more noble: and let us be called all by the name of Romans. By good hap it
so fell out, that the Romans also had for their Consul *T. Manlius* to match him; one as stout and
hot as the other: who could not contain his anger no longer, but openly said, "That if the Sena-
"tors were so far overseen and besides themselves, as to take conditions of a Setine, he would
"come with his sword by his side into the Senate house, and what Latine soever he saw there in
"coun il, he would not fail but slay him with his own hand in the place. And therewith turning
"to the Image of *Jupiter*: Hearken (quoth he) O good god *Jupiter*. Hear this wickedness and in-
"dignity: hear O Justice: and piety to Godward. Wilt thou abide to see, O *Jupiter*, in this thy ho-
"ly and sacred temple wilt thou endure, as taken captive and troden under foot to see Consuls of M
"aliens & a Senat of forreiners? Are these the covenants, O ye Latines, which *Tullus* King of *Rome*
"made with the Albans your forefathers? or which *L. Tarquinius* after him, concluded with you?
"Remember ye not the battel at the lake *Regillus*? Have ye so forgotten indeed, both your
"own calamities and overthrows of old, and also the good turns and benefits received at our
"hands? When this speech of the Consul was seconded with the indignation also of the Senators,
it is recorded, that when they called upon the gods, witnesses of those covenants, and reiterated
their names oftentimes. *Annius* in mockery of those protestations, was over-heard to despise and
scorn the power and godhead of the Roman *Jupiter*. But this is certain, that as he in heat of anger
stepped hastily to the entry or porch of the temple, and went apace, he fell down the stairs, and so
hurt his head that dashed against the bottom stair, that he swooned withall, and lay for dsad. But N
because all writers agree not, that he yielded up his last breath thereupon, I also wil leave it doubt-
ful, as I find it: as also this, that in the very charging of him with breach of covenants, there pou-
red down a tempestuous storm, with many mighty thunderclaps. For, as these and such like things
may be very true, so they may be prettily devised and invented on set purpose to represent & shew
the wrath and vengeance of God. *Torquatus* being sent by the Senat to give the Embassadors their
dispatch seeing *Annius* there to lie along, cried out aloud, in the hearing both of the Senat and the
people, and said, "No force, it is well, and as it should be; thus begin and bless, O ye immortal
"gods, our just and rightful war. Surely there is a God above, there is a power divine and deity
"in heaven, thou art no feigned and imaginary god O mighty *Jupiter* & not in vain have we hal-
"lowed thee in this place, as the father both of gods and men. Why stay ye then, O Roman Qui- O
"rites, ye likewise my LL. of the Senat to take arms in the name of the gods, having them already
"as you see to be your Leaders? I for my part shall soon so overthrow and lay the Legions of the
"Latines along on the earth as ye now see their Embassador, lying here at the stairs foot. The
words of the Consul, received with so great applause of the people, animated and enkindled them
in such sort, that had not the careful diligence of the Magistrates been more (who by command-
ment of the Consul accompanied the Embassadors as they went) than the ordinary safe conduct
of the Law of Nations, they had not escaped the rage and fury of the multitude.

The Oration of *Annius* in the Senat of *Rome*.

The Oration o *T. Manlius*.

The

A The Senat also gave their assent to this war, and the Consuls having levied two armies, and passed through the country of the Marsians and Pelignians, and joyned unto them the Samnits power, encamped themselves before *Capua*, whither the Latines with their associats, were already come together. There, as the report goeth, the Consuls both of them in their sleep had a vision: and there appeared unto them one and the same shape of a mans personage, much greater and more stately than the ordinary port of men, who should deliver these words unto them, "That "of the two armies embattelled and affronting one another, the one was appointed as a due tri-"bute to the infernal spirits, and to Mother Earth: and of the other, the chief General only. And "look of whether army the said soveraign General should devote and offer unto those infernal
B "spirits, and to mother Earth, the Legions of the enemies, and his own person withall, that part "and that Nation shall have the victory. When the Consuls had imparted one to the other these night-visions, it was thought good and agreed (for to divert and appease Gods anger) that certain sacrifices should be slain, and also if the same shewed in their inwards, as appeared in their sleep, then one or other of the Consuls should fulfil the destinies, and accomplish fatal appointment. When as the answers of the Soothsaiers agreed also to that secret religion which was now entred and setled already in their minds, then the Consuls calling together the Lieutenants and Colonels to a Council, and openly declaring before them all the pleasure of the gods, (to the end, that the wilful and voluntary death of one of the Consuls, might not fright his army in the field) they agree between themselves, that of whether side the Roman battallons began first to give back
C and retreat the Consul of that Army, should devote and betake himself to die for the people of *Rome* and the Quirites. It was debated also in that assembly, that if ever at any time before there had been war managed by severe rule and government, the military discipline should now be revived and reduced to the old manner and ancient rigour: their care in that behalf was the greater and more redoubled, for that they were to fight against the Latines, suting altogether to them in language, fashions, armour, and especially above all, in the orders and laws of warrare. For, many a time, in these two armies souldier with souldier, Centurion with Centurion, Colonel with Colonel, had sorted and conversed together, as collegues and compeers in the same garrisons, yea, and under the same colours and ensigns. By reason whereof, to the end, that by no errour the souldiers should be mistaken or deceived, the Consuls made proclamation through the Camp, That no
D man should fight with his enemy out of his own rank, and place appointed unto him. It fortuned now, that among other Captains and Cornets of horsemen, which were sent out every way as scouts and espials to discover the coasts, *T. Manlius* the Consul his son, together with the rest of his Cornet and Troup, was passed above the enemies Camp, so near, as he was within an arrow shot of their next *Corps de guard*. In which was quartered the cavalry of *Tusculum*, under the leading of *Geminius Metius* a Knight, both for birth, and also for his noble feats of arms highly esteemed in his country. He espying the Roman horse, and knowing the Consul, son, advancing before them, and of especiall mark above the rest (for all Noblemen and of quality were well enough known one to another.) What, will ye Romans (quoth he) with one Cornet of horse fight with the Latines and their confederats? What shall your Consuls, what shall two Consular armies do
E the mean while? Marry (quoth *Manlius*) they will be here time enough for you, and with them *Jupiter* himself, a witness of league and covenants by you broken. *Jupiter* I say, who only can do more than all mens forces in the world. And we who at the pool *Regillus*, have given you fighting your bellies full, will here also quit our selves so, that never after ye shall have any great joy and pleasure to encounter and joyn battel with us again. With that, *Geminius*, riding forth as he was on horseback, a little from his company, Wilt thou then (quoth he) till that day come wherein ye mean with so great a do to set forward your armies to a general set field, break a staff with me in the mean time; that by the proof and event of us twain, it may henceforth appear, how far the Latine men of arms, surpass the Roman? The young man his bloud and courage was
F soon up either upon anger and choler, or for very shame to refuse the combat, or because God would so have it, and it was his destiny that could not be avoided. Forgetting therefore his fathers commandment, and the express Edict of the Consuls, he returneth on head and rashly, to a single fight: wherein it skilled not much, whether he had the better or the worse, for any great odds thereby in the main trial of the quarrel. Thus when the rest of the horsemen of both parts were retired aside (as it were) to behold some spectacle or running at tilt: in the void place of the plain field that lay between, they ran their horses in full carreer one against the other, with sharp and deadly spear in rest. *Manlius* with his lance aloft glid over and raised the Morion of his enemy, and *Metius* with his spear lightly touched, and passed by the horse neck. Then having turned about their horses, *Manlius* came upon him first with a second charge, and so redoubled the push, that he thrust the others horse in between the ears. At the smart of which wound the
G horse reared and mounted with his forefeet, and with great force shaking his head cast his rider. And as he bare his spear and shield, to raise himself from his grievous fal, *Manlius* ran him through at the throat, so that the spear-head came forth at his ribs, and nailed him fast to the ground. And having disarmed & despoiled him rode back to his own troop: and both together with exceeding joy hastned to the Camp, and so to the Generals Pavilion, even to his father; full little knowing his fatall destiny, and what was to befall unto him, whether he had deserved praise, or incurred danger of punishment. That all the world, quoth he, (O father) may be perswaded and report truly that I am descended indeed of your bloud, and your undoubted son. Lo here I am, who being

defied and challenged to fight man to man, have killed mine enemy a man of arms: see here the H
ſpoils of him ſlain and dead. Which ſo ſoon as the Coſ. heard, preſently he could not abide to
look on his ſon, but turned away, and by ſound of trumpet, commanded the hoſt to a publike audi-
ence. Which being aſſembled in great number. " Foraſmuch (quoth he) as thou, *T. Manlius*, with-
" out regard of Coſſ. authority, or dread of thy fathers majeſty and power over thee, againſt our E-
" dict and expreſs commandment, haſt fought with the enemy, and that without thy rank and
" place; and as much as lay in thee, haſt broken the diſcipline of war, whereby to this day the State
" of *Rome* hath ſtood maintained, and haſt brought me thy father to this hard point, that I muſt
" forget either the Common-weal, or elſe mine own ſelf and mine, we will abide rather the pu-
" niſhment and ſmart for our own miſdeeds, than the whole ſtate, to her ſo great prejudice and da- I
*Manlius* executed by his own father. " mage, ſhould pay for our folly and tranſgreſſion. A fearful and dolorous example will we afford:
" but good & profitable to all youth for ever hereafter. As for me verily, both the inbred love and
" affection of all fathers to their children, and alſo this ſhew and proof of thy valour and knight-
" hood (although ſeduced with deceitful apparance and vain reſemblance of honour) moveth
" me not a little: but ſince that, either by thy death the Coſſ. commands muſt be eſtabliſhed, or by
" impunity of thy diſobedience for ever diſanulled, I would not wiſh thee to refuſe (if there be any
" of my bloud in thee) but by thy puniſhment to reſtore and ſet up again the military diſcipline
" which this day by thy default is faln down and ruinate. Go ſerjeant, and bind him to a ſtake. At
this ſo cruel a ſentence, they were all amazed and in an extaſie, that were preſent: and as if they
had ſeen the edge bent againſt themſelves, for fear more than for any modeſty or reverence, they K
were quiet. So when they were come again to themſelves, as if their ſpirits had been recovered
after ſome deep impreſſion of a wonder which had aſtonied them, they ſtood ſtill with ſilence: but
ſo ſoon as the poor wretch his head was chopt off, and his bloud ſeen to guſh and ſpin out, then
began they all of a ſudden to ſpeak freely and complain with open mouth, ſo as they forbare nei-
ther lamentations nor curſes: they covered the youth his body with his own victorious ſpoils,
they erected a funeral pile of wood over his corps without the trench and rampiers, ſet it on
fire, and burnt him accordingly; and ſo with as great love and affection as ſouldiers could ſhew,
performed their laſt duty unto him, and ſolemnized his obſequies. Thus the commandments of
*Manlius* were not only dreadful for the preſent, but gave an heavy and fearful precedent for the
future, to all ſoveraign Commanders of an Army. Howbeit, the rigour of this puniſhment made the L
ſouldiers more dutiful to their Captains and Leaders: and beſides that, the rounds and ſentinels,
and the ſet *corps de guard*, were every where more carefully looked unto and obſerved: even in
the very hazard and extremity alſo of the battel afterward, that auſtere ſeverity did much good.
For their fight was much like unto a civill war. So little, or nothing at all in a manner, differed the
Latines from the Romans Common-wealth, but only in heart and courage.

Aforetime they uſed Roman long large ſhields, covering their whole bodies; but in proceſs
of time, after that they became Stipendaries and to take pay, they bare ſhorter targets. And where-
as aforetime they had their battallons thick and cloſe together, like to the Macedonian Phalan-
ges, afterwards they began to range their battel into bands more looſely and diſtinctly, and
laſt of all, they were divided into thinner orders and ſquadrons: every ſuch order or ſquadron M
contained threeſcore ſouldiers, two Centurions, and one Port enſign. The forefront of the van-
gard ware javelineers called *Haſtati*, in fifteen ſquadrons, diſtant ſome little way one from ano-
ther: ſuch a ſquadron had twenty ſouldiers lightly armed, and all the reſt a ſort of Targeteers. And
thoſe were called light-armed, who carried only a ſpear or javelin to fight with at hand, and other
darts to lance from them aloof. This forefront contained the flower of youths, that grew up as
apprentices to war-ſervice. Then followed after them of ſtronger and riper age, as many bands or
ſquadrons, which were called *Principes*; whom there followed hard at heels, thirty ſquadrons, all
targeteers or ſhield-bearers, with brave armour above all others. And this battallon of thirty
companies, they called *Antepilani* [avant-darters] for that the other fifteen orders or bands were
placed hard before the enſigns. And of theſe, every band conſiſted of three parts: and each of them N
they called *Primum pilum*, and it was compoſed of three banners or pannonces: and every ſuch
banner contained 186 men. The firſt Pannonce or banner conducted the *Triarii*, who were old
ſouldiers of approved valour: the ſecond, thoſe that were called *Rorarii*, of leſs puiſſance both
for age and proweſs: the third ſuch as were named *Accenſi*, who were of leaſt account and truſt,
and therefore they were caſt behind unto the tail of the battallon. When the Army was thus or-
dered in battel array into theſe bands & ſquadrons, the javelineers formoſt of all began the fight:
if they were not able to diſcomfit the enemies, than they with ſteady footing and ſoft pace reti-
red back into the void places between the ſquadrons of the *Principes*, who received them: then
began the *Principes* to enter into the battel and to maintain fight, and were ſeconded by the *Ha-
ſtati* or Javelineers. The *Triarii* remained ſtanding all this whiles firmly, about their enſigns, ſetting O
out their left legs afore them at length, with their Targets on their ſhoulders, and their pikes or
javelins ſticking on the ground, with their heads ſomewhat bending forward, much like as if their
battel were fortified with a Palliſado or rampier of pales and ſharp ſtakes. Now if thoſe *Principes*
had not good ſucceſs in fight, they retired themſelves by little and little from the forefront to the
*Triarii*. And hereupon grew the proverb, that when a thing was at a dead lift and in diſtreſs they
would ſay, We are come to the *Triarii*. Then the *Triarii* ſtanding up right, ſo ſoon as they had re-
ceived the *Principes* and *Haſtati*, into the void place between their files, preſently drew in their

ranks

A ranks and files close together, and shut up as it were all waies of passage and entrance, and with one main joint and close battallon (as if now there were no more hope behind) advanced toward the enemy. And this most of all feared and terrified the enemies, when thinking to chase those that they seemed to have vanquished, they saw a new battel of fresh men starting up, and the same increased in number.

Now were there commonly four Legions enrolled, consisting of five thousand foot, and three hundred horse to every legion. As many more were added unto them, and those mustered out of the Latines, who at that time were enemies to the Romans, and had ordered their battallons after the same manner in all respects. And they knew well enough that not only ensign with ensign,
B all pikes and javelins with pikes and javelins, *Principes* with *Principes*, but one Centurion with another, if the arraies were not broken, were to encounter. Two *Primipili* or chief Centurions, there were amongst the *Triarii* in the one army and the other. The Roman, of body not so strong and well set, howbeit a good souldier otherwise, skilfull and of great experience: the Latine, exceeding mighty, and a notable fighter of all others. Well known they were one unto the other, because at all times they had the same conduct and equal place of charge. The Roman not greatly trusting to his own strength, was permitted even at *Rome* by the Cos. to chuse unto him an under-Centurion whom he would: who might protect and defend him safe from an enemy that should hap to deal with him hand to hand. And it fortuned that the yong man by him elected, fought in the throng and got the victory of the Latine Centurion. As for the battel, it was fought
C not far from the foot of the hill *Vesuvius*, in the very way that leadeth to *Veseris*. The Roman Consuls before they came into the field killed their beasts for sacrifice. And the bowel-prying Soothsaier (as it is reported) shewed to *Decius* the head of the Liver on the inner side wounded (as it were) and cut off: otherwise in all respects, his sacrifice was acceptable to the gods. As for *Manlius* he had as good signs of Gods favour in his, and all as well as might be. That is well yet (quoth *Decius*) if my collegue speed well, and have good success by his sacrifice. Their battels being so arranged, as I said before, they marched into the field. *Manlius* led the right wing, *Decius* the left. At the first they fought on both sides with equal forces and like courage and heat of stomack. But afterwards on the left wing, the Roman *Hastati*, not able to sustain the violent charge of the Latines, retired to the *Principes*. In which trouble and fearful disorder, *Decius* the Cos. called aloud
D to *M. Valerius*. "We have need of Gods help (quoth he) O *Valerius*. Where art thou, the publike "high Priest of the people of *Rome*? Come and say afore me that form of words, whereby I may "devote and betake my self for the Legions. The Priest commanded him to put on his long purple robe embroidered before, called *Prætexta*, to cover his head, and to put forth his hand under the said robe at his chin, and standing upon his javelin, with both his feet, to pronounce these words after him, as follow: [*O* Janus, Jupiter, *father* Mars, Quirinus, Bellona, *O ye Lares and domesticall gods, the gods* Novensiles *and* Indigetes; *ye gods likewise, whose power extendeth over us and our enemies, and O* Manes *the infernal gods, you I invocat, you I worship and adore, your pardon I beseech and favour crave, that ye would prosper all power and victory unto the people of* Rome *and* Quirites; *and put to fear, fright, and death, the enemies of the people of* Rome *and* Quirites. *And just as I pronounce in set*
E *words, so for the weal publike of the* Quirites, *the Army, Legions and aids of the people of* Rome, *I betake with me unto* Manes *the infernal spirits, and dame* Tellus, *the Legions and aids of the enemies, and my self after them.*] Having made this praier, he willed the Serjeants or Lictors to go to *Manlius*, and with all speed to tell him, that his collegue was devoted for the army. Himself girded after the Gabine fashion, and armed at all pieces, mounted on horseback and so rode into the midst of his enemies. Of both armies he was seen to carry with him much more stately and venerable port than a man, as sent from heaven to be a satisfaction of all gods wrath, and to turn away all plague and mischief from his own people upon the enemies. All terrour and fear he carried with him as he went, and first disordered the ensigns of the Latines in the edge and border of the battallons, and afterwards entred within into the whole army. This was noted and seen most evidently, that
F which way so ere he rode the enemies were smitten with fear, as if they had been blasted and struck with some untoward aspect and influence of a planet. But so soon as he was faln and overcharged with shot of darts, presently from that place all about, the cohorts of the Latines (out of all question) as amazed men, fled away and avoided. And therewithal likewise the Romans, as if they had been discharged and freed from their religious fear and scruple of conscience, and as if they had but then and not before heard the sound of the trumpet to battel, began to charge and fight afresh. For both the *Rorarii* advanced forward and ran among the ranks of the *Antepilani* and thereby re-enforced the *Hastati* and *Principes*, and caused them to fight more stoutly: and the *Triarii* kneeling on their right knee, waited till the Cos. gave them some token to arise. Afterwards in
process of fight when in other parts the Latines in their number prevailed, *Manlius* the Consul, ha-
G ving heard of the final end of his companion and (and right as piety would) accompanied as well with plaints and tears as with due praises so worthy and memorable a death for a while doubted, whether it were yet time for the *Triarii* to arise. Afterwards thinking it better that they should be reserved in heart and fresh, unto the last push of extremity, he biddeth the *Accensi* from the hindmost tail of the rereward to come forth before the standards. Who so soon as they were come in place, forthwith the Latines, supposing the enemies had done the like, raised their *Triarii*. Who having for a good while fought fiercely and wearied themselves, and either broken their javelins or dulled their points, and yet by meer force repulsed their enemies; thinking now all had been done,

and

and the victory atchieved, as being come as far as to the utmost skirts of the battallons; " Then, H
" quoth the Consul to the *Triarii*, rise now fresh and lusty as ye are, against the wearied, mindful
" of your country, parents, wives and children, mindful of the Consul, who for your victory hath
" taken his death. The *Triarii* all hearty & unfoiled, were not so soon risen up, shewing themselves
in their bright and glittering armour, but there began on a sudden & unlooked for, a new skirmish
and conflict. For they receiving the *Antepilani* between their files, set up a shout and outcry trou-
bled & disordered the *Principia* of the Latines, gored their faces with their javelins, slew the prin-
cipal flower and strength of their best & formost men, and passed untouched in a manner through
the other bands, as if they had been disarmed: yea, and brake through their pointed and close bat-
tallons, with so great a murder, that scarcely they left behind them a fourth part of their enemies I
alive. The Samnits also under the foot of the hill, being seen a far off in battel array, smote a terror
among the Latines. But among all either Citizens or Allies, the especial commendation of that
service rested in the Consuls: of whom, the one turned all the threats and dangers from the gods
both above and beneath, upon himself alone; the other in that battel shewed such valour and po-
licy, that it is confessed both of Romans and Latines, who have written of that journey and com-
mended it to posterity, that of whether army *T. Manlius* had the conduct, that way doubtless
would the victory go. The Latines after their defeat and flight retired to *Minturnæ*: their camp
presently upon the battel was won, and many a man there surprised alive and cut in pieces, but
the Campains especially. That day could not the corps of *Decius* be seen, for that the night came
upon them as they fought for it: the morrow after it was found amongst a mighty company of K
slain enemies, overwhelmed with swords, darts and javelins: and with all honour and solemnity
according to his death performed by his brother Consul were his funerals.

This also amongst the rest, seemeth worth the remembrance and to be inserted in this place,
namely, That it was lawful for Consul, Dictator, and Prætor, whensoever they sacrificed and be-
took to the Devil the Legions of their enemies, for to vow and offer withall, not themselves in a-
ny case, but any Citizen whom they would: provided alwaies that he were one of the enrolled le-
gion of the Romans. [*And if the man who is thus addicted and destined to death, hap to die, all is well,
and as it ought to be: But if he die not, then was the image of him seven foot high or above buried in the
ground, and a purging or propitiatory sacrifice was slain in his stead: but whersoever it chanced that I-
mage to be so interred, thither was it not lawfull for any Roman Magistrate to set foot and come. But if* L
*a man would needs offer and vow himself to death, as* Decius *did, and die not, he shall not purely perform
any sacred duty, or do sacrifice, either for himself or the City, that hath once thus betaken himself. If he
will bequeath and offer his armour to* Vulcan, *or to some saint whomsoever he list, be it permitted and
lawful for him so to do, either by way of sacrifice or other offering as he pleaseth. As for the weapon or
spear over which the Consul standing on both his feet, made his prayers and invocations, it is not lawful
the enemy to seize thereon: but if he fortune to win the same, a propitiatory sacrifice must be offered to
appease* Mars, *to wit, a swine, a sheep, and a Bull.*] And albeit the records both of all divine and hu-
mane customes and traditions, make no mention hereof, and are now grown out of use and re-
membrance, by reason that we prefer new and forrein ceremonies, before the old ancient rites of
our own country and ancestors, yet I thought not amiss to make report hereof, even in those very M
words and terms as they were used, delivered, and pronounced.

In some writers I find, that the Samnits having waited to see the event of this battel, came
to aid the Romans when all was done and past. Also, that there was succour a coming from *Lavi-
nium* unto the Latines, but not before they had the overthrow; by reason that they spent a great
time in deliberation. And when as now the formost ensigns and some part of the army was gone
forth of the gates, and news came of the defeat and slaughter of the Latines; as they turned their
banners and returned into the City, it is said, That their Prætor or Provost, named *Millonius*,
spake these words, " That so small a way as they had gone, must cost them dear, and full sweetly
" would the Romans be paid therefore. Such as were remaining of the Latines after the battel,
and were scattered asunder in many and divers waies, when they were rallied together, shrowded N
themselves for safety in the City *Vescia*. Where in their Councils and assemblies, *Numisius* their
Generall, averred, and assured them, that *Mars* indeed was common, and the hazard indifferent
to both parties, as having made an equal massacre in the one army and the other; and that the bare
name only of victory went with the Romans: for otherwise, they carried away with them the
fortune of men vanquished, and sped no better than they. For (saith he) The two royal pavili-
ons of their Cos. are polluted and defiled; the one with the parricide of his own son, the other
for the death of the Cos. who had vowed himself to die: all their forces in manner slain: their
Javelineers and principals kil'ed: a bloudy slaughter committed both before and behind the
Standards: and only the *Triarii* at the last upshot renewed the fight and set all upright. And albe-
it (quoth he) the power of the Latines also be shrewdly abated, yet for a fresh supply, either *Lati-
um* or *Volsci* are nearer than *Rome*. And therefore if they so thought good, he would with all speed
raise the lusty flower and chosen manhood both out of the Latines and the Volscians, and return
again with a fresh army to *Capua*: and with his sudden coming unlooked for, surprise and de-
feat the Romans, expecting as then for nothing less, than a second battel. So by dispatch-
ing his cautelous and deceitful letters into all parts of *Latium* and the Volscian nation (by reason
that they who had not been present at the battel were sooner induced to give rash credit) there
was a tumultuary army in great hast levied, enrolled, and assembled together out of all quarters.

This

A This hoſt as it marched, *Torquatus* the Conſul met at *Tifanum*, a place between *Sinueſſa* and *Minturnæ*. And before they could chuſe out a plot of ground to encamp in, they beſtowed their carriages and baggage on heaps of either ſide: fell to a battel preſently, and made a final end and concluſion of all the war. For the enemies were brought ſo low that as the Conſul led his victorious Army to waſte their Country, all the Latines yielded themſelves to him: and this their rendring the Campains likewiſe followed. Thus *Latium* and *Capua* forfeited and loſt part of their Territories. The lands of the Latines with the Privernats laid thereto, and the Territory of *Falerii*, which belonged to the people of *Capua*, even as far as the river *Vulturinus*, was divided amongſt the Commons of *Rome*. Two acres in the Latine Country, with a ſupplement of three four parts out of
B the Privernats land to make up the whole: and three acres in the Territory of *Falerii*, with addition of a fourth part to boot for amends, becauſe it was ſo far off, were aſſigned for a man. The Laurentins only, of all *Latium*, and the horſemen of the Campains eſcaped this puniſhment and were exempted from the reſt, becauſe they had not revolted. And a decree paſſed, that the League with the Laurents ſhould be renewed: and from that time uſually every year, is it renewed, after the tenth day of the Latine holidaies. Thoſe Campain horſmen were made free denizens of *Rome*: and for a monument and memorial thereof, they ſet up and faſtned a brazen table at *Rome* in the Temple of *Caſtor*. The people of *Capua* were enjoyned to pay yearly to every one of them, (and they were a thouſand and ſix hundred in all) 45. * Deniers.

* 45. Denarii amount to 28 ſh. 1 d. ob. ſter.

Thus after the war fully determined, and both rewards dealt, and puniſhment inflicted accor-
C ding to each mans deſert, *T. Manlius* returned home: whom the elders only [for certain] went forth to meet on the way: the youth, not only then, but ever after, during his life abhorred, and with curſes deteſted him. The Antiats made certain rodes into the Territories of *Hoſtia*, *Ardea*, and *Solonæ*. And for that *Manlius* the Conſul was not able himſelf in perſon to intend and manage that war, by reaſon of ſickneſs, he nominated for Dictator *L. Papirius Craſſus*, who as it happned was at that time Prætor: by whom was named for General of the horſemen *L. Papirius Curſor*. This Dictator, albeit he kept the field, and lay encamped certain months within the Confines, yet atchieved no worthy and memorable exploit. After this year thus renowned for the victory of ſo many and ſo puiſſant nations, and withall, for the noble and famous death of the one Conſul, and for the government of the other, albeit ſtern and rigorous, yet notable and renowned;
D there ſucceeded Conſuls, *T. Æmylius Mamercus*, and *Q. Publilius Philo*, who met not with the like ſubject and matter of great affairs: and they themſelves were more mindful either of their own private buſineſs, and ſtudious to maintain a ſide and faction in the Common-weal, than to advance the State of their Country. Howbeit, the Latines (who rebelled for anger that they loſt their lands) they diſcomfited in the plain of *Fenecta*, drave them both out of their Camp, and forced them to leave the field. Where, whiles *Publilius* (by whoſe governance and conduct that victory was atchieved) received ſurrender of the Latines, the flower of whoſe youth was there all ſlain and killed up *Æmylius* led his Army againſt *Pedum*. As for the Pedans they had maintenance from *Tybur*, *Preneſte*, and *Velitern*, who took their parts: there came alſo aid from *Lanuvium* and *Antium*. Where the Roman Conſul, albeit he had the better hand in skirmiſh, yet for
E that there remained behind a new piece of ſervice about the City it ſelf *Pedum*, and the Camp of their Confederats which was adjoyned cloſe to the Town: all of a ſudden he gave over the war unfiniſhed, becauſe he heard that triumph was decreed unto his brother Conſul. He alſo himſelf returned to *Rome*, and called earneſtly for triumph before victory. At which untimely and covetous deſire of his, the Nobles being offended, denied flatly; that unleſs he either forced *Pedum* by aſſault, or won it by compoſition he ſhould not triumph. Hereupon *Æmylius* being diſcontented and alienated from the Senat, bare his Conſulſhip afterward like to the ſeditious Tribunes. For ſo long as he was Conſul he ceaſed not to charge and accuſe the Nobles before the people; and his Collegue no whit gainſaid him as being himſelf one of the Commoners. He took occaſion of theſe accuſations upon this, that the lands in the Latine and Falern Countries, were divided in
F pinching and ſcant meaſure among the Commons. And after that the Senat deſirous to abridge the time of the Conſuls government, had decreed that a Dictator ſhould be declared againſt the Latine rebels; *Æmylius* (whoſe turn it was at that time to govern) nominated his own companion in office to be Dictator, by whom *Junius Brutus* was named General of the horſe. This Dictatorſhip was popular and altogether framed to the humour of the common people: both by reaſon of ſlandrous and accuſatory Invectives made againſt the Nobles; and for that it enacted three Statutes, moſt favourable and pleaſing to the Commons, and as croſs and adverſe to the Nobility: firſt, That the Acts deviſed and enacted by the Commons, ſhould bind all the *Quirites* or Citizens of *Rome*: ſecondly, That all laws which were propoſed and to paſs by the ſuffrages of the Centuries, before the Scrutiny began, and their voices gathered, the Nobles ſhould allow
G and approve: thirdly, That foraſmuch as they were come thus far already, that both the Cenſors might be of the Commons, now one Cenſor at the leaſt ſhould be a Commoner of neceſſity. Inſomuch as the Nobles thought verily that there was more loſt at home this year by theſe Conſuls and Dictator, than gained to the Empire abroad, by their victories and warlike exploits.

In the year following when *C. Furius Camillus* and *Q. Menius* were Conſuls, to the end that *Æmylius* the Conſul of the former year, might be more notably reproached for the quitting and letting ſlip of a victory that ſhould have been atchieved in his year, the Senat began to mutter

in

in their ſpeeches, that *Pedum* by force of arms, by valour of men, & all poſſible means whatſoever, H
ſhould be deſtroyed and raſed to the ground. Whereupon the new Conſuls being forced to lay aſide all other affairs, and to go in hand with that ſervice, firſt took their journey thither. Now was *Latium* grown to thoſe terms, as they could neither abide war nor endure peace. To maintain the wars they wanted means: and peace they could not away with nor abide to hear of, never ſince the loſs of their lands. So they thought beſt to hold a middle courſe; to ſtand upon their guard, and to keep themſelves within their towns: that the Romans being not provoked, ſhould make no quarrel of war: and if there were tidings brought of any town beleaguered, there might be aid ſent from all parts to the beſieged. And yet for all this, were the Pedans ſuccoured but of very few. The Tiburtins and Præneſtins, whoſe country lay neareſt came to *Pedum*. But for the Ari- I
cins, Lanuvins, and Veliternes, who joined their forces with the Antiats and Volſcians, were ſuddenly aſſailed and ſet upon near the river *Aſtura* by *Menius*, and vanquiſhed. *Camillus* fought before *Pedum* with the Tiburtins, who came into the field with a right puiſſant army, and put him to much trouble and hazard: howbeit, he had as good ſucceſs in the end as *Menius*. The greateſt tumult and trouble was cauſed eſpecially by occaſion of a ſudden ſally of the townſmen in the very time of the conflict. Againſt whom, after that *Camillus* had oppoſed part of his forces to make head, he not only drave them within the wals, but the ſame day alſo, when he had diſcomfited both them and their ſuccours, he ſcaled the town and was Maſter thereof. Then it was thought good, with greater preparation of power and couragious reſolution, after the winning of that one City to go about with the victorious army from one to another, and ſo to ſubdue and tame for e- K
ver the whole nation and name of *Latium*. Neither reſted they, untill partly by main force, and partly by taking one City after another by way of ſurrender, they had brought all *Latium* under their ſubjection. After this, having diſpoſed and placed garriſons in every town which they had got, they departed to *Rome* for triumph: which was to them by a general conſent of all men granted. Beſides their triumph, this honour was to them done, that two ſtatues of horſemen (a rare thing in thoſe daies) ſhould be erected for them in the Grand place called *Forum*.

But before that they gathered the ſuffrages of the people, in the aſſembly for Election of Coſſ. againſt the year following, *Camillus* in this wiſe made a ſpeech to the Senat, touching the Latine nations. "My LL. and Senators of *Rome*, That which by war and force of arms was to be done in
"*Latium*, is now by God his goodneſs and the valour of our ſouldiers brought to good paſs. The L
"Armies of our enemies ſlain before *Pedum* and *Aſtrua*: The Latine towns all, and *Antium* a Ci-
"ty of the Volſcians either by force won, or rendred by compoſition, are now held and kept to
"your behoof by your own garriſons. It remaineth now to conſult (foraſmuch as they trouble us
"oft by rebellion) and to deviſe ſome means how to keep them quiet in continual peace. In this
"conſultation, the immortal gods have given you thus much power to reſolve upon, that it lieth
"wholly in your hands, to chuſe whether *Latium* ſhall continue ſtill a nation or no: and therfore
"may ye for ever procure your ſelves repoſe and ſecurity from thence either by rigour & puniſh-
"ment, or by clemency and pardon, chuſe you whether. Are ye minded to proceed by way of cru-
"elty againſt thoſe that have yielded themſelves, and are vanquiſhed? Ye may, indeed, deſtroy all
"*Latium*, and make all waſt and a deſart wilderneſs, from whence oftentimes in ſundry and dan- M
"gerous wars of yours, ye have had the help of an army of Allies, & found them faſt and valorous.
"But wil ye (as your anceſtors have done before you) enlarge the Roman Empire by receiving un-
"to your City thoſe whom ye have conquered? Then have ye matter & means to grow up ſtil and
"wax mighty, to your great honour and glory. Surely, that government & dominion is of all other
"moſt ſtrong and ſure, wherein the ſubjects take joy in their obedience. But whatſoever you mean
"to determine in this behalf, ye had need to make ſpeed and reſolve betimes. So many nations ye
"hold in ſuſpence of mind between fear and hope: and therefore behoofeful it is, that you both
"rid and deliver your ſelves (as ſoon as you can) of the care they put you to; and alſo whiles their
"heads are buſied and minds unreſolved (ſtanding as they do amazed in doubtful expectation)
"either by puniſhment or by benefit, to foreſtal and prevent them before they take heart again. N
"For our part, it was hitherto our endeavour to effect and bring about, that ye might be able to
"diſpoſe of all at your pleaſure, and as you would your ſelves: now your duty it is to determine
"what is beſt for your ſelves and the Common-weal. The Lords and chief of the Senat praiſed this motion of the Coſſ. and deemed good in general. But foraſmuch as the condition of the parties was divers, and their cauſe not all one, they ſaid that they might reſolve and determine beſt, according to the deſert of each ſtate, if they were ſpecified by name, and the opinions asked in particular. So they fell to conſultation of them ſeverally as they were propounded: and ſet down this order and decree. *Imprimis*, that the Lanuvins be enfranchiſed Citizens of *Rome*, and enjoy again their own religion and ſacred ceremonies, with this proviſo, that the chappel and grove of *Juno Soſpita* ſhould be common to the Burgeſſes of *Lanuvium* and the people of *Rome*. *Item*, that the O
Aricins, Nomentans, and Pedans, ſhall be made denizens of *Rome*, and endued with the liberties and priviledges of the Lanuvins. *Item*, that the Tuſculans retain ſtill that freedom of their City ſafe, which as then they enjoyed: and the crime and attainder of rebellion, to be charged upon a few of the chief to ſave the common ſtate from danger. *Item*, that there ſhould be grievous puniſhment inflicted upon the Veliterns, who being ancient Roman Citizens, had notwithſtanding ſo often taken arms and rebelled: that their wals ſhould be diſmantled and raſed: their Senators from thence tranſlated, and confined beyond *Tyberis*, there to dwell, upon pain, that whoſo-

The Oration of *Camillus* to the Senat of *Rome*.

A whosoever were found on this side the water, it might be lawfull for any man to take him as his prisoner, and to ransom him at a * 1000 Asses. Provided alwaies that he should not enlarge him, nor release him of his Irons, untill the money were fully satisfied and paid. Into the possessions and lands of those Senators, were tenants and Coloners sent to inhabit: who being once enrolled, *Velitre* seemed again as populous as beforetime. At *Antium* was there a new Colony planted, with this proviso, that the ancient inhabitants of the Antiats should be permitted (if they themselves would) to be enrolled there, and remain still. From thence were their long Gallies and war-ships had away, and the people of *Antium* wholly forbidden the sea: but the freedom of Roman Citizens to them was granted. The Tyburts and Prenestins forfeited their lands, not for their late tres-

B pass of rebellion, common with other Latines, but because they repining and envying the good estate of the Romans had in times past joyned arms with the Frenchmen, a savage and unsociable nation. From the other Latines Cities and States, they took away the priviledge of marriage, the commerce of traffick, and entercourse of mutual intelligences, and holding counsels themselves, for ever after. To the Campain Gentlemen that served with horse aforesaid, for that they would not give consent to revolt with the Latines: to the Fundans also and Formans, through whose country they had alwaies had free, safe, and quiet passage to and fro, this honour was done, as to be made Citizens of *Rome*; but without the liberty of giving voices. *Item*, it was decreed, that the Cumans and Suessulans, should be of the same condition and state that *Capua* was. The Ships of the Antiates were part of them transported to the Arsenal at *Rome*, and the rest set on fire and

C burned. With the stems, beakheads, and brazen pikes whereof it was thought good, that the pulpit of common pleas and Orations in the grand place of *Rome*, should be beautified and adorned: which publike Pulpit was thereupon called *Rostra*.

Whiles *C. Sulpitius Longus*, and *P. Ælius Petus* were Consuls, when as the Romans held peaceably under their dominion, all the countries, as well through the favour which they won by bountiful dealing, as by might and strong hand, there arose war between the Sidicins and Aurunci ans. The Aurunci, who had yielded afore to *T. Manlius* Consul, and were taken into protection afterwards rebelled not: whereby they had a more just cause to request and seek for aid at the Romans hand. But before that the Consuls had led forth their power out of the City (for the Senate had commanded, that the Aurunci should be defended) tidings came, that the Aurunci for

D fear had quit their town: and being fled with their wives and children, had fortified *Sinuessa*, which now at this day is called *Aurunca*: and that the ancient wals, with the town it self, were by the Sidicins destroyed. Hereat the Senate offended with the Consuls, by whose delay and lingring their allies had been betraied in time of their necessity, ordained a Dictator to be chosen. So there was elected *C. Cloudius Regillensis*, who appointed for General of horsemen *C. Claudius Hortator*. But hereupon rose a scruple of conscience about the creation of the Dictator. And when the Augurs had pronounced, that they thought him not rightly created, both Dictator and General of horsemen gave over their rooms. The same year *Minutia*, a Vestal Nun, was first suspected of incontinency, for going in her apparel more trim than was decent for one of her calling and profession: and after that, brought in question and accused by a bond-servant, that informed against her to the High Priests. First, by a decree of theirs she was awarded to abstain from

E divine service, to keep her house, and not to manumise and set free any of her bond-slaves, but to have them forth-coming, whensoever they were called for: and after farther examination and judgement passed, was buried quick under the ground, at the gate *Collina*, in the paved causey on the right hand, within the plain or field called *Sceleratus*, *i.e.* Execrable or polluted. I suppose, that place took the name of such * incest of filthy whoredom. The same year, *Q. Publius Philo* was elected Prætor, the first that ever was of the Commons, notwithstanding the mind of *Sulpitius* the Consul, who said, That he would not take his name to propound it for Election nor admit him among other compititors. But the Senat strived the less in impeaching this Prætorship, seeing they could not have their will in the highest rooms and dignities.

* Simple fornication or incontinency in a professed Votary was called Incest.

F The year next ensuing, under the Consulship of *L. Papirius Crassus* and *Caso Duellius*, was notable and famous for the war of the Ausonians, in regard rather of the novelty, than the greatness and danger thereof. They were a people that inhabited a town called *Cales*, and had joyned their power with the Sidicins their next neighbours. The whole power of which two nations being discomfited in one battel, and the same not so memorable, was for the nearness of their Cities more ready to flie, and in their flight more safe and secured. Yet the Nobles of *Rome* omitted not the care of that war: for that the Sidicins so often, either had themselves moved war, or aided those that began, or else were the cause of all troubles. Whereupon they endeavoured all that they could to make Consul the fourth time, the noblest warriour in those daies, *M. Valerius Corvinus*, who had for his brother in government *M. Attilius Regulus*. And lest haply some errour by chance

G should be committed, suit was made to the Consuls, that extraordinarily, and without casting lot, that province might fall to *Corvinus*: who having received the Army (after the victory at *Cales*) of the former Consuls, went forth. And when at the first shout and onset he had discomfited his enemies, who in remembrance of their former late overthrow were affrighted, he assailed to assault their very wals: and so eager and hotly bent (I assure you) were the souldiers, that even at the first they would have set ladders to, as making full account to scale up to the top, and enter the town. But *Corvinus*, because that was an hard adventure, was desirous to accomplish that enterprise by the long toil of his souldiers, rather than their present perill: he raised

* 52 li. 6. d. sterl.

therefore

therefore a countermure and platforms, and rolling frames, mounted against the wals: but as good H
hap was, by an opportunity that fell out, they had no uſe of theſe munitions and fabricks. For *M. Fabius* a Roman priſoner, taking vantage of the negligence of his keepers upon a feſtival holiday, and making means to break his bonds, let himſelf down by a long cord, faſtned at one end to a pinacle or battlement of the wall, and ſlid by the arms, among the munitions and fabricks of the Romans: who ſo perſwaded and prevailed with the General, that he cauſed him to give an aſſault upon the enemies, now being faſt aſleep, as having filled their bellies with wine and good meats. So that with as little ado were the Auſonians and their City ſurpriſed, as they were afore vanquiſhed in fight. A great booty of pillage was there got: and after a garriſon placed at *Cales*, the Legions were brought back to *Rome*. The Conſul by decree of the Senate triumphed: and that *Atilius* ſhould not be without his glory too, both Coſſ. were appointed to lead forth an Army againſt the Sidicins: but before they went, they appointed by a decree of the Senat, *L. Æmylius Mamercus* to be Dictator, to hold the election of Conſuls. Who named *Q. Publius Philo* for his General of horſemen. I

In this Election, holden by this Dictator, there were created Conſuls, *T. Veturius*, and *Sp. Poſthumius*. Who albeit there remained ſome part behind of the Sidicins war, yet to the intent they might gratifie the Commons by ſome good turn, and prevent their longing before they ſpake themſelves; propoſed an Act concerning the bringing of a Colony to *Cales*: and when as the Senate had ordained that two thouſand and five hundred men ſhould be enrolled and aſſigned thither; they created Triumvirs for to bring them thither, and to divide the lands, namely, *Caſo Duellius*, *T. Quintius*, and *M. Fabius*. After this, the new Conſuls having received the army of the old, entred into the enemies confines, waſting all before, untill they came to the very walls of their City. Now, for that the Sidicins had aſſembled a puiſſant army, and ſeemed themſelves fully reſolute and bent upon utter deſpair to put all unto the laſt adventure, and to fight it out to the laſt man. Moreover, becauſe it was noiſed, that all *Samnium* was riſen up in arms: by authority from the Senate, the Conſuls appointed *P. Cornelius Ruffinus* Dictator, and *M. Antonius* was nominated General of the horſe. But hereupon grew again another ſcruple, that there was ſome errour eſcaped in the creation: ſo they reſigned up their places, and becauſe there enſued alſo a plague hereupon (as if all their Auſpices for Elections of Magiſtrates had been touched and infected with that errour and default) the managing of all affairs fell to an Interreign. Which being now entred K
upon by the fifth Interregent, *M. Valerius Corvinus*, then Conſuls were created, *L. Cornelius* the ſecond time, and *Cn. Domitius*. L

When all things elſe were at quiet, the rumour of the Gauls war was ſo riſe and hot, that it was taken for a very * Tumult. Whereupon it was thought good, that a Dictator ſhould be created. And *M. Papirius Craſſus* was nominated, who had *P. Valerius Publicola* for General of the horſemen. When they had muſtred the ſouldiers more ſtreightly and with greater regard than would have been for wars near hand, the eſpials who were ſent out, brought word that all was well and quiet among the Gauls. But ſuſpected it was that *Samnium* now the ſecond year was ready to drop out of their allegeance and ſeek a change. Whereupon the Roman army was not withdrawn out of the Sidicin country. Howbeit the war of *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, drew the Samnits into M
the Lucans country, which two nations uniting their forces, gave the King a battel, as he made rodes from *Peſtus*. In which conflict, *Alexander* having got the upper hand, entred into a League and amity with the Romans: although it was much doubted, with what faithfulneſs he would obſerve the ſame, if all his affairs proſpered as well. The ſame year was a ſolemn Levy or Numbring of the people of *Rome* held, and the new Citizens were matriculated and enrolled. And therefore two Tribes were annexed, *Melia* and *Captia*: the Leviers that ordained them, were *Publ. Philo*, and *Sp. Poſthumius*. The Acerrans became Roman Citizens, by an act propoſed by *L. Papirius* the Prætor: by vertue whereof they were enfranchiſed Denizens, but without the priviledge of giving voices. Theſe were the acts for this year both at home and abroad.

* The rumour of the Gauls war, was ever taken for a Tumult (*quaſi timor multus*) and ſuppoſed more dangerous than another ordinary war.

The year next following (were it through the unkind diſtemperature of the air, or by ſome N
wicked practice of man) was infamous, when *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *T. Valerius* were Conſuls. I find the ſurname of this Conſul to vary in divers Chronicles, in ſome *Flaccus*, in others *Potitus*. But it matters not much whether be true. This rather I could willingly have wiſhed (and yet all Authors do not record it) that it had been falſely recorded, That thoſe perſons by ſorcery and poiſon were made away, whoſe death hath defamed that year with the note of a peſtilence. But yet as the thing is left in writing, I purpoſe to deliver it, leſt that I ſhould ſeem to derogate ought from the credence of any writer. When as the chief perſonages of the City died upon like diſeaſes, and after one and the ſame manner of ſymptomes, a certain chamber-maid preſented her ſelf to *Q. Fabius Maximus* (being for the time an Ædile of State) and profeſſed to bewray the cauſe of that publike and contagious malady, if ſhe might be aſſured by faithfull promiſe from him, that by the O
utterance thereof, ſhe ſhould not come to harm nor trouble. Forthwith *Fabius* delivered this matter to the Conſuls: and the Conſuls made relation thereof to the Senate: by the conſent of which State aſſurance was made accordingly unto the party aforeſaid, to reveal the matter. Then ſhe declared, that by the lewd and miſchievous wickedneſs of women the City was thus afflicted: and namely, That certain Dames of *Rome*, even their own wives, boiled and tempered rank poiſons, (to kill their husbands) and if they would follow it preſently they might be taken in the manner. So they went ſtraight waies with the wench, and found ſome women as they were

ſeething

A seething and preparing venomous drugs, yea and some poysoned confections already put up. Which were brought into the market place, and about 20. of those dames, with whom the poysons were found, were sent forby a Sergeant. Two of them *Cornelias* and *Sergia*, both noble women born, stoutly standing upon these tearms, and stiffy avouching, That they were soveraign medicines and wholsom for the body of man, were by the chamber-maid aforesaid confuted, and enjoined to drink thereof, that they might disprove her, and make her a liar, and to have devised of her own fingers ends this false slander. Who took a time to commune and confer together, that the people were avoided aside to make them way. Now when as in sight of all the World, these two Dames had propounded the matter to the rest there in place, they also refused not: and
B so having drunk the poysoned potion, they all perished by their own mischievous practise. Then presently were their complices apprehended, who detected and discovered a great number of other Wives: of which 170. were condemned. Never afore that day was there any inquisition nor proces at *Rome*, about poysoning and sorcery. So as the thing was taken for a prodigious wonder, and imputed rather to their minds, besotted and bewitched, then to any feilonious intent of theirs. Whereupon the Magistrates of the City, calling to mind and searching the old Chronicles, found, that in times past, at what time as the Commons in a mad fit withdrew themselves and departed the City, there was a spike or great nail driven and fixed by the Dictator: and that the minds of the people, which by discord had been distracted and out of their right wits, were by that ceremonial satisfaction, brought again in good tune: and therefore it was thought good,
C that for the fastning or sticking up of such a nail, there should a Dictator be created. So *Cn. Quintilius* was nominated, who named *L. Valerius* General of horsemen, who so soon as the nail was fastned, gave over their places.

Consuls then were created, *L. Papirius Crassus* the second time, and *L. Plautius Venox*. In the beginning of which year, there came from the country of the Volscians as Embassadors to *Rome*, the Fabraterns and Lucans, making request that they would take them into their protection, promising that if by them they were defended from the forces of the Samnits, they would become loyal and obedient subjects to the people of *Rome*: Then were Embassadors sent from the Senat, to give commandment to the Samnits, to forbear doing any violence upon the borders of those nations. Which embassage sped well and took place; not so much for that the Samnits desired
D peace, as because they were not as yet ready prepared for war. The same year began the Privernats war. The confederates whereof, were the Fundans, and their Leader likewise a Fundan, one *Vitruvius Vaccus*, a man of great name and reputation, not only in his own country, but also at *Rome*. His dwelling house stood sometime in mount *Palatine*, even the very same, which after the building was pulled down, and the ground forfeit and confiscate, was called *Vacci Prata*. Against whom as he wasted and spoiled far and neer the Setin, Norban and Coran countries, *L. Papirius* went forth with a power, and rested not far from his very camp. But *Vitruvius* neither had the wit to keep himself within his trench against a mightier enemy, nor yet the heart to encounter far from his fort. But having put his souldiers in battel array, before they were all well out of the gate of the camp, whiles the souldiers had more mind to flie backward, then march forward
E and encounter the enemy: without either advise or confident courage he fought: and with as little ado, and without any question of the matter he was vanquished: so by reason of the shortness of the way, and the easie retire into the camp so neer, he found no great trouble to save his souldiers from much slaughter. For in the very conflict, few or none in a manner were slain, and not many in the press of the rout and tail of the flight, at what time as they rushed into their camp. And in the beginning of the night, the army thus discomfited, made haste to *Privernum*, there to defend themselves within a wall rather then a trench. *Plautius* the other Coss. having from *Privernum*, overrun and forraged the territory, and driven booties away, conducted his army into the Fundan country. The Senat of the Fundans as he entred into their confines met him, saying: "They were not come as Orators to entreat either for *Vitruvius*, or for those
F "that took his part; but for the people of the Fundans: who that they were innocent and not "culpable for this war, *Vitruvius* himself hath plainly proved and declared, in that he chose *Pri-* "*vernum* to be his place of retreat and refuge, and not the City *Fundi*, the very place of his nativi- "ty. And therefore at *Privernum* the enemies of the people of *Rome* were to be sought for and "pursued, who unmindful of both their own countries, had revolted as well from the Fundans "as the Romans. As for the Citizens of *Fundi*, they were at peace with *Rome*, nay, they were "Romans in heart, and carried thankful remembrance of a benefit received: they entreated there- "fore and besought the Consul to forbear hostility with a guiltless people: assuring him that their "Lands, their City, their own Bodies, their Wives and Children were and should be at the devo- "tion of the people of *Rome*. The Consul after that he had commended the Fundans, and sent
G letters to *Rome* that they remained firm and fast in their allegiance, turned his way to *Privernum*. But before he diflodged (as *Claudius* writeth) the Consul executed those that were the heads of the conspiracy, and three hundred and fifty of those rebellious conspirators were sent prisoners to *Rome*. But the Senat accepted it not, and were not content with that submission, as judging the Fundan people, desirous to be excused and discharged with the punishment of the needy and base sort of people. Now when as *Privernum* was besieged and invested with two Consular Armies, the one of the Consuls was called home, to hold the Election of Magistrates. That year were erected in the great race called *Circus*, the Barriers from whence the horses and their charriots are

let forth, when their prizes. But before they were well paſt the care of the Privernats war, there H
arrived a terrible and fearful brute of the Gauls war, which never was regarded ſleightly of the
Nobles of *Rome*. Incontinently therefore the new Conſuls, *L. Æmylius Mamercus*, and *Cn. Plau-*
* First of *July*. *tius*, on that very day, namely, on the * *Calends* of *July*, wherein they entred their offices, were
commanded to determin and agree between themſelves upon their Provinces: and *Mamercus*,
who had the charge of the Gauls war, levied and enrolled an army without allowing any immu-
nity and exemption from warfare. Moreover and beſides, even the poor handicrafts men and ar-
tiſans, ſuch as keep their ſhops, and live by ſedentary occupations, a ſort far unmeet for martial
ſervice, are ſaid to have been called forth, and preſt to the wars: and a mighty army was aſſem-
bled and met together at *Veii*, that from thence they might march to encounter the Gauls: For it I
was thought good that they ſhould now go farther forward, for fear leſt the enemy taking ano-
ther way, might deceive them and march directly to the City of *Rome*. But a few days after,
when it was known for certain that all the trouble and fear for that time was overblown, they
diverted their forces from the Gauls, and bent all againſt *Privernum*. But the iſſue hereof is re-
ported two manner of ways, ſome write that the City was forced by aſſault, and that *Vitruvius*
came alive into their hands: others, that before the utmoſt extremity of aſſault was uſed, they
of their own accords, carrying before them white wands in token of peace, yeelded themſelves
unto the Conſul: and that *Vitruvius* by his own Country men was rendered and delivered unto
him. The Senat being moved, and their opinion asked concerning *Vitruvius* and the Privernats;
ſent for the Conſul *Plautius* to triumph, after that he had diſmantled the walls of *Privernum*, and K
there placed a ſtrong garriſon: and they gave order in the mean time that *Vitruvius* ſhould be kept
faſt in priſon until the Conſuls return, then to be whipped and put to death. They appointed al-
ſo that his habitation in *Palatium* ſhould be pulled down, and his goods conſecrated to their I-
dol *Semon Sangus*. And look what money [of braſs] was raiſed thereof, it ſerved to make braſen
round Plates, which were offered and ſet up in the Chappel of *Sangus* towards the temple of *Qui-*
*rinus*. Touching the Senat of the Privernats, thus it was decreed, that every one of the Senators cal-
ling, who remained at *Privernum* after their revolting from the Romans, ſhould in the ſame con-
dition and ſtate as the Veliterns, be confined beyond *Tybris*, and there dwell. Theſe Acts be-
ing thus ſet down, there was no more talk of the Privernats until the triumph of *Plautius*. After
the triumph, the Conſul having executed *Vitruvius* and his complices, ſuppoſing now that hee L
might ſafely propound the cauſe of the Privernats, to the LL. of the Senat, whiles they were
newly ſatisfied with the execution of the guilty offenders. "Since that (quoth he) my LL. of the
"Senat, the principal authors of this revolt and rebellion, have both at the hands of the immor-
"tal gods, and at yours, ſuffered now already condigne puniſhment; what is your further plea-
"ſure, and what ſhall be done with the innocent and harmleſs multitude? For my part verily,
"although I be rather to demand your opinions then deliver mine own: yet ſeeing the Priver-
"nats neer neighbors unto the Samnits, with whom we now at this time entertain a moſt uncer-
"tain and ſlippery peace, I would have as little grudge and rancor left as may be, between us and
"them. As the queſtion in it ſelf was doubtful and ambiguous, whiles men gave advice ſome to
proceed cruelly, others to deal gently, according to each man his nature and inclination: ſo there M
was one of the Privernat Embaſſadors that made it more doubtful, and put all out of ſquare; a
man mindful of that ſtate wherein he was born, more than of his preſent need and extremity. Who
being demanded of one (that had ſpoken to the point, and delivered ſome ſharp cenſure
and heavy ſentence againſt them) What puniſhment he judged the Privernats deſerved?
Marry (quoth he) that which they deſerve, who deem themſelves worthy of liberty and freedom.
At whoſe ſtout and arrogant anſwer, when the Conſul ſaw thoſe to be more eagerly and bitterly
bent, who before impugned the cauſe of the Privernats: to the end that he himſelf by ſome mild
and gentle demand might draw from the party more modeſt language: What (quoth he) if we
ſhould remit and pardon your puniſhment; what kind of peace might we hope to have at your
hands? If (quoth he) ye offer us good peace, ye ſhall find it on our part loyal and perpetual: but N
if ye tender hard conditions of peace, ye ſhall have it laſt but a ſmall while. But then one gave
out, that the Privernat began to threaten plainly: and ſaid moreover, that ſuch ſpeeches were e-
nough to ſtir up any peaceable and quiet people to war, that never thought to have fought. But
the better part of the Senat drew theſe his anſwers to a better ſenſe, and ſaid that it was the ſpeech
of a man, and of a man free born. For, was it credible (quoth they) that any ſtate, nay, any par-
ticular perſon, would longer abide (than needs he muſt) that condition which he miſliketh and
goeth againſt his ſtomach? There only is peace ſure and like to hold, where men are contented
and willing to keep themſelves in peace: and never let men look or hope to find faithful loyalty,
where they will impoſe thraldom and ſervitude. And to this purpoſe the Conſul himſelf eſpecially
moved and enclined their hearts, reiterating theſe words to the Senators that were firſt to give O
their opinions, and that ſo loud, as he might of many more be over-heard, That they above all o-
ther, and none but they indeed were worthy to be made Roman Citizens, who minded and e-
ſteemed nothing in the world, but their freedom. Whereupon, both in the Senat they obtained
their ſuit: and alſo by the authority of the LL. a Bill was exhibited to the people, That the Pri-
vernats might be enfranchiſed Romans.

The ſame year were three hundred ſent as a Colony, to inhabit *Anxur*: and had two Acres
of ground a peece allowed them. The year following was memorable in no reſpect, either of
home

A home affairs or forraign, in the time of *P. Plautius Proculus*, and *P. Cornelius Scapula* Coſſ. Only this fell out that year; that in *Fregellæ* (which ſometime was in the territory of the Sidicins, and after, of the Volſcians) there was a Colony planted: and unto the people there was given a doſe or diſtribution of raw fleſh amongſt them, by *Marcus Flavius*, at the funeral of his mother. Some there were that thought, how under a colour of honoring his mother, he defrayed and paid unto the people a deſerved hire & reward, in that when he was by the Ædiles arreſted & brought to his anſwer for adultery committed with a Dame or married Wife in the City, the people had by their voices acquit him. This dole given for a favour paſt at his trial, was the occaſion alſo of a dignity following: for in the next Election, notwithſtanding he were abſent, he was preferred to the Tri-
B bunſhip of the Commons, even before thoſe Competitors that were preſent in place.

There ſtood ſometime the City *Palæpolis*, not far from thence where as now *Naples* ſtandeth. In thoſe two Cities, one and the ſame people inhabited, deſcended and deriving their beginning from *Cumes*, and the Cumans fetch their off-ſpring from *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*. With that fleet wherein they ſailed from their own country, they were able to do much at ſea, and were mighty upon thoſe coaſts where they dwelt. And firſt landing in the Iſlands *Æxaria* and *Pithecuſæ*, afterwards they adventured to ſeat themſelves in the main and continent. This City relying and truſting in their own power, as well as preſuming upon the faithleſs and diſloyal ſociety of the Samnits with the Romans, or bearing themſelves bold upon the rumor that ran of a peſtilence that raigned in in the City of *Rome*, wrought much miſchief and hoſtility againſt ſuch Romans as inhabited the
C Campain and Falern Countries. Whereupon, when as (in the time of *Lucius Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Quintus Publius Philo* Conſuls, the ſecond time) there were Fœcials ſent to *Palæpolis*, for to demand reſtitution again, and a proud anſwer returned back from the Greeks, a Nation more ſtout and valiant in tongue then in deed and execution; by the authority of the Senat the people decreed, that there ſhould be war made upon the Palæpolitans. And when as the Conſuls had divided their provinces between themſelves, it fell to *Publius* his turn to war upon thoſe Greeks. *Cornelius* with another army was oppoſed againſt the Samnits if they ſhould hap to ſtir any way. For the report went, that they looking and expecting aſſuredly the revolt of the Campains, would encamp neerer and join with them. There, *Cornelius* thought it beſt to keep a ſtanding camp. The Senat was certified from both Conſuls, That they had ſmall hope of peace with the Sam-
D nits. *Publius* gave intelligence, that two thouſand Nolan ſouldiers, and four thouſand Samnits, were rather by the compulſion and importunity of the Nolans, than with the good will of the Greeks, received at *Palæpolis*. At *Rome* it was for certain known, that in *Samnium* there were new muſters taken by the Magiſtrates direction, and that the whole country, and the people adjoining, were raiſed, and out in arms. Moreover, That the Privernats, Fundans, and Formians were without all diſſimulation ſollicited and moved to rebel. Upon which cauſes, it was adviſed by the Senat, firſt to ſend Embaſſadors to the Samnits, before they made war: and from them they had an inſolent anſwer, And they themſelves made quarrel, and charged the Romans with wrongs offered firſt: and nevertheleſs they juſtified themſelves for any thing by them done, and anſwered all objections that were laid againſt them full ſtoutly. "Namely, that the Greeks
E "were not aided by any publick counſel or order of theirs, nor yet were the Fundans and Formi-
"ans by them ſollicited, as who need not be aſhamed of their own power, but thought them-
"ſelves ſufficient enough to war if they liſted. Thus much moreover, they could not diſſem-
"ble, but ſpeak it out in plain tearms, That the Nation and Senat of the Samnits take it in ill
"part, that the people of *Rome* had re-edified and repaired *Fregellæ*, a town by them conquered,
"and won from the Volſcians, and by them laid ruinate: and not only ſo, but they had placed
"a Colony alſo in the Samnits Country, which the inhabitants called *Fregellæ*. Which contu-
"mely and reproachful injury, unleſs they that were the authors thereof would do their beſt to
"aboliſh and cancel, they would with all their might and main repel it from them. And when as the Roman Embaſſador made a motion, and would have had them to put the matter for to be
F decided unto the common Confederates and friends of both parties; What double and indirect dealing is this (quoth the Samnits?) What jugling is here to no purpoſe? As for the quarrels and differences between us (O ye Romans) neither the babling words of Embaſſador, nor yet any days-man or arbitrator, but the very Campain field, wherein we muſt encounter in earneſt, even dint of ſword, and the ſpears point, and the doubtful chance of battel ſhall determin. And therefore encamp we between *Capua* and *Sueſſula*, in the ſight one of another, and let us then try the iſſue, whether Samnit or Roman ſhall be Lord of *Italy*. The Embaſſadors of *Rome* made anſwer, that they were not to go whither the enemy called them, but whither their General and Captains led them. In this mean while *Publius* had already got a convenient piece of ground
G between *Palæpolis* and *Naples*, and thereby empeached the enemies of the mutual entercourſe of ſuccors from the one to the other, which they had uſed reciprocally, as either place had need, and was diſtreſſed. Therefore, when as the time of Election of Magiſtrates at *Rome* drew on apace, and expedient it was not for the Common-weal that *Publius* (now approaching neer the enemies walls, and ready to aſſault) ſhould be called away from the hope which dayly he had of winning the City; the Tribuns were dealt withal, to propoſe an Act unto the people, That when the time of *Pub. Philo* his Conſulſhip ſhould be expired, he might in quality and name of Proconſul, remain in government, until the war with the Greeks were fully ended. And unto *L. Cornelius* were letters ſent, implying thus much, That whereas it was not thought good, that

he now being entred into *Samnium*, ſhould be called away from the chief puſh of the war, he ſhould nominate a Dictator to be Preſident of the Election of Magiſtrates: Who named *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and by him was appointed for General of horſe *Sp. Poſthumius*. Yet for all this, was no aſſembly for the ſaid election, holden by the Dictator. For it came in queſtion, Whether he were rightly created or no. And the Augurs being hereabout conſulted with, pronounced, "That the Dictator ſeemed not created aright. But the Tribuns diſcredited and made ſuſpicious "and infamous, by their accuſatory ſpeeches, this their ſentence and declaration, ſaying, That nei- "ther it was eaſie to know the fault and error in the creation, ſeeing that the Conſul nominated "the Dictaior in the beginning of the ſtill night, neither had the Conſul written to any man pub- "lickly or privatly thereof, nor yet was there any perſon could come forth and ſay, that he either "ſaw or heard ought, that might mar and interrupt the Auſpices, nor yet could the Augurs ſit- "ting at *Rome*, gueſs and divine, what error had hapned to the Conſul in the camp ſo far off. And "who ſaw not (ſay they) that the Augurs found fault herewith, becauſe the Dictator Elect, "was a Commoner? Theſe and other ſuch allegations were (to no purpoſe) by the Tribuns given out. For the matter grew to an Interreign, and the foreſaid Election being ſtil put off and adjourned for one cauſe or other; at length the fourteenth Interregent, *L. Æmylius* created Conſuls, *C. Petilius*, and *L. Papirius*, ſurnamed *Mugillanus* or *Curſor*, as I find in other Chronicles.

In that year it was recorded, that the City *Alexandria* in *Egypt* was founded: and that *Alexander* the King of *Epicurus* was murdered by a certain Lucan, a baniſhed perſon, to verifie the Oracle of *Jupiter Dodoneus*, which had foretold his death. For when he was ſent for into *Italy* by the Tarentins, he had warning given him, [*To take heed of the Acheruſian Water, and the City* Pandoſia, *for there it was his deſtiny to end his days:*] and therefore, with more ſpeed he paſſed over into *Italy*, to be as far off as might be, from the City *Pandoſia* in *Epirus*, and the river *Acheron*; which iſſuing out of *Moloſſis* into the lower Meers and Lakes, diſchargeth it ſelf, and falleth into the Theſprotian Gulf. Howbeit (as commonly it is ſeen when men ſeek moſt to flie and avoid their fatal death, they run headlong and plunge themſelves into it) he, having oftentimes vanquiſhed and overthrown the legions of the Brutians and Lucans; won by force *Heraclea* a Colony of the Tarentines, and *Conſentia* in *Lucania*, and *Sipontum*, and alſo *Acerina* a Colony of the Brutians, and other Cities afterwards of the Meſſapians and Lucans: ſent into *Epirus* three hundred Noble houſes and families, whom he meant to keep as hoſtages: he encamped not far from *Pandoſia*, a City ſituate neer to the Confines of the Lucans and Brutians. And there he held three hils ſomewhat diſtant aſunder, from whence he might make excurſions and rodes into every part of his enemies country: and he had in ordinary about him almoſt 200. baniſhed men of the Lucans, for his ſure truſty guard: who notwithſtanding (as the natures are of ſuch for the moſt part) changed with every wind, and carried mutable minds according to the variety of fortune. Now it fell out ſo, that the continual rains which overflowed all the fields, had forecloſed and ſtopped the paſſages three ways between his armies, ſo as they could not help one another: whereby thoſe two garriſons where the King was not in perſon, were ſurprized by the unexpected coming of the enemies: who having put them all to the ſword, turned their whole forces to beſiege the King. From whence, there were by the Lucan exiles, meſſengers ſent to their own countrimen: who in the name of the reſt capitulated, that if they might be reſtored again, they would deliver the King either dead or alive into their hands. Howbeit he himſelf with an elect number of men, made a noble and hardy adventure, and brake through the midſt of the enemies: and encountring the chief Commander of the Lucans hand to hand, killed him outright: and having rallied his men near together, who were ſcattered aſunder in fight, he came at length to a river, which by the freſh ruins of a broken bridge, that the violence of that water had born down, ſhewed paſſage. Which as the army paſſed over at an unknown and blind foord, one ſouldier wearied with fear and travel, curſing and deteſting the unlucky and abominable name of the River, fortuned to ſay, Thou haſt not thy name * *Acheros* for naught: which word when it came once to the King his ear, he preſently began to think and muſe of his final end; and there ſtayed ſtill in a deep ſuſpence whether he ſhall paſs over or no. Then *Sotimus*, one of the Kings ſervitors and liegemen, asked him why he lingered and made delay, being in ſo great a peril and jeopardy as he was? and ſhewed him withal, how the Lucans intended to play falſe with him, and ſought opportunity to forelay and do him a miſchief. With that the King looked behind him, and eſpied them afar off in a troop coming againſt him: whereupon he drew his ſword, put his horſe to it, took the River, and rode through the midſt thereof, and when he was now ſo far paſſed that he was ready to take the land, one of thoſe baniſht Lucans lanced a dart aloof at him, and ſtruck him quite through. Whereupon he fell down dead with the dart ſticking in his body, and the ſtream carried it down as far as to the *Corps de guard* of the enemies. Where his breathleſs corps was ſhamefully miſuſed and mangled. For they having cut it croſs the middle, ſent the one half to * *Conſentia*, and kept the other with themſelves ſtill, to practiſe a thouſand villanies upon it. And as they ſhot and flung ſtones at it afar off, a certain woman being amongſt this outragious multitude (raging beyond all meaſure of anger and malice that mans heart can deviſe or beleeve) after ſhe had beſought them to forbear a while, with her eyes guſhing out tears ſaid unto them, That her husband and children were priſoners, and in the hands of the enemies: but ſhe hoped with the Kings body, howſoever it were abuſed and martyred, to redeem them again. This

* A river of anguiſh and pain.

* Coſenza.

ſtayed

A ſtayed them from farther mangling thereof: Thus all that was left of the Kings body, by the means of one only woman, was burnt at *Conſentia*: and his bones ſent back afterwards to the enemies unto * *Metapontum*, and from thence conveighed to *Epirus*, unto *Cleopatra* his wife, and his ſiſter *Olympias*, whereof the one was ſiſter, the other Mother to *Alexander* the Great. Thus much concerning the woful and unhappy end of *Alexander* the King of * *Epirus*. Whoſe fortune albeit was ſuch, that he came ſhort, and was cut off before he intermedled in the Roman war, yet becauſe he warred in *Italy*, let it ſuffice that briefly by the way I have touched his ſtory. * *Torride Mari.* * *Albania.*

The ſame year was there a Lectiſtern at *Rome*, (which was the firſt after the foundation and B building of that City) for the pacifying of the ſame gods as heretofore. Afterwards the new Conſuls by the ordinance and direction of the people, ſent defiance and proclamed war againſt the Samnits. And as they themſelves made greater preparation every way than againſt the Greeks ſo they had beſides new aids, whereof (as then) they leaſt thought of; The Lucans and the Apulians (nations which to that day had no dealing nor commerce at all with the Romans) became their liege and loyal Allies, offering men and munition toward that war. Whereupon they were by form of Covenant and league entertained and received into their amity. At the ſame time alſo the Romans had good ſucceſs in the Samnits quarters: for three towns there yeelded unto them, and they became Maſters thereof, to wit, *Allife*, *Callife*, *Ruffrium*: all the territory beſides at the firſt coming of the Conſul, was pilled and ſpoiled far and near. Theſe exploits thus proſperouſly C atchieved, the other enterprize alſo of beſieging the Greeks, was well followed and at the point of an end. For over and beſides, that by certain ſconces and bloccuzes between the enemies forts and forces, one part was cut from the other; they endured alſo within their own walls much more miſery and calamity, than the enemy menaced and threatned without: and as if they had been captives to their own garriſon ſouldiers, whom they had called to them for their defence, they ſuffered infinite villanies, and indignities in the perſons as well of their wives as of their children, and even the hardeſt extremities, that follow upon Cities forced by the enemy. And therefore when it was noiſed abroad, that there were new ſuccours coming from *Tarentum* and the Samnits: they ſuppoſed that for Samnits, there were already within their walls more of them than they would: marry, as for Tarentins they looked willingly for their help, as Greeks both the one & D the other, hoping by their means that they might as well withſtand the outrages of the Samnits and Nolans, as the Romans their open and profeſſed enemies. Laſt of all, of many inconveniencies that they were driven unto, the leaſt and eaſieſt was thought, to yeeld ſimply unto the Romans. *Charilaus* and *Nymphius* two great men and the chiefe perſonages of the City, having laid their heads and plotted one with the other, ſo parted the matter between themſelves, that the one ſhould flie unto the Roman General, and the other ſtay behind, to find ſome opportunity, and miniſter ready meanes to render the City according to their deſignment. *Charilaus* was the man who preſented himſelf unto *Philo*, and ſaid unto him, "To the good and happy fortune be it "ſaid and done of the Palæpolitans and the people of *Rome*, I am determined to deliver and ſur- "render the City into your hands: in which Action, whether I may be thought to have be- E "trayed or ſaved my country, it reſteth only in the truſt and fidelity of the Romans. As for my "ſelfe privatly, I am come neither to indent, nor yet to crave ought at all: but publickly in the "behalf of the City, I would rather by way of petition requeſt, than article and capitulate, thus "much, That if this enterpriſe intended, ſpeed well and take effect, the people of *Rome* would "think and conſider, in what affection, endevour and jeopardy, our City returneth again into "their amity, rather than upon what folly and raſhneſs, it brake their allegiance and revolted. Then, after he had been bidden welcom by the General, entertained with good and gracious words, and highly commended, he received 3000. ſouldiers, to keep, ſurprize, and to ſeize that quarter of the City, where the Samnits were lodged, and which they held: of this regiment and garriſon, *L. Quintius* a Colonel had the conduct. During this time, *Nymphius* alſo did his part, F and dealt ſo craftily under hand with the Pretor of the Samnits, that he induced and wrought him to this point, That for as much as all forces, were either about *Palæpolis* or in *Samnium*, he would permit him with the fleet to caſt about to the Roman coaſts, for that he intended to forrage and waſte, not only the maritine parts, but the territories alſo adjoyning to the City: and the better to deceive the enemy (quoth he) I had need to go by night, and therefore the Ships preſently muſt lanch forth, and be ſet afloat. And to effect this more ſpeedily, all the youth of the Samnits beſides the neceſſary garriſon of the City, was ſent to the ſhoar. Where whiles *Nymphius* in the dark, and amongſt the multitude that hindred one another purpoſely, ſpent time in ſetting confuſedly, ſome to this and others to that, *Charilaus*, according to the complot ſet before, was by his aſſociats received into the City: and having filled the higheſt places of the town G with Roman ſouldiers, commanded to ſet up a ſhout, whereat the Greeks upon a ſecret token given them by their Captains, kept themſelves ſtill and quiet. The Nolans then, at the backſide of the town, eſcaped and fled by the high way, that leadeth to *Nola*. And the Samnits being excluded out of the town, as they had a more readier mean to flie for the preſent, ſo they found it, after they were paſt danger, a more ſhameful diſgrace. For, they were diſarmed and naked men, they had left all the good they had amongſt the enemies, and returned home ſpoiled, poor and needy, and ſerved for a laughing ſtock and deriſion, not only to other nations, but alſo to their own neighbors and countrimen. Albeit I am not ignorant that there is another

opinion, whereby it is given out that *Palæpolis* was by the Samnits betrayed: yet as I have credited and followed herein ſuch authors, as me thinks it were hard if they ſhould not deliver a truth; for ſo I am induced the rather to beleeve that the Neapolitans returned into amity with the Romans, becauſe of the league extant in their name (for unto them afterwards the State and chief ſeat of the Greeks was tranſlated.) Unto *Publius* was decreed a triumph, for that it appeared clearly and was believed conſtantly, that by his ſiege the enemies were tamed, and ſo conſtrained to come to a compoſition and ſurrender. Two ſpecial favours hapned to this man above all others before him, namely, the prorogation of his government, not granted to any man aforetime; and triumph after his Magiſtracy was expired. H

Upon the tail of this war, aroſe another with the Greeks of the other tract or coaſt. For the Tarentins having born the Palæpolitans in hand a good while, and fed them with a vain hope of help, when they heard once that the Romans were poſſeſſed of their City, complained themſelvs like men forſaken, and not as thoſe who had forſaken others, much blaming the Palæpolitans, and with anger and envy raging againſt the Romans. Diſquieted alſo they were, for that news came that the Lucans and Apulians (for both theſe nations that year began to contract alliances) were under the protection of the Romans. For now (ſay they) they are well near come unto us, and ſhortly we ſhall grow to this paſs, that we muſt acknowledge the Romans for our Lords, or have them our heavy friends. And verily the trial and hazzard of our eſtate, dependeth only upon the Samnits war, and the event thereof, which nation alone, and the ſame nothing mighty, remaineth now; ſince that the Lucans are gone and revolted to the Romans: who yet might be reclaimed and moved to ſhake off the ſociety with the Romans, if any feat were wrought and practiſed to ſow ſome diſcord and diſſention between them. Theſe devices and overtures took place and prevailed with ſuch, as were deſirous of change and novelty: in ſo much as certain of the Lucan youth (better known, than truſted and reputed honeſt, amongſt their countrimen and fellow Citizens, hired alſo for a ſum of money) whipped one another with rods, came naked into the aſſembly of the Citizens, and with open mouth cried out aloud and ſaid, that for preſuming only to come into the Roman camp, they were by the Conſſ. thus ſcourged, & eſcaped narrowly the loſing of their heads. The thing it ſelf piteous and unſeemly to behold, as bearing a ſhew rather of wrong done unto them, than of any malicious & ſubtil practice by them intended, ſtirred the people up, to force their Magiſtrates with their unceſſant outcries to aſſemble a Councel. Some ſtanding round about the Senat in councel, call hard for war againſt the Romans: others run up and down to raiſe the multitude of Peazants to take arms: and in this ſtir and uproar, which was able to diſquiet and amaze even thoſe that were well minded, a decree paſſed; that the league with Samnits ſhould be renued, and Embaſſadors diſpatched forthwith, to the ſame purpoſe. This was a ſudden change: and as it had no colour of cauſe, ſo it carried ſmal credit with it amongſt the Samnits, who forced the Lucanians to give hoſtages, and to take garriſons into their fortreſſes: and they, blinded with anger, and invegled with flattery, refuſed nothing. But ſhortly after began the fraud to appear and ſhew it ſelf namely, after that the authors and deviſers of theſe falſe ſurmiſes and ſlanders, were retired to *Tarentum*: but having put themſelvs out of all, and being not at liberty to diſpoſe of their own affairs, they had nothing elſe left them, but like fools to repent in vain. I K L M

That year hapned to the Commons of *Rome* another beginning of their liberty, in that they were no more either bound in chains, or held in thraldom by their creditors. Which priviledg againſt poor debtors, was altered, by occaſion of the filthy luſt and notorious cruelty of one Uſurer. And *L. Papirius* was the man unto whom *C. Publius* for his fathers debt, became bound, and conſigned himſelf his priſoner; whoſe tender age and lovely favor which might and ſhould have moved pity, inflamed the mind of this Uſurer to unkind luſt and ſhameful contumely: for making ful account, that the prime and flower of his youth ſhould ſatisfie and pay for the intereſt of the debt, he firſt began to allure and entice unto him the youth with wanton & unchaſt ſpeeches: afterwards ſeeing that his ears abhorred to hear ſuch filthines, he ſel to minatory words, & ever and anon put him in mind of his preſent condition wherin he ſtood: but laſt of all, perceiving by him, that he ſtood more upon his honor and freedom by birth, then reſpected his hard eſtate by fortune, he cauſed him to be ſtripped naked, and whipping chear to be preſented unto him. The poor ſtripling thus piteouſly rent and torn, ran forth into the open ſtreet, complained of the filthy luſt & cruelty of his creditor. Whereupon, a number of people, enkindled as well with pity and commiſeration of the ſtripling, and indignity of the injury, as alſo in regard of their own caſe, and of their children: came running into the *Forum* or common place, and ſo from thence in a long train to the court of the Councel. The Conſuls upon this ſudden uproar were forced to call a Senat, and as the Senators entred into the Councel chamber, they lay all proſtrat at their feet, as they paſſed by, one after another, & ſhewed unto them the young mans back and ſides in what taking they were. And that one day, by occaſion of the outragious enormity of one perſon, brake the neck of that mighty bond, whereby, to that day, the creditors had their debtors, in danger unto them. For the Conſſ. had in charge, to propoſe unto the people, that from thence forward, no perſon whatſoever, unleſs he had committed ſome heinous fact, and until he were to ſuffer therefore, ſhould be either kept in fetters and gives, or ſtretched upon the rack. *Item*, that for lent money, the goods of the debtor and not the body ſhould be obliged. So, they that were in bondage, became releaſed and enlarged: and order was taken for the time to come, that none ſhould be impriſoned by their creditors again. N O

The ſame year, whiles the Samnits war of it ſelf alone, beſides the ſudden revolt of the Lucans, together

A together with the Tarentins the hatchers thereof, held the Senators of *Rome* in care and perplexity enough: behold over and above all these, the Vestin people, as a surcrease to their troubles, joined and banded with the Samnits. Which new occurrent, as for that year it rather maintained this discourse amongst men in their ordinary talk every where, than ministred cause of serious debating in publick Councel: so the Consuls of the year following, *L. Furius Camillus* the second time, and *Jun. Brutus Sceva*, thought no one thing more important than it, and needful to be treated of in the Senat, with the first. And albeit the thing were but new, and a breeding, yet so greatly were the LL. hereabout troubled, that they feared no less to begin to take in hand, then to neglect it altogether, and not to see it: doubting, lest if they were let go unpunished, the
B neighbor nations would grow too lusty and proud: and again, if they seemed to chastise them by war, the rest for fear of the like measure, might be provoked to anger, take arms, and enter into a general rebellion. And all, and every one of them, namely, the Marsians, the Pelignians and Marucins, were in feats of arms comparable and equal to the Samnits every way: which nations they might be sure to have their enemies, if they medled with the Vestins, and touched them once never so little. Howbeit, that part prevailed and took place, which for the present, seemed to carry more courage and valor, then sage advice and wisdom: but the issue and event shewed, that, Fortune favoured Fortitude. So the people by authority and direction of the Nobles decreed war against the Vestins: the charge whereof light by lot upon *Brutus*, and *Samnium* fell to *Camillus*. To both places were the armies conducted: and by the care and industry employed in the defence
C of the marches and frontiers, the enemies were impeached for joining their forces together. Howbeit the Consul *Furius Camillus*, who had the greater and weightier charge laid upon him, fortuned to fall grievously sick, and thereby could not follow the wars: who being commanded to nominate a Dictator, for to manage and conduct his affairs, declared the noblest warriour in those days, *L. Papirius Cursor*: by whom *Q. Fabius Rutilianus* was named General of horsemen, a couple surely of great name and highly renowned for their worthy acts, atchieved in this their government: but yet more famous and voiced abroad, by reason of variance and discord which fell between them; whereby they grew well near to the utmost tearms of contesting one another in all extremity. The other Consul warred with the Vestins many and sundry ways, but evermore with like fortune and happy success. For he forraged and wasted their country: and
D by pilling, rifling, and burning their houses and corn, forced them against their wills into the field: and in one battel so enfeebled and abated the forces of the Vestins (but not without bloodshed of his own men) that his enemies not only fled into their camp; but also as not trusting now to their ramparts and trenches, they were constrained to steal away into their towns, minding for to save themselves, as well by the natural situation of the places, as the strength of their good walls. In the end, he made assault upon those walled Cities, purposing by force to win them. And first he gained *Cutina* by scaling, either through the exceeding courage of his souldiers, or their anger, being so chafed as they were at their hurts received: for that scarcely one escaped out of the throng and skirmish, clear & not wounded. Then he likewise took *Cingilia*: and gave the pillage of both Cities to his souldiers. Neither gates nor walls could stand in their way and keep
E them out. But into *Samnium* the journey was undertaken by the Dictator with doubtful Auspices and uncertain knowledge of the will of the gods. The default and terror whereof took not effect in the main event and issue of the war, (for it was prosperous and fortunate) but turned to the rage and anger of the chief leaders, who fell out deadly one with another. For *Papirius* the Dictator, advised by the *Pullarius* [that had the custody and charge of the sacred Pullets] went back to *Rome* to take the *Auspicium* [or the presage by the bird-flight] again: and straighrly charged his General of horse to keep himself close within his hold, and in no wise to give the enemies battel during his absence. But *Fabius* after the Dictators departure, advertised by the espials that the enemies were even as careless, as loose and disordered, as if there had been no Roman in *Samnium*? whether it were, that being a stout and lusty young Gentleman, he took foul scorn and thought it
F an indignity, that all should seem to rest in the Dictator only: or that he was induced with the good opportunity of doing some brave exploit (I wot not:) but he went forth with an army in order of battel, to *Imbrinium*, (that was the places name) & there fought a field with the Samnits. But such was the happy issue of this battel, that if the Dictator himself had been there in person, it could not have been better managed. For, neither Captain failed his souldiers, nor souldiers their Captain. The horsemen also under the leading of *L. Cominius* a Colonel by his place, (who sundry times charged and recharged again, and could not with force break the enemies arrays) unbridled their horses, and so ran them all on the spur; that no strength was able to abide them: such an havock, such a lane made they all about over armour and men. The footmen seconding this hot charge of the horse, advanced the ensigns against the enemies thus put in disarray: and
G twenty thousand men (by report) were that day slain. In some authors I find, that twice in the Dictators absence he fought, and twice had the upper hand. But in the most ancient writers I read but of one battel. In some Chronicles the whole matter is passed over and left out clean. The General of the horse, having gained a mighty mass of spoil, as otherwise he could not chuse, upon so great a slaughter & massacre: gathered together into one heap all the enemies armor made a fire under, & burned them: were it that he had made some such vow to one of the gods: or (as I list rather to believe, it was a motive of *Fabius* himself, that the Dicta. should not reap the fruit of his glory, and entitle his name thereto; or in pomp carry those spoils before him at his triumph.

More-

Moreover, the letters of this victory by him ſent to the Senat, and not a wotd thereof to the H
Dictator, were ſome proof, that he was not willing to impart and communicate his praiſes with
him. But certainly, the Dictator took the matter in ſo ill part, that when every man elſe was
joyful for this noble victory atchieved, he only ſhewed anger and ſadneſs in his very countenance.
Whereupon ſuddenly he diſſolved the Senat, and departed in great haſt out of the court, giving
out and often iterating theſe words; Then hath the maſter of horſemen in deed as well everted
and overthrown, both Dictators Majeſty and military diſcipline, as defeated the Samnits legions,
if he can ſo go clear away and eſcape unpuniſhed, with ſo manifeſt contempt of my expreſs com-
mandment. Whereupon full of threats and indignation, he haſtned to the camp, and took long
journeys: yet could he not prevent the bruit of his coming. For, there were Vantcnrriers that I
poſted from the City before, to bring word that the Dictator was coming, full of revenge, and
ſet upon puniſhment, and at every ſecond word almoſt, commending the late exemplary juſtice of
*T. Manlius*. Then *Fabius* immediatly calling an audience, beſought the ſouldiers, that with
what valour and vertue they had defended the Common-wealth from moſt deadly and mortal
enemies, with the ſame they would protect him from the outragious cruelty of the Dictatour,
himſelfe (I ſay) by whoſe conduct and fortune they had gotten ſo glorious a victory. "For now,
The Oration of *Q. Fabius* to his fellow ſouldiers. "coming he is (quoth he) for envy out of his right wits, and beſide himſelf: for anger at an-
"other mans manhood and felicity, furious and horn-mad: and all is no more but this, that in his
"abſence, forſooth, we have ſped well; who wiſheth rather in his heart, if he could change the
"courſe of fortune, that the Samnits had won the victory than the Romans: and nothing is ſo K
"riſe in his mouth, as, That his commandment was contemned; as who would ſay, he forbad
"not battel with the ſame mind, wherein he now grieveth that we have fought. For as then his
"will was good, even for very envy to hinder and ſuppreſs the proweſs of another, and went a-
"bout to take weapons away from moſt forward ſouldiers, deſirous of fight, that in his abſence
"they might not lay hand to their ſword: ſo now, ſee how he fretteth and fumeth in great cho-
"ler at this, that without *L. Papirius* the ſouldiers were not diſarmed, diſmembred as it were,
"and maimed: and for that *Q. Fabius* forgat not his place, but bare himſelf as General of the
"Cavalry, and not as a Servant and follower of the Dictator, ſtanding at receit, and waiting
"at an inch when ſome under Captainſhip would fall, that he might ſtep into the place. What
"would this man (think ye) have done, how would he have fretted, if (as the fortune and L
"doubtful chance of war oftentimes goeth) we had been put to the worſe and loſt the day; who
"now that the enemies be vanquiſhed, the field ſo well fought, the State ſo well ſerved, as by
"the moſt ſingular Captain in the world, better it might not be, thus menaceth execution to me
"the General of the horſe, even in the honour of my conqueſt? Neither is he (my maſters) cru-
"elly bent and ſet upon miſchief againſt the General of the horſe more then againſt the Colonels,
"the Centiners and common Souldiers: nay, he would (be ye ſure) if he had been able, have ra-
"ged and fared as bitterly, yea and executed his ire and furious rage upon all. But becauſe he
"cannot, now he diſchargeth his gall upon me alone. For even as envy, like a flaming fire, ſear-
"cheth and mounteth up to the higheſt, ſo runneth he upon the chief Captain, and aimeth at
"the head of this worthy exploit. If he had once extinguiſhed him, together with the glory of M
"this brave ſervice, then like a Conqueror and Lord over a poor captive army, whatſoever he
"might by law execute againſt a General of the Cavalry, he would attempt and extend, upon the
"ſimple ſouldiers. Make reckoning therefore, that in ſtanding faſt to me and in defence of my
"cauſe, ye uphold the liberty of all. For in caſe he ſhall perceive once, the ſame agreement of
"the army in the maintenance of the victory, which was well ſeen in the battel, and that ye all
"have a care and regard of the life and ſafety of one, his ſtomack will come down, his heart wil
"relent and incline to clemency, and a milder ſentence. To conclude, I recommend my life, and
whole eſtate to your vertue and faithful protection. Then from all parts of the audience they cri-
ed unto him aloud & bade him take a good heart: for ſo long as the Legions of the Romans were
ſafe, there ſhou'd no perſon do him harm or injury. Soon after came the Dictator, and preſently N
by ſound of trumpet ſummoned a general aſſembly. And the publick Crier after an Oiez made, cal-
led by name for *Q Fabius* General of the horſe. Who ſo ſoon as he was come from a lower
Interrogatories rendered by the Dictator to *Q. Fabius*. place where he was, and approached neer the Tribunal, (then quoth the Dictator) "I demand
"of thee *Q. Fabius*, ſince that the rule of the Dictator is ſoveraign and higheſt above all others,
"whereunto the Conſuls endued with kingly puiſſance and government, do obey, yea, & Prætors
"created with the ſame authority that Conſuls are; whether thou eſteem it meet and right, that a
"General of horſe ſhould be obedient to his commandment or no? I demand likewiſe, whether I
"my ſelf, knowing that I took my journey and went from home, with doubtful and uncertain *Au-*
"*ſpices*, ought to have put the main ſtate of the Common-weal in hazzard againſt the order and
"religious obſervation in that behalf; and not rather, to go again to take new *Auſpicia*, that I O
"might adventure & attempt nothing ſo long as I ſtood in doubt of the grace & favor of the gods?
"And withal, this I demand, whether the General of the horſemen could be freed, exempt, & diſ-
"charged of that ſcruple of conſcience, which checked and ſtayed the Dictator from execution of
"his charge? But what mean I to make theſe demands? ſeeing that if he had departed without
"ſaying one word, yet thou ſhouldſt have framed thy opinion and applied thy mind according
"to the interpretation of my wil and pleaſure? Why ſayeſt thou nothing? Anſwer me I ſay. Forbad
"I thee not expreſly, to do any thing in my abſence? Forbad I not thee to fight with the enemies?

How

A "How durſt thou in contempt of my commandment, whiles our *Auſpicia* were uncertaine,
"whiles our conſciences were unreſolved and with ſcruples troubled, againſt Military cuſtoms
"and ſtatuts, againſt the diſciplin of our anceſtors, and againſt the will and direction of the gods:
"how durſt thou, I ſay, be ſo hardy as to encounter with the enemy? To theſe interrogatories
"make anſwer directly. Anſwer I charge thee, to all theſe points, and nothing but theſe, and at
"the peril of thy life, not a word beſides. Now come Serjeant and do thine office the while.
To which ſeveral Articles, when *Fabius* could not readily anſwer point by point, one while com-
plaining that he had him for his accuſer, who was the judge of his life and death: otherwhiles
crying out aloud, that ſooner might his life be taken from him, than the glory and honor of his
B acts: and as he juſtified and excuſed his own ſelf, ſo he began again to challenge and accuſe [the
Dictator.] Then *Papirius* being in more heat of choler than before, commanded the General
of the horſemen to be ſtripped out of his cloaths and uncaſed, and the rods and axes to be
brought forth ready. With that, *Fabius* calling earneſtly for the help of the ſouldiers, whiles the
officers were a tearing and renting his cloaths from his back, made means to retire himſelf into
the ranks of the *Triarii*, who began already to make a mutiny and uproar in the aſſembly. From
whence there aroſe an outcry over all the audience. Some were heard to intreat, others to threat.
They who fortuned to ſtand next to the Tribunal, becauſe that being within the view and eye of
the Dictator they might be known and noted, beſought his Majeſty to ſpare and pardon the Ge-
neral of the horſe, and not with him to condemn the whole army. They that were fartheſt off
C in the skirt of the aſſembly, and eſpecially that troop and company about *Fabius*, rated and cried
out upon ſuch a rigorous and mercileſs Dictator. And a little thing more wou'd have made them
mutiny: nay, within the very compaaſs of the Tribunal all was not clear and quier. The Lieute-
nants or Colonels of whole legions, ſtanding about his ſeat or chair of ſtate, intreated him to put
off the matter until the morrow: to give his choler ſome time to cool, and allow ſpace and re-
ſpit to conſider of it with advice and counſel: ſaying, "That if *Fabius* had plaid a youthful part,
"he had paid ſufficiently for it already, and his victory had received diſgrace and diſhonour e-
"nough. Beſeeching him not to proceed to theſe extremities of utmoſt execution, nor to ſet ſuch
"a brand and note of ignominy and ſhame upon the young Gentleman himſelf, ſo rare and gal-
"lent a Knight; or on his father, a moſt honourable and excellent perſonage, not yet upon the
D "noble houſe and name of the *Fabii*. But when they ſaw how little they prevailed by their pray-
ers, and as little by any reaſons they could alledge; then, they admoniſhed him to have a re-
gard to the furious aſſembly of the ſouldiers: "and that it was not for a man of his years and wiſ-
"dom, thus to put more fire to the hot ſtomack of Souldiers enkindled already, nor to admini-
"ſter more matter of mutiny: and if ſuch a thing ſhould happen, no man would impute the blame
"to *Q. Fabius*, who ſought and humbly craved pardon of puniſhment, but to the Dictator: if he
"overcome with choler, ſhould blindly ſo far paſs himſelfe in wilful peeviſhneſs, as to provoke
"the outragious multitude againſt himſelf. Finally, that he ſhould not think, how they laboured
"thus for any affectionate favour they bare to *Q. Fabius*; but were ready to take an oath, that
"they thought it not ſafe for the State and Common-weal that he ſhould proceed at ſuch a time,
E "to execute the rigor of Juſtice upon *Q. Fabius*. By theſe and ſuch like remonſtrances, when as
"the Lieutenants had ſtirred up the Dictator his blood againſt themſelves, rather then pacified
his mood againſt *Fabius*, they were commanded to go down from the Tribunal. And when as the
Crier had aſſaied to make ſilence all in vain, for that by reaſon of the noiſe and tumult, neither
the Dictator his voice, nor any of his apparitors and halberds about him, could be heard, the night
came upon them and ended the contention, as if it had been a battel in field. The General of the
horſe was commanded to appear on the morrow. Now when as every man gave it out and avou-
ched unto him, that *Papirius* wou'd proceed more vehemently, for that conteſting of the Lieute-
nants, and that the more he was dealt withal, the worſe he was: *Fabius* privily ſtole out of the
camp and fled to *Rome*. And by the means of his father *M. Fabius*, a man who had been already
F thrice Conſul and Dictator, the Senat was called together immediatly. And as he was in the midſt
of his grievous complaints before the Lords, touching the violence and wrong of the Dictator,
all of a ſudden, there was heard before the Councel Houſe door, a great noiſe and hurrying of the
Lictors, whiles they made way and voided the preſs. And no marvel; for the Dictator himſelfe
was come with a revenging mind. For ſo ſoon as he had heard how *Fabius* was departed out of
the camp, he followed after with his light horſemen. Then began the broil to be renued afreſh,
and *Papirius* cauſed *Fabius* to be attached. Whereupon the chief of the Nobility, and the whole
body of the Senat began to enterpoſe themſelves by way of mediation: but all their intreaty not-
withſtanding, he perſiſted ſtil in his implacable anger. Then ſtept forth *M. Fabius* the father. "For *M. Fabius to the Dictator.*
"as much as (qd. he) neither the authority of the Senat nor mine old age, whom you ſeek to make
G "childleſs, nor yet the valor & noble courage of the General of horſe, by your own ſelf choſen and
"nominated, can prevail; nor any humble prayers, which are able to appeaſe the fury of the ene-
"my oftentimes, yea, and to pacifie the wrath and indignation of the gods: I implore the lawful
"help of the Tribuns and to the whole body of the people I appeal. And ſince that you challenge
"and except againſt the judgement of your own army, and of the Senat, I offer and preſent unto
"you that judge, who only is of more force and puiſſance, I am ſure, than your Dictatorſhip.
"I will ſee, whether you will yeeld to this appeal, whereunto the Roman King *Tull. Hoſtilius*
"gave place. Then out of the Councel houſe they went ſtraight to the Common place of audience:

and

and when the Dictator, attended with some few, was ascended up, and the General of the Cavalry accompanied with all the whole troop of the chief of the City, *Papirius* commanded that he should come down or else be fetched from the *Rostra*, unto the lower ground. The father followed after him. "Well done (quoth he) in commanding us to be brought hither, from "whence we may be allowed to speak our minds, if we were no better then privat persons. At the first there passed no continued speeches so much, as wrangling and altercation. But afterwards the voice and indignation of old *Fabius*, surmounted and drowned the other noise: who greatly blamed and cried out upon the pride and cruelty of *Papirius*. "What man (quoth he) I have been "also a Dictator of *Rome* my self, and yet was there never so much as a poor Commoner, no Centurion, nor Souldier hardly entreated or misused by me. But *Papirius* seeketh victory and triumph over a Roman Grand-Captain and General, as over the Leaders and Commanders of his "enemies. See, see, what difference there is between the government in old time, and this new "pride & cruelty of late days. *Quintius Cincinnatus* a Dictator for the time, proceeded no farther in "punishment against *Minutius*, when he was fain to deliver him lying enclosed & besieged within "his own camp, but to leave him as a Lieutenant in stead of Consul, in the army whereof he "had charge. *M. Furius Camillus*, not only for the present tempered his choler toward *L. Furius*, who in contempt of his old age and authority, had fought most untowardly and with "dishonor in the end; and wrote nothing to the people or the Senat but well, of his Collegue: "but also being returned, made a special reckoning of him above all the Tribuns consular, whom "also of all his collegues, when as he had the choice granted him by the Senat, he elected to be "his coadjutor in the charge of his government. Neither the people verily, whose power is Soveraign over all, were ever more angry against those, that through rashness and want of skill "lost whole armies, than to fine them at a sum of money. For the loss and miscarriage of any "battel, that a General should be brought into question and answer for his life, was never heard "of to this day. And now, rods and axes, whipping and beheading, are prepared for the Commanders under the people of *Rome*, and those, who are conquerors and have deserved most justly triumphs; which by no law can be offered to those that have been vanquished. What else I "pray you) should my son have endured, if he had beastly suffered the field to be lost and his army withal? If he had been discomfited, put to flight, and driven clean out of the field, how "far forth further would the Dictator his ire and violence have proceeded, than to scourge "and kill? And see how fit and seemly a thing it is that the City for the victory of *Q. Fabius*, "should be in joy, in processions to the gods, and thanksgivings, with congratulation and feasting one another: and he himself by whose means the Temples stand open, the Altars smoak with "incense and sacrifice, and are heaped up again with vows, oblations, and offerings, to be stripped "naked, to be whipped and torn in the sight of the people of *Rome*, looking up to the Capitol and "the Castle lifting up his eys to the gods upon whom in two such noble battels he called and invocated, not in vain nor without good and happy success? With what heart will the army take "this, which under his leading and conduct, and under his fortune, atchieved victory? What lamentation wil there be in the Roman camp, and what rejoycing on the other side amongst the enemies? Thus fared ths good old father, thus pleaded he by way of expostulation and complaint, calling upon God and man for help, and withal embraced his son in his arms, and shed many a tear. "On the one side, there made with young *Fabius*, and took his part, the majesty and countenance of the Senat, the favour and love of the people, the assistance of the Tribuns, and the remembrance of the army absent. On the other side were alledged against him by *Papirius*, the invincible government and Empire of the people of *Rome*, the discipline of warfare, the Dictators "commandment (observed and reverenced at all times, no less then the Oracle & wil of the gods) "the severe edicts of *Manlius* whose fatherly love and affection to his dear son was set behind the "service and common good of the State. Also it was alledged, that the same exemplary justice, *L. Brutus* the first founder of the Roman liberty, executed in his two sons: and now mild and kind "fathers, indulgent and fond old men, in the case of contempt of other mens commandment, give "liberty to youth, and pardon as a smal matter, the overthrow of military disciplin. Howbeit, he "for his part would persist in his purpose still, nor remit one jot of condigne punishment to him, "who contrary to his commandment, and notwithstanding the trouble and confusion of religion, "and the doubtful *Auspicia*, had given battel, saying, That as it was not in his power to abridge "any jot the majesty of that State and Empire, for being everlasting: so, *L. Papirius* would diminish "naught of the authority therof, wishing, That neither the Tribuns puissance sacred and inviolable "in it self should by their opposition & interposing of their negative voice, violate the Empire of "*Rome*: nor that the people of *Rome*, should in him above all others abolish and extinguish both "Dictator and Dictatorship. Which if it did, the posterity hereafter should lay the weight and "blame (although in vain) not in *L. Papirius*, but in the Tribuns, and in the perverse judgment "of the people: when as the military discipline being once polluted and stained, neither souldier "would obey the Centurions commandment, nor the Centurion the Colonels, nor Colonel the "Lieutenant, nor Lieutenant the Consuls, nor yet General of horse, the Dictator: whiles no man "hath regard and reverence either of men or of gods; no Edicts of Dictator, no flight of Birds "observed; but that without pasport, the souldiers may wander and rove, either in their own "ground or the enemies land, and unmindful of their sacred military oath, may cashier and discharge themselvs from souldiery, through a licentious liberty of their own, whensoever they list;

leaving

A "leaving their enſigns and colours not attended, not meeting at ſummons, not repairing to the
"*Rendezvous*, according to proclamation: without all diſcretion, making no difference whether
"they skirmiſh by day or night, on even ground or uneven, with advantage or diſadvantage, with
"direction, or without; obſerving no ſignals and watchword, no array. In ſum, the whole courſe
"of military ſervice henceforth, blind, raſh, and inconſiderate, after the guiſe of robbing, to ſtand
"and go currant for ſolemn and ſacred warfare. With theſe crimes and abſurd inconveniences
"(O ye Tribuns) charged you muſt be to the worlds end: lay down you muſt, and gage
"your own lives for the audacious diſobedience of *Q. Fabius*, for whom ye are now an-
"ſwerable. The Trib. were aſtonied hereat, and for themſelves now, rather careful and perplexed,
B than for him who had recourſe unto them for refuge and ſuccor. But the general conſent of the
people of *Rome*, turning to prayer and intreaty, eaſed them of this heavy load and burden: and
with one voice humbly beſought the Dictator, to remit the puniſhment of the General of horſe,
for their ſake. The Tribuns alſo, ſeeing that was the way, and all enclining and growing to Petiti-
on, followed after, and did the like; earneſtly beſeeching the Dictator to forgive this human
fragility, and youthful folly of *Q. Fabius*, ſaying, That he had ſuffered chaſtiſement enough. Then
the young man himſelf, then his father *M. Fabius*, forgetting all ſtrife, and laying aſide debate,
fell down at the Dictator his feet, and beſought him to appeaſe his wrathful diſpleaſure. Hereup-
on the Dictator after ſilence made, "Yea marry (quoth he) O Quirites, this I like well, and thus
"it ſhould be; now hath military diſcipline got the victory, now hath the majeſty of your Em-
C "pire prevailed indeed, which lay both a bleeding, and were in hazzard to have been aboliſhed
"and overthrown for ever, after this day. *Q. Fabius* is not acquit of his offence, in that he fought
"againſt his ſoveraigns commandment: but being thereof convicted and caſt, is forgiven nay, is
"given rather to the people of *Rome* and the Tribuns power, whoſe aſſiſtance and help is granted
"for their inſtant prayers, and not of duty. Well, Riſe up *Q. Fabius* and live, a more happy man
"for this agreement of the City in thy defence, than for that victory, upon which erewhile thou
"bareſt thy ſelfe ſo bravely. Live (I ſay) thou that haſt been ſo bold to commit that fact, which
"thine own father here, if he had been in *L. Papirius* his place, would never have pardoned. And
"as for me, into my grace and favour thou mayſt come again, at thine own will and pleaſure: But
"to the people of *Rome*, to whom thou art beholden and obliged for thy life, thou ſhalt perform
D "no greater duty and ſervice than that the example of this days work may be a teaching and war-
"ning to thee for ever, to obey, as well in war as in peace, all lawful commands of ſuperiour Ma-
"giſtrates. After that he had pronounced the pardon of the General of horſe, and diſcharged him
of the Court, and was departed himſelf out of the common place of audience, the Senat joyful and
highly contented, and the people much more, came all about them, and on the one ſide bidding
joy to the General of the horſe aforeſaid, and on the other ſide giving thanks to the Dictator,
followed after, and accompanied them both: and it was generally thought, that military govern-
ment was no leſs confirmed and eſtabliſhed by this peril and danger only of young *Q. Fabius*, then
by the late piteous execution of young *Manlius*.

By chance that year ſo fell out, that as often as the Dictator abſented himſelf from the Army,
E ſo often the enemies roſe and raiſed troubles in *Samnium*. Howbeit, the freſh example of *Q. Fa-
bius* was ever in the eye of *M. Valerius*, Lieutenant General and Governor of the camp, who fear-
ed as well the dread wrath of the Dictator, as any violent attempts of his enemies whatſoever.
Inſomuch, as when purveiours for corn being entrapped by an ambuſh were ſlain, in a place of diſ-
advantage; commonly it was thought and beleeved, that they might have been by the Lieutenant
reſcued and ſaved, but for fear of theſe rigorous and terrible edicts. For anger hereof, the Dictator
loſt the hearts of the ſouldiers, who were already malecontent, for that he was ſo inexorable in
the cauſe of *Q. Fabius*, and had denied them that, at their inſtant intreaty, which afterwards he
yeelded unto and pardoned, at the ſuit and requeſt of the people of *Rome*. The Dictator, after that
he had left for the government of the City *L. Papirius Craſſus* the General of horſe, diſcharged
F *Q. Fabius*, and forbidden him to adminiſter any thing by vertue of that office, returned into the
camp. Whoſe coming was neither very welcome and joyful to his own countrimen the ſouldi-
ers, nor yet ſtruck any terror in his enemies the Samnits. For, the next morrow, were it, that
they knew not that the Dictator was come, or little cared and weighed whether he were pre-
ſent or abſent, they approached the camp in order of battel. Howbeit, that one man, *L. Papi-
rius* the Dictator, was of ſuch valor and importance, that if the love of the ſouldiers had ſecon-
ded the policy and ſage conduct of their Commander, the war with Samnits had that day been
quite diſpatched and ended, paſt all peradventure, ſo skilfully ſet he the battel in array, ſo warily
choſe he his ground of advantage, ſo ſtrengthned he the ſame with ſupplies out of the reregard,
in all warlike skil and ſingular policy. But the ſouldiers failed for their parts, and went coldly to
G their buſineſs, even of purpoſe, that the valiant and commendable parts of the Captain might be
diſcredited and depraved; and ſo the victory was much hindred and impeached. Howbeit, many
of the Samnits were ſlain; and in exchange as many of the Romans hurt. But he like a wiſe and
expert Captain, ſoon perceived, what was the cauſe that ſtayed the victory. He ſaw well enough,
that he was to temper his own nature and to allay that ſeverity of his, within mildneſs and cour-
teſie. And therefore, taking with him the Lieutenants himſelf in perſon went about to viſit the
wounded ſoldiers, putting his head into their tents & cabbins asking each one how they did; char-
ged the Lieutenants, Colonels, Provoſt-Marſhals, and other officers of the camp, to tend and look
unto

unto the ſick ſouldiers, recommending their care unto them particularly by name. This being a thing in it ſelf popular, he handled and ordered with ſuch dexterity; that by curing their bodies, their minds alſo and hearts were much ſooner gained and reconciled to their General. And nothing made more for the ſpeedy recovery of their health, than their thankful acceptation of that care and diligence of his. When he had thus refreſhed and repaired his army, he encountred once again the enemy with aſſured hope of himſelf and his ſouldiers, to obtain a final victory; and ſo diſcomfited and put them to flight, that the Samnits after that day, durſt never fight again with the Dictator. Then the victorious army marched, as any hope of booty and pillage guided and directed them: and as they overran their enemies country, they found no force nor reſiſtance, either in open ſhew, or covert ambuſh. This alſo encouraged them the more, and cheered their hearts, for that the Dictator had by proclamation given away the whole ſpoil among the ſouldiers: ſo that their privat gain whet them on againſt their enemie, no leſs then the common anger and publick quarrel. The Samnits tamed and ſubdued by theſe loſſes and overthrows, ſued to the Dictator for peace: with whom they capitulated, and made offer to allow unto every ſouldier one livery, and the full wages of one year. But being commanded to go to the Senat, they made anſwer, That they would accompany the Dictator, recommending and putting their cauſe and whole eſtate to his faithful protection, to his vertue and goodneſs only. Thus the Army was withdrawn from the Samnits, the Dictator with triumph entred the City: and when he would have reſigned up the Dictatorſhip, the Senat ordained, That before he gave over, he ſhould create Conſuls. So, *C. Sulpitius Longus* the ſecond time, and *Q. Æmylius Caretanus* were elected.

The Samnits not having concluded peace, (for that they varied about the conditions, and were to treat farther thereupon) yet brought with them from the City of *Rome*, truce for a year. Which they obſerved not faithfully: ſo ſoon were their ſtomacks up again to make war, after they had intelligence, that *Papirius* was out of government. Whiles *C. Sulpitius*, and *Q. Æmylius* (or *Aulius* as ſome Chronicles have) were Conſuls, beſides the revolting of the Samnits, there aroſe a new war alſo from the Apulians. Both ways was there a power ſent. *Sulpitius* his lot was to go againſt the Samnits, and *Æmylius* againſt the Apulians. Some write, that upon the Apulians themſelves no war was made, but contrariwiſe, that the confederate States of that Nation were defended from the violence and wrongs of the Samnits. Howbeit, the low eſtate of the Samnits, at that time, hardly able to maintain and defend themſelves, maketh it more likely and credible, that the Apulians, were not warred upon by them, but that the Romans made war with both Nations at once. But no memorable act or exploit was there performed: only the Apulian countrey, and *Samnium* was waſted: and the enemies no where at all to be found, but at *Rome* there hapned a ſcare by night, which raiſed every man ſo ſuddenly out of their firſt ſleep, and ſo affrighted the City, that preſently at one inſtant the Capitol and the Caſtle, the Walls and Gates were full of armed men. And when as from all places there was running, and crying alarm, the morrow morning at the break of day, there appeared neither author, nor cauſe of this fear.

The ſame year the Tuſculans were judicially convented before the people of *Rome* by proceſs, and that, by a law that *Flavius* preferred. This *M. Flavius*, Tribun of the Commons, exhibited a bill of Endictment to the people that ſome puniſhment might be inflicted upon the Tuſculans: For that through their aſſiſtance and Counſel, the Veliterns and Privernats had taken arms againſt the people of *Rome*. The Tuſculans with their wives and children reſorted to *Rome*. Which multitude having changed their apparrel, and clad in poor array and habit, as priſoners at the bar, went about from Tribe to Tribe, falling down upon their knees to every man. Whereupon, pity prevailed more to obtain pardon of puniſhment, then the goodneſs of their cauſe to the purging of their guilt. So all the Tribes except *Pollia*, diſanulled and made void the Endictment aforeſaid. But the ſentence of the Tribe *Pollia* was, That as many as were of age and undergrown, to wit, fourteen year old and upward, ſhould be ſcourged and put to death. *Item*, that their wives and children, by martial law, ſhould be ſold in open port-ſale. And for certain it is reported, that the Tuſculans took ſo deep an anger againſt the authors of ſo hard a cenſure and cruel doom, that they have carried it in mind even to our fathers days. For in deſpite thereof no Candidate, or Competitor for an office of the Tribe *Pollia*, was ever wont to get the voices of the Tribe *Papyria*. The year following, whiles *Q. Fabius* and *L. Fulvius* were Conſuls, *A. Cornelius Arvina* Dictator, and *M. Fabius Ambuſtus* General of horſe, having taken a ſtraighter levy of ſouldiers then ordinary, for fear of a greater war in *Samnium* (for it was reported that the whole manhood and flower of the youth were taken up and waged out of the countries adjoining) lead forth a goodly and puiſſant army againſt the Samnits. But they pitched their camp ſo careleſly in the enemies ground, as if the enemy had been far off: and the Samnit legions came on a ſudden ſo proudly, that they ſet forward the trench and rampart, and encamped cloſe to the *Corps de gard* of the Romans. Howbeit the night approached ſo faſt, that they were hindered for aſſayling the Camp: but they gave it out plainly, they would do it the morrow after by day light. The Dictator ſeeing that he muſt fight neerer than he expected or hoped; for fear leſt the ſtraightneſs and diſadvantage of the ground, might prejudice and hinder the valour of his ſouldiers, leaving fires thick burning in the camp, for to diſappoint the ſight of the enemies, in the ſtill night with ſilence leadeth for h his legions: but yet could he not for the neerneſs of their camp eſcape, but be eſpied of them. The horſemen forthwith followed upon them in the tail.

and

A and preſſed hard upon the army in their march, yet in ſuch ſort, that before it was day, they would not fight, nay, the very footmen were not all iſſued out of the camp before day light. At length when it was broad day, the Horſemen adventured to charge upon the Romans, and partly by playing upon the tail of the hindmoſt, and partly by skirmiſhing in places that were hard to be paſſed over, they hindred their march and kept them behind. In the mean while their Infantery alſo overtook the Cavalry, ſo as now the Samnits with all their forces came upon them. The Dictator ſeeing he could not go farther without his great loſſe and diſadvantage, commanded his men to fortify even in that very place where he ſtood: but for aſmuch as the light Horſemen of his enemies were overſpred all about, they could not poſſibly go to provide ſtakes to make a parapet or rampier, nor begin to caſt a trench. When he perceived therefore that he neither could go
B forward, nor ſtay and fortifie, he removed all his baggage out of the ranges, and ſet his men in battel array. The enemies do the like, and were not behind either in courage or in forces. But this moſt of all heartned and encouraged them, for that they being ignorant that the occaſion of the enemies retreat was the diſadvantage and ſtraightneſs of the place, preſumed that they did it upon fear; and therefore they in terrible manner followed after them, as if the Romans had fled and been affrighted. And even that for a good while held the fight in doubtful ballance, albeit the Samnits now a long time had not been uſed to abide ſomuch as the firſt ſhout of the Roman army when they give the charge. But verily that day, from the third hour unto the eight, it is ſaid that the battail ſtood ſo equal and indifferent, that neither the ſhout and cry was redoubled, nor heard the ſecond time, after it was once ſet up at the firſt buckling: nor the enſigns were ſet
C forward, or withdrawn backward, but remained where they firſt were: nor yet of any part were they ſeen to retire or go back, but every man in his degree and place, bending forward and preſſing with his ſhield, without breathing or looking back, ſtill fought a-front: the ſame noiſe, one reſolution to die or fight it out, and not to give over before utter wearines or dark night. Now began the ſtrength of men to fail, now the ſpear point and edge of the ſword, began to turn and loſe their force, and now the Captains themſelves were to ſeek for counſel and what to do: By what time all at once the Samnits Horſemen, hearing that the cariages of the Romans with one only Cornet were gone a good way off from the armed ſouldiers, without any other guard and fortification; for greedineſs of ſpoil ſet upon them. Which when a meſſenger in great haſt and fear reported to the Dictator; Let them alone (quoth he) let them encumber themſelves with
D the ſpoil, and ſpare not. Then came others one after another, windleſs with running, crying out and ſaying, that all was gone: and that every where the ſouldiers goods were rifled, ranſacked and carried clean away. Whereupon he ſent for the General of Horſemen, See ye not (quoth he) O *M. Fabius*, the battel abandoned of our enemies Cavalry? They ſtand ſtill and are encumbred and peſtred with our cariages. Now therefore charge upon them, disbanded as they are, (which uſually hapneth to any multitude, buſy in pillage) find them you ſhall (no doubt) few on Horſeback, and as few with weapon in hand: and whiles they are loding their Horſes with ſpoil, kill them unarmed, and make it a bloody booty to them, and let them buy it full dearly: as for me, let me alone with the charge of the legions and footmen; have you the honour of the Horſemens ſervice. Then the Cavalry ranged into a Squadron, as exquiſitly and skilfully as poſſibly
E might be, ran forcibly upon the enemies diſarraied and clogged with cariage, beating them down, and making a miſerable maſſacre of them in every place. For being (as they were) among packs and fardels which they caſt from them ſuddenly, and now lay againſt their feet to ſtumble on as they fled, and in the Horſes way, that were amazed and affraid, they were not able well, either to flie or to fight, and ſo were ſlain. When as the enemies Cavalry were thus defeated and welneer all come to naught, then *M. Fabius* wheeling about his wings of Horſemen, for to fetch a compaſs, ſet upon the Infantry at their backs: Whereupon aroſe a new fearful cry, which cauſed the hearts of the Samnits to tremble and quake. The Dictator withal, ſeeing the formoſt of the enemies fighting in the front, looking back ever and anon, their enſigns out of order, and all their battailons waving and floting to and fro; called hard upon his ſouldiers, and exhorted
F them to fight luſtily: cried unto the Colonels, the Sergeants of Bands and Corporals ſeverally by name, to re-encharge and renew the battel again with him. Thus with a freſh and new ſhout, they advance the Standards, and ſet forward the enſigns: and the farther they march on, the more perceived they the enemies to be troubled, and in diſaray. And now by this time, the Horſemen alſo were within the ſight of the formoſt in the vanguard: and *Cornelius* looking back to the bands and companies of his footmen, making ſign with hand and with voyce as well as he could, ſhewed and made demonſtration unto them, that they ſaw the colours and targets of their own fellow Horſemen. Which when they once heard, and ſaw withal; preſently as if they had forgot the battel which they endured almoſt a whole day, and felt no ſmart of their wounds, they beſtirred themſelves againſt the enemy as luſtily, as if they had newly come out of their tents, freſh
G and in heart, and ſeen but now the ſignal, and heard the ſound of trumpet, to a battel. Now were the Samnits no longer able to ſuſtain the terror of the Horſemen behind, and the violence of the footmen before: but were either ſlain in the mids between, or ſcattered abroad in flight. Such as ſtayed and were environed about, the footmen ſlew: thoſe who fled, were trodden under the Horſe feet and killed: among whom the General himſelf left his body on the earth. This battel above all other, ſo quelled and daunted the hearts of the Samnits and cruſhed their forces, that in all their Diets and Councels they mutterered and gave out, That it was no marvel that

From nine of the clock in the morning, until two after noon.

they ſped ſo ill, in all their affairs of arms, the quarrel was ſo bad and ungodly, and the war be- H
gun ſo contrary to a covenant of truce, and having the very Gods, and that juſtly, more againſt them and greater enemies than men: and that ſuch a war muſt needs coſt ſome great overthrow, and might not be expiat without ſome notable ſatisfaction. Here only was the difficulty and difference, whether vengeance and puniſhment ſhould be taken of the guilty bloud of ſome few, or the guiltleſs bloud of all. And even then, ſome there were, that durſt nominate the very authors of this war. And one ſpecially, to wit, *Brutulus Papius*, whoſe name was by the common voyce and conſent heard above all the reſt. A noble and mighty man he was, and without queſtion, the principal breaker of this laſt truce. The Pretors being enforced therefore, to determine as touching him what was to be done; at length decreed, That *Brutulus Papius* ſhould be delivered to the I
Romans, and that together with him, all the Roman pillage and their priſoners ſhould be ſent to *Rome*: and that of all the goods, unto which according to the covenant and compoſition, the Fecials laid claim, there ſhould, according to right and equity, reſtitution be made. Then were the Heralds, by vertue of the decree, ſent to *Rome*, together with the deads corps of *Brutulus*: for he to avoid ſhame and puniſhment, wilfully killed himſelf. It was thought good, that with his body all his goods alſo, ſhould be delivered. Howbeit none of all theſe things but only the captives, and whatſoever could juſtly be owned out of the booty, was received: all the reſt were offered, but in vain, for nothing was accepted. The Dictator by vertue of an act of the Senat, triumphed. Some write that this war was fought by the Conſuls, and that they triumphed over the Samnits: and that *Fabius* alſo went forward into *Apulia*, and from thence brought away K
great and rich prizes. But without all controverſie *A. Cornel.* was Dictator that year: this only was the doubt, whether he were created for the conduct of this war, or at the Roman games [*Circenſes*,] (becauſe *L. Cantius* hapned to be grievouſly ſick) to give the ſignal when the chariots and ſteeds ſhould be let out of the Barriers to run the race for their prize: and that having done that function of a charge (I wis not worth the remembrance) he ſhould leave his Dictators place. It is not an eaſy thing to prefer either one matter, or one author before another. I ſuppoſe rather for my part, that the record and memorial of theſe matters hath been depraved and corrupted, by theſe funeral Orations of praiſes, and by theſe counterfeit and falſe titles of images: whiles every houſe and family draweth to it, the honour and renown of noble exploits, martial feats, and dignities, by any untruth and lie, ſo it be colourable. And hereupon, ſurely it is, that both the I
deeds of particular perſons, and the publick records and monuments of Acts, are confounded: neither is there extant any one writer, who lived in thoſe dayes, upon whom, as a true and certain author, we might ground, and reſt our ſelves.

# The Ninth Book

## *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome. M

### The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the Ninth Book.

TItus Veturius *and* Sp. Poſthumius *Conſuls, having engaged their army ſo far, within the Gullet or ſtreight of* Caudium, *into a place of great diſadvantage, that they had no means nor hope to get forth again, fell to capitulation with the Samnits, and compounded with them: and after they had delivered unto them* 600 *Roman Horſemen for hoſtages, they went away with the reſt of the army, but ſo, as they were forced all of them to paſs ſhamefully under the gallows. The ſame Conſuls (even by the* N
*motion of one of them,* Sp. Poſthumius, *who perſwaded the Senat, that by rendring of thoſe into the enemies hands, through whoſe default ſo ſhameful and ignominious a covenant was concluded, the City might be delivered and diſcharged of the promiſe given in the name thereof) with two Tribuns of the Commons, and as many beſides as had ſubſcribed to the foreſaid accord and agreement, were ſent and yeelded to the Samnits: but they might not be received. Not long after, Papirius ſurnamed Curſor, defeated the Samnits, and put them likewiſe under the gallows: and recovered again thoſe* 600 *Roman Horſemen aforeſaid, that were left for hoſtages. By which means, the ſhame and diſgrace of the former beaſtly Act was cancelled and aboliſhed. Two Tribes were added to the reſt,* Uſentina *and* Falerina. *New inhabitants were ſent to people* Sueſſa *and* Pontiæ. Ap. Claudius *being Cenſor, brought a chanel of water to the City, called of his name* Claudia: *and paved the high way, named after him likewiſe,* Appia. *He* O
*admitted alſo into the range of Senators the ſons of Libertins. But foraſmuch as this ſtate and degree of Citizens, ſeemed as it were polluted with theſe unworthy perſons among them, the Conſuls of the year following, in the review of the Senators, and chuſing new, held themſelves to the order that other Cenſors next before had obſerved. This book conteineth moreover the proſperous wars againſt the Apulians, Tuſcans, Umbrians, Marſians, Peligniens, Æquians, and Samnits: with whom was renewed the ancient league and amity.* Flavius *the ſcribe or notary, the ſon of a Libertin or enfranchiſed Roman, was made Ædile Curule, by the faction of the baſe common people. Which faction, becauſe it troubled and diſ-*

*quieted*

A *quieted all the assemblies for Elections, the whole Court in* Mars *field, wherein they bare a great stroke and ruled all by means of might and strong hand, were by* Q. Fabius *the Censor, reduced into four Tribes by themselves: Which was the thing that purchased* Fabius *the surname of* Maximus [*i.* right Great.]

# *The Ninth Book of* T. Livius.

B AFter this year, immediately followed the peace made at *Caudium*, so memorable for the Romans soil and misfortune, which hapned in the Consulship of *T. Veturius Calvinus*, and *Sp. Postumius*. During which, the Samnits had for their General Conducter, *C. Pontius*, the son of *Herennius*, a most prudent and politick father, and was himself a worthy warrior, and a most excellent Captain. This *Pontius*, after the Embassadors aforesaid (who had been sent to yeeld and deliver the goods) were returned home without peace concluded, spake thus in a frequent assembly of the Samnits, and said: "Masters and friends, think never, "but good there hath been done in this voyage, and our Embassage hath taken some effect. For "look what wrath the Gods in Heaven conceived against us, by our breach of covenant and "truce, is thereby wholly satisfied, and fully done away. This I know assuredly, that the Gods a- "bove (whose pleasure it was, that we should be driven to this neer point and hard exigent, as "to render the goods claimed of us, by vertue of an accord and covenant) were nothing conten- C "ted and pleased, that this our satisfaction and recompence for the breach thereof was so proud- "ly and disdainfully despised and rejected of the Romans. For what could possibly have been "done more, either to pacify the Gods, or to appease men, than that which we offered and per- "formed? Whatsoever we won by way of hostility and spoil, from our enemies, and which by "right of war seemed to be ours, we sent back again: the counsellors and perswaders of taking "arms, because we could not send alive, we delivered dead as they were: and their very goods "also (because nothing might remain with us, to bring us within the compass of their guiltiness) "we brought to *Rome*. What ow I more to thee O Roman? what am I bound to perform be- "sides, in regard either of covenant, or of the Gods, the judges of the covenant? Whom shall I "chuse and take for an indifferent arbitrator between thine anger and my punishment? No State D "and body of people in general, no private person in particular do I refuse: and if no equity and "reason for the poor and needy, be reserved amongst men against the greater and more mighty, "yet flie will I, and have recourse to the Gods, the Revengers of such intolerable pride: and I "will pray them to turn their anger upon those, whom neither restitution of their own goods, "nor the tendring of other mens withal to boot, will serve and content: whose fell cruelty, nei- "ther the death of the guilty persons, nor the delivery of dead bodies, neither the owners them- "selves yeelded, nor all they had in the World rendred with them, can satisfie: briefly, who may "not possibly be appeased, without we should part with our heart bloud unto them, for to drink, "and give our bowels and entrails to be torn in pieces. The war (O Samnits) is just and right "on their behalf, who have no way and means to avoid it: and ever lawfully take they arms, who E "have no other hope, but in force of arms. Since then, in all the affairs of this World, nothing "is of more importance than this, That men weigh and consider, whether the Gods be gratious "or adverse unto their enterprises: be sure of this, that as we made our former war not so much "against men as the Gods; so, we shall fight that which is now in hand, in the name of the "Gods, and under their conduct and guidance. Having spoken by way of Prophesie these words, (which as they were right pleasant and plausible in the hearing, so they proved as true and were verified in the success ensuing) he lead forth an army into the field and about *Caudium* he encamped himself, as covertly as he could. From thence he sendeth to * *Calatia* (where he heard that the Roman Consuls and their forces lay in camp) ten souldiers disguised in the habit of Herdmen, and commanded them to keep their cattel grasing apart, some in one place and some in another, F but never far from the Romans forts and guards: with this instruction, That when they hapned upon any of the Roman foragers and vantcurriers, they should agree all in one tale, and say, That the Samnit legions were in *Apulia*, besieging *Luceria* with all their forces, and were at the point of winning it by assault. This rumour also was on purpose by others before, set abroad and spread yea, and came to the Romans ears: but these captives made it sound more credible and like to be true, for this especially, that all their words agreed one with another. No man doubted but that the Romans would aid the Lucerins, their good and faithful Allies, and the rather for fear lest all *Apulia* would upon this present trouble and fearful example revolt, and band with the Samnits: and the only thing they stood upon was this, Which way to go unto them. For twain there were leading to *Luceria*: the one, broad and open, along the coast of the Adria- G tick Sea: but as it was the safer, so it was the farther about. Another shorter cut there was through the streights or gullet of * *Caudium* called *Furculæ Caudinæ*. But the natural situation of the place is thus: There are two deep, narrow, and woddy pases, or dales, one in the tail of the other, with continual crests and ridges of hills round about them: between them lieth enclosed in the midst, a good large plain or meadow, green of gras and full of waters, through the midst whereof, there lieth a direct passage. But before ye come to that green, ye must enter into that first streight aforesaid, and return again either the same way that ye went in, or if ye proceed to go forward, ye must pas through another such pas or streight, but narrower and

The Oration of *C. Pontius* to the Samnits.

* *Galazza.*

* *Stretto de Arpaia, or il Lago di S. Maria, and Valle di Gardano.*

more cumberſome than the other. Into that plain aforeſaid the Romans marched down with H
their army another way, through and hollow rock, but when they went on forth to the other ſtreight valley, they found it ſtopped and made up with the fall of trees, one croſs over another, and likewiſe with an huge heap of mighty ſtones, laid full againſt them in the way. And they had not ſo ſoon diſcovered this guilful practiſe of their enemies, but they might deſcry withal, a power of them alſo on the top of the Hill. Then with all ſpeed they ſeek to go back again the ſame way they came; but it they found alſo dammed up in like ſort, and beſet with armed men. Whereupon they made a ſtand, without any mans commandment: and as their minds were all amazed and aſtonied, ſo their bodies alſo were poſſeſſed as it were with a ſtrange and extraordinary nummedneſs in their limmets: and whiles they looked one upon another, each man thinking his fel- I
low to be more witty, and have better underſtanding than himſelf; for a good while they ſtood ſtill, and ſaid not a word. But afterwards, when as they ſaw the two Conſuls pavillions a ſetting up, and ſome making ready things neceſſary to fortification; although they ſaw well enough, that in this deſperate caſe, paſt all hope of recovery, for all the defences they could deviſe, they ſhould but loſe their time and travel and prove fools in the end: yet nevertheleſs, becauſe they would not ſeem to encreaſe their diſtreſſed fortune, and double it with their own default and negligence, every man what he could, to his power, without the direction of any leader, ſetled himſelf to work, and to fortify along the water ſide their camp, with a trench and rampier. And beſides the inſolent and proud ſcoffing and deriſion of their enemies, every man with pittiful confeſſion ſcorned and checked his own work and travel, as vain, and to no purpoſe. As the Conſuls K
then were penſive and diſcomforted, and called none about them to counſel, (for that indeed they ſuppoſed they were paſt all adviſe and help) the Lieutenants and Colonels came unto them of their ſelves unſent for, and the ſouldiers turning to the Prærorium or Conſuls Quarter, cryed to their Captains for help and ſuccour, which hardly the very immortal Gods could afford and give them. But they, rather made their moans and complaints one to another of their misfortune, than ſat in ſage counſel to give or take adviſe, until the night came upon them: whiles each man according to his natural humour and fancy, muttered diverſly. "One ſaid, let us break through "the ſtoppages oppoſed againſt us in the way: another, let us paſs over the mountains and "woods before us, what way ſoever we may be able to cary armour; for ſo we get to the ene- "my once, whom we have almoſt for theſe thirty years vanquiſhed and chaſed before us; all will L
"be plain, even and eaſy unto us Romans fighting againſt theſe faithleſs, perjured, and diſloyal "Samnits. Tuſh, ſaith another, whither ſhould we go, or which way? What? Are we about to "remove mountains out of their places? So long as theſe tops of Hills are over our heads, how "will you poſſibly come to the enemy? Armed or unarmed, courageous or cowards, all is one, en- "trapped we are and undone every one. Our enemy will not ſo much as offer us the ſword, "whereon we may dye like men with honor: he will ſit ſtill and end this war. Thus paſſed words to and fro and thus paſſed the night away: unmindful were they of taking repaſt, never thought they of taking repoſe and ſleep. The Samnits on the other ſide, in this ſo fortunat and happy opportunity preſented unto them, were as much to ſeek what to do, and what courſe to chuſe and follow. Whereupon, they all in general were to diſpatch letters to *Herennius Pontius*, the fa- M
ther of their General, and to know his opinion. Now this man beforetime, by reaſon of his great age, had given over not only Military affairs, but alſo all civil buſineſſes: howbeit in that old craſy and ſpent body of his, he bare the freſh vigour of mind and a pregnant wit to give counſel. When he underſtood that the Romans army was ſhut up faſt within the two forreſts, at the Caudine Gullets, and that his adviſe was asked by his ſons meſſenger: he gave preſently this counſel, That with all ſpeed they ſhould be let go from thence every one, without any harm at all done unto them. Which opinion of his being rejected [of his ſon and the army] his mind was demanded a ſecond time, by the ſame currier ſent again unto him of purpoſe. And then he gave adviſe, that they ſhould be all killed, and not one left alive. Upon which anſwers ſo far diſagreeing, and thus delivered, as it were out of a doubtful Oracle: albeit his ſon himſelf N
imagined, of all others moſt, that his fathers wit was in the wane, and aged as well as his feeble waſted body: yet by a general conſent of all he was overcome, to ſend for him in perſon for to declare his meaning by word of mouth. Neither thought the old man much thereof, but was brought (by report) to the camp in a chariot: and beeing called to counſel, he was in the ſame tale ſtill, ſo as he nothing changed of his former adviſe, but alleaged only cauſes and reaſons thereof. "Namely, that in his former reſolution (which he took to be ſimply the beſt) "his meaning was, by a ſingular benefit and good turn, to confirm peace and amity for ever, "with a moſt mighty and puiſſant people: in the ſecond his purpoſe was, by the utter loſſe of "two armies, whereby the State of *Rome* would not eaſily recover their ſtrength again, to defer "the wars for many a year. And as for a third counſel, he had none at all. When his ſon and O
other chief Captains, by queſtioning inquired of him, what if a middle courſe between both were taken; namely to diſmiſs them ſafe, and according to the Law of arms and conqueſt to impoſe upon them, hard Laws and Conditions? "Mary (quoth he) this is the way indeed, that "neither winneth you friends, nor yet riddeth you of your foes: ſave them whom ye have pro- "voked with ſhame and diſgrace; and ſee what ye get thereby. The Romans are of this nature, "that they cannot be ſtill and quiet ſo long as they have the worſe; it will never dye in their "hearts, but wil be alwayes freſh whatſoever ſhame this preſent extremity ſhal brand them with:

"and

A "and never will it give them any reſt, before they have been by manifold and ſundry wayes reven-
"ged of you. So his adviſe was not accepted, neither the one nor the other, and old *Herennius*
was carried home again from the camp. The Romans likewiſe in the camp, after many attempts
(but all in vain) for to break forth and eſcape away, being now in great penury and ſcarcity of all
things, for very neceſſity were driven to ſend Embaſſadors unto the enemies: who firſt ſhould
crave an equal and indifferent peace: and if they might not obtain it, then to bid defiance and
challenge them to a battel. *Pontius* made anſwer, that there was no talking of battel; for that the
field was won already: and becauſe they being vanquiſhed, and as good as taken captive, knew
not how to come down and confeſs their poor eſtate; he gave them to underſtand, That he
would put them under the gallows, deſpoiled of their armour, and ſtript into their ſhirts: and as
B for other conditions of peace, they ſhould be ſuch, as were meet to paſs between men conquered,
and conquerours: namely, if they would depart out of the Samnits country, withdraw their co-
lonies, and ſo both Samnit and Roman in equal alliance live under their own laws and cuſtomes:
upon theſe Articles and Capitulations, he was content to come to ſome point of accord with the
Conſuls. If any of theſe covenants diſliked them, then he forbad the Embaſſadors to repair again
to him any more, but at their peril. When relation of this anſwer was made in the camp, there
aroſe ſuddenly ſuch a ſighing and groning amongſt them all, and ſo great penſiveneſs and anguiſh
of heart ſeized upon them, that it ſeemed they could not have taken it more heavily, and to the
heart, if word had been brought that they muſt all have died in the place. After long ſilence,
when as the Conſuls wiſt not how to open their mouth, either for the accord and compoſition
C ſo ſhameful, or againſt it ſo neceſſary: then *L. Lentulus*, who as well in regard of his vertue, as of
his dignities, was chief of all the Lieutenants, ſaid: "I have heard my father (quoth he) O ye
"Conſuls, oftentimes make report, that he was the only man in the Capitol, who perſwaded the
"Senat, not to ranſome and redeem with gold, the City from the hands of the Gauls; at what
"time as they were not incloſed either with trench or rampier by their enemies, (a Nation to
"ſay a truth, of all others moſt idle in ſuch works, and fortifications) but might have broken
"through them, if not without great danger, yet without evident ruin, and aſſured deſtruction.
"Were the caſe ſo now that as they then, being armed might have run down out of the Capitol
"upon their enemies under them (in which ſort oftentimes the beſieged have ſallied out upon
"them that lay in ſiege) ſo we might but fight with our enemies in any place (it skilleth not)
D "good or bad even or uneven: I would not in giving counſel be any jot behind my father in cou-
"rage and valor. For I confeſs verily that to die for our country is a brave death: and for my own
"part, ready am I even to offer my body as a ſacrifice to preſent death, yea, and it were, to engage
"my ſelf among the thickeſt of my enemies, thereby to ſave the people of *Rome* and the legions:
"But alas, here I ſee my country, here I ſee all the Roman Regiments and Legions that are, who
"unleſs for their own ſelves they will run upon their death, what have they elſe to ſave by their
"death? Why, will ſome man ſay, the houſes and buildings of the City, the walls, and that mul-
"titude that inhabit the City. Nay rather, if this army fortune here to miſcarry, they are all clean
"betrayed into the enemies hand and not ſaved. For who ſhall defend them? Peradventure, the
"weak and unarmed multitude: even as well ſurely as they defended it againſt the violence of the
E "Gauls: Or, will they ſend for an army from *Veii*, and beſeech the help again of Captain *Camillus*?
"Even the one as well as the other. But here in this place is our whole hope, here is all our power
"and puiſſance: in ſaving it, we preſerve our country; in offering it to die, we abandon and betray
"our country. To yeeld and render our ſelves, is a foul and ſhameful thing; true, but ſuch is
"the love of our Country, that we ought to preſerve it, as well with our utter ſhame, if need re-
"quire, as by our death. Let us undergo then, and abide this ſhameful indignity whatſoever,
"and obey that fatal neceſſity, which the very Gods themſelves cannot overcome. Go to then,
"Conſuls, a Gods name, redeem the City with your armor and weapons, which your fore-fa-
"thers ranſomed with their gold. Then went the Conſuls to *Pontius* for to parle. And when as
he began like a conqueror to debate about the capitulations of Covenants, they denied plainly
F that any league could be made, without the privity, will and authority of the whole people: nor
without the Fecials, and other ſolemn and uſual Ceremonies. So that this Caudine accord was
not (as commonly it is believed, and as *Claudius* alſo writeth) concluded by form of abſolute co-
venant, but by way of ſtipulation and promiſe. For what needed either ſureties in a perfect
agreement and league, or hoſtages to be given when the matter is paſſed by this form of prayer,
*By whoſe default it hapned that the conditions agreed were not obſerved, that people Jupiter would ſo*
*ſmite, as the ſwine there was by the fecial ſmitten?* The Coſſ. Lieutenants, Treaſurers, and Colo-
nels, who undertook as ſureties, ſubſcribed and ſigned; and the names yet are extant of them
all: where, if the matter had paſſed by way of an abſolute league, there ſhould have been ſubſcri-
bed no more but the names of two Fecials only. Moreover, by reaſon that the concluſion of
G this accord was of neceſſity deferred, there were required alſo 600 Horſemen hoſtages, who
ſhould loſe their heads, in caſe the covenants of the agreement were not obſerved. And there-
upon was the time appointed and ſet down of delivering the ſaid hoſtages, and yeelding the ar-
my without their armor. Now the coming of the Conſuls renewed again the ſorrow in the
camp, that hardly they could hold their hands from thoſe, through whoſe raſh conduct they
were come to that place of diſadvantage: and through whoſe cowardiſe they were to depart from
thence more ſhamefully than they came: complaining that they had not ſo much as a guide to

direct them, nor an espial to discover the coasts: but like beasts were driven blinded into a trap or H
pitfal: and one looked upon another; beholding the armor that within a while they were to deliver up, viewing their right hands, which anon should be unarmed, their naked bodies exposed to the mercy and devotion of the enemy. They set before their eyes, the gallows prepared by the enemy for them to pass under, the scornes and reproachful taunts of the Victor, his proud and disdainful looks, and how they (disarmed) should pass in a long train and go through the armed enemies: then afterwards, the piteous spectacle of the way which they must go, and the shameful dismarch of their disgraced army: briefly, their foul and dishonourable return through the Cities of their allies unto their country and parents, whither they themselves and their ancestors oftentimes had gone in triumph. They were the only men, which without wound, without dint of I
weapon, without battel fought, were discomfited and vanquished: who might not so much as draw their sword, and never came to joyn or encounter with their enemy; having armour, having strength of lim, having hearts given them in vain. As they brayed out with great discontentment and anguish, these words, the fatal hour of their reproach and shame was come; which by proof and sensible experience, was to make all matters more heavy and woful, than they conceived and imagined in their minds aforehand. First and foremost were they commanded all, to go forth without the trench disarmed, and in their single garments: then were the hostages presently delivered, and had to ward: after this, were the Serjeants and Officers willed to depart from the Consuls: whose rich coats of arms, when they were plucked from their shoulders, moved such pity and compassion even in them, who a while before with all cursing and banning, judged them worthy K
to be delivered bound hand and foot into their enemies hands, for to be mangled despiteously and cut in pieces; that every man forgetting his own estate, wherein he stood, turned away his eyes, as it were from an abhominable spectacle, and could not indure to behold that disgracing and disfiguring of so great state and Majesty. The first that were put under the gallows, were the Coss. welneer half naked: and according to their degree and place, so was every one in order put to the shame: and afterward, the legions one after another. The enemies in their armor stood al the while about them, scorning, mocking, and making a game of them: many had swords and daggers set against their hearts, in menacing wise, some were hurt and stabbed to death; namely, such as with stern countenance and grim looks above the rest, for the indignity of these things, offended the conqueror. Thus were they sent with shame enough under the gallows, and (that which was L
more grievous than the thing) even in the sight and view of their enemies, they were not so soon got out of the forrest, but although they seemed but then as plucked out of dark hel to see the day, yet the very light it self was worse than al kind of deaths, when they beheld so ill favoured an army and unseemly. And therefore, albeit they might have reached to *Capua* before night, yet being doubtful of the faithfulnes and protection of their allies, or else dismaied for very shame, they cast their poor and silly bodies upon the ground, about the high wayes not far from *Capua*. Whereof, when news came to *Capua*, the just and due pitty which they took of their allies, overcame the inbred arrogancy and pride of that people by kind. Immediatly they sent unto the Coss. the ensigns and ornaments belonging to their place of authority, the Lictors and Serjeants with their rods, they sent armor and Horses, apparel and victual also for the souldiers bountifully: and as they came neer M
to *Capua*, the whole Senat and people went out to meet them, and performed all duties of kindnes and hospitality both privat and publick, that could be devised, and as meet was and requisite. And yet neither the courteous usage, nor the pleasant countenances and lightsome speeches of their allies, could draw from them any words, no, nor so much as make them to hold up their heads and eyes, and to look again upon their friends, when they yeelded them al these comforts they could. So as, besides their grief and sorrow of heart, a certain bashfulnes and shame forced them to shun all communication and conversing with men. The morrow after, when as certain young Gentlemen of the Nobility were returned, who had been sent in convoy from *Capua*, to accompany them and bring them on their way, as far as their liberties and confins; they were sent for into the Senat-house, and being demanded by the ancients and elders, what news: they reported, that they N
seemed unto them much more heavy and cast down than before, so silent and in manner dumb, they marched along: that noble mind and courage of the Romans was now mute and mum, their hearts clean done and gone together with their armor, not able to greet again, no, nor to give a word to those that saluted them, not one of them for fear able to open his mouth, as if still they bare that yoke and gallows upon their necks, under which they went. That the Samnits had indeed not only a brave victory, but also a perpetual over them, and the hand of them for ever; and had now won not *Rome*, as the Gauls aforetime, but also (which was a more hardy and warlike exploit) had conquered the Romans courage, stoutnes, and valour. As these news were reported, and audience given thereto, with such assent, that every man lamented now the Roman name, as desperat; and concluded generally it was in the counsel of these their faithful confederats, that O
they were past recovery; one *Offilius Calavius*, the son of *Ovius*, a man right nobly born, renowned for his valiant Acts, and besides, very grave and reverend for his age, spake by report in this manner and said, That he took the matter far otherwise than they all did: for that stubborn and resolut silence, (qd. he) those eyes fastened so wistly on the earth, those deaf ears to admit al solace and comfort, that shame of theirs to look up and behold the light, were expres and certain tokens of them that tossed and rolled from the very root and bottom of their heart, a huge heap and mass of anger & despite. Either (qd. he) I know not the nature of the Romans, or else that stilnes & silence

will

A will ſhortly coſt the Samnits, woful cryes and doleful groans: and the remembrance of this *Caudium* accord, wil be more heavy and dolorous a good deal to the Samnits than to the Romans: for, as for them, they wil every man find their hearts and courages again, whereſoever they ſhal hap to encounter: but the Samnits ſhal not meet every where with the *Caudium* ſtreights for their purpoſe.

And now by this time was this ſhameful overthrow and diſgrace known at *Rome*. Intelligence they had before, how they were beſet and encloſed about: but afterwards arrived a meſſenger with news more heavy and ſorrowful for that ignominious peace, than for any peril and danger otherwiſe. At the firſt noiſe and bruit that they were beſieged, they began to muſter; but after they heard, that they had ſo ſhamefully yeelded themſelves, all that preparation of aid and ſuccor B was diſcharged and ſent away: and preſently without any order from publick authority, they gave themſelves every one to all manner of mourning and lamentation. The ſhops all about the market place were ſhut up. A general vacation began of it ſelf, and pleading in all courts ceaſed, before Proclamation made: the purple and ſcarlet robes were left off, the golden rings laid away, and the whole City in a manner more ſorrowful and heavy, than the very army. Neither were they angry and offended with the Captains only, with the authors of the peace, with the cautions and ſureties for the ſame; but hated alſo the guiltleſs ſouldiers, denying flatly, that they were worthy to be received into City or houſe. Which heat of ſtomack and wrathful indignation, the firſt arrival of the army, utterly allayd; which even to angry perſons was pitiful and lamentable. For they returned not as men that eſcaped ſafe, alive, and unlooked for into their country, C but like captives in habit and countenance; they entred late into the Town, and hid their heads, every man within own houſe: ſo as the morrow after, and for certain dayes following, none of them would come into the market place, nor put his head out at dores to look into the ſtreets. The Conſuls likewiſe for their part, kept in, as privat men, and would exerciſe no function pertaining to their charge, but only that which thy were forced unto by an act of the Senat; namely, to nominate a Dictator for to be Preſident at the Election of Conſuls. So, they elected *Q. Fabius Ambuſtus* for Dictator, and *P. Ælius Paetus*, General of Horſe. Who being wrong created, and without the approbation of the *Auſpices*, there were choſen in their room, *M. Æmylius Pappus* for Dictator. and *L. Valerius Flaccus* General of the Horſemen, and yet by them was not the aſſembly holden for the Election aboveſaid. And for aſmuch as the people were even weary D again of all that years Magiſtrats, as unlucky and unfortunate, it grew at length to an Interreign. So Interregents there were, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *M. Valerius Corvinus*, who created Conſuls, *Q. Publius Philo*, and *L. Papirius Curſor* the ſecond time; with the whole conſent, no doubt, of the City, for that in thoſe dayes there were not two more noble and renowned Captains to be found.

Theſe ſame day they were created, they entred their Magiſtracy (for ſo the LL. of the Councel had decreed:) and after certain ſolemn and ordinary acts of the Senat paſſed, they went in hand to conſult about the treaty of the Caudine peace. And *Publius*, whoſe courſe it was then to have the ſoveraignty of rule; "Speak (quoth he) *Sp. Poſthumius*, to the matter propounded, "and let us hear your opinion, and what you can ſay. Who after he was riſen and ſtood up, E "with the very ſame countenance and cheer that he went under the gallows; I am not, (quoth he) "O ye Conſuls, ignorant, that I am firſt called forth, not for honour, but to my diſgrace; and "commanded to ſpeak, not as a Senator and Counceller, but as a man culpable and accuſed, both "for an unfortunate war adminiſtred, and a ſhameful peace concluded. Howbeit, ſeeing that "ye have not propounded and touched ought, concerning either our treſpaſs or our puniſhment, "(ſetting apart all kind of excuſe and defence, which would be no very hard matter to maintain, "before men that are not ignorant of humane fortune, and of neceſſities, whereto men may be "driven) I will in brief deliver my mind concerning that, which you have moved and propoun- "ded. Which ſentence of mine may ſufficiently witneſs and teſtify, whether I meant to ſpare mine "own life, or ſave your legions, when as I became bound to that diſhoneſt or neceſſary ſtipula- F "tion and promiſe, call it whether ye will. And yet, ſeeing it was made without the peoples pri- "vity and grant, the State of *Rome* is not obliged thereto, and thereby nothing due to the Sam- "nits, but only our bare bodies. Let us therefore be rendered by the hands of the Feciales and "Heralds, in our ſhirts, and faſt bound: let us deliver and rid the people of all ſcruple and trouble "of conſcience, if we have entangled them with any; that there be no let in Law of God or man, "but that both juſtly and lawfully ye may begin the war anew. In the mean while my mind and "advice is, that the Conſuls levy, enrol, arme, and lead forth an army: but not to enter within "the enemies marches, before all things duly belonging to the delivery of us into their hands, "be fully accompliſhed. Now, I pray and beſeech ye, O immortal Gods, that ſeeing it was not "your good will and pleaſure, that *Sp. Poſthumius* and *T. Veturius* Conſuls, ſhould with fortunate G "conduct fight againſt the Samnits, yet ye would be ſatisfied herewith, That ye beheld us put un- "der the gallows: that ye ſaw us obliged in an infamous and ſhameful bond of covenant: that "ye now view us naked and delivered bound into the enemies hands, ready to receive upon our "heads even with the loſs of our lives al their anger, malice, and deſpight: and that it would pleaſe "you, that the new Conſuls and Legions of the Romans, may in that ſort war with the Samnits, "as evermore the wars before us Conſuls have been conducted, managed and performed. When he had ſpoken theſe words, all men both ſo wondred at this man and pitied him too, that one while they would not believe he was the ſame *Sp. Poſthumius*, who had moved and perſwaded ſo foul

The Oration of *Sp. Poſthumius* late Conſul in the Senat.

foul and diſhoneſt a treaty of peace: otherwhiles they lamented that ſo brave and noble a perſonage, ſhould ſuffer any eſpecial torment above other, at the enemies hands, for anger and deſpite of reverſing and breach of that accord. When as now they all after ſingular praiſes of the man, condeſcended to his opinion; the Tribuns of the Com. *L. Livius* and *Q. Melius*, attempted for a while to oppoſe themſelves againſt this proceeding: ſaying, "That neither the people could be "acquit and aſſoiled in conſcience, by their delivery, unleſs every thing were again reſtored to "the Samnits, in the ſame eſtate wherein they ſtood at *Caudium*: nor they themſelves (in that they "ſubſcribed and became bound for the accord of peace, to ſave the hoſt of the people of *Rome*) "had deſerved any puniſhment: nor yet, laſt of all, ought they being ſacred Migiſtrats and in- "violable, to be yeelded to the enemies, and expoſed to any outrage and violence. Then (quoth "*Poſthumius*) in the mean while deliver us up that are but lay and profane men, whom with ſafe "conſcience and without offence ye may. And as for theſe, ſo ſacro-ſainct as they now be, ye "ſhall hereafter render them likewiſe, ſo ſoon as they are out of their charge. But if ye will be ru- "led by me, let them before they be thus yeelded, here in this common Hal be whipped and ſcour- "ged for the uſury and intereſt of their puniſhment, which they would ſeem to defer and put off "ſo long. For whereas they alledge and ſay, That by the delivery and yeelding of us, the peoples "conſciences cannot be cleered and aſſoiled; who is ſo ignorant in the Feciales and Heralds law, "that knoweth not that theſe men ſpake this, for this end rather, that they themſelves might not "be rendred, than for that the truth requireth ſo. Neither do I deny my Lords, that bare pro- "miſes and ſtipulations are unviolable, and to be kept as well as covenants and obligations with "thoſe men, among whom both Religion to Godward, and faithfulneſs to men is in regard and "eſtimation: but I deny again, that without the peoples aſſent and grant, any thing can be eſta- "bliſhed good and effectual, to bind the people thereunto. What! if the Samnits, in the ſame "pride and inſolency, wherein they obtruded and forced upon us this ſtipulation, yea, and wrung "it from us, would alſo have urged us to utter and ſpeak, the ſolemn form of words, which they "uſe to do that ſurrender up Cities; would ye (my Maſters that are Tribuns) infer and ſay, that "by vertue thereof the people of *Rome* is ſurrendred into their hands? and that this City, with the "Temples, Chappels, Limits and Waters, by ſtrength thereof, are the Samnits poſſeſſion? Well, I "let paſs to ſpeak of dedition, becauſe the matter in queſtion is touching only a ſtipulation. "What, I pray you if we had promiſed and undertook, that the people of *Rome* ſhould forſake "and abandon this City? or ſet fire on it? or not have Magiſtrats, Senat, or laws any longer? or "to be governed again by Kings? God forbid and deny that, ſay you. Well, it is not the indignity "of things, that eaſeth the bond of Stipulation. If there be any one caſe, wherein the people may "be obliged, then in truth may they be in all as well: neither skilleth it any whit, (whereat hap- "ly ſome will make a ſtay, and think it is material) whether Conſul, Dictator, or Pretor, enter "into bond and become ſurety. And even this it was, that the Samnits themſelves judged ſo to "be, and ſtood upon: thinking it not ſufficient, that the Conſuls became bound, but they put the "Lieutenants the Treaſurers, and the Colonels there, to the ſame. And now, let no man demand "of me, why I entred ſo into ſtipulation, being a thing not incident to the Conſul his charge and "right, neither was I to undertake unto them peace, which was not in my power to effect: nor "in your name to promiſe it, from whom I had no commiſſion and warrant. Certainly my Lords "and Senators, there was nothing at *Caudium* done at all by mans policy and counſel. The im- "mortal Gods bereft both your Generals and the enemies too, of all their ſenſe and underſtan- "ding: for neither we, in the conduct and ordering of our ſervice, ſtood warily enough upon our "good guard: and they again, as they gat the victory full badly, ſo they loſt it as lewdly: whiles "they hardly truſted the ſtrength of thoſe places, by means of which they had gained the vantage "and better hand of us: and while they made ſuch haſt, upon what agreement they cared not, to "diſarm men that are born martial, and naturally made for wars. For, if they had been in their "right wits, what an hard matter was it for them in the time that they ſent for old aged men from "their home, to come to Councel, for to have diſpatched their Embaſſadors to *Rome*? and ſo to "have dealt and treated with the Senat and people, about a perfect peace and final league indeed? "It had been but three dayes journey for men not encumbred, but lightly appointed. All that "mean while there might have been truce, until the Embaſſadors from *Rome*, had brought them "either certain victory or aſſured peace. For that had been a covenant and ſtipulation good in "law, the which we ſhould have agreed unto, by warrant of the peoples will and approbation. "But ye would never have granted and allowed it: no more ſhould we have entred into any ſuch "ſtipulation. Neither was it Gods will and providence, that there ſhould be any other iſſue and "end of things than this: that both they ſhould vainly be deluded and feed themſelves as it were, "with the fancy of a more joyful dream than their minds could wel conceive and apprehend: and "alſo that the ſame fortune which had entangled, ſnared and brought into danger our army, "ſhould relieve the ſame, and rid it again out of peril: that as their victory was frivolous and vain, "ſo a vainer and more frivolous peace, ſhould make it fruſtrat and worth nothing: and that ſuch a "ſtipulation and promiſe ſhould be interpoſed and come between, which might oblige and bind "no perſon, but the very makers themſelves. For what dealing hath there been with you my Lords "of the Senat? or with the people of *Rome*? Who can challenge you? Who can call you into que- "ſtion? Who can come forth and complain that he is by you deceived? Enemy, or Citizen? To "enemy ye have paſſed no promiſe: Citizen to undertake for you and in your name, ye com-

The Oration of *Sp. Poſthumius*.

H I K L M N O

manded

A "commanded none. Therefore ye have nothing to do to meddle with us, to whom ye gave
"nought in charge: and with the Samnits as little, with whom ye had no treaty at all. To the
"Samnits, we are ſufficient pledges enough, and anſwerable to perform that which is our own:
"for that, I ſay, which we are able to make good and yeeld; even our bodies and lives: upon
"theſe let them exerciſe their rage, upon theſe let them whet their ſwords and their ſpightful
"malice. And as for the Tribuns of Commons, conſult ye together, whether they may be ren-
"dred preſently, or ought to be reſerved and put off to an other day: let us in the mean time (O
"*Veturius*, and ye that are the reſt) offer theſe wretched heads and lives of ours, like caytives to
"diſcharge our bond, and by our puniſhment and execution, deliver and ſet free the Roman
B "army.

Both the cauſe it ſelf, and the Advocat alſo, moved the Lords of the Senat: and wrought ſo much not only with the reſt, but alſo with the Tribuns themſelves [of Commons] that they promiſed to be at the Conſuls ordering and appointment. Whereupon immediatly they gave up their offices, and were delivered into the Fecials hands with the other, to be led all, to *Caudium*. There was not ſo ſoon an act of the Senat paſſed hereof, but it ſeemed that the very light and rayes of the Sun ſhone upon the City again. *Poſthumius* was in every man his mouth, him they praiſed and extolled to the heavens: comparing him with the voluntary offering of *P. Decius* the Conſul, for the ſafety of the army, and other worthy and noble acts of others: Saying, that by his overture, by his means and travel, the City was delivered from a ſervil, diſhonourable and un-
C honeſt peace: He (ſay they) hath offered himſelf to al the torments, anger, and vengeance of the enemies, and made full ſatisfaction thereby for the people of *Rome*. Nothing now but war, war: Alarm, now cryed every man: and, oh, that ever they might ſee the day to encounter once again with the Samnits, in their armour and with weapon in hand. So, whiles the City was thus inflamed and boiled with hateful ire and indignation, there was an army levied, well near all of Voluntaries. New legions were muſtred and enrolled again out of the ſame ſouldiers, and a puiſſant army ſet forth to *Caudium*. The Fecials marched before, and when they were come to the gate of the City, commanded the Sureties, ſuch as had ſubſcribed and ſigned the accord aforeſaid, to be deſpoiled and ſtript out of their cloths, and their hands to be pinnioned behind him. And when the Lictor or Serjeant, for very reverence of Majeſty in *Poſthumius* his perſon, bound him
D at large and at eaſe, Why doeſt not thou (quoth he) draw and pull the cord ſtreighter, that the rendring and delivery of us may be according to law and as it ought to be, and no fault to be found withal? Afterwards, when they were come into the aſſembly of the Samnits, and before the Tribunal judgment ſeat of *Pontius*; *A. Cornelius Arvina* one of the Fecials or Heralds thus ſpake: For aſmuch as theſe perſons, without commandment and commiſſion from the *Quirites* and people of *Rome*, have undertaken by ſtipulation, That there ſhall a league and peace be made with you; and in ſo doing have offended and treſpaſſed againſt the State, therefore, to the end, that the people of *Rome* might be freed and aſſoiled from a deteſtable and heinous offence, Here I deliver and yeeld unto you, the ſelf ſame men. No ſooner had he uttered theſe words, but *Poſthumius* with his knee ſmote the Fecial his high, with all the might he could: and with a loud
E voyce ſaid, That he being now a Samnit citizen, and the other an Embaſſador and an Herald of the people of *Rome*; had againſt the Law of Nations injured him and offered him the abuſe: whereby the Romans might more juſtly make war. Then quoth *Pontius*. "This delivery nei-
"ther will I accept of and admit, neither ſhall the Samnits hold it good and lawful. But why
"doſt not thou *Sp. Poſthumius*, if thou believe there be any Gods, either undo and cancel all, or
"ſtand to thy bargain and covenant? For by right either are they all due unto the Samnits, whom
"they once had in their power; or elſe peace, in lieu of them. But why ſpeak I thus, and chal-
"lenge thee, who doeſt yeeld thy ſelf again priſoner to the conqueror as faithfully and loially as
"thou canſt? The people of *Rome* I challenge, who, if they repent of the promiſe and bargain
"made at the ſtreights of *Caudium*, let them bring again the Legions into that gullet, wherein
F "they were environed, encloſed, and compaſſed. Let no man deceive and delude other. Let all
"be undone again, and every thing as it was: let them take again their armour, which by cove-
"nant they yeelded up: let them return into their own camp, and have whatſoever they had the
"day before the Parle. Then let them pleaſe themſelves with war, with valiant and magnanimous
"deeds: refuſe they then, and ſpare not all covenant: reject they then all treaty of peace. Let us
"have the ſame fortune, the ſame opportunity and vantage of the places, which we had before
"the mention of peace: and ſo make war, and trie the iſſue. So ſhall neither the people of
"*Rome*, blame the Conſuls ſtipulation, nor we find any lack and default in the faithfulneſs of the
"people of *Rome*. And will ye never have done, but alwayes find ſhifts and excuſes, and not
"ſtand to your covenants, when ye are overcome, and have the worſe of your enemies? Ye gave
G "ſometimes hoſtages to King *Porſena*; and when ye had done, afterwards ſtole them away. For
"a ſum of gold you bought again your City of the Gauls; and as they were receiving the ſame
"gold, murdered they were by you and hewn in pieces. Peace ye have covenanted with us upon
"condition that we ſhould reſtore again your legions unto you; that peace you cancel and make
"void, and evermore ye ſet ſome colour of right upon your cautelous and fraudulent dealing: Well,
"alloweth not the people of *Rome* of the ſaving of their Legions, by a diſhonorable and ſhameful
"peace? Say it is ſo. Let peace go whether it will: but give you again to the Victor your Legions
"captivat. Is this your faithful dealing? are theſe your covenants, & ceremonies of Fecials & He-
"ralds?

"ralds? that thou, according to the agreement and accord, ſhouldſt have that deſire of thine, H
"even ſo many citizens lives ſaved? and I not have the peace (which by letting mine hold go un-
"to thee an enemy) I bargained for? What Juſtice is this, that thou, O *Cornelius*, and ye that are
"heralds, preſcribe to Nations abroad? Nay verily, I neither will accept of thoſe perſons whom
"ye make a ſhew to deliver, neither can I believe, that they are yeelded in verity and good earneſt.
"Nay, I paſs not at all, whether they return again into that City, which is obliged by a covenant
"made, attended upon with the wrath and diſpleaſure of all the Gods, whole heavenly power
"and deity is thus deluded. Now go and make war, ſeeing that *Sp. Poſthumius* erewhile thruſt
"and puſhed an Embaſſador herald with his knee; and ſo the Gods will believe no doubt, that
"*Poſthumius* is a Samnit citizen, and no Roman; and that by a Samnit, a Roman Embaſſador hath I
"been abuſed: and thereupon you may take a juſt occaſion and good quarrel to make war upon
"upon us. Are you not aſhamed, and baſh you not to broach and ſet abroad, in the view and
"face of the world, ſuch mockeries of Religion? What? old and ancient grave perſonages, and
"ſuch as have been Conſuls, to ſeek ſuch ſubtle devices (not fit for very children and babes to
"play with) and all to ſhift off and falſify their promiſe made by covenant. Go Lictor, looſe the
"Romans of their bands: and no man ſo hardy as to ſtay them, but that they may depart when
"they will at their own pleaſure. So they, having thus perhaps diſcharged the publick fidelity,
"or at leaſt wiſe quit themſelves undoubtedly of their own, returned from *Caudium*, unhurt, to
"the Roman camp.

The Samnits ſeeing that in lieu of a proud and unreaſonable peace, there was a moſt cruel war K
new ſprung up again, not only forecaſt and apprehended in their minds, but well neer ſaw evi-
dently with their eyes, all that ever enſued after. Then, all too late and in vain, God wot, they
praiſed the two-fold counſel of old *Pontius*: and how they taking the middle way between, were
deceived & had exchanged the certain poſſeſſion of victory, for an uncertain and doubtful peace:
and having loſt the opportunity both of gratifying the Romans, or doing them harm any more,
were now to fight & wage war with them, whom they might either have diſabled for being hurt-
ful enemies, or made their faſt and aſſured friends for ever. And ſo without any weakning of
their power and forces of either ſide by battel, their hearts after this Caudine peace were ſo
changed, that *Poſthumius* by his voluntary yeelding was more honored among the Romans, than
*Pontius* his bloodleſs victory among the Samnits: and the Romans made this reckoning, that L
the poſſibility of making war was to them aſmuch as undoubted victory: and the Sam-
nits believed verily, that the Romans had at once made war again and got the upper-
hand.

Whiles theſe things thus paſſed, the Satricans revolted to the Samnits: and the Colony at *Fre-*
*gellæ*, by the ſudden and unlooked for arrival of the Samnits (with whom it is certain the Satri-
cans were banded) in the night was ſurpriſed and taken. But the mutual fear one of the other,
kept them in on both ſides that they ſtirred not out until the morning. Then began the fight,
which for a certain time was equal and indifferent: yet, for that the Fregellones within fought
for their Church and chimney (as they ſay) and by reaſon that the multitude, unmeet for arms,
ſtood them in good ſtead in annoying their enemies from off their houſes; they held out and M
found them play a long time. But afterwards, a wily and deceitful policy turned all backwards
and was their undoing: for they ſuffred the voyce of the cryer to be heard through the Town,
who proclaimed, That whoſoever laid down weapon, ſhould depart alive and ſafe with bag and
baggage. The hope whereof, cauſed them to ſlack ſomewhat of their fight, and therewith they be-
gan to caſt away their armor in every place. But the reſolut ſort armed ſtill, brake away through
a poſtern gate, whoſe venturouſneſs proved to them more ſafe, than the inconſiderat fear of the
other which made them credulous and too light of belief. For the Samnits compaſſed them about
with fire, and for all they called upon the Gods for their help, and to their enemies for perfor-
mance of their promiſe, yet they burned them moſt piteouſly.

The Conſuls parted between themſelves, their Provinces. *Papyrius* took his way to *Luceria* in N
*Apulia*, where the Roman Horſemen given for hoſtages at *Caudium* were kept in ward: but *Publi-*
*us* ſtayed in *Samnium* to make head againſt the Caudine legions. Which thing much troubled and
diſtracted the minds of the Samnits: for neither their hearts would ſerve them to go to *Luceria*,
leſt the enemy ſhould come on their backs; not yet to ſtay behind, for fear leſt in the while, *Luce-*
*ria* ſhould be loſt. They thought it beſt therefore, to put all in hazard of a battel, and to try it out
with *Publius*. Whereupon, they bring forth their power into the field: with whom when *Publi-*
*us* was minded to joyn in fight, he thought it not amiſs, firſt to make ſome ſpeech unto his men,
and ſo commanded them to aſſemble unto an audience. But, as they came running to the Præto-
rium, with exceeding great cheerfulnes, ſo by reaſon of their noiſe that called hard for battel, no
exhortation of the General could be heard: each man his own heart mindful of the former diſ- O
grace, ſerved well enough to encourage and animat them. So they march out to battel, putting
forward the ſtandard-bearers and port-enſigns. And becauſe they would loſe no time, they firſt
charge with lancing their javelins and ſhooting darts, and after that, in drawing their ſwords,
they threw away their javelins, as if they had had a ſignal given them ſo to do, and with naked
drawn ſword, they ran upon their enemies. No cunning was there to be ſhewed of warlike Cap-
tain, no skill to be ſhewed either in ſetting in array the files and ranks, or placing of the rereward
for ſupplies: the ſouldiers furious anger, with raging violence, marſhalled and managed all.

So,

A So, the enemies were not only discomfited and put to the rout, but also because they durst not hinder their flight by retiring to their own camp, they made all the haft they could, disbanded as they were, toward *Apulia*. Howbeit they were rallied together in one company, and so came to *Luceria*. The Romans, in the same boiling heat of blood that they pierced through the mids of the enemies battel; entred also into their camp: where was more bloudshed and execution than in the battel, and the greater part of the pillage was in their choler marred and clean lost.

The other army commanded by *Papirius* the Coss. marched along the Sea coast to *Arpi*: and all the Country they passed thorow, shewed them friendship and courtesie, more for the outrages and losses sustained by the Samnits, and the hatred they bare them, than for any love to the people
B of *Rome*, or good received at their hands. And now the Samnits at that time dwelling upon the Hills in Villages, being mountainers and wild people, and as it is commonly seen, of like disposition to the places which they do inhabit, wasted the plain Champian and Sea coasts, despising indeed their more civil life and conversation. Which Country, if it had been true to the Samnits, either the Roman army had not been able to come to *Arpi*, or else the penury and scarcity of all things between *Rome* and *Arpi*, would have consumed them, being cut off from all provision of victuals. For even then, being gone from them, and lying encamped before *Luceria*, as wel they without in the leaguer & those that were within the City besieged, were nipped and bitten with hunger. The Romans were served all from *Arpi*, but so slenderly and scantly, that whiles the footmen were occupied in their guards warding, watching, and working unceſſantly; the Horsemen, were
C fain to bring corn from *Arpi*, in little leather baggs: and otherwhiles, if they met the enemy, were forced to cast the corn from off their Horsebacks, to fight more nimbly. They that were within besieged, before the other Consul came with his army, had both from the mountains of the Samnits, victuals brought unto them, and succors also, of men let in to them. But the coming of *Publius* made all provisions more streight: for, leaving the charge of the siege to his brother Consul, he rode lightly appointed without carriage, all over the Country, and so beat all the quarters, that they were too hot for the enemies to forage and purvey victuals. Then the Samnits, seeing that they within the City besieged, were past all hope to abide the famine any longer, encamped about *Luceria*, and were forced to gather all their forces together from all parts, and to give *Papirius* battel. At which very instant, when they were on both sides preparing to fight, the Taren-
D tin Embassadors came between, discharging and forbidding, both Samnits and Romans to fight: professing withal, that whosoever they were that refused to give over war, against them they would fight in defence and favor of the others. *Papirius* having heard that embassage, making semblance, as if he had greatly regarded their speeches, answered that he would confer with his brother Consul; and having sent for him, and bestowed all the mean time in preparation to fight, when he had talked with him as touching the execution of matters already resolved, he presently gave the signal, and set out the bloudy banner of battel. Now as the Consuls were busy in sacrificing and performing duties belonging to God and man (as their manner is when they purpose to go to a battel) the Tarentin Embassadors aforesaid, encountred them and expected an answer. To whom *Papirius*, The Chick-master (qd. he) O ye Tarentins, sendeth me word, that the birds feed
E right, and all is well; and besides that, the Gods in our sacrifice seem passing well pleased. And in the name of the Gods, and under their conduct (as ye see) we are going to battel. Then commanded he to set forward the standards, and led forth his power, mocking the fooliſh nation for their great vanity, who, not able to manage their own affairs by reason of home seditions and civill discords, thought it meet to be moderators between others, and to prescribe them war or peace. The Samnits on the other side, having slaked all their care and desire of war, for that they desired peace in good earnest, or else thought it expedient for them to make a semblance thereof, for to win unto them the Tarentins; seeing the Romans all of a sudden arranged in battel array and ready to fight, cryed forth aloud, that they rested still in the authority of the Tarentins, and were at their direction: neither would they come forth into the field, nor put themselves in
F arms out of their fort: choosing rather being thus disappointed, to abide the chance of fortune whatsoever, than to seem to have despised the Tarentins, who had interposed themselves as Mediators for peace. Marry (quoth the Coss.) we take that for a good sign and presage of lucky success: and we would wish no more at Gods hands, but to put into their enemies heads that resolution, not to defend their trench and rampire. So the Coss. when they had parted between them their forces, approached the very camp of their enemies, and set upon them with an hot assault on every side. Thus while some filled and dammed up the trenches, others plucked up the stakes of the rampier, and threw the bank and all down the ditches under their feet: whiles not only their own inbred valour by nature, but also anger and choler provoked and pricked to the quick, their hearts already fretted and cankred at the very root, for the last disgrace received, they
G entred the camp. Every man for his part gave out and said, Here are not the straight gullets of *Caudium*, here are not the impassable nor inaccessible passes, and forests, where as proud fraud had gone beyond their silly errour and want of forecast: but Roman vertue and proweſs, which no rampier never so strong, no trench how deep soever, is able to put by and withstand. So they killed all afore them indifferently, as well them that made resistance and stood to it, as those that retired and gave way: armed and disarmed, bond and free born, old and young, as well under age as undergrown, man and beast, one with another: neither had there escaped any living creature drawing breath, but that the Consuls sounded the retreat, and with minatory

words

words commanded the ſouldiers, ſo greedy of murder and bloudthirſty, to go forth of the camp H
Whereupon when they were highly diſcontented and in great indignation, for that they were ſtaid and interrupted in this ſweetneſs of eaſing their anger, and ſatiating their revenge to the full; it was time to deliver this ſpeech unto them, wherein the ſouldiers were given to underſtand, how the Conſuls neither were behind any of them in malice and hatred to their enemies, nor would be hereafter: but as they were their chief conductors to the war, ſo they would be their leaders and ſhew them the way, to unſatiable appetite of revenge and execution, had not the care and regard of thoſe 600 Horſemen, which were kept as hoſtages in *Luceria*, cooled their thirſt and ſtaid their ſtomacks; leſt haply the enemies in deſpair to find pardon and mercy, ſhould run upon them in a blind fit of fury and rage, and put them all to the ſword; chuſing rather to torment and kill them firſt, before they died themſelves. The ſouldiers greatly commended this I courſe, and rejoyced that thus their choler was allaid, and their fury bridled, confeſſing, That they were indeed to abide all whatſoever, rather than the life of ſo many of the forwardeſt and principal young Gentlemen of *Rome*, ſhould be betraid, or in danger. This audience being diſmiſſed, they drew together to a Councel, whether with all their forces they ſhould aſſail and preſs hard upon *Luceria*, or with one of the armies and chief Leaders, give the attempt to ſound the *Apulians*, a cloſe and ſecret kind of people thereabout, who ever to that day had ſtood in doubtful terms with them.

*Publius* the Conſul, who had taken this journey to over-run all *Apulia*, in that one voyage and expedition, either by force ſubdued and brought under his obeiſance certain Srates, or upon conditions entred league and ſociety with them. *Papyrius* alſo, who ſtaid at the ſiege of *Luceria*, with- K
in a ſhort time ſped according to his expectation. For having forelaid and beſet all the wayes, by which victual was conveyed thither out of *Samnium*, the Samnits who lay in gariſon at *Luceria*, pinched and tamed with famine, ſent Embaſſadors to the Roman Conſul, making offer to releaſe and deliver up into his hands thoſe Horſemen, (the only cauſe of the preſent war) in caſe he would raiſe and levy the ſiege. To whom *Papyrius* made this anſwer, that they ſhould have gone firſt to *Pontius*, the ſon of *Herennius*, by whoſe counſel they had put the Romans under the yoke and the gallows, to learn and know of him, what in his opinion they were to abide, who were vanquiſhed and overcome. Howbeit, for aſmuch as they had rather, and choſe rather to be cenſured indifferently, and to receive equal conditions of their enemies, than of their own ſelves, he willed the Embaſſadors to give them to underſtand in *Luceria*, that they ſhould leave their ar- L
mor, their bag and baggage, their beaſts of carriage, and impotent multitude not fit for the wars, within in the wals. And as for the fighting ſouldiers, he would put them to paſs under the gallows in their ſingle ſhirts, for to revenge the ſhame firſt offered them, and not to inflict any new ignominy upon them. Nothing was denied and refuſed: ſeven thouſand men of war were put under the gallows, a rich and huge pillage raiſed within *Luceria*, all their own enſigns and armor regained, which they had loſt at *Caudium*: and that which ſurmounted all other joyes, they recovered again thoſe Gentlemen of arms, whom, lying for pledges and ſecurity of the peace aforeſaid, the Samnits had ſent to *Luceria* to be kept in ſafe cuſtody. There is not lightly to be found a victory more noble, and of greater conſequence to the people of *Rome* than this, in regard of the ſudden change of fortune, in caſe (as ſome records bear witneſs) *Pontius* alſo himſelf the ſon of *He-* M
*rennius*, and General of the Samnits, to make ſatisfaction and quittance for the Conſuls diſgrace and ſhame, was put under the yoke, as well as all the reſt. But I leſs marvel, that it is not clear, but leſt uncertain, that the enemies General was rendred, and went under the gallows: this rather I wonder at, that doubted it is, whether *Lucius Cornelius* Dictator, with *L. Papirius Curſor*, General of the Horſemen, managed theſe acts firſt at *Caudium*, and then afterwards at *Luceria*: and being the only revenger of that diſgrace of the Romans, triumphed moſt worthily (I dare be bold to ſay) of any man before that time, next to *Furius Camillus*: or whether the chief honour hereof pertain by right to *Papirius* as Conſul. Upon this error followeth another in the neck of it, whether *Papirius*, ſurnamed *Curſor*, for his good ſervice at *Luceria*, in the next Election, con- N
tinued in Magiſtracy, and were made the third time Conſul with *Q. Æmylius Cæretanus*, the ſecond time: or whether it were *L. Papyrius Mugillanus*, and the error grew upon the ſurname. But it is agreed upon by all writers, that from this time forward all the reliques of the wars, were performed and finiſhed by Conſuls. *Æmylius* in one proſperous battel made a final conqueſt of the Ferentans, and upon compoſition had the City delivered up unto him, whither they had retired their forces for ſuccor after their defeat in the field, and hoſtages were impoſed upon them. With like good ſucceſs fought the other Conſul with the Satricans, who being Roman citizens, had revolted to the Samnits, after the loſs at *Caudium*, and had received into their City a garriſon of theirs. For when as the Roman army approached under the walls of *Satricum*, and that the citizens within (after Embaſſadors ſent to treat by way of humble petition for peace) had received this hard and heavy anſwer from the Conſul, That unleſs they would kill the garriſon of the Sam- O
nits, or deliver them into his hands, they ſhould come no more again to him: the Coloners and inhabitants were more frighted and terrified with that ſpeech, than at all the forcible attempts of their army. Whereupon the Embaſſadors followed their ſuit hard and continued ſtill, demanding very often of the Conſul how he could believe, that they being but few, feeble, and diſarmed, ſhould be able to force a garriſon ſo ſtrong and wel appointed againſt their wills? being willed to ask counſel of them, by whoſe means they had received the ſaid garriſon into the Town, they de-

parted

A parted their wives: and having hardly obtained leave & licence at his hands, to consult with their Senate and to bring answer, they return home again. Their Senate was divided into two factions, which distracted and held them in suspence, that they could not soon resolve. The one, consisting of the chief personages and head men, who had sollicited them to revolt from the people of *Rome*; the other of true hearted and loyal Citizens. Howbeit, both sides strove in the end and endeavored to labour the Consul for reconciliation of peace. The one part thought it sufficient (because the Samnits garrison having not provision enough aforehand to hold out the siege, was to depart the night following) to give notice to the Consul, what hour of the night, through what gate the enemies would go forth, and which way they would take: the other, namely, against whose will
B they were revolted to the Samnits, the very same night, opened another gate besides to the Consul, and privily let their enemies armed into the City. So by a twofold complot of treason, they were surprised unawares and all their throats cut not only the garrison of the Samnits (by reason that the woods all about the high way were laid for them and beset) but also at one instant there was a shout and allarm raised by the enemies within the City, which was full of them: and thus in the space of one hour both the Samnits were slain, the Satricans taken, and all they had in the world seised into the hands of the Consul: who after diligent inquisition by torture, Who were the principal authors of this revolt? whomsoever he found guilty, those he scourged and beheaded: and setting there a strong garrison, he took from the Satricans all their armour. From thence *Papyrius Cursor* departed to *Rome* for to triumph (as they write, that say, by his leading *Luceria*
C was recovered, and the Samnits put under the yoke.) And without question, a man he was worthy of all commendations of a warriour, surpassing not only in fortitude and courage of spirit, but also in force and natural strength of body, and namely, for his good footmanship: whereupon he got his surname * *Cursor*. For in running (they say) he had not his peer, but went away with prick and prize before all other in those daies: and were it by reason of his bodily vigour and strong constitution, or his much exercise, a stout and mighty eater he was, he drank as liberally to his meat, and could carry it as well. Never had foot or horse under any Captain more rough and harder service, for that himself was of so tough metall and steel to the very back (as they say) that he could abide any pains and travell whatsoever. His horsemen upon a time were so bold, as to request him in lieu of their good service in some exploit, to ease them a little of their ordinary
D toil and labour: yes marry will I (quoth he) and that ye shall not complain that ye have no easement at all, I will ease you of this pains, That when ye alight from your horses, ye shall not need any more to stroke their shoulders, back and buttocks. He was a man besides for severity straight, and of right great command, as well over his allies and confederates as his own Citizens. The Prætor of *Preneste*, for very fear chanced once to be somewhat behind, and slack in bringing forward the rereward, into the vangard and front of the battel: as he walked before his pavilion he commanded him to be called unto him: when he was come, he willed the serjeant to bring forth his axe immediately: at which word when the Prenestin stood amazed and well near dead, Dispatch Lictor (quoth he) stock me up and grub this root that hindreth them that walk this way: and when he saw him astonied and his heart in his heels for fear of death, he set a good round fine
E upon his head, and so let him go. Doubtless in all that age (than which there was never any more fertile and fruitfull for vertue and valour) there was no one man, upon whom the state of *Rome* rested and relied more: Insomuch as men had destined, and in their minds appointed him to have matched and made head with *Alexander* the great, if after the conquest of *Asia*, he should have bent his power hither, and warred in *Europe*.

* An excellent runner.

Albeit it may well appear that I have nothing less sought, ever since I began this work, than to digress and decline more than was needful, from the order and course of mine history, and by extravagant garnishing and mingling my writings with variety of matters, both to seek for the readers pleasant starts and diverticles to repose themselves, and for my self some ease and recreation of my spirits: yet the mention of so mighty a King and renowned Captain, maketh me to
F think upon, and to utter abroad the secret conceits and discourses, which often I have cast and tossed in my mind: and which induce me now to search and examin willingly, what event would have hapned and befaln to the Romans, in case they had waged war with *Alexander*. First and formost, the things that seem to bear sway and prevail in war, be these (to wit) number of souldiers, valour, and courage withall, wit, sufficiency and dexterity of their chief leaders, and lastly, fortune, which as in all other humane and worldly affairs beareth a great stroke, so in war most of all. Which points, if a man consider either severally by themselves, or jointly altogether, do prove that the Roman Empire and government had stood as well against him as other princes and nations invincible. And first, to begin with comparing of the Captains themselves; I do not deny, but that *Alexander* was a noble and singular warrior: and this maketh more for his fame and re-
G nown, that he was a sole commander of himself that he was a young man and died in the growth of his prosperous affairs, before he had felt and tasted of adverse fortune. For to let pass other otherglorious Princes and brave captains, (the great mirrours and examples of humane changes and varieties of this world) what was it that exposed *Cyrus*, whom the Greeks commend and magnifie above all other, as also of late time, *Pompey* the great, to disfavor & the turning wheel of fortune, but only this, that they lived long? Let me but rehearse and reckon up the Roman captains; and those not all, nor in every age, wherein they flourished; but even them only, with whom being either Consuls or Dictator, *Alexander* should have warred, if had he come: namely, *M. Valerius*

A digression to a discourse of comparrison between *Alexander* the Great and the Romans.

*Corvinus*, *C. Martius Rutilius*, *C. Sulpitius*, *T. Manlius Torquatus*, *Q. Publius Philo*, *L. Papirius Cursor*, *Q. Fabius Maximus*: the two *Decii*, *L. Volumnius*, *M. Curius*: Beſides other brave men and valiant perſonages that followed after, in caſe he had fought the Carthaginian were firſt (for if he had lived he meant to have warred there) and then paſſed over into *Italy*, when he had been well ſtept in years. In every one of theſe there were the ſame good parts, the like towardneſs of nature, as much forwardneſs of courage and ſpirit, as in *Alexander*, yea, and as good Military diſcipline, which even from the foundation of the City, paſſing from hand to hand, grew at length to the form and perfection of an Art, framed & compiled of continual rules and precepts, and confirmed by experiments. For ſo, after one courſe the Kings conducted their wars: even ſo, next unto them the baniſhers of the Kings, (to wit, the *Junii* and *Valerii*) ſo, conſequently the *Fabii*, the *Quintii*, and *Cornelii*: ſo did *Furius Camillus*, whom thoſe two Romans in their youth (*Manlius Torquatus* and *Valerius Corvinus*) with whom *Alexander* ſhould have encountred, ſaw an aged man in the latter end of his daies. And whereas *Alexander* ventured his own proper perſon in battel, and performed all Military duties with other ſouldiers, (which was not the leaſt part of his praiſe & glory) would *Manlius Torquatus* have given him one inch of ground, think ye, if he had met with him in skirmiſh equally matched? or *Valerius Corvinus* either, both of them brave & ſtout ſouldiers before they were leaders and captains? Or would the *Decii* have given him place, who with devoted bodies to death, came among the thickeſt of their enemies into preſent danger? Would *Papirius Curſor* have given him way, a man of that incomparable ſtrength of body, & invincible courage of heart? And (not to name every one particularly) would that Senat & Council have been overwrought with the ſtratagems & policies of that one young man? which, whoſoever he was that ſaid, it conſiſted and was compoſed altogether of Kings, was the only man that conceived & comprehended the true image and Idea of the Roman Senat. Mary, here was all the doubt (forſooth) leſt that he knew how to chuſe out a convenient plot of ground, to pitch a Camp in, more wiſely & cunningly than any one of thoſe before named; to make proviſion for victual, to foreſee & beware of ambuſhes, to pick out & take a meet time for to fight a battel, to ſet his battaillons in array, and to ſtrengthen the ſame with ſufficient ſuccours & ſupplies from the reregard, Snrely, he would have ſaid himſelf, that he had not now to deal with *Darius*, which Monarch carrying with time a train of dainty women, and tender Eunuchs, weakned and made effeminate with wearing purple and gold, with all his rich furniture, for ſhew and oſtentation of his wealthy and ſuperfluous fortune, *Alexander* without any bloudſhed, with doing nought elſe, but knowing well how to contemn ſuch toies and vanities conquered as a prey and booty rather than an enemy and warrior. He would have thought verily that the ſcituation and nature of *Italy* far differed from that of *India*, through which he marched at his eaſe with his drunken Army, feaſting and banquetting all the way; but ſpecially, when he ſhould have beheld the woody forreſts and unpaſſable ſtraights of *Apulia*, the high hils and mountains of *Lucania*, and the freſh marks and tokens of the loſs that hapned in his own name and houſe, namely, where not long before his Uncle *Alexander* late King of *Epirus* miſerably periſhed. Our talk all this while is of *Alexander*, not drowned yet with the overflow of proſperity; wherein no man had ever leſs rule of himſelf than he. Whom if we conſider, as he was arraied in the habit and attire of his new fortune, and (if I may ſo ſay) of a new nature, whereinto after his conqueſts and victories he was transfigured; ſurely he would have come into *Italy* more like a *Darius* than an *Alexander*, and brought a baſtard army with him, nothing at all reſembling but quite forgetting their native country of *Macedonie*, degenerated already, and growing out of kind, into the manners and faſhions of the Perſians. It grieveth me, and I am aſhamed, in ſo great a Monarch as he was, to report the proud changing and variety every while of his apparel, his exceſſive vain-glory and deſire of being courted and crouched unto (as he was) in flattering manner by men lying upon the earth groveling and proſtrat at his feet. Such abject baſeneſs ſhould have been hardly endured of Macedonians conquered and ſubdued; much leſs than being conquerours as they were. Abaſhed I am to recount the foul and horrible torments & executions, the murders of his well deſerving friends, even in the midſt of his cups and dainty viands: laſt of all, his vanity, his over-weening, and forging to himſelf a divine race and pedigree from the gods. But what if his drunkenneſs and unmeaſurable love of wine, were every day more than other? what if his fell anger and exceeding heat of choler increaſed daily? (for I report nothing but that which all writers agree upon) reckon we not theſe infirmities for great blemiſhes and wondrous hindrances to the vertues and perfections of a warrior & general commander? But here is all the danger and fear (which ſome are wont to give out & alledge, even the vaineſt perſons of all other Greeks, who favour & magnifie the glory of the very Parthians in compariſon of the Roman name) that the people of *Rome* had never been able to abide the very majeſty and name of *Alexander* the great. (And I think verily, that even themſelves that talk ſo much of him never heard the truth, ſo much as by the brute and fame) and that againſt whom in *Athens*, a City mightily decayed by war with the Macedonians, and even then, when as they might ſee before their face the ruins of *Thebes* in manner ſmoking full in their eyes, the Orators durſt freely make publike invectives (which appeareth by the very records of their Orations now extant) againſt him: I ſay, not one of ſo many States and noble perſonages of *Rome* durſt have opened his mouth and given one word again frankly and boldly. How much ſoever the grandeur and greatneſs of this man may be conceived and imagined in the mind, all that ſhall be but one only man, riſing, growing, and come to his height with the felicity of little more than ten years.

Whhic

A Which happineſs of his, they that extol in this reſpect, that the people of *Rome*, although in no war they were ſubdued, yet in many battels had the foile and loſt the day; whereas *Alexander* never fought field but he won the victory; little underſtand they, that compare the exploits of one perſon, and him a young man, with the the deeds and acts of a State, which had now warred eight hundred years. And can we marvell, it when on the one part there may be reckoned more ages than years on the other, that in ſo long a time, fortune ſhould vary more, than in the ſpace of thirteen years? But why compare you not man with man, Captain with Captain, and lay their fortunes together? How many Roman Captains and Generals, in this caſe am I able to name, who never loſt field? Ye may turn every leaf and page of the yearly annals of Magiſtrates, of
B day-books and journals of thoſe Conſuls and Dictators, whoſe valour and felicity the people of *Rome* had never cauſe to repent of and be diſcontented for, ſo much as one day. And that which maketh them more wonderful, and to be admired above *Alexander* or any other King in the world, ſome of them bare the Dictatorſhip but ten or twenty daies; and none the Conſulſhip longer than a year. Their levies and muſters now and then were letted and impeached by the Tribunes of the Commons. The due and beſt time for war otherwhiles overſlipped them, and yet they went forth. Before their term expired, they were often called home for to be preſidents of the Magiſtrates Election. In the very midſt and buſieſt time of their affairs, the year very often turned about. The inconſiderate raſhneſs one while, and the peeviſh crookedneſs another while of a Collegue and companion in government was hindrance and harm both. They ſucceeded ſundry
C times after the loſs and overthrow of their predeceſſors, and received the army either of raw untrained ſouldiers or ſuch as were in ill diſcipline trained up: whereas Kings and Monarchs contrariwiſe, not only freed and exempt from all ſuch obſtacles and inconveniences, but alſo Lords and Maſters, and of abſolute command, over their enterpriſes, over times and ſeaſons fit for execution, give direction to others, draw all after them to their advice and counſel, and are themſelves directed and over-ruled by none. Say now, that *Alexander* were invincible, and dealt with theſe Captains as invincible as himſelf, he ſhould likewiſe have hazarded as great pawns and favours of fortune as any of them; nay rather, he ſhould have adventured and incurred more jeopardy; in that the Macedonians had but *Alexander* alone, a man not only ſubject but alſo expoſing himſelf to many perillous chances: but many Romans there had been equal to *Alexander*, either for glory
D or greatneſs of their worthy deeds: who every one ſhould have lived and died according to the fatal courſe of his own ſeveral deſtiny, without the hazard of the whole and main chance. It remaineth now that forces be compared with forces, and armies to armies, either in number, or in quality of ſouldiers, or multitude of Allies, from whom they had their aids. There were eſteemed by computation in the Taxing years, and Surveies taken by the Cenſors of that age, two hundred and fifty thouſand polls Citizens of *Rome*. And therefore in all the revolts and rebellions of their allies the Latines, they were able to levy and enroll ten legions compleat of Roman Citizens well near and none elſe. And for many years oftentimes there were four and five armies employed at once, which maintained wars in *Tuſcan*, in *Hetruria*, in *Umbria*, take alſo the Gauls with you their enemies, likewiſe *Lucania* in *Samnium*. Beſides all theſe, *Alexander* ſhould have found all *Latium*
E with the Sabins, Volſcians, and Æquians; all *Campania*, part of *Umbria* and *Hetruria*, with the Picentes, the Marſians, Pelignians, Veſtins, and Apulians, and all the coaſt adjoyning thereto of the Greeks, along the nether Tyrrhen ſea, from the Thurians to *Naples* and *Cumes*, and from thence, the Samnits, as far as to *Antium* and *Hoſtia*. All theſe he ſhould have met with, either mighty and puiſſant allies and friends to the Romans, or if they were enemies, vanquiſhed and ſubdued by their arms. He ſhould have paſſed the ſeas himſelf, having of old Macedonian bands, not above thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, and thoſe, moſt of them Theſſalians; for this was all his power. And in caſe he had joyned thereto the Perſians, Indians, and other ſuch nations, he ſhould have drawn along after him, more let and encumbrance, that help and ſuccour by them. Take this over and beſides, The Romans had freſh ſupplies alwaies ready and near at hand, at
F home in the City: whereas *Alexander* his army (as afterwards it hapned to *Annibal* warring in a ſtrange country) would have waxed old and decayed. They had for their armour and weapons, a ſhield or buckler, and a ſpear in manner of a pike. The Romans had a target of larger capacity to cover the whole body, and a javelin, being a weapon much better and more forcible than the pike, either to ſtrike and puſh withall near hand, or to be lanced a far off. The ſouldiers, I confeſs, both of the one ſide and the other, ſtood their ground ſurely, kept their place and array ſtill within their ſeverall ranks. The Macedonian huge Phalanx moved not, was ſtedfaſt and alwaies after one ſort: but the Romans battallon more diſtinct, and conſiſting of many parts eaſie both to divide and diſplay, or to joyn and reunite upon any occaſion. To ſpeak now of painfull work and travell, what ſouldier is comparable to the Roman? Who better able
G to endure all ſorts of labour? *Alexander* by the loſs but of one battell had been clean done, and hir war at an end for ever. But the Romans, whoſe hearts, neither the ſhamefull diſgrace at *Caudium*, nor the woſull defeat at *Cannæ*, could amate and dant; what power would have diſcouraged? What battell in the world would have broken their backs? Certainly, *Alexander* although he had proſperity and good ſucceſs in his firſt beginnings and enterpriſes, would oftentimes here have miſſed his Perſians and Indians, and deſire with all his heart to have had dealing with them again, and other cowardly and daſtard Nations of *Aſia*: nay, he would have ſaid, that he had warred before but with women, as *Alexander*, King of *Epirus* (by report) gave out,

when he was wounded to death, conferring the eaſie occurrents of war which this young Prince H
his nephew, met withall in *Aſia*, with the difficulties of his own, that he found here in *Italy*. And
verily, when I call to mind and remember the conflicts and fights at ſea, in the firſt Punick war,
for the ſpace of twenty four years, with the Carthaginians, I ſuppoſe the whole age of *Alexander*
would hardly have brought about and finiſhed that one war, and againſt one of thoſe two
States. And peradventure, when both Carthaginians and Romans had been combined, either ac-
cording to the ancient leagues, or for equall fear of a common enemy, and thoſe two Cities moſt
puiſſant both for men and munition, had taken arms at once againſt him, he would have been
overwhelmed with the Punick and Roman war together. Moreover, the Romans have made good
proof of the Macedonians as enemies, if not when they had *Alexander* to be their Captain, nor I
whiles the Empire of Macedonie was at the beſt, and ſtood upright unfoiled: yet tried them they
have, and made head againſt them under the conduct of *Antiochus*, *Philip*, and *Perſes*: and it ne-
ver coſt them the loſs and overthrow of their own part, no, nor ſo much as any appearance of
danger at all. I would not be thought to ſpeak a proud word, but be it ſaid without arrogancy,
and ſetting all our civill wars aſide; never were we diſtreſſed, either by horſe or foot, never in o-
pen field and battel ranged, never on even and plain ground, never in unequal places of diſadvan-
tage, were we endangered. The ſouldier in heavy and compleat harneſs, I confeſs, may fear the
Cavalry in the plains: may fear ſhot of arrows, cumberſome forreſts and woods, ſtraight gullets,
and unpaſſable wilds, without waies forward or backward: but let there be a thouſand armies
greater and ſtronger than the Macedonians or *Alexanders*, ſo long as we hold together, and con- K
tinue ſtill in this love of peace and care of civill concord, wherein we live at this preſent, we are
able, and ever ſhall be, to diſcomfit and put them all to flight.

After this, were *M. Follius Flaccina*, and *L. Plautius Venox* Conſuls. The ſame year there came
from ſundry Nations of the Samnits Embaſſadors, to treat for the renewing of the league, and
moved the Senat, moſt humbly kneeling proſtrate upon the ground: but being put off and refer-
red to the people, their prayers availed not to ſuch effect: for as touching a league, they had a flat
nay. And after they had for certain daies together importuned them one by one apart, with cap
and congee: at length after much ſuit, they obtained truce for two years. And out of *Apulia* the
Theanenſes and Canuſins wearied with rodes and ſpoil made in their Territories, after they had
put in hoſtages to *Lucius Plautius* the Conſul, yielded themſelves to his protection. The ſame L
year firſt began Ptovoſts to be created at *Capua*, to govern under certain laws given unto them
by *L. Furius* the Pretor: after that themſelves had made ſuit for the one and the other, as a reme-
dy for their ſtate, greatly decaied through civill diſcord. And at *Rome* were two more Tribes
added to the reſt, *Uſentina*, and *Falerina*. When *Apulia* began once to ſhrink and go backward,
the Theatins, being alſo Apulians, preſented themſelves unto the new Conſuls, *C. Junius Bubulcus*,
and *Q. Æmylius Barbula*, and ſued to enter into a league with the Romans. And ſince they were
the men that led the way firſt, and by their example and perſwaſion induced all *Apulia* to be in
peace with the Romans, and had confidently undertaken, as ſureties and pledges to bring it to
paſs, they obtained their requeſt. Yet was not the league indifferent and formal, with equal con-
ditions, but ſo, as they ſhould be in ſubjection to the people of *Rome*. After that *Apulia* was M
conquered (for *Junius* had won alſo *Tarentum*, a ſtrong town and a rich) they marched forward
againſt the Lucans. Then upon the ſudden coming of *Æmylius* the other Conſul, *Nerulum* was
by force taken. And after that it was noiſed abroad amongſt the allies of the people of *Rome*,
that the ſtate and weal publike of *Capua* were eſtabliſhed by Roman diſcipline and government;
the Antiats alſo, who made moan and complained, that they lived without poſitive ſet laws and
Magiſtrates, obtained of the Senate certain Advocats and Commiſſioners, to ordain Statutes
likewiſe for that Colony. So, that not only the Roman arms, but alſo their law and juriſdiction
extended far and near, and was of great requeſt. *C. Junius Bubulcus*, and *Q. Æmylius Barbula* Con-
ſuls, in the end of the year, delivered their Legions not to the Coſſ. by them created, *Sp. Nau-
tius*, and *M. Popilius*, but conſigned them to *L. Æmylius* the Dictator. Who with his General of N
horſe, *L. Fulvius*, began to lay ſiege to *Satricula*, whereby he gave the Samnits occaſion to re-
bell. Which brought upon the Romans a double fear two waies. For of the one ſide the Sam-
nits having aſſembled a mighty army, to deliver their allies from the ſiege, pitched their Camp
not far from the Romans leaguer: on the other ſide, the Satricans ſet open their gates ſudden-
ly, and with a great tumult brake into the wards and *corps de guard* of their enemies. And ſo
both parts, relying rather upon hope of ſuccour and help elſewhere, than truſting upon their
own ſtrength, within a while began to charge the Romans in full battell, with banner diſplai-
ed, and diſtreſſed them. And although the Dictator was aſſailed both waies, yet was he ſure
and ſafe on either ſide, becauſe he had got a plot of ground, not eaſie to be compaſſed, and
made head both againſt the one and the other, advancing his enſigns accordingly. Howbeit, O
he charged more hotly upon them that ſallied forth, and without much ado beat them a-
gain within the wals. Then turned he the whole battell upon the Samnits. Where there was
hard hold, and more to do. The victory, though long firſt, was neither doubtful nor variable.
The Samnits being chaſed and driven into their Camp, having in the night put out all their
fires, diſlodged and departed privily away: and being paſt all hope of defending *Satricula*, they
beſieged *Pliſtia*, a town confederate to the Romans, to requite their enemy with the like diſplea-
ſure. The revolution of the year being gone about, the war continued under the conduct of

*Q. Fabius*

A *Q. Fabius* Dictator: and the new Conſuls, like as the former remained ſtill at *Rome*. And *Fabius* came before *Satricula* to receive the Army of *Æmylius*, bringing with him a new ſupply to make up the broken bands: for the Samnits made no ſtay at *Pliſtia*, but having levied and ſent for freſh ſouldiers from home, preſuming upon their great numbers, encamped in the very place where they lay afore: where by braving the Romans, and challenging them with many skirmiſhes, they would have forced them to raiſe the ſiege. But the Dictator ſo much more earneſtly bent his forces againſt the wals of the enemies, thinking it the beſt piece of ſervice to aſſail the Town, as being of ſuch importance to the reſt of the war, which depended thereon: and was more careleſs therefore of the Samnits, and only oppoſed againſt them certain guards both day and night, along
B the trench and rampire, to keep them from making any aſſault upon the Camp. But the Samnits on the other ſide, ſo much the more fiercely skirmiſhed on horſeback about the fortifications, and never gave them reſt. Inſomuch, as when the enemy now was at the point to enter the gates of the Camp, the General of the Horſe. *Q. Æmylius Cæretanus*, without advice and direction of the Dictator, riding forth in a great noiſe with all his Corners of Horſe, repelled the enemy. But even in that light manner of skirmiſh, and no ſet battel of any long continuance, Fortune ſo plaid her part, and ſhewed what ſhe could do, that on either ſide there befell a notable loſs, with the glorious death of both the Captains. For the General of the Samnits firſt taking it to heart, to ſee *Æmylius* ſo fiercely ride and give the charge, and himſelf to be diſarraied and driven out of his place, with much intreating and exhorting his horſemen, renewed the fight. Againſt whom, as he
C advanced himſelf, bravely to be ſeen amongſt his men and fought moſt valiantly, the Roman General of the horſe, with ſpear in reſt, ſo galloped his horſe, that with one puſh he unhorſed him and left him for dead: and yet for all this was not the whole troop beſides (as commonly it is ſeen) at the fall of their Captain ſo much amazed, as provoked rather to fight. For they that were about him charged *Æmylius* hard as he raſhly rode without heed, and engaged himſelf too far within the thickeſt of the ſquadrons of his enemies, and lanced their javelins at him: but they gave the ſpecial honour to the brother of the Samnits Captain to be revenged for his death. He, full of anger and ſorrow, plucked *Æmylius* from his horſe, and ſlew him in the place, even in the midſt of his victory: and for that he fell among the troops of his enemies, he had like to have left his dead corps among the Samnits. But preſently the Romans alighD ted on foot, and the Samnits were forced to do the ſame: and thus being arranged ſuddenly in great haſte into battallons, there began a cruell fight on foot about the bodies of the Captains. Wherein the Romans went clear away with the better, and having recovered the corps of *Æmylius*, in great joy, intermingled with ſorrow, they returned winners into their Camp. The Samnits thus having loſt their Captain, and tried their ſtrength what they could do in fight on horſe-back, left *Satricula*, which they ſuppoſed could not poſſibly be defended, and ſo returned again to the ſiege of *Pliſtia*. After few daies, *Satricula* was ſurrendred by compoſition to the Romans, and the Samnits by aſſault won *Pliſtia*. Then changed they the ſeat town of the war. For out of *Samnium* and *Apulia*, the Legions were removed to *Sora*. This *Sora* was revolted to the Samnits, and had ſlain all the inhabitants therein that were Romans.
E Againſt which place, when the Romans were come firſt by great journies to revenge the loſs of their Countrymen, and to recover the Colony, their eſpials and ſcouts whom they had ſent out diſperſed along the high waies, brought word, that the Legions of the Samnits followed, yea, and one after another gave advertiſement, that they were not far off. Hereupon they went forth to meet with the enemy, and near to a place called *Lautulæ*, there was fought a doubtfull and dangerous battel: for no ſlaughter it was, nor flight of either part, but the very night that parted them, and they knew not whether they had the better or the worſe. In ſome Chronicles I find, that the Romans loſt the day, and that there died in this battell *Q. Æmylius* Generall of the horſe. *C. Fabius* choſen in the room of *Æmylius*, came with a new and freſh army from *Rome*, and having diſpatched meſſengers before to the Dictator to know his advice, where
F he ſhould ſtay and reſt, and what time, and which on ſide he ſhould ſet upon the enemy: after he was well informed and inſtructed in all points what to do, he put himſelf cloſe in ambuſh. The Dictator himſelf, who had for certain daies after the laſt skirmiſh, kept his ſouldiers within trench, more like one beſieged, than beſieging; all on a ſudden, put forth the ſignal and token of battell: and thinking nothing more effectual to animate and kindle the courages of hardy men, than to know of no other help or hope, nor to truſt upon any man but in themſelves, he concealed from his ſouldiers the coming of the General of Horſe and his freſh forces; and as if there had been no other way but one, even to break forth and ſally with violence: "We being *The Oration of D. Fabius Dictator to his Souldiers.*
"(quoth he) my ſouldiers, pent here and taken tardy in theſe ſtraights have no other iſſue but
"that which by victory we ſhall make open. Our hold wherein we lie is fortified ſure enough but
G "the ſame for ſcarcity of all things noiſome, irkſome, and hurtfull to us: for all parts hereabout
"are revolted from whence we ſhould have convoy of victuals: and were it that the people were
"diſpoſed to help us, yet the advenues & paſſages are hard, and the place of our abode incommo-
"dious. Therefore will not I deceive and abuſe you any longer, by leaving here your tents into
"which ye may after (ye have miſſed the entire victory) betake your ſelves for ſafety, as ye did the
"other day: for our fortifications and holds, ought to be defended by force of arms: and not
"our arms by fenced forts. Let them have their Camp well fortified, to iſſue forth and to retire
"thither again at their pleaſure, who have a purpoſe to make a long war of it. But let

"us cut off all regard of other matters, but only of a preſent and final victory. Advance then H
"your enſigns directly againſt the enemy: and ſo ſoon as our Army is once without the trench
"and rampiers, let them ſet the tents a fire, that have the charge ſo to do: your ſhall make up your
"your loſſes again, my ſouldiers, with the ſpoil of all the nations hereabouts, that have revolted.
At this ſpeech of the Dictator, which ſhewed no other ſemblance but of extream neceſſity, the ſouldiers took heart and were hot ſet to march ſtraight to the enemy. And the very ſight of their tents burning behind them (albeit thoſe only which ſtood next were ſet on fire, for ſo the Dictator had given commandment) was no ſmall provocation and prick unto them. And therefore they gave a charge like mad men, and at the firſt puſh and brunt they brake the array of the enemies: and withall, in good time, the General of the horſe, when he ſaw a far off the tents on fire I
(for that was the ſignal agreed between them) came haſtily upon the back of the enemies and aſſailed them. So the Samnits being environed round about, made every man what ſhift he could to get forth and eſcape, and ſo fled. But the main multitude that were ſhuffled together all on a round heap, for fear, being an hinderance one to another in the preſs, was ſlain in the midſt and cut in pieces, the enemies camp won, and ranſacked: with the pillage whereof the ſouldiers were laden, and the Dictator brought them back unto their own Camp: who were not ſo joyous for the victory, as for that they found (beſides a little part thereof disfigured by fire) all the reſt ſafe and ſound beyond their expectation.

From thence they returned to *Sora*, where the new Conſuls *M. Petilius* and *Caius Sulpitius* took the Army at the hands of *Fabius* the Dictator: who diſcharged many of the old ſouldiers, K
and brought certain new cohorts for ſupply in their ſtead. But when by reaſon of the difficult and unacceſſible ſight of the Town, they knew not well which way, and by what means to make aſſault, and ſeeing that the winning of it would either ask long time, or be expoſed to manifold and preſent dangers: a certain runaway-Traitor of *Sora* who was cloſely ſtoln out of the Town, got to the Roman Sentinels, and required forthwith to be brought to the Conſuls: who being preſented before them, promiſed to betray the Town: and being queſtioned withall, how and by what means he would perform that which he undertook, ſeemed unto them to alledge ſome reaſons to good purpoſe, and prevailed ſo far with them, that he cauſed the Roman Camp, which lay in a manner cloſe under the wals, to be removed ſix miles off the Town, ſaying, that thereby, the wards by day, and the watch by night would be neglected, and leſs careful and dili- L
gent to keep the City. Himſelf the night following, after he had willed certain cohorts of footmen to lye in ambuſh within the woods near the Town, took with him ten elect and choſen ſouldiers; and through ſteep places, and ſuch as were not well paſſable, conducted them into the Caſtle, having brought thither more ſhot and darts to throw than to ſerve ſo ſmall a number of men: beſides, there was good ſtore of ſtones at hand, which lay there, either ſcattering by chance (as commonly in ſuch craggy and rocky ground) or elſe heaped together by the townſmen of purpoſe, for the better defence of the place. Where, after he had beſtowed the Romans, and ſhewed them a narrow and ſteep path-way out of the town into the Caſtle, From getting up here (quoth he) there needs no more but three men only well armed to keep back the greateſt multitude that is: ye are in number ten, and more than that, Romans; and of Romans the M
moſt hardy and valiant: the place will ſtead you, I know, the darkneſs of the night will be for your purpoſe, the night, I ſay, which by reaſon of uncertainties, maketh all things ſeem much more than they are to men affrighted and amazed already. I will for my part ſet all in a hurly burly, look you in the mean time that you duly keep the fortreſs. This ſaid, he runs down with as great a noiſe and ſhouting as he could, crying, Alarm, help, help Citizens, the Caſtle is taken by the enemy, come away to defence. Theſe words he reſounded ever as he rapped at the gates of the principal Citizens and Noblemen: theſe words he redoubled aloud to all that he met, and to as many as ran forth affrighted into the ſtreets. This fearful alarm received from one man, was ſet abroad by many more all over the City. The Magiſtrates quaking for fear, ſent certain to the Caſtle in eſpial to diſcover the truth: and advertiſed by them that the Caſtle N
was ſurprized indeed by armed men, and full of armor (for they made the number, and every thing elſe, more than it was) were clean put out of all hope to recover their Fortreſs. So every where they fell to running away: the gates were broken open by them that were not well awake, and thoſe moſt part unarmed. At one of the gates, thoſe companies of the Romans aforeſaid, who lay in ambuſh, and were raiſed with the noiſe and clamour, brake in, and killed all that in this fright ran headlong in their way. Thus was *Sora* won againſt the Conſuls ſhould come in the morning betimes by break of day: and look whoſe fortune it was to ſcape out of the maſſacre made in the night, and to flie away thoſe they took to mercy upon ſubmiſſion: whereof two hundred twenty five, even thoſe who by the general voice of all were pointed at, and reputed above the reſt the principal actors in that horrid maſſacre aboveſaid, of the Roman Coloners, inhabi- O
tants, and the authors of the revolt they had away with them to *Rome*, bound hand and foot. The other multitude they left at *Sora* ſafe and unhurt, and planted there a garriſon. All they that were brought to *Rome* were in the market-place ſcourged with rods, and beheaded with the exceeding joy and contentment of all the Commons, whom it concerned moſt, that the multitude which ſhould be ſent into ſundry Colonies might in every place live in ſafety and ſecurity of their lives.

*Sora* ſurpriſed by treaſon.

The Conſuls being departed from *Sora*, marched forward to make war upon the Lands and Territo-

A Territories of the Auſonians; for the coming of the Samnits after the battel of *Lautula*, they were all out, full of inſurrections and commotions, and many conſpiracies there were in all places, about *Campania*: neither was *Capua* it ſelf without blame and faultleſs. Nay, this matter paſſed as far as to *Rome*, where information was made againſt ſome of the Nobles, and warning given to enquire into them. But the whole nation of the Auſonians, by reaſon that the Cities were betrayed, like as *Sora*, was reduced under obedience to the people of *Rome*. *Auſona*, *Minturna*, and *Veſtina* were the Cities, out of which twelve of the chief young Gentlemen having conſpired and ſworn together to betray their own Cities, preſented themſelves unto the Conſuls, giving them to underſtand, "That their countrymen wiſhed long ago for the coming of the Samnits, and ſo B "ſoon as they heard of the battel before *Lautula*, made account that the Romans were utterly "vanquiſhed, and helped the Samnits both with men and munition. But now, ſay they, that the "Samnits were chaſed from thence, they lived unreſolute in doubtfull terms of peace, and ſhut "not their gates in dread upon the Romans, for fear of bringing war upon themſelves, yet obſti- c "nately bent to ſhut them, if their Army approached toward them. In this wavering and doubt- "ful floating of their minds, they might at unawares be ſuddenly ſurpriſed. By this perſwaſion of theirs they encamped nearer, and at one and the ſelf-ſame time were ſouldiers ſent about thoſe three towns before named, ſome in armor cloſely to lie in ambuſh in convenient places near the wals: others in ſide gowns with ſwords under them, who a little before day, ſo ſoon as the gates were ſet open, ſhould enter into thoſe Cities. By whom the matter was ſo handled, that at one C inſtant they began to kill the warders at the gates, and gave a ſignal to thoſe armed ſouldiers who lay in ambuſh, for to riſe at once and come to ſuccour. Thus were the gates ſeized and poſſeſſed, and three towns in one hour by the ſame ſtratagem ſurprized. But becauſe this exploit was performed in the abſence of the Captains, there was no ſtay in execution and ſlaughter, but beyond all meaſure, and without all mercy, no ſex nor age was ſpared: and ſo the whole nation of the Auſones, before they were detected for certain of revolt, was deſtroyed and eſtinguiſhed, as if they had warred mortally, and been at deadly feud.

A conſpiracy of the Auſonians.

The ſame year *Luceria* came into the hands of the Samnits, by reaſon that the City had betrayed and delivered the Roman garriſon to them; but the traitors went not long unpuniſhed for it. The Roman Army chanced to be not far from thence, and at the firſt aſſault, the City ſtanding as D it did on a plain, was won. The Lucerins and Samnits both were put to the ſword every one: and ſo far forth proceeded their furious rage, that when the Senat ſate in council at *Rome*, about ſending men to inhabit *Luceria*, many were of mind, that the City it ſelf ſhould be raſed to the ground and deſtroyed: for beſides the curſed and execrable hatred they bare againſt them being twice conquered and revolted: the diſtance alſo of the place ſo remote, cauſed them to miſlike greatly, and abhor the confining, as it were, of their Citizens, ſo far from home, to live amongſt ſuch a kind of people ſo cruel and dangerous. Howbeit, their opinion took place and prevailed; who gave advice, that Coloners and inhabitants ſhould thither be ſent, and to the number of 2500 were there planted.

The ſame year when as the Romans found all unloyal unto them, and nothing but falſhood E on all ſides; at *Capua* alſo certain ſecret conſpiracies of the Nobles and beſt of the City were detected and revealed. Touching which, the Senats advice was asked, and the matter not neglected by them, but Commiſſions were appointed: and thought good it was that a Dictator ſhould be nominated for to ſit upon the ſame commiſſions and inquiſitions. And *C. Manius* was created, who named *M. Fellius* General of the Horſe. Great was the terror of that Magiſtrate, and thereupon either for fear, or guiltineſs of conſcience, the two *Calavii*, *Ovius* and *Novius*, who were the chief of that complot, before information was given againſt them by name to the Dictator, died: & queſtionleſs by their own hands ſhortned their daies, and ſo avoided the triall of juſtice and puniſhment accordingly. After that, when the Inquiſition wanted ſubject matter once about the *Capuans*, the Inquiſitors (by interpretation of words in the Commiſſion) proceeded to *Rome*, ſaying, F that the Senat had good warrant to make enquiry and ſtraight ſearch, not by name and preciſely, who at *Capua* only; but generally, who in any place whatſoever had uſed conventicles, and conſpired againſt the Common-wealth: and all ſecret meetings, ſay they, and packings together, for to get Dignities and Offices, were directly againſt the State and Common-wealth: ſo that the Commiſſion extended larger both for perſon and real action. Yea, and the Dictator himſelf nothing gainſaid, but that the vertue of his Commiſſion was directed without limitation. Hereupon were certain Gentlemen of the Nobility brought into queſtion: and notwithſtanding they called upon the Tribunes for to aſſiſt them, with interpoſing their negative, yet there was not one of them would ſuccour and relieve them, the preſentment was taken againſt them, and they indited. Then the Nobility, I mean not them alone who were in trouble, but generally the whole G Gentry of the City, at once, pleaded, That they were not the natural and true Noblemen indeed, who were to be touched and charged with this crime: who if it were not for ſiniſter and indirect courſes, had eaſie and open ſucceſs unto all honourable places and promotions; but certain new upſtarts and Gentlemen of the firſt head: ſaying, That it was the very caſe of the Dictator himſelf, and his General of Horſe, who were rather parties guilty, and offenders themſelves, than ſufficient Inquiſitors, and competent Judges: and that ſhould they well know and underſtand, when they were once out of their place and office. This made *Manius* to beſtir himſelf, who mindful rather of his good name and reputation, than reſpective of his high place and abſolute

The Oration of *Mænius* the Dictator.

absolute government, went up into the common place of audience before all the people, and spake H
to this effect: "My Masters and friends all, Citizens of *Rome*, well assured I am, that privy ye are
"to the whole carriage and course of my former life; and besides that, even this very honour
"and dignity which you have bestowed upon me, is able to testifie and approve mine innocencie.
"For to sit upon these inquisitions, there was not to be chosen now for Dictator (as oftentimes
"heretofore, according to the dangerous occasions and necessity of the time) a man reputed
"the best and most noblest warrior of all other; but such a one, as throughout his whole life
"hath most of all misliked and condemned ambitious conventicles. Howbeit, forasmuch as cer-
tain persons of noble linage, (for what cause, it is more meet for you to deem and judge, than for
me being a Magistrate, to speak without book, as they say, and upon no sure ground) first have en- I
deavoured with all their might and main to overthrow the process of the inquisition it self; and
afterwards, seeing they were not able themselves to bring that about (notwithstanding they were
*Patritii*) have fled to the holds of their very adversaries, even the protection of the Tribunes and
their negative, rather than to justifie themselves and stand to the triall of their cause: and at last
having there also a repulse (thinking all means safer than to approve their innocencie) have fain up-
on us, and bashed not (privat men as they are) to accuse and touch the person of him that is
Dictator: to the end therefore, that both God and man, and all the world may know, that as they
have assaied to compass that which they are not able to bring to pass, namely, to avoid the ren-
dring an account of their life and demeanor; so, I am ready (to set forward their accusations)
to offer my self unto mine adversaries; and giving them means to call me to mine answer, here K
I resign up my Dictatorship. And I beseech you, O Consuls, if so be this charge be laid on you
by the Senat, to proceed in examination against me first, and this Gentleman the General of
Horse *M. Fellius*: that it may appear, how we, through our own innocency alone, and not by
the countenance and priviledge of our dignity and high calling, are protected and safe from these
slanders and intended crimes. Herewith he gave over his place of Dictator: and after him in-
continently, *M. Fellius* yielded up his room likewise of General over the Horse. These persons
were the first, who being charged and put to their trial judicially before the Consuls, (for to them
by order from the Senat, was the commission directed) notwithstanding all the depositions and
testimonies of the *Patritii*, were in every point found unguilty, and acquit. *P. Philo* also, albeit he
had so many times attained to the supream dignities of state, after he had atchieved so many wor- L
thy deeds, as well in peace as war, yet a man maliced or envied rather of the Nobility, was put
to plead for himself, and finally absolved. But this inquiry into such men of name and quality,
lasted no longer in force, (as it is usually seen) than whiles it was fresh, and in the first heat therof.
From them it began to fall to persons of less reckoning and baser account, untill such time, as by
the same conventicles and factions, against which it was devised, it fell to the ground, and was tro-
den underfoot.

The bruit of these things, and more than that, the hope of the Campains revolt, whereto cer-
tain had conspired and sworn (as ye have heard) recalled the Samnits back again to *Caudium*, who
were turned and bent wholly into *Apulia*: that from thence, being so near at hand unto *Capua*,
they might (if haply any insurrection and trouble presented the overture and opportunity) seize M
upon it and take it perforce from the Romans. Thither came the Consuls with a strong and
mighty army: and at the first they staied and lingred about the passes and straights, having
on the one side and the other an ill way of passage unto the enemies. Afterwards the Samnits
fetching a short compass about, came down with their army through the open places into the
plains, I mean, the champain country and fields about *Capua*. And that was the first time that the
enemies had a sight one of the others Camp. Whereupon by light skirmishes, on horseback or not
than on foot, they tried masteries on either side: neither were the Romans one jot discontented
with the issue and event thereof, nor repented of the delay whereby they drew the war a-
length. Contrariwise, the Samnit Captains perceived their forces to wear daily by small losses, and
their courage to cool and decay evidently by that lingring war. Whereupon, they came abroad N
into the field and divided their Cavalry into wings: with a special charge, to have a more careful
eye backward toward their camp (for fear of any impression and assault that way) than to the main
battel: which would be guarded safe enough by the Infantry. The Cons. marshalled themselves in
this manner *Sulpitius* led the right point of the battel and *Petilius* the left: the right side (where-
as the Samnits also were arranged in thinner ranks and files, of purpose to compass and environ
the enemies, or not to be compassed and enclosed themselves) shewed it self more abroad and o-
pen. They on the left hand, besides that they stood thicker and more close, were by occasion of a
sudden policy of *Petilius* the Cos. farther strengthned. For those cohorts and bands which were
reserved apart in the rereward for help at any need and kept fresh against all occurrents and ha-
zards of long fight, he advanced presently to the forefront in the vangard, and with all his forces at O
once charged the enemy at the first encounter & forced him to retreat. When the foormen of the
Samnits were thereby troubled and disarraied, the horsemen followed close and entred into the
skirmish. But as they rode cros and overthwart between the two hosts, the Roman horsemen
pricked and galloped their horses to flank them; and disordred and troubled the ensigns, cornets,
squadrons and troops of foot and horse, pell-mell together, untill he had caused the whole battel
of that side to turn their backs. In this left point not *Petilius* alone, but *Sulpitius* also joyned with
him, and was present in person to exhort and encourage the souldiers: for he had transported and

distracted

A distracted himself from his own men, who as yet were not come to joyn battel at the cry & shout that arose from the left side: and seeing on that part undoubted victory, he went towards his own charge accompanied with 1200 men: Where he found a change of fortune, namely, the Romans to have retreated and lost ground, and the enemy as victor, advancing forward his ensigns upon them sore dismaid and daunted. Howbeit, the Consul his coming made a present alteration: for both at the sight of their Captain were the souldiers hearts refreshed and comforted; and for to aid them, there came a greater supply indeed, than in shew of number, of tall and lusty men. So when they heard first, and saw soon after, the victory got of the other part, they renewed the fight. After this on all sides the Romans had the better hand, and the Samnits giving over fight,
B were either slain or taken prisoners: saving only those, who fled to *Maleventum* a town now named *Beneventum*. It is left in record, that there were upon 30000 Samnits, either left killed in the place, or brought away captive.

The Consuls having obtained this notable victory, forthwith from thence lead their Legions to lay siege unto *Bovianum*: and there wintred before the Town, untill such time as *C. Petilius* (chosen Dictator together with *M. Fellius* his General of the Horse, by the new Consuls *L. Papyrius Cursor* the fifth time, and *C. Jun. Bubulcus* the second time) received the Army at their hands. Who hearing, that the Castle of *Fregella* was by the Samnits taken, left *Bovianum*, and went forward to *Fregella*; which he recovered again without drawing his sword; for that the enemies had quit the place, and were fled by night: and when he had placed a strong garrison there, he return-
C ned from thence into *Campania*, of special purpose to regain *Nola* by force of arms. Thither were retired within the wals, a little before the Dictator his coming, both all the whole multitude of the Samnits, and the rustical peasants about *Nola*. The Dictator having viewed the scituation of the Town, to the end he might have the more open access to the wals, set all the houses on fire that were in the subburbs along the counterscarpe (and there they stood thick and were well inhabited.) And not long after, whether it were by *Petilius* Dictator (I know not) or *C. Junius* Consul (for it is reported as well of the one as the other) *Nola* was forced and won. They that would draw unto the Consul the honour of winning *Nola*, add moreover and say, That he won also *Atina* and *Calatia*: and that *Petilius* upon a pestilence that began, was made Dictator, for the setting or fastning of a spike or great nail. Two Colonies that year were conducted to *Su-*
D *essa* and *Pontia*. *Suessa* belonged to the *Aurunci*. The Volscians inhabited the Island *Pontiæ*, situat over against their own shore within a kenning. And a decree passed from the Senat, that to *Cassinum* also, a third Colony there should be sent inhabitants. *M. Valerius* and *P. Decius*, the Consuls that next succeeded, ordained three Triumvirs, for that purpose, and sent four thousand to people those places.

The war with the Samnits was in a manner now dispatched and brought to an end: but before that the Nobles and Senators of *Rome* had left the care thereof, a brute was blown of the Tuscans war. And there was in those daies another nation (setting the Gauls tumults aside) whose forces and hostility they more feared; for that their country was so near a neighbour and so populous withall. Therefore, whiles one of the Consuls was occupied in dispatching the reliques of the
E war in *Samnium*, *P. Decius* who staid at *Rome* grievously sick, by authority of the Senat, named Dictator *C. Junius Bubulcus*. He according as the important affairs required, caused all the younger sort to take the military oath, and prest them for souldiers. Armor, and whatsoever requisite besides, with great diligence he prepared. And albeit he were thus furnished and well apointed, yet was he nothing bold and forward to begin war, willing (no doubt) to be quiet and stand upon his guard, unless the Tuscans shewed themselves first in arms. The same purpose had the Tuscans also, both in preparing for war, and in making stay to begin war. So, of neither side they departed out of their own limits.

In that year was there a famous Censorship of *App.* * *Claudius*, and *C. Plautius*. But the name
F of *Appius* became more memorable of the twain, and of happier renown unto posterity, for that he paved with stone the causey or * Port-way (bearing his name) and conveyed a channel of * water into the City of *Rome*. Which works he finished alone, for that his Collegue for shame of an infamous and odious choice of certain Senators which he made, gave over the office. But *Appius* having the stout stomack, engraffed in his name and house from the beginning, bare the Censorship alone. By the motion and means of the same *Appius*, the *Potitii*, to whose family properly belonged the Priestly service, at the altar of *Hercules* called *Maxima*, had taught certain publike servants (for that the function might be committed over to them as delegats) the solemn rites and ceremonies of that sacred ministry. Hereupon is reported a wonder to be spoken, and that which might strike a scruple of conscience, and make men afraid ever after, to alter any thing in religion from the former state and first institution. For whereas at the same time there were twelve hou-
G ses of the *Potitii*, and in them about thirty that were above fourteen years of age; within one year it is said, that they died all, with their whole issue and off-spring. Moreover, that not only the name of the *Potitii* became thus extinct, but that *Appius* also the Censor, within certain years (such was the ire of the gods mindfull of revenge) fell stark blind. Therefore the Consuls that followed in the next year, *C. Junius Bubulcus* the third time, and *Q. Æmylius Barbula* the second time, in the very entrance of their office framed a complaint unto the people: That by the leud and corrupt Election of some new Senators, that honourable state and order was deformed, and namely, how some were over-slipt, who were of more worth than those that were taken in: And saying plainly,

That

* Surnamed *Cæcus*, that is, *Blind*.
* *Appia via*.
* Out of the river *Anio*, and was called, *Aqua Claudia*.

That they would not obſerve and have in any regard ſuch a choice, which without reſpect of good and bad was made for favour and affection to ſome, and at the pleaſure of the Cenſors: and immediatly they cited the Senat by name in that order and form, as had been uſed before the Cenſors, *App. Claudius* and *C. Plautius*.

And in that year were two places of charge and command, firſt given by the people, both pertaining to warfare: the one, that ſixteen Colonels for four * Legions, ſhould from that time forward by the people be created, which before were in a manner the gifts and favours conferred by the Dictators and Conſuls; and few or none of the people had any hand or voice therein. This Act and Ordinance was propounded by *L. Petilius* and *C. Martius*, Tribunes of the Commons. The other was, That the ſame people ſhould have the appointment and ordaining of two Duumvirs at ſea, for the rigging, repairing, and trimming of the Navy. The maker of this Act was *M. Decius*, another Tribune of the Commons.

I would let paſs one thing that hapned this year, as of ſmall weight and importance, and not worth the ſpeaking, but that it ſeemed a matter pertinent to religion. The minſtrels that plaied upon the flute and hautboies, for that they were prohibited and debarred by the laſt Cenſors, to have their good chear any more in the Temple of *Jupiter*, according to an old cuſtome and tradition, took ſnuff thereat, and in a pelting chafe all in one company went their waies to *Tybur*: ſo as there was not one of them in the City left to ſing and pipe before the pomp of ſacrifices, and on their feaſtival daies. The Senat made ſome conſcience hereof, and were troubled in their mind. Whereupon they diſpatched certain meſſengers to *Tybur*, to travel with the townſmen, and endeavour all they could that theſe good fellows might be reſtored and ſent home again to the Romans. The Tyburtins undertook the matter, and promiſed right courteouſly to do their beſt: and firſt they ſent for theſe muſicians into their Town-Hall, and perſwaded with them to return again to *Rome*: but when they could not be brought to that, for any thing they could do, then they wrought another policy and feat with them, that ſorted and fitted well the humour of ſuch kind of people and of their coat. Upon a feſtival holyday, under a colour of making merry with minſtrelſie and muſick about them, ſome invited one, and ſome another, to give them a fit of mirth accordingly. But they plied them ſo with wine (which all the ſort of this profeſſion love but too well) that they drank until they winked, and winked ſo long, till they fell faſt aſleep. And being found aſleep, the Tyburtins brought them gently to their beds in certain waggons, and thus beſtowed, conveyed them to *Rome*. Neither perceived they ought, ſenſeleſs drunken ſorts they, before that their wagons were left in the market place of *Rome*. Nay, before they had ſlept out and concocted their wine that ſteamed up into their heads, and clouded there, the day-light came upon them, and then they awoke. The people came running together from all parts to them, and after they had either got at their hands, or charged them to ſtay, and make no more ſuch frolicks, it was granted unto them, that three daies every year, being diſguiſed and dreſſed in a mask for the purpoſe, they might range and walk about the City, with ſinging, and ſounding their inſtruments, after this licentious manner and jollity, which now adaies is yearly uſed, and their priviledge of eating in the temple was reſtored to them again, namely, to ſuch as ſung and plaied in time of their divine ſervice and ſacrifices: and all was well. This ridiculous pageant hapned amidſt the care and preparation of two great and dangerous wars.

The Conſuls parted their Provinces between them: To *Junius* fell by lot the Samnits, to *Æmylius* the new war in *Hetruria*. In *Samnium*, *Cluvia*, a fortreſs and hold of the Romans being impregnable by an aſſault, was a long time beſieged; and forced by extream famine, was delivered up to the Samnits. After they were once Maſters of the fort, they took the garriſon ſouldiers, and notwithſtanding they yeelded themſelves, yet they whipped and tare their fleſh moſt beaſtly, and in the end, without all mercy killed them. *Junius* exceeding wroth at this cruelty, thinking nothing more needful to be done firſt, than the winning again of *Cluvia*; laid all other matters aſide, and the ſame day that he aſſailed the wals, took it by force, and ſlew all he could find above fourteen years of age. In this train of victory the Army was brought againſt *Bovianum*. This was the chief place of the Pentrians in *Samnium*, the wealthieſt City, the beſt provided, and moſt furniſhed of all other with men and munition. The ſouldiers very eager and ſharp ſet for hope of a rich pillage won the Town. But for that they were nothing ſo angry and hot of revenge as before, they dealt not ſo cruelly with the enemies: but they got together and carried away more ſpoil and ſaccage from thence than they ever had well near out of all *Samnium*; and as liberally was it beſtowed every whit upon the ſouldiers. And foraſmuch as no pitched battel in plain field, no Camp ſo well fortified, no Cities and Forts, howſoever fenced, were able to withſtand the puiſſant Romans in force of open arms: all the Princes in *Samnium* ſtudied and applied their wits to find means of ſleight and ſubtill policy; if haply, as they waſted and forraged the Territories after a looſe and licentious manner, the Army disbanded once, might be entrapped and encloſed within ſome ambuſh. It fell out ſo, that certain fugitive peaſants of the Country, and Captives, ſome by chance, and other of purpoſe, coming in their way, made relation of tidings to the Conſuls, well agreeing all in one tale, and the ſame ſounding of a truth indeed; namely, that a great ſort of ſheep and other cattel were driven together into a by-forreſt out of the way: and ſo induced them to lead thither the Legions lightly armed, and to fit their hands with a fat booty. Now the Samnits had privily forelaid all the high waies with a mighty army, and after that they ſaw the Romans to have entred & engaged themſelves within the chaſe or forreſt aforeſaid, all of a ſudden

* A Legion conſiſted now of 4000 foot-ment; howſoever at other times, of 3000, 5000, yea, and 6000, and the Colonels fewer or more in a legion, according to the quantity thereof. There belonged beſides to every legion ordinarily 300 horſe. With whom the Tribunes or Colonels aforeſaid had nothing to do, being Captains of 1000 foot a peece.

A ſudden they roſe up and with a great cry and ſhout ran upon them to charge them when they leaſt thought of any ſuch thing. At the firſt this ſo ſtrange and unexpected occurrence made them afraid, while they took them to their weapons, and laid their fardels and baggage together on a heap in the midſt. But after that every man was eaſed of his load, and had put on his armor, they rallied on all ſides to their enſigns; and without the commandment or direction of any man, they of themſelves put the battel in array, each one knowing his ranke and place according to the accuſtomed order of the ancient Military diſcipline. The Conſul perceiving that he was brought to a moſt doubtful and dangerous battel, alight from his horſe; and proteſted before *Jupiter* and *Mars*, and the other gods whom he called all to witneſs: "That he came not into that place to *Junius* the Conſul to his ſouldiers.
B "get glory to himſelf by any enterpriſe, but only a booty for his ſouldiers: and that no fault elſe
"could be imputed unto him, but an overmuch deſire and affection of his, to enrich his ſouldiers
"by the ſpoil of the enemy. From which blame and ſhame both, nothing could free and acquit
"him elſe, but the manhood and proweſs of his ſouldiers: exhorting them with one accord but
"to ſtay themſelves and endeavour all together to ſet upon their enemy, defeated and vanquiſhed
"in battel, driven out of Camp and field, bereaved of his Towns and ſtrong holds, and come now
"to attempt his laſt and utmoſt hope, of privy and theeviſh trains of forlaying, truſting upon the
"vantage of the ground, and not pure force of arms. But what place is there now unacceſſible or
"unpregnable to the valiant Romans? Herewithall he named the Caſtle of *Fregellæ* and *Sora*, and
"what place of diſvantage and hard acceſs ſoever, they had won by force. With theſe words the
C ſouldiers encouraged and enflamed, forgetting all difficulties and dangers, marched apace and advanced forward up to the army of the enemies that now approached them, and were over their heads. Where the Romans found ſome difficulty all the while they climed up the cliff or ridge of the hill againſt them. But after that the formoſt enſigns were mounted up and had gained the plain in the top, and perceived they were embattelled upon an even and equall ground, preſently the terror turned upon thoſe that lay in wait for them, & being disbanded, ſcattered, and driven to fling away their weapons, they fled and trudged as faſt as they could to recover again thoſe ſtarting and lurking holes, wherein before they had hid themſelves. But even thoſe difficult places which they had ſought of purpoſe for their enemy, and their own deceit and guile, encumbred themſelves. For very few of them could find the way out, and eſcape by flight. Inſomuch as to the num-
D ber of 20000 were ſlain. And then the Romans after this victory ran up and down at their pleaſure to that booty of ſheep and cattel, which was firſt preſented unto them by the enemy, as a bait to catch them with.

Whiles theſe things thus went in *Samnium*, all the people of *Hetruria* by this time, but only the Aretins, were up in arms, and entred into a right great war; beginning firſt with the ſiege and aſſault of *Sutrium*: which City being allied to the Romans, was (as a man would ſay) the very Barriers of all *Hetruria*. Thither came the other Conſul *Æmylius* with an army, to reſcue and deliver their allies, and to raiſe the ſiege. Againſt the Romans coming, the Sutrins curteouſly brought victuals for the Camp, lying before the City. The Tuſcans ſpent the firſt day in conſulting whether they ſhould make a ſhort war of it, by hot aſſaults, or temporiſe and protract the time by
E lingring ſiege. The morrow after, when as the Captains liked rather of expedition and haſty courſes, than of more ſage and ſafe proceedings, at the ſun riſing they ſet out a flag of defiance and the ſignal of battel, and armed they go forth of their Camp into the open field to fight. Which after it was told the Conſul, preſently he commanded a watch-word to be given, that the ſouldiers ſhould take their breakfaſt: and after they had refreſhed and ſtrengthned their bodies with food, go ſtraight to arm themſelves: which was obeyed accordingly. The Conſul ſeeing them well appointed in readineſs, commanded the enſigns to advance forward out of the rampier, and not far from the enemy marſhalled his battels. For a good while they ſtood on both ſides, wiſtly looking, and waiting that the ſhout and charge ſhould begin from the adverſe part. But it was paſt
F noon before there was one dart flung or javelin lanced either from the one ſide or the other. But then, becauſe they ſhould not go away without doing ſomewhat, the Tuſcans began to ſet up a cry, the trumpets ſound the charge, and the ſtandards came forward. Neither were the Romans any jot behind to begin battell: Thus they ran to it, and encountred with exceeding animoſity and fury; the enemies more in number, the Romans better in hardineſs and vertue. The fight was doubtful and dangerous, and coſt the life of many a man on both ſides, and namely, thoſe that were moſt forward and valiant: neither began they to ſhrink on any part, before that the ſecond battaillon of the Romans, freſh and luſty, advanced to the forefront of the vangard, into the place of their wearied fellows. The Tuſcans, for that their vangard was not ſupplied and reenforced by any new ſuccours, both before and all about their enſigns were beaten down and ſlain every man. Never in any one battel had there been leſs running away, or more bloudſhed, if the night had
G not protected the Tuſcans: ſo reſolute were they all to die in the place: inſomuch as the winners gave over play before the loſers. After the ſun ſet, the retreat was ſounded: and by night both parts returned into the Camp. After this, no exploit was performed before *Sutrium* that year, worth remembrance: both for that, the foreward of the enemies army, was wholly in that one battell defeated and deſtroyed; and they had none left but the Subſidiary ſouldiers of the rereward, and thoſe hardly able and ſufficient to guard and defend the Camp: and alſo, the Romans were ſo hurt and ſore wounded, that there were more of them died after the battell of their hurts than were ſlain in the very skirmiſh outright. *Q. Fabius*, Conſul for the year following, ſucceeded

ed and entred upon this war at *Sutrium*. And for his collegue he had *C. Martius Rutilius*: and like as *Fabius* brought a new ſupply from *Rome* to furniſh out the broken bands, ſo there came freſh forces alſo unto the Tuſcans, levied at home.

For many years there had been no jars and debates between the Magiſtrates of the Nobility and the Tribunes of the Commons: but now there began a variance and contention out of that family and houſe, which even then was fatall, (as it were) and born to do miſchief to the Tribunes and Commons both. *Appius Claudius* the Cenſor, after eighteen months expired (which by the law *Æmylia* was the full term of bearing that Magiſtracy) notwithſtanding that *C. Plautius* his Collegue had given up his office; could by no means poſſible be forced himſelf to go out and give over the place. Then roſe up one *P. Sempronius*, a Tribune of the Commons, who took in hand this matter, as touching the demiſſion of the Cenſorſhip, within the time prefixed by the law: an action doubtleſs, not more popular than juſt and rightfull, nor leſs acceptable to the better ſort, than pleaſing to the very Commons and baſe people. He having frequently rehearſed and reiterated the law *Æmylia*, extolled with praiſes up to the sky, the author and maker thereof, *Mamercus Æmylius* a Dictator; who had reduced the Cenſorſhip, an office aforetime of five years continuance (a puiſſance and authority, which by the length thereof ſavoured of Lordſhip) within the compaſs of a year and ſix months. "Come on, quoth he, *Appius Claudius*, anſwer and ſay, "what you would have done in caſe you had been Cenſor, when *C. Furius*, and *M. Giganius* were "Cenſors? *Appius* anſwered and ſaid, that this demand and queſtion of the Tribune did not greatly touch or concern his cauſe. For put the caſe, that the law *Æmylia* had obliged thoſe Cenſors, during whoſe Magiſtracy the Act was made, (for that after thoſe Cenſors created, the people had granted that law, and look what they laſt allowed and ordained, the ſame was good, lawfull, and ratified) yet neither he nor any of them, who after that law enacted were created Cenſors, could be bound by vertue of that law. Whiles *Appius* thus cavilled, and no man there preſent ſoothed him up, or gave applauſe and aſſent unto him: "Behold *Quirites*, quoth *Sempronius*, "again, the progeny and race of that *Appius*, who being created Decemvir for one year, elected "himſelf the ſecond year: and in the third, being choſen neither by himſelf, nor by any other, in "quality of a private perſon, held the ſoveraign dignity and government, with all the regall marks "and enſigns thereof: and thus continuing ſtill in rule and dominion, would never give over, "before that his uſurped governments of his ill-gotten, badly born, and naughtily kept and retained, were his finall fall and utter overthrow. This is the ſame family and houſe, (my Maſters "and friends, Citizens of *Rome*) by whoſe violence, by whoſe wrongs and oppreſſion, ye were "driven like poor baniſhed perſons to forgo your own deer native country, and to ſeize and "hold the Mount *Sacer*; the very ſame, againſt which ye procured and purchaſed to your ſelves "the ſupport and help of Tribunes; the ſame, for which with two armies ye were fain to poſſeſs "your ſelves of the *Aventine* hill; the ſame that alwaies withſtood the Statutes deviſed againſt "Uſury; the ſame, that ever impugned the laws for diviſion of waſt lands among the people; the "ſame brake for the time, and interrupted the marriages between the Nobles and Commons; "the ſame kept out the Commons ſo long from bearing any dignities of the Chair, and of State: "finally, this name is much more ſpightfully and mortally bent againſt your freedom, than that "of the *Tarquins*. And is it ſo indeed, O *App. Claudius*? Would you have us beleeve, that being now an hundred years ſince *Mamercus Æmylius* was Dictator, there have been ſo many "Cenſors moſt noble and valiant perſonages, that none of them all ever read the twelve Tables? "and none of them knew that to be law which the people laſt granted and allowed? Yes Iwis, "they all wiſt that well enough: and thereupon yielded they, and obeyed rather the law *Æmylia* "than the old and ancient Statute, (whereby the firſt Cenſors were created in the Common-wealth) even becauſe the people approved it laſt: and by reaſon that there are two ordinances "repugnant and contrary one to the other, there the new alwaies repealeth and abrogateth the "old. And is this your ſaying, O *Appius*? That the people are not bound to the law *Æmylia* or rather that they are tied unto it, but your good ſelf alone is free and exempt therefrom? Was the "law *Æmylia* able to bridle and curb thoſe violent Cenſors *C. Furius*, & *M. Giganius*, who ſhewed ſufficiently what harm and miſchief this Magiſtracy could do in a Common-wealth, when "for anger & deſpite that their term was abridged and cut ſhort, they diſtranchiſed, and deprived "of the right of voice and Suffrage, yea, and brought within the range of Tributaries, *M. Æmylius* "the worthieſt and moſt excellent perſonage of his time, both at home in peace, and abroad in "war? This law took hold of all the Cenſors, one after another in order, for the ſpace of an hundred years after; and bindeth now *C. Plautius* your Collegue, created with the ſame Auſpices, "and in equall authority with you. Tell me (I pray you) did not the people elect and make him "with as good right and authority as any Cenſor might be? Are you the only and ſpecial man amongſt all others to have this prerogative, this priviledge and ſingular preeminence by your ſelf? O "Suppoſe a man ſhould create the King Sacrificer, ſhould he, having once got the name and title "of a King, give out and avouch, that he was King indeed, of as great a prerogative as any King "of *Rome*? Who, think you, will be content with a Dictatorſhip of ſix months, or with an Interregne for five daies and no more? Whom may a man boldly and confidently create Dictator "either to faſten a ſpike or great nail? Or for the ſtately plaies and games, or horſe-running, and "ſuch like? How fooliſh, think ye my Maſters, how baſe-minded and ſimple were they in this "man his conceit, who within twenty daies, after notable exploits done and atchieved, gave over their

The Oration of *P. Sempronius* a Tribune of the Commons, againſt *Ap. Claudius*. [*Caius.*]

A "their Dictatorship? or they that being created with some errour and default, went out of their
"place? But what need I to rehearse examples of old date? Of late, even within these ten years,
"*C. Manius* Dictator, for enforcing a commission more severely than stood with the safety of
"some great & wealthy persons, was charged by them with the guiltiness of the same crime, wher-
"upon he sate and made inquisition; who, to the end, that being a privat person, he might answer
"the accusation of his adversaries, and justifie himself, resigned up his Dictatorship. But I would
"not that you in any hand were so modest: no, no, degenerate not a jot from that most imperious
"stock and proud race: go not you forth of your office, howsoever you do, a day no, nor an hour
"sooner than you needs must: but see then withall, that you exceed not the ordinary time limited
B "and set down. At leastwise, it might content you to draw out your Censorship a day longer, or
"to stretch it farther by a month. A month? what tell you me of a month? I will exercise my Cen-
"sorship (quoth he) three years and six months, more than may be by the law *Æmylia*: yea, and by
"my self alone will I exercise it. Yea mary sir, this is somewhat like indeed, and spoken like a King.
"What, will you substitute unto you a Collegue in the room of the other? will you so? Whom
"lawfull it is not to be subrogated and chosen no not in the dead his place? For you think it not
"enough, belike, that you (religious holy Censor that you be) have translated and transmitted,
"that most ancient solemnity, and only instituted by that good [*Hercules*] in whose honour it is
"celebrated, from the function of most noble Sacrificers and Chaplains, of that divine and sa-
"cred service, unto the ministry of base servants, and abject slaves: and that a kindred and linage
C "of greater antiquity, than the very first foundation of this City, so sanctified by entertainment
"and lodging of the immortal gods, by your means, and by occasion of your Censorship, with-
"in one year is rooted out and perished every mothers son: unless also by the same means, you
"hazard the whole Common-wealth, and bring all into the same enormity and guilt of wicked-
"ness, which even to prelage and conjecture, my heart doth tremble and quake again. In that
"*Lustram* [or five years space] was the City of *Rome* taken by the Gauls, wherein *L. Papyrius*
"*Cursor*, because he might not go out of his Censorship, took a Collegue unto him, *M. Cornelius*
"*Maluginensis*, in the place of *C. Julius* the Censor late deceased. And yet see how much more
"sober and moderate was his ambitious humour in that behalf, than this of yours, O *Appius*.
"For *L. Papirius* neither alone, nor yet beyond the just set time by law, administred his Censorship:
D "yet found he never any one person after him, that would imitate and follow his example. All
"Censors from that time forward, upon the death of their fellow Censor gave up the office. But
"as for you, notwithstanding that the date of your Censorship be fully out, and your compani-
"on in government departed out of the place; neither law nor shame, is able to rule and re-
"strain. You suppose that vertue consisteth in pride, in audacious boldness, in contempt both of
"God and man. For mine own part truly, O *Ap. Claudius*, for the reverence and majesty of this
"honourable place, which you have born, I would not willingly enter into any such hard cour-
"ses, as to touch your person by violence of hand; no, nor so much as to offend your name with
"any foul or unkind language. But as these words that have already passed, your own peevish and
"perverse frowardness, your opinionative contumacy, and insolent pride, having wrung and for-
E "ced from me: so unless you will obey the law *Æmylia*, by your leave, I will be so bold as com-
"mand you to ward and prison. And since our forefathers and ancestors have so provided and or-
"dained, that in the Election of Censors, if either of the twain come short of sufficient voices re-
"quisite for to choose him, the other cannot be admitted and declared Censor; and so they must
"proceed again to a new election, and the former Scrutinies are of no effect: shall I suffer you to
"exercise the Censorship alone, who may not lawfully be created alone? These and such like re-
monstrances after he had alledged, he commanded the Censor to be attached and committed. In
these proceedings of his, six of his fellow Tribunes adhered unto him, and three only assisted *Ap-
pius*; who called instantly upon them for their protection and lawfull succour: and so with exceed-
ing ill will, and highest discontentment of all states and degrees, he went clear away, and bare
F the Censorship alone.

These matters thus passed at *Rome*, and *Sutrium* was besieged still by the *Tuscans*: and as the
Cons. *Fabius* was leading about at the foot of the hils, certain forces to succour his allies, & to as-
sail the fortifications of the enemies what way he could, they with an army in battel-ar. ay met
with him. Whose great multitude when he might discover upon the plains underneath, because he
would help out the small number of his men by some advantage of the ground, he wheeled a lit-
tle about, up toward the hill tops (which were rough and craggy places spred all over with stones)
and from thence he turned his banners full upon the face of the enemies. The Tuscans fogetting
all things, and thinking upon nothing but their multitude, whereof only they presumed; gave
battell so hastily and in such greedines, that casting away their shots and darts from them, to
G the end they might the sooner come to hand-strokes, they drew their swords, as they marched
against the enemy. The Romans on the contrary side laid load with shot, and applied them
one while with darts, another while with stones which the place plenteously afforded them.
Which, as they thumped and clattered, and stuck upon their shields and morions, although
they hurt them not much, yet troubled them not a little: neither could the enemies easily come
within them to fight neer and close, nor any darts or javelins had they to fling and launce afar
off and thereby to annoy their enemy. And whiles they stood still exposed as Buts, to receive all

that came, and had nothing now to cover and protect them ſufficiently; whiles ſome of them al- H
ſo gave ground and retreated, and the whole battel was wavering and unſteady, the Roman *Haſtati* and *Principes*, came forward with a new ſhout, and charged them afreſh. This violent aſſault could not the Tuſcans bear, but turning their enſigns, fled amain in diſarray toward their camp. But when as the Roman horſemen who were rid over through the plains and had gotten before, met them afront in the rout, they left their way unto the Camp, & turned toward the mountains: from whence with their whole company in a manner diſarmed and ſore wounded, they recovered the forreſt *Ciminia*. The Romans having ſlain many thouſands of the Tuſcans, gained thirty eight enſigns of the field, and won alſo their tents with rich pillage; began to conſult about purſuing the enemy. The wood *Ciminia* was at that time more unpaſſable and to be feared, than were I
of late daies the German forreſts: for never to that day had it been travelled and frequented ſo much as by merchants. And ſcarcely any one but the Captain himſelf durſt venture to enter into it: for, all the reſt had not forgot as yet the unhappy luck they had at *Candium*. Then the Conſul his brother, one that was there, (*M. Fabius*, as ſome ſay, as others, *Cæſo*, and as other ſome *C. Claudius*, his brother only by the mothers ſide) promiſed that he would go as a ſcout in ſpiall, to deſcry the wood, and within a while bring certain news. He had in his tender years been brought up at *Cære*, among the ancient friends of his houſe and family, where afterwards he was taught the Tuſcan learning and knowledge, and thereby was perfect in their tongue and language. And I find ſome authors of credit that writ, how in thoſe daies the Romans young children went to ſchool for to learn to parl Tuſcan, as now they do to ſpeak Greek. But it ſtandeth more like a truth, that K
there was ſome ſpecial matter in this man, who with ſo bold ſemblance and diſſimulation, durſt intrude and inſinuate himſelf amongſt the enemies. It is ſaid, that one only ſervitor accompanied him, one who had been brought up and nurſed together with him, and thereupon not ignorant of the ſame language. And all the way as they went they did nothing elſe, but ſuperficially and after a generall ſort, learn the nature and ſite of the quarters which they were to enter into, and the names withall, of the chief rulers and principal perſonages of that country and nation: to the end that in their ſpeech and talk, they might not falter and trip, and be taken tardy in any apparent thing, which might bewray and diſcover them. They went clad in paſtoral weeds like herdmen, armed like country Kernes or Peaſants, each of them with a faulchion and two javelins. But neither the familiar uſe and commerce of the tongue, nor the faſhion of apparel which they L
were, or weapons that they carried ſaved them ſo much as this one thing, That no man would ever beleeve, that any forreiner and ſtranger durſt enter upon thoſe thick Ciminian forreſts. Well, forward they went (by report) as far as to the Camertins in *Umbria*. There the Roman ventured to bewray who they were: and when he was brought in to their Senat, he treated with them in the Conſuls name, about a league and amity. Whereupon, after he had been courteouſly entertained and friendly intreated, he had his diſpatch, and was willed to relate unto the Romans, That there ſhould be ready for their army, ſufficient victuals for one whole month, if they would come into thoſe parts: Alſo, that the youth of the Camertins in *Umbria* ſhould be at their command, preſt in arms at all times. Theſe tidings being reported to the Conſul, after that he had ſent before his carriages at the firſt watch of the night, and commanded the legions to go after, himſelf ſtaid M
ſtill with the horſemen: and the morrow morning by day-light he began to ſkirmiſh with the *corps de guard* of his enemies, which were quartered without the forreſt, and when he had long enough kept them play, and amuſed them at his pleaſure, he retired into his Camp; from whence he went forth at another gate, and before night overtaketh the main army. The morrow after, at the point of day-break, he was got up to the creſt of the hill *Ciminius*: from whence, after he had beheld and vewed the goodly proſpect of the rich grounds and fields of *Hetruria*, he ſendeth out his ſouldiers abroad to forrage and fetch in prizes, and by that time they had got, and were driving a fat booty, certain tumultuary bands of the ruſtical Peaſants of *Hetruria*, gathered together in great haſt, and of a ſudden, by the States of that country met with the Romans; but ſo out of order were they, that being come to reſcue a prey, they had like to have been a prey themſelves. A N
number of them were ſlain or put to flight, and the Romans, having waſted and made ſpoil all over the country, enriched with ſtore of all things, returned victorious into their Camp. Thither were arrived (as it fell out) five meſſengers or purſevants with the Tribune of the Commons to warn and command *Fabius* in the name of the Senat, not to paſs through the forreſt *Ciminius*. But theſe meſſengers being glad that they came too late for to hinder and interrupt their enterpriſes, returned home again to *Rome* with news of the victory.

By this expedition and journey made by the Coſ. the war rather encreaſed and ſpread farther, than was diſpatched & brought to an end. For all that tract lying along the bottom & foot of the mountain *Ciminius*, felt the ſmart of this rode: and provoked to anger & deſire of revenge, not only the State of *Hetruria*, but alſo the borders and marches of *Umbria*. Whereupon there came to O
*Sutrium*, a greater power than ever afore: for not only they removed their Camp forward out of the woods, but alſo for the eager deſire of fight withal ſpeed, they came abroad into the plain field. Afterwards, they ſtood firſt embattelled in a plot, by them fitly choſen, leaving over againſt them a ſpace of ground for the enemies to ſet themſelves in order of battel: but perceiving the enemies to fall off, & loath to fight, they approached the very trench and rampiers; but finding there, that the guards were retired within their hold all at once they began to cry with one voice to their captains for to give order, that the reſt of their allowance of victuals for that day ſhould be brought

them

A them thither out of the camp; for they would ſtay in their armor and harneſs, as they were, and either in the night, or elſe in the morning betimes by day-light, give the aſſault upon their enemies camp. The Roman army was no more quiet then they, yet at their Generals commandment kept in. Now it was welneer the * tenth hour of the day; When as the Conſul willed his ſouldiers to take their refection, and warned them to be ready in armes at what hour ſoever by day or by night he ſhould give them the ſignal of battell. And in the mean time maketh a ſhort ſpeech unto them, praiſing highly, and ſetting out of the Samnits wars, debaſing the Tuſcans, ſaying, that there was no compariſon between either enemy to enemy, or number for number: over and beſides, he ſaid that he had another feat and ſecret deviſe in ſtore for them, which they ſhould know when time ſerved; in the mean while they muſt keep ſilence of neceſſity, and hold their peace. By theſe dark ſpeeches and bidden myſteries, he made ſemblance, as though he had ſome privy intelligence, B that one part of the enemies would betray the reſt when time came: this did he, to the end, that the heart of his ſouldiers (which haply were diſmaied and diſcouraged at their great multitudes) might be comforted and refreſhed: and for that the enemies lay abroad in field without any hold and fort, it was more likely and probable, which he pretended. The ſouldiers having taken their repaſt, they laid their bodies to repoſe and ſleep, and ſomewhat before the reliefe of the * fourth watch, they were raiſed without noiſe, and armed themſelves. The ſouldiers boies and lackies, and ſuch as followed the camp, had mattocks and ſpades divided amongſt them, to caſt down the rampire, and to fill up the ditches with the bank, whiles that within the compaſſe and circuit of the camp, they were marſhalled in battell array. The choſen * cohorts or bands were placed at the gates and paſſages forth. Then at the ſound of trumpet, a little before day (which in ſummer nights C is the time of the deepeſt and ſoundeſt ſleep) the whole army, when the rampire was laid along and levell, iſſued forth at once, and charged the enemies on all ſides, lying here and there ſcattered on the ground. Some before they were ſtirring, others half aſleep and half awake in their couches: but the greateſt part, making haſt in that ſudden fright to take arms, were ſlain and cut in peeces. Few had time to put themſelves in armour, and they having no enſigns, no colours to follow, and no captains to direct them, were by the Romans ſoon diſcomfited, put to flight, and purſued in chaſe. Some made halt to the camp, other to the woods, ſundry waies one from another. But the woods were the ſafeſt place of refuge. For their camp pitched in a plain, was the ſame day taken, and won. All the gold and ſilver there found, was by expreſſe commandment brought unto the Conſul his pavilion; the reſt of the pillage, was the ſouldiers ſhare. Slain and taken priſoners that D day, there were of the enemies to the number of 60000. This ſo noble a battel (ſome Writers ſay) was fought on the other ſide of the wood *Ciminia*, before *Perufia*: who alſo report, that the City of *Rome* was in great fear, leſt that the army being incloſed within ſo dangerous a wood, ſhould have been ſurpriſed and defeated by the Tuſcans and Umbrians, who were riſen up in arms together from all parts. But whereſoever it was fought, the Romans had the day. Whereupon there came Embaſſadors from *Perufia*, * *Cortona*, and * *Aretium*, where were in maner the chief and princi- pall Cities at that time of all Tuſcane, treating and ſuing to the Romans for peace, and a league: but they obtained truce only for thirty years.

During theſe affairs in *Hetruria*, the other Conſul, *C. Martius Rutilus*, wan from the Samnits the town * *Allifas*. Many other villages and caſtles were either utterly demoliſhed and deſtroied E by way of extream hoſtility, or yeelded ſafe and whole unto their ſubjection. At the ſame time the Roman navy alſo, under the Conduct of *P. Cornelius*, whom the Senat ordained Admiral of the ſea-coaſt, ſet ſail for *Campain*, and being arived at * *Pompeii*, the mariners and ſea-ſervitors went a land to waſt and forage the teritories about * *Nuceria*: and after they had made ſpoil, and pilled by ſnatches the parts lying neereſt unto the ſea, from whence they might ſafely again return to their ſhips; they adventured farther for ſweetneſſe of gain and booty (as uſually it falleth out) and ſo gave the alarm to the enemies for to riſe. As they ſtragled all over the fields, no man made head againſt them, at what time, as they might have been ſoon ſlain every one; but as they were returning with a diſordered march, and ſtood not upon their guards, a troop of the peaſants of the country overtook them, not far from the Ships, and eaſed them of their ſpoil and pillage, F and ſlew ſome of them: the reſt of the multitude, as many as eſcaped the ſword, were chaſed to their fleet.

The journey of *Q. Fabius* beyond the forreſt *Ciminia*, as it cauſed great fear in *Rome*, ſo it gave occaſion of as joyful news in *Samnium*. For the rumor ran, that the Romans army was ſhut up and beſieged. And hereupon they called to remembrance, and alledged the like example of a loſſe and ſhameful diſgrace at *Gaudium*; reporting and giving forth, that theſe Romans being a nation greedy alwaies of incroaching farther, and winning more ground, were through the ſame raſhneſſe now run headlong into the blind forreſts impaſſable, and inviroued not ſo much with the power and force of enemies, as the dangerous difficulties of thoſe paſſages. In ſuch ſort as amid this joy of theirs, they envied alſo that fortune had turned the glorious honour of the conqueſt over the G Romans, from the Samnits, to the Tuſcans. And therefore being well appointed with men and armour, they ran out from all parts, to tread down and confound *C. Martius* the Conſul forever: minding from thence, in caſe *Martius* would not abide a battell, to go into *Hetruria* through the Marſi and Sabins. But the Conſul met with them by the way; where was fought a ſharp and cruell battell with doubtful event, and much effuſion of bloud on both ſides. And as uncertain as it was, whether part loſt more bloud, yet the rumour went, that the Romans had the

* Four a clock after-noon.

* Between two and three of clock in the morning.

* A Cohort is a regiment or band of 500 footmen commonly. Once in Levy we read of *Quingenteriæ cohortes*, of 400 and no more.

* *Cortona*. *Cortonee*. * *Aretium*.

* *Alphi*.

* *Magnarello*. * *Nocera*.

worſe, by reaſon of the loſſe of certain knights and gentlemen of *Rome*, and Colonels, and one H
Lieutenant; and that which made moſt, for that the Conſul himſelf was hurt. Hereupon the brute
(as commonly is ſeen) got more feathers ſtill as it flew, and made every thing greater: ſo as the
LL. of the Senat in *Rome*, were in great fear and perplexity, and agreed to create a Dictator. Neither
was there any doubt at all, but that *Papirius Curſor* ſhould be the man, who in thoſe daies was
reputed the only warrior above all others. But neither could they be aſſured of ſending a meſſen-
ger ſafe into *Samnium* (conſidering all the country was up in arms) nor that the Conſul was for
certain alive. And as for the other Conſul *Fabius*, upon an old ſecret and privat grudge, he mali-
ced *Papirius*: which quarell, leſt it might hinder the ſervice of the Commonweal, the Senat
thought good to ſend unto him certain Embaſſadors (as it were) even ſuch as had been Conſuls;
who of their own authority, as well as by vertue of publick commiſſion from the State, ſhould ad- I
moniſh and counſel him to remit and forget all old diſpleaſures and rancours, for his countries ſake.
When theſe perſonages were come to *Fabius* the Coſ. and had delivered unto him the decree of
the Senat, and uſed withall ſuch ſpeech and reaſons of their own, as ſuted well to the errand they
had in charge: the Coſ. caſting his eies down toward the ground, departed from the Embaſſadors
without giving ever a word, and left them doubtfull what he would do. But the night following,
in the dead time (as the maner is) he nominated *L. Papirius* for Dictator. And when theſe
meſſengers or Embaſſadors gave him great thanks for maſtering and ruling his affections ſo exceed-
ing well, he held his reſolution ſtill of ſilence, and without any anſwer given, or mention made
of himſelf, diſmiſſed them; that it might appear, how upon an high mind and haughty ſtomack,
he bridled and kept in that grief of heart and ſpiteful anger of his, *Papirius* named *C. Junius Bu-* K
*bulcus* commander of the horſe. And whiles he propoſed an act concerning the regiment and
command of his army, before the people aſſembled by the *Curiæ* or wards, there hapned a mat-
ter of ominous preſage, which cauſed that buſineſſe to be put off untill the next day: for that the
ward *Faucia*, which by lot had the prerogative now to give the firſt voices, was noted already for
infamous and unhappy, in regard that two calamities which happened in both years, wherein
the ſame *Curiæ* likewiſe began the ſuffrages firſt; namely, the taking of the City of *Rome*, and
the Caudine peace. *Macer Licinius* making that ward ominous and unlucky, for a third loſſe and
calamity received at *Cremera*. But the next morrow, the Dictator, after he had taken new Au-
ſpices, went through with the act, and obteined his commiſſion, and ſet forward with the legi-
ons lately muſtered and enrolled upon the fearfull alarm given, that the Roman army was paſſed L
the wood *Cyminia*, untill he arrived at *Longula*: where, after he had received of the Con-
ſul *Martius*, the old bands of ſouldiers, he brought his forces into the field to give battell. The
enemies for their part ſeemed not to refuſe fight: howbeit, as they ſtood armed and aranged, and
neither the one ſide nor the other would begin to charge, the night came upon them, and forced
them to retire. Then they abode encamped neer together in reſt and quiet for certain dayes, nei-
ther diſtruſting their own puiſſance, nor yet diſdaining and deſpiſing their enemies. In this
mean time there was doings and war in *Etruria*: for both there was a battell fought with the
army of the Umbrians: howbeit, the enemies were rather diſcomfited and put to flight than ſlain,
for that they were not able to hold out and maintain fight long with ſuch courage and animo-
ſity as they began: and alſo neer the lake and Mear **Vadimon*, the Tuſcans had levied a new army,
**Lego di vetter-bo.* according to a ſacred law, wherby one man had choſen another (who as ſworn brethren were to M
to live and die together) where they fought a field, not only with greater number, but alſo with
more courage than ever at any time before: and with ſuch heat of anger and malice one againſt
the other they encountred, that of neither ſide they thought of diſcharging ſhot and lancing
darts, but began at the very firſt with their ſwords to go to handſtrokes: and the conflict being
right fiercely begun, increaſed ſtill, and waxed hotter in the very skirmiſh, and continued for a good
while ſo doubtfull, that the Romans thought they dealt not with Tuſcans ſo often by them de-
feated and vanquiſhed, but with ſome new nation more warlike than they. No ſhew of flight on
neither ſide; down go the formoſt, and lay dead before their Standards: and leſt that the enſigns
ſhould be left naked and bare, and without the defendants, the ſecond range and ward of the bat- N
taillon came in place to ſupply the firſt: and ſo ſtill new ſuccours and freſh were fet even as far as
from the rereward behind, deſtined for the laſt help and utmoſt refuge. And to that extremity of
travel and perill they proceeded, that the Roman horſmen abandoning their horſes alighted on
foot, and were fain to go to the footmen in the forefront of the vanguard, over armor, and over
dead bodies, lying all ſpread upon the ground; which new troop and battaillon riſen and ſprung
(as it were) a freſh, to reenforce and ſtrengthen their diſtreſſed fellowes, diſordred the ſquadrons
and enſigns of the Tuſcans. The other legionary ſouldiers, wearied (as they were) followed hard
and ſeconded their violence and forceable charge, and at length brake through the ranks
of their enemies. Then the Tuſcans as ſtiffe as they ſtood afore, began to have the worſe,
and certain bands gave way and retreated: and when they once turned back, they fell plainly to O
take their heels and run away. This was the firſt day, that overthrew and laid along the puiſ-
ſance of the Tuſcans, who abounded ſo long in wealth and fortunate proſperity. Their whole flour
and ſtrength which they had, was in this battell ſlain, and at the ſame time their camp won and
ranſacked.

With like hazard and glorious ſucceſſe of the end, was the war managed with the Samnits
ſoon after; who beſides all other preparations and ordinary furniture of war, gave order that
their

A their army ſhould glitter and ſhine againe with a new kind of garniſhing their harneſſe and armors. For having divided their forces in two armies, the one had laid their ſhields with gold, the other with ſilver. The form and faſhion whereof was this, that upper part wherewith the breſt and ſhoulders are covered, was broader, and the head of it of even height: but the nether end growing downward to the bottom was more pointed wedgewiſe, for to weld it more nimbly; Their breaſt and ſtomack was fenced with ſpunges, the left leg armed with a good greeve, their morions with high creſts made a ſhew of tall ſtature. The ſouldiers aforeſaid with guilded ſhields wore coats of ſundry colours; the other with ſilvered, white linnen: and theſe had the leading of the right wing, or point of the battell; but they of the left. The Romans had notice and knowledge already what preparation there was of brave and goodly armor: and their Captains had
B taught them afore, that a ſouldier ought to be dreadful and terrible, not dight and decked in his damasked gold and ſilver, but truſting in the ſharp edge of iron and ſteel, and a good heart and courage withall: and as for that other furniture, it was rather a good booty than armor of proof; fair and reſplendent, before men come to the ſharp, but foul and unſeemly amongſt bloody wounds. The true ornament and beauty of a ſouldier, is valour and hardineſſe; as for all thoſe braveries, they went commonly with victory: and to conclude, that a rich enemy would ſerve well for a good prize to the conqueror, were he never ſo poor and needy. With theſe ſpeeches after that *Curſor* had animated his ſouldiers, he leadeth them into the field: himſelf he put in the right wing; the left he committeth to the conduct of the Generall of horſe. So ſoon as they charged one another and buckled together, a great conflict and hardy had they with the enemy, and no leſſe emula-
C tion there was between the Dictator and him; ſtriving much whether of them twain ſhould begin the victory. But as hap was, firſt *Junius* diſordered the enemy, and from the left point which he commanded, he charged right luſtily the right wing of the enemies: ſaying ever and anon, That he offered and ſacrificed unto the Devill and infernall ſpirits, thoſe ſouldiers of theirs, conſecrated already unto them after the maner of the Samnits, and decked accordingly in white livery, and bright ſilvered armour ſuting in colour thereunto: and withall advanced forward his ſtandards, brake their araies, and made the battell to ſhrink evidently and give ground. Which when the Dictator perceived, How now, quoth he, ſhall the victory begin at the left wing, and ſhall the right, wherein the Dictator fighteth in perſon, come behind and follow the battel of another, and not carry away with it the greateſt part of the victory? Herewith he ſetteth on his
D ſouldiers, yet gave the horſemen no place in manhood to the footmen, or the ſervice of the Lieutenants was inferiour to the Captains themſelves and chief commanders: *M. Valerius* on the right point, *P. Decius* on the left, both Conſular men, put themſelves forward, and rode out to the horſmen aranged in the wings, exhorted them to take part with them in honor, and charged acroſſe upon the ſides and flanks of the enemies. Whiles this new terror upon the former, had on every ſide entred the battel of the enemies; and the Roman legions, to terrifie them the more, had redoubled a freſh ſhout, & charged them with great fury, then began the Samnits to flie amain. Now were the fields overſpread with the bodies of ſlain men, and ſtrewed thick with armor, erewhile ſo brave and glorious: and at the firſt, the Samnits in great affright recovered their tents; but being there, were not able ſo much as to keep them, for they were won and rifled before night, and fire
E ſet upon them. The Dictator by a decree of the Senat triumphed: and the ſaid armor which was taken from the enemy; made the goodlieſt pageant of all other, in the pomp of triumph: which carried ſo ſtately a ſhew and magnificent, that the guilded ſhields were divided amongſt the warders of the company of Bankers and Goldſmiths, to the beautifying of their Hal and Market place. And hereof began firſt the cuſtome of the Ædiles, to adorn and ſet out the common place of the City in their ſolemn proceſſions, when the ſacred images of the gods and holy reliques were carried about for pomp in ſilver chariots. And the Romans verily for their part put this goodly trim armor of their enemies to this uſe, namely, to honor their gods withall. But the Campains upon a pride and inveterate hatred that they bare againſt the Samnits, uſed to arm their ſword players and fencers at the ſharp (which was a ſolemn ſight and paſtime they had at their great feaſts)
F with this ſame attire, and termed them in mockery, by the name of Samnits.

The ſame year *Fabius* the Conſul fought with the reſt of the Tuſcans at * *Perufia* (which City * *Perugia.*
alſo had broken the covenant of truce) where neither doubtfully nor hardly he obtained victory. And the very town it ſelf he had forced & won (for in the ſame train of his conqueſt he approached the wals) but that their Embaſſadours came forth and yeelded the City. When he had placed a good garriſon at *Perufia*, and ſent before him to *Rome* unto the Senat, the Embaſſadours of *Hetruria*, who treated for peace; he being but Conſul, made his triumphant entry into the City for a more magnificent victory, then the Dictatour. And that for a good part of the honor of ſubduing the Sammits, was aſcribed to the Lieutenants *P. Decius*, and *M. Valerius*, therefore at the next Election, the people with general aſſent declared the one Conſul, and the other Pretour. *Fa-*
G *bius* for taming *Hetruria* ſo bravely and valiantly, continued Conſull ſtill, and had for his Colleague *P. Decius. Valerius* was created Pretor the fourth time. The Conſuls parted between them the provinces, *Hetruria* fell to *Decius*, *Samnium* to *Fabius*. Who taking his voiage to *Nuceria*, laid ſiege to the City of the Allifats, and won it by aſſault; and notwithſtanding they made ſuit for peace, he rejected and deſpiſed them; for that when it was offered, they would not accept it. With the Samnits he fought a battell; but without any great conflict, the enemies were

vanquished. Neither had the remembrance of that field been left in record, but that the Marsians H
first took arms and warred with the Romans. After the Marsians were revolted, the * Peligmans
did the semblable, and sped alike. *Decius* also the other Consul had good successe in his wars. He
drave the Tarquinians for fear, to find the army corn, and to sue for a truce of forty years. Certain
castles and holds of the Volscinians, he forceably wan: some of them he utterly rased, for that they
should not be any receptacle or harbour for the enemies. And with warring round about every
where, he became so terrible, that the whole Tuscane nation made sute to the Consul for peace and
confederacy. It they could not obtain: but truce for a year was granted. In regard wherof, for that
year they satisfied the whole pay for the army, and a double livery for every souldier was exacted
and taken of them. This was the pension and fine that their truce cost them. I

But now when all was quiet among the Tuscans, the sudden revolting of the Umbrians, a nation
free, and saved hitherto from the calamities of war, but only, that the Roman army passing through
their territories troubled all anew: for they having raised the strength and flower of their youth
and sollicited also a great part of the Tuscans to rebell, levied so great a power that making no
accompt of *Decius*, whom they left behind them in *Hetruria*, they gave out proud words of
themselves, and spake basely of the Romans, vaunting and boasting that they would march right
forth to assault *Rome*. Which designe of theirs, so soon as it was reported to *Decius* the Cos. he
made speed, and by long journies departed out of *Hetruria* toward the City, and in the Country
of the Papinians, encamped himself; listning ever after the enemies, what they meant to do. Nei-
ther at *Rome* was the Umbrians war neglected and set light by: for their very threats and menaces K
scared them, as who already had seen by experience, by the foil they had at the Gauls hands, how
unsure a City they inhabited and not unpregnable. Therupon messengers were dispatched to the
Cos. *Fabius*, That if he had any breathing time, and rest from the Samnits war, he should with al
speed lead his army into *Umbria*. The Cos. obeyed, and by great journies went forward to * *Me-*
*vania*, where at that time the forces of the Umbrians lay. This sudden and unexpected coming of
the Cos. whom they thought verily occupied in *Samnium* far enough off from *Umbria*, so terrified
the Umbrians, that some gave advise to retire back to their walled towns, others to relinquish
the war altogether. One Canton or tract of their country (which they themselves call *Materna*
not only kept the rest in arms, but also set them on to fight immediatly, so as they charged upon *Fa-*
*bius*, as he was trenching and fortifying. Whom when the Cos. saw rushing upon his rampiers in L
such heaps, he called his men from their work, and as the ground & time would give leave, he mar-
shalled them in order of battel: and after he had encouraged his souldiers with a true report & dis-
course of many glorious and honourable journies atchieved as well in *Thuscia* as also in *Samnium*
he willed them to dispatch this smal residue of the Tuscan war, that hung by and remained behind,
and to be revenged of that accursed and impious speech, whereby they threatned to assail the City
of *Rome*. These words of his were heard by the souldiers with such alacrity and cheerfulness of heart,
that before their General had made an end of his speech, they set up a shout of themselves and in-
terrupted him: and thus before commandment and signall given by sound of trumpets and cor-
nets, they ran amain upon the enemies, and charged them as if they had not been men, and those
also armed. For (a wonderful thing to be spoken) at the very first they began to pluck the M
banners and streamers out of the bearers hands, after that, the ensign-bearers themselves
were led to the Consuls, and the souldiers armed as they were, transported out of one battai-
lon into another, and where there was any scuffling, they fought not so much with sword, as buck-
ler: and what with their bosses and iron pikes, and what with justling, shouldering, and striking
the enemies about the arme-pits, they were overthrown and felled. In which skirmish, more men
were taken then slain: and no other cry was heard throughout the field, but down with weapon,
down with weapon. So that in the very conflict, the principal authors of the war rendred them-
selves: and the morrow after, and other daies following, the rest of the people of *Umbria* likewise
yeelded. The Otriculans by stipulation only and pledges given, were received in amity. And *Fabi-*
*us* having thus got the victory in that war, which fell to another mans lot and charge, led back his N
army again into his own province. And in regard of his prosperous and happy exploits, like as the
people the year past continued his Consulship: so the Senat against the year following, when *Ap.*
*Claudius*, and *L. Volumnius* were Cos. prorogued his martial rule still, maugre the heart of *Appius*,
who was greatly against it. In some Chronicles I find, that *Appius*, whiles he was Censor sued to
be Consul, and that his Election was crosted and staied by *L. Furius*, a Tribune of Com until he
had resigned up the Censorship. Being created Cos. and the war with the Salentins (declared new
enemies) allotted unto his Collegue, he remained at *Rome*; that by civil policy, and managing
home-affairs, he might augment his own state and authority, since that the honour of war-service
rested in the hands and conduct of another. *Volumnius* had no cause to repent of his charge and
province: for many fortunat battels he fought, and some towns of the enemies by force he won. O
He was a bountiful giver of the spoil away unto his souldiers: and this bounty in it self alone ac-
ceptable, he helped much with great courtesie and gentleness, by which vertues and artificiall
means, he made the souldiers both venturous in perils and hardy in travell.

*Q. Fabius* on the other part, in quality of pro-Consul, gave battell to the Samnits neer
the City *Allifa*, where the day was nothing doubtful. The enemies were discomfited and beaten
into their camp: neither had they been able to have kept the field, but that there was but a lit-
tle

A tle day left behind: and yet before night, they were beſet round about in their hold, yea, and watched with good guards all night long, that none ſhould make eſcape. The morrow morning ere it was well day light, they began to yeeld themſelves, and to capitulate, that as many Samnits as there were among them, ſhould be ſent forth in their ſingle garments, and they all went under the gallows. As for their confederats and allies, there was no ſuch proviſo nor compoſition made, but they all, to the number of ſeven thouſand, were ſold as ſlaves, and wore a garland. As many as advowed themſelves to be Hernicks, were kept apart by themſelves to be forth coming. All thoſe *Fabius* ſent to *Rome* to the Senat, and untill ſuch time as enquiry was made, whether in a publick muſter they were preſſed ſouldiers or voluntarily ſerved under the Samnits againſt the Romans, they were committed to be kept in ward among ſundry nations of the Latins: during
B which time, the new Conſuls, *Publius Cornelius Arvina*, and *Quintius Martius Tremulus* (for thoſe were now created) had in charge to propoſe that matter anew unto the *Senat*. The Hernicks took that ill. Whereupon the Anagnins held a Diet or General Councel in the round Cirque, which they call *Maritimus*, of all the Cities of that Nation, except the Alatrinats, Ferentinats, and the Verulans. Where the whole State of Hernicks proclamed war againſt the people of *Rome*. In *Samnium* alſo, for that *Fabius* was departed thence, there aroſe new troubles and rebellions. *Calatia* and *Sora* were forced, and the Roman garriſons that there lay, were put to the ſword, and upon the bodies of as many as they took alive, they exerciſed much torture and cruelty. Whereupon *Publius Cornelius* the Conſul was thither ſent. And to *Martius* were the new enemies appointed (for by this time decreed it was, That war ſhould be made upon the
C Anagnins and the other Hernicks.) At the firſt the enemies had ſo ſeiſed all the convenient paſſes and waies between both the Conſuls camps, that there could not readily paſſe a lackey or currier between, in ſo much, as for certain daies both Conſuls abode doubtfull how the world went, and uncertain one of the others ſtate. The fear whereof, ſpred to *Rome*, ſo as all the younger ſort [from ſeventeen years of age to ſeven and forty] ware to ſerve: and againſt all ſudden occaſions, and occurrents whatſoever, two full and compleat armies were levied and enrolled. But the Hernick war was nothing correſpondent either to the preſent menaces, or to the ancient glory and reputation of that nation: for having done no worthy adventures, and within few daies loſt their camp thrice, they covenanted for to have thirty daies truce; during which time, they might ſend Embaſſadours to the Senat of *Rome*: and in conſideration hereof, they
D promiſed to lay down two months pay, and to find corn for the army, and allow every ſouldier one coat. But from the Senat they were put off and referred to *Martius*: unto whom by order from the Senat, a large commiſſion was granted, to diſpoſe of the Hernicks as he he thought good: and ſo he took the whole nation as yeelded to his devotion. The other Conſul in *Samnium* being in forces more puiſſant then the enemy, was not withſtanding encumbred much with the difficulty of the ground. All the paſſages had the enemie ſtopped, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the forreſts and woods which were thorow faires, that no way victuals might be conveied unto him. Neither could the Conſul, for all that daily he diſplaied banner in field, train them forth to fight: ſo as it was well ſeen, that neither the Samnits could abide preſent battell, nor the Romans long delay of war. But the arrival of *Martius* who upon the ſubduing of the Hernicks, made haſt to aid his
E Colleague, cauſed the enemy to defer no longer the triall of the field. For, they, who thought themſelves not good enough to match ſo much as the one army, knew full well that if they ſuffered two Conſuls armies to join together, there had been no hope left. They therefore ſet upon *Martius* as he marched without order of battel. Hereupon in al haſt their truſſes and fardels were brought together and laid in the middle; and as the time would permit, he ſet his ſouldiers in array. At the firſt encounter, the ſhout was hard into the camp of the other Conſul. Afterwards the duſt deſcried afar off, gave an alarm, and made a trouble and tumult there. Then the Conſull preſently commanded to arm: and haſtily bringing his ſouldiers forth into the field, entred upon the battell of the enemies in the flank, whiles they were buſied in another skirmiſh. He cried aloud to his men, that it were exceeding great ſhame, to ſuffer the other army to carry away dou-
F ble victory, and not themſelves win the honour of that war, which was their proper charge. Thus, whereſoever he charged, he brake in and made entrance, and having pierced and made a great lane through the midſt of the enemies battel, he paſſed on towards their camp; which finding void of defendants, he took and ſet afire. Which when the ſouldiers of *Martius* ſaw burning before their faces, and the enemy likewiſe, as they looked behind: then began the Samnits on all hands to flie: but killed they were every where down right: all places full of murder and ſlaughter: ſo in no part could they find means to eſcape and ſave themſelves. Now when there were thirty thouſand of the enemies ſlain, the Conſuls ſounded the retreat, and gathered both their armies together, with great congratulation one to the other: by which time, behold, there were
G deſcried a far off, certain new bands of enemies, enrolled for a ſupply; and they gave occaſion of a new and freſh ſlaughter. Againſt whom without commandment of Conſul, or any ſignall received from their leaders, the Romans advanced luſtily, crying aloud, that theſe Samnits were to be welcomed with an ill hanſell, and this their firſt training ſhould coſt them deer. The Conſuls let the legions alone in this their furious heat, as who knew well enough, that theſe new comers ſeeing the old beaten ſouldiers ſo aſtonied already and flying away, would ſoon have enough of it, and not once adventure fight. And they were not deceived in their opinion; for the whole forces of the Samnits as well old and new, fled apace unto the next mountains: and thither the

Romans

Romans alſo make as great ſpeed. But no ſafe place could thoſe vanquiſhed enemies find: for even H
from the very hil tops which they held, they were beaten down, ſo that with one voice they all craved peace. Then after the Conſuls had impoſed upon them corn for three months, and a years pay, and for every ſouldier a livery beſides, they were permitted to ſend Embaſſadours to the Senat, to treat and capitulat thereof. During which time, *Cornelius* was left in *Samnium*, and *Martius* returned into the City, with triumph over the Hernicks. Moreover a decree paſſed, that his ſtatue riding on horſback ſhould remain in the common place of aſſemblies, which was erected accordingly even before the Temple of *Caſtor*. To three States of the Hernicks, to wit, the Alatrinats, the Verulans and Ferentinats, their own laws, and ancient liberties were reſtored again, becauſe they made choice thereof, rather than to be enfranchiſed Citizens of *Rome*: and permitted they were to marry amongſt the Romans; which liberty they only of the Hernickes for a good I
while enjoied. The Anagnins, and thoſe that had born arms againſt the Romans were incorporat free denizens of *Rome*, but without the priviledge of giving voices and ſuffrages: debarred they were of holding any Councels and making marriages with them, yea, and denied at all to elect any magiſtracy, but only the function and miniſtry of divine ſervice and ſacrifices.

The ſame year the Chappell of dame *Salus* was by *C. Junius Bubulcus* now Cenſor, ſet out at a price to be built, which he in his Conſulſhip had vowed, in the Samnits war. By his direction and appointment, together with his colleague *M. Valerius Maximus*, were the great high waies and cauſeys made, of all ſides of the City, through the fields, at the common charge and expenſes. The ſame year alſo, was the league renewed now the third time with the Carthaginians: and K
their Embaſſadors who came for that purpoſe, were courteouſly entertained, and rewarded liberally with rich gifts. In that year there was a Dictator *P. Cornel. Scipio*, with *P. Decius* General of the horſe: and theſe were Preſidents at the Election of Conſuls, for to that purpoſe they were created, becauſe neither of the two Conſuls could be ſpared from the wars. Conſuls were created *L. Poſthumius*, and *T. Minutius*. But *Piſo* ſayth, that theſe Conſuls immediatly ſucceeded *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius*: leaving out thoſe two years, wherein he hath written that *Claudius* with *Volumnius*, and *Cornelius* with *Martius* were Conſuls. Whether he forgot himſelf in digeſting his Annals and yearly records, or of ſet purpoſe overhipt two couple of Conſuls, thinking that they were not in truth Conſuls, I wot not.

The ſame year the Samnits made rodes into the territories of *Stella*, within the liberties and ap- L
purtenances of the Campains, and therfore both Conſuls were ſent into *Samnium*: who when they were parted into divers wayes, for *Poſthumius* took his journey to *Tifernum*, and *Minutius* to *Bovianum*: firſt there was battell fought at *Tifernum*, under the leading of *Poſthumius*. Some make no doubt, but write, that the Samnits were diſcomfited, and put to the worſe, and thirty thouſand of them taken priſoners: others ſay, that the conflict was equall, and that they departed on even hand: alſo that *Poſthumius* making ſemblance of fear, journyed by night, & cloſely retired untothe hils adjoyning, & the enemies followed after them, two miles, and from thence encamped, and fortified alſo themſelves in ſtrong places of advantage. The Conſul, becauſe he would be thought to have fought and choſe a ſafe place, and plentifully ſtored with all neceſſaries (as it was no leſſe indeed) where he might keep a ſtanding camp; after he had fortified the ſame, and fur- M
niſhed it with all kind of proviſion, leaving behind him a ſtrong garriſon for defence; at the relief of the third watch, leadeth the neereſt way, his legions not encumbred with cariage, to his Colleague, who alſo himſelf lay in camp over againſt another army. There, by the perſwaſion & advice of *Poſthumius*, *Minutius* gave battell; and when as the conflict continued doubtfull untill it was far on the day; then *Poſthumius* with his freſh legions, on a ſudden charged the battaillons of the enemies, now already overroyled; thus partly for wearineſſe, and partly for wounds, they being diſabled for to flee away, were out of all meaſure ſlain every one, and xxi. banners were taken: and ſo from thence they went forward to the camp of *Poſthumius*. Where theſe two victorious armies finding the enemy diſcouraged and amazed at the tidings of this overthrow, ſet upon them, diſcomfited, and put them to flight; and wan from them xxvi. enſignes: where the General of the N
Samnits *Statius Cellius*, with many a man beſides, was taken priſoner, and both their camps won. *Bovianum* alſo, which the morrow after began to be aſſaulted, was ſhortly after forced: and finally with great glory of no noble acts atchieved, both Conſuls triumphed. Some write that the Conſul *Minutius* being grievouſly hurt, was brought back into the camp, and there dyed: and that *M. Fulvius* was ſubſtituted Conſul in his room: and that it was he, who being ſent unto the army of *Minutius*, wan *Bovianum*. The ſame year *Sora*, *Arpinum*, and *Conſentia* were recovered from the Samnits: and the great image of *Hercules* was in the Capitol ſet up and dedicated.

When as *P. Sulpitius Averrio*, and *P. Sempronius Sophus* were Coſſ. the Samnits deſiring either to ſee an end of war, or elſe to delay it, ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome* pretending peace. To whom O
" as they pleaded and intreated moſt humbly, this anſwer was given; That if the Samnits had not
" ſo often treated for peace, when they intended and prepared war they might after certain enter-
" views, and conferences paſſed between, obtein their ſuit: but ſince that evermore untill that
" time, their words were but wind; now they would truſt to their deeds, and nothing elſe. P.
" *Sempronius* the Conſul, ſhall ſhortly be in *Samnium* with an army: who would not be abuſed,
" but ſoon ſee, whether their minds be enclined to war or peace: and as he found and ſaw every
" thing, ſo would he bring word and make relation: and therfore their Embaſſadors were to attend

upon

upon the Conſul when he departed out of *Samnium*. The ſame year after that the Romans army had paſſed peaceably to and fro, and viſited all *Samnium*, having victuals by the country courteouſly allowed, the ancient league was granted again to the Samnits. From thence turned the Romans their forces againſt the Æquians, their old enemies; but for many years making ſemblance of quietneſs, where as indeed their peace was little to be truſted: for that the Hernick nation was ſafe and on foot, they with them, had uſed oftentimes under hand to ſend aid unto the Samnits; and alſo after the ſubduing of the Hernicks, the whole nation in a maner without diſſembling, and averring all they did by publick counſell and authority, had fallen away unto the enemie: and after that the Romans had made league with the Samnits, and their heralds came to make claim for their goods took from them by way of hoſtility, they ſaid, It was but a tempting of them, to ſee, whether upon fear of war they would ſuffer themſelves to become Romans. Which, ſay they, how greatly it were to be wiſh'd, the Hernicks was able to teach them: for they, as many of them as had liberty to do what they would, choſe rather to live under their own laws, then to be entranchiſed citizens of *Rome*: but others, who had not the ſame ſcope to chooſe to their liking, they were conſtrained to accept of the Burgeoiſie of their City, by way of a puniſhment. Upon theſe ſpeeches and arguments commonly toſſed in their aſſemblies and Councels, the people of *Rome* decreed war againſt the Æquians: to which both the Conſuls went, and encamped four miles from their enemies camp. The Æquians (who in their own behalf, and for any quarell of theirs, had many years ſat ſtill and made no war) like as if their army had been levied of a ſudden and in haſt, without certain Captains appointed, and without any Generall to command, were affraid. Some thought good to go forth into the field, others to defend themſelves, and keep within their camp: moſt of them were moved to think aforehand upon the waſting of their country afterwards, and conſequently the deſtruction of their cities left but with ſlender garriſons. Therefore after that, amongſt many opinions, this only had audience, namely, to abandon the care of publick weal and every man to regard his own privat ſtate, and at the firſt watch to depart divers waies one from the other, and quit the camp, and convey away all their bag and baggage, and to defend their Cities within the wals: they all with one accord accepted thereof, and imbraced it. Now when the enemies were thus ſcattered abroad about the country, the Romans by day-light, with banner diſplaied went forth into the field: and when they ſaw no man come abroad to meet them, they marched in warlike order apace towards the enemies camp. But when as they could perceive there, neither warders before the gats, nor any man upon the trench & rampiers, nor ſo much as the uſuall noiſe of a leaguer; being moved with this unaccuſtomed ſilence, for fear of forelaying and treachery, they ſtood ſtill: but being got over the rampier, and finding the tents void and empty, they ſet forward to purſue the enemy by his trace. But when they found their foot-tracks, leading to all parts of the Country alike: as being ſlipt here and there, ſundry and divers waies; at the firſt they wandred out of the way, and miſſed of them; but afterwards knowing by their eſpials the purpoſe and intent of their enemies, they went round about and beſieged every City, and in threeſcore daies wan forty towns all by aſſault: moſt part whereof were raz'd even with the ground, and conſumed into aſhes, and the nation of the Æquians utterly in a manner deſtroyed. Over the Æquians there was triumph; Whoſe calamity and deſolation was ſo fearfull an example, to the Marrucins, Marſi, Peligni, and Ferentins, that they ſent Orators to *Rome* to treat for peace and amity: and to all thoſe nations at their requeſt, a league was granted. The ſame year, *C. Flavius* a Notary or Regiſter by profeſſion, whoſe father *Cneus* was no better than of a ſlave made free, a man, thus deſcended of baſe and low parentage, howbeit otherwiſes crafty and eloquent withall, aroſe to be an Ædile Curule. I find in ſome records, that when he gave attendance in his calling to the Ædiles, and ſaw that his own Tribe were willing to give him their voices and elect him Ædile, but his name not accepted of among other competitours, for that he got his living by his pen, he caſt aſide his books and papers, and ſware an oath, that he would no longer be a Notary and uſe pencraft. But *Macer Licinius* avoucheth, that a good while before, that he gave over his writing, namely, after he had been Tribune, and born two Triumvirſhips, the one for the night miſrules, the other for the placing and tranſporting of a Colony. But they all agree upon this, that he became very ſtout, and in great contumacy oppoſed himſelf and made head againſt the Nobles that contemned his baſe birth. The civil law which before time was laid up in great ſecret by the Prieſts, and Prelats in their Arches, he publiſhed abroad: and ſet up a table in the great common place, in manner of a Calender, wherein all men might know worke-daies from holy-dayes; when it was lawfull to plead, and when not. Alſo in deſpite, and to the great heart-burning of the *Patritii*, he dedicated the temple of the goddeſſe *Concord* upon the Court of *Vulcan*: and by the generall conſent of the people, *Cornelius Barbatus* the high Prieſt was compelled to endite and pronounce the certain form of words therto belonging; notwithſtanding he conteſted and denied, that by the cuſtomes of their forefathers any could dedicate a Temple, unleſſe he were either Conſul or Generall of an army. And therefore by the authority of the Senat, a law was preferred to the people, That no man might dedicate a Temple or Altar, without permiſſion and conſent of the Conſul, or the more part of the Tribuns of Commons. I will report in this place a thing, of it ſelf not worthy of remembrance, but only for a proof and example of the liberty of the Commons againſt the pride and inſolencie of the Nobles. This *Flavius*, coming upon a time to viſit his Collegue lying ſick, by a complot afore hand of certain young gentle-

gentleman of the Patritians that ſat by his bed ſide, had no reverence done unto him, nor any one H
ſo much as roſe up at entrance into the chamber: whereupon, he commanded his ivory chair of State to be brought unto him, and ſet him ſelf upon it; and ſo he outfaced his adverſaries, that were ſo vexed to the heart with envy of his dignity. This *Flavius* was nominated & choſen Ædile, by the baſe faction of the commoners, banding together in the place of aſſemblies: who firſt took heart by the Cenſorſhip of *Appius Claudius* the firſt that ever diſtained and polluted the Senat, by bringing in the Sons of Libertins: and when he ſaw that no man accounted that Election of Senators good and lawfull, and perceived withall, that in the Court he had not that backing of Citizens which he ſought for; he intermingled in every Tribe certain of the moſt baſe perſons of the Commons: and ſo he corrupted both the common place and *Mars* field alſo. In ſo much as the Election of *Flavius* was reputed ſo unworthy an indignity, that moſt of the gentlemen of I
*Rome* laid away their gold rings and rich trapping of their horſes which were the ornaments and enſigns of their calling. And from the time forward the City was divided into two parts. One ſide was maintained and upheld by the true hearted people, ſuch as favoured and loved good things: the other by the faction of riffe-raffe and ſcum of the City; untill the time that *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius* were created Cenſors. *Fabius* to bring the City unto an uniform accord, and to withſtand this inconvenience, that the Elections of Magiſtrats ſhould not be carried away by the ſtrong hand of the vileſt and moſt abject perſons, made a ſeparation of all that baſe rabble, and caſt them into four Tribes, and called them * *Vrbanæ*. Which action of his (men ſay) was accepted with ſo great contentment and thankfulneſſe, that upon the good temperature of degrees, he purchaſed the ſurname of *Maximus*, which in ſo many victories he had not acquired and obtained. K
By him alſo (by report) it was ordained and inſtituted, that on the Ides of *July*, the horſemen rode, as it were, in a ſolemn muſter, and ſhewing their great horſes to the Cenſor.

* Tribes of the City ſuch as were born to no lands in the country: all the reſt were named Ruſticæ.

# The Tenth Book

## *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome. L

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the Tenth Book.

*Two Colonies were planted in* Sora *and* Alba. *The marſians of* Carſeola, *were reduced under obedience. The fellowſhip of the Augurs was augmented to the number of nine, whereas before they were wont to be but four. The law or edict as touching the appealing to the people, was now the third time propoſed by* Valerius *the Conſul. Two Tribes more were added to the reſt,* Anienſis *and* Terentina. *War was denounced againſt the Samnits, and fortunatly fought with them.* M
*What time as there was a battell given to the Tuſcans, Umbrians, Samnits and Gauls, under the conduct of* P. Decius, *and* Quintus Fabius, *and the Roman army was in great extremity of danger,* P. Decius *following the example of his father, devowed and expoſed himſelfe to die voluntarily, for to ſave the hoſt: and by his death obtained the victory of that journy, to his countrimen and fellow Citizens.* Papirius Curſor *put to flight an army of the Samnits, who were bound by a ſolemn oath not to depart out of the battel without victory, to the end, that with more magnanimity and reſolution, they ſhould enter into the field. The Cenſe was held, and the number taken of the Citizens, with the ſolemn purging and Luſtration of the City. And aſſeſſed there were* 262322 *pols.*

## *The Tenth Book of* T. Livius. N

WHen *L. Genutius* and *Ser. Cornelius* were Conſuls, there was reſt in a manner from all wars abroad; in ſuch ſort, as they had leiſure to place certaine Colonies at *Sora* and *Alba*: And for *Alba* there were enrolled 6000 inhabitants, to affront the Æquians. As for *Sora*, it had ſometimes belonged to the Volſcians territory; but the Samnits uſurped the poſſeſſion of it, and thither four thouſand were ſent to inhabit. The ſame year, the Arpinats and Trebulans were infranchiſed denizens at *Rome*. The Fruſinats were fined with the loſſe of one third part of their lands: for they were evidently detected to have ſollicited the Hernicks to rebellion: and after that the Conſuls Commiſſion from the Senat, had made due inquiſition, the principall O
heads of that conſpiracy, were ſcourged and beheaded, yet becauſe there ſhould not paſs a year clean without war, a journy was made (ſuch a one as it was) into *Umbria*; upon news, that there uſed to iſſue forth day by day, certain men in arms out of a cave, and to make rodes into the country about. Into this cave or peak, the Romans entred with their enſignes diſplayed: where by reaſon that it was a blind corner, they received many a wound, and ſpecially by throwing of ſtones

A ſtones; untill ſuch time as they found the other mouth of the cave (for it was a thorow-fare.) So they piled a deal of wood together at both ends, and ſet it on fire: with the ſmoke and vapour whereof, there were about 2000 armed men driven out of their hole, who ruſhing at laſt into the flame, deſirous to eſcape, were ſmothered and burnt to aſhes.

When as *M. Livius Denter*, and *C. Æmylius*, were Conſuls, the Æquians began to war again: for they hardly could abide and endure, that a Colony ſhould be planted upon their borders, as a frontier-fortreſs to bridle them, and aſſaied by all kind of force to win the ſame: but they were luſtily repulſed by the Inhabitants only within the town. Howbeit, ſuch a fear they made at *Rome*, becauſe it was not thought credible, that the Æquians alone of themſelves, ſo diſtreſſed as they
B were, would be ſo hardy as to take arms, that in regard of that trouble, a Dictator was named, to wit, *C. Junius Bubulcus*, with *T. Titinius* General of the horſe. Who at the firſt conflict ſubdued the Æquians, and upon the eighth day of his government returned into the City in triumph: and now the Dictator, dedicated the Temple of *Salus*, which he had vowed being Conſul, and had put out to workmen for to be builded, while he was Cenſor.

The ſame year a fleet of Greeks, under the conduct of *Cleonymus* a Lacedæmonian, arrived upon the coaſt of *Italy*, and won *Thuriæ*, a City of the Salentins. Againſt this enemy was the Conſul *Æmylius* ſent, who in one battel diſcomfited him, and drove him aboord. Thus *Thuriæ* was rendred again to the former Inhabitants, and the Salentine Country obtained peace and quietneſs. I find in ſome Records, that it was *Jun. Bubulcus* the Dictator who was ſent to the Salentins:
C and that *Cleonymus* before he was to encounter with the Romans, departed out of *Italy*. From thence he fetched a compaſs, and doubled the point of *Brunduſium*, and ſailed with a fore-wind through the midſt of *Venice* gulph: for that on the left hand the Haven-leſs and harbourleſs coaſts of *Italy*, and on the right, the Illyrians, Liburnians, and Iſtrians, fierce nations, and for the moſt part, reputed infamous, for roving and robbing by the ſea-ſide, put him in exceeding fear. So he arrived at length upon the river of *Venice*, lying far within the ſhore, and there he landed a few to diſcover the Coaſts: but hearing that the ſtrand that lay out againſt them was not broad and ſpacious, and when they were paſt over it, there were behind them the plaſhes (as it were) overflowed with the ſea-tides, and that not far off might be ſeen the champian fields near hand, and hils beyond; and diſcovering by this means the mouth of a very deep river, into which he ſaw,
D that the ſhips might be brought about as into a ſure harbour (now that rivers name was *Meduacus*) thither he commanded, that the Armada ſhould put in, and to make ſail up againſt the ſtream. The heavieſt veſſels, the chanel of the river would not bear: but the ſouldiers were tranſported in lighter barks and ſmall pinaces, and ſo fell at length with the levell and the plain Country, frequented with much people, by reaſon that three ſea-towns of the Patavins, inhabited that Territory. Being once landed, and having left a ſlender guard for their ſhips, they take Towns by aſſault, burnt houſes, plunder and drive away prizes both of men and catteil: and when they had once taſted of the ſweetneſs of booty and pillage, they went far from their ſhips. The allarm hereof was given at *Patavium* (now the Patavins were alwaies in arms, becauſe of the Gauls their borderers,) Wherupon they divided their fighting youth into two regiments: the one was led in-
E to thoſe quarters whereas the report went, that the Greeks forraged here and there all abroad: the other, becauſe they would not meet with the robbers and rovers, was conducted another way to the harbour, where the ſhips rid (about fourteen miles from the Town. And after they had ſlain the warders, they charged upon the ſmall barks. Whereupon the marriners were afraid, and were forced to retire their veſſels to the other bank-ſide. Likewiſe upon the main they ſped as well in fight againſt the ſtragling rovers: for when as the Greeks fled back to recover the harbour, the Venetians encountred them afront, and made head againſt them. So the enemies were environed in the midſt, and moſt of them ſlain: ſome that were taken priſoners, bewrayed what their fleet was, and that King *Cleonymus* was three miles off. There, when they had beſtowed the priſoners ſure enough in ward within the next village; ſome man with ſouldiers
F their river-veſſels, made fitly and framed with flat bottoms, for to paſs over the meers and ſhallow waſhes; others embark armed men in the ſmall gallions taken from the enemies; and made way apace to give an aſſault upon the main fleet, and beſet thoſe ſhips which rid at anchor, and durſt not weigh and remove, fearing not the enemy, ſo much as the unknown coaſts. Theſe, I ſay, they environed, and charged upon them: and when they made haſte to gain the deep and open ſea, without any reſiſtance at all, they were purſued and chaſed unto the mouth of the river. Thus when they had taken the enemies ſhips, and fired others, namely, ſuch as for fear and haſte were driven upon the ſhelves, and run a-ground, then they returned with victory. *Cleonymus* hardly ſaved the fifth part of his fleet. And thus having had no good luck in attempting to land in any coaſt of the Adriatick ſea, he departed. The ſtems of the ſhips, with their beak-
G heads, and brazen pikes, together with the ſpoils of the Lacedæmonians, were ſet up in the old Temple of *Juno*, and there be many at this day alive, which have ſeen them. The memoriall of this ſea-fight, is celebrated yearly (upon the very ſame day that it was fought) at *Patavium*, with a ſolemn skirmiſh and combate of ſhips repreſented upon the river, within the midſt of the City.

The ſame year was a League made at *Rome* with the Veſtins, who came to ſue for peace and amity. But from that time, there aroſe many and divers fearfull occurrents. For news came,

that

that *Hetruria* rebelled, which troubles took their beginning by occaſion of the civill diſſention H
and diſcord of the Aretins: who began to expell by force of arms the houſe and family of the
*Licinii* (mighty and puiſſant above the reſt) for very envy and repine of their wealth and ri-
ches. Over and beſides, the Marſians ſtood out, and by arms maintained their title to that part
of their territory, into which there had been a Colony of Carſeolans brought, to the num-
ber of four thouſand men, enrolled there to inhabit. Againſt which ſtirs and tumults, *Marcus
Valerius Maximus* was created Dictator, who made choice of *M. Æmylius Paulus* to be the
Commander of the Horſe. Which I rather beleeve to be true, than that *Q. Fabius*, a man of
thoſe years and that worth, after ſo many honourable dignities, ſhould be under *Valerius*. But
I would not deny, that the errour might grow by reaſon of the ſurname of *Maximus*. The I
Dictator having taken the field with his Army, in one battell diſcomfited the Marſians: and
after he had driven them into their walled and fenced Towns, *Miloniana*, *Pleſtina*, and *Freſilia*;
within few daies, he won them alſo over their heads: and having fined the Marſians with the
loſs of ſome part of their Territory, he received them into their ancient League again. Then all
the forces were emploied againſt the Tuſcans: and whiles the Dictator was departed to *Rome*
to take his Auſpices anew, the General of Horſe, being gone out a forraging, was by a ſecret
ambuſh entrapped. And having loſt certain enſigns, he was forced into the Camp, after a foul
ſlaughter and ſhameful flight of his men. Which fearfull cowardice is not like to have been in
*Fabius*, not only, becauſe if ever he deſerved his ſurname of *Maximus* by any commendable
parts, it was eſpecially for his proweſs in war; but alſo, for that in remembrance of *Papyrius* K
his cruelty toward him, he never could have been brought to fight, without the command-
ment or permiſſion of the Dictator. This diſcomfiture and loſs being reported at *Rome*, cau-
ſed a greater terrour than there was cauſe. For no leſs than if the Army had been utterly de-
feated, there was publiſhed and proclaimed a ſtay and ceſſation of all law-matters, warders be-
ſtowed at the gates, order taken for ſtanding watches in every ſtreet, and armour and darts car-
ried up to the wals. And after that all the younger ſort were ſworn and preſt to ſerve the Di-
ctator was ſent again to the Army. Where, he found all more quiet than he looked for, through
the careſull dilligence of the Generall of Horſe. The Camp was removed to a place of more
ſtrength and ſafety, the bands and companies which had loſt their enſigns, left on the bare
earth without the rampiers, deſtitute of tents and covert; and the army eager and deſirous of L
fight, to do away and raſe out the former ignominy and ſhame. Preſently therefore, he raiſed his
Camp, and removed forward into the country of *Raſella*. Thither followed the enemies alſo
hard at heels; Who albeit upon their late good ſpeed, they were in right great hope and affiance,
to be ſtrong enough even in open fight and plain field; yet they aſſail the enemy alſo by the ſame
ſleights and trains which they had already fortunately tried. There fortuned to be in the coun-
try thereabout, not far from the Romans Camp, certain houſes half pulled down and ruinate,
belonging to a village which was burned when the country was over-run: where, after they had
beſtowed cloſely certain men in arms, they drave their beaſts and cattel in the very ſight of
the Roman *corps de guard*, commanded by *C. Fulvius*, a Lieutenant: at which bait, when as
there ſtirred no man from the Roman wards, one of the Heardmen advanced even under the M
very trench and fortifications of the Romans, and called aloud to the reſt (that ſeemed for
fear to drive but ſlowly from the ruins of the village aforeſaid) asking why they ſtaied behind,
ſeeing they might ſafely march, and paſs forward ſtill (as it were) through the middle of the Ro-
man Camp? Theſe words certain Cærits interpreted to the Lieutenant *Fulvius*. Whereat, every
band or company of ſouldiers took great indignation, but durſt not ſtir a foot without a war-
rant. Then he commanded thoſe that were skilfull in the tongue to mark whether their language
ſounded neerer to the ſpeech of peaſants or to Citizens: Who brought word, that both their
voice, and alſo the habit and freſh hue of their bodies, was more elegant and civill than for coun-
try ſhepherds. Go your waies then (quoth he) unto them and bid them beware and diſcover their
ambuſh, which in vain they ſeem to hide: for that the Romans were cunning in all things, and N
advertiſed of their deſigns, and could no more now be overtaken with wiles, than overcome by
arms. When theſe words were once heard and carried to thoſe that lay in wait, preſently they ſtart
up out of their lurking holes, and brought forth their enſigns all abroad into the open field. The
lieutenant ſuppoſing they were a greater troop than might be dealt withall and matched by his
*corps de guard*, with all ſpeed ſent for aid to the Dictator: and in the mean while himſelf received
and bare off the brunt and forcible charge of his enemies. This meſſage was no ſooner brought,
but the Dictator commanded the ſtandards to be advanced, and the ſouldiers to arm and follow:
but every thing was done ſooner almoſt than it could be commanded: forthwith they caught
up the enſigns, and took weapon in hand: and ſcarcely could they be held in, but that they would
run amain. For not only the ſpiteful anger of the late received loſs pricked them on, but alſo O
the ſhouts of their fellows, which they might hear more loud, and to be redoubled thicker ac-
cording as the skirmiſh grew hotter and hotter. The greater haſte therefore they made, whiles one
putteth forward another, and crieth to the port-enſigns to go faſter and mend their pace. But the
more haſte the Dictator ſeeth them to make, the more earneſt was he to keep them back in their
march, and to hold them in; willing them to go fair and ſoftly. Contrariwiſe the Tuſcans, who
roſe up at the beginning of the battel, were there ready with their whole forces to give the charge.
Whereupon there came meſſenger after meſſenger to the Dictator, bringing word that all the

legions

A legions of the Tuſcans were entred into the fight, and that his men already were not able to reſiſt any longer. Nay himſelf alſo, from the higher ground, might ſee in what danger the *corps de guard* was. But preſuming and reſting upon this conceit, that the Lieutenant was able yet to maintain fight, conſidering that he was not far off himſelf to help and ſave him out of peril; he was deſirous that the enemies might be wearied and tired aſmuch as was poſſible, and that his own forces freſh and in heart, ſhould ſet upon them overtoiled. And albeit they went ſoftly forward, yet by this time had the Horſemen but a very ſmall ground to take their run with full career. Formoſt marched the enſigns of his legions, that the enemy ſhould not fear any covert and privy ſtratagem, but leave good ſpaces and diſtances between the files of their footmen, through which the Horſes B might have room and liberty enough to gallop with eaſe. Then all the battaillon of the Infantry ſet up a cry and ſhout when they charged, and withal, the Cavalry, with reins at large entred within the ranks of the enemies, who being not marſhalled and ſet in order againſt ſuch a bluſtring ſtorm of Horſemen, were with a ſudden fear aſtonied. Whereupon, the troop of *Fulvius* which erewhile was in manner environed and compaſſed about, and had help and reſcue almoſt too late, now all in general breathed themſelves at eaſe, and were put to nothing. For theſe that came freſh and luſty undertook the whole weight of the conflict: which was neither long nor doubtful. The enemies were put to flight, and in diſaray made haſt to recover their camp. And when as the Romans advanced againſt them with banner diſplayed, they quit their place and retreated, gathering themſelves round into heaps in the fartheſt part of the camp: and as they C would have fled out, they ſtuck faſt in the narrow gaps and paſſages of the gates: a great part of them leapt upon the banck, to climb the rampier, if haply either from the higher ground they might defend themſelves, or get over any where and eſcape. By chance in one place where the banck was not well rammed, the rampier was ſurcharged with the weight of ſo many ſtanding upon it, and ſo tumbled down into the trench. Whereupon, they ſet up a cry all together, That the Gods had made them way to eſcape, and by that means indeed they ſaved themſelves, but more of them unarmed than armed. In this battel, were the forces of the Tuſcans once again utterly abated: in ſo much as, after they had capitulated and promiſed a years pay, and corn for two months, the Dictator permitted them to ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome* for a treaty of peace. Peace was denied, but truce for two years granted: and the Dictator with triumph returned into the D City. I find in ſome writers; that *Hetruria* was by the Dictator quieted, without any notable battel, only by compoſing the variance and debate of the Aretins, and reconciling the family of the *Licinii* with the Commons.

*M. Valerius* upon his Dictatorſhip became Conſul. Some have believed that he was created without his own ſuit, yea, and while he was abſent, and that the ſaid Election was held by the Interregent. But howſoever it was, out of all queſtion, he bare the Conſulſhip with *Apuleius Panſa*. Whiles *M. Valerius* and *Q. Apuleius* were Coſſ. all was well quieted abroad: for the Tuſcans of one ſide, partly upon their ill ſucceſs in war, and partly by reaſon of their truce, were forced to be ſtil and in repoſe. The Samnits alſo on the other ſide, being well tamed with the overthrows ſo many years together, repented not yet, and were not weary of their new league. At *Rome* likeE wiſe, the Commons were quiet, and found themſelves much eaſed, and diſcharged of a great number of baſe and poor people, which were withdrawn and ſent away into Colonies. But becauſe their reſt ſhould not be every where entire and perfect, there aroſe a quarel between the chief and principal men of the City, as well the Nobles as Commons, and that by the ſuggeſtion and inſtigation of *Q.* and *Cn. Ogulnii*, Tribuns of the Com. Who having ſought occaſion and matter every way to accuſe and blame the Nobility unto the Commons; when they ſaw all means aſſayed in vain, at length entred into an action, whereby they kindled and ſet on fire not only the meaneſt, but even the chief heads of the Commons, ſuch as had been Conſuls, and triumphed: who wanted no promotions and honors, but only Sacerdotal dignities and Prelacies, which as yet were not indifferently common to both States. They propoſed therefore a Law, That whereas at that time Fthere were but 4. Augurs, and as many Prelats or Biſhops, and for aſmuch as they thought it good, that the number of Prieſts ſhould be increaſed, there might be choſen to the reſt, 4. Biſhops, and 5. Augurs, all out of the body of the Commons. But how this Colledge or Fellowſhip of Augurs, was reduced to the number of four, but by the death of two, I can not find: ſince this is certain, that among the Augurs the number muſt be odd: namely that the three ancient tribes, *Rhamnenſes*, *Titienſes*, and *Luceres*, ſhould have each one their Augur: or if they needed more, they ſhould with equal number increaſe thoſe Prieſts: like as they were augmented and multiplied, when as five being put to four, made up the number of nine; that is to ſay, for every tribe three. Howbeit, becauſe they were choſen out of the Commons who ſhould ſupply, and make up the number; the Nobles took it as grievouſly to the heart, as when they ſaw the Conſulſhip parted equally in G common: but they made ſemblance as though this indignity perteined to the Gods more than to them: who would themſelves ſee, that their holy ſervice and ſacred myſteries ſhou'd not be polluted. And as for them, this only they could do, namely, pray and wiſh, that no calamity thereby ſhould light upon the common-weal. But leſs earneſt were they in oppoſing themſelves and making reſiſtance, for that they were uſed already in all ſuch broils and contentions to have the worſe: and they ſaw beſides, that their adverſaries ſhot not at that (which in time paſt they could ſcarce hope for) namely, the greateſt honours and dignities: but that they had already obteined all, for which they had ſtrived ſo long in ſo doubtful terms of hope, to wit, manifold Conſulats,

Censorships, and Triumphs. Howbeit, the contention and dispute in debating and arguing to H
and fro the law proposed, was mainteined (as men say) between *Ap. Claudius* especially, and *P. Decius Mus*: and after they had contested and discoursed in their Orations *pro & contra*, the same reasons in manner, touching the rights and liberties pretended by the Nobles and Commons, which sometimes had been alleaged, both for, and against the law *Licinia*, at what time as
*P. Decius Mus against Ap. Claudius.* as it was set on foot for the Commons to be Consuls; *Decius* (as it is said) represented in open audience the very resemblance and shew of his father, in such manner, as many of them who were then present at the assembly, had seen him: to wit, girded and apparelled in Gabine robe, standing over his javelin, in which gesture, habit, and fashion, he offered himself to voluntary death, for to save the people and legions of the Romans; "Seemed (quoth he) *P. Decius*, that I "then was Cos. as pure and religious in the sight of the immortal Gods, as if *T. Manlius* his col- "league had been likewise devowed and offered? and might not the same *P. Decius* have rightly "been chosen, to execute the publick divine service and sacrifices of the people of *Rome*? or is this "all the fear and doubt, that the Gods would give less ear to his prayers, than to *Ap. Claudius*? or "doth *Ap. Claudius* with more devotion serve God privately, and worship the Gods more re- "ligiously, than himself? Who was there ever that repented or misliked of the vows, which so "many Consuls and Dictators of the Com. either at their first setting forth to their armies, or in "time of war and battel, pronounced for the Common-wealth? Reckon and count the chief "Captains, year by year, since the first time that the Commons began to have the leading and "conduct of the wars: number all the triumphs ever since: it will appear that the Commons are K
"no whit abashed, and have no cause to complain of their own nobility. And this I know for "certain, that if any new sudden war should arise, the Senat and people of *Rome* would repose "no more hope and confidence in the ancient *Patritii*, than in the Com. for to be the Captains "and Commanders. This being so, quoth he, what God or man can think it an indignity, to "adorn those persons also with the titles and ornaments of Bishops and Augurs, whom ye have "honoured with chair of Ivory, with the long robe bordered with purple, with the coat of arms "embroidred and branched with the palm tree, with the gown or mantle of purple, wrought with "divers colours, with the chaplets and coronets of triumph, and with the victorious branch and "garland of lawrel; whose houses ye have beautified above the rest, with setting up the spoils of "enemies? Or who can thinck much, if he be seen with a sacring cup, or holy-water pot, and with L
"a croisier staff, and his head vailed, either to kill a sacrifice, or to take Augury by flight of birds "from the castle hill; who hath been adorned and decked with the ensigns and ornaments of the "great God *Jupiter*, and hath ridden in a gilded chariot through the City into the Capitol? Or in "whose Title, inscription and stile over his image, men shall with content, read Consulship, Cen- "sorship, and Triumph; will not the same abide to see and read, that ye have added thereunto ei- "ther Augurship, or Pontifical dignity? I verily for my part hope (without the displeasure, and "with reverence of the Gods be it spoken) that we by the beneficence of the people of *Rome* are "such, as for our quality and worthiness, may and will yeeld no less credit and honor to our "Priest-hoods than we shall receive thereby: and who desire, in regard of the honor and service "of God, more than for our own sakes and proper interest, to have the means, That whom we M
"serve and reverence in private, those we may also worship and honor publickly. But why have "I hitherto so pleaded the cause, as if the *Patritii* were entirely alone intituled and invested in the "prerogative of Sacerdotal Dignities; and as though we were not already possessed of one right "honorable and principal Priest-hood? We see that the Decemvirs for celebration of sacrifices, "and for interpretation of *Sibylla* her Propheses, and other the fatal destinies of this people, the "Prelats also and Ministers of *Apollo* his sacrifice, and other Holy Ceremonies, are of the Com- "mons. Neither was there any injury done unto the *Patritii* at that time, when for to gratify the "Commons, the number of the Duumvirs was increased; those I mean, who should oversee (as "superintendents) the offering of sacrifices. And now at this present they have no greater cause to "complain, if the Tribun, a stout and brave man, hath added five places more of Augurs, and four N
"of Bishops, unto which commoners may be nominated: not to dispossess you of your rooms, "or to displace you, O *Appius*, but that men of the commons might assist you in the function and "ministery of divine service and Church matters: like as they do their part, and perform good ser- "vice in human and civil affairs. And be not ashamed, O *Appius*, to have him for your colleague in "the Priest-hood, whom you might beserm to have in Consulat or Censorship, your companion "and fellow; unto whom being Dictator, you might be Collonel of Horse; as well as he to you in "your Dictatorship. Those ancient Nobles in old time (our progenitors) admitted into their num- "ber and order, a Sabine stranger, the very head and top of your nobility, one *Ap. Clausus*, or *Ap. "Claudius* (chose you whether.) You must not think much then, to accept us into the number of "Priests. We bring with us many honorable titles, even all the same that make you so proud, and O
"to bear your head aloft. *L. Sextius* was the first Commoner, created Consul; and *C. Licinius Stolo* "the first Collonel of Horse. *C. Rutilius* was the first Dictator and Censor, and *Q. Publius Philo* the "first Prætor. We have heard this song evermore sounding in our ears, That to you alone perta- "neth the taking of Auspicia: that you only are of noble descent and gentility: that ye and none "but ye, by right and duty ought to manage the affairs, and the soveraign government, both at "home and abroad: and yet alwayes hitherto the commons in their places and charges, have done "and sped as well as the *Patritii*, and henceforth ever shall (I doubt not.) What? heard ye never

"it

A "it ſpoken, that the *Patritii* were at firſt made and created, and not deſcended from Heaven; but "ſuch as were able to name their father and grandſire; that is to ſay, even free men juſt, and "no more? What? I my ſelf can nominate already mine own father to have been a Conſul, and "ſhortly ſhall my ſon be able to alledge his grandſire. There is nothing elſe, O *Quirites*, in the "matter whereupon we ſtand, but that we may obtein all which hath been denied us. For the "Nobles deſire only to maintain a ſide and to contend, and care not greatly what iſſue their "contentions come unto. As for me, I do adviſe, and this would I have, That (to the good pro-"fit, and happy eſtate of you all, and the weal publick) this law may paſs under your affirmative "voyce [*Uti rogâſtis.*] Then preſently the people commanded the Tribes to be called to a ſcruti-
B ny: and ſoon it appeared, that the law would without all doubt be accepted: but that day was loſt, by the oppoſition and negative of ſome Tribuns. Howbeit, the morrow after, they were afraid to croſs it; and then with exceeding conſent of all hands it paſſed cleer. So there were created Prelats or Biſhops; firſt, *P. Decius Mus* himſelf (that ſo pleaded for the law) with *P. Sempronius Sophus*, *C. Martius Rutilus*, and *M. Livius Denter*. Likewiſe five Augurs of the Commons, to wit, *C. Genutius*, *P. Ælius Paetus*, *M. Minutius Feſtus*, *C. Martius*, and *T. Publius*. So there were eight Prelats in number, and nine Augurs.

The ſame year, *M. Valerius* the Conſul, procured the law of appealing to the people, more ſurely to be eſtabliſhed and confirmed. This was now the third time after the depoſition of the Kings, that this one Act was revived; and alwayes by the ſame houſe or family of the *Valerii*. The
C cauſe of renuing the ſame ſo often, was no other I ſuppoſe, than this; for that the mightineſs of ſome few great men of the *Patritii*, was more powerful than the liberty and freedom of the Commons. Only the Law *Portia*, ſeemeth to have been enacted for to ſave the back and ſides of Citizens from whipping, becauſe that it awarded and ſet a grievous puniſhment upon him, that either had beaten or killed a Citizen of *Rome*. The Law *Valeria*, which forbad, to ſcourge or behead any man whoſoever, that made his appeal, had this annexed only, that if any one had treſpaſſed and proceeded farther, it ſhould be decreed, *Leaudly and naughtily done*. Such was the modeſty and reverence of men in thoſe dayes, that this one addition [in my conceit verily] was ſuppoſed to be a ſufficient bond to ſtrengthen the Law. But now adayes, would a man ſcarcely threaten his ſervant or ſlave in that manner.

D The ſame Conſul made war, without any worthy or memorable exploit, againſt the Æquians that rebelled; who (ſetting aſide their ſtout and proud ſtomacks) had nothing left of their ancient fortune and eſtate. The other Coſſ. *Apuleius*, beſieged the Town **Nequinum* in *Umbria*. The place was difficult and hard to get up, and on the one ſide ſteep down right (whereas now ſtandeth *Narnia*) ſo that it was impregnable, either by aſſault, or countermures and ſconces whatſoever. Whereupon, the new Conſuls, *M. Fulvius Paetus*, and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, entred upon this enterpriſe, left undone and unfiniſhed by the former. Now when all the Centuries nominated with one voyce *Q. Fabius* for the Conſulſhip of that year, even without his own ſuit and ſeeking; *Macer Licinius* and *Tubero* do write, that he himſelf laboured to have that charge put off, and reſerved unto a year of more war: alledging, that for the preſent he would ſerve the Com-
E mon-weal in better ſtead, by bearing ſome civil office in the City: and ſo neither diſſembling what he rather deſired, nor yet ſeeking for it, he was made Ædile of the Chair, with *L. Papirius Curſor*. But, to ſet this down for a certain truth I dare not; becauſe that *Piſo*, a more ancient Writer of Chronicles, ſaith, that the Ædiles Curule of that year, were *C. Domitius*, *Cn. F. Calvinus*, *Sp. Carvilius*, and *Q. Fabius Maximus*. That ſurname, I ſuppoſe verily, gave occaſion of the error in the Ædiles. Whereupon enſued a tale (ſorting to that error) mixed and compounded of the Elections of Ædiles and Conſuls together. The ſame year was held a ſolemn ſurvey and purging of the City by ſacrifice, called *Luſtrum*, by *P. Sempronius Sophus*, and *P. Sulpitius Averrio*, and two Tribes more were added to the reſt, *Anienſis*, and *Tarentina*. And thus much concerning the affairs at *Rome*.

* The ſame that *Narnia*.

F But now to return to *Nequinum*; after much time ſpent in long and lingring ſiege before the Town two of the inhabitants, whoſe houſes joyned cloſe to the wall, undermined the ground, and by a ſecret way came as far as the *corps de guard* of the Romans. From whence they were brought before the Conſul, and promiſed him to let in and receive what garriſon and troop of armed men he would, within the City. This offer was thought neither to be neglected and refuſed, nor yet raſhly to be credited. So with the one of theſe twain (for the other was kept behind as an hoſtage) two other ſpies were ſent by the ſame mine to diſcover the train. By whoſe relation, when it appeared ſufficiently, that all was ſafe and without danger: by the leading and guiding of the traitor aforeſaid, 300 armed men by night entred the City, & ſeized that gate which was next unto them: at which being broken open, the Conſul and the Roman army without reſiſtance, made entry, and
G ſurpriſed the City. In this ſort *Nequinum* was reduced to the obedience of the people of *Rome*. A Colony was thither ſent to Frontier againſt the Umbrians called of the * Rivers name [which runneth under it] * *Narnia*. And the army with a rich prize was brought again to *Rome*.

* *Nar*, now *Negra*.

* *Neni*.

The ſame year the Tuſcans, contrary to the tenure of the truce, made preparation for war. But whiles they were buſily occupied otherwiſe, it fortuned, that a puiſſant army of Gauls invaded their marches, and for a while altered their deſignments. Afterwards, by the means of mony whereof they were full and bare themſelves mighty, they ſought to make the Gauls, of enemies to become their friends, and ſollicited them to band together, and ſo jointly to main-

tain war with the Romans. Their ſociety and friendſhip the barbarous people refuſed not; only, H
they ſtood upon the ſum what they ſhould have for their hire. Which being agreed upon and received, and all things elſe in a readineſs for to go into the field; when the Tuſcans willed them to follow after, they flatly denied, that they had received any conſideration for to make war upon the Romans: but whatſoever they had taken, it was becauſe they ſhould not waſt the Tuſcan Land, and by way of hoſtility and force of arms, do any violence upon the inhabitants: howbeit, if the Tuſcans were ſo minded to employ them, they would be willing to ſerve; but for no other reward and recompence, than to be admitted into part of their territory; that at the length they might have ſome certain place of abode, to ſettle themſelves in. Many Diets and conſultations hereabout were held by the States of Tuſcan, but nothing reſolved and concluded: not ſo much, I
for that they feared to part with ſome of their Lands, as becauſe they were in great dread every one and abhorred, to have dwelling by them ſuch neighbours, deſcended from ſo ſavage a race and cruel Nation. Thus were the Gauls let go and diſmiſſed, having away with them a huge maſs of mony, which they got without any travel or peril of theirs.

The bruit of the Gauls tumult and inſurrection, together with the Tuſcans war, cauſed no little fear at *Rome*. Whereupon, more haſt was made to conclude a league with the * *Picene* people. *T. Manlius* the Conſul had the charge of the Tuſcan war allotted unto him. Who ſcarcely was entred into the confines of the enemies, but as he was training and exerciſing amongſt the Horſemen, he ran his Horſe with full carier, and ſuddenly as he turned about, was caſt off, and preſently lay for dead: and ſo the Conſul, three dayes after his fall, ended his life. Which the Tuſcans K
taking hold of, as a good ominous token and preſage, got heart and were very jolly; ſaying, that the Gods had in favour of them, begun this war. This was heavy news at *Rome*, both for the loſs of ſo brave a perſonage, and for the time, wherein ſo unhappily it fell out: ſo as, the aſſembly held (by the advice of the chief Peers) for to ſubſtitute a Conſul in his place that was deceaſed, frighted the Senators from chuſing a Dictator. All their ſentences, and all the centuries gave with *M. Valerius* to be Conſul: who was the man, whom the Senat was about to have pricked for Dictator. Then forthwith, they ordained him to go into Tuſcany to the army. Whoſe coming ſuppreſſed and kept under the Tuſcans; ſo as not a man durſt once go out of their trenches and hold. Even their very fear was as good as a ſiege unto them: for that the new Conſul neither by waſting the fields, nor firing their houſes in ſuch ſort, as every where, not only the ſmall villages, but alſo L
the good and wel-peopled Towns were ſeen to ſmoke and burn again, could draw them forth to fight.

* Marca Anconа.

This war continued longer than men thought: but behold, there aroſe a bruit of another; (which, conſidering the mutual loſſes of both ſides, was for good cauſes greatly to be feared) upon intelligence given from the Picenes their new allies, namely, that the Samnits were about to take arms and rebel, and had ſollicited them alſo to do the ſame. The Picentes were highly thanked for this, and a great part of the Senators care was diverted now from Tuſcany to the Samnits. The dearth beſides of corn and victuals troubled the City: and driven they had been to extream famine, if *Fabius Maximus* (as they have written, who are of opinion that he was Ædile that year) by provident purveighing and diligent conveighing of corn, had not been as careful and M
induſtrious, in the diſpenſing of victual now at home, as many times before in war affairs. The ſame year there was an Interreign, but upon what occaſion, it is not known. The Interregents were *App. Claudius* and after him *P. Sulpitius*, who held an Election of Conſuls, and created *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *Cn. Fulvius*.

In the beginning of this year, there came Orators from the Lucans to theſe new Conſuls, for to make complaint, That the Samnits, who by no conditions and means could induce them for to band and take arms with them, were entred into their confines, and made waſt of the "country, and by very force provoked them to war, ſaying, That the Lucans had long ago over- "ſhot and paſſed themſelves that way: but now they were ſo fully reſolute, that they could "find in their hearts ſooner to abide and endure all kind of calamity whatſoever, than ever after N
"to offend and diſpleaſe the Roman name. They beſought the Senat therefore, to receive the "Lucans into their protection, and alſo to keep and defend them from the violence and injury of "the Samnits. And for themſelves, albeit entering into war already with the Samnits, they were of neceſſity obliged to be faſt and true unto the Romans: yet for better ſecurity they were ready to put in ſufficient hoſtages. The Senat was not long conſulting hereabout: but all with one conſent were of opinion, to make league with the Lucans, and to ſummon the Samnits to make amends and reſtitution. The Lucans, beſides a courteous and gracious anſwer, were accepted into the league. Then were there Fecial Heralds diſpatched to the Samnits, to give them warning for to depart the territory of the Roman allies, and to withdraw their forces out of the confines of the Lucans. But the Samnits ſent out certain meſſengers to meet them upon the way, and O
to denounce unto them, that if they preſented themſelves in any Councel within *Samnium*, they ſhould not depart again with ſafeguard of their perſons. When theſe news were heard at *Rome*, both the Senat adviſed, and the people allowed, to make war upon the Samnits. The Conſuls parted their Provinces and charges between themſelves. To *Scipio* fell *Hetruria*, and the Samnits to *Fulvius*: and ſo they take their journey divers wayes, each one to the war allotted unto him. *Scipio* looked for no other, but a lingering war at the enemies hands, and like to the defenſive ſervice of the former year: but behold, they with an army well appointed and arranged,

A arranged, encountred him and gave him battel neer to * *Volaterræ*; where they fought the better part of the day, with much bloodshed on both sides: and whiles they were doubtful which way the victory went, the night came between. But the morning after bewrayed both who were winners, and who were losers. For the Tuscans in the still and dead time of the night dislodged. The Roman Consul coming forth into the field, and seeing by the enemies departure, the victory confessed; went forward to the camp: which he found empty of men, but full of rich pillage, (for they had fearfully and in great hast abandoned their tents) and was master thereof. From thence he retired his forces into the territory of the Faliscans: and after he had left at *Falerii*, all his bag and baggage with a meetly garrison there; lightly appointed, he marched forward, and with a B running camp wasted the marches and territories of his enemies. He put all to fire and sword: drave away booties from all parts: and left not the ground only, wast and desart, but set fire also upon Castles and borrough Towns. Only he forbare to assault the great and strong Cities, into which fear had driven the Tuscans for refuge. *Cn. Fulvius* the Consul on the other part fought a noble battel in *Samnium*, neer * *Bovianum*, and the victory was no whit doubtful. After which he assailed *Bovianum*, and not long after *Aufidena*: and both Cities he wan by force. The same year was there a Colony bronght to * *Carseoli* within the territory of the *Æquiculi*. And *Fulvius* the Consul triumphed over the Samnits.

* Volterra.

* Boiano.

* Arceolo.

When as now the time of the Consuls Election drew neer; there was a rumour raised, that the Tuscans and Samnits were levying and enrolling of great and mighty forces: that openly in all their C Assemblies and Diets, the Princes of the Tuscans were checked and reproved, for that they had not waged the Gauls to war, whatsoever it had cost them: that the Magistrates of the Samnits were blamed, for exposing that army as it were a prey unto the Romans, which had been provided against their enemies the Lucans. For now seeing that the enemies both with their own power, and also with the help of their allies, were come to war; they should not be able to match them, having their forces thus redoubled. Now albeit there were other famous and renowned persons stood to be Consuls, yet this new fear and affright turned all men to be come favourits of *Q. Fabius Maximus*: who at the first made no suit, and afterwards, seeing the inclination of their affections, refused also to be Consul. "Demanding what they meant to trouble and molest him, so "aged a man as he was, and one, who as as he had gone through all labours and travels of this D "world; so he had passed also the rewards, and recompences of his travels: alledging, that neither strength of body, nor vigor of spirit could alwayes continue the same, and last for ever: and "besides, he feared fortune her self, lest haply she might be thought of any of the Gods too pro- "pitious and favourable unto him, and more permanent than the ordinary train and course of "this world would permit. Therefore, like as himself had grown up after the glory of his elders, "and succeeded them; so he saw and beheld with joy of heart, others also rising up after him, and "to succeed him in the like glory: and as there wanted not at *Rome* high promotions and advance- "ments for hardy and valiant men, so there failed not brave men of worth for to receive those "honors and dignities. But by this refusal of his so modest, so just and reasonable he whetted and kindled more and more their earnest affections and favours towards him, which he thinking to E dull and quench, with the reverent regard and awe of the laws, commanded a statute to be read, wherein it was not lawful for one and the same man within ten years to be created Consul twice. But scarcely for the noise that the people made, could this law be heard read: and the Tribuns of the Com. said, that this should be no let: for they would prefer a bill unto the people, that he might be discharged and dispensed withal from the Statutes in that behalf. Howbeit he stood stiffly stil in his refusal: demanding of them to what purpose and end were the laws made, if by the very makers thereof, they might be thus deluded and made of no force? For so (qd. he) laws ruled not, but were over-ruled. But nevertheless, the people went to a scrutiny and began to give their voyces: and as every Century was called into the rails, they named and chose *Fabius* Consul, without sticking at the matter. Then at last, overcome with this general accord and consent of the F "whole City: God say Amen (quoth he) O *Quirites*, to that you do and are about. But for as- "much as you wil have your wil and dispose of me at your pleasure, do me this favour yet, that I "may have the chusing of my Colleague. I beseech you make Consul with me, *P. Decius*, a man ap- "proved unto me already, with whom, I have sorted well in the fellowship of another office: a "man I say, answerable otherwise to the greatness of his name, and worthy of his fathers vertue, "from whom he is descended. This favour which he requested, seemed unto them just and reason- able. So all the Centuries behind, created *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius* for Consuls.

The same year the Ædiles served process upon very many Citizens; for holding and possessing of more Lands, than by Law was limited: and none in a manner was able to acquit himself hereof. Which was a great bridle and restraint to their unmeasurable avarice. As the G new Consuls, *Q. Fabius Maximus* the fourth time, and *P. Decius Mus* the third time, conferred and laid their heads together about their charges, that the one should take in hand the Samnits, and the other the Tuscans; and consulted what forces might serve and be sufficient for this or that Province and exploit; and to whether war either of them were the more meet and sufficient Leader; certain Embassadors, from *Sutrium*, *Nepet*, and *Falerii*, advertised them, That the States of Tuscanie, were now consulting in their Diets, about a Treaty of peace: which was an occasion, that they turned all their preparations and forces into *Samnium*. The Consuls being gone forth, to the end they might have the readier provision of grain and,

Victuals, and the enemy be more to seek, which way they would assail them, led their Legions H
into *Samnium*; *Fabius*, through the territory of *Sora*, and *Decius* by the way of the Sidicins. When
they were come into the confines of their enemies, both of them spred themselves all abroad, and
fell to forrage and spoil the country: yet so, as they sent out their espials farther than they wasted.
Whereupon, they were well aware of their enemies, as they lay in ambush well appointed, with-
in a close and secret valley neer *Tifernum*; what way as they thought to take the vantage of the
higher ground, and to set upon the Romans so soon as they were once entred in. *Fabius* having
removed his carriages into a sure place, and set there a competent guard for defence, fore-told his
souldiers that there was a battel towards: and in a four-square battaillon marched directly to the
forsaid Embascado, where the enemies lurked and lay in wait. The Samnits then, despairing and I
out of all hope to do any great exploit, by sudden tumult, considering their trains were discover-
ed; and seeing they must once at the length come to the tryal in open field, were themselves also
more willing to put all upon a set battel. Thereupon they descended into the plain and even
ground, and committed themselves to the fortune of fight, with more courage of heart than hope
of victory. But were it, that they had assembled together the whole flour and manhood out of
all the Nations of the Samnits, or that the hazard of the main chance made them more hardy and
take the better heart: surely even in plain field, they held the Romans play and put them to great
fear. *Fabius* seeing the enemies no way to retreat and give ground, commanded *M. Flavius* and
*M. Valerius*, two Colonels, with whom he had set forward and advanced into the forefront, to
go to the Horsemen, and to exhort them, If ever they remembred and called to mind, that the K
Common-wealth had been helped by the valour of the Gentlemen on horseback, they should that
day endeavour to make invincible and eternal the glory of that degree and order of Cavalry. For
seeing that the enemies stood unmoveable against the Infantry, there was no other hope but in
the force of Horsemen: and here withal he called upon those two young Gentlemen, and plyed
both the one and the other with like courtesy, one while praising them, another while loding
them with fair and large promises. But when as the assay of that force likewise, prevailed not,
thinking where strength would take no place, there craft was to be tryed and practised, he caused
*Scipio* his Lieutenant, to withdraw out of the conflict, the javeliniers of the first legion, and as
closely as he could to fetch about with them, toward the next hills: and then, to march up the
hill some way from the sight of the enemies; and after he had gained the top, all of a sudden to L
shew himself behind, and charge upon the enemies backs, whiles their faces were turned ano-
ther way. Now the Horsemen, by the direction of those two Colonels, being ridden of a sudden
before the standards, troubled their own fellows almost as much as the enemies. For against these
troops and cornets of Horse that thus violently put forward, the Samnits battel stood unmovea-
ble, and on no part could either be forced to retreat, or to break their array. The Horsemen when
they saw this attempt to take no effect, retired themselves behind the ensigns, and departed out
of the battel. Hereupon took the enemies more heart unto them; neither had the vanguard of
the Romans been able to abide so long a conflict, and the violence of the enemies still encreasing,
upon their own confidence, but that the second ranges in the middle ward, by the Consul his com-
mandment, came forward into the front of the vanguard. Where they with their fresh strength, M
slayed the Samnits, being now ready to enter forceably upon them, and to gain the ground: and
withal, at the time appointed, the ensigns shewed themselves from the hills, and came down un-
awares to the enemies; and setting up a shout, not only daunted the hearts of the Samnits [but al-
so encouraged the Romans.] For both *Fabius* cryed aloud, that his Colleague *Decius* approached,
and every souldier for his part, what he might, with joyful and cheerful hearts, iterated, that the
other Consul was come, and the legions were at hand. Which error and mistaking, as it turned to
the good of the Romans, so it caused the Samnits to flie, and to be surprized with a fright, fear-
ing and doubting nothing so much, as that being now overtoiled and wearied, they should be
overcharged also with fresh and lusty forces, And for that in their running every way, they were
scattered asunder, there was less slaughter than for the preparation of so great a victory. For 3400 N
only were slain, and of prisoners were taken, welneer three hundred and thirty: and three and
twenty bonners and ensigns won and carried away. The Apulians had joyned with the Samnits
before the battel, but that *P. Decius* the Consul encamped against them at *Maleventum*, and hav-
ing drawn them forth to fight, discomfited them. Where also there were more that fled, than
died upon the sword: for not above 2000 Apulians were slain. And *Decius* making no reckon-
ing of that enemy, conducted his legions into *Samnium*. Where, two Consular hosts, having
over-run the country in divers parts, within five months space laid all wast and desolate. Five and
forty places there were in *Samnium*, where *Decius* had encamped: and eighty six, wherein the o-
ther Consul had pitched. In which, they left behind them not only the marks of stakes, rampires,
and ditches, but also many other more notable signs and tokens of the country wasted all about, O
and utterly spoiled by them. *Fabius* besides, won the City *Cimetra*. Where there were taken
prisoners two thousand and four hundred armed souldiers, and slain there were in fight upon
430.

From thence he went to *Rome* against the Election of new Consuls, and made all the hast he
could to dispatch that business. And when as all the Centuries first called forth to give their suf-
frages named *Q. Fabius* for the Consul; then *Appius Claudius* a Consular man, and one of the
Competitors, a grim sir, and ambitious by nature, laboured no more for his own honour and ad-
vancement,

A vancement, than to recover again unto the *Patritii*, both the rooms of the Conſulſhip, and employeda s well his own devoir, as alſo all the means and aſſiſtanc e of the *Patritii* and Nobility, to have himſelf choſen Conſul with *Q. Fabius*. As for *Fabius*, at the firſt, ſpake and alledged in his own be half; the ſame reaſons in manner which he had uſed the former year, and refuſed to be Conſul. The whole body of the Nobility ſtood about his ſeat, praying inſtantly, and entreating him to pluck the Conſulſhip out of the mire and baſe degree of theſe Commons, and to reſtore the ancient Majeſty both to the Magiſtracy it ſelf, and alſo to the *Patritii* and their houſes and families. *Fabius* after ſilence made, framed a middle and moderate kind of ſpeech, whereby he appeaſed and allayed their hot affection, promiſing and aſſuring them, that he would willingly ac-
B cept the names of two of the Nobility, if he might ſee, that they would create any other Conſul but himſelf: for at this preſent Election, he would in no wiſe admit himſelf, to be eligible and nominated Conſul, and give ſo bad a precedent to prejudice all courſe of law, for the time to come. So *L. Volumnius*, out of the body of the Commons, was created Conſul with *App. Claudius*, who likewiſe in the former Conſulſhip had been matched Colleagues together. The Nobility uſed to object unto *Fabius*, and reproached him, that he avoided *App. Claudius* to be his companion in government, who for eloquence and other civil parts was no doubt a ſingular and excellent man. When the Election was ended, the old Conſuls were commanded to war in *Samnium*, having their Government continued, and their commiſſion renued for ſix months. And ſo in the year following likewiſe, when *L. Volumnius* and *Appius Claudius* were Conſuls, *P. Decius*,
C who being Conſul, had been left behind his Collegue in *Samnium*, ceaſed not now in quality and name of Proconſul, to waſt the country; until at length, when the Samnits would in no place abide battel, they were by him chaſed out of their own borders and limits. And thus driven out of the field, and excluded out of their own country, they went into *Hetruria*. Where, ſuppoſing that with ſo huge a multitude of armed men, they ſhould do that more effectually with intreaty and prayers, mingled with threats among, which by ſo many Embaſſages they had ſo oft attempted in vain; they called for a Diet and general Councel of the States and Princes of *Hetruria*.
"Which being aſſembled, they declared and ſhewed, for how many years ſpace they had main-
"tained war with the Romans in the right of their freedom; that they had aſſayed all means, if
"haply they might have been able by their own puiſſance alone, to ſuſtain and ſupport the weight
D "of ſo huge and important a war: that they had beſides made proof of the aids of other neigh-
"bour nations, but to little effect; that they had ſought for peace of the people of *Rome*, when
"they were not able to wage war any longer: and becauſe peace was more grievous unto them
"with that ſubjection, than war with their liberty, they had rebelled and made war again: and
"now their only hope they had, remained in the Tuſcans: knowing well enough, that for men,
"munition, and mony, they were the mightieſt nation of all *Italy*; as having to their neighbours
"the Gauls, a people born and bred up in armor and war: by natural diſpoſition fierce and cruel,
"but eſpecially in any quarrel againſt the people of *Rome*: of whom they do (and not untruly re-
"port) that they were by them vanquiſhed and conſtrained to ranſome themſelves for gold.
"Now, if the Tuſcans were of that heart and courage, as *Porſena* ſometimes, and other their no-
E "ble progenitors were: there were no doubt, but that they might diſſeize the Romans, and diſ-
"poſſeſs them of all the ground on this ſide *Tybris*, and make them fight for the defence and pre-
"ſervation of their lives, and not for the intollerable ſeignory and dominion of *Italy*. They ſaid
"moreover, that there was now come unto them an army of Samnits, well appointed and fur-
"niſhed with armour, and ſtored with pay and mony, who would follow them forthwith, even
"to the aſſault of the City of *Rome*, if they would lead them.

Whiles they were thus braving, and gloriouſly boaſting themſelves, and preparing of war in Tuſcanie, the Romans war at their own dores, lay ſore upon them, and ſtung them at the heart. For *P. Decius* having learned by the eſpials, that the Samnits army was gone forth, and had taken their voyage, aſſembled a Councel and ſaid, What mean we thus to range over the fields, war-
F ring from village to village? And not rather aſſail the walled Towns and ſtrong Cities? There is no army now, that defendeth *Samnium*: gone they are out of their confines, and wrought their own exile and baniſhment. When they all had allowed of this motion, he led forth his power to aſſault the ſtrong City *Murgantia*. And ſo hotly were the ſouldiers ſet, both for the love they bare to their Captain, and alſo for hope of winning a richer pillage thereby, than by driving booties out of the country, that in one day by mere force of arms they won the Town. Where two thouſand and one hundred Samnits, fighting men, either fell upon the edge of the ſword, or were taken priſoners, with a great and rich booty beſides. But for fear that it ſhould ſurchage and encumber the army with heavy carriages, *Decius* cauſed his ſouldiers to be called together unto an audience, and thus to them he ſaid. "And will ye ſtand contented indeed with
G "this victory only, and this prey? Or will ye build your hope ſtill, anſwerable to your proweſs
"and valour? All the Cities of the Samnits, all the ſubſtance and riches that lieth and remaineth
"in their Cities are yours for aſmuch as ye have in ſo many battels vanquiſhed their legions and
"at laſt driven them out of their own country. Sell theſe prizes, and with hope of gain draw
"after you chapmen and merchants to follow the army. I will from time to time ſtill help you to
"wares and commodities for to ſell. Let us go from hence ſtreight to the City *Romulea*, where
"your toil ſhall not be ſo great, but the ſpoil far greater. So when they had made ſale of their pillage, and willingly of themſelves called upon and exhorted their Captain to that expedition,

to

to *Romulea* they go. Where likewiſe, without mure and platform, without warlike engines of H
battery, ſo ſoon as they advanced their enſigns, and approached the walls, they could by no violence be driven from thence, but ſet up ladders in all haſt, at the next place that every man could find, and ſo ſcaled up the walls. Thus the Town was won and ranſacked. To the number of 2300 were ſlain, and 6000 taken priſoners. The ſouldiers having got an exceeding booty, were forced to ſell it, and make all away, as before: and from thence without any reſt at all given unto them were they led to *Ferentinum*, yet they marched thither with exceeding courage and cheerfulnes. Howbeit, there they found more difficult and perilous ſervice: for the walls were with all forcible means defended, and the place it ſelf was both by mans hand, and natural ſituation, ſurely fenced: but yet the ſouldiers now being fleſhed, and enured to ſpoil, overcame all difficulties. Three I thouſand men about the walls were ſlain: and the ſaccage fell to the ſouldiers ſhare. The greateſt part of the honor in aſſaulting and winning of theſe Cities, is aſcribed in ſome Chronicles to *Fabius Maximus*. For they write, that *Murgantia* was by *Decius* won, but *Ferentinum* and *Romulea*, by the conduct of *Fabius*. But ſome attribute the glory hereof unto the new Conſuls. And there are, that give the glory not to both, but to the one of them, to wit, *P. Volumnius*, unto whom befell the Province of *Samnium*.

Whiles theſe affairs thus went in *Samnium* (by whoſe leading and managing it skils not) in the mean time a mighty war was a preparing in *Hetruria*; and that, of many nations banded together: the principal author whereof was *Gellius Egnatius* a Samnit. The Tuſcans, in manner all, had taken arms and levied their forces, and the neer ſociety, cauſed alſo the people of *Umbria* adK joyning to take their part: beſides, Gauls alſo were waged for mony to aid: all which multitude aſſembled together, and met in the Samnits camp. The news of which ſudden and unexpected tumult, being brought to *Rome*; for ſomuch as *P. Volumnius* the Coſ. with the ſecond and third legions, and with 15000 confederats, was gone already into *Samnium*; it was thought good and determined, that *App. Claudius* with all ſpeed poſſible, ſhould go into *Hetruria*: and after him, two Roman legions followed, to wit, the firſt and fourth, with twelve thouſand allies; who encamped not far from the enemy. But more good was done there, in reſpect that they came thither betimes, (to the end that the fear of the Roman name might keep in awe certain nations in *Hetruria*, which already intended war) than for any exploit performed either skilfully or luckily, under the conduct of the Conſul. Many skirmiſhes there paſſed in places of diſadvantage, and at L times unconvenient; in ſo much, as the enemy took more heart, and conceived greater hope every day more than other: and now it grew welneer to this point, that neither ſouldier could well reckon of the ſufficiency of Captain, nor Captain truſt upon the loyalty of the ſouldier. In three ſeveral Annals I find, that *Appius* diſpatched his letters to his fellow Conſul, and ſent for him out of *Samnium*: howbeit, I am loth to ſet this down, being ſo uncertain as it is; ſeeing that the very Conſuls themſelves of *Rome*, who now the ſecond time were coupled together in one government, conteſted, and openly jarred about this point: whiles *Appius* denied flatly that he ſent any ſcript at all, and *Volumnius* again avouched, that he was ſent for by *Appius* his his letters. *Volumnius* by this time had won three Caſtles in *Samnium*, wherein were ſlain three thouſand enemies, and almoſt half ſo many taken priſoners: and compoſed beſides the ſeditions and quarrels M of the Lucans, which aroſe from the Commons and needy perſons; and that, with the exceeding good contentment of the chief and principal perſonages of the country, by the means and mediation of *Q. Fabius* the Proconſul, who was thither ſent with the old army. This done, he left *Decius* to waſt and pill the country of the enemies, and himſelf with his forces marched toward his Colleague into *Hetruria*. Who at his firſt coming, was received generally with all the joy that might be. For mine own part, I ſuppoſe verily, that as *Appius* had good cauſe to cary an angry ſtomack with him, in caſe his conſcience bare him witneſs, that he wrote not unto him: ſo again, if he had need of his Colleagues aid, he ſhewed an illiberal, unkind, and unthankful nature of his own, in that he would ſo diſſemble, and not be known thereof. For being come forth to meet him, before they had well greeted and ſaluted one another, How now, quoth he, O *L. Volumnius*, is all well? How goes the World in *Samnium*? What hath moved you to abandon and leave your own charge and province, and to depart? *Volumnius* made anſwer, that in *Samnium* all things went well and chieved proſperouſly, and that himſelf was now come, as ſent for by his letters: which if they were counterfeit, and that there were no need of him in *Hetruria*, he would preſently turn his enſigns, and be gone. Mary, quoth he, and good leave have you: you may be gone when you will, and no man holdeth you: and ill beſeeming it is, that you who peradventure are not able to wield and manage your own affairs of war, ſhould glory thus, and make your boaſt that you are come hither to help others. Hereat, *Volumnius* ſhould reply again and ſay, It is well, and God ſend us good luck: I had rather loſe my labour, than ought ſhould have happened, whereby one Conſuls army were not ſufficient to deal with *Hetruria*. Now as the Conſuls O were parting aſunder one from the other, the Lieutenants and Colonels of *Appius* his army, came and ſtood round about them both: "ſome requeſted their own General, that the aid of his Col-
"league which ought to have been accepted by them if it had been required; now that it was
"offred ſo willingly, and of his own accord, ſhould not be refuſed and rejected. But the more
"part encountred *Volumnius*, as he was ready to go his way, and earneſtly beſought him not for
"any froward contention, and debate with his companion, to betray the common-weal. For if
"any overthrow or miſadventure ſhould happen, the blame would be imputed rather to the for-

ſaker

A "saker than the forsaken: and now things were come to this pass, that the honor or dishonor of
"the war in *Hetruria*, prove it well or ill, should fall upon *L. Volumnius*: for that no man would
"enquire of the words and language that *Appius* gave him, but of the fortune and success of the ar-
"my: and albeit *Appius* had given him his farewel and pasport, the weal publick and the army held
"him still by the sleeve, and for proof hereof, let him but make tryal of the souldiers hearts and
"affections. Thus with remonstrances, perswasions, and hearty prayers to the one Consul and the
other, they drew them both, in manner against their wils, to party in publick audience before the
whole army. Where they grew to longer speeches and discourses, but to the same purpose and ef-
fect, as before in the hearing and presence of a few. Now when *Volumnius* (as having the better
B cause) seemed to reply, and that with good grace & words enough, against that singular eloquence
of his Colleague; and that *Appius* in trumping and taunting manner, gave out and said, That they
were beholden to him, and might con him thank, that of a dumb and tongue-tied Consul they had
one now, that was so ready and eloquent: and who in his former Consulship, and specially in the
first months, could not open his mouth, and speak a word, was now of a sudden become an Ora-
tor, and able to make plausible and popular Orations: then replied *Volumnius* and said, "Would
"God, with all my heart, you rather had learned of me to fight valiantly, then I of you to speak
"finely: and in conclusion, he said, he would tender him an offer, which should determine and put
"out of all doubt, whether of them twain, were, not the better Lawyer and Orator (for at this
"present the Common-weal stood not in need of such) but the better warrior and Captain Gene-
C "ral. Whereas therefore, there are ii. Provinces, *Hetruria* and *Samnium*, it shal be in your choice
"(qd. he) to take one of them, whether you will, and I my self will with my own army, make war
"in the other. Then began the souldiers to cry aloud unto them, that they would jointly enter
"both upon the Tuscan war. Which consent and accord of theirs, when *Volumnius* had perceived,
"For asmuch (qd. he) as I have once mistaken and misinterpreted the will of my Colleague, I wil
"not in any case stand in doubt and be ignorant of your minds too: Let me know therefore by a
"shout of yours, whether you would have me tarry or depart? Whereat they set up such a note,
that it gave an alarm to the enemies, and raised them out of their camp: and presently they caught
their weapons up, and came forth into the field. *Volumnius* likewise caused the trumpets to sound,
and the standards and ensigns to be brought abroad. Then *Appius* (as it is reported) seeing plain-
D ly that whether he fought or sate still, the victory would be ascribed to his Colleague, stood in a
mammering and suspense for a while: but afterwards fearing, lest that his own legions also would
follow *Volumnius*, gave likewise unto his men the signal of battel, which they so instantly called for.
But neither they, nor the enemies were well arranged and in good order: for both the leader of
the Samnits (*Gellius Egnatius*) was gone a foraging abroad, with some few cohorts and bands with
him; whereupon the souldiers rather of their own head, than by conduct and direction of Cap-
tains, began to charge: and also the Roman armies were not both lead forth together, nor yet had
time enough to be marshalled accordingly: for *Volumnius* first gave the charge, before that *Appius*
could come to encounter the enemies: whereupon, the forefronts were not equally matched to-
gether: and as if some fortune had exchanged the enemies, that they were wont to fight withal;
E the Tuscans presented themselves to *Volumnius* and the Samnits who stayed awhile (for that their
General was absent) affronted *Appius*. It is reported that *Appius* in the very heat of the skirmish,
was seen in the front of the formost ensigns, to lift up his hands to Heaven, and pray in this wise,
"O Lady *Bellona*, if thou give us victory and the honor of this day then, be sure, I vow here unto
"thee at this hour, a fair Temple. When he had thus prayed, as if the goddess had put life unto
him, and animated his courage, both himself matched the valour of his Colleague, and his army
answered the vertue of their Commander. For he performed the devoir and part (indeed) of a brave
General. The souldiers likewise, for fear that the other army should begin the victory, endea-
voured and streined all that ever they could; Whereby, they disarayed, discomfited, and put to
F flight the enemies, who could not easily abide any extraordinary force and violence, more than
they were wont to meet withal. And so with pressing hard upon them still that retreated, and
chasing them hotly that were scattered in flight, they beat them into their camp. There, by the
coming in of *Gellius* and the Sabellian bands, the battel for the time was freshly renewed. But when
they also, within a while were discomfited, then was the camp assaulted by the conquerors. Thus
whiles *Volumnius* for his part entred with banner displayed unto the very gate, and *Appius* ever and
anon reiterated the name of *Bellona* the victress, and all, to set on fire and inflame the courage of
his souldiers; there was neither trench nor rampier that could hold them back. So the camp was
won and sacked, and a huge pillage therein found, which was given all to the souldiers. Seven
thousand and three hundred enemies were slain, 2120 taken prisoners.

During the time that both Consuls, and the whole puissance of the Romans, were thus more
G bent and imployed in the war within Tuscany; there were new forces raised in *Samnium*, to wast
the marches of the Roman Dominion: who taking their way through the Vestins, into *Campa-
nia* and the country of *Faleria*, drave huge prizes and booties away. And as *Volumnius* by great
journies returned into *Samnium* (for by this time *Fabius* and *Decius* were come to an end of their
prorogued government) the bruit that was blown abroad of the Samnits army and their forraging
of the territory of *Capua*, turned him out of his way, to the defence of his allies and confede-
rats. So soon as he was entred into the country *Calenum*, both he himself saw the fresh
marks and tokens of great dammage and desolation: and also the Calenians advertised him, that
the

the enemies caried with them already so excessive a prey and booty, that they were scarce able for it to march in good order, and that their Captains began openly to speak and say, that the best course they could take, was presently to retire *Samnium*, there to leave their prizes and bootes, and so to return afresh to their rodes and make new expeditions; and not to commit an army, to laden and surcharged, to the fortune and hazard of a battel. Which words, albeit they sounded much to a truth, yet he thought it meet to look better into the matter, and to build upon a surer ground, and therefore he sent certain light Horsemen, to intercept some forragers as they straggled and were scattered one from another in the fields. By whom he learned, after much questioning with them, that the enemies encamped by the river * *Vulturnus*, and from thence at the * third watch, would set forward on their journey directly into *Samnium*. After he had sufficient intelligences and advertisements concerning these things, he dislodged and put himself upon his way and encamped so far from the enemies, as his approach by being too neer could not be known, and yet he might be able to surprise them as they should issue in disorder out of their camp. So a good while before day, he marched towards the enemy: and sent such as were well seen in the Oscian tongue, to listen and learn what they did. Who being intermingled with the enemies (which was an easy matter in that night garboil and confusion) they found that the ensigns were set forward, not sufficiently accompanied with armed men for defence; and that the whole pillage with the guard and convoy thereof, was now going forth, and marched carelesly, like a sort of vile and base lozels, every man thinking of his own particulars and running on his own head, without consent of others, and with little or no direction and government. This was thought the meetest time to set upon them: and now it drew neer day. Whereupon he commanded the trumpets to sound the charge, and set upon the march of the enemies. The Samnits, incumbred as they were, and pestered with their booty, and few of them here and there in armour, began, some of them to double their pace and to march faster away, and drive before them the booty: some stood still, and wist not whether they were better, to go on forward, or retire again into the camp. But whiles they thus trifled and stayed, they were environed and surprized by the Romans: and by this time they had gotten over their rampier: much killing there was, and confusion in the camp. The Samnits, as they marched, besides that they were troubled with the assault of their enemies, were also disquieted with the sudden escape and revolt of their prisoners: who being some of them loose, loosed also those that were bound: whiles others of them, caught up their weapons which were fastned to the packs, and being confusedly intermingled in the march, made a greater and more fearful garboil and havock, than the very battel of the enemies. And more than that, they performed one memorable and notable Act above the rest. For as *Statius Egnatius* the General, went about the ranks and files encouraging the souldiers to fight, they set upon him, scattered the Horsemen asunder, that accompanied him, environed him about, and took him as he sat on Horseback, and haled him to the Roman Consul. Upon which tumult and stir, the formost ensigns of the Samnits were called back, and the battel which in manner was done, now began afresh: yet could not they any long time resist and hold out. Slain there were about six thousand; two thousand and five hundred taken prisoners. Amongst whom, were 4 Colonels and 30 Ensigns: and (that, wherein the victors took contentment) of captives, 7000 and 400 hundred were again recovered; with an exceeding great booty which they had got from their allies: whereunto, by proclamation were called, all that could lay any claim, or pretend a right, to seize upon their own goods, and to receive the same by a day appointed. And look what parcels could not be owned or challenged by the true owner, was given away to the souldiers: who were compelled to make sale thereof, to the end, that they should not set their heart upon any thing but war.

This saccage of the territory of *Capua*, had raised great trouble and stir in *Rome*. And at the very same time also, it chanced, that there came news out of *Hetruria*, how that upon the withdrawing of *Volumnius* his forces out of those parts, all that country was up afresh in arms; that *Gellius Egnatius* the Samnit Captain, and the Umbrians likewise, were moved to revolt; and the Gauls also sollicited with great sums of mony. At this bruit the Senat being affraid, commanded an abstinence or vacation of term, and that all sorts of men should be mustered: and not only the free born natural citizens, and the flower of the youth were prest and sworn, but certain * companies also of the elder sort, yea, and bands of Libertins newly enfranchised, were inrolled by the hundreds. Likewise they sat in Councel about devising means for defence of the City: and *P. Sempronius* the Pretor, had the whole government of the State. But the Senat was partly eased and discharged of this care, by the letters of *L. Volumnius* the Cos. which gave intelligence that the forragers of Campain were defeated slain and put to flight. Thereupon were decreed in favour of the Consul, for this exploit by him atchieved, solemn processions, and the abstinence of term again was remitted, which had continued for eighteen dayes space: and the procession aforesaid, was right joyfully performed. Then began they to devise about garrisons for defence of the country thus wasted and overrun by the Samnits. And agreed it was, that two Colonies should be sent about the Vestin and Falern coasts: one to the mouth of the river *Liris*, which Colony was called * *Minturnæ*, the other in the Vestin forrest and streights, adjoyning to the Falern country; where *Synope*, a Greek Town sometime stood, and afterwards was called by the Romans there inhabiting, * *Sinuessa*. The Tribuns of the Com. had in charge to ordain by an Act of the common people, that *P. Sempronius* the Pretor should choose certain Triumvirs,

* *Natarone*, or *Vulturno*.
* About mid. night.
* *Cohortes*, i. of 500. in a cohort.
* Traictto.
* *Sinuessa*, *vel Rocha de Monte Dragone*.

A virs, about the ſending and tranſlating of inhabitants into thoſe Colonies. But much ado they had to find thoſe that willingly yeelded to be inrolled Coloners, ſuppoſing indeed that they were ſent thither, not to inhabit Land and ground for their beſt behoof, but to lie in garriſon, and to ſtand upon their guard in thoſe frontiers, which were continually moleſted by warlike enemies. From the care of theſe affairs the Senat was withdrawn, by occaſion of the Tuſcans war, whereof the rumour daily encreaſed: and letters alſo came thick from *Appius*, who warned them not to neglect the riſing of that countrey: which letters imported, that four nations had united their forces, and banded themſelves together; to wit, *Tuſcanie*, *Samnium*, *Umbria*, and the Gauls: that they were already encamped in two places, for that one was not able to receive ſo great a mu.ti-
B tude. Upon theſe occaſions, as alſo for that the time drew neer of Election of Conſuls, *Lucius Volumnius* the Conſul was called home to *Rome*. Who before that he called the Centuries for to give their voyces, having aſſembled the people to an audience, diſcourſed before them at large, concerning the greatneſs of the Tuſcan war. "How that afore time, when he himſelf and "his brother Conſul warred there together, it was of ſo great importance, that neither one lea-"der, not yet one army was ſufficient: and by report, the Umbrians, and a mighty power of "Gauls were afterward combined unto them. So that they ſhould remember, that they were to "chuſe that day two Coſſ. againſt four Nations. As for himſelf, but that he was certainly per-"ſwaded and aſſured, that the people of *Rome* would with a general conſent declare him Coſſ. "who at that time, without all controverſie was counted the principal Captain and beſt leader of
C "all others, he would forthwith nominat a Dictator. No man doubted, but the *Q. Fabius* was the man, who by the aſſent of all, was meant and deſtined to this charge: and him together with *Volumnius*, both the prerogative tribe, and all thoſe that were called firſt, every one, nominated to be Coſſ. *Fabius* made a ſpeech by way of excuſe, in ſubſtance, like as he had done before, two years together: but afterwards ſeeing he was overcome with the general agreement of the people, he framed it ſo in the end, that he required *P. Decius* to be his collegue: "Alledging, that he "would be inſtead of a good prop and ſtay to him in his old age: how he had found by expe-"rience in one Cenſorſhip and two Conſulſhips, born jointly together with him, that there was "no ſurety and defence of the Common-weal, to the concord and agreement of thoſe that are com-"panions in government. And to any other new Collegue beſides him, hardly could an old mans
D "mind ſort and frame. Alſo that he would and could more eaſily impart his mind and purpoſe to "one, whoſe humor, condition, and behavior, he had been already acquainted with. The Coſſ. himſelf confirmed his Oration, and accorded thereunto; as well, in regard of the commendable parts and deſerts of *P. Decius*, as alſo of the good that proceeded and enſued upon the managing of war-affairs, by the concord and unity of the Conſuls; and of the hurt which hapned and followed upon their diſagreement and diſſention: "and therewith he ſhewed how neer they were "of late to utter peril and deſtruction, through quarrels between him and his brother *Appius*; "admoniſhing *Decius* and *Fabius* both to live ſo, as with one mind and heart they affected and in-"tended the ſame things. He added moreover and ſaid, they were men of Action both, born for "war and to be ſouldiers; for martial feats renowned already: but for to maintain contentions
E "of words and quarrels of the tongue, altogether rude and unskilful, and ſuch natures, (ſaid he) "were fitteſt to make Conſuls. As for nimble heads and fine wits, deeply ſeen in points and "quircks of law, full of their eloquent tearms, ſuch as *Ap. Claudius* was; thoſe were meet to be "made Lord Preſidents of the City and chief Juſtices in the common place, for to ſit in judgment "of cauſes, and ſee the execution of laws. Thus in handling of theſe matters was that day ſpent. The morrow after, according to the Conſuls appointment, was the Election held, both of new Conſuls, and alſo of Pretors. *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius* were created Conſuls, and *App. Claudius* Pretor, all abſent. And *L. Volumnius* by Act of the Senat, and grant of the Commons, had his government prorogued, and continued in his charge one year longer.

The ſame year were many ſtrange ſights and prodigious monſters ſeen: for the turning away
F of the dangers foreſignified and menaced thereby, the Senat decreed ſupplications and Letanies for two dayes together. Wine and incenſe for the ſacrifices, was allowed at the publick charges of the City, and in proceſſion went both men and women in great number, with much reverence, to viſit the Holy ſhrines, and there to do their devotions. Theſe ſolemn ſupplications were more renowned and memorable, by reaſon of a contention that aroſe among the dames of the City, in the Chappel of Lady *Pudicitia Patritia*, which ſtandeth in the beaſt-market, by the round Church of *Hercules*. The Noblemens wives would not admit into that Chappel *Virginia* the daughter of *Aulus*, who, notwithſtanding ſhe was nobly deſcended from the race of the *Patritii*, yet had eſpouſed *Volumnius* the Conſul, a Commoner, and was married (forſooth) out of the family and ranck of the *Patritii*. Whereupon, there began ſome ſhort and cutted ſhrewd
G words to be dealt between: and ſo (as women commonly are ſoon angry and ſet on fire) there grew to heart-burning and hot contention. Whiles *Virginia* alledged and ſaid that ſhe being a Gentlewoman and *Patritia* born, and a chaſt and honeſt Dame, was entered in the Chappel of *Patritian Chaſtities*: over and beſides, ſhe had not been noted for Bigamy; but was the wife of one only husband, unto whom ſhe was given and brought a pure maid: and as for her husband, and his dignities which he had born, his noble acts that he had atchieved, ſhe had no cauſe to complain, or be aſhamed, nay rather, ſhe gloried therein right greatly. After this, ſhe accumulated theſe magnificent and glorious words, with a generous and brave a deed. For in the

long

long ſtreet where ſhe dwelt, ſhe ſet by and cut off a part of her dwelling houſe, aſmuch as would H
ſerve for an Oratoy or pety Chappel, and there erected an Altar. And when ſhe had aſſembled the wives of the Commoners together, and had complained of the injurious dealing of the Patritian dames; "This altar (quoth ſhe) do I dedicate unto *Pudicitia Plebeia*: and all you here I exhort, "that with what emulation, the men our husbands, in this City contend about feats of valour "and arms, who may do beſt; ſo likewiſe the Matrons and wives ſtrive and excel in continence "and chaſtity; and that ye will labour and endeavour, that this altar may have the name to be "frequented, and reſorted unto, with more reverence and devotion, yea, and if (it be poſſible) of "more chaſt women, than that other of the Nobility. And ſo it fell out indeed, that from that time, this altar alſo had the ſame rites (in a manner) and ceremonies as the other, which was I more ancient: in ſuch ſort, as no wife, but of approved honeſty and chaſtity, and wedded but to one husband during her life, might be allowed there to ſacrifice and offer oblations. But this religious order and inſtitution, in lapſe and proceſs of time was prophaned afterwards and divulged, and the altar frequented by them that were ſtained and infamous, and not only by matrons of name and quality, but alſo by women of all ſorts and degrees, until at laſt through diſuſe it grew to be utterly forgotten, and came to nothing.

The ſame year the Ædiles Curule, *Cn.* and *Q. Ogulius* accuſed certain Uſurers, who were convicted, and their goods forfeit and confiſcat. And of that which came into the common cheſt, they cauſed to be made a braſen portal in the Capitol, and ſilver veſſels for to furniſh out three tables in *Jupiter* his Chappel: alſo the image of *Jupiter* himſelf in the Lantern or frontiſpice of the K
Capitol, ſitting in his chariot drawn with four ſteeds. Moreover, at the Fig-tree *Ruminalis*, they erected and ſet up the images of the foundling babes, the firſt founders of the City, pendant at the teats of a ſhee-wolf. They paved alſo with ſquare ſtone, the cauſey and high way from the gate *Capena*, unto the Temple of *Mars*. The Ædiles likewiſe Commoners, *L. Ælius Paetus*, and *C. Fulvius Curvus*, of the forfeited mony which they levied of the graſiers or farmers of the City paſtures, who were condemned and fined, exhibited certain pageants and playes, and ſet up golden bolles in the Temple of *Ceres*.

After this, *Q. Fabius* the fift time Conſul, and *P. Decius* the fourth, entred their government, who now had been companions together in three Conſulats, and in one Cenſorſhip, men renowned, not more for the honor of their noble exploits in war, which was right great, than for L
their loving agreement and concord. Which unity of theirs was not perpetual to the end; by occaſion I ſuppoſe, of the contention of the States that came between, rather than of any difference betwixt themſelves. For the *Patritii* laboured, that *Fabius* ſhould have the Province of Tuſcan extraordinarily: and the Commons were as earneſt with *Decius* to put the matter to a Lottery. Certain it is, that a great contention there was in the Senat. But afterwards, ſeeing that *Fabius* was able there to do more and make a greater ſide than his Colleague, the matter was brought again before the people. In which aſſembly, few words paſſed between the parties themſelves, being martial men both, ſtanding more upon deeds than words. *Fabius* gave out and ſaid;

Debate between *Decius* and *Fabius* for their Provinces,

"That it was an indignity, that another ſhould gather fruit under the Tree that he had planted.
"Alſo, that himſelf was the man, who had opened the way through the wood *Ciminia*, and had M
"given entrance and paſſage for the Roman war, through deſart and wild forreſts. What meant "they then to trouble him, a man of thoſe years, with this place of charge, in caſe, they minded "to give the conduct of this war to any other General but himſelf? No doubt, but by little and "little he upbraided them covertly and caſt in their teeth, for chuſing unto him an adverſary, and "not a companion in government: yea, and charged *Decius*, that he repented and envied the "good concord, wherein they had lived together, during the time of three Magiſtracies already. "Finally, he aimed and reached at no farther matter than this, but if ſo be, they thought him "worthy of the Province, thither to ſend him. For as he had been at the appointment and plea- "ſure of the Senate, ſo would he be at the ordering and direction of the people. On the other "ſide, *P. Decius* complained of the injury offered by the Senat: for that the Nobles had endea- N
"voured to their power, and done their beſt that no Commons might have acceſs to honourable "places and dignities: and after that proweſs and valour had got the upperhand, and prevailed "ſo, as even in thoſe kind of men vertue wanted not her due reward and honour; there were "means ſought, that not only the voyces of the people were deluded and made vain; but alſo "the very awards and arbitrements of fortune, were transferred to the wills and pleaſures of ſome "few. All Conſuls before him had their provinces by lot: and now the Senat by their abſolute "authority, without caſting lots, gave unto *Fabius* the charge of his province. If it be (ſaith he) "to honour the man: verily, he hath ſo well deſerved both of my ſelf and of the Common- "wealth, that I favour highly and tender the glory of *Q. Fabius*; provided alwayes, that it get "not a ſhining luſtre, by a foil of my diſgrace and diſhonour. And who will ever doubt, where O
"there is one difficult and dangerous war, and the ſame preciſely and abſolutly charged upon "one Conſul, without ordinary and lawful calling: but that the other Conſul ſtandeth for a "Cipher, and is reputed either needleſs, or good for nothing? As for *Fabius*, like as he gloried "in his ſervice and noble Acts archieved in Tuſcan, even ſo would *Publius Decius* alſo full fain "do the ſemblable: and peradventure, he ſhould be able to put out and quench that fire once for "all, which *Fabius* left behind him, ſo covered and raked up, as that oftentimes it ſuddenly brake "out again, and yeelded forth new flames and blazes. In concluſion, he could be content to

yeeld

A "yeeld the titles of honour and all rewards of vertue unto his Collegue, in the reverent regard
"of his old age, and majesty of his person: but for any hazard or jeopardy that might be pre-
"sented unto them, he neither at this time gave place, nor ever would (with his good will) to
"him or any man else whatsoever; and if he gat no other good by this contention, yet would he
"obtain thus much at the least, that the people should hold their own, and dispose of that abso-
"lutly at their discretion, which was in their power; rather then permit the Nobles to gratifie
"any one therewith at their pleasure. And herewith he prayed *Jup. Opt. Max.* and all the im-
"mortal gods, that even as they vouchsafed to bestow upon him and his Collegue equal valour
"and happiness in the conduct of their war, so they would afford them one and the same right
B "and authority and rule. For, surely it was in nature meet and reason, for example good and
"profitable, and for the credit and fame of the people of *Rome* much material, that such should
"be Consuls, as by either of their guidance and conduct, without exceptions, the war with the
"Tuscans might be administred as it ought to be. *Fabius* then, having besought the people
naught else, but that before the Tribes were called in to give their suffrages, they would hear the
letters of *App. Claudius* Pretor read, which were brought out of *Tuscany*, departed out of the
assembly. So the Province of *Tuscany*, without casting lots, was awarded unto *Fabius*, with no
less consent of the people, then of the Senat. Hereupon all the younger sort (in manner) ran un-
to the Consul, and offered their service of themselves, and gave their names to be enrolled, so
desirous were they to serve under that Captain. Which multitude being thus flocked about him
C round; Four thousand footmen (quoth he) and six hundred horse, and no more, am I minded to take up and levy. As many therefore, as to day and to morrow, will present themselves and give their names, will I accept of, and take with me: more care have I to bring you all home rich and wealthy, then to have numbers of souldiers to fight my battels. Thus went he forth with a competent Army well appointed, and so much more confident, and in hope of good success, by how much less he stood upon the great number; and directed his journey to the Town *Aharna*, where *Appius* the Pretor encamped, and from whence the enemy was not far distant. A few miles on this side, the fewellers or wood-purveiors, accompanied with a good guard of souldiers for their convoy, met him: who seeing the Sergeants going before, and understanding that it was *Fabius* the Consul, with joy and cheerful hearts, thanked God and the peo-
D ple of *Rome*, for sending unto them such a General. After this, when they came all about the Consul to salute and welcome him, *Fabius* demanded whither they went? who answered, To purvey wood and fewel. Say ye so? (quoth he) and have ye not your camp empaled and fortified? Yes, cried they all, and that with a double rampart and ditch, but yet are we in exceeding fear. Then (quoth he) ye have wood and timber enough. Go ye back again, and down with the trench and pallisade. Who returned into the camp, and as they were plucking up the rampart, they gave the alarm both to the souldiers that tarried behind in the camp, and to *Appius* himself, and made them afraid. Then every man said to one or other as they came, that it was by the expres commandment of *Q. Fabius* the Consul that they did so. The morrow after they removed the camp; and *Appius* the Pretor was dismissed and sent away to *Rome*. After which time, the
E Romans abode no where in standing camp: for he said, it was not good and commodious for an army to make abode in any one place; but that it was better and more wholsom both for the agility and health of their bodies, to have a running camp, to be ever marching, and changing the air and the soil. But their journeys were no other, then the winter would permit, which was not yet past.

In the beginning of the Spring, *Fabius* having left the second legion at *Clusium*, which in old time was called *Camars*, and appointed *L. Scipio* Pro-pretor, to be governor of the camp, he returned himself to *Rome* for to consult about the war: were it of his own accord and motion, because it appeared evidently in view of eye much greater then it was reputed before; or that he was sent for by order from the Senat: for there be writers that affirm both the one and the other. Some
F would have it thought, that he was called back again by *Appius Claudius* Pretor, who both at the Councel Table in the Senat House, and also before the body of the people (like as he had continually done by letters) enforced the fear and terror of the Tuscan war, saying, that one General and one Army, were not sufficient to make head against four Nations: that it would be dangerous and doubtful, whether they jointly in one body gave battel unto one, or maintained war apart in divers quarters: that one man was not able to perform and mannage all at once. As for himself, he had left behind him two Roman Legions and no more, and with *Fabius* there were come not full five thousand in all, of horse and foot together. His opinion therefore was, that with all speed, *P. Decius* the Consul, should go to his Collegue into *Tuscany*, and *L. Volumnius* have the charge of *Samnium* in the mean time. But in case the Consul had rather go in-
G to his own Province, then he advised, that *Volumnius* took his way directly with a full and compleat Consular army into *Tuscany*, to the Consul. When this discourse of the Pretor had moved a great part of the House, then *P. Decius* spake (by report) to this effect: That all should be left entire and free to the disposition of *Q. Fabius*, until such time as either himself in person (if it might stand with the weal-publick) were come to *Rome*, or sent one of his Lieutenants by whom the Senat might be enformed, and truely understand the poyse and importance of the war in *Tuscany*; what forces were requisite, and how many Leaders and Captains were expedient and needful. *Fabius*, so soon as he was returned to *Rome*, both in the Senat-House, and also in the audience

of the people, held a middle course in all his speech; that he might seem neither to encrease, nor yet to diminish the rumor of the war: and in assuming to himself another Captain, he pretended, that he condescended thereunto, in regard of other mens fear, more then for his own safety, or for any danger that the State was like to incur. Howbeit, if they would allow him a coadjutor and companion in war, how might he forget *P. Decius* the Consul? of whom he had so good proof and experience in so many Magistracies, which they had born and administred together. Of all men in the world he loved none better, and would make choice of no one sooner: and having *P. Decius* with him, he would never think his forces too few about him, nor his enemies too many before him. But if perad venture the mind and heart of his Collegue stood otherwise, his request was, that they would give him *L. Volumnius* to be his assistant. The determination of all was referred over to *Fabius*, both by the people and Senat, and also by the Consul himself. And when as *Decius* shewed and testified, that he was ready to take a journey either into *Samnium* or *Tuscany*, there followed such a joy and gratulation of all men, as if they had conceived in their spirit a victory afore-hand, and even now, had decreed for the Consuls, not a doubtful war, but a glorious triumph. I find in some writers, that *Fabius* and *Decius*, presently upon the entrance into their Magistracy, went into *Tuscany*, without any mention of casting lots for their charges and provinces, or of the contention between the two Collegues, which I have set down. There be some again, who having laid abroad these debates, stayed not there, but over and besides have added a surcease of matter, touching the invectives of *Appius* before the people, against *Fabius* in his absence; as also the obstinate stubbornness of him being Pretor, against the Consul, to his very face: moreover, another contention and variance between the two Consuls; whiles *Decius* endevoured to bring about, and was instant that each one should keep him to his own Province allotted unto him, and hold it. But all writers agree in the course of the history, from the time that both Consuls went out to war, and so forward.

But before that the Consuls arrived in *Tuscany*, certain Gauls called Senones, came with a great power before *Clusium*, ready to give assault unto the Roman Legion and the camp. But *Scipio*, who was left Governor thereof, thinking it necessary to help out the small number of his men, by advantage of the ground, led his army up to the hill between the town and the camp. But (as it falleth out in such sudden cases) he had not discovered aforehand the wayes and passes all about; but inconsiderately went forward, and engaged himself up to the top and pitch of the hill, which the enemy was master of already, by another side. Thus was the legion assailed on the back and beat down, and thus was it enclosed and environed round by a multitude of enemies, and put to the sword. Some writers there be who report, that the whole legion perished there, so as not one escaped alive to carry tidings. Also, that the Consuls who now were not far from *Clusium*, had no news brought them of this overthrow, before the horsemen of the Gauls were in sight, who carrying the heads of them that were slain, some hanging before at their horse poitrels, others sticking aloft upon their lances, braved and triumphed, singing and chanting songs of joy, after their manner. Some write that they were the Umbri and not the Gauls, and that the defeat and massacre was not so great: also that when the forragers for the camp under the leading of *L. Manlius Torquatus* a Lieutenant, were compassed about by the enemy; then *Scipio* the Pro-pretor came forth of the camp to succour and rescue them, and that the Umbrians who first had the better, afterwards when the battel was renewed, suffered the foil and were overcome, and that as well their prisoners as their booty was taken from them. But more probable it is, that this overthrow was given by the Gauls, then the Umbrians; for that as divers times afore, so that year especially the City was frighted with the tumults and risings of the Gauls. Upon this defeat, over and besides, that both the Consuls were gone to war with four legions, and a great power of Cavalry of natural Romans, and a thousand horsemen of *Capua*, chosen out of purpose for that war, and sent unto them, with a greater power also of Allies, and of Latins then of Romans; there were two other armies not far from the City of *Rome*, opposed to frontier and make head against *Tuscany*: the one in the Falisian territory, the other in the Vatican. *Cn. Fulvius* and *L. Posthumius Megillus*, both Pro-pretors, were commanded to keep a standing camp in those parts. But the Consuls by this time, having passed over the mountain *Apenninus*, were come to the enemies within the country of the Sentinats. And there about four miles off, they sat them down and encamped. Then the enemies, after much consultation, resolved in the end upon this point; not to be intermingled all in one camp, nor come into the field and hazzard all their forces at once in one battel: But that the Gauls should take the Samnits unto them, and the Umbrians join with the Tuscans. The day of the battel was appointed. The Gauls and Samnits had the charge to maintain the fight: and in the time of battel the Tuscans and Umbrians were commanded to assault the camp of the Romans. But these their designs and purposes were altered by reason of three Clusin fugitive traitors, who by night stole away privily unto the Consul *Fabius*, and disclosed the intents and enterprise of the enemies: who were sent away with rich rewards, to the end that every hour, upon new plots and devices that should be determined by the enemies, they would give them an inkling and certain intelligence. The Consuls write unto *Fulvius* and *Posthumius*, that the one should advance and come forward with his army, out of the Falisian country; and the other out of the Vatican directly unto *Clusium*: and that with all their forces, they should overrun and destroy the enemies country. The rumor of these rodes & invasions, caused the Tuscans to remove out of the

Sentinat

A Sentinat territory, to the defence of their own frontiers. Hereupon the Consuls made speed to strike a battel in their absence. And for two dayes space they skirmished continually with the enemy, and challenged him to the field: but for those two days, no worthy deed of importance was atchieved. A few on both sides were slain, and hereby were their courages rather provoked, and their stomacks whet to a full set battel then any trial or hazard made of the main chance. Upon the third day into plain field they come with all their power. When both armies stood ranged in battel array, there fortuned a Hind to be chased out of the mountains, and to run away before a Wolf, even through the midst of the plains between both armies: then, parted both these wild beasts asunder the Hind took her way to the Gauls, and the Wolf his course to the Romans. The
B Wolf had way given him through all the ranks and files: but the Hind was killed among the Gauls. Then a Roman souldier, one of the forefront, who was to fight before the Ensigns: There will the flight (quoth he) there will the slaughter be, where you see the beast sacred and dedicated to *Diana* lie dead: but here on this part, the martial Wolf, consecrated to *Mars*, having with victory gone clear away safe and unwounded hath put us in mind of our martial Nation and of our first founder, the son of *Mars*. The Gauls put themselves in the right wing, the Samnits in the left. Against the Samnits, *Fabius* marshalled the first and third Legions, in the right point: and *Decius*,
C the fifth and sixth in the left, affront the Gauls. For the second and fourth served in *Samnium* under *L. Volumnius* Pro-consul. At the first shock and encounter, the battel was so indifferently fought, and with so equal force, that if the Tuscans and Umbrians had either shewed themselves in the field, or assailed the camp, the loss and overthrow must needs have light in either place, whereas they had bent their forces. Howbeit, although hitherto the conflict of battel went equal and indifferent, and that as yet fortune had not determined, which way she would encline and give the victory; yet they fought not alike, in the right and left wings. For the Romans under the conduct of *Fabius*, rather warded the enemy warily, and stood upon their guard, then offered to charge lustily: so as they maintained fight, and drew it at length until it was very late in the evening, because the Captain was enformed and perswaded of the Samnits and Gauls both, that being as they were in the first skirmish very hot and furious, it was sufficient to keep off at length and at staves end. As for the Samnits, their courages would abate and fail, by any long conflict and the bodies of the Gauls, (who of all other can least away with travel, & heat especially) would turn all to
D sweat, & melt away: who at the beginning fight more fiercely then men but in the end more faintly then women. Against that time therefore when the enemy used to fail & give over, *Fabius* had kept his souldiers in breath & reserved their strength fresh & lusty. But *Decius* being very eager & hot by reason of his youth and courage of heart, laid on lustily at the first, and spent upon the enemies all the force & vigor he had: and for that the Infantry seemed to fight but coldly, he set the Cavalry a work: and himself personally in the thickest throng and troop of most valiant and hardy Knights, exhorted and besought the formost gallants of those lusty youths, to join with him & to charge upon the enemy: saying that they should carry away a double honor if by the means of the men of arms, the victory began at the left wing. Twice they forced the Gauls horsemen to turn side and back; but when as they were engaged farther within, and were now fighting hard pell mell a-
E mong the squadrons of the horsemen, they beheld a new and strange kind of fight, which troubled and terrified them. For the enemies standing all armed upon chariots & wagons, with a great noise of their steeds, and rumbling of the wheels, ran full upon them & mightily affrighted the horses of the Romans which had not been acquainted with such uncouth & strange noises. So the horsmen who had the upper hand before, & were at point of victory, were now with a foul fear discomfited and scattered, as if the hideous furies of hell & the divel himself had been amongst them. Whereupon they fled suddenly & not looking before them were overthrown both men & horse. By this occasion the ensigns of footmen were distressed & disordered, and many of those that were ranged in the front before the ensigns, were by force of horse & wagons driven cross through the battaillons, troden under foot and their guts squashed out. Herewithal the battaillons of the Gauls foot-
F men, seeing their enemies thus scared followed on apace, & gave them no time of breathing. *Decius* cried out aloud to his men. Whither flie ye? Or what hope have ye to save your selves by flight? *Decius* opposed himself against them that retreated and fled: *Decius* rallied those that were disbanded and scattered: but seeing that by no force or means he could stay them thus amazed & astonied as they were; he called upon his father *P. Decius* by name, and said: Why do I stay any longer the fatal death that is destined to my house & name? "It is given to our race & family, to be sacrifi-
"ced in lieu of propitiatory sacrifices for to assoil & save the publick weal from dangers menaced
"& threatned unto it. Even now therfore, will I offer the legions of the enemies to be sacrificed
"with my self to Dame *Tellus* and other infernal gods. When he had spoken these words, he commanded *M. Livius* the high Priest (whom as he marched into the field, he straightly had charged
G not to depart from him) for to pronounce and say that form of words, whereby he should devote, offer, and betake himself to death, together with the legions of the enemies, for to save the army of the Quirits and people of *Rome*. Which when he had done by the same form of prayer and in the same habit wherein his father *P. Decius* at the river *Veseris*, in the war against the Latins, caused himself to be offered to death: and besides these solemn prayers, added moreover these words:
"That he drave before him Fright Flight Murder, Massacre Bloodshed, Ire and Wrath of gods in
"Heaven & fiends in Hell: and that he would with deadly maledictions and execrable curses smite
"the ensigns, weapons, and armors of his enemies: and that one and the same place, should give

" both himſelf, and alſo the Gauls and Samnits together with him, plague, perdition, and deſtru- H
" ction. After theſe curſed, horrible, and deteſtable ſpeeches againſt his own perſon and his ene-
mies; look where he ſaw the thickeſt ranks of the Gauls, thither he ſpurred his horſe, and rode
in amongſt them: where amidſt the pikes, javelins, and ſwords, he was preſently ſlain. Then could
it hardly be ſeen, that the battel was any longer fought by power and help of man. The Romans
ſo ſoon as they had loſt their Captain, (which at all other times is wont to ſmite a terror into
them) ſtayed their flight, and were willing and contented to renew the battel afreſh. The Gauls,
and eſpecially that troop which ſtood about the Coſ. his body, fared as though they had been
out of their wits, flang their darts from them (I know not how) to no purpoſe, and in vain: ſome
of them ſtood ſtill, as it were benummed, forgetting both to run away, and to fight ſtill. I
But on the other ſide the high Prieſt *Livius*, with whom *Decius* had left the ſerjeants, and whom
before his death he nominated and ordained to be Propretor, cried out, as loud as he could, that
the Romans had the victory, and by the death of the Coſ. were acquit and excuſed from all other
fatal danger: but as for the Gauls and the Samnits, they were deſtined and forfeited (as it were)
to mother *Tellus* and the infernal ſpirits. And now *Decius* (quoth he) haled after him, and calleth
to follow him, the army that with him was devowed, curſed, and offered: now all the enemies
are full of furies and fearful fright. Then, as theſe aforeſaid began the skirmiſh again, behold there
came unto them, *Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Martius* with a ſupply of ſuccours from the rereward;
who by commandment of *Q. Fabius* the Conſul, were ſent to aid and reſcue his Collegue. Where
they heard of the worthy end of *P. Decius*, a noble example to encourage them to adventure all K
hazards in the ſervice of their country and Common-weal. Therefore, when as the Gauls ſtood
cloſe and thick together, oppoſing their targets before them, ranged and joined one over another
featherwiſe, ſo, as to deal with them affront, and to cope together at hand ſtroaks, was thought
a difficult and dangerous matter; then, by the commandment of thoſe two Lieutenants, the darts
and lances which lay ſtrewed upon the ground, between the two armies, were gathered up, and
flung againſt the pavoiſade or tortuſe-ſenſe of the enemies targets aboveſaid. And by reaſon that
theſe javelins and ſpears light and ſtuck faſt, ſome in their targets, and ſome in their very bodies,
it hapned that their knot was broken, and the battaillon (as huge and cloſe as it was) disbanded,
in ſuch ſort, as many of them, notwithſtanding their bodies were untouched and unhurt, fel down
aſtonied one upon another. Lo how fortune altered the caſe, and changed all in the left wing of L
the Romans. But in the right, *Fabius* (as is beforeſaid) at the firſt, lingered and drew on the day:
but afterwards, when as he perceived, that neither the enemies ſhouts, nor their manner of giving charge, nor yet the darts and javelins which they lanced, had the ſame vigor and force, as before; he commanded the Captains of the horſemen to wheel about with their Cornets, and to flank the Samnits, that upon a ſignal given, they might charge them overthwart with all the violence they could, whiles his own Legionary footmen by little and little advanced forward, and brake the ranks and diſordered the enemy. When he ſaw once, no reſiſtance made, and that without all doubt, they were wearied and out of breath: then he gathered together all his ſubſidiary companies of the rereguard, which he had reſerved until that time and buſineſs, freſh and in heart: and
at once, both ſet forward the Legions, and gave the horſemen alſo a ſignal to ſet upon the ene- M
mies. But the Samnits could not endure this violent charge, but ran as faſt as ever they could to
recover the camp faſt by the battaillon of the Gauls, leaving their fellows behind them in fight, to
pay the reckoning. The Gauls having likewiſe made a target-fenſe, ſtood thick and cloſe together
under it. Then *Fabius* advertiſed of the death of his brother Conſul, commanded a wing or Cornet, to the number almoſt of 500. horſemen of *Capua*, to withdraw themſelves out of the conflict,
to caſt about and to play upon the backs of the Gauls: after whom, he cauſed the *Principes* of the
third Legion to follow; and whereſoever they eſpied the ranks of the enemies by force of horſ-
men diſordered and broken, there, to ſecond them, and preſs on ſtill, and kill them whiles they
were in diſarray, and afraid. Himſelf vowed a Temple to *Jupiter Victor*, together with the ſpoils
of his enemies. Which done, he advanced ſtraight forward to the camp of the Samnits. Thither N
all the multitude of them were driven in great fright and diſarray. And for that the gates were not
able to receive ſo great a multitude, crouding together, they that were kept out, and could not
get in, by reaſon of the throng of their fellows, began again to fight under the rampart. Where
*Gellius Egnatius*, the General of the Samnits was ſtrucken down and ſlain: after this, the Samnits
beaten within their rampart, were killed every one, and their camp after ſmall reſiſtance won. The
Gauls behind their back were environed and cut in pieces. That day were ſlain of enemies five and
twenty thouſand, and 8000 taken priſoners. Howbeit, this victory coſt the Romans blood; for
of *P. Decius* his army, there died 7000. and of *Fabius*, 1200. *Fabius* then having ſent out to ſeek
out the body of his Collegue, gathered up all the ſpoils of the enemies into an heap, and burned
them, to the honor of *Jupiter Victor*. But that day could not the Conſul his body be ſeen, by O
reaſon it was covered and hidden under heaps of the Gauls that lay there dead. The morrow
after it was found and brought again with many a tear of all his ſouldiers. Then *Fabius* ſetting
all other matters for the time aſide, ſolemnized the burial and funeral obſequies of his fellow
Conſul, with due commendation and condigne praiſes, and with all honor that could be deviſed.

In Tuſcany alſo about the ſame time, *Cn. Fulvius* Propretor, had fortunat ſucceſs to his hearts deſire: for beſides great damage done to the enemy, by invaſions & rodes into the country, he fought

alſo

A also a notable battel: wherein of Perusins and Clusins were slain above 3000, and twenty en signs won. The Samnits, as they fled through the territory of the Pelignians, were by them intercepted and enclosed; and of five thousand, they were left but one thousand. Great is the fame of that day, and of the battel that was fought in the Sentinate territory, if a man hold him only to the truth, and make no more of it than it was. But some have overreached a little, and written, that the enemies were 40330. foot, and 4600. horse strong: also, that they had a thousand charriots or waggons, reckoning and comprising the Umbrians and Tuscans withal: who also (as they say) were at the battel. And to encrease also the power and forces of the Romans, they report, that *L. Volumnius* Propretor, was a Commander, together with the Consuls, and that his army B was joined with the Legions of the Consuls. But I find in most Chronicles, that this victory was atchieved by the two Consuls only. *Volumnius* in the meantime warred in *Samnium*; and having forced and driven the army of the Samnits, to take the hill *Tifernum*, nothing afraid for the disadvantage of the place, discomfited them, and put them to flight. *Q. Fabius*, having left the army of *Decius* behind him in Tuscany, reduced his own legions into the City, and triumphed over the Gauls, Tuscans, and Samnits. His souldiers followed him in his triumph, who in their rude military rhimes and songs, celebrated no less the brave and noble death of *P. Decius*, than the worthy victory of *Quintus Fabius*. And they revived the memorial of his father late deceased, comparing him in equal degree, for the issue and event, as well publick as privat, with the praises of his son. Of the booty and pillage gained from the enemies, the souldiers had given unto C them * 82 Asses apeece, with a livery cloak, and coat: a good reward for a souldiers service in those days. * 2 *sh.* 7. *d ob. sterl.*

For all these notable victories atchieved; yet neither the Samnits nor the Tuscans were at quiet. For, both the Perusins began to rebel, so soon as the Consul had away his army: and also the Samnits came down to forrage and poil into the territory of *Vestin* and *Formianum*, and another way into *Esetrunium*, which lie along the river *Vulturnus*. Against them was *Appius Claudius* the Pretor, sent with *Decius* his army. And *Fabius* in Tuscany, which began new war, slew four thousand and five hundred Perusins, took prisoners 1740. who were ransomed for * 30. Asses a piece. The rest of the spoil was all bestowed upon the souldiers. The Legions of the Samnits being pursued hard at heels, partly by *Appius Claudius* Pretor, and partly by *L. Volumnius* Proconsul, met D all together in the territory of * *Stella*. Where both the Samnit Legions abode, and also *Appius* and *Volumnius* joined and encamped together. There was a sharp and cruel battel fought on both sides. The Romans were incensed with anger and choler against those that had so often rebelled: the other, upon a desperate mind were resolute to hazzard the utmost. So there were slain of the Samnits, 16300; 2700. taken prisoners, and of the Romans there died two thousand seven hundred. * 46 *sh.* 10 *d. ob. sterl.* * *Territorio Carilono.*

This year so fortunate in war, was by reason of pestilence much afflicted; and for certain prodigious tokens, ful of care and perplexed. For it was reported, that in divers places it rained earth: and that in the army of *Appius Claudius*, there were many smitten & blasted with lightning. In regard hereof, the books of *Sibylla* were perused and sought into. The same year *Q. Fabius Gurges*, E the Consul his son, fined and punished by the purse, certain wives who had been convicted and condemned before the people, of Adultery: of which money so raised by their fines, he caused to be built the Temple of *Venus*, which standeth neer the Cirque or Race.

There remain yet behind certain wars of the Samnits, whereof we have now continued our history in these four books, for the space of six and forty years, ever since that *M. Valerius*, and *Au. Cornelius* were Consuls, who were the first that warred in *Samnium*. To let pass therefore, and not to trouble the readers, with a prolix narration of the alternative overthrows given and received between both nations so many years one after another, for all which calamities and losses their hearts and courages could not be daunted or conquered: the very last year, the Samnits, in the Sentinat country, in the Peligns territory, at *Tifernum*, and in the territory of *Stella*, were de- F feated both by themselves, with their own legions, and also mingled with others; and that, by four armies, and four Roman Captains; lost the bravest and most noble General of all their nation; saw their confederates and allies in war, the Tuscans, Umbrians, and Gauls, in the same predicament as themselves, not able to stand and maintain their estate any longer, either by their own power, or with help of forraign forces; yet for all this, would they not abstain from war, so little weary were they of defending their liberty, although it were unfortunately: choosing rather, to be vanquished, than not to attempt the winning of victory. Who is he, that would not think it irksom, and tedious, either to write or read this long suit and train of wars, which they in fighting were never wearied?

After *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius*, succeeded Consuls *L. Posthumius Megillus*, and *M. Attilius Re-* G *gulus*. To them both, was committed charge of *Samnium*, for that the bruit went, that the enemies had prepared three full armies, the one to go again into Tuscany, the second to invade and over-run afresh the territory of *Capua*, and the third to defend their own frontiers. *Posthumius* by reason of sickness remained at *Rome*, but *Attilius* went presently with an army forth, to the end that he might surprize the enemies on a sudden in *Samnium*, before they had taken the field; for so the Senat had given direction: and he found the enemy in the way to meet him, as if it had been so of purpose before by them determined, ready there to keep him from entrance: and so far off were they from wasting the lands of the Samnits, that they could not once enter into

their confines; nay, the Samnits debarred them from departure thence, into the peaceable parts H
and territories of their allies. Now when as they were encamped affront one against another;
that, which the Romans being ſo often conquerors, would hardly have adventured, (ſee how ut-
ter deſpair driveth men to raſh projects and extremities) the Samnits attempted: even to give
aſſault upon the Romans camp. And albeit this ſo ventrous enterpriſe ſped not well in the final
effect, yet was it not altogether in vain attempted. There chanced to be a foggy miſt, which con-
tinued a good part of the day, ſo thick and palpable, as men could not ſee before them, I ſay not,
ſo far as without the trench, but not ſo much as thoſe that came cloſe to ſpeak one to another. The
Samnits hereupon taking the advantage fit for an ambuſhment, before it was full day light, and
the ſame much overcaſt and dim with the miſt, came as far as the *Corps de guard* of the Romans, I
who in the gates and entrance of the camp warded but negligently: being thus taken on a ſud-
den, they had neither courage nor ſtrength enough to reſiſt. At the back-ſide of the camp, they
aſſaulted the great gate *Decumana*, ſeized the Queſtors pavilion, and that quarter about it: where
the Queſtor himſelf (*L. Opimius Panſa*) was ſlain, and thereupon the alarm was given. The Coſ.
being with this tumult raiſed, commanded two bands or cohorts of allies, to wit the one of Luca-
nians, and the other of Sueſſans, which haply were next hand, to defend and guard the Prætors
pavilion, and that quarter. In the mean while he marched with the legionary bands along the
high broad ſtreet in the camp, called *Principalis*, and before they had buckled and fitted their
armor about them, they were ranged in battel array; and had knowledge of the enemy, by the
ear and ontcries, rather then by the ſight of the eye: neither could they give an eſtimate what K
number they were. At the firſt, as doubtful of the event, and miſtrutting their fortune, they
retreated, and received their enemies in, and let them come even into the midſt of the camp:
but then the Conſul cried out, and asked, Whether they meant to be turned out of their own
ramparts and holds firſt, and after have a new piece of work to aſſail and win them again? So,
they ſet up a ſhout, and put all their might together, and firſt made reſiſtance only and kept their
ground: but afterwards they ſet forward, and preſſed upon them: and having once beat them
back, they drave them afore them; with the ſame fear, that they themſelves began, yea, and
chaſed them out of the gate and the trench: but to proceed further, for to purſue the chaſe, they
durſt not, for fear of ſome ambuſhment, by reaſon of the miſty and troubled weather, conten-
ting themſelves with the ſaving of their camp and no more: and ſo they retired within their ram- L
parts having ſlain to the number welnear, of three hundred enemies. Of Romans, as wel thoſe
that were in the firſt *Corps de guard* and Sentinels, who kept the watch, as of thoſe that were
ſurpriſed about the Queſtors lodging, were killed 230. This bold adventure of the Samnits ſpee-
ding ſo well, made them take better heart; ſo as they would not permit the Romans to encamp
farther into the Country, no, nor ſo much, as to go a forraging into their territory: whereupon
they were compelled to retire again, and to purvey forrage in the quiet and peaceable quarters of
their friends about *Sora*.

The bruit of all theſe occurrents more troubleſome and fearful then truth was, being come to
*Rome*, cauſed *L. Poſthumius* the Coſ. before he was well recovered of his ſickneſs, to take the field:
but ere he departed the City, he proclamed the *Rendezvous* at *Sora*, for his ſouldiers there to M
meet. Himſelf now dedicated unto the goddeſs *Victoria*, the Temple, which in the time of his
Curule Ædileſhip he took order to be built, with the money raiſed of certain fines taken of per-
ſons condemned. Then took he his journey to the army, and ſo went forward from *Sora* direct-
ly into *Samnium*, to the camp of his brother Conſul. But the Samnits diſtruſting themſelves, as
not able to withſtand two armies, were diſlodged, and departed back: and the Conſuls alſo par-
ted one from another, ſundry ways, to waſte the country, and aſſault the towns. *Poſthumius*
at his firſt coming, aſſayed by meer force to aſſail the town *Milionia*, and ſeeing he could do
ſmall good that way, at length by rolling trenches and platforms, he approached cloſe to the
walls, and wan it: and albeit the town were thus forced, yet there continued a ſharp and long
* From ten of the clock in the morning, until two in the afternoon. fight in all ſtreets and parts thereof, from the *fourth hour of the day until the eighth, with N
doubtful and variable events for a good while; but in the end the Romans became maſters of the
town. Of Samnits were ſlain 3200 and 4200. were taken priſoners: beſides the gaining of other
booty and pillage. From thence, he led forth the legions to *Ferentinum*, but the inhabitants
with their bag and baggage, and all that ever they could drive or carry, had quit the town in the
ſtill night ſeaſon, and departed in great ſilence at a contrary poſtern gate, which opened from
the camp of the enemy. The Conſul ſo ſoon as he was come, at the firſt approached the walls,
as well appointed and provided of all things, as if he ſhould have found as much to do, as at *Mi-
lionia*: but afterwards, perceiving all ſilent and deſolate throughout the City, ſeeing neither men
nor munition within the towers and upon the walls; he held back his ſouldiers, deſirous and
greedy to enter upon the bare walls, ſo abandoned and diſfurniſhed of defence: and doubting to O
fall headlong ere he were aware, into the trains of ſome hidden and privy ambuſh, he comman-
ded two Cornets of the Cavalry of Latine confederates, to ride about the walls about the coun-
terſcarp, and well to view and conſider all places. The horſemen finding one or two gates neer
together ſtanding wide open, and in the very ſame ways that led from thence, the freſh tracks and
footing of the enemies, as they fled by night; rode ſoftly neerer and neerer to the gates; and there
they might ſee ſtraight afore them ſafe entrance, and the City lying open even from one end to the
other: whereupon they brought word back to the Conſul, that the City was abandoned, and the
enemies

A enemies gone: which was very evident and apparent, as well by the very ſolitude thereof, as the new and freſh marks and traces of their diſlodging and departure; as alſo by the ſtuff and goods that lay here and there ſcattered all abroad, whiles they haſtned fearfully in the dark, to take their flight. The Conſul upon this report, with his hoſt drew to that ſide of the town, which the horſemen were at: and pitching down his enſigns not far from the gate, commanded five other horſemen to enter into the City; giving order, that when they had gone forward a pretty way, three of them ſhould ſtay behind in the ſame place, if they ſaw all ſafe and out of danger; and the other two, bring him word what they had ſeen and found. Who being returned, made relation that they were gone ſo far as they might ſee about them every way into all parts, & could perceive
B nothing but ſilence and vaſt deſolation all about, both far and neer: then forthwith, the Conſul entred the City, with certain cohorts lightly appointed, and charged the reſt in the mean while to fortifie the camp. The ſouldiers being once entred, fell to break open the doors: where they found a few ſilly old folk, and ſome feeble and diſeaſed perſons, with ſuch moveables as were hard to be conveighed and tranſported: thoſe they rifled, and ranſackt; and by certain captives they underſtood, that divers other towns thereabout, were all with one accord fled and gone: and as for their own countrymen, they departed at the firſt watch of the night, and they thought no other verily but that in the reſt of the Cities, they ſhould find the like emptineſs and ſolitude. And as the priſoners ſaid, ſo it proved indeed: and the Conſul poſſeſſed himſelf of thoſe forlorn and abandoned towns.

C The other Conſul *M. Attilius*, had ſo eaſie war for his part: who as he was marching with his Legions toward *Luceria*, which he heard was beſieged by the Samnits: the enemy encountred and met him in the very entry of the frontiers, and gave him battel: and the anger and indignation on both parts, but the end and iſſue more heavy and dolorous on the Romans ſide: both becauſe they were not uſed to be vanquiſhed; and alſo for that in the very looſe and retreat, rather then in combat and skirmiſh, they found that many more were hurt and ſlain of their part. Which fearful ſight and terror, as it began in the camp, if it had ſurprized them in the conflict, it would have been an heavy day with them, & no doubt they had received a notable overthrow. And even then, being as it was, they had a careful night, and full of anguiſh, thinking verily that the Samnits would preſently aſſault their camp, or at leaſt wiſe that in the morning betimes they
D muſt of neceſſity fight with the conquerors. But the enemies, as their loſs was leſs, ſo their heart and courage was never the more: For ſo ſoon as the day brake, deſirous were they to be gone without any battel. Howbeit there was but one way, & that lay cloſe and neer to their enemies; which they were not ſo ſoon entred into, but they made ſhew a far off, as if they marched ſtraight to the aſſault of the camp. The Conſul commanded his men to arm, and to follow after him without the ramparts. To his Lieutenants, Colonels and Captains of the Allies, he gave ſeveral charges to do as he thought needful and requiſite. They all promiſed to execute any direction whatſoever; but they ſaid withal, that their ſouldiers hearts were done, that they had watched and ſit up all night, amongſt the grievous wounds and uncomfortable groans of them that lay a dying: and no doubt if the enemy had come before day againſt the camp, ſo daunted were they, that they
E would have abandoned their colours: and even now for very ſhame and nothing elſe, they forbare indeed to run away, but otherwiſe their hearts were gone, and they clean ſpent. The Conſul hearing this, thought good to go about himſelf in perſon, unto every one of his ſouldiers, and to ſpeak unto them: and even as he met with any of them, and ſaw them ſo backward, and going about ſo coldly to take arms and weapon in hand; he checked and rebuked them: crying aloud, and aſking why they ſat ſtill? why they loitered and made ſuch delay? ſaying, that the enemies would come to them within the very camp, and cut their throats, unleſs they made more haſte to ſally forth: yea, and forced they ſhould be to fight before their tent doors, if they would not give battel without the trench and ramparts. They that are armed (ſaith he) and will fight manfully, ſhall obtain undoubted victory: but the unarmed and naked man that attendeth the enemies coming,
F muſt either die for it, or endure captivity. As he rated and rebuked them in theſe tearms, they anſwered flatly again; that they had enough of yeſterdays work, and were utterly done; and had neither ſtrength nor blood left them in their bodies: and now the enemies (ſay they) ſeem more in number then they were the day before. Amid theſe ſpeeches the army approached: and being now but a little way off, they might take a full view of them more certainly, and ſee every thing. Whereupon they ſaid confidently, that they ſaw the Samnits to bring with them their ſtakes and pales to caſt a pallaiſado, no doubt, round about their whole camp. At this, the Conſul cried out upon them for very ſhame, to ſuffer ſo foul a reproach and diſgrace of a moſt daſtardly enemy. "And ſhal
" we be (quoth he) beſet and empaled within our own camp, there to die for hunger and famine
" with ſhame, rather then by edge of ſword (if there be no other remedy) with honor, like men?
G "The gods ſpeed us well (quoth he) and their will be done; and do every man as he thinks beſt:
" as for *M. Attilius* the Conſul, he is reſolved even himſelf alone (if no man elſe will follow) to
" meet the enemy in the face, and rather be beaten down and die amongſt the Samnits enſigns,
" than ſee the Roman camp beſieged with a trench caſt, and rampart raiſed about it. The Lieutenants, Colonels, and all the bands and Coronets of the Cavalry, yea, and the principal Centurions of the formoſt companies liked well of this, and accepted the Conſul his words. Then the ſouldiers for ſtark ſhame, full faintly take weapon in hand, and as ſlowly, God wot, go forth of camp. And thus in long ranks and files; not cloſe uninted together but broken here and there, with hea-

vy

vy cheer, and as men half vanquiſhed already, they marched after a ſort toward the enemy, who was neither in hope nor in heart better reſolved and ſetled then they. For ſo ſoon as the Samnits diſcovered the Roman Standards, ſuddenly from the vanguard to the rereguard, there went a muttering and bruit from one to another, that the Romans were come forth (the only thing they always feared) to empeach and ſtop their paſſage, ſo as now there was no way for them to fly and eſcape from them, and ſave themſelves, but muſt either die in the place, or ſlay their enemies and make a land even over their bodies. All their packs and fardels, they caſt together upon an heap in the midſt: and being armed as they were, every man ranged and marſhalled themſelves in their own arrays. Now was there a very little ſpace between the two armies, and they ſtood looking one upon another, waiting when their enemies would begin to give the firſt charge, and ſet up the firſt ſhout. But neither of both had any ſtomack to fight. And ſurely on both ſides they had gone ſundry ways untouched, and without any blows given or taken, but that they feared both, leſt if they had diſmarched of one part firſt, the other would have come upon them. Thus of themſelves they began a faint fight, as unwilling and loath thereto, with an uncertain and unequal ſhout: neither ſtirred any man one foot. Then the Roman Conſul, to begin the skirmiſh, ſent out ſome few Cornets of horſmen from a ſide, without the battaillons: wherof the moſt part fel from their horſes, and others were diſarrayed and put out of order: whereupon both Samnits ran out to kill thoſe that were fallen, and Romans alſo to reſcue their fellows. Then the skirmiſh began a little to wax hot: but the Samnits advanced forward in greater number far, and beſtirred themſelves (as it ſeemed) more luſtily: and withal, the Roman horſemen being diſordered and in confuſion, with their horſes affrighted trod under their feet the footmen that came to reſcue. Who beginning once to flie, cauſed the whole Roman army alſo to turn their backs. And now the Samnits played upon the backs of the Romans, as they fled: whereat the Conſul rode before a gallop to the camp gate, where he beſtowed a good *corps de guard* of horſemen, oppoſite in the way: and made proclamation, that whoſoever came toward the camp, were he Samnit or were he Roman, ſhould be taken and uſed as an enemy. With theſe and ſuch like threats, he put himſelf againſt the ſouldiers, that marched ſo faſt in heaps to the camp. Whither away ſirrah, (quoth he to every ſouldier that he met) even here ſhalt thou find men in arms to fight withal; here ſhalt thou meet with thine enemy, as well as in the field behind: no entring here into the camp without victory, ſo long as thy Conſul liveth: chuſe therefore whether thou hadſt rather fight with thy own countrimen or thine enemies. Whiles the Conſul entertained them with this welcom, the horſemen alſo with ſpear in reſt, and bent full againſt them, came all about, charging the footmen upon their peril to turn again to battel. Thus not only the Conſul his vertue and proweſs ſerved in good ſtead, but fortune alſo went on their ſide: for the Samnits followed not the chaſe ſo hard, but that the Romans had both time and ground enough to turn about their enſigns, and to direct their battaillons from their camp againſt the enemy. Then one encouraged another to go to battel again. The Centurions ſnatched the banners out of the bearers hands, and advanced them forward: declaring to their ſouldiers, how few the enemies were in number, and how diſorderly and out of all array they came againſt them. In this while the Conſul lift up his hands to heaven, and with a clear and audible voice, vowed a Temple to *Jupiter Stator*, if ſo be the Roman army ſtayed their flight, and by renuing the conflict ſhould kill and vanquiſh the Samnits Legions. Hereupon endevoured they on all hands, the Captain and ſouldier, both horſemen and footmen, to re-enforce the battel. And even the very gods from heaven ſeemed to have a ſpecial regard of the Romans at that time, ſo quickly the dice turned, and the enemies were repulſed from the ramparts, and within a ſmall while forced again to the very place where the battel began. Where by reaſon of their fardels and packs which they had heaped together in the midſt, and now lay in their very way, they were ſtopped in their very paſſage, and for fear leſt their goods ſhould be rifled and ſpoiled, they caſt a ring round about their bag and baggage. Then the Roman Infantry afront, and the Cavalry behind, compaſſed them, and charged upon them right fiercely: where in the midſt between, they were either ſlain or taken. The priſoners were in number 7300. who were all put naked under the yoak, and ſold: the number of them that were ſlain was about 4800. The Romans for all this had no great liſt to boaſt and brag of their victory, for the Conſul taking view and account of his loſs theſe two days, found by computation, that he miſſed 7300.

Whiles theſe things thus paſſed in *Apulia*, the Samnits with another power, aſſayed to ſurprize and get again *Interamna*, a Colony of the Romans: ſituate upon the Latine high-way: but when they could not be maſters of the town, they overran and plundered the territory: and having got a good booty of men, women, and cattel, one with another; whiles they were driving the ſame before them, together with certain Coloners whom they had taken priſoners, they light upon Conſul as he returned with victory from *Luceria*: where they not only loſt their ſpoil, but were themſelves ſlain as they marched diſorderly in long files. The Conſul made proclamation, That every man ſhould repair to *Interamna*, for to own and challenge his own goods, and to receive the ſame again: and there, leaving his army, went to *Rome*, againſt the Election of new Magiſtrates. When he laboured inſtantly for a triumph, he was denied that honor; both for that he had loſt ſo many thouſands, and alſo becauſe he had put his captives under the gallows, and ſold them, without farther impoſition.

The other Coſ. *Poſthumius*, wanting ſubject matter of war to work upon among the Samnits, paſſed

A paſſed with his army into Tuſcany: and after he had firſt pilled and ſpoiled the Volſinians territory, he gave them battel not far from their walls, who iſſued forth to defend their frontiers; where there were 2200. Tuſcans ſlain: the reſt, by reaſon that the City was ſo neer, eſcaped and ſaved themſelves. Then led he his army into the territory of *Roſellum*, where he not only laid the fields waſte, but won the town alſo: took priſoners above two thouſand, and ſlew under two thouſand before their walls. Howbeit, in that year, the peace obtained in *Hetruria*, was more honorable and renowned then the war had been. For three of the ſtrongeſt and moſt puiſſant States, even the very Capital Cities of Tuſcany, to wit, *Volſinii*, *Perufia*, and *Aretium*, deſired accord. And having conditioned with the Conſul, and promiſed, to find his ſouldiers clothing and corn, ſo they might
B have leave to ſend Orators to *Rome* to treat for peace, obtained at length a truce of forty years. And for that preſent, each City was fined to pay * 500000 Aſſes. For theſe acts done, the Conſul having requeſted triumph of the Senat, for manner and faſhion, rather then upon any hope to ſpeed; and perceiving ſome of them to deny him flatly, as pretending that it was ſo lateere he departed the City; and other ſome, for that without order and direction of the Senat, he paſſed out of *Samnium* into *Tuſcany*: and that partly his adverſaries, & partly the friends of his Collegue, who might take ſome comfort and contentment, that he alſo had the repulſe with him, were againſt his triumph: My Maſters (quoth he) you that are Senators of *Rome*, I wil not be ſo far mindful of your honor and majeſty, as that I will forget my ſelf to be a Conſul: and by vertue of the ſame authority of commiſſion, wherewith I have conducted and managed theſe wars; for ſo much
C as, I have happily brought them to end, and ſubdued *Samnium* and *Tuſcany*, atchieved victory, and obtained peace; triumph I will, and ask you no leave. And with that he departed out of the Senat. After this, there aroſe a debate and diſſention among the Tribuns of the Commons. Some of them ſaid, they would enterpoſe their negative, that he ſhould not in this manner triumph, and give ſo ill a precedent. Others gave out, that they would aſſiſt him in his triumph, maugre the heads of all their Collegues. After much ado, the matter was referred unto the people, and the Conſul being thither called, alledged, that *L. Horatius*, and *Mar. Valerius* Conſuls, alſo *Caius Martius Rutilius* of late days, even the father of him, who then was Cenſor, triumphed without the authority and approbation of Senat, only by the ordinance of the people. Over and beſides, he added and ſaid, that himſelf alſo would have moved the people therein, but that he knew that the
D Tribuns of the Commons, who were become vaſſals and ſlaves to the Nobles, would have nipped and croſſed the bill. As for himſelf, he proteſted, that he did and would account of the will and favour of the people, agreeing together, as well as of all their Acts and Decrees whatſoever. So the morrow after, by the aſſiſtance of three Trib. banded againſt the oppoſition and negative voices of ſeven, yea, and againſt the general reſolution of the Senat, he triumphed: and all the people with great joy ſolemnized and celebrated the honor of that day. But the records do vary much about the acts and affairs of this year alſo, *Claudius* writeth, That *Poſthumius* having won certain towns in *Samnium*, was after in *Apulia* diſcomfited and put to flight: and that himſelf in perſon being hurt, was with ſome few beſides, driven to take *Luceria* for refuge: and that it was *Attilius*, that fought in *Tuſcany*, and triumphed. *Fabius* contrarily reporteth, That both Conſuls
E warred in *Samnium*, and at *Luceria*: and that one of the armies was tranſported into *Tuſcany*: but which of the Conſuls had the conduct thereof, he hath not ſet down withal: alſo, that before *Luceria*, there were on both parts many ſlain: and how in that battel, there was a Temple vowed to *Jupiter Stator*, like as *Romulus* had done before in times paſt: howbeit, before this time, there was no Temple erected, but only a *Fanum*, [*i.* a place pronounced, deſtined, and conſecrated before to build a Temple on.] But in this year at laſt, the City being now twice bound and obliged to perform one and the ſame vow, made a conſcience of it, and moved the Senat to decree and take order, that the houſe and temple aforeſaid ſhould be edified accordingly.

After this year, there ſucceeded a brave and noble Conſul, *L. Papyrius Curſor*, as well in regard of his fathers glory, as his own reputation. Alſo a mighty great war, and ſuch a victory as never
F any General wan the like at the Samnits hands before that day, but *L. Papyrius* againſt the Conſuls father. And as it fell out, they made the like preparation for war, with the ſame endeavor and furniture of moſt coſtly and brave armor, as before time. Moreover, they uſed the help and favor of the gods beſides, by a ſtrange kind of induction and inſtitution of the ſouldiers, binding them to take their oath, after an old ceremonial cuſtom, as if they were to take orders in ſome holy myſteries; yea, and levied muſters throughout all *Samnium*, after a new form of a law and edict: That whoſoever of the younger ſort and ſerviceable men, fit to bear arms, ſhewed not themſelves, and gave attendance at the Generals appointment and proclemation, and whoſoever departed without his leave and licence, his head ſhould be forfeit unto *Jupiter* as accurſed and damned. Which done, the *Rendezvouz* was appointed at *Aquilonia*, for all the forces to aſſemble. Where there
G gathered together, to the number of forty thouſand fighting men, even the whole flower and manhood of *Samnium*. There, about the midſt of the camp, was a plot of ground ſet out, well fenced and enclоſed all about with hurdles and boords, and the ſame covered all over with linnen cloaths: the place was two hundred foot ſquare, every way. Then there was a ſolemn ſacrifice celebrated and divine ſervice ſaid, according to an order read out of an old book made of linnen, and the ſame by a certain Prieſt, one *Ovius Paccius*, a very aged man: who avouched, that he fet theſe ſacred and holy ceremonies from the old ancient Religion of the Samnits, according to the manner and cuſtom, which in times paſt their anceſtors had uſed, at what time as they complotted

* 1562. l. 10. ſterl.

complotted secretly and conspired to surprise *Capua* out of the Tuscans hands. When the sacrifice H was done, the General of the army by his Pursevant at arms, commanded to cite and call forth by name, the noblest persons, either for parentage or acts atchieved: who were brought into the place aforesaid, one by one. Amongst other preparations of this sacred solemnity (which were able to strike a religious fear and devotion in a mans mind) there were certain altars erected in the midst of this place, lately covered in all parts, and sacrifices lying slain all about, and the Centurions standing round with their swords ready drawn. Then the souldier was caried to approach neer the altars (like a sacrifice himself, rather then one that should have his part of the sacrifice) and urged by vertue of an oath, to promise, that he would never utter abroad and reveal whatsoever he there should see or hear. Afterward he was put to swear, after an horrible and dreadful I form of words, framed and tending expresly to the curbing of his own person his house and all his race and linage, in case, he went not into any battel, whersoever the Generals should lead him, and if either himself fled out of the field, or saw any one to run away, and slew him not outright in the place. At the first verily, some there were that refused to take such an oath, and presently were massacred by the Altars side. And lying there along together with the beasts which had their throats cut for sacrifices, they served for a warning to teach all the rest how they made refusal. When the chief of the Samnits had taken this abominable and cursed oath, ten of them were elected and nominated by the soveraign Captain, who every one had in charge to chuse himself a fellow, and they likewise successively to take other to them, man by man, until they had made up the number of 16000. And these were called *Linteata Legio* [*i.* the linnen Legion] taking K the name of the covering of that inclosure, wherin the Nobility of the Samnits were sworn. These had given unto them brave and glorious armor, with helmets crested and plumed, because they should seem taller then the rest. Another army there was, consisting of twenty thousand and better, who neither in goodly and tall personage nor in martial prowess and reputation, nor yet in furniture and setting out, were inferiour to the linnen Legion aforesaid. Lo, what a number there was of fighting men, even the whole strength and manhood of all *Samnium*, assembled and encamped in *Aquilonia*.

The Roman Consuls took their journey from the City of *Rome*, and *C. Carvilius* first; unto whom were appointed the old Legions, which *M. Attilius* the Consul of the former year had left in the territory of *Interamna*. And with them he marched into *Samnium*. And mean while L that the enemies were over much busied and amused about their superstitious ceremonies, and held their secret and mystical counsels, he won by force from the Samnits, the town *Amiternum*. Where almost 2800. men were slain, and 4270. taken prisoners. But *Papyrius*, having by direction from the Senat enrolled a new army, forced the town *Duronia*; took fewer prisoners then his Collegue but in lieu thereof, put many more to the sword. A rich booty there was got, both in the one place and the other. Afterwards the Consuls overran the whole country of *Samnium*, but they pilled and wasted especially the lands about *Atinium*. *Carvilius* marched as far as *Cominium*, and *Papyrius* to *Aquilonia*, where the whole power of the Samnits lay encamped. There, for a good while they neither sat still, and were altogether idle in the camp, nor yet was there any hot service in the field. They spent the time in provoking them to fight, that gladly M would have sitten still; or in lying off and giving ground, to those that assailed them: and thus, I say, with threatning, rather then offering battel they passed the day. For whiles they began ever and anon and gave over as quickly, there was no issue seen of any skirmishes, & the decision even of small matters and occurrents were prolonged and put off from day to day. The other camp of the Romans lay twenty miles off: and albeit the other Consul was absent, yet his hand and counsel was in every enterprise and exploit. For as there lay a greater weight and charge at *Aquilonia*, then at *Cominium*: so *Carvilius* had a more careful eye that way, then to the place which himself besieged. *L. Papirius* being now at all points provided to fight, dispatched a messenger to his Collegue, to signifie unto him: that he minded the next day, if he were not checked by the Auspices to give the enemy battel: and withal, that it was expedient and needful that he likewise N should with all his forces assault *Cominium*; that the Samnits within, might have neither means nor leisure to send any succour to *Aquilonia*. This post had that one day allowed him to doe his message and attend his dispatch; and by night he made return, and brought word unto the Consul from his Collegue, that he liked well of his purpose and advice. *Papyrius* then immediatly dismissed and sent away the courrier aforesaid, and assembled his souldiers to an audience, where he discoursed at large concerning war in general. Much he spake also as touching the present preparation and magnificent furniture of the enemies, more brave and goodly for shew and ostentation then effectual and of importance in the end: "For they are not the plumed crests "(quoth he) that give the deadly wounds, but the Romans spear and lance it is, that is able to "pierce their guilded and damasked shields: yea, and that other glittering army with milk white O "diaper coats must be died red in blood, when they come to stroaks, and to try it out by dint "of sword. The golden and silvered armies of the Samnits, were sometimes by my father put "to the sword, and killed to the last man: and they served rather for rich spoils to honour the "victorious enemy, then for armor of proof, to defend and save themselves. This is a fatal gift, "and destined to our name and family, for to be chosen Generals, and to be opposed against the "greatest puissance and attempts of the Samnits, and to bring away with them, those spoils "which might be ornaments to beautifie the publick places of the City. And the immortal gods

no

A "no doubt are preſent to defend and aſſiſt us in our quarrel, againſt thoſe that ſo oft have ſought
"for peace and alliance, and as often broke the ſame themſelves. And if a man may conjecture
"and gueſs of the will and providence of the Gods, they never were to any army more adverſe
"and full of indignity, then to that, which being ſtained and polluted with the blood of beaſts
"and men, maſſacred and mingled together in an horrible and execrable kind of ſacrifice; and de-
"vowed to a double anger of the gods, having in dread and horror of one ſide, the vengeance
"of the ſame gods, witneſſes off their breach of covenants with the Romans; and on the other
"ſide the deteſtable and abominable curſes, compriſed in an oath, taken againſt all covenant and
"promiſe; hath ſworn by conſtraint and perforce; hateth and deteſteth the oath whereby they
B "are perjured, and at one time, is in fear of the gods, of their own ſelves, and their enemies.
Thus having ſhewed unto his ſouldiers (who were already of themſelvs badly and malitiouſly e-
nough bent againſt the enemies) that he had certain intelligence of all theſe things, by the con-
ſtant relation averred by certain fugitives that were fled from them unto him; they all being now
full of aſſured hope of Gods help and mans, with one uniform cry called for battel: and nothing
grieved them more then this, That it was put off until the morrow; hating in their hearts the
reſt of that day behind, and that one night, for being ſo long. About mid-night, *Papyrius* ha-
ving received letters back from his Collegue, gat him up cloſely when all were faſt aſleep, and ſent
the chick-matter to take token, & obſerve the preſage of the pullets. There was not one through-
out the whole camp, of what quality or degree ſoever but had a deſire to fight. The higheſt as
C well as the loweſt were earneſt and eager: the Captains might behold and ſee the ſouldiers affe-
ction and courage that way, and the ſouldier likewiſe the Captains; in ſo much that the ſame ar-
dent deſire of battel which was in all the reſt, reached alſo even to thoſe that had the charge of the
Auſpices. For when as the chickens would not peck, the chick-maſter adventured to lye and
falſifie the token, and made report to the Conſul, that it was * *Tripudium ſoliſtimum*. Whereat
the Conſul right glad and joyous, pronounced that the token was lucky, and that they were to
fight under the favour and conduct of the gods; and hereupon he put forth the ſignal or bloody
banner of battel. As he was now marching forth into the field with his army, behold a fugitive
out of the enemies camp, brought word, that twenty cohorts or companies of Samnits, and thoſe
were about 400. in a cohort, were gone to *Comtnium*. And becauſe his Collegue *Carvilius* ſhould
D not be ignorant hereof, he preſently diſpatched a currier in poſt unto him, and himſelf comman-
ded the Enſigns and Standards to be advanced and ſet forward with ſpeed, ordaining the bands
in the rereward for ſuccours, and diſpoſing them in divers places, with Captains over the ſame,
accordingly. He appointed *L. Volumnius* to lead the right wing, and *L. Scipio* the left, and the
horſemen he committed to the conduct of two other Lieutenants, *C. Cedrius*, and *Trebonius*.
As for *Sp. Nautius*, he charged him in all haſte to take off the pack-ſaddles from the Mules, and
to mount the cohorts of the light armed footmen that ſerve in the wings, upon their backs, and
with them to fetch a compaſs, and to ſeize upon an hill there in ſight, and in the heat of the con-
flict, to ſhew himſelf from thence, and to raiſe as great a cloud of duſt as poſſibly he could. Whiles
the General was occupied hereabout, there aroſe ſome warbling amongſt the chicken-maſters
E touching the Auſpice or preſage of that day; in ſo much as they were over-heard of the Roman
horſemen; who ſuppoſing it a matter of good conſequence and to be regarded, advertiſed *Sp. Pa-
pyrius* (the Conſuls Nephew, or Brothers Son) that there was ſome doubt and queſtion about the
Auſpice. The youth born in thoſe days when there were no Atheiſts, nor Lectures read of de-
ſpiſing God and Religion; enquired farther into the matter, becauſe he would not certifie any
thing wherof he was not ſure: and when he had found out the truth, gave knowledg thereof to
the Conſul: who ſaid thus unto him, "God bleſs thee my ſon, and be not thou diſmayed therat,
"but fight hardly more valiantly, and do thy beſt endeavour. As for him that has the charge and
"overſight of the Birds and Auſpice, if he have made a wrong report, and given up a contrary
"preſage, or falſe ſign, all the miſchief and peril light upon his own head for his ſewd lye. As for me
F "I was told of a *Tripudium*, and that the birds fell heartily to their meat: and I hold it for a lucky
"Auſpice and token of good ſucceſs unto the people of *Rome* and the army, and for no other. This
ſaid, he commanded the Centurions to ſet thoſe pulletors, in the forefront of the battel. The Sam-
nits alſo for their part ſet forward their Enſigns, and their battaillons follow after gallantly ſet out
in gorgeous armor and brave apparrel, in ſuch ſort, as the very ſight of the enemies repreſented a
magnificent and ſtately ſhew to the beholders. But ſee what hapned; before the firſt ſhout given,
before the firſt volly of ſhot and encounter, the principal Pulletier chanced to be ſtricken with
a javelin, lanced at aventure and at random, and fell down dead even before the Enſigns. Which be-
ing reported unto the Conſul, "Behold the handy work of God (quoth he) the gods are preſent
"in this battel, the guilty perſon hath his due reward. And as the Conſul was a ſpeaking theſe
G words, lo, juſt before him a Raven ſet out a wide clear throat, and cried with a loud note: at which
Augury, the Coſ. rejoiced, and avowed, that the gods appeared never in mens affairs more evi-
dently. And herewith he commanded the trumpets to ſound, and to ſet up a luſty ſhout: then fol-
lowed a cruel and terrible fight on both ſides, but with hearts and courages far unlike. The Ro-
mans were raviſhed and carried on end to the battel, with anger, hope, and heat of conflict greedy
of bathing their ſwords, and embruing their hands in the enemies bloodſhed. But the Samnits
many of them by force of neceſſity, and conſtraint of a blind and ſuperſtitious religion, even a-
gainſt their wills, were forced to make reſiſtance, and defend themſelves rather then to fight
and

* The chickens fell to their meat ſo eagerly, that with their haſty feeding, ſome corn fell from their bils to the ground, and rebounded againſt: and this was *Tripudium ſoliſtimum*, and in their learning was reputed the beſt Auſpicium in that kind, and preſaged moſt happy ſucceſs.

and offend the enemy. Neither had they ſuſtained and held out the firſt ſhout, charge and H
ſhock of the Romans (as having now for certain years paſt been uſed ever more to go away defeated and vanquiſhed) but that a mightier fear imprinted and ſetled in their heart roots, held them perforce from running away: for they ever had continually repreſented in their eye, the whole furniture of that ſecret ſacrifice; of thoſe armed ſacrificers and Prieſts with naked ſwords; of that hideous butchery of men and of brute beaſts, lying ſlain one with another in their blood intermingled together; of the Altars beſprinkled and ſtained with the lawful ſhedding of the one, and the deteſtable effuſion of the other; of the dreadful and horrible execrations; and to conclude, of that frantick, furious, and deteſtable form of words, compoſed and deviſed to the deteſtation and malediction of their line and race. Being faſt bound, I ſay, with theſe bonds for fleeing a- I
way, they ſtood to it, and ſtirred not back, fearing their own countrymen more then the enemies. The Romans from both points, and from the middle and main battaillon charged hotly, beat them down, killed and cut them in pieces, thus amazed and aſtonied as they were with dread of gods and awe of man. Small reſiſtance made they, as who only feared to flie and run away: ſo as by this time, there was execution and havock made of them almoſt to the very Standards. At which very inſtant, there appeared overthwart from the one ſide a duſt, as if a mighty army had raiſed it to their march; namely, *Sp. Nautius* (or as ſome ſay, *Octavius Metius*) who had the leading of certain Cohorts called *Aleria*, mounted upon Mules, which on purpoſe made a duſt greater, then for that number they were. For thoſe varlets and new horſemen, as they ſat on their Mules and Sumpter-beaſts, drew after them trailing on the ground, boughs of K
trees full of branches and leaves: and firſt, there appeared in the fore-front (as it were, through a duskiſh and dim light) their armour and guidons: but the duſt behind them, riſing higher and thicker, made ſhew of a troop of horſemen ſtanked an army of footmen: wherewith not only the Samnits but Romans alſo were deceived. And the Conſul himſelf, to avow the error and bear them down it was ſo; cried aloud amongſt the formoſt Enſigns, ſo as his voice reached unto his enemies, That *Cominium* was won, and his Brother Conſul was come with victory; and therefore, they ſhould endeavour and enforce themſelves to get the day, before that another army ſhould win the honour out of their hands. Thus cried he out on horſeback galloping among the ranks to and fro. Then he commanded the Colonels and Centurions, to make a way for the men of arms. Himſelf afore, had willed *Trebonius* and *Ceditius*, that when they eſpied him to bear his ſpear upright and to ſhake it, then they ſhould with all the might they had, put forth the Cavalry and charge the enemies. Every thing was done at a beck, according as they were directed and inſtructed before-hand. The wayes were made wide between the files. The horſemen fling out, and with ſpear in reſt charge upon the middle battaillon of the enemies, and brake their arrayes whereſoever they charged. *Volumnius* and *Scipio* ſeconded them with the Infantry: and while they were diſarrayed overthrew them, and bare them to the ground. Down went theſe linnen Cohorts now, when God and man fought againſt them, and were diſcomfited: and as well thoſe that took the oath, and the other that were unſworn, fled amain; and without reſpect of one thing or other, feared none but their enemies. All the footmen that eſcaped the battel, were beaten into their camp at *Aquilonia*. The Gentlemen and the men of M
arms fled toward *Bovianum*. The Cavalry of the Romans purſued the horſemen, and the Infantry chaſed the footmen. The wings took divers ways, the right toward the camp of the Samnits, the left unto the Town. *V. Iamnius* was ſomewhat before, and got the Camp. *Scipio* found more reſiſtance in the City: not for that vanquiſhed men, as they were, had more courage and reſolution, but becauſe that walls are ſtronger to endure an aſſault, and better to keep out armed men, then a plain trench and rampart. For, from the Courtine, with ſtones they beat and repulſed the enemy. *Scipio* foreſeeing well enough that they ſhould be longer about the aſſault of a ſtrong and fenced town unleſs he diſpatched the matter quickly and went through with it, in their firſt affright and confuſion, before they took heart again: demanded of his ſouldiers, If they could take it well, and abide to ſee the camp won by the other point of N
the battel, and themſelves (being likewiſe Conquerors) to be repelled from the City Gates? When they all cried, No; and ſaid they would never endure that diſgrace: himſelf with his target over his head, approached the gate, the others following after under a target-ſenſe, ruſh into the City, thruſt down the Samnits about the Gate, and gat to the Walls: but to engage themſelves farther into the City, they durſt not, being ſo few as they were. The Conſul himſelfe at the firſt knew nothing of all this, but was occupied about the retreat, and rallying of his men: for now the ſun was well neer down; and the night comming on apace, cauſed every thing even to the very victors to ſeem dangerous and ſuſpicious. But when he was advanced farther, he ſaw on the right hand the camp taken: and on the left, he heard a confuſed cry and tumult in the City, compounded of the noiſe of fighting men, and frighted perſons: and even at that in- O
ſtant, it fortuned, that they skirmiſhed at the gate. Then he rode on, neerer and neerer, and ſaw his own men upon the Walls, howbeit nothing yet fully performed: but through the raſh adventure and fool-hardineſs of ſome few, an overture only made, and ſome advantage got of performing a great piece of ſervice and worthy exploit. Whereupon, he commanded the forces that were retired to be called, and with banner diſplayed to enter the City. So ſoon as they were in, they took the next quarter to the Gate, and for that the night approached, there they reſted, and went no farther. But even in that very night, the enemies abandoned the Town.

There

A There were ſlain that day before *Aquilonia* 3034 o Samnits, and 3870 taken priſoners: and of field enſigns they went away with 90. Moreover, this is reported and recorded of *Papyrius*, that there had not been lightly ſeen a General in any battel more lightſome, chearfull, and merry; were it of his own natural diſpoſition, or upon aſſured confidence of victory. Upon which courage and reſolution, he could not be revoked from battel, albeit there was ſome queſtion and ſcruple about the Auſpice: and even in the hotteſt time, and dangerous point of the conflict, at what time as the manner is to vow temples to the immortal gods: he vowed unto *Jupiter Victor*, If ſo be that he defeated the Legions of the enemies, to preſent him with a cup of a ſweet and pleaſant mead before he drank any ſtrong and heady wine of the grape: which vow the gods accepted and
B liked of, and turned the ill preſage of the Auſpices to good.

The other Conſull had as good ſpeed at *Cominium*: For at the break of day he approached with all his forces to the wals of the town, and inveſted it round about: and ſet ſtrong guards at the gates, for fear they ſhould iſſue or ſally forth. And even as he was about to give the ſignall of aſſault, there came a meſſenger poſt from his fellow Conſ. who in great affright brought word of the coming of twenty cohorts to the ſuccour of them within the City: which both kept him ſhort from giving the aſſault, and cauſed him to call back again part of his forces, which were arranged and ready under the counterſcarp to aſſail the defendants. Then he gave charge to *Decius Bratus Scæva*, one of the Lieutenants, to take the firſt legion and twenty cohorts of the wings, and other horſemen, to make head againſt the reſcue of the enemies aforeſaid; and whereſoever he
C met them, there to impeach them, yea, and if occaſion ſerved, to give them battel; and in no caſe to ſuffer that power to come to *Cominium*. Himſelf commanded that ladders ſhould be reared on every ſide of the town, and under a fence of targets approached the gates. So that in an inſtant the gates were burſt open, and the wals ſcaled on every part. The Samnits, as their hearts ſerved them well enough to keep the enemies from entrance, before they ſaw any armed men upon the wals: ſo, after they perceived, that they were aſſailed not aloof with ſtones and darts, but faſt by and with hand-ſtrokes: and how that they, who hardly and with great difficulty from the plain gat up the wals, having now gained and ſurmounted the place (which they moſt feared before) could fight at eaſe from aloft with their enemy, who was not able to match them in the even ground; quit their towers and wals, and gathered all together in the market place, and there for
D a while tried the utmoſt hazard of battel. But afterwards throwing down their weapons, 15400 of them yielded themſelves to the Conſul his mercy. There were ſlain 4380. Thus went the game at *Cominium*, and thus at *Aquilonia*.

In the mid way between theſe two Cities, where a third battel was looked for, the enemies were not to be found. And when they were ſeven miles off from *Cominium*, they had a countermand from their own country-men, and were called away, and ſo came not to the reſcue, neither in the one battell nor the other. In the ſhutting in of the evening, when it began to be dark, being within the ſight of the Camp of one hand, and *Aquilonia* on the other; they might hear a like noiſe and cry from both parts, which cauſed them to pauſe. But afterwards, when they were over-againſt the Camp which was fired by the Romans; the flame ſpreading far
E abroad declared the defeat of the Samnits more evidently, and ſtaied them there for going farther. In which very place they laid down here and there in their armour (as they were) and paſſed a reſtleſs and unquiet long night, expecting (and yet fearing) the light of the day. At the dawning whereof, and ſo ſoon as it began to peep, while they were uncertain and doubtfull what way to take, they hapned to be diſcovered by the cavalry of the enemies: and ſuddenly in a fearfull amaze and affright, they took them to their heels and fled in great diſorder. Thoſe horſemen having purſued the Samnits, who in the night ſeaſon eſcaped out of the town, chanced to eſpy this foreſaid multitude, and perceived they were neither entrenched, nor defended with a good *corps de guard*. This company was deſcried alſo even from the wals of *Aquilonia*: whereupon, by this time the legionary footmen likewiſe made after them; but they could not overtake
F them in the chaſe, ſo faſt they fled: howbeit the horſemen cut off ſome, and ſlew two hundred and fourſcore in the tail of the rereguard. In this affright they left much armour behind them, and eighteen enſigns, and ſo the reſt of the army ſaved themſelves, and as well as they might in ſo fearfull confuſion, recovered *Bovianum*. The joy of theſe two Romans armies was wonderfully encreaſed, to ſee one another have ſo good and fortunate ſucceſs in their enterpriſes. Both the Conſuls, by each others advice and conſent, gave their towns thus won unto the ſouldiers to be ſacked and rifled: and after the goods were out, to ſet fire on the empty houſes; in ſuch wiſe, that in one and the ſame day both *Aquilonia* and *Cominium* were burnt to aſhes: and the Conſuls, with mutuall congratulation and joy, as well between their Legions as themſelves, feaſting one another joyned both their Camps in one. Afterwards in the ſight of both Armies, *Carvilius* highly
G commended and praiſed his ſouldiers every one as he deſerved, and rewarded them with gifts accordingly. *Papyrius* alſo for his part, who had performed many and ſundry skirmiſhes as well in the field and battel, as about the winning of the Camp and forcing the City, beſtowed by way of honour upon *Sp. Nautius*, and *Sp. Papyrius* his brothers ſon, as alſo upon four Centurions and the band of the *Haſtati* or Javelineers, bracelets and coronets of gold: and namely, *Nautius* for that he bare himſelf ſo worthily in that journey and expedition, wherein with his counterfeit troop of horſemen upon Mules, he ſo terrified the enemy, as if he had conducted a main army of men at armes: and young *Papyrius* for his good ſervice with his cavalry as well in the battel and con-

 flict,

flict, as alſo in that night, wherein he forced the Samnits to flie ſecretly, and quit the City *Aquilonia*: the Centurions and ſouldiers, in this regard, that they were the firſt who ſeized the gates and wals of that town: as for all the horſemen, in conſideration of their manifold travell, and brave exploits ſhewed in ſundry places, he gave them bracelets and little horns of ſilver. This done, foraſmuch as it was time now to withdraw their army from out of *Samnium*, either both twain, or one of them alone; they ſate in Counſil and conſultation thereupon: and thought it was the better courſe (to the end that the Samnits might be brought lower, and their ſtate more ſenſibly decayed) to go forwad ſtill, and charge them with greater force and reſolution, and to purſue the reſt that was behind; that *Samnium* might be delivered up to the Conſuls their ſucceſſors, utterly tamed and ſubdued: ſince that the enemies now had no army abroad in field, like either to give or abide another battel; and there remained but one manner of making war, even to beſiege and aſſault their Cities and ſtrong Towns; by the winning and ſubverſion whereof, they might with the pillage enrich and make their own ſouldiers for ever; and withall impoveriſh their enemies, and make a hand of them quite, being now at the laſt caſt, forced to fight for Church and Home. Hereupon the Conſuls diſpatched their letters to the Senat and people of *Rome*, containing the effect at large of all their exploits; and then divided themſelves, and took two ſeverall waies: *Papyrius* marched with his legions to the ſiege of *Sepinum*; and *Carvilius* with his to beſiege *Volana*.

The Conſuls letters were read and heard with exceeding joy, as well in the court of the Counci'l of the City, as in the Common Hall of aſſemblies; and this publike contentment and rejoycing was ſolemnized with generall proceſſions, for the ſpace of four daies, and with marvellous zeal, affection, and devotion of private perſons in particular. And to ſay a truth, this victory was to the ſtate of *Rome* not only great and honourable, but alſo of great conſequence, in regard that it fell out in ſo good and commodious a time. For even then, news came, that *Tuſcany* was revolted and rebelled, and men began to caſt in their minds, and diſcourſe how they ſhould do (in caſe ought ſhould hap but well in *Samnium*) to withſtand the forces and invaſions of the Tuſcans: who taking heart, and preſuming upon the Samnits, and their curſed and execrable oath, by vertue whereof they were obliged to fight to the utmoſt extremity, embraced the occaſion and opportunity of taking armes again, whiles both the Conſuls and the whole forces of *Rome* were diverted and withdrawn into *Samnium* and there employed. The Embaſſadors of their allies and confederats, were by *M. Attilius* the Prætor brought into the Senat, and had audience given them; where they complained, that their Territories were over-run, burnt, and ſpoyled by the Tuſcans their next neighbours; and all becauſe they were unwilling to revolt from the people of *Rome*: humbly beſeeching the LL. of the Senate, to defend and protect them againſt the violence, wrong, and outrage of common enemies. Anſwer was returned unto the Embaſſadors: That the Senate would have regard, that their allies ſhould have no cauſe to repent of their faithfull allegeance, and conſtant loyalty; and that ere many daies went over their heads, the Tuſcans ſhould taſte of the ſame cup that the Samnits had begun unto them. Howbeit, they would have been ſlack and cold enough in dealing with the Tuſcans, had not freſh news come, that the *Faliſci* alſo, who had for many years continued in amity and friendſhip with the people of *Rome*, were combined with the the Tuſcans, and entred into arms, as well as they. The near neighbourhood of this nation, gave an edge to the Senators, and whet them on, to take care and ordain, that their Fetiall Heralds ſhould be addreſſed thither to demand reſtitution and amends for harms done: which being denied, and no goods reſtored; by the advice and authority of the Senat, together with the grant of the people, war was proclamed againſt the Tuſcans: and the Conſuls were commanded to caſt lots, whether of them ſhould paſs out of *Samnium* with his forces, into Tuſcany.

By this time now *Carvilius* had won *Volana*, *Palumbinum*, and *Herculaneum*, towns appertaining to the Samnits. *Volana* was forced within few daies: *Palumbinum*, the ſame day that he came before the wals: but at *Herculaneum*, he fought two ſeverall battels, with doubtfull and uncertain iſſue, yea, and with more loſs of his own part than of the enemies. But afterwards, he pitched his camp before the town, beleaguered the enemies, and kept them within their walls, gave the aſſault, and won it in the end. In theſe three towns there were either taken priſoners or ſlain in all, to the number of ten thouſand: but ſo as through fear the greater part by far, ſuffered themſelves to be captives, rather then to dye on the edge of the ſword.

The Conſuls caſt lots for their Provinces; and it fell unto *Carvilius* to go into Tuſcany, as the ſouldiers wiſhed and deſired, who could no longer away with the rigour of cold weather in *Samnium*. As for *Papirius*, he found a greater power of enemies, and more reſiſtance, before *Sepinum*. Many a time he was fought withall in battell arranged: oft skirmiſhed with in his march: yea, and oftentimes under the very walls, the enemies ſallied out againſt him from the Town, in ſuch ſort as he could not tell what to make of it: for neither was it to be called properly a ſiege alone, nor yet altogether a battell fight; conſidering that the enemies were no more protected and covered themſelves, by the ſtrength of their walls; than the walls were defended by force of arms, and men of war: howbeit in the end, what with fighting and what with skirmiſhing, he lodged them within the City ſo as they durſt come abroad no more, but kept themſelves cloſe, and were beſieged indeed: and after long ſiege, as well with forcible aſſaults, as by trenches, baſtils, and rampiers, he was maſter of the town: and therefore after he was poſſeſſed of it, upon anger and choler

A choler that they had ſo long ſtood out and put him to ſo much trouble, that there was more bloud-ſhed; and ſeven thouſand died by the ſword, whereas under three thouſand were taken priſoners. The ſpoil and pillage, which was exceeding great, conſidering that the Samnits had laid up all their gods in ſome few Cities, was given to the ſouldiers. And now lay the ſnow thick all over upon the ground: neither could men endure abroad in the field without houſe and harbor: and thereupon the Conſul retired his Army out of *Samnium*. Againſt his comming to *Rome*, it was decreed by the general voice of all men, that he ſhould triumph: and ſo he triumphed whiles he was in his Magiſtracy, with great magnificence, and ſumptuous pomp, as thoſe daies would afford. For as well his footmen as horſemen marched and paſſed by in a ſhew, adorned with their
B gift and prizes of honour. Many a *civick,* vallare and *murale garland was ſeen worn that day. Much looking and wondring there was at the ſpoils alſo of the Samnits armour and apparel: for with their goodly beauty and glorious hue, were they comparable to thoſe that his father had won before him, which were commonly ſeen, and well known in the publike places of the City, adorned and beautified therewith. Moreover, there were led before him in this triumph and pompous entrance of his into the City, certain captives and priſoners of noble bloud deſcended, men of great worth ſometime, and name, as well for their own deeds, as their fathers acts. Great ſtore of Braſs Bullion in Ingots, and not coined, was carried in ſhew, amounting to the weight of *2009533 pound: which maſs of braſs or copper was raiſed of the ranſome of priſoners. But the ſilver which was got in the ſaccage of the towns came to *1330 pound weight and above. All
C the braſs and ſilver was laid up in the common Treaſury of the City, and nothing at all of the whole booty given to the ſouldiers: and the diſcontentment and heart-burning that grew thereby, was ſo much the greater in the common people, by reaſon they were charged beſides with an exaction and contribution for ſouldiers pay; whereas if the Conſul had not upon a vain-glorious humour brought into the City-Chamber, ſuch ſums which he had gained from the enemy there might a good portion thereof have been beſtowed freely amongſt the ſouldiers, & of the ſurpluſſage their due wages paid and diſpatched. Moreover, whiles he was Conſul, he dedicated the Temple of *Quirinus*, which his father, being Dictator, had vowed: for, that himſelf vowed it in the very time of the battel, I find not in any ancient writer; and certainly in ſo ſhort a ſpace, he could not poſſibly have built and finiſhed it. He trimmed it beſides, and garniſhed it with
D the ſpoils of the enemies, whereof there was ſuch ſtore and abundance, that not only the foreſaid Temple and the market-place were therewith ſet out and bravely decked, but they were diſtributed abroad to their allies alſo and Coloners, near inhabitants, for the decoration and beautifying of their Churches and publike places. After the triumph ended, he brought his Army to winter in the Territory of the Veſtins, becauſe thoſe quarters were diſtreſſed and annoied by the Samnits.

In this mean while, *Carvilius* the Conſul, having at his firſt coming given the aſſault unto *Troilium*, a City in Tuſcany, granted licenſe to 470 of the richeſt Citizens, to depart from thence and by compoſition, to pay a great ſum of money unto him. The reſt of the multitude fell into his hands, after he had won the town by mere force. This done, he fortified five Caſtles, ſituate in places
E of great ſtrength: where were ſlain of enemies 2400, and not all out 2000 taken priſoners. He granted to the *Faliſci* (who ſued for peace) truce for one year, and yet to make preſent payment of *100000 Aſſes, and to diſcharge the ſouldiers wages for that year. After theſe exploits atchieved, he departed to his triumph: which as it was leſs honourable and glorious than that o-ther of his companion in government, in regard of the ſervice performed againſt the Samnits: ſo, if we conſider withall, the Tuſcan war, it was equal and comparable unto it every way. Of braſs money he brought into the common Cheſt *300090 pound: of the ſurpluſſage of the pillage and other ſpoils, he cauſed the Chappel of *Fors Fortuna* to be built, neat unto the Temple of the fame goddeſs, dedicated by King *Servius Tullus*. To the ſouldiers that ſerved on foot, he gave of his booty *102 Aſſes a piece, and twice as much to every Centurion and horſeman. Which re-
F ward they accepted more thankfully at his hands, by reaſon of the nigardice and miſery of his Collegue before him. And ſo gracious was this Conſul, that he protected and ſaved *L. Volumnius*, one of his Lieutenants, againſt the people: who being arreſted and called to his anſwer by *M. Caucius*, a Tribune of the Commons, fled for his laſt help, to his Lieutenantſhip (as they ſay) and avoided thereby the danger of their judgement: for that during his abſence in that charge, his accuſation might well be ſet on foot and followed, but brought to a final end and definitive ſentence, it could not be.

After this year expired, the new Tribunes of the Commons entred their office: and for that there was ſuppoſed ſome errour in their creation, the fifth day after were other choſen in their ſtead. The ſame year there was a *Luſtrum* or ſolemn ſurvey of the City, held by *P. Cornelius Arvi-*
G *na*, and *C. Martius Rutilius* Cenſors. In which were numbred and aſſeſſed 262322 pols of Roman Citizens. Theſe were in order the ſix and twentieth Cenſors from the beginning: and this was reckoned the nineteenth *Luſtrum* after the firſt inſtitution. In this year, and never before, the ſpectators of the Roman Games and Plaies, in regard of their happy ſucceſs in wars, ſtood adorned with wreaths and garlands of flowers upon their heads: and then came up the faſhion at *Rome*, borrowed from the manner and cuſtome of Greece, to honour thoſe with branches of the date tree, who won the prizes, and were victors in thoſe ſolemn Games.

The ſame year the Ædiles Curule, who exhibited the ſaid paſtimes and exerciſes of activity,

* For ſaving of a Citizens life in battel, made of graſs.
* For mounting firſt over the rampier of the enemies Camp, faſhioned like the pales in a rampier.
* For ſcaling over the wals firſt of an enemies City: and formed to the manner of the curtin or battlements of a wall.
* Two millions five hundred thirty three Aſſes in value, and of engliſh ſterl. 25. 06 li. 13 ſhil 4 d. within a farthing.
* 3990 pound ſterling after five ſhillings an ounce.

*312 li. 10 ſh.

‡637 li. 15 ſh. 7 d. ob. ſterl.

‡6 ſh. 5 d. ob. ſterl.

paved the cauſey or high-way with flint or pibble ſtone, from the Temple of *Mars* unto *Boville*: H and the fines of certain Publicans or farmers of the City, that were graſiers and condemned, paid the charges. Then *Papyrius* held the great Aſſembly for election of new Conſuls, and created *Q. Fabius Gurges* the ſon of *Maximus*, and *D. Junius Brutus Sceva*, Conſuls. *Papyrius* himſelf was choſen Prætor. This year, ſo joious and fortunate in many reſpects, could hardly countervail and recompence with all other comforts, one only calamity, namely, a peſtilence and mortality, which conſumed and devoured both town and country. Inſomuch, as for the ſtrangeneſs and extremity thereof, it was held for a prodigious and portentous ſign beyond all courſe of nature, and reach of reaſon. Whereupon, the books of *Sibylla* were peruſed, to know out of them, what iſſue and remedy the gods would vouchſafe to ſhew of this malady and miſery. Wherein they found, I that the Image of *Æſculapius* muſt be ſent for, from as far as * *Epidaurus* to *Rome*. But for that by year, reaſon that the Conſuls were buſied in the wars, nothing was done, but only one day beſtowed wholly in ſupplications and devout Letanies, to the honour of the ſaid god *Æſculapius*.

* Pigiada, or Cheroniſi.

# The ten Books next following of *T. Livius* (uſually called the ſecond Decade) are loſt: The Arguments whereof K remain yet extant in the Abridgments or Breviaries of *L. Florus*, which inſtead of the Hiſtory it ſelf, are ſet down in this place.

## The Breviary of *L. Florus* to the Eleventh Book. L

WHen Fabius Gurges *the Conſul, had fought an infortunate battell againſt the Samnits, and the Senate were about to diſcharge and remove him from his Army*; Fabius Maximus *his father, beſought them for his ſake, not to offer him that diſgrace and diſhonour. For rather than that ſhould come to paſs, he promiſed to ſerve in perſon under his ſon in quality of his Lieutenant. Which moved the Senate, and prevaled more than any thing elſe. And he was his words maſter. For he went to the field, and by his means and good advice, the Conſul his ſon was ſo well aſſiſted, that he defeated the Samnits, triumphed over them, led captive before his triumphant Chariot* C. Pontius, *Lord General of the Samnits, and afterwards ſtruck off his head. Whiles the City* [*of* Rome] *was pitiouſ-* M *ly viſited and afflicted with the plague, there were certain Embaſſadors addreſſed and ſent to* Epidaurus, *for to tranſlate the Image of* Æſculapius *from thence to* Rome. *And inſtead thereof they brought away a great ſnake or ſerpent, which of it ſelf embarked in their ſhip, and wherein they were verily perſwaded, that the puiſſance and divine power of the ſaid god was reſident. And when they had conducted it with them by ſea as far as to* Rome, *it went forth of its own accord, and ſwam to the Iſland within* Tyberis, *where it ſetled: and in that very place where it took land, they erected a Temple to* Æſculapius. L. Poſthumius, *a Conſular man* [i. e. *who had been Conſul*] *having the charge of an Army, was condemned, and had a round fine ſet upon his head, for that he employed his ſouldiers about ſome work in one of his farms. The League was now the fourth time renewed with the Samnits, at their earneſt ſuit and requeſt.* Curius Dentatus *the Conſul, after he had defeated and ſlain* N *the Samnits, vanquiſhed the Sabins, who were revolted and rebelled, and received them under his obeyſance, triumphed twice during the time of one Conſulſhip. Three Colonies were erected, and peopled, to wit,* Caſtrum, Sena, *and* Adria. *The three Triumvirs to ſit upon capitall crimes were then firſt created. A ſeſſing was holden, and a ſolemn* Luſtrum, *wherein by juſt account were numbred* 273000 *Citizens of Romans. The Commons, becauſe they were deeply engaged in debt, in regard of grievous and long ſeditions and diſſentions, retired in the end to* Janiculum, *from whence they were reclaimed and brought again into the City, by the means of* Q. Hortenſius *the Dictator, who died in the very time of his Magiſtracy. This book containeth moreover the exploits againſt the Volſinians, and alſo the Lucans, againſt whom it was thought good and ordained, to ſend aid and ſuccours to the Tyrrhenians.* O

The

A

## The Breviary of *L. Florus* to the twelfth Book.

*THe Roman Embaſſadors being murdred by the Senonois in* Gaul, *and war thereupon denounced and proclaimed againſt them,* Lucius Cæcilius *the Prætor, fortuned with his whole army to be defeated by them, and put to the ſword. When the Roman fleet was ſpoiled and ranſacked by the Tarentins, and their Admiral beſides ſlain, the Senat diſpatched their Embaſſadors unto them to make complaint of theſe wrongs and outrages; but they were evill intreated and ſent away with great abuſe. Whereupon, defiance was likewiſe given unto them, and war proclaimed. The Samnits revolted. Againſt*
B *whom together with the Lucans, Brutians, and Tuſcans, ſundry battels were fortunatly fought by divers Roman Captains.* Pyrrhus *the King of the Epirots [or the Albanois] paſſed over into* Italy *for to aid the Tarentins. When a Legion of the Campans was ſent under the conduct of* Decius Jubellius *to* Rhegium, *there to lie in garriſon, they treacherouſly ſlew the naturall inhabitants, and ſeized the City of* Rhegium *to their own behoof.*

## The Breviary of *L. Florus* for the thirteenth Book.

*VAlerius* Levinus *the Conſul loſt the field againſt* Pyrrhus: *by occaſion principally that his ſouldiers were terrified and amazed at the uncouth ſight of the Elephants. After that battell, when* Pyrrhus
C *viewed and beheld the dead bodies of the Romans, lying ſlain on the ground; he obſerved and marked, that all their faces were turned toward the enemy affront. From thence he went forward ſpoiling and waſting all the way to* Rome. C. Fabricius *was ſent unto him for to treat about the redemption and ranſom of the priſoners: and was ſollicited by the King (but in vain) to abandon the ſervice of his own country. The foreſaid priſoners were enlarged and ſent home without paying any ranſom at all.* Cyneas *was ſent as Embaſſador from the King unto the Senat; who required, that the King his Maſter, for to end and compound all quarrels, might be received into the City and amity of the people of* Rome: *but when it was thought meet to debate and conſult of this important matter, in a more frequent aſſembly of the Senators,* Appius Claudius, *who many a day had not intermedled with the affairs of State and Councill, preſented himſelf in the Court among the Senators: where his opinion carried the matter clear away,*
D *and* Pyrrhus *his demand was flatly denied.* P. Domitius, *the firſt Cenſor of the Commoners, held a* Luſtrum *or ſurvey of the City, in which were found 278222 Roman Citizens by the poll. A ſecond field was fought againſt* Pyrrhus, *but with doubtfull event and iſſue. With the Carthaginians, the alliance was renewed now the fourth time. When a certain fugitive traitor that ran from* Pyrrhus, *offered to* C. Fabricius *the Conſul for to poiſon the King, he was ſent back again, and the treaſon was diſcovered to the King. Over and beſides, this book containeth the proſperous affairs in war againſt the Tuſcans, Lucanians, Brutians, and Samnits.*

## The Breviary of *L. Florus*, upon the fourteenth Book.

E PYrrhus *paſſed the ſeas into* Sicily. *When among other prodigies and fearfull tokens, the image of* Jupiter *in the Capitoll was overthrown and ſmitten down with lightning, the head thereof was recovered and found again by the ſoothſaiers.* Curius Dentatus, *as he was taking muſters, ſold in port-ſale the goods of one that would not anſwer to his name when he was called. He defeated* Pyrrhus *after his return again out of* Sicily *into* Italy; *and forced him to avoid and depart once for all.* Fabricius *a Cenſor, caſſed and diſplaced out of his Senators room* P. Cornelius Rufinus, *one that had been Conſul, for that he had in ſilver plate to the weight of ten pounds. There was a* Luſtrum *holden by the Cenſors, and therein were found 271224 Citizens. A ſociety and alliance was contracted with* Ptolomy *King of* Ægypt. Sextilia *a profeſſed veſtall Nun was convicted of uncleanneſs and fornication, and buried quick. Two*
F *new Colonies were erected, to wit,* Poſidonia *and* Conſa. *A fleet of Carthaginians arrived to aid the Mamertins: by occaſion whereof the league was broken. This book compriſeth alſo, the happy exploits againſt the Lucanians, Samnits, and Brutians: together with the death of King* Pyrrhus.

## The Breviary of *L. Florus* to the fifteenth Book.

*THe Tarentins being vanquiſhed hath peace granted, and liberty alſo reſtored unto them. The ſouldiers of the Campan legion aforeſaid, which had poſſeſſed themſelves of* Rhegium, *were beſieged: and after they had abſolutely yielded were every one made ſhorter by the head. Certain luſty youths of* Rome, *who had miſuſed and beaten the Embaſſadors of the Apollionats, ſent unto the Senat, were delivered unto their hands to be uſed according to their diſcretion. The Picentes were overcome in battell, and obtained peace. Two Colonels were ſent, the one to* Ariminum *within the marches of* Picenum, (*i.e.* Ancona)
G *the other to* Beneventum, *in* Samnium. *Now and never before began the Romans to uſe ſilver coin for their money. The Umbrians and Salentins were vanquiſhed, and their ſubmiſſion of obedience received. The number of the Quæſtors was augmented [to be eight.]*

## The Breviary of *L. Florus* to the ſixteenth Book.

H

*THe firſt riſing of the Carthaginians, with the beginning of their City, are in this book related: Againſt whom together with* Hiero *King of the Syracuſians, the Senat of* Rome *ordained to ſend aid unto the* Mamertins: and after much arguing and debate about this point, whiles ſome perſwaded, & others again diſſwaded: the gentlemen of* Rome, *who ſerved on horſback, then firſt croſſed the ſeas, and bare themſelves bravely in many battels and to good purpoſe againſt* Hiero: *who at length craved peace and had it granted. The Cenſors held a* Luſtrum *and numbred the people: and enrolled* 372224 Citizens of* Rome, *into the ſubſidy book.* D. Junius Brutus *was the firſt that ever repreſented combats of ſword-fencers at the ſharp to the utterance, in the honour of his father late deceaſed. One Colony was* I *planted at* Æſernia. *This book comprehendeth beſides, the good ſucceſs of the affairs againſt the Carthaginians and the Volſcinians.*

* The inhabitants of *Meſſana.*

* *Eutropius.* ſaith 292000.

## The Breviary of *L. Florus* for the ſeventeenth Book.

CNeus Cornelius *the Conſul, being ſurpriſed and environed with a fleet of Carthaginians, and under colour of a parl, trained forth and called unto them; was villanouſly taken priſoner and kept ſtill with them.* Cn Duillius *the Conſul fought with happy ſucceſs againſt this their foreſaid fleet: and was the firſt Roman Captain that rode in triumph, for a naval victory at ſea. In regard whereof this honour for ever after was done unto him, That when he ſupped forth in any place of the City, as he returned home to his own houſe, the Waits ſhould ſound, the hautboies all the way, and a man go before him with a burning torch.* L. Cornelius *the Conſul won a field in* Sardinia *againſt the Iſlanders, together with the Corſians, and* Hanno *the Generall of the Carthaginians.* Attilius Calatinus *the Conſul, having unadviſedly engaged his army within a place of great diſadvantage, whereas the Carthaginians lay round about in ambuſh, retired and eſcaped by the valour and induſtrious means of* M. Calphurnius *a Colonel: who with a regiment of 300 foot venturouſly ſallied out, and turned all the forces of the enemies upon himſelf. One* Annibal *a Carthaginian Commander, upon the defeat of the Armado, whereof he was Admiral was by his own ſouldiers truſſed up and crucified.* Attilius Regulus *the Conſul, having in battell at ſea vanquiſhed the Carthaginians ſailed over into* Affrick.

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L

## The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the eighteenth Book.

ATtilius Regulus *the Conſul ſlew [in* Affrick*] a ſerpent of a mighty and wonderful bigneſs, but with the exceeding loſs of his ſouldiers. And after many encounters and battels with the Carthaginians, when the Senat by reaſon of his ſo happy conduct and management of the wars, ſent no other to ſucceed him, he diſpatched his letters unto them and complained thereof: and among other pregnant reaſons that he alledged for to have a ſucceſſor to come unto him, this was one; That the little inheritance and living which he had ſuffred waſte, by the default or lewdneſs of his bailiffs of husbandry. Meanwhiles, as if fortune had been diſpoſed and ſought means to ſhew a notable example in the perſon of this one man* Regulus, *as well of adverſity as proſperity, he was overthrown in plain field, and taken priſoner by* Xan- M
thippus, *a renowned Captain of the Lacedæmonians, whom the Carthaginians had waged, and ſent for to aid them. After this the ſundry ſhipwracks of the Roman Navy, eclipſed, obſcured, and diſfigured all the other exploits that the Roman Captains had fortunatly atchieved before, as well by land as ſea.* T. Coruncanius *was the firſt High Prieſt or Arch-Prelate, created out of the body of the Commons.* M. Sempronius Sophus *and* M. Valerius Maximus *the Cenſors, when they made a review of the Senat, caſſed thirteen, and took their embroidred purple cloaks from them. They held a ſurvey alſo of the whole City, and entred into their ſubſidy book 317217 Roman Citizens.* Regulus *being ſent from the Carthaginians to the Senat of* Rome, *to treat a peaceable accord, or if he could not obtain ſo much, to deal about the exchange of priſoners one for another, bound himſelf by an oath to return again to* Carthage, *if he ſped not for the exchange aforeſaid. And being come to* Rome, *himſelf diſſwaded both the one and the* N
*other: howbeit, to accompliſh and perform his promiſe by oath given, he made return accordingly, and by the Carthaginians was deſpitefully put to cruell torture, and ſo died.*

## The Breviary of *L. Florus* to the nineteenth Book.

CAius Cecilius Metellus, *in conſideration of his fortunate conduct of the wars againſt the Carthaginians, rode in a moſt ſtately and magnificent triumph: wherein were ſhewed and led captive thirteen chief Captains of the enemies, and 120 Elephants.* Claudius Pulcher *the Conſul, who maugre the adverſe preſages of the Auſpices, would needs hazard a battell, commanded the ſacred Pullets to be douſſed and drenched over the head in the water, to ſee if they would drink, ſince they refuſed to eat their* O
*meat; and received an overthrow at ſea, in a conflict with the Carthaginians. For which he was called home by the Senat, and commanded to nominate a Dictator: whereupon he declared* C. Glaucia, *a baſe companion, and a perſon of the meaneſt degree and quality: who being conſtrained to reſign his Magiſtracy, yet notwithſtanding afterwards beheld the games and plaies in his mantle of eſtate.* Attilius Calatinus *was the firſt Roman Dictator, that led an army out of* Italy. *An exchange was made of Roman captives for Carthaginians. Two Colonies were tranſported, namely, to* Fregellæ, *and to* Brunduſium *in the*

A *the territory of the Salentins. Another* Lustrum *was taken by the Censors: wherein were reckoned of Roman Citizens* 251222. Claudia, *the sister of that* P. Claudius, *who in contempt and despite of the Auspices fought a battel to great loss, fortuned upon a time as she came from the great Plaies to be crouded in the thrust and press of people; whereupon she cried out with a loud voice, Would God my brother were alive again, and had the charge of another Armado: for which words she had a good fine set on her head, and paid it. Two Prætors were now created, the first that ever were at* Rome. Cæcilius Metellus *the High Priest kept perforce within the City* A. Potthumius *the Consul, because he was besides the* Flamin *unto* Mars; *and would not suffer him to be Non-resident, and absent himself from his charge. After sundry battels and conflicts that many Roman Captains had against the Carthaginians,* C. Luctarius *the*
B *Consul obtained the honour of the finall victory, when he had defeated their Fleet; and so made a full end of the first Punick war. The Carthaginians therefore sued for peace, and had it granted. At what time as the Temple of* Vesta *was on a light fire,* Cæcilius *the High Priest recovered and saved out of the flame the holy reliques. Two Tribes were added to the rest,* Velina *and* Quirina. *The* Falisci *rebelled, & within six daies were subdued, and brought under subjection.*

The Breviary of *L. Florus* to the twentieth Book.

A *Colony was planted at* Spoletum. *An army was led against the Ligurians* [*i.e. Genowaies,*] *which was the first time that they were warred upon. The Sardinians and the Corsians, who revolted and*
C *took arms were subdued.* Tuccia *a Vestal virgin and a Votary was condemned and executed for her incest or whoredom. War was proclaimed against the Illyrians, for that they killed one of the Embassadors which were sent unto them, and being defeated, confessed themselves subjects to the Romans. The number of the Prætors was encreased from two to four. The Gauls inhabiting beyond the* Alps (*toward* France) *who came down and entred into* Italy, *were overthrown and put to the sword. In which war the Romans had by report of the Latins and other confederats and allies, to the number of* 300000 *fighting men that served under them. The Roman forces passed then first over the river* Padus [*i.e.* Po,] *where the French Insubrians* [*i.e. Lombards*] *after certain discomfitures were glad to be ruled by reason, and rendred themselves.* Mar. Claudius Marcellus *the Consul, having slain* Virdumarus *the General of the Lumbards with his own hand, went away with the honour of the third rich and royal spoiles got from the enemy.*
D *The Istrians were subdued: so were the Illyrians also, after they had revolted and put themselves in arms; and were so tamed, that they came under obedience. The Censors held a* Lustrum, *and took account of the number of the Roman Citizens, and found in all* 270000. *The Libertins (or slaves enfranchised) were reduced into four tribes by themselves, to wit,* Esquilina, Palatina, Suburrana, *and* Collina: *whereas beforetime they had been dispersed indifferently, and mingled among the rest.* C. Flaminius *the Censor paved the high way called* Flaminia, *and built the great Cirque or Theater named* Flaminius Circus. *And two Colonies were established within those Territories that were conquered from the Gauls, to wit,* * Placentia, *and* Cremona.

E

# The one and twentieth Book

## *Of the Histories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the one and twentieth Book.

F *IN this book are rehearsed the acts which passed in* Italy, *as touching the second Punick war, and how* Annibal, *the Chief Commander of the Carthaginians, contrary to the accord of alliance, passed over the river* Iberus: *by whom* Saguntum, *a City belonging to the allies of the people of* Rome, *was in the eighth month of the siege forced by assault. For to complain of those wrongs and injuries Embassadors were sent to the Carthaginians. And for that they would not make satisfaction and amends therefore, war was proclaimed against them.* Annibal *having passed over the mountains* Pyrenæ, *and discomfited the Volscians, who made head against him, and would have empeached his passage, mounted the* Alps, *and after he had passed through them with great difficulty and pains, and repulsed also the French mountainers in sundry skirmishes and battels, he descended into* Italy: *and near the river* Ticinius, *discomfited and disarrayed the Romans in a battel of Cavalry. In which conflict, when* P. Cornelius Scipio *was wounded, his son (the same who afterwards was surnamed* Africanus) *rescued him, and saved his life.*
G Annibal *after he had defeated the Roman army a second time, near the river* Trebia, *passed over the* Appenine: *where his souldiers were mightily afflicted and distressed, by reason of foul weather and violence of storm and tempest.* Cn. Cornelius Scipio *sped well in his war against the Carthaginians within* Spain, *and took prisoner* Mago, *the General Commander of the enemies.*

*The*

H

# *The one and twentieth book of* T. Livius.

THe ſame may I well ſay, in the Præface and entrance of this one part of my work, which moſt writers of hiſtories have promiſed and made profeſſion of, in the beginning of the whole, to wit, That I will write the moſt famous and memorable war that ever was, even that, which the Carthaginians under the conduct of *Annibal* fought with the people & State of *Rome*. For neither any other Cities or Nations are known to have warred together more wealthy and puiſſant than they; nor at any time ever were they themſelves ſo great, ſo I ſtrong in forces, and ſo mighty in means, as now they were. Moreover, they came not newly now, to wage war, without knowledge of the proweſs and martiall skill, one of another; for trial they had made thereof ſufficient already, in the firſt punick war. Beſides, ſo variable was the fortune of the field, ſo doubtfully were their battels fought, that neerer loſs and danger were they, who in the end won the better, and atchieved the victory. And to conclude, if a man obſerve the whole courſe and proceeding of theſe their wars, their malice and hatred was greater in a manner than their forces: whiles the Romans took foul ſcorn and diſdain that they, whoſe hap before was to be vanquiſhed, ſhould unprovoked begin war afreſh with the Conquerors; and the Carthaginians were as male-content, and throughly offended, as taking themſelves (notwithſtanding they were overcome) to be abuſed too much at their hands by their proud, inſolent, and covetous rule over K them. Over and beſides all this, the report goeth, that *Annibal* being but nine years old, or thereabout, came fawning and flattering as wanton children do to his father *Amilcar*, that he would take him with him into *Spain*, at what time, as after the Affrican war ended, his father was offering ſacrifice, ready to paſs over thither with an army: where he was brought to the altar ſide, and induced to lay his hand thereupon, and to touch the ſacrifice, and ſo to ſwear, that ſo ſoon as ever he were able, he would be a profeſſed and mortal enemy to the people of *Rome*. Vexed (no doubt) at the heart, was *Amilcar* himſelf, a man of high ſpirit and great courage, for the loſs of the Iſlands *Sicily* and *Sardinia*: for not only *Sicily* was overhaſtily yielded (as he thought) as deſpairing too ſoon of the ſtate thereof, and doubting how it ſhould be defended: but alſo *Sardinia* was by the cunning and fraudulent practice of the Romans ſurprized out of the Carthaginians hands, L whiles they were troubled with the commotion and rebellion of *Affrick*; and a Tribute beſides impoſed upon them. He being diſquieted, I ſay, and troubled with theſe griefs and diſcontents, ſo bare himſelf for five years ſpace in the *Affrick* war, which inſued immediatly upon the peace concluded with the Romans; and likewiſe after, in *Spain*, for nine years together, enlarging ever ſtill the dominion of *Carthage*; that all the world might ſee, he intended and deſigned a greater war than that he had in hand; and if God had ſpared him longer life, it ſhould have been well ſeen that the Carthaginians under the leading of *Amilcar*, would have made that war upon *Italy*, which afterward they waged by the conduct of *Annibal*. But the death of *Amilcar* hapning in ſo good ſeaſon [for the Romans] and the childhood and tender nonage of *Annibal* together, were the cauſe that this war was put off and deferred. In the mean time, between the father and the ſon, *Aſdrubal* M bare all the rule for the ſpace almoſt of eight years. This *Aſdrubal* had been *Amilcar* his minion, grown highly into his grace and favour, at the firſt (as men ſay) for the very prime and flower of his youth: but afterwards, in regard of the ſingular towardneſs of a brave and haughty mind, which ſoon appeared in him, and for his forwardneſs to action, he was preferred to be his ſon in law, and married his daughter. Now, foraſmuch as he was *Amilcar* his ſon in law, he was advanced to the ſoveraign conduct of the war, with no good liking at all and conſent of the Nobility and Peers, but by the means and favour only of the Barchin faction, which bare a great ſtroke, and might do all in all, among the ſouldiers and the common people. Who managed all his affairs, more by policy and ſage counſell, than by force and violence: and uſing the authority and name of the Princes and great Lords of thoſe countries, and by entertaining friendſhip with the chief N Rulers, won daily the hearts of new nations ſtill, and by that means enlarged the power and ſeignory of the Carthaginians in *Spain*, rather than by any war and force of arms. But for all this peace with forrein States, he was never the more ſure of his own life at home. For a certain barbarous fellow, for anger that his Maſter and Lord was put to death, ſlew him in open place: and being laid hold on by them that were attendant about *Aſdrubal* his perſon, he kept the ſame countenance ſtill, as if he had eſcaped and gone clear away: yea, and when he was by cruell torments all mangled and torn, he looked ſo cheerfully and pleaſantly on the matter, as if he had ſeemed to ſmile; ſo far his joy of heart ſurpaſſed the pains and anguiſh of his body. With this *Aſdrubal*, for that he had ſo ſingular a gift and wonderfull dexterity, in ſolliciting and annexing unto his dominion the nations aforeſaid, the people of *Rome* had renewed the League, upon theſe two capitulati- O ons and conditions; firſt, that the river * *Iberus* ſhould limit and determine the ſeignories of them both: *Item*, that the Saguntins, ſeated in the midſt between the territories of both nations, ſhould remain free, and enjoy their ancient liberties.

*Aſdrubal* killed.

The wonderfull conſtancy and reſolution of a ſlave.

No doubt at all there was now, but when a new Commander ſhould ſucceed in the room of *Aſdrubal*, the favour of the people would go clear with the prerogative voice and choice of the ſouldiers: who preſently brought young *Annibal* into the Generall his pavilion, and with exceeding

A ding great acclamation and accord of all, saluted him by the name of Captain General. For this you must understand, that *Asdrubal* by his letters missive had sent for him, being very young, and hardly fourteen years of age; yea, and the matter was debated first in the Council-House at *Carthage*, where they of the *Barchine side laboured and followed the matter earnestly, that *Annibal* should be trained in warfare, and grow up to succeed his father in equall prowess & greatness. But *Hanno* the chiefe man of the contrary faction; "It is but meet and reason (quoth he) "that *Asdrubal* doth demand: and yet for mine own part I think it not good, that his request "should be granted. When they mused and marvelled much at this so doubtfull speech of his, and wist not what construction to make of it. "Why then (quoth *Hanno*) to be plain, That flour
B "and beauty of youth, which *Asdrubal* himself yielded and parted withall sometimes unto *An-*
"*nibals* father, for to use or abuse at his pleasure: the same he thinketh by good right he may "challenge and have again, from the son, to make quittance. But it beseemeth not us for to ac-"quaint our young youths with the Camp, that under the colour, and instead of their military in-"stitution and teaching, they abandon and give their bodies to serve the lust and appetite of the "Generals, What? Is this the thing we fear, That the son of *Amilcar* should tarry too long ere
"he see the excessive grandeur and soveraignty of his father, and the stately shew as it were of his "royalty? Or doubt we, that we shall not soon enough serve in all dutifull allegeance his natu-"rall son, unto whose son in law, all our Armies have been left (as it were) in lawfull right of in-"heritance? Nay, I am of opinion, and this is my judgment, That this youth be kept in awe at
C "home, under obedience of lawes, under civill Magistrates, and learn a while to live in equall con-"dition with the rest of the Citizens and subjects: for fear lest at one time or other, this little "spark do burn outright, and raise a mighty flame. A few, and those were, in a manner, all of the best sort and soundest judgment, accorded with *Hanno*. But, as commonly it is seen, the greater number over-weighed the better.

Thus *Annibal* was sent into *Spain*, and immediately at his first coming, drew all the whole army after him; so highly he was regarded and beloved. The old souldiers beleeved verily that *Amilcar* was alive again, and come amongst them: they thought they beheld and saw the same vigour and spirit in his countenance & visage, the same quickness and liveliness in his eyes, the same proportion, feature and lineaments of his face. And afterwards, within short time, he had so
D wrought and wound himself into their favour, that the late rememembrance of his father was the least matter of all others, that won him grace and love among them. Never was there one and the self-same nature, framed and fitted better, for two things that are in quality most contrary; namely, to rule, and to obey. Whereby, a man could hardly discern and judge, whether he was more dear unto the General for the one, or to the Army for the other. For neither *Asdrubal* would make choice of any one before him, when there was some valiant service or brave exploit to be executed: nor the souldiers put more confidence in any other Leader, nor go more boldly and resolutely to any enterprise, than under him. Most forward he was and hardy to all hazards
E and dangerous adventures: right provident and wary again, at the very point of perill and jeopardy. No travell was able to weary and tire his body: no pains-taking could daunt and break his heart. He could away with heat and cold alike. For his diet and feeding, he measured both his meat and drink by his naturall appetite, and not by pleasure and delightsome taste. For sleeping, for waking, day and night was all one with him. When he had once performed his service, and finished his exploit; if there were any spare time after, therein would he take his rest and repose: and that should not be upon a soft bed neither, nor procured with great curiosity by still silence, and making no noise about him. Full often many a man hath seen him lying on the hard and bare ground, under a good souldiers jacket and homely cassock cast over him, even among the sentinels and *corps de guard*. For his apparel, it was not more costly nor braver than his fellows and companions: mary, in his armour and horses he loved ever to be goodly be-seen above all other. Amongst footmen and horsemen both, he would alwaies be a great way formost. And to
F conclude in giving a charge upon the enemy, and to begin to battell, he was by his good will ever the first: and when the fight was done, the last man seen to retire out of the field. Of these so noble qualities and manly vertues, he had not so many, but there were as great vices and imperfections in him again, to counterpoise the same. Cruelty most savage and inhumane, falshood and treachery more than *Punick: no truth, no honesty, no fear of God, no regard of oath, no conscience, nor religion.

Disposed thus as he was, and inclined by nature, to vertues, and vices, he served full three years under General *Asdrubal*. During which time, he omitted and forgat no one thing that was meet either to be executed or enterprised by a man that was himself another day to be a Captain and chief Commander in the wars. From the very first day that he was chosen and declared Lord Ge-
G nerall; as if at the same instant, *Italy* had been the Province assigned unto him, as if, I say, he had received Commission to war with the Romans, he thought good to make no delaies, for fear lest haply whiles he lingred and slacked the time, some mischance might prevent his designs and cut him short, like as it had overtaken his father first, and *Asdrubal* afterwards: but present-determined to make war upon the Saguntines, by assailing whom, the Romans no doubt were touched, and would take arms and enter into the quarrel. But first he led his army into the marches of the *Olcades (a nation beyond *Iberus*, rather siding and taking part with the Carthaginians, than under their jurisdiction) that he might not seem to have shot at the Saguntins and intended

*Amilcar* the father of *Annibal* was the son of *Barcha*, from whence arose the Barchin faction so often named in this story.

The speech of *Hanno* in the Senate of *Carthage*.

The naturall disposition of *Annibal*.

His vertues.

His vices.

*Ordinary in *Carthaginians*.

*A People within the kingdom of *Toledo* in *Spain* near the City *Ocasia*.

intended ought against them directly: but that by order and course of his affairs, after he had H
subdued the countries bordering upon them, he had been drawn (as it were) for vicinity and
neighbourhood take to that war and to joyn them also with the rest unto the Empire. And first
b *Clusius* supposeth it to be *Cartagena*: some take it for *Conill*: others for *Tariffa*, or rather *Algezira*. The French Translator, calleth it *Alibeia*.
he wan by force, and sacked b *Carteia*, a rich City, the seat town and chief place of all that nation.
Whereupon, other meaner and smaller Cities also, for fear came under his obedience, and yielded
to pay tribute. His Army then after these victories, and enriched with spoil and pillage, was
brought back to new c *Carthage*, there for to winter. Where he made sure unto him the hearts
and affectionate love, as well of his own countrymen as of the allies, partly, by bestowing the pil-
lage liberally among them, and partly, by making true paiment of souldiers wages for the time
past. And then in the very prime of the spring, he went forward to war upon the d *Vaccei*. He for- I
ced by assault e *Hermandica* and *Arbacula*, two Towns of the f *Cartei*. *Arbacula* by the manhood
and multitude of the Townsmen held out a long time. But certain fugitives that were fled from
*Hermandica*, having rallied themselves, and joyned with other exiled persons of the *Olcades*, a na-
tion the summer before subdued, raised also the g Carpetans to take arms: and set upon *Anni-*
*bal*, in his return from the *Vaccei*; and not far from the river h *Tagus*, troubled and disordred his
march, heavily charged with spoil and booty. *Annibal* forbare to fight, and encamped himself
upon the bank of the river: and so soon as the enemies were in their first sleep, and all still and
husht, passed over with his Army at the foord: and after he had pitched his Camp so far off
from the river side, as that his enemies might have room enough to march away besides him, he
determined to set upon them as they should pass over the river: To his horsemen he gave com- K
mandment to charge upon the Regiment of footmen, so soon as they perceived them to have ta-
ken the water: and upon the bank he arranged forty Elephants afront them. There were of the
Carpetans, counting the aids and succours of the *Olcades* and *Vaccei*, 100000 strong: an Army in-
vincible, if they had fought on even and indifferent ground. Who being both by nature fierce
and couragious, and for multitude confident; presumptuous besides upon their imagination that
the enemy was retired for fear; supposed that the only stay of their victory was, because the
river ran between: and setting up a shout and out-cry, without direction of any Leader, in all dis-
order they ran into the river here and there, every man what way was next him. Now from the
other side of the bank, a great troop of horsemen were entred into the river, encountred them
in the midst of the channel and fought with great advantage. For whereas the footmen unsteady L
and not able to keep fast footing, and hardly trusting the foord, might easily be cast aside and over-
turned, even by naked horsemen if they did but put forth and prick forward their horses it skil-
led not how: the horsemen on the other side having their bodies at liberty, and able to wield their
weapon, with their horses under them standing sure even in the midst of the stream and whirl-
pools, might with ease either fight close hand to hand, or assail the enemies aloof. Many of them
besides perished in the water: some by the whirling waves of the river were driven upon the ene-
mies, and by the Elephants trodden under foot, and crushed to death. The hindmost, who might
with more safety recover their own bank, after they were rallied together into one from divers
places, as fear had scattered them; before they could upon so great a fright, take heart and come a-
gain to themselves, *Annibal* who with a four-square battaillon had entred the river, forced to M
flie from the bank: and when he had wasted the country, within few daies brought the Carpe-
tans also under his obedience.

c *Carthagena.*
d Old *Castella* or *Castile.*
e *Salamanca* in *Castile.*
f People in *Andalusia.*
g Inhabitants of the kingdom of *Toletum.*
h *Taio.*

And now all beyond *Iberus* was subject to the Carthaginians, the Saguntins only excepted.
With whom as yet he would not seem to war: howbeit, to minister some cause and occasion
thereof, quarrels were picked, and seeds of dissentions sown between them and their neighbors,
namely the * Turdetans. Unto whose aid, when he was come, that was himself the sower of all
the variance, and had set them together by the ears; and when it appeared plainly that it was not
a matter of right to be tried by law, but an occasion rather sought of fight and open war; then
the Saguntins sent their Embassadors to *Rome*, for to crave aid against that war, which doubtless
was at hand. The Consuls at that time of *Rome*, were *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Titus Sempronius* N
*Longus*, who having brought the Embassadors into the Councill House, and proposed matters un-
to the LL. there, concerning the weal publike, and decreed to send their Embassadors into *Spain*
to take survey, and looh into the state of their allies: who also if they thought it meet, should
give *Annibal* warning, not to meddle with their confederats, and molest the Saguntins; and
withall, to sail over to *Carthage* into *Affrick*, and there make relation of the complaints and
grievances of the allies of the people of *Rome*: when, I say, this Embassage was decreed, but yet
not sent, news came sooner than all men looked for, that * *Saguntum* was already besieged. Then
was the matter propounded new again before the Senate. Some were of mind to dispatch the Con-
suls unto the Provinces of *Spain* and *Affrick*, with commission to make war both by sea and land.
Others thought better to bend all their forces wholly into *Spain* against *Annibal*. There were a- O
gain of opinion, that so great and weighty an enterprise was not hand over head, and rashly to be
attempted; but rather that they should attend the return of the Embassadors out of *Spain*: and
this advice that seemed most safe, was held for the better, and took place. And therefore so much
the sooner were these Embassadors *P. Valerius Flaccus*, and *Q. Bebius Pamphilus*, addressed unto
*Annibal* before *Saguntum*, with direction, from thence to go forward to *Carthage* (in case he
would not desist and give over war) and for to demand the Captain himself, for amends and satis-
faction of breaking the league. But whiles the Romans were amused about these consultations &

* *Algarbia*, a people in *Portugall.*

* *Morviedre.*

decrees,

A decrees, *Saguntum* was by this time with all forcible means assaulted. This City of all other most wealthy and rich, stood beyond *Iberus*, situate almost a mile from the sea. The inhabitants are said to have had their beginning out of the Island * *Zacynthus*: and some among them, were descended from *Ardea*, a City of the Rutilians: but they grew within short time to this puissance and wealth of theirs, partly, by the fruits and revenews of their lands, and partly, by the traffick and gain of their merchandise, and commodities transported by sea, as also by the great affluence and encrease of people, and lastly, by their straight rule of discipline, whereby they observed their troth and loyalty with their allies, even to their own ruine and finall destruction. *Saguntum* besieged by *Annibal*. * Zanto.

*Annibal* after he had invaded their confines as an enemy, and by way of hostility with his Ar-
B my overrun and wasted their countrey, besieged and assailed the City three waies. There was one canton or angle of the wall shooting out into a more plain and open valley, than any other place all about: against which he meant to raise certain mantlets or fabricks, under which he might approach with the Ram to batter the wall. But as the place far from the wall, was even enough and handsome for such engins of battery to be driven upon: so after that they came to the proof and execution indeed, the success answered nothing to the enterprise begun. For besides that there was a mighty tower over-looked and commanded them than the wall it self (as in a place doubted and suspected) was more fortified and raised higher there than elsewhere: and also the chosen youth and ablest men were bestowed to make more forcible resistance, where there was like to be most trouble and danger. And first with shot of darts and quarels, and such like, they put the enemy back,
C and would not suffer the pioneers and labourers in any place to entrench or raise rampiers in safety. In process also, they shot not from the wall only and that tower, and shewed themselves there in arms for defence, but also their hearts served them to sally forth, and to break into the guards of the enemies, yea, and to enter upon their trenches and fabricks. In which skirmishes there died not many more Saguntins than Carthaginians. But so soon as *Annibal* himself, approaching unadvisedly under the wall fortuned to be wounded grievously in the forepart of his thigh, with a dart or light javelin, and therewith fell to the ground: they all about him fled so fast and were so scared, that they had like to have given over quite and abandoned their mantlets, and other fabricks aforesaid. After this, for some few daies, whiles their General was under cure of his hurt, they lay at siege rather, than followed the assault. In which mean time, as they rested from skir-
D mish, so they ceased not to invent new devices, and to prepare new fabricks. Whereupon the assault began again more hot than before: and in many parts at once they fell to raise rolling mantlets, so many and so thick that some places would not receive them; and withall to drive the Ram against the walls. *Annibal* had men good store, for it is thought he was 150000 in Camp strong. The townsmen with devising means to defend, and see to every place, began to have their hands full: but all would not serve. For now were the walls beaten with the rams, and many parts thereof shaken and battered: and at one place above the rest, by continual battery there was such a breach, as the town lay open and naked to the enemy. After that, three turrets, and all the wall between fell down with a mighty and horribly crash, insomuch as the Carthaginians thought verily that with that rush the town had been won: by which breach, as if the wall had protected both
E parties before, they ran forth together on each side to fight. The battell was not like to a tumultuary skirmish, such as are wont to be about assaults of Cities, by the occasion and advantage of the one part or the other; but a very set and ranged field (as it were) in an open ground between the breaches of the wall, and the houses of the town, that stood a pretty way distant within. Of one side they were pricked forward with hope, on the other with despair; whiles *Annibal* thought verily that he was master of the town already, if he held on but a little longer; and the Saguntins seeing their town bare, and void of wals, opposed their bodies in the breach, not one stepping back a foot, lest in the space between he should let in the enemy. The more fiercely therefore, and the thicker and closer that they fought together on both parts, the more were wounded; and there was not a dart could light in vain between their bodies and their armour, but it did mis-
F chief. The Saguntins used a weapon called *Falarica*, in manner of a dart, which they let fly and lanced from them having a long shaft or steel, round and even every where toward the one end, where it was headed with iron, and bound about with tow, and smeared with pitch. The iron head was three foot long; that it might pierce both harness and body through. But the greatest scare that it did was this, although it stuck fast in the target, and entred not into the body, that being driven and flung, when the middle part was set on fire, by the motion thereof as it flew, it gathered much more fire, forced the souldier to forsake his armour, and exposed him disarmed and naked to the shot following. Well, the fight continued doubtful a long time, by reason that the Saguntins took better heart unto them, because they had rested beyond their hope and expectation: and the Carthaginians took themselves vanquished, for that they had not got the victo-
G ry, and better hand: whereupon, the townsmen all at once set up a cry, and beat the enemies back to the very breaches, and ruins of the wall, and from thence thrust them out clean. whiles they were thus encumbred and affrighted, yea, and at last discomfited them put them to flight, and chased them as far as their Camp. The description of a weapon or dart, called *Falarica*.

In the mean while news came, that there were Embassadors arrived from *Rome*: unto whom *Annibal* dispatched certain messengers to meet with them at sea side, and to give them to understand, That neither they might safely with security of their persons come among the broiles of so many barbarous & fierce nations; nor their Master *Annibal* amidst those dangerous and troublesome

b'esome affairs, had any leisure to attend or give audience unto embassages. He knew full well, H
that the Embassadors being not received and entertained, would straight to *Carthage*. Whereupon, he addressed aforehand his letters and curriers to the chief of the Barchine faction, to frame and prepare the minds of that side, so, as they of the other part might not gratifie, or do any thing in favour of the Romans. By which means, besides that they were neither admitted by *Annibal*, nor audience given them, that embassage also was in vain, and took no effect at *Carthage*. Only *Hanno* notwithstanding the whole body of the Senate was against him, spake with great silence and assent of the hearers, by reason of his authority and reputation, and pleaded to the point of the breach of League, in this wise: "I have, quoth he, foretold and warned you in the name "and for the love of the gods, who are the witnesses and judges of covenants and confederacies, I "I have, I say, admonished you, that ye should not send *Amilcar* his son, or any of his breed unto "the Camp: for that neither the ghost and spirit, nor the progeny and race of that man can rest "and be quiet; nor the Roman league will ever be assured and established, so long as there re- "mained one alive of the Barchine name and family. But sent ye have, for all my words, unto "your armies, a youth boiling in ambition, enflamed with a covetous desire of being a King, and "one that seeth no other way thereto, but by raising one war after another, to live guarded with "armies and legions about him. In which action of yours, ye have as it were ministred dry fewel, "and put oil to the fire: ye have, I say, fed that fire, wherewith ye now all are set a burning. Your "armies now besiege *Saguntum*, from which by covenant and vertue of the League they are de- "barred. Within a while and shortly will the Roman legions lie in siege before *Carthage*, under K "the conduct and guidance, no doubt, of those gods, by whose support and aid in the former war, "they were revenged for the breach of the accord and alliance. What? know yet not yet, either "your enemy, or your selves, or the fortune of both nations? This good Captain and gentle Ge- "neral, forsooth, of your making, would not admit and receive into his Camp Embassadors com- "ing from our allies, and in the behalf also of our allies: wherein he abolished the law of Nations. "Howbeit, they having taken a repulse, from whence even the very Embassadors of enemies, are "not wont to be repelled, are come unto you, and by vertue of their League demand amends of "trespass and restitution or satisfaction for their damages. And presuppose the State be not tou- "ched nor culpable in this Action, they require no more, but to have the author himself in person, "who is the offender. The more gently they deale, and the longer it is ere they begin, the more L "obstinat they will be, and continue with greater rigour (I fear me) if they once begin. Set before "your eyes the Islands * *Ægates*, and * *Eryx*: and what for these four and twenty years past, ye "have endured both by land and sea. Neither was this beardless boy our Captain then, but his fa- "ther *Amilcar* himself, even a second *Mars*, as these his suppосts would have him. But what of "that? We could not then, according to our league, hold our hands, and let *Tarentum* in *Italy* a- "lone; like as now we are doing with *Saguntum*. Therefore, both God and man took the mat- "ter in hand, and vanquished us in the end: and when we were at arguing and debating the case "with discourse of words about this point, Whether Nation of the twain had broken the league? "the event of war, as an indifferent and equall judge, awarded victory where the right was. And "*Carthage* it is, against which, *Annibal* even now hath reared mantlets, towers, and other engins M "of assault: even now, battereth and shaketh he *Carthage* wals with the Ram. The ruins of *Se- "guntum* (God grant I be a false Prophet) will fall upon our heads, and the war begun with the Sa- "guntins, we must maintain against the Romans. How then? (will some man say) shall we yield "*Annibal* unto them? I know well, how small my authority is in this point, by reason of the old "grudge and enmity between me and his father deceased. Howbeit, as I rejoyced, that *Amilcar* "was dead, for that if he had lived still, we should ere now have warred with the Romans: so this "very youth, an impe of his I hate and detest as the very fury and fire-brand of this war: whom "I would have by my good will, not only to be rendred unto them, for to purge and expiate the "breach of league; but if no man would challenge him for to be punished, I would award that he "should be carried and transported as far as there is sea or land and to be sent away thither from N "whence we might not once hear of him again and where he might never trouble the quiet and "peaceable state of this City any more. Over and besides my opinion and resolution is, that some "Embassadors be sent present y to *Rome*, to satisfie the Senate: and others also, with a message to "*Annib.l* that he withdraw his forces from *Saguntum*: and with commission to render up *Anni- "bal* himself into the Romans hands, according to the tenour of the League: and a third Embas- "sage likewise to the Saguntins, for to make restitution and amends for their harms and losses al- "ready sustained. When *Hanno* had made an end of his speech, it was altogether needless, that any one man there should make reply, and debate the matter with him by way of Oration. the whole Senate was so possessed already and wrought for *Annibal*: and with one voice they blamed *Hanno*, and sounded it out, That he had made a bitter speech, and more favouring of an enemy, O than *Flaccus Valerius* himself the Roman Embassador. After this, the Roman Embassadors had this answer returned. That the war began by the Saguntins, and not by *Annibal*. Also, that the peo- ple of *Rome* offered them injury, in preferring the Saguntins before the most ancient alliance of the Carthaginians. Whiles the Romans thus spent time in sending Embassages, *Annibal* having wearied his men, what with skirmishes, and what with trenching and raising mounts and fa- bricks, he gave them rest some few daies and bestowed certain good guards to ward and keep the mantlets and other engins of battery. In the mean season he encouraged his souldiers, and set their hearts

The Oration of *Hanno* in the Senat of *Carthage*.

* *Gatha*, or *Favignana*. The same which *Virgil* calleth *Aræ*, and the Italians in old time *Saxa*.

* A City in *Sicily*, scituate upon an high hill of that name. *Trapani*, or *Monte S. Juliano* at this day.

A hearts on fire, partly, by pricking and provoking them to anger against their enemies, and partly, by drawing them on, and alluring them with hope of great rewards. But after he had once in a general assembly made proclamation, That the spoil and pillage should be the souldiers share; they were all so enkindled and enflamed, that if presently he had sounded the signal of battel, it seemed, that no force in the World had been able to resist them. The Saguntins, as they had some rest from skirmish, and continued certain dayes, neither assailing nor assailed: so they gave not over labouring night and day, for to make up a new wall and counter-mure, on that side of the Town which lay open by reason of breaches. But after this, grew the assault more hot and furious than before: neither wist they well (the shouts and alarms were so divers and dissonant on B every side) whether to come first, or where was most need of help and succour. *Annibal* himself was present in person to encourage and exhort his souldiers, where as the rouling Tower was driven which was so high, that it overlooked all the mures and counter-Fabricks of the City, and being once approached neer the walls, furnished as it was in every loft and story, with ordnance of quarrel shot brakes, and other artillery, beat the defendants from off the walls, so as none durst abide upon them. Then *Annibal* taking the time, and supposing that he had now a good opportunity presented unto him, sent about 500 Affricans that were pioners with pick-axes, mattocks and such like tools, to undermine the wall, yea, and to dig into it from the very foundation. And that was no hard matter to do, for that the cement or morter was not hardned and bound with lime, but tempered with earth and clay, after the old manner of building: and therefore the wall C came tumbling down before it was hewn and wrought into: and through the wide breaches, whole troops of armed souldiers entred the Town: and withal, they seized one high place above the rest, whereon they planted their artillery and ordnance of slings and brakes, and cast a wall about it, that they might have within the very City a fort and bastillon of their own, like a Castle to overlook all. The Saguntins likewise raised another mure within along that side where the Town as yet was not taken; So that on both sides they made fortifications, and also fought with all their might and main. But the Saguntins defending the inner parts, by little and little brought their Town daily into a smaller compass. And by that means, as also by reason of the long siege, as scarcity and want of all things grew more and more so the expectation of forrain aid and succour was every day less than other: the Romans their only hope, being so far off, and their D enemies so neer on every hand. Howbeit, the sudden rode and journey of *Annibal* against the * Oretans and * Carpetans, refreshed for a while their troubled and afflicted spirits. These two Nations being risen upon a discontentment of a streight muster and rigorous levy of souldiers, had staied and detained those Muster-masters, that had in commission to take up all sufficient and able men for the wars and so, made some shew and fear of rebellion: but being prevented in the beginning by the speedy coming of *Annibal*, were soon quiet, and laid down their arms. But the assault of *Saguntum* continued nevertheless. For *Mabarbal*, *Himilco* his son whom *Annibal* had left behind as Lieutenant, so bestirred himself, that neither the Townsmen nor the enemy found the miss or absence of the General. This *Mabarbal* had made some fortunat skirmishes, and with three rams shaken a good part of the wall, so as he shewed to *Annibal* at his return all lying along E and every place full of fresh ruins. Whereupon the army was presently brought against the very Castle of the City, where began a cruel and bloudy conflict, with the slaughter of many on both sides, and one part of the said fortress was forced and won.

* The inhabitants of *Oletrava*.
* In the realm of *Toletum*.

Afterwards there was some treaty of peace and agreement, by means of two persons, *Alcon* a Saguntine, and *Alorcus* a Spaniard, and some small hope there was of it. *Alcon* supposing he could somewhat prevail by way of request and entreating, without knowledge of the Saguntins, departed away by night to *Annibal*. But after that he saw, that with all his weeping he could do no good, but that heavy and intolerable articles and capitulations of peace were exhibited, as from a wrathful conqueror, of an Orator, proved to be a very traytor, and remained still in the camp with the enemies, saying, that he was sure to die, whosoever should move the Saguntins to peace, F under those conditions. For demanded it was of the Saguntins, *Imprimis*, to make restitution to the Turdetans of all harmes and losses. *Item*, to deliver up all their gold and silver. *Item*, to quit the Town, and depart but with one sute of apparel a piece: and there to dwell where the Carthaginians would appoint. When *Alcon* avouched plainly, that the Saguntins would never accept of peace with these conditions, *Alorcus* replied again and said, That seeing all things else now failed them, their hearts also must needs come down, and fail likewise; and therewith promised to deliver unto them the tenor of the said peace, and to be a mediator and dealer in the compassing thereof. At that time he served *Annibal* as a private souldier: howbeit a publick friend he was, and an host and guest of old to the Saguntins. Who having in sight of all men yeelded up his offensive arms, to the warders of the enemies, and passed the rampiers was brought (for so himG self desired) before the Governor and Provost of *Saguntum*. Thither came running presently, a number of all sorts of people: but after the rest of the multitude were commanded to void *Alorcus* was called into their Councel house, and having audience given, made this or the like speech unto them. "If *Alcon* your countryman and fellow citizen, as he came from you to *Annibal* for "to treat about peace, had likewise brought back again unto you from *Annibal* the conditions "and articles of peace, I needed not to have taken this journey; who am come unto you neither "as an Orator from *Annibal* nor yet as a fugitive. But seeing he hath remained with the enemy, "either through your default or his own, I know not whither, if he pretended and fained causeless

The Oration of *Alorcus* a Spaniard, in the Senat of *Saguntum*.

"fear himſelf is to blame; but if they ſtand in danger that report a truth unto you, then are ye in H
"great fault. I therefore, to the end ye ſhould not be ignorant, but that there are conditions
"offred to you of life, of ſafety, and of peace; in regard of old amity and acquaintance, in regard
"(I ſay) of mutual intertainment long time between us, am now come unto you. And that ye
"may believe, that whatſoever you ſhall hear delivered from me, I ſpeak it for your good, and for
"the favour of no man elſe; this one thing, if no more, may aſſure you, that neither ſo long as
"ye were able to make reſiſtance by your own ſtrength, nor all the while that ye hoped for aid
"from the Romans, I never made word or mention of peace unto you. But ſeeing now, that ye
"have not any hope at all from the Romans, and that your own forces and City walls, are able no
"longer to defend you: I preſent unto you a peace, more neceſſary, I confeſs, than equal and rea- I
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"ye will not make reckning of that which you forgo as a loſs and damage (ſeeing by extremity all
"is the victors) but that which is left, as gain and advantage, yea, and freely given unto you. Your
"Town, whernof a great part is ruinated by him, and which he hath taken in manner all, that he
"mindeth to put you by: your Lands and poſſeſſions he leaveth unto you, purpoſing to ſet you
"out a plot of ground, whereupon you may build your ſelves a new City. Your gold and ſilver
"all, as well common treaſure as private monies and plate, he commandeth to be brought unto
"him: the bodies of your wives and children he is content to ſpare and ſave undefiled: upon this
"condition that you will depart without armor, and with a double ſuit of apparel a peece, and no K
"more. Theſe are the impoſitions that your enemy (a conqueror) demandeth: Which albeit they
"be hard and grievous, yet your fortune and ſtate is ſuch, as you muſt allow thereof and be con-
"tent. For mine own part, I am not out of hope, but when you have put all into his hands, he
"will deal better by you, and remit ſomewhat of theſe conditions. But I think ye were better to
"abide all this, rather than your bodies to be murdred, your wives and children to be raviſhed,
"haled and forced before your faces, as the law and manner of war requireth.

To the hearing of this Oration the people had flocked about, and by little and little entermingled their own aſſembly with the Senators: and all of a ſudden the chief of them withdrew themſelves and departed, before anſwer was given: and brought all their ſilver and gold, as well publick as private, into the market place: and when they had caſt it into a great fire made haſtily L for that purpoſe, moſt of them threw themſelves into it headlong after. Whereupon there being a fear and trouble already throughout the whole City: behold another outcry beſides and noiſe was heard from the Caſtle. For a certain Tower that had been a long time battered and ſhaken, fell down; and at the breach thereof a band of Carthaginians made entry, and gave ſign to their General that the City was abandoned of the ordinary Watchmen and *corps de guard* of the enemies, and altogether lay open and naked. *Annibal* ſuppoſing it was no wiſedom to neglect and ſlack ſo good an opportunity, with all his forces at once aſſailed the City, and wan it in the turning of an hand: and preſently gave order that all above fourteen years of age ſhould be put to the ſword. A cruel commandment, no doubt, but yet needful, as afterwards it was well ſeen in the end and upſhot of all. For who would have ſpared and taken pity of thoſe, that either ſhut themM ſelves with their wives and children into their houſes, and burnt them over their own heads, or in their armor, gave not over fight before they died? Thus was the Town won with exceeding ſtore of pillage within it. And albeit much was ſpoiled on purpoſe by the owners, and that in the maſſacre and execution they had no reſpect of age in the fury of their anger: and for all that, the priſoners fell to the ſouldiers ſhare: yet certain it is, that of the goods ſold in port-ſale, there aroſe a good round piece of mony: and much rich houſhold ſtuff and coſtly apparel was ſent to *Carthage*.

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About the ſame time, as well the Embaſſadors which returned from *Carthage*, brought word to *Rome* that there was nothing but war: as alſo tidings came, of the deſtruction of *Saguntum*. And ſo greatly grieved and ſorrowed the Senators, and pitied withal their allies thus unworthily maſſacred, ſo aſhamed in themſelves they were, that they had not ſent aid in time, ſo deeply offended and incenſed with indignation againſt the Carthaginians, yea, and ſo mightily feared the loſſe of the very main chance at home, as if the enemy had been already at the gates of the City: that in very deed, having their minds poſſeſſed at one time, with ſo many troubles, they rather trem-

A trembled and quaked for fear, than fetled themſelves to conſultation and counſel. For they conſidered and ſaw very well, that neither a more fierce and warlike enemy ever encountred with them: nor the State of *Rome* was at any time ſo reſty, ſo feeble, and ſo undiſpoſed to war. Moreover, it was commonly ſaid, that the * *Sardi*, * *Corſi*, * *Hiſtri*, and * *Illyrici* had rather cha lenged the Romans, and made bravados of war, than exerciſed and toiled them in any hard conflicts: as for the Gauls, they were but tumults, rumors, and alarms which they made, and no wars indeed: but the Carthaginians their enemies, they were old beaten ſouldiers, inured and hardned for this 23 years in moſt difficult ſervice of war, amongſt the Spaniſh Nations, and went away ever with victory: firſt trained and practiſed under *Amilcar*, then under *Aſdrubal*, and now laſtly
B under the conduct of *Annibal* a right hardy and valiant Captain. Conſidering moreover, that now he cometh freſh from the ruin of *Saguntum*, a moſt rich City, and paſſeth ſtraight-wayes over *Iberus*: drawing after him a train of ſo many nations of the Spaniards, exerciſed already by him in the wars: and will no doubt raiſe the Gauls, a people at all times ready to take arms: ſo as now they were to wage war in *Italy*, with no more but all the World beſides, yea, and under the walls of *Rome*, for the defence of the City.

* The Ilanders of *Sardegna*.
* The Ilanders of *Corſica*.
* Th people of *Iſtria*.
* The people of *Sclavonia*.

Now had the Provinces been nominated and appointed before to the Conſuls: but then were they commanded by caſting lots, to part them between them. To *Cornelius* fell *Spain*: To *Sempronius* Affrick and *Sicily*. Likewiſe decreed it was, that for that year, there ſhould be levied ſix Legions of Romans: and of allies, as many as they thought good: alſo that as great a navy as might
C be, ſhould be rigged and ſet out. So there were enrolled 24000 Roman footmen, and of horſemen 1800: of allies 44000 foot, and 4000 horſe, 220 gallies, with five courſe of oars on a ſide, and twenty foiſts, were ſet aflote. After this, a bill was preferred unto the people, that it might pleaſe them to determine and grant, that war ſhould be proclaimed againſt the people of *Carthage*. And in regard of that war, there was alſo a ſolemn ſupplication holden through the City: wherein the people adored and prayed the Gods to proſper and bring to an happy end, this war which the people of *Rome* had determined. And betwixt the Conſuls thus were the forces divided: *Sempronius* had the conduct of two Legions, conſiſting of four thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe a piece; alſo of allies ſixteen thouſand foot, one thouſand and eight hundred Horſe, beſides 160 gallies, and twelve barks or foiſts. With this power for Land and Sea ſervice,
D was *Sempronius* ſent into *Sicily*, from thence to paſſe over into Affrick, in caſe the other Conſul were able to impeach the Carthaginians for coming into *Italy*. *Cornelius* had the charge of a ſmaller power: for that *L. Manlius* the Pretor, was ſent in perſon into *France* with a ſufficient army: but in the number of ſhips eſpecially, was *Cornelius* ſcanted 60 gallies of five banks of oars he had, and no more, (for it was ſuppoſed that the enemy would neither come by Sea, nor fight in that kind of ſervice) and two Roman Legions with the full proportion of Horſemen, and 14000 footmen of allies, with 1200 men of arms. That Province of *France* (in thoſe parts where the Carthagian [illegible] was expected) had that year two Legions of Roman footmen, 14000 allies, beſides 1000 Horſe from them, and 6000 of the Romans. When all things were thus prepared, to the
E end that before war began, it might appear they dealt by order of law, and with juſtice; and that all due complements might be performed, they ſent certain grave and ancient perſonages in Embaſſie into Affrick, to wit, *Q. Fabius*, *M. Livius*, *L. Æmylius*, *C. Licinius*, and *Q. Bebius*, Firſt, to demand and know of the Carthaginians, Whether *Annibal* by their publick warrant and authority, beſieged and aſſailed *Saguntum*? then, if they avowed the act, and ſtood to it (as they were like to do) confeſſing that it was done by the counſel of the State; to give defiance, and proclaim open war againſt them. The Romans being arrived at *Carthage*, had audience given in their Senat-houſe: where, after *Q. Fabius* had briefly demanded nothing elſe, but that one thing which he had in charge and commiſſion, then a principal Senator among the Carthaginians ſtood up and ſaid:

*i.* 300 *to a Legion.*

XVII

XVIII

The Oration of a Senator in *Carthage*.

F "Your former Embaſſage, my maſters of *Rome*, was even as vain as this, when ye required and "would needs have *Annibal* to be yeelded unto you; as if he had beſieged *Saguntum* of his own "head. And as for this, that you come with now, howſoever in words it ſeem more mild and "ſmooth, in very deed and in truth it is more rude and rigorous: for then, was *Annibal* only "charged and demanded to juſtice; but now are we both urged to acknowledge a fault, and alſo "forced to make reſtitution and ſatisfaction out of hand; as if we had avowed and confeſſed the "action. For mine own part, of this mind am I, that the caſe ought thus to be laid, and the que-"ſtion brought to this iſſue, not whether *Saguntum* was beſieged by a privat perſon, or pub ick "Councel: but whether by right, or wrongfully. For to enquire and examine whether our citizen
G "and ſubject have done this by our advice, or of himſelf, pertaineth to us alone, as alſo to cenſure "and puniſh him accordingly: with you we are to debate this point only, Whether it might ſtand "with the league to do it, or no? And therefore ſince it pleaſeth you that we ſhould diſpute and "diſtinguiſh, between the action of a General, warranted by the publick State, and an enterpriſe "proceeding from his own motive; ye ſhall underſtand that there was indeed a league between "you and us, contracted by *Luctatius* the Conſul, wherein there is a clauſe, compriſing the allies "of both parties: as concerning the Saguntins (who as then were none of your confederats) there "was not one word at all therein: but in that league, (ye will ſay) that was contracted with *Aſ-*"*drubal*, the Saguntins are expreſly named and excepted: to which I have nothing to plead, but "even that which I have learned of you. For ye your ſelves denied, that ye were bound to ſtand

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About the ſame time, as well the Embaſſadors which returned from *Carthage*, brought word to *Rome* that there was nothing but war: as alſo tidings came, of the deſtruction of *Saguntum*. And ſo greatly grieved and ſorrowed the Senators, and pitied withal their allies thus unworthily maſſacred, ſo aſhamed in themſelves they were, that they had not ſent aid in time, ſo deeply offended and incenſed with indignation againſt the Carthaginians, yea, and ſo mightily feared the loſſe of the very main chance at home, as if the enemy had been already at the gates of the City: that in very deed, having their minds poſſeſſed at one time, with ſo many troubles, they rather trem-

A trembled and quaked for fear, than fetled themſelves to conſultation and counſel. For they conſidered and ſaw very well, that neither a more fierce and warlike enemy ever encountred with them: nor the State of *Rome* was at any time ſo reſty, ſo feeble, and ſo undiſpoſed to war. Moreover, it was commonly ſaid, that the * *Sardi*, * *Corſi*, * *Hiſtri*, and * *Illyrici* had rather cha lenged the Romans, and made bravados of war, than exerciſed and toiled them in any hard conflicts: as for the Gauls, they were but tumults, rumors, and alarms which they made, and no wars indeed: but the Carthaginians their enemies, they were old beaten ſouldiers, inured and hardned for this 23 years in moſt difficult ſervice of war, amongſt the Spaniſh Nations, and went away ever with victory: firſt trained and practiſed under *Amilcar*, then under *Aſdrubal*, and now laſtly
B under the conduct of *Annibal* a right hardy and valiant Captain. Conſidering moreover, that now he cometh freſh from the ruin of *Saguntum*, a moſt rich City, and paſſeth ſtraight-wayes over *Iberus*: drawing after him a train of ſo many nations of the Spaniards, exerciſed already by him in the wars: and will no doubt raiſe the Gauls, a people at all times ready to take arms: ſo as now they were to wage war in *Italy*, with no more but all the World beſides, yea, and under the walls of *Rome*, for the defence of the City.

* The Ilanders of *Sardegna*.
* The Ilanders of *Corſica*.
* Th people of *Iſtria*.
* The people of *Sclavonia*.

Now had the Provinces been nominated and appointed before to the Conſuls: but then were they commanded by caſting lots, to part them between them. To *Cornelius* fell *Spain*: To *Sempronius* Affrick and *Sicily*. Likewiſe decreed it was, that for that year, there ſhould be levied ſix Legions of Romans: and of allies, as many as they thought good: alſo that as great a navy as might
C be, ſhould be rigged and ſet out. So there were enrolled 24000 Roman footmen, and of horſemen 1800: of allies 44000 foot, and 4000 horſe, 220 gallies, with five courſe of oars on a ſide, and twenty foiſts, were ſet aflote. After this, a bill was preferred unto the people, that it might pleaſe them to determine and grant, that war ſhould be proclaimed againſt the people of *Carthage*. And in regard of that war, there was alſo a ſolemn ſupplication holden through the City: wherein the people adored and prayed the Gods to proſper and bring to an happy end, this war which the people of *Rome* had determined. And betwixt the Conſuls thus were the forces divided: *Sempronius* had the conduct of two Legions, conſiſting of four thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe a piece; alſo of allies ſixteen thouſand foot, one thouſand and eight hundred
D Horſe, beſides 160 gallies, and twelve barks or foiſts. With this power for Land and Sea ſervice, was *Sempronius* ſent into *Sicily*, from thence to paſſe over into Affrick, in caſe the other Conſul were able to impeach the Carthaginians for coming into *Italy*. *Cornelius* had the charge of a ſmaller power: for that *L. Manlius* the Pretor, was ſent in perſon into *France* with a ſufficient army: but in the number of ſhips eſpecially, was *Cornelius* ſcanted 60 gallies of five banks of oars he had, and no more, (for it was ſuppoſed that the enemy would neither come by Sea, nor fight in that kind of ſervice) and two Roman Legions with the full proportion of Horſemen, and 14000 footmen of allies, with 1200 men of arms. That Province of *France* (in thoſe parts where the Carthagian [illegible] was expected) had that year two Legions of Roman footmen, 14000 allies, beſides
1000 Horſe from them, and 6000 of the Romans. When all things were thus prepared, to the
E end that before war began, it might appear they dealt by order of law, and with juſtice; and that all due complements might be performed, they ſent certain grave and ancient perſonages in Embaſſie into Affrick, to wit, *Q. Fabius*, *M. Livius*, *L. Æmylius*, *C. Licinius*, and *Q. Bebius*, Firſt, to demand and know of the Carthaginians, Whether *Annibal* by their publick warrant and authority, beſieged and aſſailed *Saguntum*? then, if they avowed the act, and ſtood to it (as they were like to do) confeſſing that it was done by the counſel of the State; to give defiance, and proclaim open war againſt them. The Romans being arrived at *Carthage*, had audience given in their Senat-houſe: where, after *Q. Fabius* had briefly demanded nothing elſe, but that one thing which he had in charge and commiſſion, then a principal Senator among the Carthaginians ſtood up and ſaid:

*i.* 300 *to a Legion.*

XVII

XVIII

The Oration of a Senator in *Carthage*.

F "Your former Embaſſage, my maſters of *Rome*, was even as vain as this, when ye required and "would needs have *Annibal* to be yeelded unto you; as if he had beſieged *Saguntum* of his own "head. And as for this, that you come with now, howſoever in words it ſeem more mild and "ſmooth, in very deed and in truth it is more rude and rigorous: for then, was *Annibal* only "charged and demanded to juſtice; but now are we both urged to acknowledge a fault, and alſo "forced to make reſtitution and ſatisfaction out of hand; as if we had avowed and confeſſed the "action. For mine own part, of this mind am I, that the caſe ought thus to be laid, and the que-"ſtion brought to this iſſue, not whether *Saguntum* was beſieged by a privat perſon, or pub ick "Councel; but whether by right, or wrongfully. For to enquire and examine whether our citizen "and ſubject have done this by our advice, or of himſelf, pertaineth to us alone, as alſo to cenſure "and puniſh him accordingly: with you we are to debate this point only, Whether it might ſtand
G "with the league to do it, or no? And therefore ſince it pleaſeth you that we ſhould diſpute and "diſtinguiſh, between the action of a General, warranted by the publick State, and an enterpriſe "proceeding from his own motive; ye ſhall underſtand that there was indeed a league between "you and us, contracted by *Luctatius* the Conſul, wherein there is a clauſe, comprifing the allies "of both parties: as concerning the Saguntins (who as then were none of your confederats) there "was not one word at all therein: but in that league, (ye will ſay) that was contracted with *Aſ-"drubal*, the Saguntins are expreſly named and excepted: to which I have nothing to plead, but "even that which I have learned of you. For ye your ſelves denied, that ye were bound to ſtand

"to that accord which *C. Lucatius* your Consul first made with us, becauſe it paſſed neither by H
"conſent of the nobles, nor grant of the people. Whereupon, there was another league anew
"drawn out, and by publick agreement enacted. If you then, be not tied to obſerve your
"leagues, unleſs they be authoriſed by the nobles, or ratified by the people: no more can the league
"of *Aſdrubal* oblige us, which he concluded without our privity and knowledge. Forbear there
"fore to ſpeak either of *Saguntum*, or *Iberus*; and what your mind hath ſo long conceived, let
"it hatch now at length, and bring it forth. Then *Q. Fabius* the Roman Embaſſador, having
made a hollow lap within the plait and fold of his ſide gown, Here quoth he, within this lappet,
we preſent and offer war and peace unto you, take whether ye will. At which word, they all
cryed out at once with as great ſtomack and boldneſs: Mary even which you will your ſelf. I
Whereat he let his robe looſe again; Why then, there is war, quoth he, take it amongſt you; Let
come ſay they all again, and welcome be it; and as willingly as we accept thereof, ſo ſhall we fol-
low and manage it as throughly.

This direct demand, and round denouncing of war, ſeemed more for the honor of the Ro-
mans, than to make much diſpute and argument about the right of the cauſe, and of the cove-
nants; a vain matter before, but now eſpecially, after the winning and deſtruction of *Saguntum*.
For if the queſtion were to be decided by words and reaſoning, that league of *Aſdrubal* which
was exchanged for the former of *Lucatius*, was not the ſame nor the tenor thereof to be compa-
red: ſeeing that in the accord of *Lucatius*, this branch and proviſo was expreſſely added, [That
it ſhould ſtand good, and be ratified, if the people approved thereof:] but in this of *Aſdrubal*, K
there was no ſuch condition at all: and beſides, the covenant for ſo many years ſpace during his
life, was ſo eſtabliſhed and confirmed, and no word to the contrary; that when the very maker
and author thereof was dead, there was no change and alteration. And yet, put caſe they ſhould
have ſtood upon the former alliance: the Saguntins were therein well enough compriſed and pro-
vided for in that the allies of either part were excepted and comprehended. For neither was this
clauſe added [They who at that time were allies] nor yet were they excepted againſt, who after-
wards ſhould become, or be admitted allies. And ſeeing that it was lawful to entertain new con-
federats, who is it that would judge it reaſonable, either that no man ſhould be received unto
amity for any good deſert whatſoever; or being once received into protection, ſhould not be de-
fended accordingly: Provided alwayes, that no allies of the Carthaginians ſhould either be ſolli- L
cited to rebellion or received again, if of themſelves they once revolted.

The Roman Embaſſadors as they were commanded at *Rome* paſſed the ſeas from *Carthage* into
*Spain*, for to viſit all the Cities, and to ſee whether they could either draw them to their ſociety,
or withdraw them from the Carthaginians. And firſt they came to the Barguſians, where being
courteouſly entertained (for weary they were of the Carthaginians government) they ſtirred up
many other nations beyond *Iberus*, to have a deſire to change for a new world. From thence they
came to the Volſcians, whoſe notable anſwer reported throughout all *Spain*, turned away all other
States from banding with the Romans: for thus in a ſolemn aſſembly a ſage and ancient rather a-
mong them framed his anſwer. "With what face can ye (Romans) require us to preſer your friend-
"ſhip and amity before the Carthaginians? ſeeing that the Saguntins who did the ſame, have been M
"more cruelly by you their allies betrayed, than by their enemies the Carthaginians deſtroyed?
"By my advice go and ſeek you confederats there, where the woful calamity and miſery of *Sagun-*
"*tum* is not known. The lamentable ruins of which City, as it is a doleful example, ſo it ſhall be a
"notable warning to all nations of *Spain*, that no man ever after repoſe truſt in the protection
"and ſociety of the Romans. Whereupon, they were commanded to depart the borders of the
Volſcians immediately, and in no Diet or Councel of *Spain*, had they afterwards any better en-
tertainment, and more courteous language. Thus having in vain gone through all *Spain*, they took
their way into *Gaul*: where they ſaw a ſtrange ſight, and a fearful faſhion: for all in armour (ſuch
was the guiſe and manner of the country) they came to their publick aſſemblies: and there, theſe
Embaſſadors after they had ſet out in goodly words the greatneſs and glory of the people of *Rome*, N
and highly magnified their large empire and dominion, and thereupon made requeſt, that they
would not give the Carthaginians leave (who minded to make war upon *Italy*) for to paſs through
their Cities and Towns: hereat they ſet up ſuch a laughter, with a certain grumbling and mur-
muring, that ſcarcely could the youth be ſtilled and quieted by the Magiſtrats and Elders; ſo fon-
tiſh, ſo fooliſh, and ſhameleſs ſeemed this demand, in their conceit: that they ſhould once ima-
gine that the Gauls were ſuch Aſſes, as they would be content (rather than to let the war paſſe
into *Italy*) to avert and turn it upon themſelves, and to ſuffer, yea, and offer their own territories
to be ſpoiled and foraged, for the ſafety (forſooth) of other mens Lands, who were but meer aliens
and ſtrangers unto them. The noiſe and garboil being at length huſht and appeaſed, this an-
ſwer was returned to the Embaſſadors: "That neither the Romans had deſerved ſo well, nor the O
"Carthaginians ſo ill at their hands, that they ſhould take arms either for Romans, or againſt
"Carthaginians. But contrary-wiſe they were advertiſed, that ſome of their nation, whereby
"the people of *Rome* driven out of the marches and confines of *Italy* put to pay tribute, yea, and
"indured other outrages and indignities. The like demands and anſwers paſſed to and fro in
other Councels and Aſſemblies of *Gaul*: neither could they meet with any friendly entertain-
ment, or have peaceable words given them, before they came to * *Maſſilia*: where, after diligent
inquiry, and faithful ſearch made by their allies, they had true advertiſements, that *Annibal*
afore-

The anſwer of one of the principal Volſcians in *Spain*, to the Roman Embaſſadors.

* *Maſſilles.*

A aforehand had wrought the hearts of the Gauls to his own purpose, and was possessed of them: but they understood withal, that they were not like to continue long in good terms of kindness and favor even to him, (so fierce and savage, so untractable are they, and untamed by nature) unless their Princes and Rulers be ever and anon well fed and plied with gold, whereof that nation of all other is most greedy and covetous. The Roman Embassadors, having thus gone their circuit over all the States of *Spain* and Gaul, returned to *Rome*; not long after that the Coss. had taken their journey into their Provinces: where they found the whole City possessed with the expectation of war: so rife and currant was the rumor and bruit abroad, that the Carthaginians were already passed over the River *Iberus*.

B *Annibal* after the winning of *Saguntum*, had retired himself to winter in new *Carthage*: and there having intelligence what had been done and decreed as well at *Rome*, as at *Carthage* [in *Africk*] and that he was reputed not only the Captain General and Conductor, but also the very author and cause of all this war; so soon as he had divided and sold the rest of the booty and pillage that remained, thought good now to make no longer delayes, but assembled the souldiers of the Spanish Nation, and to them he spake in this manner. "My trusty friends and loyal confede- The speech of *Annibal* to his Spanish souldiers.
"rats, I am perswaded, that ye your selves do see as well as I, now that all the States of *Spain* are in
"peace and quietness, that either ye are to make an end of souldiery, and all our forces to be cassed
"and discharged from service; or else that ye must remove the war into other Lands. For so
"shall these Nations prosper and flourish, and not only enjoy the blessings of peace, but also reap
C "the fruits of war, if we will seek to gain riches, and to acquire glory and honor from others.
"Sin e therefore we are to war shortly far from home, and doubt it is, when you shall see again
"your houses, and whatsoever there is deer unto you: if any of you be desirous to visit home, his
"wife and children, kinsfolk, and friends, I give him licence and free passport. But I command
"you withal, to shew your selves here again before me, in the beginning of the next spring; that
"with the help of God, we may in hand with that war, whereby we shall purchase both worship
"and wealth. There was not one in a manner but well accepted of this liberty so frankly offered by himself, and were desirous to have a sight of house and land both for that every one already longed for their friends and kindred, and foresaw in farther time to come, a greater miss, and cause of more longing after them. This rest all Winter time, between their travels past, and those they
D were soon after to endure, refreshed as well their bodies as their minds, and prepared them to abide and endure all new pains whatsoever. So in the very prime of the spring, according to the Edict aforesaid, they all assembled together again. *Annibal* having taken a muster and survey of the aids that were sent unto him from all those Nations, went to * *Gades*; and there, to *Hercules* he paid his old vows, and bound himself to new, if the rest of his enterprizes should speed well and have good success. After this, dividing and casting care indifferently, as well for offensive as defensive war, doubting lest whiles he went by Land through *Spain* and *France* into *Italy*, *Africk* should lie open and naked to the Romans from *Sicily* side; purposed to fortifie and make that part sure with strong garrisons. In lieu whereof, he sent for fresh supply out of *Africk*, specially of Archers and Javelotiers, and those lightly armed: to the end, that the Africans might serve in
E *Spain*, and the Spaniards in *Africk*; like (both the one and the other) to prove the better souldiers, far from their own countries, and being bound as it were, with mutual and reciprocal pledges. So he sent into *Africk* 13850 footmen, armed with light targets, and 870 slingers of the Islands * *Baleares*, 1200 Horsemen also out of sundry Nations. Which forces he disposed, partly for the defence of *Carthage*, and partly to be divided through *Africk*, for the guard thereof. He sent withal, certain Commissioners into all their Cities to take up souldiers, and enrolled 4000 of their chosen youths, who should be brought to *Carthage*, there to lie in garrison, and to serve for hostages. And supposing that *Spain* was not to be neglected, and the rather, because he was not ignorant how the Roman Embassadors had visited the same round to see how they could sollicit and work the Princes and rulers to their mind, he committed the charge of that Province to his
F brother *Asdrubal*, a valiant and hardy man: and furnished him with good forces, especially out of Africk, to wit, 11850 Africans footmen, 300 Ligurians, 500 Balear Islanders. To this power of footmen, three hundred Horse of the * Libyphœnicians, a Nation mixt of Carthaginians and Africans. Of * Numidians and Mores, that coast upon the Ocean, 1900. with a small cornet of 200 Horsemen of Ilergetes out of *Spain*. And because he should want no manner of Land help, fourteen Elephants besides. Moreover, there was a fleet allowed him for the defence of the Sea-coasts. For by what forces and service the Romans had before got victory, thereby it was likely, that they would still maintain and continue their wars, 50 Gallies therefore of five banks of oars, he had at Sea, two of four, and five of three. But of the five oared gallies aforesaid, he had no more but two and thirty, fitted and well appointed with rowers and marriners, and so were the
G five of three banks.

* Cadiz, or *Cales Males*, or *Cales*.

* Two Islands, *Maiorica* and *Minorica*. Of some, *Columba* and *Nura*.

* Within the Kingdom of *Tunes*.
* Inhabitants *Bilid-il gerid*.

From *Gades*, the army of *Annabil* returned to winter in *Carthage*: and from thence he passed by the City * *Etovissa*, and marched forward with his forces to *Iberus* and the Sea-coasts. Where it is reported, that in his sleep he dreamed, and saw a vision namely a young man of divine shape and semblance, saying, That he was sent from *Jupiter* to guide him in his voyage into *Italy*, and willed him therefore to follow him, and in no wise to turn his eyes from him one way or other. Also, that at the first he being scared and affrighted, durst not look either about or behind, but followed him still: afterwards (as men by nature are curious) when he cast and discoursed in

* *Hitona* or *Mequinenza*.
The vision of *Annibal*.

his mind, what it might be, that he was forbidden so to see behind him, he could not hold and H
rule his eyes but must needs look back: and then he beheld behind him, a serpent of huge great-
ness coming amain, and all the way as it went, to bear down trees, groves, and thickets: and
after all that, he perceived a great storm and tempest ensuing, with mighty thunder-claps. Now
when he was desirous to know what this so great confusion and strange sight might signify, he
heard a voyce, saying, That it betokened the ruins and wasting of *Italy*: willing him therefore,
to go still forward with his voyage, and search no further into the secrets of the Gods, but leave
them to the hidden destinies. *Annibal* right joyous at this vision, passed over *Iberus* with his
whole power, divided into three parts having sent certain before him with gifts and rewards into
all parts whereas he should march with his army, to gain the hearts of the *Gauls*; and withal, to I
seek out and discover the passages of the *Alpes*. So he crossed the River *Iberus* with 90000 foot,
and 12000 Horse, strong. After this, he subdued the Ilergetes, the * Bargusians, * Ausetans, and
* Aquitain, which lyeth under the hills *Pyrenæi*. The government of all these Nations he set over
to *Hanno* that he might have at his command the streights which joyned *France* and *Spain* toge-
ther. Unto whom he allowed 10000 footmen, and 1000 horse, for to defend and keep in obe-
dience those countries. After that his army was on foot, and began to march through the forrest
*Pyrenæus*, and that there ran amongst the barbarous people a more certain bruit, That they were
to make war with the Romans; three thousand footmen of the Carpenats, returned back: and
for certain it was known, that they departed not, for fear so much of the war, as the tedious jour-
ney and unpassable wayes of the *Alpes*. *Annibal*, considering that either to recal them or to keep K
them by violence, was a dangerous matter; for fear lest thereby he should provoke the fierce sto-
macks of the rest; sent home again above 7000 of such, as he perceived to be weary, and to have
no mind to the service; and made semblance withal, that the Carpetans were by his leave dis-
charged. And doubting lest long stay and ease there, might tempt his souldiers and give occasion
of mutinies, with the rest of his forces he passed *Pyrenæus*, and pitched his camp before the Town
* *Illiberis*. The Gauls, albeit they were advertised, that it was *Italy*, at which *Annibal* shot; yet
because the bruit was blazed, That the Spaniards beyond *Iberus*, were by force subdued, and
strong garrisons placed in their Cities: certain Nations of them, for fear of servitude and bon-
dage, rose up in arms, and assembled together at † *Ruscino*. Which being related to *Annibal*, he
fearing more that they would stay him in his journey, than endanger him in fight; sent certain L
Orators or Embassadors to their Princes and great Lords, to signify unto them. "That himself
"in person would gladly parle with them, and that it should be in their choice whether they
"would come neerer to *Illiberis*, or himself go forward to *Ruscino*: where, being neer together,
"they might more easily meet and confer. For as he was willing to receive them into his camp,
"and would be glad to see them there: so he would not think much of his pains, to repair unto
"them himself, as one that was thither come as a friend and guest unto *France*, and not as an
"enemy; and would not by his good will draw a sword (if the Gauls would let him alone)
"before he were entred within *Italy*. And thus much verily passed by messengers and cour-
riers between. But so soon as the Lords of *France*, who presently removed their camp to *Il-
liberis*, were come willingly enough to *Annibal*, as being bribed and corrupted with money M
and presents, they gave his army good leave to pass through their confines along the Town
*Ruscino*.

In *Italy* this while the Embassadors of *Marseilles* had brought no other word to *Rome*, but that
*Annibal* was only gone over *Iberus*: but, by that time, the *Boii* had stirred up the Insubrians to
mutiny, and were revolted themselves, even as if he had passed the *Alpes* already: which they did
not so much upon old rancour and malice to the people of *Rome*, as for that, they took it ill and
were discontented, that there were Colonies brought lately into the Gauls country, to be planted
about * *Padus*, * *Placentia* and *Cremona*. Whereupon they arose suddenly, took arms, and entred
by force into those parts, and made so foul work and fearful havock, that not only the country
people and villagers, but also the three Roman Commissioners called Triumvirs, to wit, *Caius* N
*Luctatius*, *Aul. Servilius*, and *Titus Annius*, who were come to set out the Lands and territory
to the said Colonies, not trusting the walls of *Placentia*, fled to * *Mutina*. That *Luctatius* was
one of them, it is not doubted: but some records have *Q. Acilius* and *C. Herennius*, instead of
*A. Servilius* and *T. Annius*: and others again, nominate *P. Cornelius Asina*, and *C. Papirius Maso*.
It is uncertain also, whether they were the Embassadors sent to the * *Boii*, to reason or expostulat
the matter, that had abuse offred them, and were evil intreated; or that the Triumvirs above
said, were set upon and assailed as they were measuring out the Lands. But whiles they were thus
besieged at *Mutina*, and those Boians lying at siege (a nation unskilful altogether in the feat of
assaulting Towns, and likewise of all other most cowardly, to attempt any martial exploits) whiles
they lay idly about the wals, and never once advanced against them, they began to make shew of O
a treaty for peace. Whereupon the Roman Embassadors or Commissioners, being by the chief of
the Gauls called out to parle, were not only against law of nations, but with breach also of their
faithful promise, and word which they had given that time, apprehended: and the Gauls said
plainly, they would not let them go, unless their hostages were delivered them again. These news
touching the Embassadors being reported and *Mutina* with the garison in danger: *L. Manlius* the
Prætor, in great anger and indignation, brought his army in more hast than good order, before
*Mutina*. There were in those dayes great woods about the high way, and most part of the country
wilds

* The people of *Pertus*.
* *Morali*, in *Catalonia*.
* *Guienne*.

* *Granada*, or *Almaria*.

† *Roussillon*.

* The river *Po*.
* The City *Plaisance*.
* *Modena*.

* *Bononois*.

A wilds and wasts, not inhabited: where he having engaged himself without his espials, was intrapped within an ambush; lost many of his men, and hardly recovered the open champain country. There he incamped himself strongly: and for that the Gauls had no heart to assault, nor hope to win the camp, his souldiers courages were refreshed; albeit it was well known that they had received a shrewd foil, and knew their forces to be much impaired. Then began he to march on, in his journey afresh. And so long as he led his power through the open country, the enemies were not in sight: but when they were entred the forrests again, they set upon the fereward of them: where, besides the great fright and damage of all the rest, 800 Roman souldiers were left dead in the place, and the enemies went away with six ensigns. But afterwards the Gauls ceased to molest
B and trouble, and the Romans gave over to fear. So soon as they were passed, and escaped the rough, umbrous, and unpassable forrests. And the Romans being now able in the open and champian country to march with safety, made haft to get to * *Tanetus* a village neer unto the *Po*. There within a fort which they made for the time, with the help and provision of victuals by the river and the aid also of certain Gauls called * Brixians they defended themselves against the enemies whose number daily encreased. After this sudden tumult was reported at *Rome*, and that the LL. of the Senat were advertised, that besides the war with the Carthaginians, the Gauls were up in arms: they gave order, that *C. Attilius* the Pretor should go (with one Roman Legion, and four thousand allies, who were enrolled by the Consuls in a new levy) to aid *Manlius*: who without any skirmish (by reason that the enemies were fled for fear) came to *Tanetus*. Also *P.*
C *Cornelius* having newly levied one Legion in lieu of that which was sent with the Pretor, departed from the City of *Rome*, and passing with 60 Gauls along the coasts of *Tuscany*, *Liguria*, and so forward of the *Salyes*, shortly arrived at *Massilia*, and encamped neer the next mouth of * *Rhodanus* (for the river is divided into many branches, and so dischargeth it self into the Sea) being not fully of belief that *Annibal* as yet had passed over the mountains *Pyrenæi*. But when he understood that he was ready even then to pass *Rhodanus* also; and doubting in what place to encounter and meet him, his people as yet not well recovered, after their being sea-sick: he sent before, 300 elect men of arms, guided by the Massilians, and certain Gauls that came to aid; for to discover all, and to take a full view of the enemies safely without danger.

*Annibal* having appeased the rest of the country either for fear or by means of mony, was now
D come into the country of the * Volcans, a puissant people and a valiant. These inhabit along both the banks of *Rhodanus*: and mistrusting that they were not able to defend their Lands against the Carthaginians, on that side of the River which lay to them: because they might have the whole River to serve them for a good defence and rampier, transported over the *Rhosne* all in manner that ever they had, and kept the bank on the other side. The rest of the inhabitants neer to the River, and even those also in whose territories *Annibal* had set foot already, both he himself with gifts allured to get together from all parts shipping, and to frame new vessels: and they of themselves likewise were as willing to have his army transported, and their own country eased and delivered (they cared not how soon) of so great a multitude of troublesome guests. Whereupon, there was got together an huge number of lighters, barges, and boats especially, which
E were made in haft without great workmanship; in which the people inhabiting thereby used to transport wares and commodities from one to another. Other new whirries also, the Gauls began first to make of the hollowed trunks of trees: and after them, the souldiers for that they had both store of timber and saw the workmanship but sleight and easy, made in haft certain bottoms, such as they were, like troughs without form or fashion, regarding no handsomeness at all, so they would but flote on the water, and receive burden, in which they might convey over themselves and that which they had.

Now when they had prepared and made all ready for their passage, the enemies on the other side right against them, kept and covered all the bank along with men and Horse, putting them to much trouble and fear. *Annibal* therefore to withdraw them from that place, commanded *Hanno*
F the son of *Bomilcar*, at the first watch of the night, to go up the stream along the river side, one dayes journey, with part of the forces, and those most of them Spaniards: and whersoever he first could espie a convenient place, to cross the river, and to land as secretly as he could: and then to fetch about with his men, that when need were, he might charge upon the back of the enemy. Hereunto were appointed certain Gauls for guides: who from thence conducted them some 25 miles above, to a little Iland compassed about with the river, which here spred out in bredth, by reason that it divided it self, and thereby the channel was not so deep: where they shewed him a place of passage. There, in all haft they cut down and hewed timber, and made boats to set over Horse and man and other burthen. The Spaniards made no more ado, but fastning their apparel to vessels of lether like bladders, full of wind, and laying their bucklers thereupon, sat aloft and
G passed over nimbly. The rest of the army also, with joyning planks and troughs together, was set over. Where having encamped neer the river, as being weary with their night journey, and toilsome work, they rested one day to refresh themselves, whiles their Captain studied and was occupied to execute his commission and his intended service in good and convenient time. The morrow after they removed from thence, and gave knowledge by smoke that they were passed over and not far off. Which when *Annibal* perceived, for that he would not lose the vantage of that time, he gave signal to his men also to get over the water. Now had the footmen already their boats prepared and fitted. And the course and ranks of barges (which to receive and break

* Tanedo.

* Of *Brisia*.

* *Rhosne*.

* *Avignon*.

break the force of the current from above, transported the Horſemen, beſides the Horſes that ſwam H
after) made for the ſmall boats that paſſed beneath, a gentle and calm water. For a number of
Horſes ſwam after the ſhips, haled by the bridle reins which were tied to the poups, beſides
thoſe, which being ſadled and bridled, and fitted to ſerve the men of arms ſo ſoon as ever they
were landed, were beſtowed in barges and ferry boats. The Gauls ſtood upon the bank with loud
hooping, hollowing, yelling and ſinging after their manner, who ſhaking their targets over their
heads, brandiſhing and floriſhing their ſwords in their right hands, ſhewed themſelves ready to
receive them, albeit ſo great a number and World of barges and boats full in their eye over againſt
them, together with an hideous roaring of the water, might have ſcared them: beſides ſundry
noiſes of mariners and ſouldiers, who laboured and ſtrived to break the power and force of the I
water, and who being on the other ſide of the bank encouraged their fellows that were paſſing
over. And thus frighted enough as they were, with the tumult and noiſe preſented before their
faces: behold there aroſe a more fearful and terrible outcry behind their backs, upon the forcing
and winning of their camp by *Hanno*. And himſelf in perſon came ſoon after: ſo that they were
put in fear on both ſides. For not only out of the ſhips there was a great multitude got to Land,
but alſo a power at their backs unlooked for, came forward and charged them. The Gauls, after
they had made ſome reſiſtance, and ſaw they were eaſily put back; brake through, where they
eſpied the way to lie moſt open, and ſo in great fear they fled divers wayes into their Towns and
Villages. *Annibal* then, having conveied over the reſt of his forces by leiſure, cared no more
now for any French ſtirs and tumults, and ſo encamped himſelf. But for the tranſporting of the K
Elephants, I ſuppoſe there were ſundry devices: and certainly, how ever it was, the thing is di-
verſly recorded. Some ſay, that when the Elephants were gathered together upon the bank,
the moſt couragious and fierceſt of them all, was chafed, angred, and raiſed of purpoſe by his ma-
ſter or keeper: and when he was purſued of the beaſt, and to ſave himſelf fled from him, and
took the River, thereupon the Elephant followed after him as he ſwam, and ſo drew after him the
whole drove of the reſt: and as any one of them (fearing the depth) failed to wade, the very
force of the River carried him to the other ſide. But it is more credibly and certainly reported,
that they were conveyed over in certain barges: which as it was a ſafer way and ſurer courſe be-
fore it was practiſed, ſo when it was done and paſt, it was more eaſily credited. They cauſed
therefore one veſſel or barge, 200 foot long, and 50 foot broad, to reach from the ſtrand ſide and L
the ſhore into the River; which becauſe it ſhould not be caried down with the courſe and
ſtream of the water, they faſtned to the bank above with many ſtrong ropes, and like as it had
been a bridge, they covered it over with earth, that the beaſts might boldly go thereon as upon
the firm ground. Now there was another barge full as broad, but of length only 100 foot; fit-
ted and appointed to paſs the River, and was tied and coupled thereto: and when as the Elephants
(driven after the females going before) upon the ſteady barge, as it had been upon a cauſey, were
gone over into the leſſer which was faſtned unto it; then preſently was it looſed from the bonds
wherewith it was ſlightly tyed, and ſo haled and drawn by certain galley boats, directed with oars
through to the other bank. Thus when the firſt were landed, they went for more ſtill, until they
were all ſet over: and verily, ſo long as they were driven on ſtill, as it were upon a long bridge, M
they nothing feared: the formoſt only were afraid when the barge was looſened, and they par-
ted from their fellows, and ſo were caried away into the wide and deep River, where throng-
ing and ſtrugling together, and juſtling one another, they made ſome trouble, whiles they that
were outmoſt gave back from the water aſmuch as they could, until ſuch time as very fear (when
they ſaw all about them nothing but water) cauſed them to be quiet. Some of them alſo like ra-
ging beaſts as they were, and unruly, fell out into the River, but by reaſon of their heavineſs, they
ſtood ſure, and caſting their Governors, they ſought the ſounds foot by foot, by little and little,
and got ſafe to Land.

Whiles the Elephants were thus tranſporting over, *Annibal* in the mean time had ſent 500
Numidian light Horſemen to the Romans camp, as eſpials to diſcover the ground, where they N
were to learn what forces they had, and liſten after their deſigns and purpoſes. This wing and
troop was encountred by three hundred Roman Horſemen, ſent as is aforeſaid, from the mouth of
*Rhodanus*: where there was a more cruel skirmiſh than for ſo ſmall a number, for beſides many
hurt, there were ſlain on both ſides in a manner alike: but in the end, the fear and flight of the
Numidians gave the victory to the Romans, being now already much travailed and wearied: on
whoſe part (being the winners) were ſlain 160. not all Romans, but ſome Gauls: and on the loſers
ſide who were overcome, there dyed above 200. This beginning and prognoſtication as it were
of the war, as it portended and preſaged an happy end and ſucceſs of the whole unto the Romans:
ſo it ſhewed plainly, that the victory would hang long in equal balance, not without much effu-
ſion of bloud, and danger of their part. The conflict being thus determined, they returned each
one to his own Captain. As for *Scipio*, he could not reſolve to take any courſe himſelf; but ac-
cording as he ſaw the plots and enterprizes of the enemy, ſo to frame his own. And *Annibal* a-
gain being uncertain whether to go forward with his journy begun, into *Italy*, or to give battel
unto the firſt army of the Romans that came in his way and met him: was drawn away from all
preſent conflict, by occaſion of the coming of the Embaſſadors of the *Boii*, and of a great Lord and
Potentate, called *Matalus*; who promiſing to be his guides unto him in his voyage, and compani-
ons in his perils, thought it good, and gave advice to invade and ſet upon *Italy* firſt of all before

any

A any other war, whiles forces were entire in heart, no where put to the hazard, and to give them as it were the firſt hanſel. The common multitude of the Carthaginians (for that the former war was not clean forgot and out of remembrance) feared verily their enemies, but more their infinit journey and the *Alps* eſpecially, the name whereof to men not experienced, was very fearful & terrible. Whereupon, *Annibal* being now reſolute to march onward in his journey, and to paſs into *Italy* aſſembled his people to an audience, and by ſundry means, as well by way of rebuke, as alſo by encouragement, windeth and aſſayeth the minds of his ſouldiers. "I marvel (quoth he) what "ſudden fright or new fear hath poſſeſſed your hearts, that ever before now have been undaunted; "who have ſerved ſo many years, and alwayes won the victory; who departed not out of *Spain*,
B "before that all thoſe Nations and Lands, which lie encloſed between two divers Seas, were "brought in ſubjection to the Carthaginians; who taking indignation and great diſdain, that "the people of *Rome* ſhould require all thoſe to be yeelded unto juſtice (as offenders and male-"factors) that had beſieged *Saguntum*, have thereupon paſſed the river *Ierus*, with this intent "even to deſtroy and extirp the Roman name, and to ſet free the whole world out of their ſervi-"tude and bondage: no man thought it long then of his travel from Eaſt to Weſt, from the ſetting "of the ſun, to the riſing of the ſame: now when as ye ſee the greater part (by far) of our journey "done and paſt, the forreſt and mountain of *Pyrenæus*, amid moſt fierce and cruel nations ſurmoun-"ted; that great river *Rhodanus*, paſſed over, maugre the hearts of ſo many thouſand Gauls that
C "would have impeached your paſſage, yea, and the force of his main ſtream overcome: now I ſay, "when you are within the ſight of the *Alps*, to the other ſide whereof lieth *Italy* cloſe: ye faint as "it were, and ſtand ſtill tired at the very gates of the enemies. Why? what other thing take ye the "*Alps* to be but high hills? And imagine they be higher than the cliffs of *Pyrenæus*: what? there is "no land (I am ſure) that reaches up to heaven, and no place for men unſuperable. But for the "*Alps*, they are inhabited, and they are tilled: they breed and feed living creatures and cattel: and "are they acceſſible indeed, and paſſable for ſome few, and unpaſſable for whole armies? Theſe very "Embaſſadors whom you ſee here, flew not over the *Alps* with wings, neither were their anceſ-"tors time out of mind born and bred there, but came from other parts as ſtrangers and inhabited
D "*Italy* before; yea, and oftentimes have gone over the ſame *Alps* in huge multitudes, together with "their wives and children, in manner of travellers and pilgrims that ſeek new countries to inha-"bit: what ſhould there be unpaſſable then or impoſſible for the armed ſouldier, carying about "him nothing but inſtruments of war? For the winning of *Saguntum*, what perils were adventu-"red, what travels were endured and ſwallowed for eight moneths ſpace? ſhould any thing then "ſeem ſo hard and difficult as to ſtay them in their enterpriſe once begun, who aim at no leſs than "to conquer *Rome*, the head City of the world? And have the Gauls indeed forced and won "that in times paſt, which the Carthaginians deſpair now to come unto? Therefore, either ye "muſt confeſs your ſelves inferior in ſtomack and valor to that nation, which ſo oft (theſe dayes "paſſed) by you have been vanquiſhed: or elſe make reckoning with aſſured hope, that the goodly "fair fields that lie between *Tyberis* and the walls of *Rome*, are the end of your journey.

When in theſe terms he had exhorted and encouraged his ſouldiers, he commanded them to
E take their repaſt and repoſe, to cheriſh and refreſh their bodies, and to prepare themſelves for the march. The morrow after he departed croſs from the banks of *Rhodanus*, and entred the inland parts of *France*: not for that it was the more direct way to the *Alps*, but becauſe he thought the further he went from the Sea ſide, in ſo much leſſe danger he ſhould be of meeting the Romans, with whom he was not minded to fight, before he was arrived into *Italy*. After that he had traveled four dayes journey, he came to an Iland, where the two rivers * *Arar* and *Rhodanus*, iſſuing out of ſundry parts of the *Alps* and taking a direct courſe, after they have run through a good part of the country fall at length together and meet in one and the ground lying between is called by the name of the Iland. Neer there, inhabit the * *Allobroges*, a Nation even in thoſe dayes
F nothing inferior, either in wealth and puiſſance, or in fame and reputation to any people or ſtate of the Gauls whatſoever. But at that very time there was ſome diſcord and variance among them, by occaſion of two brethren who were at ſtrife for the crown and Kingdom: the elder (whoſe name was *Brancus*, and had before enjoyed the Seignory) was depoſed and thruſt out by his younger brother, and a luſty crew of the youth; who as they had leſs right on their ſide, ſo they were the mightier. The deciding of this variance, was referred and put over unto *Annibal*, in as good and fit a time for his purpoſe, as he could have wiſhed: and he forſooth was made the umpire and judge, to determine whether of them ſhould be King: who reſtored the elder to the Kingdom; like as it would have been adjudged by the award of the Senators and Nobles of the country. For which benefit and good turn, he was ſerved with victual, and ſtore of all things
G abundantly, yea, and with rayment and apparel, which he was driven to provide aforehand, for the name that went of the *Alps*, which for their coldneſs were in great diſcredit.

Having thus appeaſed the debate of the Allobroges, and minding now to ſet forward to the *Alps*; he would not go the direct ſtreight way, but turned on the left hand to the * Tricaſtins, and from thence paſſing by the frontiers of the * Vocontians, he marched into the * Tricorians; and never was he ſtayed or impeached in his journey before that he came to the River * *Druentia*, which deſcending alſo out of the *Alps*, is of all other Rivers in *France* moſt hard to be paſſed over: for although it carry with it a mighty force of water, yet will it bear no veſſel, becauſe it is kept and reſtreined with no banks, but running at once by many divers chanels, maketh ever new

* The River *Saone*.

* The people of *Savoy* according to *Sabadas*. But *Daulphiny*, after *Mercianus*, *Rhenanus*, and others.

* *Entrecaſtraux* in *Provance*, ſaith *Vigenerius*.
* *Val de viſe*, or the country of *Beiſort*.
* Thoſe of *Craux*.
* *Durance*.

new foords, and caſteth up new ſhelves and whirl-pits, (for which cauſe alſo a footman hath much ado to wade therethrough, and knoweth not the foords) beſides, it rolleth down round ſtones and pibbles, whereby there is no ſure nor ſafe footing for him that would wade through. And it chanced at that time, that it ſwelled and was riſen high by fall of rain, and by land-floods, and cauſed them to have very much to do, that paſſed over it: and over and beſides all other difficulties, they were of themſelves troubled and diſquieted through their own fearfulneſs and ſundry cries which they made. *Publius Cornelius* the Conſul, about three dayes after that *Annibal* diſlodged from the bank of *Rhodanus*, was arrived with his army (arranged in a fourſquare battel) as far as the place where the enemy was lately encamped, purpoſing without any ſtay to give him battel. But ſeeing the hold abandoned, and that he was not like to overtake him, being ſo far gone forwards; he returned to his ſhips at Sea, ſuppoſing by that means, with leſſe danger and difficulty, to encounter *Annibal* as he deſcended from the *Alps*. But leſt that *Spain* (which was the Province allotted unto him) ſhould be left diſfurniſhed of Roman ſuccours, he ſent his brother *Cn. Scipio* with the greateſt part of his forces againſt *Aſdrubal*: not ſo much to defend their old allies, and procure new, as to drive *Aſdrubal* out of *Spain*. Himſelf with a very ſmall company returned to **Genua*, with intent to guard *Italy*, with that army which was about the *Po*.

* Genes.

*Annibal* being departed from *Druentia*, marched for the moſt part through the champion countries, and came in peace and quietly, to the foot of the *Alps*, for any trouble from the peaſants that there inhabited. And albeit he had ſome knowledge of the *Alps* before by report, (which uſeth to make things that are uncertain, much more than indeed and truth they are) yet ſeeing now neer at hand the height of thoſe Hills, and the ſnows, entermingled along with the skie; the rude and miſhapen houſes ſet upon rocks; the cattel, ſheep, oxen, and horſes, ſinged with cold; the people with long ſhagg'd hair, and without any trimming, both living and liveleſs creatures, even parched, ſtiff and ſtark with froſt; and all things elſe more ſtrange and ilfavoured, than can be ſpoken: then began his ſouldiers to fear afreſh. So ſoon as they advanced forward, and began to march up the firſt cliffs, there appeared over their heads the mountain people, who had ſeized the Hills: who if they had kept the ſecret and hidden vallies, and ſuddenly all at once chatged upon them, they would have made a foul ſlaughter of them, and put them to flight. Then *Annibal* commandeth the enſigns to ſtand ſtill, and ſent certain Gauls afore, as eſpials; by whom he underſtood, that there was no paſſage that way: whereupon, he pitched his camp amongſt thoſe craggy and ſteep rough places, upon as large a plain and valley as he could find. Then by the ſame Gauls (who much differed not in tongue and manners from the other, and had entermingled themſelves in talk with the mountainers) he underſtood, that they kept the paſſage, but in the day time, and ſlipt away in the night every one to his own harbour. So at the break of day he mounted thoſe ſteep hills, as if he would openly in the day time march through the ſtreights. Thus having ſpent the day in making ſemblance and ſhew of one thing, and intending another, he encamped himſelf ſtrongly in the place where he had reſted and ſtaid: and ſo ſoon as he perceived, that the mountain people were departed from the ſteep hills, and kept not ſo ſtreight watch and ward; after that he had made ſhew of fires, more than for the number of thoſe that remained behind; and left with the Cavalry all the bag and baggage, with the greateſt part of the footmen: himſelf in perſon took unto him the nimbleſt, moſt active, and valiant ſouldiers lightly appointed, and with all ſpeed paſſed through the ſtreights aforeſaid, and encamped on the very hills which the enemies before held and beſet. Then in the morning betime his camp diſlodged: and the army behind, began to march and ſet forward. By which time the mountainers, at the ordinary ſignal given, came forth out of their Caſtles and Forts, and met at the uſual place of their accuſtomed guards: but then all at once they might ſee ſome of the enemies over their heads, to have gained their own fortreſs, and others alſo marching in the way. Both which objects at one time preſented to their eye, made them blank and to ſtand ſtill in a muſe a good while. But afterwards, when they ſaw *Annibal* his army, diſtreſſed in the ſtreights, and in great trouble and diſorder among themſelves in the march, by reaſon eſpecially the horſes were ſo affrighted: ſuppoſing, that the leaſt fear and terror (beſides) that they could procure, would be enough for their enemies overthrow and confuſion, they croſſed the rocks overthwart, and (as they were accuſtomed and uſed to them) ran to and fro, up and down through the blind and unhaunted bywayes. But then verily, the Carthaginians were much encumbred, as well by their enemies, as alſo by the diſadvantage of the place, and more ado there was among them (whiles every one ſtrove who ſhould firſt eſcape the danger) than with the enemy. There was nothing that diſordered and troubled the army in the march, ſo much as their own horſes, which (by reaſon of the diſſonant and divers cryes, that the ecchoes between the woods and vallies redoubled) were affrighted: and alſo if any of them chanced to be ſtricken, galled, or wounded; they kept ſuch winſing, and flinging about them, that they overthrew and made great havock of men, and of all ſorts of carriage. Beſides, the preſs was ſo great, and the ſtreights of both ſides ſo ſteep and craggy, that many a man was thrown down head-long a mighty height: yea, and ſome of them armed: and the ſumpter horſes and beaſts for carriage eſpecially tumbled down amain with their load, as if a houſe or Caſtle had come down with a miſchief. Which, although it were terrible to behold, yet *Annibal* for a while ſtood ſtil, and kept his own men together, for fear of encreaſing this diſorder and affright. But after that he ſaw his army diſbanded and marching in diſarray, and that it was to no purpoſe

A pose to lead his army safe through the streights, if he lost the carriages: for fear hereof, he ran down from the higher ground, and albeit, with the violence of his charge, he discomfited the enemy, yet he encreased the trouble and fear of his own people. But that was soon appeased in a very moment, after the wayes and passages were once cleared, by reason of the Mountainers that were fled: so that within a while the whole host passed through, not only at ease and leisure, but also in a manner without any noise at all. This done, he seized upon a Castle, which was the chief strength of that country, with other villages lying about it: and for three dayes space he victualled and maintained his whole army, with the Cattel of his prisoners. And for that he was now neither molested with the Mountainers, who were at the first discomfited, nor
B greatly encumbred with the difficulties of the wayes, in those three dayes he rid a good deal of ground, and journeied a great way into the country; until at the length he came to another coast well peopled (for such Mountain and Hilly quarters;) where he had like to have been overtaken, not by open force, but even in his own professed cunning: first, by a subtile practise, and after by a secret ambush. Certain ancient men, the Rulers and Governours of the Castles, repaired unto *Annibal* as Orators, saying, That they having been taught and made wise, by the profitable example of other mens harms, made choice, rather to trye the amity, than prove the force of the Carthaginians; and therefore were willing to do his commandment, and be at his devotion: requesting him to take at their hands victuals and guides for their journey, yea, and hostages also for better assurance of promises to be performed. *Annibal* neither overhastily be-
C lieving them, nor yet churlishly distrusting and refusing their offer, lest being rejected and cast off, they might become open and professed enemies; gave them good language, and a courteous answer, received the hostages whom they gave, accepted victuals, which they had brought with them to maintain his army by the way, and followed their guides, but so, as his army was not disarraied in their march, as if he had been amongst his friends, and in a peaceable countrey. First, went in the van-guard the Elephants, and the Horsemen; himself marched after with the flower and strength of his Footmen, looking all about him with an heedful eye. So soon as he was entred a narrow passage, which of the one side lay under a steep Hill that commanded them aloft, the barbarous people rose out of their ambush from all parts at once, both before and behind, and charged upon him both a far off and neer at hand; yea, and rol-
D led down mighty huge stones upon them as they marched. But the greatest number came behind upon their backs: against whom he turned and made head with the power of his footmen, and without all peradventure (if the tail both of his army, had not been strong and well fortified) they must needs have received in that lane and streights, an exceeding great overthrow. And even then, as it was, they came to an extremity of danger, and in manner fell into a present mischief. For whiles *Annibal* made long stay; and doubted whether he should engage the Regiment of footmen within the streights, for that he had not left any succours in the rereward to back the footmen, like as himself was a defence to the Horsemen; the mountainers came overthwart, and flanked them; and breaking through the files of the battel, beset the way, and crossed upon him. So that *Annibal* took up his lodging for one night, without his carriages and Horse-
E men. The morrow after, when as the barbarous people ran between them more boldly than before, he joyned his forces together, and passed the streight not without great damnage and loss; but with more hurt of the sumpter Horses than of men. After this the Mountainers (fewer in number and in robbing wise rather than in warlike sort) ran in heaps one while upon the vanguard, other while upon the rereward, as any one of them could either get the vantage of ground, or by going one while afore, and by staying another while behind, win and catch any occasion and opportunity. The Elephants, as they were driven with great leisure, because through these narrow streights, they were ready ever and anon to run on their noses: so what way soever they went, they kept the army safe and sure from the enemies; who being not used unto them, durst not once come neer. The ninth day he won the very tops of the *Alps*, through by-lanes
F and blind cranks: after he had wandred many times out of the way, either through the deceitfulness of their guids; or for that when they durst not trust them, they adventured rashly themselves upon the vallies, and guessed the way at adventure, and went by aim. Two dayes abode he encamped upon the tops thereof, and the souldiers wearied with travel and fight rested that time: certain also of the sumpter Horses (which had slipt aside from the rocks) by following the tracks of the army as it marched, came to the camp. When they were thus overtoiled and wearied with these tedious travels, the snow that fell (for now the star *Vergily*, was set and gone down out of that horizon) increased their fear exceedingly. Now when as at the break of day the ensigns were set forward, and the army marched slowly, through the thick and deep snow; and that there appeared in the countenance of them all, slothfulness and desperation: *Annibal* ad-
G vanced before the standards, and commanded his souldiers to stay upon a certain high Hill, (from whence they had a goodly prospect and might see a great way all about them) and there shewed unto them *Italy*, and the goodly champian fields about the *Po*, which lie hard under the foot of the Alpine Mountains: saying, That even then they mounted the wals not only of *Italy*, but also of the City of *Rome*; as for all besides (saith he) will be plain and easy to be travelled: and after one or two battels at the most, ye shall have at your command, the very Castle and head City of all *Italy*. Then began the army to march forward: and as yet the enemies verily themselves adventured nothing at all, but some petty robberies by stealth, as opportunity and occasion served.

How-

However they had much more difficult travailing down the hill, than in the climbing and getting H
up; for that most of the passages to the *Alps* from *Italy* side, as they be shorter, so they are more
upright: for all the way in a manner was steep, narrow, and slippery, so as neither they could
hold themselves from sliding, nor if any tripped and stumbled never so little, could they possibly
(they staggered so) recover themselves and keep sure footing, but one fell upon another, as well
XXXVI Horse as Man. After this they came to a much narrower rock, with crags and rags so steep down-
right, that hardly a nimble souldier without his armor and baggage (do what he could to take hold
with hands upon the twigs and plants that there about grew forth) was able to creep down. This
place being before naturally of it self steep and pendant with a down-fall, now was choked and
dammed up with a new fall of earth, which left a bank behind it of a wonderful and monstrous I
height. There the Horsemen stood still as if they had been come to their wayes end: and when
*Annibal* marveiled much what the matter might be that stayed them so, as they marched not on:
word was brought him that the Rock was unaccessible and unpassable. Whereupon he went him-
self in person to view the place, and then he saw indeed without all doubt, that although he had
fetched a compass about, yet he had gained nought thereby, but conducted his army, to passe
through wilds, and such places as before had never been beaten and troden. And verily that (of all
other) was such, as it was impossible to pass through. For, whereas there lay old snow untouched
and not trodden on, and over it other snow newly fallen, of a small depth; in this soft and tender
snow, and the same not very deep, their feet as they went, easily took hold: but that snow, being
once with the going of so many people and beasts upon it, fretted and thawed, they were fain to K
go upon the bare ice underneath, and in the slabbery snow-broth, as it relented and melted about
their heels. There they had foul ado and much strugling, for that they could not tread sure upon
the slippery ice: and again going as they did (down hill) their feet sooner failed them: and when
they had helped themselves once in getting up, either with hands or knees; if they chanced to fall
again, when those their props and stayes deceived them, there were no twigs nor roots about,
whereon a man might take hold, and rest or stay himself, either by hand or foot. And therefore
all that the poor beasts could do, was to tumble and wallow only, upon the slippery and glasse
ice, and the molten slabby snow. Otherwhiles also, they perished as they went in the deep snow,
whiles it was yet soft and tender: for when they were once slidden and fallen, with flinging out
their heels, and beating with their hoofs more forcibly for to take hold, they brake the ice L
through; so as most of them, as if they had been caught fast and fettered, stuck still in the deep,
XXXVII hard frozen, and congealed ice. At last, when as both man and beast were wearied and overtoiled,
and all to no purpose, they encamped upon the top of an hill, having with very much ado cleared
the place aforehand for that purpose: such a deal of snow there was to be digged, shovelled, and
thrown out. This done, the souldiers were brought to break that rock through which was their
only way: and against the time that it was to be hewed through, they felled and overthrew many
huge trees that grew there about, and made a mighty heap and pile of wood: the wind serned fitly
for the time to kindle a fire, and then they set all a burning. Now when the rock was on fire and
red hot, they powred thereon strong Vinegar for to calcine and dissolve it. When as the rock was
thus baked (as it were) with fire, they digged into it, and opened it with picke-axes, and made the M
descent gentle and easy, by means of moderat windings and turnings: so as not only the Horses
and other beasts, but even the Elephants also might be able to go down. Four dayes he spent a-
bout the levelling of this rock: and the beasts were almost pined and lost for hunger. For the hill
tops for the most part are bare of grass; and look what forage there was, the snow overhilled it.
The dales and lower grounds have some little banks lying to the sun, and rivers withal, neer unto
the woods, yea, and places more meet and beseeming for men to inhabit. There were the la-
bouring beasts put out to grass and pasture, and the souldiers that were wearied with making the
wayes, had three dayes allowed to rest in. From thence they went down into the plain coun-
try, where they found both the place more easy and pleasant, and the natures of the inhabitants
more tractable. N

XXXVIII In this manner and by this means principally, entred the Carthagiuians into *Italy*, five months
after they departed from new *Carthage* (as some write:) and within fifteen dayes overcame and
passed the *Alps*. What power *Annibal* had, when he was arrived in *Italy*, the historians do not
agree. They that speak with the most, write that he was 100000 foot, and 20000 horse strong:
they that make the least of it, say they were 20000 foot, and 6000 horse. *L. Cincius Alimentus*,
who hath delivered under his hand, that himself was taken prisoner by *Annibal* (a writer of great
authority) would induce me sufficiently to believe him, but that he setteth down the number of
confusedly, by adding to the rest, the Gauls and Ligurians. He recordeth, that counting them,
the Infantry was 80000, and the Cavalry 10000, which was conducted into *Italy* (but likely it
is that from all parts there came more thither than so, and so some Authors do report) and that he O
heard from *Annibal* his own mouth, that after he had passed *Rhodanus*, he had lost 36000 men,
and a great number of Horses and other beasts of burden, when he was come down into the
Taurins Country, which was the next Nation in *Italy*, adjoyning to the Gauls. Which being
a thing agreed upon amongst all, I marvel so much the more, that there is any doubt, on which
side he went over the *Alps*: and that commonly it is believed, that he passed by a place called
*Penninum*, and that thereupon the top of the *Alps* took the name, and was so called. *Celius*
saith, he took his way over by the top of *Cremon*: both which passages surely would have
brought

A brought him not into the Taurins country, but through the mountain forrests, unto the Gauls called *Libui*. But neither is it probable, that in those days the same passages were open into *France*: considering, that the wayes which lead to *Penninum* were environed with nations half Germans. And certainly the Veragrians, who inhabit this very top (in case a man may build ought upon this conjecture) never knew that these mountains took the name of any passage of the Carthaginians, that way: but of some one place consecrated in the top of the hill, which the peasants and mountainers called *Penninum*.

Very happily and fitly it fell out for the enterprise of his first designments, that the Taurins the next nation he came unto, made war upon the Insubrians. But *Annibal* being busied in refresh-
B ing his army (that now had most feeling of their harms which they had caught before) could not arm the same to the aid and gratifying of either party: for ease after travel, plenty upon scarcity, good keeping and delicate, after loathsome nastiness, did by a sudden change greatly alter and distemper their lean and pined bodies, well neer savage and wild grown. Which was the cause that *P. Cornelius* the Consul, being arrived and landed at *Pisa*, after he had received of *Manlius Attilius* an army of new and raw souldiers, fearful for some shameful disgrace and defeat lately received, made haste and highed him to the *Po*, for to give battel unto the enemy, before he were well refreshed and in heart again. But by that time that the Consul was come to *Placentia*, *Annibal* had dislodged and removed his camp, and won by assault the chief City or Town of the Taurins, because it willingly yeelded not to accept of his amity and protection; and surely not by fear only,
C but also of voluntary good will, he had gained unto him the Gauls that inhabited about the *Po*, but that the sudden coming of the Consul interrupted and surprized them, as they were casting about to spie some opportunity of rebellion. So *Annibal* dislodged, and removed out of the Taurins country, with this opinion, that the Gauls especially, being doubtful as yet what part to take, would follow him being present in place. Now were the armies in manner one in sight of the other, and the Generals approached nigher together: and as they were not yet well known one unto the other, so they had already both of them a great opinion, and reciprocal admiration one of the other. For as *Annibal* was much renowned, and his name right well known among the Romans, even since before *Saguntum* was lost: so *Scipio* was taken of him, and reputed for some singular and excellent man, in that he especially above all other, was chosen General against him.
D Which mutual conceit and impression they had, they augmented themselves one to the other: for that *Scipio*, albeit he was left behind in *France*, yet he met *Annibal*, and was ready to make head against him, so soon as he was passed the *Alps*: and *Annibal* again, because having enterprised so great an adventure, as to pass the *Alps*, and now brought the same to good effect. But *Scipio* to prevent *Annibal* in crossing the *Po* before him, removed his camp to the river *Ticinus*: and for to encourage his souldiers, before he brought them forth to battel, he made an Oration unto them, and began in this manner.

"My valiant souldiers and trusty friends, if I were now to lead that army into the field, which "I had with me in *France*, I would have forborn to make any speech at all unto you; for to what "purpose needed I to exhort, either that Cavalry, which so valiantly had vanquished the horse-
E "men of the enemies at the river *Rhodanus*: or those legions, with whom I followed in chase as it "were, even these very enemies, and whose falling off and refusing battel, I take to be a confession "of victory? But now for as much as that army, being indeed levied for the province *Spain*, "serveth with my brother *Cn. Scipio*, under my name and commission, where it pleaseth the Senat "and people of *Rome*, they should be employed, to the end that ye might have a Consul to be "your Captain, against *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, I have willingly offered my self to this "war. If being then, your new Captain, and you my new souldiers, meet it is and convenient "I should use a few words unto you. And to the end you should not be ignorant, either of the "manner of this service, or quality of your enemy; with those men ye are to fight, whom in the "former Punick war ye overcame both by land and sea; of whom for these twenty years ye have
F "received tribut; from whom ye have won (as the due wages and reward of the war) *Sicily* "and *Sardinia* both, and them do hold and occupy. In this battel therefore, both you and they "are to carry that mind, and so to be affected, as winners and losers are to be: for never think that "it is valor and hardiness that provoketh them now to fight, but meer necessity and compulsion "enforceth them to the field. Unless you wil believe, that they who when they had an entire army "and unfoiled refused battel, should now have greater hope, and take more courage, after they "have lost two parts of their horse and foot, in the very passage of the *Alps*; and of whom, there "have more perished in a manner, then remain alive. But will some man say, True it is, few they "are in number, but stout in heart, and tall of hand, whose strength & puissance, no force is hardly "able to abide. Images they are, nay, to say more truly, the very shadows of men, and no better;
G "with hunger bitten, with cold starved, lost for want of keeping, spoiled with nastiness, and filthy "ordure, bruised and weakned amongst hard rocks and craggy cliffs: over and besides, joints and "marrow dried up and burnt, their sinews shrunk, hard, and stiff again with cold and chilling "snow, their lims singed with bitter frost, their armor crushed, bruised, and their weapons bro-"ken; their horses, no other then lame jades and poor hide-bound Tits. See what horsemen, lo "what footmen ye are to fight withal. Beleeve me, ye shall have the very reliques and last rem-"nants of enemies and not enemies indeed. And I assure you, nothing fear I more than this, that "before ye shall skirmish with this kind of enemy, it will be thought that the *Alps* already have

"vanquished and defeated *Annibal*. But peradventure it was so meet, and reason would, that H
"the gods themselves without mans help, should against that Captain and nation, which had bro-
"ken league and covenants, begin the war first, set it in good forwardness, and bring it to the point
"of an end; and then we, who next to the gods have been offended and wronged, should finish
"the same thus begun to our hands, and brought to so good a pass. I fear not that any man here
"doth think, that I utter these brave and glorious words only for to hearten you, and that my
"self think otherwise in heart, then I speak with tongue. I might have gone my self well enough
"into *Spain*, my proper and peculiar province, (where I had been aforetime) and with an army
"of mine own: I should have had my brother there, both a counsellor to me in my distresses, and
"a companion with me in my dangers. I found *Asarubal* rather then *Annibal* mine enemy, and I
"no doubt the affairs and charge of the war far less then here. But when I sailed by the coast of
"*France*, and upon the bruit and news of this enemy was set a land, I sent my Cavalry before, and
"removed camp as far as to *Rhodanus*, and in a battel of horsemen (for with that part of my forces
"it was my hap to encounter and fight) I discomfited the enemy: and for that by land I could
"not overtake his Infantry, (so hastily they marched away, like men that fled) I was fain to return
"to the sea, and embark again into my ships: and with as great expedition and speed as I could
"make (considering so great a compass about of sea and land) at the very foot of the *Alps*, I was
"ready to encounter and affront him. Can it be thought then, that whiles I shunned and avoided
"fight, I fell by chance and at unawares upon this dread and redoubted enemy? or rather, that
"I followed him hard at heels, and challenged him, to draw him forth unto a battel, thereby to K
"have it decided who should have the victory in the end? I would gladly make tryal, whether
"all of a sudden the earth hath brought forth for these twenty years, Carthaginians, of another
"mould or new stamp: or whether they be the same that fought neer the Islands *Ægates*, and
"whom ye sent away and let go from *Eryx*, valued after the rate of 18. * deniers a piece, and no
"more: and fain would I see, whether this *Annibal* be the concurrent of *Hercules*, to undertake
"his journeys and voyages, as he saith himself: or one left by his father, a tributary, a vassal, and
"a slave of the people of *Rome*: who but that he is tormented in conscience for the outrage and
"and cruelty committed upon *Saguntum* would have some respect and regard, if not of his na-
"tive country (conquered and subdued) yet of his own house, of the peace and covenants writ-
"ten by his father *Amilcar*, and his own hand? *Asdrubal* (I say) who at the commandment of our L
"Consul, removed his garrison from *Eryx*; who fuming and storming, received with sorrowful
"heart the grievous and heavy conditions of peace imposed upon the conquered Carthaginians;
"who capitulated and covenanted to abandon *Sicily*, and to pay a tribut to the people of *Rome*: I
"would have you therfore (my hardy soldiers) to fight against him, not only with the same cou-
"rage as you do with other enemies, but in a certain heat of choler & indignation, as if you should
"see your own servants and slaves on a sudden to rise up in arms against you. We might well if we
"had been so minded, when they were enclosed and shut fast within *Eryx*, have put them to the
"utmost extremity of all worldly pain, and famished them. We might have passed over with our
"victorious Armado into Africk, and within few days forced and razed *Carthage*, without any
"battel fought. We pardoned them at their humble request, and took them to mercy; we set them M
"out where they were besieged and beleaguered; and notwithstanding that they were by us sub-
"dued, we made peace, and contracted amity with them: and afterward, when they were mole-
"sted and distressed with the Africans war, we counted them within our protection. In recom-
"pence of these good favours and demerits, they come against us, under the leading of an humo-
"rous brain-sick and furious young man, to invade and assail our country. And I would it had
"pleased God, that we had all this war for our honor only and reputation, and not for our safety
"and our lives. But we are to fight now, not for the holding and possession of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*,
"as in times past; but for our freehold, and the inheritance of *Italy*: and that which more is,
"there is no army behind our backs to withstand and make head against the enemy, if we chance
"to fail of victory: neither are there any more *Alps*, which while he is getting over, we might have N
"leisure in the mean time to assemble and prepare new forces. Here in this very place (souldiers)
"must we stand to it, and make resistance, as if we were fighting under *Rome* walls. Let every man
"think that he is not only to defend and ward his own body, but to protect his wife and litle chil-
"dren: and let every one regard and take care, not for his privat affairs and domestical charge,
"but often consider this, That even now the Senat and people of *Rome* beholdeth and seeth our
"hardy deeds, and look how our force and valor now speedeth and sheweth it self, such from
"henceforth will the state and fortune be of that City and Empire of *Rome*.

These words had the Consul to the Romans. But *Annibal*, supposing that his men were first to
be encouraged by representation of some deeds, & then exhorted with words; having marshalled
his army in a round compass (as it were) to behold some spectacle in a Theatre: he set in the midst O
of them all, the prisoners mountainers, bound (as they were) hand and foot: and casting down at
their feet the armor and weapons of the Gauls he demanded of them by a truchman, or interpre-
ter, Which of them (upon condition to be eased of his bands, and to have armor, and an horse of
service, given him for a prize of victory) would enter into combat, and fight at the utterance for
his life. And when they all answered with one voice, That they would wish no better, and not one
of them but called for a sword, & required to fight: and therupon, the lots were shuffled to be cast,
& not one there was but wished himself to be the man, whom fortune would chuse for the combat.

Then

A Then every man as his lot fell, in token of cheerfulneſs and contentment of ſpirit, leapt for joy among his fellows that rejoiced in his behalf, fell a dancing after their manner, and ſo (haſtily) took arms and weapons: all the while that they were in fight there appeared ſuch affection and diſpoſition of mind, as well in them that were in the ſame ſtate and condition, as alſo in thoſe who ſtood there as ſpectators only in the multitude to look on; that no leſs happy and fortunat were they accounted, whoſe chance it was to die in the place, then thoſe who had the upper hand. Upon the ſight of ſome couples that were thus matched in combat, he diſmiſſed them: and whiles he ſaw them in this good mind, ſo well affected and reſolute, then he aſſembled them all together to an audience, and thus by report he ſpake unto them.

B "My valorous ſouldiers, if in the conſideration of your own fortune, ye will anon but bear "that mind, which even now ye ſhewed in beholding the example of the ſtate of others: the jour- "ney is ours, and we have the victory. For that was not a dumb ſhew and bare pageant, but a ve- "ry mirror and pattern of your own condition: and I wot not, whether fortune hath compaſſed "about with harder bonds and greater neceſſities, your own ſelves, or your priſoners. On both "hands, as well the right as the left, encloſed ye are, and ſhut up within two ſeas: and have not ſo "much as one ſhip to embark in for to eſcape away, and ſave your ſelves. Before you neer at hand "is the *Po*, a greater river; and more violent then *Rhodanus*; behind you are the *Alps* to hem you "in; the *Alps*, I ſay, which ye hardly paſſed when you were in heart and luſty. Here muſt ye "either get victory (ſirs) or loſe your lives, even where ye have firſt encountred your enemy: and
C "the ſame fortune, which hath laid upon you neceſſity of fight preſenteth and proffereth unto you "(if you go away with victory) ſuch rewards, as men uſe not to wiſh for greater and more hono- "rable at the hands of the immortal gods. If by our manhood and valour we ſhould but reco- "ver and win again *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, which were got from our fathers; thoſe were rewards "and prizes ſufficient: but now, over and beſides what riches or treaſure the Romans in ſo many "triumphs, have gathered, laid up, and held in poſſeſſion, all that will be ours yea and the owners "thereof themſelves withal. Go to it then a Gods name and take arms, in aſſured hope of gaining "ſo rich a booty and reward. Ye have all this while been long enough a courſing and chaſing "the wild beaſts in the wide and deſart mountains of * *Luſitania* and * *Celtiberia*, and have ſeen * *Portugal.*
"no recompence and fruit of your travels and dangers: it is now high time for you to ſerve in * *Biſcay*, or as
D "the wars for good pay and rich rewards, and to receive great wages and prizes for your labour *ſome think* *Arragon.*
"and painful ſervice; you that have meaſured ſo long a voyage, paſſed over ſo many mountains "and rivers, and marched through ſo many armed and warlike nations. Here is the place where "fortune hath ſet down the utmoſt bound, and pitched the fartheſt point & limit of your labors: "here will ſhe give you a condigne recompence and ſalary, after you have ſerved and followed "the wars the full time by order and law required. Never think that the victory will be ſo hardly "atchieved, as the war in name is counted difficult. For oftentimes an enemy of ſmall or no rec- "koning and regard, hath given a bloody battel; yea, moſt noble States, moſt renowned and "glorious Kings, have in the very turning of an hand been overthrown. For, ſetting aſide this
E "goodly, gay, and glittering name only of the Romans, what is there wherein they are with you "to be compared? To ſay nothing of that continual warfare of yours, for 20 years ſpace with ſuch "valour and happy ſucceſs: even from *Hercules* pillars, from the Ocean, from the utmoſt bounds "of the earth, through ſo many nations of *Spain*, and moſt fell and cruel Gauls, ye are come thus "far with victory. And now ſhall ye fight with an army of new and untrained ſouldiers, who no "longer ago then this very ſummer, were beaten, put to the ſword, vanquiſhed and beſieged by "the Gaulsian army (to ſay a truth) not known at all to their own Captain & as little acquainted
F "with him. And to ſpeak of mine own perſon, if not born yet at leaſtwiſe brought up in the very "tent and royal pavilion of my father (a moſt noble warrior and renowned Captain of his time) "who have ſubdued *Spain*, conquered Gauls, overcome not only the people of the *Alps* but that "which is much more, the very *Alps* themſelves. Should I make compariſon between my ſelfe, "and this half-year Captain, who hath abandoned and left his own camp and army? Unto "whom, if a man ſhould this day, preſent the Carthaginians and Romans together, without "their enſigns and colours, he could not tell, I dare well ſay, of whether army he were the lea- "der and Conſul. For I make no ſmall account, I tell you of this (my tall fellows) that there is
G "not one of you all, who hath not many a time and often ſeen and beheld my ſelf in perſon, per- "forming ſome warlike and military exploit; and unto whom I (as beholder and eye witneſs of "his valor) cannot recount the time and place of his worthy deed & ſervice. Then ye praiſed and "commended me, then ye rewarded & honored me with divers gifts & preſents. And even I (who "have been a ſouldier trained up and taught by you, before I was your General) will march in "battel againſt them, that know not one another, and are unknown likewiſe unto their Captain.
"Which way ſoever I turn and caſt mine eys, me thinks I ſee all full of couragious ſtomack, and "forcible puiſſance. The footmen, old beaten and practiſed ſouldiers: lances and men of arms, with "bard horſes, and the light horſemen likewiſe, choſen forth of moſt hardy and valiant Nations: "of one ſide moſt faithful and reſolute allies; on the other, doughty Carthaginians, ready to "fight, as well in countries defence, as alſo for moſt juſt and due revenge. We come of our "ſelves to make war, and we deſcend into *Italy* with banners diſplayed, reſolved to fight with "ſo much more courage, as they commonly who are aſſailants, have greater ſtomack and more "hope then the defendants. Over and beſides, our hearts are kindled, and our minds pricked

"on and provoked with ſenſe of injuries and indignities. Firſt and formoſt they required, that I H
"your General ſhould be delivered unto them, as a condemned priſoner at the bar: then they
"would have had all you that were at the aſſault of *Saguntum*, yeelded up into their hands, to be
"put to moſt extream torturs & execution. A people they are, ful of all exceſſive cruelty, inſolent
"and proud beyond all meaſure; they would have but all in their power, and at their diſpoſition:
"they muſt preſcribe, limit, and ſet down, with whom we ſhould war; with whom we may
"make peace; reſtraining and encloſing us within the tearms and bounds of hills and rivers;
"which, forſooth, we muſt not paſs: and they themſelves keep not the limits which they appoint.
"Paſs not (ſay they) *Iberus* in any wiſe; meddle not at all with the Saguntins; come not neer
"them, *Saguntum* ſtandeth upon the river *Iberus*, ſtep not one foot forward, we adviſe you. It I
"ſufficeth not their turn, that they have taken from us our ancient Provinces, *Sicily* and *Sardi-*
"*nia*, unleſs they may have away *Spain* too. And if I ſhould depart from thence, and quit that
"Realm alſo, they would not ſtay there, but will paſs over ſtraight into *Africk*: nay, they have
"ſent over this year already two Conſuls, the one into *Africk*, the other into *Spain*: nothing
"have they left for us, but that which we can win and hold with the ſwords point. Well may
"they be cowards, and play the idle lusks, having a place of refuge to retire unto, who in their
"own country and ground may be received, when they take their heels and run through wayes
"without danger, to ſave themſelves. As for us, it ſtands us upon to play the men, and to make
"account of no mean deſigns between victory and death, but upon certain deſpair of all ſhifts be-
"ſides, either to obtain victory: or if fortune ſhall fail and give us the foil, chuſe rather to die figh- K
"ting, than to be killed flying. If this be ſetled and deeply imprinted in your hearts, if this be your
"reſolution, I will ſay once again, The day is yours. A more poinant and ſharper goad, than
"this, to provoke men to victory never gave the immortal gods to any whatſoever.

XLV When by theſe Orations, the ſouldiers hearts of both ſides were inflamed to fight, the Romans made a bridg over *Ticinus*: and for defence of the bridg, erected a ſconce and fort thereupon. But *Annibal* while the enemies were buſie at work, ſent *Maharbal* with a Cornet of Numidians, to the number of 500. light horſemen, to overrun and waſte the territories belonging to the allies of the people of *Rome*: commanding him withal, to make as great ſpare of the Gauls as he could, and to ſollicit and perſwade their Nobles and Lords unto rebellion. After the bridg was finiſhed, the Roman army paſſed over into the Inſubrians country, encamped themſelves upon certaine L hills, five miles off from a village where *Annibal* alſo lay in camp: who ſeeing there was a battel toward, ſent ſpeedily for *Maharbal* back again, and the horſemen: and thinking belike, that he could never ſay enough to his ſouldiers, and admoniſh them ſufficiently to do well and animate them to fight, he called them all again together to an audience; where he propoſed, and promiſed unto them openly, certain aſſured rewards, the hope whereof might incite them to fight: namely, *Imprimis*, that he would endow them with fair lands in *Italy*, *Africk*, or *Spain*, where they would themſelves, to have, and to enjoy to him and to his heirs for ever, as free hold in frank tenure, without ſervice: if any one would chuſe to have money rather then land him he would content with ſilver. *Item*, of the allies, as many as hereafter were deſirous to be enfranchiſed Citizens of *Carthage*, they ſhould have their free burgeoſie: & thoſe that had a mind rather to return home again, M he would endeavor and bring about that he ſhould live ſo well, as not one of them would wiſh for to exchage his ſtate with any of his neighbors and countrimen whatſoever. Laſt of all, look what bond-ſervants attended and followed their maſters, to them he promiſed freedom; and that in lieu of them, he would deliver again unto their maſters, two for one, of the ſlaves taken captives in war. And that they might be aſſured, that he would perform all theſe promiſes, he held with his left hand a Lamb, and in the right a flint ſtone, and prayed ſolemnly, That if he failed herein, *Jupiter* and the reſt of the gods, would ſo kill him, as he ſlew that Lamb: and preſently after his prayer done, he ſmote the Lamb on the head, and daſht out the brains. Whereat they all every one, conceived and embraced aſſured hope unto themſelves, that the gods ſaid *Amen* and were on their ſide: and ſuppoſing that the only ſtay of enjoying their hopes, and obtaining their N rewards, was, becauſe they had not fought already; with one heart and voice they called for battel.

XLV The Romans for their part were nothing ſo luſty: for beſides other things, they were affrighted with new prodigies and fearful ſights. For it hapned that a Wolf entred their camp, & after he had worried and torn thoſe that came in his way, eſcaped unhurt. Alſo a ſwarm of Bees ſetled upon a tree that grew over the General's pavilion. Which ſtrange tokens being purged and cleared by an expiatory ſacrifice, *Scipio* with his Cavalry and darts lightly appointed, went toward the camp of the enemy to view their forces, and to obſerve how many and of what condition and quality they were; and there he encountred *Annibal*, who alſo was gone forth with his horſemen to diſcover the country about. At the firſt they ſaw not one another but afterwards, by reaſon of the thick duſt C that roſe upon the march of ſo many men and horſes, they knew that enemies approached neer. On both ſides the battaillons made a ſtand, and every man buckled himſelf to the skirmiſh. *Scipio* placed his Archers and horſemen of the Gauls in the forefront: the Romans and ſtrength of Allies, he beſtowed behind for ſuccours in the reregard. *Annibal* ſet in this battel, his great barbed horſes with his lances and men of arms, and ſtrengthned the wings with Numidian horſemen. The very firſt charge and ſhout was ſcarce done, when the Archers aforeſaid retired among the rereguard in the ſecond battaillon: by occaſion wherof, the horſmen alone fought a good while in

equal

A qual battel: yea, and afterwards, becauſe the footmen that were intermingled among troubled and diſordered the horſes, many either fell, or elſe alighted from their horſes, to go thither where they ſaw their fellows to be environed and overcharged. The conflict became very doubtful in many places until ſuch time as the Numidians (who were in the wings) wheeling about by little and little, ſhewed themſelves behind the backs of the Romans: this fearful ſight troubled them greatly, and the fear was encreaſed by reaſon of the Conſul his hurt; the extream danger whereof, was put by and avoided by the reſcue of his ſon (then a very ſtripling as yet, and ſcarce had any hair upon his face) this youth is he, who had the honor of happy ending this war, ſurnamed afterwards (upon the noble victory and memorable conqueſt over *Annibal* and the Carthaginians) *Africanus*. But the Archers were they that fled faſteſt away, even thoſe whom the Numidians ſet upon firſt. The reſt that were horſemen, keeping thick and cloſe together, recovered their Conſul within their files into the midſt of them: and protecting him not only with their weapons, but alſo with their bodies, brought him back ſafe unto the camp: retiring all the way neither diſorderly, nor like fearful men over haſtily. The honor of ſaving the Conſul, *Cælius* attributeth unto a bondſlave of *Liguria*. But I verily would rather beleeve it of the ſon: which alſo the greater number of authors do affirm, but the common fame goeth of the ſaid bondſlave. This was the firſt battel with *Annibal*: wherein it eaſily appeared that the Carthaginians were better in Cavalry, and therefore the open plain field ſuch as were between the *Po* and the *Alps*, were not ſo good for the Romans to fight in. The night following therefore, *Scipio* commanded his ſouldiers ſecretly C without any noiſe to truſs up bag and baggage, and to diſlodge: and removed from *Ticinus*, and made haſte to *Po*: that whiles his boats were not yet unlooſed one from the other, in which (as upon a bridge) he had brought over his army, he might without any trouble and purſuit of the enemy, conduct the ſame back again. And they came to *Placentia* before that *Annibal* knew they were departed from *Ticinus*; howbeit, he took ſome of them that made ſtay on the hither ſide of the bank, as they were too ſlow about diſjoining and looſening the foreſaid bridg of boats: upon which he could not paſs over, by reaſon that when both ends were let looſe, the planks and all, went down the water with the ſtream. *Cælius* writeth, that *Mago* with his horſes, and Spaniſh footmen, preſently, ſwam over the river; and that *Annibal* himſelf led over his army at the upper foords of *Po*: for which purpoſe, he ſet the Elephants along on arow to break and bear off the D violence and ſtream of the current. A thing ſurely that they were hardly able to do, who were skilful and by long experience knew the nature of the River very well. For it ſoundeth not like a truth, that horſemen with their armor and horſes ſafe, could overcome ſo great a rage of the river, although we ſhould grant that all the Spaniards gat over upon blown bladders or leather veſſels, and beſides, they had needed many days to fetch a compaſs for to find the foords of *Po*, over which, the army (laden with carriage) might be conveighed. But thoſe authors carry more credit and authority with me, who write that ſcarcely in two days they found a place to make a bridge (of planks joined together) over the river, and that *Mago* and the Spaniſh light horſemen were ſent that way over before.

Whiles *Annibal* on this ſide of the River, ſtaid in giving audience to the embaſſages of the Gauls, E he conducted over the regiments of footmen more heavily armed: in the mean while, *Mago* and the horſemen, after they had paſſed the river, marched one * days journey apace toward the enemies at *Placentia*. And *Annibal* (few days after) encamped himſelf ſtrongly ſix miles from *Placentia*: and the morrow after in the ſight of the enemies he put his men in array, and made them offer of battel. The night following there was a petty maſſacre committed in the Romans camp by the Gauls that came to aid: but greater was the garboil and tumult, then the harm indeed. For about 2000 footmen, and 200 horſemen, having ſlain the warders at the gates, fled away to *Annibal*: whom he ſpake courteouſly unto, and when he had drawn them on, in hope of great gifts and rewards, he diſmiſſed every one into his own City and Country, to ſollicit and perſwade their countrimen to ſide with him. *Scipio* taking that maſſacre as a foretoken and overture to the Gauls F revolt in general; and ſuppoſing, that now being once guilty and tainted with this offence, they would in a madneſs run all to take arms and riſe. Although ſtill he were ſore of his late wound, yet the night following at the relief of the fourth watch, he marched ſtilly, and removed his camp neer the river Trebia, into the higher countries, and hills, that were more troubleſom for men of arms. But he wrought not ſo cloſely and without the knowledge of the enemy, as he did at *Ticinus*. For *Annibal* having ſent out, firſt, the Numidian light horſe, and then all his Cavalry; without queſtion had diſordered and endammaged the rereward, but that the Numidians for greedineſs of prey and booty, diverted aſide, and turned into the tents, abandoned and forſaken of the Romans. Where, whiles they ſpent time in ranſacking and rifling every corner of the camp (and when all was done, could find no pillage worth the ſtay) the enemy eſcaped their hands. And G when as they had eſpied that the Romans were newly got over Trebia, and pitched out a plot for a camp, they intercepted a few of them that lingred about the river, and ſlew them. *Scipio* not able now to abide any longer the grief and pain of his wound, by reaſon of the ſhaking and ſhogging of his body as he travelled, and thinking it good to expect the coming of the other Conſul his Collegue, (whom he heard already to be ſent for out of *Sicily*) choſe out a place neer the river which ſeemed moſt ſafe for to encamp in, and it he fortified. *Annibal* alſo lay not far off in camp; who as he was proud upon the late battel of horſemen, ſo was he perplexed for want of victuals, which ſcarcity encreaſed upon him every day more and more,

* About 25 Engliſh miles, as appeareth before in this book.

as he travelled through the enemies country, finding in no place proviſion aforehand. Whereupon, he went to *Claſtidium*, a town wherein the Romans had beſtowed and laid up great ſtore of grain: where, as he prepared with violence to force the town, there appeared ſome hope of treaſon, by corrupting of *P. Brundiſinus*, the captain of the garriſon there, and that with no great ſum of money; for in conſideration only of 400. peeces of gold given unto him, *Claſtidium* was betrayed unto *Annibal*: the very ſtorehouſe and garner of corn that the Carthaginians had, all the while they were in leaguer neer *Trebia*. Upon thoſe priſoners that were taken when the garriſon and fort was betrayed, he exerciſed no cruelty, becauſe that in the beginning of his affairs, he would win himſelf a name and opinion of clemency.

Whiles the war by land continued thus at *Trebia*, there had been ſome warlike exploits atchieved both by ſea and land about *Sicily*, and the Iſlands that lie againſt *Italy* neer unto it, both by *Sempronius* the Conſul, and alſo before his coming. Twenty gallies with five ranks of Oars and a thouſand armed men, were ſent from the Carthaginians to invade and waſte the coaſts of *Italy*. Nine of them arrived at * *Liparæ*: eight fell with the Iſland of **Vulcan*, and three were driven by tempeſt into the ſtraights of *Sicily*. Againſt them being deſcryed within kenning, there were twelve ſhips ſet out from * *Meſſana*, by *Hiero* King of the Saracuſians, who hapned at that time to be in *Meſſana*, attending the Roman Conſul his coming; and without any reſiſtance made he boorded thoſe three ſhips, and brought them away into the Haven of *Meſſana*. By thoſe that were taken priſoners, it was known that beſides the twenty ſhips aforeſaid, ſent againſt *Italy* (of which Fleet they were) 35 gallies of five courſe of Oars, made ſail for *Sicily*, to ſollicit and perſwade the old allies there to revolt. *Item*, that the eſpecial point and deſign that they ſhot at, was to ſeize upon * *Lilybæum*: but they thought verily that by the ſame guſt or tempeſt wherein they were ſcattered, that other Fleet alſo was caſt upon the Iſland *Ægates*. And according to this intelligence, the King from *Meſſana* writeth to *Æmylius* the Roman Pretor or Governor of *Sicily*, adviſing him to keep a ſtrong garriſon in *Lilybæum*: whereupon the Lieutenants and Colonels about the Pretor, were ſent from him with all ſpeed to all the Cities about, to give order, that their people might be in readineſs, to keep good ward, and above all, to hold *Lilybæum* ſure. And for preparation of war, there went forth a proclamation, that the ſailers and marriners ſhould bring into the ſhips ten days proviſion of victuals and meat ready dreſſed, to the end that upon the ſignal given at an hours warning, without all delay, they ſhould aſhipboord: Alſo that all that dwelt along the coaſt, ſhould from their ſentinels, watch-towers, and beacons, eſpy when the enemies fleet approached. Now (albeit the Carthaginians of purpoſe ſtayed the courſe of their ſhips, that they might come juſt before day to *Lilybæum*) they were diſcovered, both for that the Moon ſhone all night, and alſo becauſe they came under ſail which they had hoiſed up. So ſoon therefore as the ſignal was given out of the Sentinels and watch-towers, & alarm cried in the town, the mariners were ſoon imbarked the ſouldiers alſo were beſtowed, ſome to man and guard the wals, and guard the gates, others to ſerve in the ſhips. But the Carthaginians perceiving, they were to deal with them that were provided for them, (as being advertiſed of their coming) forbare to enter the haven until day, and imployed the time in ſtriking ſails, in untackling their ſhips, and preparing them for a battel. When it was broad day light, they retired into the deep, to have ſea roome enough to fight and that the enemies ſhips might have free egreſs out of the haven. The Romans for their part refuſed not battel, comforting themſelves with the remembrance of the valiant exploits performed in that very place, and truſting alſo upon the number and valour of their ſouldiers. They were not ſo ſoon lanched into the open ſea, but the Romans were deſirous to grapple, and to come cloſe to hand fight: but contrariwiſe, the Carthaginians held off aloof, willing to proceed by cunning and policy more then by ſtrength and meer force; and to make trial rather of the nimbleneſs and agility of their ſhips, then either of the proweſs of men, or goodneſs of armor: for as their Fleet was ſufficiently furniſhed, and to the full, with a multiude of marriners, ſo was it ill provided of ſouldiers: and whereſoever they grappled together and came to hand-fight, they had not an equal number of men armed to hold play with the enemies: which being once perceived the Romans gathered heart, and redoubled their courage, by reaſon of their number; the other ſide again were diſcouraged and out of heart, for their default of ſouldiers. Inſomuch as ſeven Carthaginian gallies were ſoon inveſted round and boorded, the reſt fled. Of ſouldiers and marriners together, 1700. were in them taken; amongſt whom, there were three great Gentlemen of Carthage. The Roman fleet ſtill entire and whole, ſave one veſſel only that was bouged and pierced (yet able to be brought back) returned into the haven.

Preſently after this battel, and before that they of *Meſſana* had knowledge thereof, *T. Sempronius* the Conſul arrived at *Meſſana*: and as he entred within the found King *Hiero* met him, with a fleet well furniſhed and richly decked, and coming forth of his royal ſhip into the Admiral of the Conſuls he welcomed him and rejoyced for the ſafe return of his men and ſhips, and prayed God that his voyage into *Sicily* might prove happy and fortunate. Then ſhewed he unto him the preſent eſtate, and the affairs of the Iſland; opened the deſignments of the Carthaginians; and promiſed withal, that with as good a mind and ſound heart, as in the former war againſt the Carthaginians when he was a young man, he had aided the people of *Rome*: ſo now in his old age he would aſſiſt them: and for proof hereof, he would of his own free coſt furniſh both the Conſuls legions, and alſo the marriners with corn and rayment. Among other matters he enformed him how *Lilybæum*, and other Cities on the ſea coaſt were in great danger, by reaſon of ſome

* *Liparæ*, one of the Iſlands Æoliæ.
* *Vulcano*, another of the ſame Iſlands.
* *Miſſina*.

* *Marſalla* a City in *Sicily*, and a Cape there, called the Eye of *Sicily*.

A ſome among them that deſired a change and alteration. Whereupon the Conſul thought good to make no delay, but to ſet ſail with all ſpeed to *Lilybæum*, whom the King and his royal fleet accompanied: and as they were ſailing, tidings came of the foreſaid battel before *Lilybæum*, and how the enemies ſhips were either ſcattered and put to flight, or boorded and taken.

The Conſul having bid King *Hiero* adieu, with his fleet ſet ſail from *Lilybæum*, leaving behind him the Pretor to defend the coaſt of *Sicily*, and croſſed the ſea himſelf to the Iſland * *Melita*, which was held by the Carthaginians. At whoſe coming, *Amilcar* the ſon of *Giſco*, Captain of the garriſon there, rendered himſelf, and 2000. ſouldiers within a very few, together with the Town and the Iſland. From whence, within few days he returned to *Lilybæum*: where the priſoners B (excepting certain noble perſons of high parentage) were by the Conſul and the Pretor both ſold openly in port-ſale. When the Conſul thought *Sicily* on that coaſt ſure enough, he ſet ſail from thence towards the Iſlands of *Vulcan*, for that the bruit went that a fleet of Carthaginians there lay at road: but there were no enemies to be found about thoſe Iſlands: for it chanced they were already paſſed over to waſte along the river and coaſt of *Italy*; and having forraged the territory of * *Vibo*, they put the City alſo in great fear. As the Conſul returned back again to *Sicily*, tidings came that the enemy had made rodes into the country of *Vibona*: and he received letters alſo from the Senat, concerning the coming of *Annibal* into *Italy*, and therefore that he ſhould with all ſpeed poſſible aid and ſuccour his Collegue. The Conſul being at once troubled with many cares, preſently embarked his army, and by the Adriatick ſea, ſent them away to * *Ariminum*. To *Sext.* C *Pomponius* his Lieutenant, he gave the charge of 25 Gallies for the defence of the territory of *Vibo*, and the ſea-coaſt of *Italy*. With *M. Æmylius* the Pretor he left a fleet augmented to the number of fifty ſail: which done, and all things ſet in order in *Sicily*, himſelf with ten ſhips coaſted along *Italy*, and arrived at * *Ariminum*, from whence he put himſelf in his journey, and marched with one army to the river *Trebia*, where he joined with his fellow Conſul. Now were both Conſuls, and the whole puiſſance and force of the Romans oppoſed againſt *Annibal*, ſo as it appeared plainly, that either with that power the Empire of *Rome* might be defended or elſe all their hope was gone. Howbeit, one of the Conſuls being weakned and diſcouraged with the defeat of his horſemen in one battel, and diſmayed beſides with the hurt he had received in his body, deſired to have the fight deferred: but the other coming freſh and luſty, and therby more hardy, would D abide no delay.

* *Melita*, Malta.

* *Bivona*, or *Vibona*.

* *Rimino*.

* *Seſtertio*.

It fell out ſo at that time, that the Gauls inhabited all the Country between the two rivers *Trebia* and *Po*: who whiles theſe two moſt puiſſant nations were at ſtrife and warred held off as neuters, and favoured neither ſide, making full account of the good will and grace of that part which ſhould have the better. The Romans becauſe they would now make no ſtir, and have no more irons in the fire, took the matter well enough: but *Annibal* was very much thereat offended, giving out very often, that he was ſent for by the Gauls for their deliverance and liberty. Upon this indignation and diſpleaſure, and for that alſo he would feed his men with booties, he commanded 2000 footmen, and a thouſand horſemen, moſt of them Numidians, and ſome Gauls among, to overrun and ſpoil all the country forward, even to the banks of *Po*. The Gauls ſtanding in need E of help, and having until that time kept themſelves in doubtful tearms, were forced to turn from thoſe that offered them wrong, and to encline and cleave unto the Romans that ſhould revenge their injuries and protect them. Whereupon they ſent Embaſſadors to the Conſuls, requeſting the Romans help for their land, which by reaſon of the exceeding fidelity, and too much loialty of the inhabitants toward them, was now endangered. *Cornelius* liked neither the cauſe, nor yet the time to deal in ſuch affairs: he had the nation beſides in ſuſpition and jealouſie as well for many treacherous parts, as alſo (in caſe he would or could forget all other lewd pranks of theirs) for the ſame diſloyalty and falſhood of the Boians. *Sempronius* contrariwiſe thought it the ſureſt bond to keep their allies in faith and allegeance, to defend thoſe that came firſt to band and ſide with him. But notwithſtanding his Collegue caſt doubts and held off, yet he ſent his own F Cavalry, and a thouſand well neer of footmen darters amongſt them, to guard the country of Gaul beyond *Trebia*: who coming ſuddenly upon the enemies, and charging them at unawares, as they came ſcattered aſunder, and out of order, yea, and moſt of them laden with ſpoil, mightily affrighted them, and made a foul ſlaughter and purſued them in flight, as far as to their ſtanding camp, and *corps de guard*. From whence (nevertheleſs) they were beaten back by the multitude that iſſued forth: but by new ſuccors from their own companies, they renued the fight again. The fight afterward was doubtful and variable: and although they made a ſaving bargain on both parts, yet the common voice gave the honor of victory (ſuch as it was) to the Romans rather then the enemies. But no man made a greater matter of it, and reckoned it more to the full, then the Conſul himſelf. "He joyed, he made his boaſt, that he had got the better, with the help of the ſame for- G "ces, which under the conduct of the other Conſul, came by the worſe. And now (ſaith he) the "ſouldiers are comforted and refreſhed wel enough, and none there is but my brother Conſul that "would have the battel deferred: who no doubt is more hen-hearted than bodily hurt: and for "the remembrance and ſmart of a little green wound, quaketh to hear of the field & of all things "cannot away with edg-tools. But we muſt not thus ſit ſtill here and wax aged for the pleaſure of one craſie and ſickly perſon. For what reaſon is it, that we ſhould drive off longer, and ſpend more time in vain? What other Conſul expect we to make up the third? or what army beſides ſhould we look for? The Carthaginians lie encamped in *Italy*, and well-neer within the view and ſight

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"of the City of *Rome*; and it is neither *Sicily* nor *Sardinia* taken from them by conqueſt, nor H
"*Spain* on this ſide *Iberus*, which they ſhoot at, to win again: but that the Romans ſhould be
"thruſt out of their native ſoil and country wherin they were born, that is their drift and deſign-
"ment. Oh how deeply (quoth he) would our Fathers ſigh, how heartily would they groan,
"they who were wont to mannage war about the wals of *Carthage*, if they ſhould ſee us their
off-ſpring and children, two Conſuls with Conſular and roial armies in the midſt of *Italy*, fright-
ed thus and panting for fear within our camp? And that *Annibal* hath ſubdued and brought under
his ſubjection all the country between the *Alps* and *Appenninum*? Theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches
uttered he to his Collegue, as he ſat by his beds ſide, where he lay ſick: thus ſpake he, as in an o-
pen audience, in the Coſſ. pavilion and all that quarter, to the ſouldiers. The time alſo of the E- I
lection of magiſtrates at *Rome*, being ſo neer at hand, ſet him forward: for fear, leſt the war ſhould
be deferred unto the new Coſſ. and the opportunity withal, of winning all the honor to himſelf
whiles his Collegue continued ſick, pricked him on. Whereupon, for all the contradiction of
*Cornelius*, which he nothing weighed and regarded, commandment he gave to his ſouldiers to
be ready, to give battel anon unto the enemy. *Annibal* as one that knew and ſaw well enough what
was beſt and ſafeſt for his enemy, could hardly imagin or conceive any hope to himſelf, that the
Conſuls would enterprize any thing raſhly, or without adviſement; but when he underſtood by
hear-ſay, that which afterwards by good proof and experience he found true, namely, that the
one of them by nature was hot haſty, proud, and furious: and ſuppoſing, that he was the prou-
der and more furious for the late good hand he had of his forragers; made no doubt and diſtruſt K
of the happy ſucceſs and iſſue of a battel, whenſoever it ſhould come. Marry, careful he was, that
no good time and opportunity preſented unto him ſhould be overſlipt: but to try the hazzard
and fortune of the field, whiles the enemies ſouldiers were raw and untrained; and the better and
wiſer man of the two Generals, was unmeet for ſervice, by reaſon of his wound as yet uncured: and
the courages of the Gauls luſty and forward: for well he wiſt, that a mighty number of them
would the more unwillingly follow, the further they were drawn from their own home. *An-
nibal*, I ſay, hoping that by theſe and ſuch like occaſions, a battel would be ſoon offered; deſi-
rous alſo himſelf to bid battel, if the enemy ſtaid long: and being advertiſed beſides by the
Gauls, his eſpials (whom he employed to hearken out and learn what he deſired to know, and
thought them more ſure, becauſe they ſerved in both camps) that the Romans were ready for the L
field; then began he (crafty Carthaginian as he was) to ſeek out a convenient place for an am-
buſh. Now there was in the mid way between, a river running within the borders, having very
high banks of either ſide, and therefore lying cloſe hidden, and all about overſpred with moory
weeds, with briers, brambles, and bruſh-wood, as for the moſt part, ſuch forlet places are over-
grown withal. Which when *Annibal* in perſon had ridden about, and well viewed, perceiving
that it would afford lurking holes handſom enough even for horſemen there to be hidden, This
ſhall be the place (quoth he to his brother *Mago*) which you ſhall keep. Chuſe therefore out of
all the horſe and foot a hundred luſty tall fellows of each; and ſee you repair with them to me at
the firſt watch, for now is it time to take repaſt, and to refreſh your bodies. And with that he ſent
out to the camp the Criers, to call the ſouldiers to ſupper. And long it was not, but *Mago* was M
come with his choſen men. I ſee (quoth *Annibal*) ye are goodly men of perſon, and ſufficient.
And that ye may be as able in number, as hardy in courage, elect ye alſo out of the Cornets of
of horſe and ſquadrons of foot, nine a piece ſuch as your ſelves to ſort withal. *Mago* ſhall ſhew
you the ground where ye muſt lie in ambuſh: you ſhal find the enemy as blind as beetles, altogether
unacquainted with theſe feats and cunning devices.

Thus *Annibal* having committed unto *Mago* a thouſand horſemen and as many footmen him-
ſelf betimes in the morning, willed the Numidian Cavalry, when they were paſſed over the river
*Trebia*, to ride braving before the gates of the enemies, and by darting and ſhooting into their
guards, to provoke and draw them forth to fight: with this direction moreover, when the skir-
miſh was begun, to fall off, and ſeem to retire by little and little, and ſo to train them on this ſide N
the river, This charge had the Numidians. But the other Captains, as well of foot as horſe, were
commanded to let their Companies all to their breakfaſt: which done, to arm themſelves, and
with their horſes ready ſadled, to attend the ſignal of battel. *Sempronius* upon the alarm and
hurliburly of the Numidians, as being forward and deſirous of fight, firſt brought forth all his
horſemen, and bare himſelf bold and confident in that ſervice; after that ſix thouſand footmen;
and at laſt, all his whole forces: and led them to a place which before he had deſigned and appoin-
ted in his mind. It fell out to be in Winter, about the midſt of December, and a ſnowy day it was
in thoſe parts lying between the *Alps* and *Apenninum*. Now by reaſon of the rivers and moors ſo
neer both horſe and men were exceeding cold: alſo for that they were haſtily on a ſudden, called
forth faſting, and unprovided of all means againſt the cold, they had never a whit of heat left in O
them: and the neerer they came to the air and vapour of the river the ſharper cold pinched and
pierced them through. But when as once they followed upon the Numidians that gave back and
were entred into the water (which by reaſon of the rain that fell by night was riſen breſt-high)
they were not ſo ſoon gotten out again of the river, but all their bodies begun to chill and be ſtiff
again for cold that ſcarcely they could hold their weapons: and withal, as the day went further
on, for very hunger they fainted. But *Annibal* his ſouldiers, who in the mean time had made fires
before their tents, and had oyl ſent them to every company, for to ſupple and ſoften their joints

and

A and lims, and taken their repaſt, and eated at leaſure; when they heard ſay, that the enemies were paſſed the river, with hearts couragious and bodies freſh and luſty, take them to their weapons, and come forth to fight in ordinance of battel. The Baleares, and light armed men, to the number almoſt of 8000. he ranged before the ſtandards in the front: after them he placed the footmen, better appointed and armed to the proof, even the very ſtrength and manhood of all his forces: about the wings he ſet 10000 horſemen, and behind thoſe wings, he divided and appointed his Elephants both on the one ſide and the other.

The Conſul *Sempronius* ſeeing his horſemen following the chaſe on the ſpur, and out of order; and how at unawares they were charged again by the Numidians, who upon a ſudden turned and
B made head upon them, ſounded the retreat: and when they were rallied about him, he compaſſed his footmen with them. The Romans were in number 18000. of Allies and Latines 20000. beſides the aids of the * *Cenomanes*: which Nation of the Gauls only, continued faithful and true to the Romans. With theſe forces came they into the field, and began the battel. The firſt charge of the skirmiſh was given by the Iſlanders of *Baleares*, upon whom, when the legions made head with greater violence, their light armed men were quickly brought into the wings: which was a cauſe that the Roman horſemen preſently were ſurcharged and diſtreſſed. For whereas of themſelves they were but 4000. horſe, and hardly able to withſtand the ſhock of ten thouſand horſemen of the other, the Romans alſo were wearied, but moſt of the Carthaginians freſh and untainted: over and beſides, they were overwhelmed with a cloud (as it were) of darts, flung and
C ſhot by the *Beleare* Iſlanders: Moreover the Elephants which appeared aloft from the hindmoſt ends of the wings frighted the horſes eſpecially, and not only with the ſtrange ſight, but alſo with as uncouth a ſcent and ſavor, made them flie every way. The battel of the Infantry was equal in courage of heart, rather then in ſtrength of body: which the Carthaginians, (as having a little afore taken repaſt) brought freſh with them into the field: but contrariwiſe the Romans were faſting and weary, and for cold even ſtark and benummed. Howbeit their ſtomacks would have ſerved to have held out and withſtood to the end, if they might have fought with footmen onely. But both the *Baleares*, having diſordered the horſemen, flanked them with their ſhot, and alſo the Elephants by this time were entred into the middle battaillon of footmen: and with al, *Mago* and the Numidian light horſe (ſo ſoon as this battaillon was unawares gone paſt their am-
D buſhment and lurking holes) ſtart up and aroſe from behind, and put them in exceeding trouble and fright. Yet for all theſe inconveniencies and diſadvantages (ſo many on every ſide) the main battel a good while ſtood unmovable and ſtirred not, but kept the array, and eſpecially (beyond the expectation of all men) againſt the Elephants. For certain footmen placed for the purpoſe by flinging of darts forced them to turn head: and when they were once turned fromwards, they followed hard upon them, pricking and galling them under the tails, in which place by reaſon of the tender skin they are ſoon wounded. Whom when *Annibal* ſaw thus feared and ready to turn upon their own part, from the main battel to the flanks and outſides, he commanded them to be driven unto the left wing upon the Gauls that came to aid, and preſently enforced them to run away. The Romans ſeeing their auxiliary Gauls put to flight, were driven into a new fear. Wher-
E upon fighting now as it were in a ring and round on both ſides, there were among them to the number alſo of 10000, who ſeeing no way elſe to eſcape, brake through the middle battaillon of the Africans, which was ſtrengthned with the aid of the Gauls, and that with a great ſlaughter of their enemies: and ſeeing they neither could return into their camp (the river being between) nor for the rain well diſcern how to ſuccour their fellows, they took the way ſtraight to *Placentia*. After this, the reſt brake forth in all parts. They that took the river either periſhed in the ſtreams and whirl-pools: or ſuch as made ſtay to enter, were by the enemy overtaken and ſlain. But as many as here and there fled ſcattering through the fields, following the footing and tracks of the battaillon that retired back, came to *Placentia*. Some for fear of the enemy, adventured boldly to take the river, and being once over, recovered the camp. The rain and ſnow together, and
F the intolerable cold killed many, as well men as beaſts: and in manner all the Elephants. The Carthaginians followed the enemies in chaſe as far as *Trebia*, and there gave over: and returned into the camp ſo clumſie and frozen, as ſcarcely they felt the joy of their victory. By reaſon wherof, the night following, when as the guard of the Roman camp, and the remnant of that great company of ſouldiers paſſed *Trebia* with float-boats and flat barges, the Carthaginians either perceived them not indeed for the noiſe the tempeſtuous rain made, or for wearineſs and ſore wounds were not able to ſtir, and therefore made ſemblance, as though they knew not of it. And ſo whiles the Carthaginians were at reſt, the army was by *Scipio* the Conſul brought (in a ſtill march) to *Placentia*: and from thence having croſſed the *Po*, came to *Cremona*, becauſe one Colony alone ſhould not be charged with the wintering of two armies at one time.

G Upon this defeat and overthrow, there arrived ſuch fearful tidings at *Rome*, that they beleeved verily and looked for no other but that the enemy would come with banner diſplayed ſtraight to the very City: and that there was no hope nor help left behind to defend their gates and walls from aſſault and violence. For ſeeing that the one Conſul was vanquiſhed at *Ticinus* and the other alſo, who was called unto him out of *Sicily*; ſince both Conſuls, and two conſular armies were thus defeated, what other Captains, what Legions remained now to be ſent for, to aid? As they were in this agony and fear, *Sempronius* the Conſul came home: who with very great danger had paſſed through the enemies Cavalry, which was ſpread here and there all about, to fetch in booties:

and

* Days de Main.

and more by venturous hardineſs then good advice and hope, either to miſs them uneſpied, or to reſiſt if he had hapned upon them, he got away. And after he had held the aſſembly for election of the Conſuls (the only thing above all other for that preſent moſt deſired) he returned into his ſtanding camp to winter in. Now there were created Conſuls, *Cn. Servilius*, and *Cn. Flaminius* the ſecond time.

Howbeit the Romans were not in quiet within their wintering camp: for the Numidian horſemen ranged about, and made excurſions into every quarter, and (thoſe who troubled and empeached them, more then they) the Celtiberians and Portugals. Whereby all convoy of victuals from every part was ſtopped, but only that which came by the *Po*, in Keels and ſuch like veſſels. Neer to *Placentia* there was a merchants town, both fortified ſtrongly, and alſo well furniſhed with a good garriſon: upon hope to force that caſtle or town, *Annibal* went with his horſe and foot, lightly armed; and ſuppoſing that to carry the matter covertly, would avail much to the effecting of his purpoſed enterpriſe, he came upon them in the night; howbeit he was not ſo cloſe and ſecret, but he was deſcried by the watch: who ſuddenly ſet up ſuch an alarm, that it was heard as far as *Placentia*. Whereby, the Conſul ſomewhat before day was there with his Cavalry, having commanded the Infantry to march on after, ranged in a ſquare battailion. In the mean while the horſemen skirmiſhed, wherein *Annibal* was hurt, and departed out of the skirmiſh, by which means the enemies were frighted, and the Caſtle and hold manfully defended. After few days that he had taken his eaſe, before he was well cured of his wound, he went forward to aſſault *Victumvic*. That was a town alſo of merchandize (or mart town) and had been fortified by the Romans in the Gauls war. Whereupon, the people bordering there about on every ſide, uſed thither to make repair, and much frequented the ſame: and even then for fear of rodes and excurſions many of the Peaſants and rural people retired themſelves thither for refuge. This multitude (ſuch as they were) upon the report of the valiant holding and defence of the fort by *Placentia* were encouraged, and took arms, and went forth to encounter *Annibal*. And in the midway they chanced to affront him and skirmiſh, in no battel array, but as they marched diſorderly: whereas they were on the one ſide, none but a rude and confuſed ſort; and on the other ſide, both a Captain that might truſt his ſouldiers, and ſouldiers alſo that might reckon upon their Captain, there were to the number of 35000, diſcomfited and put to flight, even by a few of their enemies. The morrow after, they yeelded themſelves and received a garriſon within the walls: and ſo ſoon as upon commandment to give up their armor they had obeyed and ſo done; preſently a ſignal was given unto the conquerors to ſack and ſpoil the town, as if it had been forced by aſſault: where there was not forgotten and omitted any calamity whatſoever, that might afford in ſuch a caſe memorable matter & ſufficient argument for writers to record. So pitiful examples were practiſed upon the poor ſilly wretches, of all looſneſs and luſt, cruelty, and inhuman pride and outrage. And theſe were the expeditions and enterpriſes of *Annibal* atchieved for this winter time.

After this the ſouldiers took repoſe, but no longer then the intollerable cold laſted: For immediatly upon the very firſt and doubtful tokens of ſpring; he departed from his wintring hold, and led his army into Tuſcany, purpoſing to adjoin unto him (either by force or love) that nation alſo, as well as the Gauls and Ligurians. But as he paſſed over *Apenninum*, there aroſe ſo terrible a ſtorm and tempeſt, and ſurpriſed him, that it ſurmounted well-neer the foul trouble and encumbrance endured in the *Alps*. For the wind and rain together did beat and drive upon their very faces. At the firſt, for that either they were to lay away their armor, or elſe in ſtriving and labouring to march on againſt the weather, and by the whirl-puffs of wind turned round about, and ready to be born down, they ſtood ſtill: but when as now the violence and fury of the ſtorm, ſtopped their breaths, ſuffered them not to take their wind at will, they were fain to turn their backs, and ſit them down on the ground for a time. Then ſee, the skie thundered amain, and made an horrible noiſe, and amid thoſe terrible cracks redoubled, it lightned thick. Whereupon, they loſt their hearing and ſeeing; and for fear, all of them became aſtonied. At length it poured down and thereby the wind and ſtorm encreaſed more forceably upon them. Whereupon they were driven to this neceſſity, even to pitch their camp, even in that very place where they were ſo ſuddenly caught and overtaken by tempeſt. But that was to them the beginning of a new toil and travel: for neither could they ſpread and diſplay ought, nor pitch any thing ſurely: neither would that which was pight down continue and abide the wind, which rent and tare, and broke every thing, and hurried it clean away. And within a while, the water that fell, and by reaſon of the wind was raiſed aloft, being congealed once upon the cold tops of the hills, turned into a kind of hail and ſnow together, and came upon them with ſuch a force, that leaving all things elſe, the men were forced to lie along, groveling upon their faces, rather ſtifled and ſmothered, then covered with their hillings. Hereupon enſued a froſt, ſo violent and outragious, that of that miſerable and pitiful heap of men and beaſts, that lay there along, there was not one for a good while could raiſe and lift up himſelf when he would, by reaſon, that for ſtark cold their ſinews were benummed, that they could hardly bend and bow their joints. Afterwards, at length, when with beſtirring and chafing their limbs, they gat ſome heat, and came again to themſelves, and that here and there in ſome places they began to make fires; every one that had no means ſo to do, ran and fled to the ſuccor and help of others. Thus for two days they remained there pinned up as if they had been beſieged. Many a man and beaſt, and ſeven Elephants alſo of them that remained after the battel at *Trebia*, were ſtarved and periſhed.

By

A By occaſion hereof, *Annibal* departed from *Apenninus*, back again toward *Placentia*: and when he had marched ten miles on his way, he ſat him down and encamped. The morrow after he led againſt the enemy 12000 foot, and 5000. horſe. *Sempronius* the Conſul alſo, being now returned from *Rome*, refuſed not battel: and the ſame day, the enemies were diſtant but three miles aſunder. The morrow after they fought on each ſide moſt fiercely and couragiouſly, and with variable event and fortune. At the firſt-on ſet the Romans had the better hand, ſo far forth, as that not only in fight they overcame their enemies, but alſo after they had diſcomfited them, and put them back, they chaſed them into their camp, and anon aſſailed the ſame. *Annibal* having ordained ſome few to defend the rampart and the gates, retired the reſt thick and cloſe together into the midſt of
B the camp, and commanded them to give ear and be intentive to the ſignal, when he would have them iſſue forth. Now was it the * ninth hour of the day, when the Roman Conſul having toiled and wearied his ſouldiers to no purpoſe, and ſeeing no hope to win the camp, ſounded the retreat. Which ſo ſoon as *Annibal* heard and ſaw the fight withal to ſlack and wax cold, and the enemy retired back from the camp, preſently ſallied forth himſelf with the whole ſtrength of his Infantry, for he had ſent out his horſemen both on the right hand and the left after the enemies. There had not been lightly a more fierce and cruel battel ſtrucken, and more memorable, for the final miſchief of both parts, if the day would have given them time to have fought longer. But the night parted the fray, which was hotly begun with exceeding ſtomack and courage. Whereupon, the confronting and charging one of another, was more eager then the ſlaughter bloody between them: and
C as the fight in manner was equal, ſo they parted with loſs alike. For of each ſide there died above ſix hundred footmen, and half as many horſemen. But the loſs on the Romans ſide was greater than in proportion of the number, becauſe certain of the degree and calling of Knights, and five Colonels, and three Captains of the Allies were ſlain.

* Three of the clock after noon.

After this journey, *Annibal* went into the country of the Ligurians, and *Sempronius* to *Luca*. To welcome *Annibal* at his firſt coming into *Liguria* there were delivered unto him two Roman Queſtors or Treaſurers, *Cn. Fulvius*, and *L. Lucretius* who were intercepted by the Ligurians, & taken in a train of ambuſh, with two Colonels, and five others beſides, whoſe fathers by calling were as good as Senators fellows: and this was done, becauſe he ſhould aſſure himſelf the better, that the peace and amity contracted with them, would be faithfully kept and obſerved.

D Whiles theſe things thus paſſed in *Italy*, *Cn. Scipio* who was ſent into *Spain* with a fleet and army for ſea and land; having ſet ſail from the mouth of *Rhodanus*, and compaſſed the mountains *Pyrenei*, arrived at a place called *Emporia*: where he diſbarked and landed his forces and reduced unto the Roman Empire all the country, beginning at the Laletans and ſo from thence all the ſea coaſt as far as to the river *Iberus*, partly by renewing their ancient leagues, and partly by deviſing means to contract new. Whereupon, there aroſe a great name of him for his clemency; whereby he prevailed not only with the States by the ſea ſide but alſo amongſt the inlanders and mountainers, even to the nations that were more fierce & ſavage: with whom he not only made peace, but alſo wrought them ſo, that they took arms in his quarrel; and there were levied from among them, certain ſtrong cohorts and bands for to aid and ſuccour him. *Hanno*, whom *Annibal* had
E left for defence of that province, was not ignorant hereof: and therefore, before all was gone, and the country alienated, he thought good to meet with this miſchief: and having pitched his camp in ſight of the enemies, ſet his men in ordinance of battel. The Roman Captain likewiſe reſolved not to defer the fight; knowing that ſo, he might be forced to encounter both with *Hanno* and *Aſdrubal*, and rather yet he deſired to deal with them one after the other ſingle, than at once with both. But this battel was not ſo much dangerous. Six thouſand enemies were left behind ſlain, and two thouſand taken priſoners, together with thoſe that were left for the guard of the camp. For both the camp was forced and won, and alſo the General himſelf with certain guards was taken priſoner. Moreover *Stiſſum*, a town neer unto the camp, was won by aſſault: howbeit, the ſpoil and pillage of the town were matters of ſmall worth and value; namely, the houſhold
F ſtuff, and ſuch pelf and trumpery of barbarous people, and certain poor baſe ſlaves. It was the camp that enriched the ſouldiers: by reaſon that not only the army which was now vanquiſhed, but that alſo which with *Annibal* ſerved in *Italy*, and left behind them about *Pyreneus*, all good things to ſpeak of, that they ſet ſtore by, becauſe they would go lightly, and not be encumbred with carriages. Before any certain report of this overthrow came to *Aſdrubal*, he had paſſed over *Iberus* with 8000. footmen and 1000 horſemen, as purpoſing to make head againſt the Romans at their firſt coming: but when he heard how the field was loſt, and the camp withal, he turned his journey to the ſea. And not far from * *Tarracon*, he found the ſouldiers of the Armado, and the marriners beſides, wandring and ſtragling over the fields (for uſual it is, that happy ſucceſs ſhould breed careleſs negligence) whereupon he ſent out his horſemen every way, and with
G great ſlaughter and flight he chaſed them to their ſhips: and not adventuring to make any longer ſtay thereabout, for fear to be ſurpriſed of *Scipio*, he retired back to the other ſide of *Iberus*. *Scipio* alſo upon the firſt report of theſe new enemies, having rallied his forces together in great haſte, after he had ſlightly chaſtiſed a few Captains, and left behind him a ſmall garriſon at *Tarracon*, returned with his fleet to *Emporia*. He had no ſooner departed from thence, but *Aſdrubal* was there in his place; and having induced and incited the State of the Ilergetes (who had given hoſtages to *Scipio*) for to revolt and rebel, even with their own youth waſted the territories of all thoſe that continued faithful confederates to the Romans. Afterwards, when *Scipio* was

* *Tarragona.*

rouſed

rouſed once out of the place where he wintered, the enemy retired again, and quit all the country on that ſide *Iberus*. Then *Scipio* having in hoſtile manner invaded the countries, abandoned and left by him that was the author and cauſe of their rebellion, and by that means the nation likewiſe of the Ilergetes, after he had driven them all within *Athanagia*, which is their capital town, he laid ſiege unto it round about, and within few days brought the whole ſeignory of the Ilergetes under his obedience: and beſides a greater number of hoſtages then before (which they were conſtrained to deliver) he condemned them in a good round ſum of money. From thence he went forward againſt the Auſetanes, neer to *Iberus*, being aſſociats alſo to the Carthaginians: and having beleaguered their City, he fore-layed and intercepted the Lacetans as they came by night to ſuccour their neighbors, not far from the town, even as they were at the point to enter in. There were ſlain of them 12000, and the reſt being well-neer all diſarmed, fled every way ſcattering here and there over the fields home to their houſes. All the help and defence that they had who were within, was only the foul and cold winter weather, evermore naught and hurtful to aſſailants that lie forth. The ſiege laſted thirty days, during which time, ſeldom fell the ſnow leſs then four foot deep, and ſo covered the pentiſes and mantilets of the Romans, that when the enemies flung fire ſundry times thereupon that alone ſaved the ſame & nothing elſe. In the end, upon the departure of their Prince *Amurſitus*, who was fled to *Aſdrubal*, they yeelded, upon condition to pay * twenty talents of ſilver. & ſo *Scipio* returned to *Tarracon*, there to winter.

* 3750 pound ſterling, according to the leſs Attick Talent.

But that year, at *Rome* and about the City, were many ſtrange and prodigious ſigns ſeen, or at leaſtwiſe (a thing uſual when mens minds are once touched with religion, and given to make ſcruple) many were reported, and ſoon beleeved. Among which, this was one; that a babe of condition free born, and but half yeer old, cried with a loud voice in the herb market *Io Triumphe*. Alſo in the beaſts market, an Ox of himſelf undriven, climbed up to the third loft or ſtory of an houſe, and from thence being frighted with the ſtir and noiſe of the dwellers by, caſt himſelf down. Moreover, there was ſeen in the welkin or element, the reſemblance of a navy of ſhips; and the Temple of Lady * *Spes*, ſtanding in the herb market, was ſmitten with lightning. Likewiſe at *Lanuvium* the ſpear of *Juno* ſhook and brandiſhed of it ſelf: and a Raven flew into *Juno's* Church, and lighted upon the very Shrine or Altar of *Juno*. In the territory of * *Amiternum*, in many places were ſeen men, as it were, in white garments, but only afar off; for as folk went neerer and neerer, they appeared not, and could not be met withal. In *Picenum* it rained ſtones: and at *Cere* the lots were found diminiſhed; and in *Gaul*, a Wolfe drew forth a watchman his ſword out of his ſcabbard, and carried it away. For other prodigious tokens, order was given to the Decemvirs to peruſe the books of *Sibylla*. But for the raining of ſtones in *Picenum*, there was ordain a Novendial feaſt for nine days: and for the expiation of the other prodigies, the whole City in manner was occupied in their devotions. And now above all other things the City was ſolemnly purged, and greater beaſts killed in ſacrifice in the honor of thoſe gods, for whom they were ordained, and a preſent of gold weighing * 40. pound, was carried unto *Juno* at *Lanuvium*. And the dames and matrons of *Rome* erected a molten image of braſs for *Juno* in *Aventinum*: and at *Cere* where the lots were diminiſhed, was appointed a Lectiſtern, and a proceſſion or ſupplication to *Fortune* in *Algidum*. At *Rome* alſo there was a Lectiſtern ſolemnized to *Juventa* [the goddeſs of youth] and a ſolemn proceſſion at the church of *Hercules*. Moreover, expreſs commandment was given to all the people, to make proceſſion and ſupplication at every Altar and Shrine of their gods. And to god *Genius*, they ſacrificed five greater beaſts. And *C. Attilius Serranus* the Pretor, was commanded to pronounce a ſolemn vow, in caſe the Common-weal continued in the ſame good eſtate, ten years, and decayed not. Theſe portentous prodigies thus expiated, and vows made according to *Sibyls* books, eaſed mens hearts mightily of their religious fear. Then one of the elect Conſuls, to wit, *Flaminius*, to whom were allotted thoſe Legions which wintered at *Placentia*, ſent an Edict with Letters to the Conſul, that the Army ſhould be in camp at *Ariminum*, upon the * Ides of *March*. His purpoſe was, to enter into his Conſulſhip in the Province, remembring the old contentions and debates which he had with the Nobles, firſt when he was a Tribun of the Commons, and afterwards when he was Conſul, as well about the Conſulſhip (of which, they would have deprived him) as alſo, about the triumph, which they denied him. Hated he was beſides of the Senat, for the new Act or Law, which *Q. Claudius* (a Tribun of the Commons) had made, ſo prejudicial to the Senat; and only *C. Flaminius*) of all the Nobles, ſupported it and ſet it forward: namely, That no Senator, or father of a Senator, ſhould have a Ship at Sea, bearing above * 300. Amphores: for that was thought ſufficient to tranſport their commodities and fruits to *Rome*, riſing out of their Lands and livings. And as for all other gain by traffick, it was not beſeeming a Nobleman and Senator. This matter having been debated with great contention cauſed the propoſer of this law (*Flaminius*) to incur much evil will and diſpleaſure with the Nobility, but it procured him the affection and love of the Commons, and in proceſs of time a ſecond Conſulſhip. Suppoſing therefore, that with iterating the Auſpices, and putting him to take the preſages anew by the flight of birds, and by finding other delays, upon occaſion of the Latine holy days, and one buſineſs or other belonging to the Conſuls charge, they would detain and keep him back ſtill in the City; he ſet a countenance, as though he would take a journey like a private perſon, and ſo departed ſecretly into the Province. Which thing, when it was once blazed abroad, made the Nobles who were afore maliciouſly bent againſt him, to be angry anew; and they gave out, that it was not the Senat only, that *C. Flaminius* warred

* The goddeſs *Hope*.

* *Peſcara*.

* 1440. l. ſter.

* 15. day of *March*.

* Of eight Tun and better.

inſt

A against, but the immortal Gods alſo. For he, who before time had been made Coſ. without regard of taking Auſpices, and having the approbation of the birds, when he was reclaimed and called both by God and man out of the field, obeied not: and now, having a heavy conſcience, ſurcharged with offences paſt, hath fled from the Capitol and the ſolemn nuncupation and making of vows, for that he would not upon the ordinary day of entring his Magiſtracy, viſit the Temple of *Jup. Opt. Max.* nor (becauſe he was odious to the Senat, and they likewiſe hated of him alone) ſee them and ask their adviſe and counſel; nor proclaim the Latin Holy-dayes, and celebrate to *Jup. Latialis* the ſolemn yearly ſacrifice upon the *Alban* Hill: nor yet, after he had entred into the Capitol by the lucky flight and token of birds, pronounce his vows there, and depart from
B thence in his rich coat-armor toward the Province. They ſaid moreover, that he was ſlipt and ſtoln ſecretly away like a drudge that followeth the camp, without the enſigns and ornaments of authority without Sergeants and Officers, as if he had been baniſhed, and ſo left his country, minding belike to enter his government more for the honor and dignity of *Ariminum* than of *Rome*. and to put upon him his purple robe of eſtate, embroidred with ſcarlet rather in an hoſtelry and common Inne, than in his own houſe. They all every one opined and judged that he ſhould be recalled and brought back again peremptorily, yea and be forced perſonally at home to perform all duties belonging to God and man before that he went forth to the Province and to the army. About this embaſſage (for they thought meet to ſend Embaſſadors) went *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Antiſtius*: but they prevailed no more than in his former Conſulſhip the letters miſſive had done,
C which were ſent from the Senat. A few dayes after he entred his office, and as he was ſacrificing, the Calf or young Bullock being already ſtickt got away from the hands of the ſacrificers, and ſpotted many of the ſtanders by with bloud. But they that ſtood far off, not knowing what the matter was of that ſtir, fled away, and ran to and fro: which of moſt men was judged a foretoken and preſage of ſome great affright and trouble. After this, when he had received the two legions of *Sempronius* the Conſul of the year before, and other two, of *C. Attilius* the Pretor, he began to conduct his army into Tuſcany by the way of *Apenninum*.

D

# The two and twentieth Book

## *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

### The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the two and twentieth Book.

E ANnibal *came into* Hetruria, *after he had loſt one of his eyes by occaſion of continual watching in the mariſhes, through which he marched four dayes and three nights without taking his repoſe & ſleep.* C. Flaminius *the Conſul a raſh and inconſiderat man, went forth, contrary to the warrant and approbation of the Auſpices, and cauſed the field-enſigns to be digged out of the ground, when otherwiſe they could not be plucked up: and being mounted on Horſe-back, fell with his head forward from his horſe. His fortune was to be ſurpriſed in an ambuſh by* Annibal, *which he had laid for him neer the Lake called* Thraſymenus: *where he and his army were defeated, and fell upon the edge of the ſword. Six thouſand Romans, who brake through and made an eſcape, notwithſtanding the faithful promiſe that* Maharbal *had made unto them, were by the falſhood of* Annibal *put in priſon. When upon the news of this overthrow, there was great mourning and ſorrow at* Rome, *there fortuned two mothers to die for very*
F *joy, that beyond their hope and expectation, they recovered their ſons, and ſaw them alive, whom they ſuppoſed to have been ſlain in that field. In regard of the foreſaid defeat, there was vowed a ſacred ſpring, according to the books of* Sibylla. *After this, when* Q. Fabius Maximus *the Dictator ſent againſt* Annibal, *would not come to a ſet battel with him, for fear he ſhould hazard in fight the ſouldiers lately terrified and daunted with adverſe overthrows, againſt an enemy luſty and proud of ſo many victories, and by making head, and oppoſing himſelf only againſt* Annibal, *empeached his attempts and enterpriſes:* M. Minutius *the General of his Horſe, a man of a proud ſpirit and brain-ſick humour, with charging the Dictator, and accuſing him unto the people for a fearful and cowardly perſon, prevailed ſo much, that by vertue of their power and authority, he was joyned in equal commiſſion and command with the Dictator. By means whereof, the army and the forces were parted indifferently between them, and* Minutius *gave the enemy battel in a place of great diſadvantage, whereupon his Legions were diſtreſſed & in great ha-*
G *zard: but* F. Maximus *came in time to his reſcue with his part of the army, and ſaved him out of the preſent danger. By occaſion of which good turn he was overcome, and his ſtomack came down, inſomuch, as he was content to joyn in camp with him, and ſaluted him by the name of Father: commanding all his own ſouldiers to do the ſame to their fellow ſouldiers under* F. Maximus. Annibal *after he had waſted and overrun* Campain, *chanced between the Town* Caſilinum *and the mountain* Calicula *to be incloſed and compaſſed about by* Fabius: *but by a device of tying little bavins of drie ſtick unto oxes horns and ſetting them on fire, put to flight and claſed away the guards of the Romans which kept the ſtreights of* Calicula, *and by that means gat through the paſſage of that forreſt. The ſame* Annibal, *at what time as he made*

*havock and burned all the territory about, forbare to touch the Land of* Q. Fabius Maximus *the Dictator, to the end that he might bring him into ſuſpition of treaſon to the State. After this, when* Æmylius Paulus, *and* Terentius Varro *were Conſuls and Generals of the army, there was a battel fought with* Annibal, *to their exceeding loſſe and utter overthrow, neer unto a village called* Cannæ. *At which field there were ſlain of Romans,* 45000. *together with* Paulus *the Conſul, and fourſcore Senators, beſides thirty other brave perſonages that had been Conſuls or Pretors, or at leaſtwiſe Ædiles of State. After this d feat, when the noble young Gentlemen of the City (for very deſpair of the State) were in counſel to abandon* Italy, P. Cornelius Scipio *(a Colonel, who afterwards was ſurnamed* Affricanus) *held his naked ſword over their heads, as they ſat in conſultation, and ſware a great oath, that he would repute him for a mortal enemy that would not ſwear after him: and hereby effected thus much at their hands, that by vertue of an oath, they obliged themſelves not to depart out of* Italy *and forſake their native country. This book containeth beſides, the fright and lamentation made within the City, and the affairs and exploits atchieved in* Spain, *with more happy ſucceſs.* Opinia *and* Feronia, *two profeſſed veſtal Virgins, were convicted of Inceſt, and condemned. By reaſon of ſmal number of ſouldiers and ſerviceable men for the wars, there were* 8000 *ſlaves put in arms. The Captives taken priſoners in the wars, when they might have been redeemed, were not ranſomed for all that. A ſolemn meeting there was for* Varro *his welcome home, with great thanksgiving, becauſe he had not deſpaired of the Common-weal.*

# *The two and twentieth Book of* T. Livius.

NOW approached the ſpring, when *Annibal* removed out of his wintering holds, after he had aſſayed before to paſs over the *Apennine*, but in vain, by reaſon of the intolerable cold; where alſo he ſtayed in great fear and danger of his own perſon. By which time, the Gauls, who having riſen up in arms on his ſide, for hope of ſpoil and pillage, ſeeing now in ſtead of harrying and carrying away of booties out of other mens Lands, that their own country was become the place of the war troubled and moleſted as well with the one army as the other which abode there all winter turned their hatred and malice from the Romans back again upon *Annibal*: In ſuch ſort, as after he had been ſundry times forelaid by the ſecret trains of their Princes, and in danger to be murdred, he eſcaped only by the deceiptfulneſs and falſhood practiſed among their own ſelves. For with what inconſtancy and levity they had conſpired together, with the ſame they bewrayed one another, and detected the conſpiracy unto him. By means whereof, as alſo by changing one while his apparrel, another while the bonet and attire of his head, by errour alſo and miſtaking, he avoided the peril, and ſaved himſelf. But ſo it was, that even this fear in which he ſtood, cauſed him to remove the ſooner out of his wintering harbour.

About the ſame time *Cn. Servilius* entred into his Conſulſhip at *Rome*, on the * Ides of *March*: where, after he had propounded to the Senat concerning the affairs of the Common-weal, the hatred and malice which the LL. had conceived againſt *C. Flaminius*, was renewed afreſh. For they ſaid, that they created two Conſuls, and had but one. For that lawful government and authority which *Flaminius* ſhould have had, that auſpice of Magiſtracy which was meet and due, he ought to have carried with him from the City, from the publick and private habitations, after he had celebrated the Latin holy-dayes, and offred ſacrifice upon the mountain *Alban*, and made his ſolemn vows accordingly, within the Capitol. But ſince for default herein, he departed from the City a private perſon, the Auſpices of government could not follow and accompany him: and being gone without them, he might not lawfully take the ſame anew in forrein ſoil. Now there were ſundry ſtrange prodigious tokens beſides, reported from many places at once, which much encreaſed their fear: namely, that in *Sicily* certain ſouldiers javelins were on fire: and in *Sardinia*, a Horſemans walking ſtaff, as he went the round, and viſited the watch upon the wall, burned in his hand: That upon the ſtrand and Sea ſhore, there were ſeen many light fires, ſo as all the coaſts ſhone again withal: That two ſhields ſweat blood: That there were ſome ſouldiers ſmitten dead with lightning: That the circle and body of the ſun appeared in ſight leſs in compaſs and eclipſed: Alſo, that there fell from the skye burning ſtones, at *Preneſte*: And at *Arpi* there were ſeen in the Element, Palm or Date Trees: and the ſun fighting with the moon: Moreover, at *Capena* two moons aroſe and ſhewed in the day time: that at *Cere*, the waters ran mingled with blood: That the very fountain of *Hercules* yeelded and caſt up water beſpotted with blood: That as folk reaped in *Antium* fields, certain bloody ears of corn light into their baskets: At *Falerii* the heaven ſeemed to cleave in ſunder and open, and to ſhew as it were a great chink; and out of the place where it gaped, there ſhone a great light: That the lots of their own ſelves diminiſhed, and one fell out of the pitcher, with this inſcription, *Mars brandiſheth and ſhaketh his ſpear*. And about the ſame time at *Rome* the Statue of *Mars* ſwet in the high way *Appia*, neer to the images of the wolves: and at *Capua* the welkin ſeemed to be on fire, and the form of a moon to fall down in a rain or ſhower. After this, men gave belief alſo to prodigies of far leſs importance: namely, that ſome mens goats, in ſtead of hair bare wooll: that a hen turned into a cock, and a cock proved to be a hen. Theſe things as folk reported, were declared abroad, and the authors brought into the Senat: where the Conſul propounded before the LL. and required their advice, as touching matters of Religion. Whereupon, there paſſed a decree that theſe ſtrange tokens, ſome ſhould be purged and expiated with greater ſacrifices, other with young ſucklings:

* 15 day of *March*.

and

A and that for three dayes, there ſhould be ſupplications at all the Shrines and Altars of the Gods. As for other matters, afterthat the Decemvirs had looked into their books, ſuch proviſion was to be made, as the Gods in their verſes ſhould foretel to ſtand with their pleaſure and contentment. So, by the advertiſements and directions of the Decemvirs it was decreed as followeth: Firſt, and foremoſt, that to *Jupiter* there ſhould be made of gold a thunderbolt or form of lightning weighing * 50 pounds, and another of ſilver, preſented unto *Iuno* and *Minerva*. *Item* to *Iuno* * 1800 li. ſtir.
*Regina* there ſhould be ſacrifice offred in the mount *Aventine*, and to *Iuno Hoſpita* in *Lanuvium*, of greater beaſts: *Item*, that the dames of *Rome*, making a contribution (every one to their ability) of a ſum of money, ſhould offer an Oblation unto *Iuno Regina* and bring it into *Aventine*, and
B there ſolemniſe a Lectiſtern: *Item*, that the very Libertin or enfranchiſed women alſo, ſhould according to their power, lay their money together and make a preſent for the goddeſs *Feronia*. Theſe things accompliſhed, the Decemvirs ſacrificed in the market place of *Ardea*, and for that purpoſe killed greater beaſts. Laſt of all, by direction out of the books of *Sybilla*, now in the month *December*, they celebrated a ſacrifice at *Rome* in the Temple of *Saturn*: and commandment was given that a Lectiſtern ſhould be ſolemnized (which bed and table the Senators themſelves ſpred and ſet out with all the furniture) and a publick feaſt beſides, in any hand: and throughout the City both by day and night were proclaimed the ſolemn Saturnalia: and order directed, that the people ſhould hold and obſerve that day, as holy and feſtival, for ever.

Whiles the Conſul was buſied at *Rome* in pacifying the Gods, and levying ſouldiers, *Annibal*
C (who was departed from his wintering fort, becauſe the rumor ran that *Flaminius* the Conſul was come as far as *Aretium*) albeit he ſaw another way more ready and commodious (though it were ſomewhat farther about) yet choſe that which was the neerer through the mariſhes, whereas the River *Arnus* at the ſame time had overflowed his banks more than uſually. As for the Spaniards, Affricans, and all his old beaten ſouldiers (the very flower and ſtrength of his army) he commanded to march formoſt together with all their baggage and cariages among them, to this end, that if they were forced any where to ſtay, they ſhould not fail and want neceſſaries about them: the Gauls he appointed to follow next: and becauſe he was deſirous that thoſe kind of people, ſhould be in the middle ward, and the Horſemen likewiſe to go after them hindmoſt in the reregard, he charged *Mago* with the light Horſemen of the Numidians, to guard the army
D and keep them cloſe together in their march, but eſpecially to have an eye to the Gauls, and keep them in, for fear leſt they for tedioufneſs of travail, and wearineſs of long way (as they are a Nation tender enough and not able to abide any hardneſs) ſhould either ſlink away, or elſe ſtand ſtill. They of the vantguard, what way ſoever the guides led them and went afore, paſſed through thick and thin, waded through great Rivers and deep quickſands; and albeit they were mired and in a manner overwhelmed and ſwallowed up of bogs and muddy quagmires, yet they followed ſtill their colours. But the Gauls, if their feet chanced, to ſlip, could not hold themſelves, and when they were down, they were not able to ariſe out of the durty ſloughs and holes: neither could any of them comfort his corps with courage, nor help his heart with hope of better. Some of them hardly haled their heavy hams, and drew with much adoe their lazie legs and lagging
E limbs after them: others, whoſe hearts were done for tedious toil and travail, when they were once down, lay dying amongſt the jades and other beaſts, which alſo were couched along every where. But that which hurt and undid them moſt, was their want of ſleep, for they had watched four dayes and three nights continually without a wink. Now when as the water had ſo covered and overſpred every place, that they could find no drie ground, to lay their wearied bodies on, they were fain to pile their packs one upon another in the waters, and to caſt themſelves aloft upon them. All the way as they went, they might ſee the beaſts and Horſes lie every where on heaps overthrown and dead: which ſerved them a while, inſtead of Couches for want of other means, who ſought but only for ſome thing or other, that appeared above water to repoſe themſelves upon, for to take a nap. As for *Annibal* himſelf, (who had already an infirmity in his eyes,
F which came firſt by the diſtemperature of the ſpring ſeaſon, now hot and then cold) he was mounted upon an Elephant, the only Elephant that was left alive: this beaſt bare him a good way above the water: but by reaſon that he had overwatched himſelf, and the moiſt nights beſides together with the damp and miſt of the foggy fens ſtuffed his head and filled him full of rhewms, and becauſe neither time nor place ſerved for any cure and to take Phyſick, he loſt one of his eyes quite.

Thus after many a man loſt, many a Horſe piteouſly periſhed, when he was got out at length of theſe foul fens and miry mariſhes, in the firſt dry ground that he came unto, he pitched his camp: and was certified by his eſpials and vantcourriers whom he had ſent out before, that the Roman army lay about the walls of *Aretium*. Then with great diligence and careful enquiry he
G endeavoured, to ſound the intent and the deſigns of the Conſul; to know the coaſts and ſite of the country; to hearken what wayes he travailed; to learn what forces he had; to be advertiſed how he was ſtored and provided of victuals; and to underſtand all other things expedient for his purpoſe in ſuch a caſe, and neceſſary to be known. The countrey was moſt fertile and fruitful, as any one in all *Italy*, to wit, the goodly champian fields of *Tuſcany*, lying between *Feſule*, and *Aretium*, plentiful in corn, abundant in cattel, and richly ſtored with all good things. The Conſul was ſtout and proud, by reaſon of the former Conſulſhip that he had born: little account he made of the Majeſty of Laws, and authority of Senators, and as ſmall regard and reverence

verence he had of the Gods themſelves: which raſhneſs, as it coſt him nought, but was ingraffed in him by nature, ſo fortune had nourriſhed and mainteined the ſame with proſperous ſucceſs in his affairs at home, and wars abroad; ſo as it appeared evidently, that ſince he reſpected neither God nor man, and deigned not to take their counſel and advice, he would go raſhly to work, and do all in haſt, hand over hand, without diſcretion. And to the end he might be more forward to plunge himſelf headlong into theſe his infirmities and imperfections, *Annibal* deviſed to anger him, and to move his patience. Leaving the enemy therefore on his left hand, he put himſelf into the way to *Feſulæ* for to waſt and ſpoil the country of *Tuſcany*; and ſhewed to the Conſul a far off, what foul work and havock he poſſibly could make, with fire and ſword. Then *Flaminius*, who of himſelf would not have reſted and ſate ſtill, in caſe *Annibal* had been quiet; I ſeeing once the goods of his allies and friends, harried and driven away even before his eyes, and thinking it tended greatly to his ſhame and diſhonor, that a Carthaginian ſhould march thus at his pleaſure, through the mids of *Italy*, and without any empeaching and controulement, to paſs on forward, even to beſiege and aſſault the walls of *Rome*; when all others about him ſitting in counſail, gave advice for profit and ſafety, rather than for ſhew and bravery; namely, to paule awhile, and expect the coming of his Colleague, that they might with joynt armies, with one heart, and with common accord of counſel, conduct and manage the war: and in the mean time, with the Cavalry, with Auxiliary or aid-ſouldiers lightly armed, repreſs the enemy, and ſtay him from ſpoiling ſo licentiouſly at his pleaſure; in a great chafe and choler he roſe up, and departed out of the Councel, and preſently ſounded the march, and gave the ſignal of battail: and withal, K
"Nay we were beſt (quoth he) to remain and ſit here ſtill before the walls of *Aretium*: for this,
"be like, is our native countrey, and here is our place of habitation: as for *Annibal*, let him
"eſcape forth of our hands, and waſt all *Italy*; let him ſpoil afore him, and over-run all with fire
"and ſword, until he be as far as *Rome* walls: and let not us, in any caſe once ſtir from hence, be-
"fore that the Senators ſend for *C. Flaminius* from *Aretium*, as ſometimes they called *Camillus*
"from *Veii*. With theſe and ſuch like reproachful and taunting words, he commanded in all haſt the ſtandards and enſigns to be plucked up, and called for his Horſe. He was not ſo ſoon mounted on his back, but the Horſe fell preſently, caſt the Rider over and over with his his head forward; and there lay *Flaminius* the Conſul under foot. As they all, that attended about him, were affrighted and troubled in mind, at this unlucky preſage and ſore-token, in the very beginning of L his enterpriſe: word moreover was brought unto him, that one of the port-enſigns was not able to pull up his enſign, do what he could, and putting his whole ſtrength unto it. The Conſul turning to the meſſenger. What? haſt thou any letters beſides (quoth he) from the Senat, to prohibit me for giving battail? go thy wayes and bid them dig up the enſign, with help of ſpade and mattock if their hands be ſo benummed for fear, that they can not pluck it up: and with that began the army to march. The principal Leaders and Captains, beſides that they agreed not, but gainſaid this courſe, were much diſmayed and terrified with this twofold prodigious ſign: but the common ſouldiers rejoyced and took great pleaſure, to ſee this forwardneſs and animoſity of their General: having an eye rather to the end of their hope, than to the cauſe which they had to hope ſo. Now *Annibal* waſted in all manner of hoſtility that he could deviſe, the territories between M the Town *Cotona*, and the lake *Threſymenus*, and all to whet the edge of the Conſuls ſtomack, to chaſe his hot bloud, and to provoke him for to be revenged, for the harms and wrongs done to his good friends and allies. And come already they were to certain places, naturally made as it were for an ambuſh, whereas the lake *Threſymenus* lieth hard at the foot of the Hills of *Cortona*: for there is between, but a very ſtraight and narrow paſſage, as if there had been left ſo much ſpace of ground, only for that purpoſe, and nothing elſe. For if a man go but a little further, the plain lieth more open, and groweth larger, and from thence the hills begin to ariſe aloft. *Annibal* in the open ground pitched his camp, for himſelf with his Africans only and the Spaniards to lodge in, and made abode. The Balearians, and the other light armed ſouldiers, he led about behind the Mountains: the Horſemen he placed at the very gullet of the ſtreight paſſage, where N the little hills handſomely covered and hid them cloſe; to the end that ſo ſoon as the Romans were entred in, when he had put forth his horſemen againſt the gullet of the ſtreight, all might be encloſed within the lake and the Mountains. *Flaminius* being come to the lake the day before at the Sun ſetting; the morrow after, before it was full day light, without diſcovering and clearing the coaſts by any ſcouts and eſpials ſent out before, paſſed through the ſtreights. After that his army began to be ſpread and diſplayed more at large, as the plain opened wider, he eſpied and perceived thoſe enemies only which he had before his face: for the ambuſhes lay cloſe hidden, both behind his back, and over his head. *Annibal* having once got the enemy (as he would) encloſed thus within the lake and the Mountains, and environed with his forces, gave the ſignal to them all for to charge: who came down every man the neereſt way he could: and O ſo much the more were the Romans affrighted and troubled with this ſudden occurrent, by reaſon that the miſt which aroſe out of the lake, was ſetled thicker in the plain, than upon the hills: whereby the Companies and Squadrons of their enemies coming out of many Vallies, were ſeen well enough one of another, and therefore more joyntly gave the charge all at once together. The Romans hearing the cry and ſhout which aroſe from all parts, before they could well diſcern and ſee, perceived themſelves compaſſed all about and ſurpriſed, and were aſſailed both affront, and on their flanks, ere they could put themſelves in battail-ray, as they ought, make their

The battail at *Threſymenus*.

A their armour and weapons ready, and draw their ſwords. When all the reſt were thus amazed, and at their wits end, the Conſul alone, for all this imminent danger, ſhewed himſelf nothing daunted or afraid, but ſet in order the ranks and files which were ſhuffled and blended together, according as time and place would give him leave; and marſhalleth his ſouldiers, (who turned every way as they heard the ſundry and divers noiſes) and in the beſt manner he could deviſe, he comforted and encouraged them, willing them to ſtand to it, and fight like men, for that there was now no means elſe to eſcape. "All the vows and invocations upon the Gods for their help, "would not ſerve, but only it was mere force and mere manhood muſt do the deed: and they were "to make way by dint of ſword, through the midſt of their enemies battaillons: and the leſs men "feared, the leſs danger commonly betided them. Howbeit, by reaſon of the noiſe and hurliburB ly, neither counſel nor command could be heard: and ſo far off were the ſouldiers from knowing their own Enſigns, their ranks and places, that ſcarcely their heart would ſerve them to take arms, and to buckle them, as they ſhould, fitly for fight: in ſuch ſort as ſome of them were ſurpriſed and born down laden rather with their harneſs, then covered and defended therewith. And in ſo great a miſt and darkneſs, more uſe they had of ears than eyes; for at the grones of their wounded fellows, at the blows and ſtrokes upon the bodies and armour reſounding again, at the confuſed ſhouts and ſhrikes of hardy and fearful men one with another, they turned their faces, and caſt their eyes every way. Some as they would have fled, light into the preſs of thoſe that were fighting, and there were ſet faſt: ſome again as they returned for to fight, were born backward by companies that ran away. Afterwards, when they had aſſayed in vain every way to get forth, C and ſaw well, that on both ſides and flanks the mountains and the lake; that afront and behind, the enemies battailons hemmed them in; then they knew evidently there was no hope of life but in their right hand and force of arms. Then every man became a Captain, and encouraged himſelf to fight manfully: ſo as the battail began afreſh, not in order by the *Principes*, *Haſtati*, and *Triarii*, nor according to the accuſtomed manner, whereby the vanguard ſhould fight before the main battail and the ſtandards, and behind them the reregard, and that the ſouldier ſhould keep his own legion, his own cohort, band, and company; but at a venture, even as it hapned, ſo they went to it and buckled, pell mell: and as every mans heart ſerved him, ſo he marſhalled himſelf to fight, either before or behind. Their courage and animoſity was ſo ardent, their ſpirits and minds ſo intentive to the battel, that being as there was, a terrible earthquake at the very inſtant, D which overthrew and turned upſide down, a great part of many Cities in *Italy*, turned aſide the courſes of great Rivers out of their channels, and drave their ſtreams againſt the current, forced the Sea into freſh Rivers, yea, and overturned Mountains with mighty fals, and laid them flat; yet there was not a man who fought in that battail, that once heard or perceived it. The conflict laſted almoſt three hours. Sharp it was in every place, but about the Conſul moſt cruel: and look in what part ſoever he ſaw his men diſtreſſed and in hazard, there courageouſly he aided them. By reaſon that the flower and braveſt gallants followed him, and was himſelf for his own perſon goodly beſeen in his rich armour, he both aſſailed the enemy moſt furiouſly, and alſo defended his own citizens as valiantly; ſo long, until a certain Inſubrian, a man of arms (*Ducarius* was his name) one that knew his viſage well enough, This is (quoth he) to his coun-E trey-men, the Conſul that defeated our army, put to the ſword our Legions, waſted our territories, and he that deſtroyed and ſacked our City. Now will I offer him as a ſacrifice out of hand to the ghoſts and ſpirits of thoſe our fellow citizens, who by his means have been piteouſly ſlain: and therewith ſetting ſpurs to his Horſe, he rode through the thickeſt troop and preſſe of his enemies: and when he had firſt ſlain his Eſquier outright (who oppoſed his body between, and ſet himſelf againſt him, ſeeing him coming ſo furiouſly) he ran the Conſul quite through the body with his lance. And when he would rather than his life have diſarmed and rifled him, the Triarii ſtept with their targuets over his corps, and ſo kept him off. Hereupon from hence firſt many began to flie; but anon, neither deep lake nor high mountain, could impeach and ſtop their fearful flight: like blind men they ran and ſought means to make eſcapes, were the lane never ſo F narrow, were the Hills never ſo ſteep and craggy, horſe and man, man and armour, fell headlong one upon another. A number of them ſeeing no way elſe to eſcape, entred into the Lake by the firſt edges and ſhallow brims thereof, waded ſo far, and went up ſo high, that they left their heads and ſhoulders onely above the water. Some there were, who unadviſedly (ſuch was their fear) ſought to ſave themſelves by ſwimming. Which being an endleſs piece of work, and beyond all hope, their wind and breath failing them, they were either ſtifled and ſwallowed up of the gulfs, or after that with too much haſt, they had over-laboured and toiled out themſelves, they did what they could to ſwim back again, and with much ado to recover the Land: and there, by the enemies Horſemen who had taken the water, were they killed every where, and cut in pieces. Six thouſand or thereabout, of the vanguard, who luſtily brake through G the mids, maugre the heads of their enemies, unwitting of all that was done behind, eſcaped ſafe out of the gullet: and having ſeized the top of a little hill, there they ſtood, and might hear only the outcries of men, the ratling and ruſtling ſound of their armor, but how the battel went or ſped, neither could they know, nor yet diſcern for the thickneſs of the dark miſt. But now, when they were come to ſome ods, and one ſide went down and had the worſe, by which time the heat of the ſun had broken and diſpatched the miſt, and the bright day appeared; then through the clear light, the hills and dales ſhewed evidently the havock & overthrow that was made, and how

the Roman army was fouly diſcomfited and defeated. For fear therefore, that the enemy (having H
deſcried and ſeen them a far off) ſhould ſend out againſt them the Cavalry, up they went with
their Enſigns in all haſt, and got them away with all ſpeed poſſibly they could. The morrow
after, when over and beſides all other calamities, they were in danger of extream famine, and
that *Maharbal* (who with all his power of Horſe purſued them by night, and overtook them)
had given his faithful word and promiſe, that if they delivered up their armour, he would ſuffer
them to depart in their ſingle garments, they yeelded themſelves. Which promiſe *Annibal* ſaw
performed as truly, as all Carthaginians uſe to do, and falſe Carthaginian as he was, he clapt
them all into priſon, and hung irons upon them. This is that noble and famous battel fought
at the Lake *Thraſymenus*, and of thoſe few overthrows that the Romans had, the moſt memora-
ble of all others. 15000 Romans were there ſlain in fight: 10000 were ſcattered: and flying I
through ſundry parts of Tuſcany, gat to *Rome*. 1500 of the enemies loſt their lives in the field.
But many more of both ſides afterwards died of their wounds. Others there be that report
much murder and ſlaughter on both ſides. For mine own part (beſides that, I love not to write
vain untruths, nor any thing without good warrant, and yet the humour of writers for the moſt
part is too much given that way) I have followed for mine Author *Fabius* eſpecially, who lived
about the time of this war. *Annibal* having enlarged without ranſome as many of his priſoners
as were Latins, and put the Romans in ſtreight ward, culled out from among the heaps of his
enemies that lay one upon another, the dead bodies of his own men, and commanded they
ſhould be buried: and having with great care and diligence made ſearch alſo, for the dead corps
of *Flaminius* to inter it, he could never find it. K

At the firſt news in *Rome* of this overthrow, the people ran together in exceeding fear and
trouble into the common place of Aſſemblies. The Wives and Dames of the City, went up and
down to and fro in the ſtreets, and enquired of whomſoever they met, what ſuddain calamity this
was, whereof the bruit went; and what was become of the army? And when as the multitude aſ-
ſembled thick (as it were) to a publick audience, turning to the Comitium and the Senat-Houſe,
and called upon the Magiſtrats: at length ſomewhat before the ſun-ſet, *Marcus Pomponius* the
Pretor came forth and ſaid, A great battel hath been fought, and we have loſt the field. And albeit
they heard of him no more than this of certainty, yet they filled one anothers ears with rumors,
and caried home with them theſe news to wit, that the Conſul was killed, and a great part of his
army with him ſlain: that there were but a few left alive, and thoſe either fled and ſcattered up L
and down in Tuſcany, or elſe taken priſoners by the enemy. And look how many caſualties & mis-
fortunes follow the overthrow of an army, into ſo many cares and perplexities were the ſpirits
and minds of all thoſe plunged, who had any kinsfolk that ſerved under *Flaminius* the Coſ. all the
while they were ignorant, what was the fortune of their friends. And no man knew for certain,
what he was to hope for, or to fear. The morrow and certain dayes following, there ſtood at the
gates a ſort of people, and thoſe were women more than men, waiting to ſee their friends them-
ſelves, or thoſe that could tell tidings of them: and ever as they met with any, they would flock a-
bout them, and be very inquiſitive: neither could they be plucked away from them of their ac-
quaintance and knowledge before they had queſtioned every particular circumſtance, from point
to point in order. There might a man have ſeen an alphabet of faces, in thoſe that departed from M
the meſſengers, according as the tidings was joyful or woful: there might a man have ſeen a
number coming about them to accompany them as they returned to their houſes, either rejoycing
for their good hap, or comforting them for their misfortune and calamity. The women eſpecially,
as well in joy, as alſo in ſorrow, were in their extremities. One above the reſt (as it is reported)
ſtanding at the gate upon the ſuddain ſight of her ſon alive & ſafe fell down dead at his very feet.
Another who had received an untrue report of her ſons death, as ſhe ſat mourning at home with-
in her houſe in great ſorrow of heart ſo ſoon as ever ſhe ſaw him coming into the houſe, for ex-
ceeding joy yeelded her laſt breath, and died. And for certain dayes the Pretors kept the Senators
together in Counſel, from the ſun-riſing to the ſetting, conſulting under whoſe conduct, and with
what forces they might be able to withſtand the puiſſance of theſe victorious Carthaginians. But N
before they were throughly reſolved of any determinat purpoſe and courſe to be taken, ſuddainly
there arrived other news of a ſecond loſs, namely, that 4000 horſmen under the leading of *C. Cen-
tronius* the Propretor, ſent from *C. Servilius* the Coſ. unto his Collegue, were incloſed by *Annibal*
in *Ulcatria*. For thither they had taken their way, upon the news they heard of the battail at *Thra-
ſymenus*. The brute and rumor hereof hammered diverſly in mens heads. Some, whoſe minds were
poſſeſſed already with grief of a greater calamity, thought the loſs of that Cavalry but ſmall, in
compariſon of the former defeat: Others eſteemed that which hapned, not according to the im-
portance of the thing it ſelf: but like as it falleth out in the natural body of man, that if it be craſe
and weak every occaſion, be it never ſo ſmall and light, is more offenſive unto it and ſooner felt,
than a greater cauſe and object in a ſound and ſtrong conſtitution: even ſo, when any croſs or ad- O
verſity hapneth unto the politick body of a City or C. W. diſeaſed (as it were) and ſickly, we are
not to meaſure & weigh the ſame by the greatneſs of the accidents but according to the feeble and
decaied eſtate thereof, able to endure and abide no new matter, that may ſurcharge and grieve it,
what ſoever. And therefore, the City of *Rome* took her ſelf to the ſoveraign ſalve and approved re-
medy which ſhe had long deſired, and yet not applied and uſed of late, namely, to the nomination
of a Dictator. And becauſe the Conſul himſelf was abſent, by whom alone it was thought he

might

A might be named, and by reaſon that *Italy* was ſo overſpread and forlaied with the Punick forces, there might no courier be well diſpatched, nor letters ſafely ſent unto him: and for that the people had not authority of themſelves to create a Dictator, they therefore elected a Pro-dictator (a thing that was never ſeen and practiſed before that day) namely, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and for his General of the Cavalry, *M. Minutius Rufus*. Theſe had commiſſion from the Senat, to fortify the walls and Towers of the City, to plant and beſtow guards thereon, where they thought meet, and to cut up and break down the bridges upon the great riyers; ſhewing hereby that ſince they were not able to keep and defend *Italy*, they were now to fight for houſe and home, and to guard the very City.

*Annibal* in this mean time was come directly by the way of *Vmbria*, as far as to *Spoletum*. And after he had grievouſly waſted and ſpoiled the territory, he aſſaied to give aſſault to that City: but B from thence he had the repulſe with the loſs of many of his men. And gueſſing by the ſtrength of that one Colony (where he ſped but badly in the attempt of it) how great and difficult the enterpriſe might be of aſſailing the City of *Rome*; he turned another way into the * Picene country, not only abounding in plenty of all kind of corn and grain, but alſo affording rich ſpoil and pillage: which the hungry and needy ſouldiers foraged and caried away as greedily, beyond all meaſure. And therefor certain dayes he kept a ſtanding camp, and refreſhed his ſouldiers, toiled as well with winter journies and boggy wayes as alſo in the late battel, which was more joyous and fortunate in the looſe and parting, than right and eaſy in the conflict and fighting. After he had reſted and refreſhed his ſouldiers ſufficiently, who took more pleaſure in booties and prizes than in eaſe and repoſe, he diſlodged, and journied forward; waſting and ſpoiling firſt the * Pretutian C and Adrian territories, and then the Marſians, Marrucins and * Pelignians: and all about *Arpi* and *Luceria*, being a region next adjoyning unto * *Apulia*.

* *Marca Anconæ.*

* *Abruzzo.*
* *Valuenſes.*
* *Puglia.*

*Cn. Jervilius* the other Conſul, having had ſome light skirmiſhes with the Gauls, and won from them one mean Town of ſmall importance, after he was advertiſed one of the death of his Colleague and the defeat of the army, fearing even then what danger might betide the walls of his native country, leſt peradventure he ſhould be abſent in the hazard of the main chance, put himſelf in his journey toward the City of *Rome*. *Q. Fabius Max.* the Pro-dictator aforeſaid the ſame day that he entred his office, aſſembled the Senate, and began firſt with matters of religion, and concerning the Gods: and after he had laid open unto the LL. of the Senat, that the Conſul *Flaminius* had tainted more in the neglect and contempt of Divine ceremonies, and the Auſpices, than D otherwiſe in raſhneſs and for want of ſkill in feats of war; and that the Gods themſelves were to be conſulted about the purging and expiation of ſins and offences, and what might appeaſe their wrath; gained and obtained this one point, That the Decemvirs were commanded to repair unto the books of *Sibylla*, (a thing not uſually decreed: but when ſtrange ſigns and prodigious wonders are reported) who having peruſed the books of deſtinies made relation and informed the Senators, firſt, That the vow made unto *Mars* for the good ſucceſs of that war, was not performed with due complements, and therefore ought to be a accompliſhed anew, and in more ample manner: alſo, that the great Games and Plaies ſhould be vowed unto *Jupiter*, with Temples likewiſe to *Venus Erycina*, and to * *Mens*. Moreover, that a ſolemn ſupplication and a Lectiſtern ſhould be celebrated, and a ſacred Spring vowed, if the Gods granted them an happy end of war, and E the Common-weal to remain in the ſame eſtate, wherein it ſtood before the war began. The Senat gave order, that foraſmuch as *Fabius* was to be emploied in the wars, *M. Æmylius* the Pretor, ſhould have in charge to ſee all the premiſſes performed with all good ſpeed, according to the will and mind of the Colledge of the Biſhops or Prelats. Theſe Ordinances of the Senat being enacted, *Lucius Cornelius Lentulus* the Arch-prelate, with the advice of the whole Colledge of the Prelates, thought good and gave advice, that firſt above all other things the opinion and pleaſure of the people (as touching the ſacred ſpring) ſhould be known, for that without the voyces and conſent of the people it could not be vowed; And in this form of words was the bill propounded unto the people. *Pleaſeth it you, that this grace may paſs and the thing done with your aſſent in this wiſe? if the ſtate of the people of* Rome *and the Quirites, for five years next enſuing, con-* F *tinue ſafely preſerved in theſe wars, as I deſire it ſhould, then that the people of* Rome, *and Quirits perform an oblation and gift vowed and promiſed: namely, in the war between the people of* Rome *and the Carthaginians: and in the wars with the Gauls on this ſide the Alps: to wit, that the encreaſe which the ſpring ſhall yeeld and afford out of ſheep and ſwine, goats and kine, and all things that ſhall be prophane, be ſacrificed unto* Jupiter, *accounting from that day that the Senate and people ſhall ſo ordain:* Item, *that he which ſhall ſacrifice, may do it when he will, and in what manner he will: and in what ſort ſo ever he ſhall ſacrifice, that it may ſtand for good and rightful. If haply it die, that ſhould be ſacrificed let it be counted prophane, & not as wicked: If any man lame or maim, or kill the ſame unawares, let it not be imputed unto him as criminal: If any perſon conceal away the ſame or hide it out of the way let it not be imputed for wickedneſs unto the people, nor to him from whom it ſhall be ſo ſtollen or hidden. If one chance by* G *ignorance to ſacrifice upon an unlucky & diſmal day, let it be accounted good and lawful whether by night or day, whether bond or free ſhall ſacrifice, let it be taken and held good. If before it, the Senat and people ſhall ordain thoſe ſacrifices to be done, or ſhall ſacrifice, let the people be aſſoiled and diſcharged freely therefore.* And for the ſame purpoſe, were the great games (before vowed) performed with the expenſe of * 333333 Aſſes and one third part of an As: beſides the ſacrifice of 300 Oxen to *Jupiter*, & of white Oxen and other ſacrifices, unto many other ſaints. After theſe vows pronounced and made accordingly, the ſupplication was proclaimed & in proceſſion there went with their wives & children,

* The goddeſs of Underſtanding.

* 1041 li. 14. th. 4 d. ſterl.

children, not only the multitude of the City, but also of the country, so many as had their private H
estiate, any way depending upon the publick. The Lectistern likewise was prepared and trimmed, and continued for three dayes: and the Decemvirs deputed for holy ceremonies had the ordering thereof. The sacred beds were openly to be seen: one for *Jupiter* and *Juno*, another for *Neptune* and *Minerva*: a third for *Mars* and *Venus*: a fourth for *Apollo* and *Diana*: a fifth for *Vulcan* and *Vesta*: and a sixth for *Mercury* and *Ceres*. Then were the Temples vowed: unto *Venus Erycina*, Q. *Fabius Max.* the Dictator, vowed one Temple. For so it was delivered from out of the books of destinies, that he should vow it, who had the soveraign rule in the City, and unto * *Mens*, *Atilius* the Pretor vowed another. Thus when Church matters touching Religion were finished the Dictator propounded concerning war and the State: namely, with what Legions and how many the Senat thought good to withstand the victorious enemy. And a decree passed, that he should re- I
ceive the army at the hands of *Cn. Servilius* the Cos. and enrol besides of the citizens and allies, as many horsmen & footmen as he thought convenient: and that he should do and order all things at his own discretion, for the good of the Common-weal. *Fabius* said, That he would adjoin unto the army of *Servilius*, two Legions more: which being levied by the General of the horsemen, he proclaimed that they should meet together upon a certain day at *Tybur*: and when he had published a proclamation, That whosoever inhabited within any Towns or Castles unfenced, should depart into places of safety: and that all should remove out of the villages of that country, through which *Annibal* was to go (but first to set on fire their houses, and spoil their corn, that he might find nothing there when he came) he went himself forward by the high way or causey *Flaminia*, to meet with the Consul and the army. And when he discovered them marching about *Otriculum* K
by the river *Tyberis*, and saw the Consul with his horsemen coming forward to him, he sent a Sergeant, to give warning to the Consul, for to come without his Lictors to the Dictator, who obeyed his commandment. And as their meeting together, represented an exceeding great shew of the Dictatorship unto citizens and allies both, who by reason of discontinuance so long time, had welneer forgotten that government: behold, there came letters from the City importing news, that certain ships of burden transporting victuals from *Hostia* into *Spain* for the army there, were by the navy of the Carthaginians boorded and taken about the sound or haven of *Cossa*. Whereupon immediatly the Consul was commanded to go to *Hostia*, to take up all shipping at *Rome* or at *Hostia*, to furnish them with saylers, and man them with souldiers, and so to pursue the Armado of the enemies, and to keep the coasts of *Italy*. A mighty number of men was levied at *Rome*. The L
Libertins also, who had children, and were of lawful age to serve, sware allegeance unto him, to be his true souldiers. Out of this army of citizens, as many as were under 35. years of age, were shipped: the rest were left behind to guard the City. The Dictator having received the Consuls army at the hands of *Fulvius Flaccus* his Lieutenant, went through the Sabins Country, and arived at *Tybur*, whither he had commanded the new souldiers to repair at a day. From thence by cross wayes he returned into the high way or causey *Latina*, even to *Prenestе*: from whence (having searched diligently by his espials, all the wayes) he led forward toward the enemy, purposing in no place to hazard the fortune of battail, but upon necessity. The very first day that he encamped not far from *Arpi*, within the sight of his enemies, there was no ho with *Annibal*, but M
without further delay, he came forth into the field in battail array, bad him battail, and offred fight. But seeing his enemies quiet, and no stirring in the camp, he fell to taunting and reviling them: saying, That now at length yet, the martial hearts of the Romans were daunted and tamed; and seeing they refused fight, they confessed plainly, and granted themselves inferior unto him in valor, prowess, and glory: which said, he retired into his camp. Howbeit, chafing and fretting secretly in his mind for anger that he had to deal hereafter with a Captain, far unlike to *Flaminius* and *Sempronius*: and that the Romans now at last, being schooled and taught by their own harms, and to their great cost, had sought out and got a Captain to match *Annibal*; streightwayes he begin to fear the wisedom of the Dictator, and not his force: but having had as yet no tryal of his constant resolution, he fell to disquiet his mind, and to tempt him with often removing his own tents, and wasting the fields of his allies even under his nose: one while he seemed N
to march away apace out of all sight, another while he would of a suddain stay, and lie close in some by-place and corner, out of the way, to spie when he could take him in some plain and even ground. But *Fabius* led his army, and marched above on the higher grounds, a prety distance off from the enemy, so as neither he would let him go clean and abandon him, nor yet encounter with him. He kept his souldiers for the most part within the camp, save only when necessity otherwise constrained. For purveyance of forage and fewel, they went neither few in number, nor straggling asunder. The wards of Horsemen and those that were lightly armed, standing alwayes in order of battail, and ready prepared and furnished for suddain impressions and tumults, yeelded both security to his own souldiers, and also danger to his enemies, as they ranged all abroad and foraged the Countrey. In this manner never was the main chance put to the venture all at once O
of fortune: and the small tryals of fight scuffling and skirmishes (begun in safety and security, by reason of the recourse of rescue so neer) inured and heartned the souldiers, frighted with former foils, and made them at length to distrust less either their own valour, or fortune. But *Annibal* was not more discontented and displeased, nor more ready to crosse and thwart these so wholsome policies and counsels of his, as his own General of horsmen: who wanted nothing else but soveraign command, to overturn headlong the Common-weal: a man in all his design-

* The goddess of understanding.

ments,

A ments violent and hasty, and of tongue intemperate. And first secretly among some few, but afterwards openly in the hearing of all men, he termed *Fabius*, in stead of a stayed and sober man, slow and dull: in stead of wary and heedful, timorous and fearful: attributing unto vertues the names of vices of neer semblance: and having a singular dexterity to debase his betters and superiours, exalted himself thereby: a cunning cast, of all others the worst, and yet hath mightily prevailed and sped too well in many that have used it. *Annibal* from *Arpi* passeth into *Samnium*, wasteth the country of *Beneventum*, winneth the City *Telesia*, and still provoketh (of set purpose) the Roman Captain, if haply he could incense him by so many indignities and losses of his allies, and so draw him to fight on even hand.

B Amongst a great number of Italian confederats and allies, whom *Annibal* had taken prisoners at *Thrasymenus* and dismissed, there were three Campane horsemen, whom *Annibal* even then had tol ed on, and allured with gifts and fair promises to win unto him the hearts of their country-men. These brought word unto him, that in case he would lead and bring his army into *Campania*, he should soon be Lord of *Capua*. And albeit the thing in it self seemed greater than the quality of the persons that counselled him thereto: and therefore stood in mammering, one while in good hope and assurance, another while in fear and distrust: yet they perswaded him at last to remove out of *Samnium* into *Campania*. After he had admonished them very often, to see that they made their word and promises good by deed, and commanded them withal to return unto him with some of their principal Citizens and Country-men, he sent them away.

C Himself gave commandment to his guide, to conduct him into the territory of **Casinum*: being advised by those that were skilful and acquainted with the coasts of those parts, that if he could gain aforehand that pase and forest, he might ex lude the Romans from coming to rescue and succour their confederats. But the ambiguity of the name, and the Carthaginian language far differing from the Latine, caused the guide to mistake *Casilinum* for *Casinum*: and so missing of his intended journey, he came down, through the *Alifanz*, *Calatiae*, and *Calene* Countries, into the plain champian region of *Stella*. Where seeing all the coasts environed round about with Mountains and Rivers, he called the guide unto him, and demanded where he was: and when he answered, that he should that day lodge in *Casinum*, then and not before, the error was found; and he knew that he was far out of his way, for that *Casinum* was distant in another

D Countrey far off. And after he had beaten the guide with rods, and hanged him up by the head, for an example to terrifie all others, he fortified himself within camp and sent out *Maharbal* with the Horsemen into the Falern Country, to fetch in booties. So they wasted and spoiled as far as the waters of *Sinuessa*. Much harm did these Numidians, but the slight and fright of the people was far greater. And yet notwithstanding that great fear, when all was on a light fire as it were, and nothing but war, the Roman allies continued still firm in their faithful allegeance: and the reason was, because they were ruled under a just and moderat government, and neither refused, nor thought much to be subject unto their betters, the only bond of loyal fidelity. But so soon as he had pitched his camp by the River **Vulturnus*, and that the most goodly and pleasant Country of all *Italy* was on fire, and the Villages every where burned and smoked again; whiles

E *Fabius* led his power over the ridge of the Mountain *Massicus*, the sedition was like to have broken out again, and certain Captains of the mutiny began to be enkindled afresh. For there had been great quietness, and all was still for some few dayes; because seeing the army march faster than their usual manner was, they supposed verily, that they made more speed and hastned, to save *Campania* from being spoiled and wasted. But when they were come to the formost edge and point of the Mountain *Massicus*, and that the enemies were within sight, burning the dwelling Houses of the Coloners and inhabitants of *Sinuessa*, and likewise of the Falern Country, and all this while not one word of battail; "And are we come hither indeed quoth *Minutius*, "to behold only and to see, and feed our eyes with looking on our allies, consumed and wasted "with fire and sword? and if we bash at nothing else, can we for shame abide to see the Calamity

F "of these Citizens here, whom our fore-fathers planted in *Sinuessa* as coloners there to inhabit, "to the end that all this tract and coast should be safe from the invasion of the Samnits? But be- "hold, it is not a neighbour enemy (the Samnit) that fireth it but a forrein and alien, even the "Carthaginian who from the farthest and most remote parts of the world (whiles we stand at a "bay, trifle off still and for lasiness do nothing) is come forward even hither unto us. And are we "so far degenerat (with sorrow of heart I speak it) from our progenitors and fathers, that along "which coast they thought it dishonorable unto their empire, for the Carthaginian Armadoes "and ships to flote, sail, and ride; we should see the same now pestered full of enemies, the Nu- "midians and Moors? We, who ere while taking foul scorn and great disdain to see *Saguntum* "besieged, called not only upon men, but also upon the faith of alliances and the Gods to wit-

G "ness; stand still gazing upon *Annibal* marching against the walls of a Roman Colony, and rea- "dy to assault it. The smoke of the villages and the fields now on fire, is ready to put out our "eyes and to choke us up; our ears resound and ring again with the piteous cries of our allies that "weep and lament and cal oftner unto us than unto the Gods for help. And we here lead our army "as if they were a flock of sheep, over the shadowy forests, and hills out of the way, hid among "the clouds and thick woods to keep them from the heat of Sun. If *Furius Camillus* had been of "mind, by ranging and wandring over hils and forests in this manner, to win again the City out of "the hands of the Gauls, as this our new *Camillus* forsooth (sought out of purpose to be our only

" Dictator

* S. *Germano.*

* *Volturno.*

The mutinous Oration of *Minutius.*

"Dictator in this our distress and hard estate) goeth about to recover *Italy* from *Annibal*, *Rome* H
"had been French at this day; which I fear me, if we go thus coldly to work, our ancestors have
"saved and reserved so often, for *Annibal* and the Carthaginians. But he, a brave man, and a
"Roman indeed, that very day when word was brought to *Veii*, that he was chosen Dictator by
"the suffrages of the people, and approbation of the Senators, although *Janiculum* was high e-
"nough, where he might have set him down and beheld the enemy at ease, descended into the
"plain and even ground, and the same day in the very mids and heart of the City, where now
"*Gaulbury* or *Busta Gallica* standeth, and the morrow after, between *Rome* and *Gabes*, slew the
"Legions of the Gauls. And what should I say of that, which hapned many years after, when at
"the streights of *Caudium* we were put under the yoke by the Samnits our enemies? Whether I
"pray you, did *L. Papyrius Cursor* seek out the mountains of *Samnium*, or rather lie hard upon
"*Lucerta* and besiege it, provoking and challenging the victorious enemy; and thereby shook off
"the yoke from the Romans neck, and laid it upon the proud Samnits? And what other thing
"else of late dayes but expedition, gave the victory to Consul *Lutatius*? Who the morrow after
"that he discovered the enemy, set upon his fleet heavily fraught with victuals: and overcharged
"as it was with her own munition, furniture and provision, sunk, and destroyed the same. It is
"meer folly to believe and think by sitting still, by bare prayers and vows, to vanquish and subdue
"the enemy. Our forces must be put into arms, and brought down into the plain that man to man
"may cope and buckle together. By adventuring boldly, by action and execution, hath the Roman
"Empire grown to this height; and not by these conceits and devices, which fearful cowards K
"term the wary policies of war. As *Minutius* spake these words in preaching wise, a number of
Roman Colonels and Horsemen came flocking about him. Yea, and these lusty and rash speeches
of his, came even unto the ears of the footmen: So as, if it had lien in the voyces and election of
the souldiers, out of all question they seemed willing to prefer *Minutius* before their General *Fa-
bius*. But *Fabius* again regarding alwayes with good eye his own men, no less than his enemies,
carrying a resolute mind, invincible ever before of any other; albeit he was well ware, that not
only within his own camp but also now at *Rome*, he heard ill for his temporizing and slow pro-
ceedings: yet drew he out the rest of the summer, and held on stifly the same course and purpose, &
never altered his former manner: until that *Annibal* being clean disappointed of long desired bat-
tail, bethought himself anon and looked about for some places of winter abode, considering, That L
the country where now he was, rather yeelded plenty for the present, than store for long continu-
ance: as standing upon Hortyards and Vineyards, and all things planted rather for fruits of plea-
sure and delight, than for necessity and profit. Intelligence hereof being given to *Fabius*, by his e-
spials, for that he knew well enough, that *Annibal* was to return through the same streights, by
which he had entered the Falern countrey; he holdeth and keepeth the hill *Calicula*, with suffi-
cient garrisons and likewise *Casilinum*, a City divided by the river *Vulturnus*, and parteth the Falern
and Campane countries asunder. Himself bringeth back his power through the same hills, having
sent out to discover and espie 400 Horsemen of confederats, under the conduct of *L. Hostilius
Mancinus*, who being one of the crue of those lusty youths, that ostentimes heard the General of
the Horsemen giving out abroad brave words and stout speeches, at first went forward in manner M
of an espial, to discover and espie the enemy from a place of safety and security: and when as he
saw the Numidians ranging all about the villages, and slew some of them also whom he took at a
vantage, streight-wayes his mind wholly possessed and set upon fight, and so forgat the charge and
direction of the Dictator, who had commanded him to go forward as warily and as closely as he
possibly could, and to retire himself again before he came within sight of the enemies. The Numi-
dians charging and recharging him afront one while, and flying from him another while drew him
almost unto their very camp when as both horse and man were outwearied. From whence *Car-
talo*, who then had the conduct and command of the Cavalry, set out against him lustily upon the
spur, and before they came within dart-shot put the enemies to flight, and followed them conti-
nually in chase almost five miles. *Mancinus* seeing neither the enemy to give over pursute, nor any N
hope to escape away, exhorted his men, and turned head upon them, overmatched as he was eve-
ry way: where he himself and his choicest Horsemen were beset round and slain: the other taking
themselves again to flie for life, first came to *Cales*, and after through by-lanes and difficult wayes,
to the Dictator. That day, as hap was, *Minutius* had joyned himself to *Fabius*, having been afore
sent to keep with a strong guard, the forrest or pase, which above *Tarracina*, groweth into a nar-
row gullet, and reacheth to the sea; for fear lest if the advenue of the way *Appia*, were without
defence, *Annibal* might enter and invade the country of *Rome*. When the Dictator and the Gene-
ral of Horsemen had joyned their forces together, they encamped upon the very high way, that
*Annibal* was to passe with his army. Now were the enemies two miles off. The morrow after,
the Carthaginians took up with their army all the way between the one camp and the other. O
When as the Romans were quarted even under their very trench and rampier, in a place no
doubt of great advantage, yet for all that approached *Annibal* with his light Horsemen: and to
provoke his enemies, fought by starts and fits, charging upon them, and retiring back again with
great nimbleness. The Romans kept still their standing, embattailed as they were. The fight
was cold and lingering to the mind and liking of the Dictator, rather than of *Annibal*: and where
there were of the Romans part 200 slain, there dyed 800 of the enemies. Then seemed *Annibal*
after, to be enclosed and shut up as it were and besieged within * *Casilinum*, seeing that *Capua*,

* castellazzo.

*Samnium*,

A *Samnium*, and many rich and mighty Nations confederate with the Romans, were on their backs to furnish them with store of victuals. And *Annibal* contrary-wise was like to take up his wintering place, within the crags and rocks of *Formis*, amid the Sands of *Linternum*, and the mossy standing pools. Well wist *Annibal* now that he was laid unto hardly, by the same cunning sleights, that he had used himself. And therefore when as he could not escape away by *Casilinum*, and seeing that he must needs to the Mountains, and passe over the top of *Callicula*: for fear lest that the Romans should set upon his army enclosed in the vallies between the Mountains, he devised a stratagem, by way of a ridiculous illusion, to beguil the eye-sight of his enemies, and to frustrate and deceive them of their expectation: by means whereof, he purposed in the beginning of the night,
B closely and by stealth to gain the Mountains. The manner of his crafty device was this. He caused to be gathered out of all the villages thereby many fire-brands; then took he certain bavins or small fagots of brush-wood, dry sticks, and such like trash, and tyed them fast to the horns of the Oxen, whereof he had tame and wild, a great number that he drave before him amongst other prizes gotten out of the countrey: so as he might make wel-neer two thousand head. To *Asdrubal* he gave in charge, that so soon as it grew to be dark night, he should drive those Oxen with their horns set a fire toward the Mountains, and especially if he possible could, to the very streights and gullet which the enemy kept. It began no sooner to be dark, but *Annibal* with great silence dislodged and removed his camp, and the Oxen aforesaid were driven a good way before the ensigns and the army. When they were come to the foot of the Mountains, and to the
C streight passages, immediatly the signal or watch-word was given to fire the Oxes horns, and to chase them up against the Hill. The beasts, what with fear to see a light fire blazing over their heads, and what with pain to feel the heat now come to the quick flesh and the roots of their horns, fell running up and down, as if they had been mad. By this their gadding thus all at once every way, all the coppises and springs thereabout were set on a light fire, and seemed as if the whole woods and hills had burnt withal: the shaking of their heads also to and fro without stay, made the blaze greater, and gave shew and semblance of men running from one place to another. They who were appointed and set to keep the passages of the streights, so soon as they saw certain fires upon the tops of the Hills, and over their heads, supposing themselves to be entrapped and enclosed with fire on every side, abandoned their hold, and kept their standing no longer:
D and whereas the flame shone most out, thinking that to be the safest way, they sped them thither, even to the top and ridge of the Mountains. Then and there, they light upon certain of the Oxen wandring astray from their company, and at first seeing them a far off, but not well discerning them, they imagined that they spit fire, and breathed these blazing flames out of their mouths; and wondering at the strange sight, stood still amazed and astonied. But when as afterwards they discovered the device, and found it out to be a subtile and deceitful invention, proceeding from mans brain, they mistrusted withal some secret trains and ambush, and with an exceeding noise fled away as fast as ever they could, and stumbled upon the vantcurriers of their enemies, that were lightly armed. But they were affraid as well of the one side as the other, to
E begin any skirmish in the night season, and stayed until day light. In the mean while, *Annibal* having conducted his whole army through the streights, and killed some of his enemies in the very pase, encamped himself in the territory of *Alifas*. *Fabius* descryed this tumult well enough, but doubting some privy ambush, and abhorring utterly all night battails, kept his men within the strength of their rampiers. At the break of day there began a skirmish on the side of the hills in which the Romans as being far more in number, had environed on every side the light-armed souldiers of the enemies, and soon defeated them, but that a band of Spaniards, sent back of purpose from *Annibal*, came to rescue them: who being better acquainted with the Mountains, and more light and nimble in running among the croggs and cliffs, by reason of well of the agility of body, as the fashion of their light harnesse; easily in that kind of skirmish, avoided and shifted from their enemy, heavily armed at all pieces, and used to fight upon the
F plain, and to stand firmly and keep their ground. Whereupon in the end they parted asunder one from the other, but nothing neer on even hand: for the Spaniards in a manner all, went cleer away unhurt, the Romans lost some of their men: and so on both parts they returned to their camps. *Fabius* likewise removed, and having hasted over the streights of the forest, encamped in an high ground, and strongly situate even over *Alifas*. Then *Annibal* making as though he would march through *Samnium* toward *Rome*, returned back, wasting and spoiling the country as far as to the *Peligni*. And *Fabius* hovered still upon the Hill tops between the army of his enemies and the City of *Rome*; leading his host so, as neither he departed far, nor yet encountred and affronted his enemy. Then *Annibal* turned his way, and departed from the Peligni, and retired himself into *Apulia*, until he was come as far as *Gerion*, a City
G abandoned and forlorn of the inhabitants, by reason that a part of their wall was fallen down, decayed and ruined. The Dictator fortified his camp in the territory of *Larinum*. Now was he sent for home from thence to *Rome*, by occasion of certain solemn sacrifices: whereupon, he conferred and dealt with the General of the Cavalry, not only by way of absolute commandment, but also with advice and perswasions, yea, and as one would say, by prayer and intreaty, "That he would trust more upon considerate counsel, than doubtful fortune; and be directed "and guided rather by him, than follow the steps of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; and not "think there was nothing done and effected, and make no reckning of this, That the enemy had

been

" been dallied withal, and trifled out, mocked and deluded, almoſt all the ſummer long. Why, even H
" Phyſicians (quoth he) many times do more good to the ſick body of the patient, by giving reſt
" and repoſe, than by ſtirring and diſquieting the humors therein. And no ſmall matter is it, that
" we are vanquiſhed and overcome no more, at an enemies hands ſo often uſed to victory. And
" after continual foils and overthrows, to have had reſt, and a time of breathing. Having in this
wiſe admoniſhed the General of Horſe aforehand (but all in vain) he took his way to *Rome*.

In the beginning of this ſummer, wherein theſe exploits were performed, war began alſo in *Spain* both by Sea and Land. *Aſdrubal* to that number of ſhips which he had received ready rigged and well appointed of his brother, joyned other ten. To *Himilco* he gave the charge of a fleet of forty ſail: and ſo, looſing from *Carthage*, whiles his ſhips kept neer to Land, he conducted his I army along the River upon the ſtrand, ready to give battail to the enemy, howſoever he ſhould hap to encounter him either by Land or Sea. *Cn. Scipio* after he had intelligence that the enemy was removed out of his wintering harbour, at the firſt had likewiſe the ſame intention and purpoſe, but afterwards doubting to encounter by Land, upon the exceeding great report that went of new aids, he embarked his beſt and moſt choice ſouldiers, and with a fleet of 35 ſail, ſet forward to meet the enemy. And the ſecond day after that he had looſed from *Taracene*, he came to the rode diſtant ten miles from the mouth of the River *Iberus*. From whence, two Pinnaces of the Maſſilians were ſent out afore, and brought word, that the Carthaginian Armado rode in the mouth of the River, and that the tents were pitched upon the bank. And therefore to the end that he might ſurpriſe them at unwares, and unlooking for them, with all the fearful terrour at K once, that he could poſſibly, he weighed anchor, and ſet ſail toward the enemy. In *Spain* there are many Towrs ſtanding upon high grounds, which ſerve the inhabitants of the country in good ſtead, both as watch-Towers to diſcover, and alſo as ſconces to withſtand Theeves and Rovers. From whence the enemies ſhips were deſcryed firſt, and a ſignal given to *Aſdrubal*: in ſuch ſort, as the tumult and trouble aroſe upon the Land, and in the camp, before any was ſeen on the Sea and amongſt the ſhips: for as yet neither noiſe of oars, nor any ordinary ſtir elſe of mariners, was heard; nor yet the capes and promontories between ſuffered the fleet to be ſeen. But then, all on a ſuddain, certain Horſemen ſent from *Aſdrubal* one after another, commanded the ſouldiers (who either wandred along the ſtrand, or late quiet within their pavilions, looking for nothing leſſe than fight that day) preſently in all haſte to go aboord, and to arme, for that the Ro- L man fleet was not far from the haven. This commandment the Horſemen that were ſent, gave every where. And within a while *Aſdrubal* came in perſon with the whole army. All was on a hurry, and full of ſundry alarms; whiles both mariners and ſouldiers, made haſt to be ſhipped, rather like men that fled from Land, than went to fight. Scarce were they all embarked, when ſome of them looſed from the ſhoar, and plucked up Anchors, others cut the Anchor Cables, for that nothing ſhould ſtay them: and all that they did, was with ſuch haſte, that whiles the ſouldiers were occupied in making themſelves ready to fight, the mariners were hindred in their buſineſs: and whiles the mariners made ſpeed, the ſouldiers were kept from taking their armour, and fitting themſelves therewith. By which time *Scipio* was not only approached neer, but alſo had marſhalled and ordered his ſhips ready to fight, So as the Carthaginians were trou- M bled as well with the hurly burly and tumult of their own people, as with the aſſault and battel of their enemies. And having (to ſay a truth) made an aſſay and proffer of fight, rather than begun any indeed, they turned away their fleet, and fled. And ſeeing, when they were once put to flight (by reaſon they were parted aſunder all abroad, and lay open to ſo many of their enemies, following them upon the poop all at once) that they were ready and eaſy to be bonged and pierced, they rowed on all hands to the ſhore. Some were fain to wade to Land, others leapt on drye ground; one ſort armed, another ſort unarmed; and ſo eſcaped to their company, embattailed along the ſtrand. Howbeit, in the very firſt encounter and onſet, two Carthaginian ſhips were taken, and four ſunk. The Romans, albeit they ſaw the enemies, maſters of the Land, and might behold them ſtand in battail array all along the River ſide upon the banks, yet made they no N ſtay, but chaſed the fearful fleet of their enemies: and ſo as many ſhips, as either had not cracked, ſplitted, and broken their ſtems, with daſhing upon the ſhore, or were not run a ground, and ſtuck faſt by their keels in the ſhelves, thoſe they drew up, and warped into the deep, with ropes faſtned to their poops; and ſo of thirty they took five and twenty. And yet, the taking of theſe veſſels was not the beſt and goodlieſt work of their victory: but this paſſed all, that with one light skirmiſh they became L L. of all the Sea along thoſe coaſts. And therefore arriving with their whole navy before * *Honoſca*, they landed their men, won the City by forcible aſſault, ſacked it, and from thence went forward toward *Carthage*. And after they had foraged and waſted all the territory about, at the laſt, they fired the very houſes that joyned to the walls and gates of the City. From thence the Armada laden now and charged with rich pillage, ſailed as far as * *Longu-* O *tica*. Where they found great ſtore of *Spart* [to make Cables] provided and laid up there by *Aſdrubal* to ſerve the navy: and when they had taken thereof as much as they needed, they made a light fire of all the reſt. Neither coaſted the Roman fleet along the continent and main only, and ſcoured thoſe parts which lay out into the Sea, but paſſed alſo unto the Iſle * *Ebuſus*: where they aſſaulted hotly for two dayes ſpace, the head City of the Iland, with much ado, and ſmall effect. And when they perceived, that they ſpent time in vain, and were paſt all hope to win it, they fell to rob and ſpoil the country: and after they had rifled and burned certain villages, and

* *Villa Ioyoſa.*

* *Guardamar*, or the cape of *Helchi.*

* *Ivica*, or *Ibiſſa.*

A and got a greater booty & pillage than they had out of the main, they retired themselves to their ships: and thither came Embassadors from the Islands *Baleares* unto *Scipio*, craving peace. From thence he came back with the fleet, and returned into the hither part of the Province, whither resorted unto him the Embassadors of all the Nations that inhabit about *Iberus*, yea and of many also from the farthest part of all *Spain*. But of States that absolutely came under the obedience of the people of *Rome*, doing fealty and homage unto them, and giving hostages for assurance of their allegeance there were above 120. *Scipio* therefore, taking himself strong enough in land forces, went on as far as to the chase of * *Castulo*. And *Asdrubal* retired himself into * *Lusitania*, near the Ocean sea. Hereupon the rest of the summer was like to be quiet: and quiet had it been, for B any thing that the Carthaginians did to the contrary. But, (over and besides the naturall disposition of all Spaniards unconstant, busie and evermore desirous of novelties and alterations. *Mardonius* a Nobleman, who before time had been the Lord and Prince of the Ilergetes, seeing the Romans retired back from the forrest, toward the sea-coast, stirred up the the people of his country, and invaded the peaceable Territories of the Romans associates, for to spoil and waste the same. Against whom there were sent from *Scipio* three thousand Romans, besides certain auxiliary souldiers also, lightly armed; who in a light skirmish discomfited his forces (as being a power gathered in haste, and disordered) slew many, took some prisoners, and disarmed the greater part of them. Nevertheless, the rumour of this alarm caused *Asdrubal* as he departed to the Ocean, to cross the river *Iberus* back again, for the rescue and defence of his friends and Allies. The Car- C thaginians were encamped in the territory of the Ilercaonians, and the Romans near the new Armada, when sudden news diverted the war another way. The Princes of the Celtiberians, who had sent the Embassadors of their country and hostages unto the Romans upon a messenger dispatched unto them from *Scipio*, arose up in arms, and entred the Province of the Carthaginians with a strong and puissant army, won three towns by assault; and afterwards, in two battels which they fought with *Asdrubal* right valiantly slew 15000 enemies, and took 4000 prisoners, and many military ensigns they bare away.

* *Cesima laven.*
* *Portugal.*

Whiles *Spain* stood in these terms, *P. Scipio* came as L. Deputy into that Province, continuing still his government after his Consulship expired, and was sent from the Senat with thirty ships of war, eight thousand souldiers, and great store of victuals. This great fleet, in regard of D many hulks and ships of burden which accompanied it, was kenned and discovered afar off, to the great joy both of Romans and also of their friends and associats, and arrived within the port and haven of *Tarracon*. Where the souldiers were disbarked, and *Scipio* joyned with his brother: and from that time forward they agreed together, and with one accord managed the war. And whiles the Carthaginians were amused with the Celtiberian war, they made no stay, but passed over *Iberus* & seeing no enemy they marched on toward *Saguntum*; for that the bruit went, that the hostages of all *Spain*, delivered unto the custody of *Annibal*, were kept there in hold within the Castle, but with a small guard about them. That was the only pledge which staid all the Cities of *Spaine*, whose minds were well affected and enclined to entertain league and society with the Romans, but they feared lest if they should revolt, it would cost the lives of their E children. This bond which held *Spain* in awe, one man eased them of, by means of a device and practise more witty and subtile than honest and loyal. There was at *Saguntum*, one *Acedux* a Nobleman of *Spain*, trusty and faithful aforetime unto the Carthaginians: but then (as the nature is for the most part of these Barbarians) as fortune altered her countenance, so changed he his allegeance. And supposing, that if he should flie unto the enemies, without performing some notable treason and delivering into their hands one thing or other of great importance, he should be counted no better than a vile, base, and infamous creature, he cast about how he might wind himself into these new Allies, and win them by some good service, unto their best and greatest behoof. And considering all the means that Fortune might bring within his compass to effect, he employed himself especially at the length, to set free and deliver those hostages; thinking that F the only way to win and procure unto the Romans the amity of all the Princes and great men of *Spain*. But knowing assuredly, that without warrant from *Bostar* the Constable of the Castle, the keepers of those hostages would do nothing, he setteth in hand and cunningly goeth to work with *Bostar* himself. Now lay *Bostar* in Camp without the City by the water side, to impeach the Romans for entring the haven. Thither came *Acedux* to him, withdrew him apart into a secret place, and declared unto him as a man ignorant, in what state things stood. Namely, "That it was fear and nothing else, that kept the Spaniards unto that day in obedience, because "the Romans were so far off: but now the Romans were encamped on this side *Iberus*, as a sure "fortress and place of refuge unto them, if they minded any innovation and change of State: "and therefore seeing they could not long be kept by fear, they were to be obliged and bound G "unto *Annibal* by some favour and good turn. When *Bostar* marvelled and demanded what sudden demerit this might be, and of so great consequence. "Mary (quoth he) send back "the hostages into their own Cities. An acceptable present that will be both particularly to "their parents, who are of greatest calling and reputation in their own countries, and also ge- "nerally to all the Cities and Nations. Every man (you know) is desirous to be trusted: and "for the most part, credit given frankly unto one, bindeth him surely to be most faithfull. The "ministery and charge of conducting the hostages home to their own houses, I will require to "have mine own self, that I may farther a plot and device of my own, with mine own proper

"ſervice and employment: and the thing which of it ſelf in nature is acceptable, I will in what I N
"can grace and commend the ſame, and make it more meritorious. Having thus perſwaded the man being not altogether ſo wily as other Carthaginians naturally are, he went by night ſecretly as far as the *Corps de guard* of the enemies, and after he had met and talked with ſome Spaniards that were auxiliary ſouldiers in the Camp, and by them was brought before *Scipio*, he declared unto him his whole intent and deſignment, and the cauſe of his coming. And after they had given and received faithful promiſe mutually between them, and agreed of time and place for the delivery of the hoſtages unto *Scipio*, he returned again to *Saguntum*. The day following he ſpent with *Boſtar*, in receiving Commiſſion from him for the execution of this matter. And thus being diſmiſſed and having his diſpatch, he purpoſed to go in the night, to the end that he might (forſooth) avoid the watch and wards of the enemies, the Romans: and at the hour appointed he raiſed thoſe who had the guard and cuſtody of the children, and put himſelf on his way; and (ſimple man he) as if he had been altogether ignorant of that which hapned, brought them within the compaſs of an Ambuſhment, forelaid beforehand by his own wily and crafty device: and ſo were they brought into the Roman Camp. All other points beſides, concerning the rendring of the hoſtages, according to the agreement and appointment with *Boſtar*, were performed in the ſame order, as they ſhould have paſſed, in caſe all had been done in the name of the Carthaginians, and to their behoof. But the Romans won much more thank, and gained greater favour thereby, than the Carthaginians could have attained in the like curteſie. For the Carthaginians I
(whom in their proſperous ſucceſs the Spaniards had found by experience to be rigorous unto K
them and proud) might have been ſuppoſed if they had done it now, to have been mollified and made more benign and gracious through adverſe fortune and fear: but *Scipio* the Roman General, at his firſt coming, and unknown before time, began with a notable example and teſtimony of clemency and liberality. And *Acedux* beſides reputed a wiſe and prudent man ſeemed not without great reaſon to have made exchange of his Allies and Friends. Whereupon they all deſired with one accord to revolt, and preſently they had taken arms indeed and rebelled, but for the approach of winter which forced as well Romans as Carthaginians to betake themſelves to their winter harbors.

Theſe were the occurrents that fell out alſo in *Spain*, in the ſecond ſummer of the Punick war: whiles in *Italy* the wiſe and wary delaies, the induſtrious temporizing of *Fabius* in the manner of L
his warfare gave the Romans ſome reſpit and intermiſſion of their foils and overthrows. Which as it wrought in *Annibal* no ſmall trouble of mind and perplexity, to ſee that the Romans at the laſt had choſen for their General, a man who managed war, by diſcourſe and guidance of ſound reaſon & not by adventure of fickle fortune; ſo it was deſpiſed of his own Citizens, as wel thoſe that were armed abroad, as gowned at home: & namely when during the abſence of the Dictator, there hapned to be a field fought through the raſhneſs of the Generall of the Cavalry, with more joyfull ſucceſs (to ſpeak truly) than happy and fortunate. Two other things there were beſides, that cauſed the Dictator to be worſe thought of, and in great diſgrace and obloquy. The one through the deceitful and wily policy of *Annibal*: who being enformed by certain fugitive Traitors (that fled from *Rome* unto him) which were the lands and poſſeſſions of the Dicta- M
tor; gave expreſs commandment when he had deſtroyed the country about, and made all even with the ground, to forbear all kind of hoſtility there only, and to touch nothing of his, either by fire or ſword: to the end it might be thought there had been ſome packing between him and *Annibal*; and that this was the hire and conſideration agreed upon between them two. The other aroſe from an action of his own: namely, about the exchange and courſing of certain priſoners or captives: which peradventure at the firſt appearance might have ſeemed doubtful and ſuſpicious (becauſe therein he ſtaid not for to have the Commiſſion and approbation of the Senat) but in the end and up-ſhot it turned no doubt, to his ſingular praiſe and commendation. In that enterchange aboveſaid, it was capitulate between both Generals, of Romans and Carthaginians, (like as it had been afore in the firſt Punick war). That whether ſide received more Captives N
than they gave again, ſhould yield for every one ſouldier * two pound and a half of ſilver. When it fell out therefore that the Roman Dictator *Fabius*, had received more priſoners by 247 than *Annibal*, and the paiment of the ſilver for them due; after much debate in the Senat houſe, (becauſe he had not direction therein from the LL.) was delaied, and no order taken therefore; he ſent his ſon to *Rome* of purpoſe, to make ſale of his lands, which had not been endammaged by *Annibal*: and ſo to his own coſt, and out of his private purſe diſcharged a publike debt.

7,lib.10,ch. 3d, ſterl. accounting 100 drachmes or Roman denarii to a lib.

*Annibal* now lay in leaguer before the walls of *Gerion*, a City which he had won and ſet on fire, and reſerved a few houſes ſtanding, to ſerve him inſtead of barns and garners for his grain. From thence he ſent out two third parts of his forces to purvey corn: and remained himſelf in guard with one third part, ready in arms, (but lightly appointed and without any bag and bag- O
gage) in a meet and convenient place; both for defence of the Camp, and alſo for diſcovery of all the coaſts about that no aſſault were made upon the purveyors. The Roman Army lay then in the Territory of *Larinum*, and the Captain General was *Minutius*, Commander of the horſemen. becauſe the Dictator (as is aboveſaid) was gone to the City of *Rome*. But whereas theſe had uſually encamped before, upon ſome high hill and ſtrong place of ſecurity; now they began to draw down into the vale and the plain ground, and to deviſe crafty means and ſtratagems beyond the natural reach of the Commander himſelf; namely, how they might aſſail either

A either the purveyors as they ſtragled about in the country, or ſet upon the Camp of their enemies, left with a ſmall power and guard to defend it. *Annibal* was not ignorant, that together with the General, the whole manner and conduct of their warfare was changed: and that the enemy would fight rather more raſhly and haſtily, than wiſely and warily. And himſelf (who would have thought it, conſidering the enemy was approached nearer) ſent out a third part only of his ſouldiers to provide corn and forrage, and kept the other twain with him in the Camp: he removed alſo his tents nearer to the Romans, almoſt two miles off from *Gerion*, to a little hill within the ſight of the enemies, to the end they might know he was minded and ready to reſcue and defend the purveyors, if haply they ſhould be charged upon. Then eſpied *Annibal* another hill nearer, and
B ſtanding even over the very Camp of the Romans. For the gaining whereof, (ſeeing that if he ſhould have gone by day time openly, he had been no doubt prevented by the enemies, who would have ſeized it firſt, by reaſon it was nearer unto them) he ſent certain Numidians by night, who ſurpriſed it and kept it. But the Romans making little or no account of their ſmall number, drave them the morrow after from thence, and thither removed their own tents: ſo as then there was but a little diſtance between one Camp and the other, and the ſame, in a manner wholly taken up and repleniſhed with Romans: and withall, at the ſame time, the horſemen of the Romans with certain footmen lightly armed were ſent out at a poſtern gate of the Camp, (which opened not upon the Carthaginians) againſt the forragers, whom they diſcomfited, put to flight, and ſlew a great number of them. Neither durſt *Annibal* iſſue forth to skirmiſh; for, having
C few about him, he was hardly able to defend his Camp, in caſe it had been aſſaulted. So he was driven now to uſe the policy and ſhifts of *Fabius*, (for part of his forces were away) and managed his war, ſitting ſtill as it were, and keeping the enemy at a bay and at ſtaves end: and ſo retired with his ſouldiers to the former Camp, under the walls of *Gerion*. Some write, that there was a field pitched, and a ſet battel fought with banners diſplaied, wherein *Annibal* at the firſt encounter was diſcomfited and chaſed to his Camp: but from thence they iſſued forth who were within and ſo the fear turned upon the Romans, who on a ſudden were put to the worſt: but by the coming of *Numerius Decimus* (a Samnit) with ſuccour, the fight was reenforced and renewed. This man, not only nobly deſcended, but alſo of great power and wealth, as well in *Bovianum* his native Country, where he was born, as throughout all *Samnium* (by order and commandment from the
D Dictator) came with a power of 8000 foot, and 200 horſe, toward the Camp: and being eſpied by *Annibal* on the backſide, gave both parties good hope of freſh and new aid. But when the noiſe went, that *Fabius* at the ſame time was coming alſo from *Rome*, *Annibal* for fear of being entrapped within ſome Ambuſh, retired back with his own men, and the Romans made purſuit after him: and with the help of *Numerius* the Samnit, won in one day by force two fortreſſes. So there were 6000 enemies ſlain, and 5000 Romans. And yet as equal in a manner as the loſs was of both parts, the rumour ran to *Rome* of a brave victory, with letters alſo in poſt from the General of horſemen, full of folly and vanity. Much arguing there was and debate about theſe matters, both in Senate, and before the people ſundry times. And when all the City beſides was joyous, and the Dictator (alone) gave no credit either to the bruit that was blazed, or the letters: ſaying withall,
E That if all were true, yet he feared more the fawning than frowning of fortune: then *M. Metellus* a Tribune of the Commons ſtepped forth and ſaid, "That this above all was not to be ſuffe- The ſpeech of *Metellus* againſt *Fabius*.
"red: that the Dictator, not only while he lay in Camp, oppoſed himſelf againſt all goodneſs, and
"ſtained all valorous ſervices; but alſo being abſent from thence, croſſed and diſgraced that which
"was well done and worthily atchieved: and that he, of purpoſe, drew the war in length and pro-
"longed the time to the end he might continue the longer in government, and be the man alone
"to command all, both in the City and abroad in the Army: for one of the Conſuls was ſlain in
"battel, the other under a pretence & colour of purſuing the Carthaginian fleet was ſent out of the
"way, far enough off from *Italy*: as for the two Prætors, they were employed both in *Sicily* and
"*Sardinia*: and yet neither of thoſe two Provinces had any need of a L. Deputy there. And *M.*
F "*Minutius* Generall of the horſemen, was kept priſoner as it were, and might neither ſee enemy,
"nor do any martial exploit. And hereupon it is (quoth he) that not only *Samnium* (whereof the
"poſſeſſion was ſurrendred unto the Carthaginians, as if it were a territory lying beyond *Iberus*)
"but the Campane, Calene, and Falern territories were utterly overrun and waſted, whiles the
"Dictator abode ſtill at *Caſilinum*, and with the legions of the people of *Rom* defended his own
"lands & poſſeſſions only. And when the Army and General of the Cavalry were deſirous of bat-
"tel, they were kept back encloſed in a manner within the compaſs of the Camp & their weapons
"taken from them, as if they had been captive enemies: & at length when the Dictator was once
"departed from them, they iſſued forth of the Camp, like men delivered from ſiege, & ſo diſcom-
"fited & put to flight their enemies. In conſideration of all theſe things, (he ſaid) if the Commons
G "of *Rome* were of that courage, as ſometimes they had been, he would boldly have put up a bil for
"to deprive *C. Fabius* of his government. But now for this time, he would propound a more in-
"different & reaſonable law, by vertue wherof the Commander of horſemen may be made equall
"with the Dictator in authority and power. Yet ſo, as that *Q. Fabius* might not be ſent unto the
"Army, before that he had ſubſtituted & ordained another Conſ. in the room of *C. Flaminius*. The
Dictator forbare altogether to come into any of theſe aſſemblies of the people, as a man in action and pleading nothing popular, and who framed not himſelf to the humor of the common people; Neither was he in the Senate houſe heard with patience, at what time as he either magnified

and extolled the valour of the enemy; or rehearſed & reckoned up the loſſes and foils received for H
two years ſpace, through the raſhneſs and unskilfulneſs of the Commanders: and ſaid withall, that
the General of the horſemen was to anſwer and give account for fighting againſt his edict and ex-
*Fabius* his words in the Senate. preſs commandment. "Moreover, (quoth he) if I were in place of foveraign rule and government,
"& to do all according as I thought good, I would effect and bring to paſs, within few daies, that
"men ſhould know, that a good warrior was to make ſmall reckning of fortune: but wiſdom, wit,
"and counſel were to guid and direct all. And for mine own part, I deem it a great honor & glory
"to have preſerved an army in a time of trouble and danger from ſhame and ignominy, than to
"have ſlain many thouſands of enemies. After he had made theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches & reaſons
in vain, and created for Coſ. *M. Attilius Regulus*: for that he would not be preſent to debate the I
queſtion concerning the right and authority of his own government, he departed by night ſeaſon
toward the army; even the very day before that the foreſaid law ſhould be propounded. The
morning came, and the commons were aſſembled to an audience: wherein men ſeemed rather ſe-
cretly in their hearts to malice the Dictator, & to affect and favour the General of the horſemen,
than durſt come forth and be ſeen to perſwade and ſet forward that which pleaſed them all in
common. And notwithſtanding the bil was exceedingly well liked of, yet there wanted one to give
ſome credit and authority thereunto. At length, one ſtepped forth to ſet it on foot, namely, *C. Te-
rentius Varro*, who the year before had been Prætor, a man not only of obſcure degree by calling,
but alſo of vile & baſe parentage deſcended. His father was (as they ſay) a Butcher, who kept ſhop
and ſold meat himſelf, and trained up his ſon as his apprentice in the ſame mechanical and ſervile K
occupation. This *Varro* being a young man, and well left by his father (who was grown rich, and
gained greatly by his trade) gave his mind and conceived ſome hope to live more gentlemanlike:
and took a great liking to the common place, and pleading at the bar: exerciſing himſelf in enter-
taining cauſes of baſe perſons, againſt the eſtate and name of honeſt Citizens and of good reputa-
tion: by means whereof he grew to be known among the people, and afterwards was advanced to
place of worſhip and honour. And having been Treaſurer of the City, and born both Ædileſhips,
as well that of the Chair, as the other of the Commons: and at length gone through one Prætor-
ſhip, he aſpired now higher, in hope to be Conſul: and full craftily waited his time, and ſought
to wind himſelf within the favor of the people by means of the ill opinion and hard conceit they
had of the Dictator: & thus he alone went away with all the affectionate love of the Commons. L
All men that were either at *Rome*, or in the Army, both good and bad, in general (excepting the
Dictator himſelf) received and admitted that bill, as made to his diſgrace and ſhameful reproach.
But he with the very ſame gravity and conſtancy of heart, endured theſe injurious courſe & dea-
ling of the people raging againſt him, wherewith he had born his adverſaries ſlandering & char-
ging him before the multitude: and having received in the way as he journied, letters importing
the decree of the Senat for dividing his authority equally with the General of the horſemen, and
being aſſured that notwithſtanding his commiſſion were parted and communicated with another,
yet his ſkill and ſufficiency of conduct and command, remained ſtill with himſelf: with a mind in-
vincible as well againſt Citizens as enemies, he returned to the army. But *Minutius*, who before
that time was hardly to be endured, both for his fortunate ſucceſs and alſo for the favour of the M
common ſort: now verily beyond all meaſure and bounds of modeſty, vaunted and gloried, in that
had conquered & got the maſtery over *Fabius* as well as over *Annibal*: "That *Fabius* (I ſay) who
"in time of diſtreſs and calamity, was the only warrior and Captain that could be found out to
"match *Annibal*: that the ſuperior Magiſtrate was by the conſent & approbation of the people,
"(a thing never to be found in any record of Chronicles) made but even equal with the inferi-
"or; to wit the Dictator with the General of horſemen: and in that City, wherein the Comman-
"ders of the Cavalry were wont to quake and tremble at the rods and axes of the Dictator. So
"conſpicuous and evident in the eies of the world, was his felicity and proweſs above all others.
And therefore minded was he to follow his own fortune, and to take his time: in caſe the Dicta-
"tor ſtill continued ingring in ſloth and idleneſs, condemned in the judgment both of God and N
"man. Whereupon the very firſt day that he & *Fabius* were met together, he ſaid that they were a-
bove all things to determine & ſet down in what ſort they might order this their equal authority
of government. He for his part thought it beſt, that each other day (or if longer time between
were ſuppoſed better) they ſhould one after the other alternatively have the full and whole com-
mand of all for the time in their ſeveral turns: that if any occaſion of fighting a battel were preſen-
ted, they might be able to countervail the enemy, not only in counſel, but alſo in power and
ſtrength. *Q. Fabius* liked not of this; ſuppoſing that whatſoever lay in the hands and diſpoſition
of his raſh colleague muſt needs be ſubject unto the arbitrement of Fortune: Saying moreover un-
to him, "That he was indeed to impart unto him government and rule, but not wholly to depart
"therefro, and ſhut himſelf out. And therefore he would never willingly fail, but (to his power) O
"manage by counſel and diſcretion one part or other: neither would he divide with him either
"time or daies, but the forces and armies: that *Minutius* might have one moyty, and himſelf ano-
"ther: & ſince he might not preſerve all by his own counſel & policy, yet he would endeavour (ſo
"far as he could) to ſave ſomewhat. And ſo much he prevailed, that they parted the Legions be-
tween them, as the manner of the Conſuls was. The firſt and fourth fell to *Minutius*, the ſecond
and third to *Fabius*. In like manner they divided the horſemen number for number, and the auxi-
liary ſouldiers of Allies and Latines. The Generall of the horſemen would needs likewiſe that
they ſhould be encamped aſunder.

*Annibal*

A *Annibal* conceived hereupon a two-fold joy, (for he was not ignorant of all that was done among the enemies, partly by intelligence given him from thence by fugitives, and partly by means of his own escouts and spies) for he made this reckoning, both that he should deal well-enough with the lavish rashness of *Minutius*, and handle him in his kind; and also that the prudent policy of *Fabius* was abridged and diminished by the one half. Now there was a little hill between the Camp of *Minutius* and the Carthaginians: and no doubt there was, but that he who could gain it aforehand should have the vantage of the enemy, in regard of the ground. That hill *Annibal* was not so desirous to get without skirmish, (& yet it had been a matter of good importance) as willing thereby to give some occasion of fighting and scuffling with *Minutius*, whom
B he wist very well to be alwaies forward enough to encounter him and make resistance. The plain all between, seemed at the first sight nothing commodious nor good for men that would lay an ambushment, because it was neither over-grown with any woods, nor yet in any part roughly over-spread and covered, so much as with briers and brambles. But in very deed, the ground was naturally made for to cover and hide an Ambuscado: and the rather, because in so naked and bare a valley none would have imagined and suspected any deceitful trains, and forelaying of wait. And yet there were in divers nooks and corners thereof certain hollow rocks and caves, and some of them of sufficient capacity to receive 200 armed men. In these lurking holes there were bestowed 5000 of horsemen and footmen one with another, some in one place, some in another, according as they might commodiously lie there closely hidden. And yet, lest that the stirring of
C any one that might chance to go forth unadvisedly, or the glittering of armour, should bewray the trains in so open a valley, *Annibal* by sending out at the break of day some few for to seize the aforesaid hill, withdrew the eyes of his enemies another way. These at the first view were despised of the Romans for their small number, and every man was desirous to be doing with them, and their fingers itched for to set the enemies back, and drive them from thence. The General himself *Minutius*, as fool-hardy and forward as he that was most, sounded the alarm, and commanded to go to the winning of the place, braving and threatning of the enemies full vainly. First, he sent forth his light armed men to skirmish, but afterwards, the Cornets of horsemen, set close and jointly together in array: and at the last, seeing the enemies seconded with new succours and supplies, he advanced forward himself with his Legions in order of battel.
D And *Annibal*, whersoever he perceived his men to be distressed, made out continual fresh aides one after another, both of horse and foot, ever as the fight encreased and grew hotter: so as now he had his full army in field, and they maintained battel on both sides with all their power and main forces. First, the light armed Romans, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground, desirous to get up against the hill, (possessed aforehand of the enemy) were put back, and beaten down again: insomuch as in their retire, they put the horsemen in fear that followed hard upon them, and fled for refuge to the Ensigns of the Infantry. The main battell of the Legionary footmen, among all the rest that were affrighted, only remained without fear, undaunted; and seemed in a plain, fer, and downright field without ambush, likely enough to have held their own, and in no respect to have been over-matched; so couragious they were, and had taken such
E heart upon their late victory, some few daies before. But the enemies starting suddenly out of their Ambuscadoes, so troubled, disordered, and terrified them, flanking them on both sides, and charging withall behind, that neither their heart served any of them to fight, nor their hope remained to fly and escape away. Then *Fabius* hearing the first cry, and knowing thereby that they were in great fear, and seeing besides a far off their battell disordered and in disarray, "I thought "even as much (quoth he) and no sooner than I feared, it is fallen out: Fortune I see well, hath "over-raught fool-hardiness, and taken it tardy. The man, forsooth, that must needs be made e-"quall with *Fabius* in government, seeth by this time, that *Annibal* is his good Master, & his be-"ter by ods in proweſs and fortune: but we shall find out some other time to chide and to be an-"gry. Come on now forth with your standards and ensigns, let us wrest from our enemies hands
F "the victory, and wring from our Citizens mouths confession of their errour and trespass. Now when some of them were slain, and others looked about which way to make escape and flie: *Fabius* with his forces shewed himself, as sent down from heaven to rescue them. And before he came to lance one javelin, or began to joyn battell and fight one stroke, he not only staid his fellows from running away, but also his enemies from further heat of fight. As many of the Romans as were disbanded and scattered asunder all abroad, repaired again speedily from all parts, and rallied themselves to the entire battell: the rest who by whole troops had turned their backs, made head again upon the enemy: and one while giving ground and retiring by little and little, another while standing in a ring and round together stedfast, kept this order by turns: so as now, both they that were discomfited, and those that were unfoiled became reduced into one body
G of a battell, and advanced their ensigns against the enemy. By which time *Annibal* sounded the retreat, and openly confessed and said, that as he had vanquished *Minutius*, so he was foiled and overcome of *Fabius*. Thus when the more part of the day was spent with variable fortune, and all retired again to their Camps, *Minutius* called together his souldiers, and spake unto them after this manner: "I have oftentimes heard it spoken (my good souldiers) that he is the best man "and most sufficient, who knoweth himself what is best to do: next to him is he esteemed, that "will be ruled and directed by sage advice & counsel: but he that neither hath the skill to advise an-"other, nor the grace to be advised by another, is simply of the worst nature, & good for nothing.

"Since that we therefore are not ſo happy as to attain unto the higheſt degree of wit, and per- H
"fection of nature, let us content our ſelves with the ſecond place, and keep a mean between:
"and whiles we learn to rule, let us ſettle our ſelves and reſolve to obey him that is wiſer than
"our ſelves. Let us joyn in Camp with *Fabius*, and when we have preſented our ſelves and our
"enſigns before his pavilion and tribunal, ſee that when I ſalute him by the name of Father (as
"is beſeeming his excellent majeſty, and the benefit by us of him received) that ye alſo call thoſe
"ſouldiers your Patrons, whoſe valiant hands and truſty arms erewhile protected you: that this
"day may give us yet if nothing elſe, the honour and name of thankful perſons. Having thus ſaid,
he gave commandment to pack up bag and baggage, and to diſlodge: and as they marched in good
array toward the Camp of the Dictator, they ſtruck both him and alſo all about him into a won- I
der and admiration. And having pitched their enſigns before the Tribunal: then *Minutius* the Ge-
neral of the horſe went forth before the reſt: and after he had greeted *Fabius* himſelf as his Father,
His ſpeech to the Dictator. and the whole Army likewiſe ſaluted thoſe about *Fabius*, by the name of Patrons: "To my pa-
"rents (quoth he) O Dictator, unto whom I have made you equall in name only (as much as my
"tongue will give me leave) I am bound and beholden for my own life only and no more: but to
"you I am indebted for ſaving both my life, and all theſe here. The Act therefore and ordinance
"of the Commons which hath been a clog and burden to me rather than an honour, here of my
"ſelf I renounce, revoke, and aboliſh: and (that which I pray God may prove to the good both
"of you and me, of mine army and yours, as well that which is preſerved as that which is the pre-
"ſerver) lo I ſubmit and ſurrender again my ſelf under your command and government, together K
"with theſe enſigns and legions thereto belonging; beſeeching you to pardon me, and to enter-
"tain me in the room of the General of the Cavalry, and thoſe here with me, every man in his
"former place. Then interchangeably they gave their hands one to another: and the ſouldiers
(after the aſſembly diſmiſſed) were curteoully invited, and friendly entertained, as well by them
that were unknown unto them as of their acquaintance, and ſo the day, dolorous, heavy, and al-
moſt diſmall and accurſed, turned to be joyful and feſtival.

So ſoon as tidings came to *Rome* of theſe occurrents, and the ſame confirmed as well by the
letters of the Generals themſelves, as alſo by the common voice of ſouldiers from both Armies,
every man, the beſt he could, praiſed and extolled *Maximus* up to the ſky; whoſe honour and re-
putation was as great in the opinion of *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, for then and never before, L
they found, that they had to deal and war in *Italy* and with Romans. As for the two years ſpace
before, they ſet ſo light both by Roman Captains and ſouldiers, that they could be hardly perſwa-
ded that they warred with that Nation, whereof there went ſo great a fame, and of whom their
forefathers had reported ſuch wonders and terrible things. They ſay alſo, that *Annibal* as he re-
turned out of the field, gave out theſe words, "That the cloud which ſetled on the hill tops, ho-
"vered ſo long in the wind that it proved a tempeſtuous ſtorm in the end.

Whiles theſe things were doing in *Italy*, *Cn. Servilius Geminus* the Conſul, having ſailed about
the coaſts of *Sardinia* and *Corſica* with his fleet, and received hoſtages both of the one Iſle and
the other, paſſed over into *Affrick*: and before that he landed in the continent and firm land, he
* *Gerbi*, or *Zerbi*. waſted the Iſland * *Meninx*, and having received * ten talents of ſilver of the inhabitants there- M
* 1875 li. ſter. according to the leſſer Attick talent. about, for fear leſt their Territory alſo ſhould be conſumed with fire, and ſpoiled as well as the
reſt; he came to *Affrick*, and there ſet his forces aſhore. From thence he led his ſouldiers and
marriners likewiſe, one with another disbanded and out of order, as if they were to rob and ſpoil
ſome deſart Iſlands, unpeopled and void of Inhabitants. Whereupon they fell unadviſedly into an
ambuſh, and being unskilfull of the country, and therewith but few and ſcattered, they were ſoon
encloſed among many, and with much ſlaughter and ſhameful flight were driven and beaten back
to their ſhips. The fleet thus having loſt a thouſand men, and one Treaſurer of the Army among
them, called *Sempronius Blæſus*, looſed in great haſte from the ſhore (which now was overſpread
* *Marſalla*. by enemies) and held their courſe for *Sicily*, and at * *Lilybæum* was ſet over and delivered to *T. Ot-
tacilius* the Prætor, for to be brought back again to *Rome*, by *P. Sura* his Lieutenant. *Cn. Servilius* N
himſelf journeyed through *Sicily* by land, and croſſed the narrow ſeas into *Italy*: for both he and
his Collegue *M. Attilius* were ſent for by the letters of *Fabius*, to receive the Army at his hands,
now that his ſix-months-ſoveraign government was well near expired. All the Annals in a man-
ner do record that *Fabius* was the man, who during his Dictatorſhip, fought and waged war
with *Annibal*. *Cœlius* writeth alſo, that he was created Dictator by the people. But both *Cœlius*
and the reſt, either knew not, or elſe forgot, that the Conſul *Servilius*, who then was far from *Rome*,
and in the Province of *France*, had the lawful right and authority only to nominate a Dictator:
and becauſe the City ſo affrighted, by reaſon of that notable overthrow could not ſtay ſo long,
they were driven to this ſhift, That there ſhould be created by the people a Pro-Dictator or Di-
ctator his Deputy. But the noble acts and glorious renown of that General, together with the O
title of his Image, which might recommend his houſe more honourable to poſterity, gained eaſi-
ly this point, and cauſed the Pro-Dictator to be reputed Dictator, and ſo called.

The Conſuls, *M. Attilius Regulus*, and *Cn. Servilius Geminus*, having received the army (as is
beforeſaid) fortified in good time the places for wintering harbour (for it was then the Autumn
ſeaſon) conducted and mannaged the wars together in great concord, and followed the ſame poli-
tick courſe that *Fabius* had done before them. For as *Annibal* made rodes at any time to purvey
corn, they would meet him juſt at every turn, in ſundry places, and either cut off the tail of his
men,

A men, or intercept and catch them as they went ſcattering, but never hazard all in one ſet field; the only thing that the enemy ſhot at, by all the means he could deviſe. And ſo near driven was *Annibal*, and to thoſe terms of want and ſcarcity, that but for very ſhame (leſt by his diſlodging and departure he might be thought to flie) he would have retired back into *Gallia*, as being out of all hope to maintain and ſuſtain his Army with victuals in thoſe parts, in caſe the new Conſuls who next ſucceeded, ſhould hold on ſtill the ſame policy and manner of warfare. Winter now approached, and all the war that was, continued and reſted about * *Gerion*: at what time there arrived at *Rome* Embaſſadours from *Naples*, who brought with them, and preſented into the Council-Houſe, forty maſſie boles of beaten gold: and withall delivered this ſpeech, and ſaid, * *Cirgnola.* The Embaſſadors of *Naples* in the Senate of *Rome*.

B "That they knew full well, how the Treaſure of the people of *Rome* was waſted and conſumed "by long wars. And foraſmuch as the ſaid wars were maintained, as well for the defence of the "Cities and Lands of allies, as for *Rome*, the very head, mother City, and principall Citadel (as it "were) of all *Italy*, and for the ſoveraign dominion and Empire thereof: the Neapolitans thought "it meet and reaſon, that what ſtore of gold their anceſtors had left unto them, were it for to a-"dorn and deck themſelves, or to relieve them in time of need and neceſſity, with it they were "to aid and help the people of *Rome* in their adverſity. And if they could have bethought them-"ſelves of any other means beſides, wherein they might ſtead and befriend them they would as "willingly and frankly have made preſentment thereof: ſaying, moreover, that the Senators of "*Rome* ſhould do them an high pleaſure, if they would make account of all that the men of *Na-*

C "*ples* had, as their own; and judge them worthy, at whoſe hands they would vouchſafe to accept "a preſent, much greater, and more precious in regard of the mind and affection of the givers "than the ſubſtance and value of the thing. The Embaſſadors were highly thanked, as well for their liberality and munificence, as for the care they had of them: and that boil was only received which weighed leaſt.

About the ſame time, a Carthaginian ſpy, who for two years ſpace had walked unknown and unſuſpected, was detected and apprehended now at *Rome*: and after his hands were cut off, was ſuffered to depart. Five and twenty ſlaves were crucified for a conſpiracy contrived in *Campus Martius*. The informer was made free, and had * 20000 pound of braſs bullion given him for a reward. There were alſo ſent Embaſſadors to *Philip* King of the Macedonians, to demand * 60 pound 7. ſh 6. d. ſterl.

D again *Demetrius Pharius*, who having been vanquiſhed in plain field, was fled unto him. Others likewiſe were diſpatched to the Ligurians, as well to expoſtulate with them and complain, that they had ſuccoured *Annibal* with men, money and other munition: as alſo to hearken and learn (ſeeing they were ſo near) what the Boians and inſubrians did or went about. Beſides, a third Embaſſage was addreſſed as far as to * *Illyricum*, unto King *Pineus*, to enquire and call for the Tribute, whereof the term was expired and paſt: and if he were minded to take a longer day, than to receive hoſtages and pledges of him for ſecurity. See how carefull the Romans were, and what a provident eye they had, notwithſtanding the great war which lay heavily upon their necks and ſhoulders, to their other affairs: inſomuch as no one thing in the world, how diſtant and remote ſoever, was by them neglected. But as concerning religion, and Church matters, they * *Sclavonia.*

E made ſome ſcruple of conſcience, that the Temple of *Concord* (which *L. Manlius*, L. Deputy in *Gallia*, had vowed two years before in time of a ſedition and mutiny of ſouldiers) was not as yet ſet out to workmen for to be built or edified accordingly. And therefore two Duumvirs were for that purpoſe created by *Æmylius* the Prætor, or L. Governour of the City namely, *Cn. Pupius*, and *Caſo Quintius Flaminius*: who gave order, that the Temple ſhould be built upon the Capitoll hill. The ſame Prætor, by vertue of a decree of the Senate, ſent his letters unto the Conſuls, importing thus much, That if they thought good, one of them ſhould repair to *Rome* for the creation of new Conſuls; and that himſelf would ſummon the Parliament againſt that day which it ſhould pleaſe them to appoint. The Conſuls wrote back again according to the premiſes, That they might not depart far from the enemy without damage of State: adviſing

F them to hold an aſſembly for the Election aforeſaid, by authority of an interregent, rather than that one of the Conſuls ſhould be called away from the wars. But the LL. of the Senate thought it better to have a Dictator choſen by one of the Conſuls, for the holding of that high Court of Parliament. So *L. Veturius Philo*, was nominated Dictator, and he choſe for Generall of the Horſemen *M. Pomponius Matho*. But theſe men being not duly and lawfully created were commanded at the fortnights end to give over their places, and then the matter grew to an Interreign. The Conſuls had their Commiſſion, for government and conduct of the Army, continued and confirmed for one year longer. The Senators named for Interregents, firſt *Cn. Claudius Cento*, the ſon of *Appius*; and after him, *P. Cornelius Aſina*. During whoſe Interreign, the Parliament was holden, with much contention and debate between the Nobles and the Commons. The

G Vulgar people endeavoured to advance unto the Conſulſhip *C. Terentius Varro*, a man of their own coat and condition, one crept into good liking and favour with the common ſort by oppoſing himſelf and conteſting againſt great perſonages, and by other popular practiſes and courſes that he uſed to win grace among the people; as namely, by abaſing the greatneſs of *Fabius*, and the Majeſty of the Dictatorſhip: for nothing was there elſe in him, to commend him to the world, but a malicious mind to bring others into diſgrace. The Nobles withſtood the Commons all they could, to prevent this miſchief; That men ſhould not take a cuſtome to be their equals, by means of inveighing and making head againſt them. *Bibius Herennius* a Tribune of the Commons,

mons, and kinſman to *C. Terentius*, blamed and accuſed much not only the Senate, but alſo the Augurs, in that they forbad the Dictator to finiſh and go through with the election: and ſo by drawing them into hatred, ſought to purchaſe favour and credit unto *Terentius* his Candidate, who ſtood to be Conſul. "Firſt (quoth he) whereas the Noblemen for many years together ſought "occaſions of war, and trained *Annibal* into *Italy*, the ſame perſons craftily have made a long war "of it, when it might have been brought to a final end before now. Alſo, when it was well ſeen "that they might have fought a battel with the compleat power of four legions all together; ſeeing "that *M. Minutius* in the abſence of *Fabius* had a lucky day: two legions only and no more, were "offered and expoſed as it were to the enemy to be hewn in peeces: and then afterwards, they "were reſcued and ſaved from maſſacre, and the very edge of the ſword: to the end that *Fabius* "might be called Father and Patron: even he, who to ſay a truth, firſt impeached the Romans for "vanquiſhing the enemies, before that he ſaved them from being vanquiſhed. Moreover, the "Conſuls that ſucceeded, following the ſame courſe and artificiall fetches that *Fabius* practiſed before them, drew out the war ſtill on length, when they had good means of victory, and "might have fully finiſhed it. A complot (no doubt) contrived and concluded among all the No-"bles. And never will they ſee to make an end of war, before there be a Conſul choſen, a meer "Commoner indeed, to wit, a man never ſeen afore, and of the firſt head. For thoſe who are of "Commoners now made noble, are all alike and of the ſame profeſſion; they draw all in one "line, and have learned one leſſon; and ever ſince that they have left to be contemned of the No-"bility, are faln to deſpiſe and diſdain the Commonalty. For who ſeeth not, that in ſeeking to "have an Interreign, their only purpoſe and reach was that the Election might be full and wholly "in the power and ordering of the Nobles? That was the thing which the Conſuls aimed at, in "ſtaying behind in Camp with the Army: & afterwards when there was a Dictator created againſt "their wills for to hold the great aſſembly for the Election, their drift was, and they wrought ſo, "and brought it about in the end, that the Augurs ſhould give it out and pronounce, that there "was an errour committed in creation of the Dictator. And therefore, ſaith he, the Commons can-"not of all things away with theſe Interreigns: and verily, one of the Conſulſhips (at leaſt) ap-"pertain of right to the Commons of *Rome*: and no doubt, the people in their free election would "more willingly make choice of one to be Conſul, and confer the dignity upon him, that loved "rather to win the victory at once, than to continue commander in the Army a long time. When the Commons were once enkindled and ſet on fire with theſe ſpeeches and remonſtances, albeit three of the *Patritii* were competitors, namely, *Pub. Cornelius Merenda*, *L. Manlius Volſo*, and *M. Æmylius Lepidus*, and two * new Noblemen who were already familiar and aquainted with the Commons, to wit *C. Attilius Serranus*, and *Q. Ælius Pætus*, of whom the one had been High Prieſt, and the other Augur: yet at length was *C. Terentius* only created Conſul, to the end that the election ſhould be in his power, that he might chooſe unto him a Collegue at his pleaſure. Then the Patritians having a ſufficient tryall, that their Candidates and Competitors were of ſmall force and not able to prevail, urged and put forward *L. Æmylius Paulus*, who ſometimes had been Conſul with *M. Lælius*, in the condemnation as well of himſelf as of his companion, eſcaped the peril of being burnt and was well ſinged and ſcorched, as it were in the fire: a man of all others moſt miſchievouſly bent againſt the Commons: him they urged, I ſay, to ſtand for a Conſulſhip notwithſtanding he refuſed a long while, and alledged many reaſons againſt it. And ſo the next Comitiall or Parliament day, by occaſion that all the concurrents and competitors aforeſaid that ſtood with *Varro*, gave place and left off their ſuit, he was choſen to match with the Conſul elect, for to thwart and croſs him, rather than to be aſſiſtant unto him in the government. This done, they proceeded to the election of Pretors, wherein *M. Pomponius Matho*, and *P. Furius Philus* were created. Unto *Pomponius* fell by lot the juriſdiction within the City of *Rome*: and unto *P. Furius Philus*, between the Citizens of *Rome* and forreiners. Two other Prætors beſides were choſen, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, to be ſent L. Deputy into *Sicily*, and *L. Poſthumius Albinus* into *Gallia*. All were created in their abſence, and excepting *Terentius* the Conſul only, there was no Magiſtracy conferred upon any, who had not aforetime born and exerciſed the ſame: for divers valorous and hardy men were paſſed over and left out, becauſe in ſuch a time of trouble, it was not thought good to prefer any man to a government, wherein he was raw and unexperienced. The Armies alſo were augmented; but to what proportion they aroſe, either in Cavalry, or Infantry, I dare not ſet down any thing for certainty; ſo greatly do authors vary both in the number and quality of the forces. Some ſay, there was a new ſupply of 10000 ſouldiers enrolled. Others affirm that to the five legions there were were adjoyned four new beſides, to the end they might employ nine legions in the wars. Alſo, that the legions were increaſed in number both of foot and horſe: to wit, with the addition of one thouſand footmen, and three hundred horſemen in every Legion: [for ſometime before, a Legion contained 4000 foot, and 200 horſe, called *Quadrata legio*: whereas at firſt *Romulus* ordained it to be 3000 of the one, and 300 of the other] ſo as a Legion conſiſted now of five thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe: and that the aſſociats ſhould double the number of horſemen, and find even proportion of footmen with the Romans.

The Oration of *Bibius Heremius* a Tribune.

* [Such as by deſcent and birth were pure Commoners, but by place, become of the Nobility.]

All within theſe marks [ ] read as a marginal note.

Some Hiſtorians have written, that at what time as the battell of *Cannæ* was fought, the Romans were in Camp 87200 ſtrong. But in this they all agree, that the Romans warred with greater preparation, and more force and fury than in years paſt, becauſe the Dictator had put them in

A in good hope, that the enemy might be vanquiſhed and ſubdued at once. But before that theſe new Legions advanced under their enſigns and banners out of the City, the Decemvirs were commanded to go and peruſe the books of *Sibylla*; by reaſon that men were commonly put in fear, and terrified with news of ſtrange ſights and prodigious tokens. For the rumour went, that both at *Rome* in the *Aventine*, and alſo at *Aricia*, it rained ſtones, much about one time; and that in the Sabins Country (which no doubt portended a great maſſacre and ſlaughter) there iſſued out of a certain fountain, waters hot, with much bloud: and men were more terrified therewith, becauſe it did ſo many times together. Beſides, in the ſtreet called *Fornicata* toward *Campus Martius*, divers perſons were blaſted and ſmitten to death with lightning from heaven. Theſe prodigious
B ſigns were expiate and purged with due remedies out of the foreſaid books. Embaſſadors alſo from the City of *Peſtum*, brought unto *Rome* a preſent of maſſie boles of beaten gold. Thanked they were, like as the Neopolitans before them, but the gold was not received.

At the ſame time there arrived at *Oſtia* from K. *Hiero* a fleet of ſhips, ready rigged, and furniſhed with ſtore of victuals; The Syracuſian Embaſſadors were brought into the Senate houſe, where they declared, "That K. *Hiero*, ſo ſoon as he heard of the death of *C. Flaminius* the Conſul, and the "deſeat of the Army, took it ſo heavily, that no proper calamity of his own, or loſs incident unto "his kingdom, could have troubled him more and touched him nearer: and therefore albeit he "knew full well, that the grandeur and courage of the people of *Rome*, was ordinarily more admi-"rable in their adverſity, than in proſperity and welfare, yet he had ſent all thoſe things, where-
C "with good friends and faithfull Allies are wont to furniſh their aſſociats in time of war: praying "the LL. of the Senat, in any caſe not to refuſe the ſame, but to take all in good worth. And firſt & "formoſt, for good luck ſake and fortunate preſage, they have brought with them the Image of *Vi-*"*ctory* in gold weighing 320 pound: requeſting that it would pleaſe them to accept the ſame to "have and to hold it, as their own for ever. Moreover, they had tranſported with them * 300000 "Modios of wheat and 200000 of barley, to the end they ſhould be at no fault for victuals, and "were ready moreover to bring in more, according as they ſhould need, and to what place they "would appoint. As for footmen heavily armed and horſemen he knew well the people of *Rome* "would uſe none but naturall Romans, or at leaſtwiſe Latines. But foraſmuch as he had ſeen and
D "obſerved in the Roman Camp, certein aids conſiſting of light armed ſouldiers, therefore he had "ſent 1000 Archers and Slingers, a meet and competent power to match with the Baleares and "Mores, and other nations that uſe ſhot, and to reach their enemies afar off. Over and beſides "theſe gifts and reall preſents, they counſelled and adviſed them, that the Lord Deputy of *Sicily* "ſhould paſs with his fleet into *Affrick*, both to find the enemy work, and give him his hands "full of war at home: and alſo to afford him leſs reſpite, and worſe opportunity, to ſend aid and "ſuccour to *Annibal*. The Senate returned this anſwer again unto the King: That King *Hiero*
"had done the part of a right good man, and a ſingular friend and ally: who ever ſince that he was
"entred into amity with the people of *Rome*, hath held on the ſame courſe ſtill, in keeping his
"faithfull allegeance, and never failed, but at all times and in all places ſuccoured and advanced
"the State and Empire of *Rome*, with all bounty and princely munificence: which the people of
E "*Rome* took moſt thankfully, as in right they ought. As for gold ſome other Cities likewiſe had
"brought and offred unto them, but accepting only in good worth their kindneſs received it not.
"But the Image of *Victory*, and the happy preſage and foretoken thereof they gladly accepted: and
"for that bleſſed Saint, they appointed and dedicated even the Capitol, and Temple of *Jup. Opt.*
"*Max.* to be the ſeat and ſhrine thereof: that being conſecrated in that Caſtle and higheſt for-
"treſs of the City of *Rome*, it might be propice and gracious, and remain firm and faſt to the peo-
"ple of *Rome*. As for the ſlingers and archers together with the corn they were delivered to the
Coſ. Five and twenty gallies, with five ranks of oars to a ſide, were joined to the Navy which was
under the conduct of *T. Otacilius* the Pro-prætor in *Sicily*: who had commiſſion, if he thought it
good and expedient for the commonweal, to paſs over into *Affrick*. The Conſuls having finiſhed
F the muſters and levied ſouldiers, ſtaid a few daies, untill their allies were come with aid from the
Latines. Then were the Souldiers particularly (a thing never done before) by their Colonels, put
to their corporal oath, and ſworn to make their repair at the Conſuls commandment, and with-
out their leave not to depart: for until that day there paſſed nothing but a ſacramentall parole &
ſimple promiſe in general. For whenſoever the horſemen reſorted to their Decuries, and footmen
to their Centuries; both they of the Cavalry in their Decuries, and alſo of the Infantry in their
Centuries, ſware (after a ſort) voluntarily among themſelves. That they would not abandon their
enſigns by way of flight, or upon any fear, nor go out of their ranks, unleſs it were to fetch either
ſome offenſive armour, or to ſmite an enemy, or to ſave the life of a Citizen. Which having been
aforetime a voluntary covenant & accord between themſelves, was now by the martial Tribunes
G or Colonels reduced to a formal and ſolemn oath and bound the ſouldiers to obſerve them ſame,
of neceſſity. Yet before the enſigns ſet forward and marched out of *Rome*, the Conſul *Varro* dealt
many hot words and brave orations in the aſſembly of the people, intimating & purporting thus
much in effect: That the Nobles had called for war in *Italy* where it was like to remain long e-
nough, and to ſtick cloſe to the ribs of the common-weal, if ſhe were ſerved with many ſuch Ge-
nerals as *Fabius* was. "As for my ſelf (quoth he) I ſhall (I trow) vanquiſh the enemy, the firſt day
"that I ſet eye upon him, yea, and finiſh the war at once for ever. But his Collegue *Paulus* made
but one only ſpeech, even the day before they were to take their leave of the City: which was not

ſo

The Embaſſadors of K. *Hiero*, in the Senat of *Rome*.

* 11520 lib. ſterl.

* 9375 quarters, reckoning ſix modii to *Medimnus*, which is ſuppoſed to be much about a buſhel and a half of *London* meaſure.

so wel taken of the people for the present, as it is proved true in the end. Wherin he gave *Varro* no hard words, nor girded at him otherwise than thus: "That he marvelled much, how any Captain, "before he had experience either of his own army, or of his enemies, and knew the situation of "the place and ground and the nature of the country, sitting as yet within the City in his gown, "could perfectly tell what he was to do in the field, and in arms: and be able also to foretell and "set down the very day, wherein he was to encounter and joyn in ranged battel with the enemy. "For his own part, he would not cast thus aforehand, nor plot his designs and counsels before due "time & season, which present occurrences are wont much more to minister unto men, than men "to fit them to the occurrents that shall happen. This would he wish with all his heart, That the "enterprises taken in hand warily and with discretion, might prove as lucky and fortunate. As for I "inconsiderat rashness, besides that it implieth folly, hath ever to that day sped but ill. Thus it was wel seen, that this man of himself enclined to prefer safe proceeding & advised counsel, before doubtful waies & fool-hardy courses: & to the end that he might persever in that resolution more constantly, *Q. Fabius Maximus* at his departure (by report) bad him farewel, in this or such like manner.

The Oration of *Q. Fabius Max.* to *L. Æmylius* the Consul.

"If either you, O *L. Æmylius*, had a Collegue like unto your self, (which I could rather wish) or "that your self were suitable to your Collegue, these my words to you were altogether needless "and superfluous. For you twain, being two good Consuls, would even without my speech do all "things faithfully to the good of the Commonweal: and contrariwise, if both of you were bad, "ye neither would vouchsafe to give ear to my sayings nor ponder in mind my counsels. But now, "when I consider your companion what he is and your self, to be a man of that quality & worth, "you are he to whom alone I am addressed to direct my whole speech; to you, I say, whom me "thinks I forefee already, like to be in vain and without effect, an honest man and a good Citi- "zen. For if the Commonweal be halt and lame but of one side, as great sway and authority will "bad projects & leud courses carry, as the good, sage and wholsom counsels. For you are far out "of the way and much deceived, O *L. Æmylius*, if you think to be less troubled with *Annibal* than "with *C. Terentius*. And I wot not well, but I greatly fear, that you shall have a more cumbrous "adversary of the one, than a dangerous enemy of the other. For, with *Annibal* you are to fight "in the field and in time of battel only: but with *Terentius* you shall have to do in every place, and "at all hours. Against *Annibal* and his Legions you shall make head, and have the help of your "own Cavalry and Infantry: but General *Varro* will assail you even with your own souldiers. Far "be from you in any ill sense the late remembrance of *C. Flaminius*, for I love no such unlucky "presaging. Howbeit, he began his mad fits when he was once Consul, and never before: when "he was in his Province with command & in the Camp with his Army, and never else. But this "*Varro* even before he stood for the Consulship, and all the whiles he was a suitor therefore, and "now likewise, that he is Consul, before that he seeth camp or enemy in field, is horn-mad, and "talketh like a man besides himself. What foul work then (think you) will he make, when he shal "see himself with armed youths about him in the Camp, who now amongst peaceable Citizens in "their gowns and long robes within the City, stirreth so great storms and tempests, cracking "and vaunting at every second word, of nothing but fight, skirmish, and battel? What a coil, I say, "will he keep there, where no sooner a word spoken, but a blow given; and when upon directi- "on presently ensueth execution? But in case this man (as he saith flatly he will) fall immediatly "to strike a battel, either I know not what belongeth to Art military, and have neither skill how "to conduct this kind of warfare, nor any experience of the quality and nature of this enemy, or "else there will be another place more noble and memorable by our defeat and overthrow, than "was the Lake *Thrasymenus*. But it is no time now to stand upon these terms, and to glorifie "my self in comparison of this one person: who have loved (as it is well known) to exceed and go "beyond all measure in despising glory & honour, rather than in desiring and coveting the same. "But the truth is this & so it will be found in the end, that the only way to war against *Annibal*, "is that which I took and alwaies used. Neither is it the issue and event alone (for that is master "and teacher of fools) which sheweth & proveth this unto us, but even reason it self which hath, "and will be still the same and immutable, as long as things in the world hold on as they do. We "war, (you see) in *Italy*, at home, in our own ground and place of residence: all quarters round "about us, full of our own Citizens or friendly Allies: who daily help us, and will be ready still "to furnish us with armour, men horse, and victuals. Sufficient proof and testimony of their faith- "fulness have they given us already in our hard distress and adversity. Space and process of time "maketh us better stronger, wiser every day than other, and more constant and resolute. Con- "trariwise, *Annibal* is in a strange and forrein land, in his enemies country, in the midst of all "things that are cross and adverse unto him, far from his house and home, far from his native soil, "having peace no where, neither by sea nor land. No Cities receive him and give him entertain- "ment no wals he hath within which he can retire himself in safety. Nothing seeth he, whereso- "ever he goeth, that he can say is his own. From day to day, from hand to mouth, he liveth of ra- "pine and spoil. Scarce a third part hath he of those forces, which he transported over the river *I- "berus*. Hunger and famine hath wasted more of them, than the edge of the sword: and for this "small remainder that is left, he is hard and scant provided of food and sustenance. Make you any "doubt then but we shall vanquish him, whiles we sit still and take our ease, who day by day de- "caieth sensibly, and waxeth old and feeble, who neither hath store of victuals to maintain an "army, nor supply of men to make up his broken bands, nor mass of money to entertain them.

How

A "How long was he fain to fight for *Gerion*, a poor little Caſtle in *Apulia*, as if it had been for the
"walls of *Carthage* it ſelf? Neither will I boaſt and magnifie my ſelf at all before you O *Æmylius*.
"Do you but only conſider, how *Cn. Servilius* and *Attilius*, the laſt Conſuls, plaied mock-holiday
"with him, and deluded him. This is the only way of ſafety, O *L. Paulus*, which I fear me our own
"Citizens will make difficult and dangerous unto themſelves, more than the enemies can. For
"you ſhall have your own ſouldiers and your enemies both of one and the ſame mind. *Varro*
"the Roman Conſul, and *Annibal* the Carthaginian General will aim and reach at one and the
"ſelf-ſame thing. And you, being but one man muſt make account to reſiſt two Captains: and re-
"ſiſt them you ſhall well enough, if you will ſtand firm and hold your own againſt all bruits and
B "ſpeeches of the people, if neither the vain-glory of your fellow that ſhall be blazed, nor the in-
"famous rumours that ſhall be falſly blown abroad to your diſgrace, ſhall once ſtir you from your
"conſtant reſolution and maintenance of the truth. Old ſayings theſe be, and common proverbs,
"That right and true-dealing may well be ſick, but it ſhall not die: it may lie a bleeding, but ſhall
"not miſcarry. And he that will deſpiſe vain-glory, ſhall attain in the end to true glory. Let them
"call you and ſpare not, fearful for careful, cold and ſlow for wiſe and conſiderate, an ill ſouldier
"and ignorant for a skilful warrior and experienced. But be not you diſmaied: I had rather hear
"a wiſe and ſober enemy to fear you, than ſee fooliſh and brain-ſick Citizens to praiſe you. Ad-
"venture all things boldly, *Annibal* will contemn you: enterpriſe nothing raſhly, he ſhall dread
"you. And yet my purpoſe is not, neither ſpeak I this that you ſhould enter into no action at all:
C "but my meaning and advice is, that in all your doings you be guided and directed by ſage rea-
"ſon, not haled and carried away with blind fortune. Order the matter ſo, that all things lye
"within your compaſs, and at your diſpoſition. Stand ever armed and upon your guard. Have
"your eye about you ſtill, and keep good watch, that neither you loſe any opportunity that ſhal
"preſent itſelf unto you, nor yield unto the enemy any occaſion for his advantage. Take time and
"leiſure, your ſhall find all things clear, plain eaſie, and certain. Contrariwiſe, haſt maketh waſte:
"it is ever to ſeek it foreſeeth nought, but is ſtark blind.

The Conſul anſwered to theſe ſpeeches, with no light ſom cheer and gladſome countenane, as confeſſing, That all he ſpake was rather true in ſubſtance, than eaſie in execution. "For (ſaid
"he) if the General of horſemen were ſo violent, and not to be endured of you, who were his
D "Dictator and ſoveraign Commander; what courſe ſhall I take, what ſhift may I make, what
"power and authority ſufficient, am I like to have, to ſway againſt my ſeditious, quarrelſome, and
"heady Collegue? For mine own part, in my former Conſulſhip, I hardly eſcaped a ſcouring,
"and much ado I had to paſs through the light fire of the flaming peoples doom and heavy
"cenſure, wherein I was well ſcorched and half-burnt. I wiſh all may be well in the end. Howbeit,
"if any thing ſhall fall out otherwiſe than well, I had rather hazard the pikes and darts of the ene-
"mies, and leave my life behind me among them, than put my ſelf to be tried again by the voices
"and ſuffrages of angry and teſty Citizens. *Paulus* had no ſooner delivered this ſpeech, but (as the report goeth) he went forth on his journey, and the chief LL. of the Senat accompanied him. The other Commoner Conſul was likewiſe attended of his favourits the Commons, more looked on &
E gazed at for their multitude and number, than regarded for the worth & quality of their perſons.

The anſwer of *Æmylius* to *Fabius*.

So ſoon as they were arrived at the Camp, and that the new army was interming'ed with the old, they divided the whole army into two camps & ordred the matter ſo, that the new which was the leſſer ſhould be nearer to *Annibal*: and in the old, the greater number and the whole ſtrength and flower of the main forces ſhould be quartered. Then they ſent away to *Rome M. Attilius* the Conſul of the former year, who excuſed himſelf by reaſon of his old age, and deſired to be gone. But they gave unto *Cn. Servilius* the charge and conduct of one Roman Legion, and beſides of two thouſand horſemen and footmen of their allies in the leſſer Camp. *Annibal*, notwithſtanding he well perceived that the power of his enemies was re-enforced by one half more than before, yet wondrous joyful he was at the comming of theſe new Conſuls. For not only
F he had nothing left him of victuals, which from day to day he purveyed for, to ſerve his preſent need and no more; but alſo there was no more to be had, and nothing remained for to fill his hands with; by reaſon that after the territory was not ſafe to travel in, the corn from all parts was conveyed unto the ſtrong walled Towns, and there laid up: ſo that (as afterwards it was known for certain) he had ſcarce corn enough for to ſerve ten daies: and the Spaniards, by occaſion of the dearth and want, were at the point to revolt unto the Romans, if they might but eſpy a good and commodious time therefore. Over and beſides, to the inbred raſhneſs and over-haſty nature of the Conſul, Fortune alſo miniſtred matter to confirm him therein. For in a certain tumultuary skirmiſh (to ſtop and impeach the forragers and Plunderers of *Annibal*, and which began rather by chance, as the ſouldiers happned to encounter one another, than
G upon any conſiderate counſel aforehand, or by direction and commandment from the Generals) the Carthaginians had the foil, and went by the worſt; for of them there were 1700 ſlain: but of Romans and Confederates, not paſſing 100. And when in the train of victory they hotly followed the chace in diſarray, the Conſul *Paulus*, who that day had the abſolute command (for they governed by turns, each one his day) reſtrained and ſtaied them. *Varro* thereat chafed and fretted, crying out aloud, That he had let the enemy eſcape out of his hands: and if he had not thus given over the purſuit, the war might have been ended at once. *Annibal* took this loſs and dammage nothing near the heart, but rather made full reckonieg, that he had caught

(as

(as it were) with a bait & fleshed the audacitousness of the fool-hasty Consul and of the new soul-
diers especially. For he knew as well all that was done amongst the enemies, as in his own Camp;
namely, that the Generals were not suitable nor sorting one unto the other: and that of three parts
of the army, two in a manner were but raw, fresh, and untrained souldiers. And therefore suppo-
sing he had now got place and time favourable unto him, to contrive and compass some stratagem,
the night following he led forth his souldiers, carrying nothing about them but their armour;
and abandoned the Camp full of all things, as well private goods and furniture, as publike provisi-
on: and beyond the next hils he bestowed secretly in ambush his footmen well appointed and in
ordinance of battel on the left hand; and the horsemen on the right: and conveighed all his car-
riages into the midst between two flanks: to the end, that whiles the enemy was busied in rifling
and ransaking the tents, forlorn (as it were) and forsaken by the flight of the owners and masters,
he might surprize him laden and encumbred with bag and baggage. He left behind him in the
Camp many fires burning, to the end that the enemies should verily think and believe, that under
a pretended shew of an army in Camp, his purpose was to hold and keep the Consuls amused still
where they were, whiles himself in the mean time might gain more ground and escape further a-
way: like as he had plaid by *Fabius* the year before. When day-light was come and the Coss.
saw, first that the standing guards were gone, and perceived (as they approached nearer) an unwonted silence, they marvelled much. But after they discovered certainly that the Camp was abandoned, and no person remaining behind: there was running of all hands who could run fastest to the pavilions of the Coss. with news that the enemies were fled, in such fear as they left their tents standing entire, and had quit the Camp wholly: and to the end their flight should be more secret and not descried they had left light fires burning in every place. Then began they all to cry and call upon the Coss. for to command the standards and ensigns to be brought abroad and to lead forth in pursuit of the enemies, and without any stay to make spoil and havock of their Camp. And in truth, one of the Coss. was no wiser than the common souldiers. But *Paulus* replied, and told them ever and anon, that they were to be circumspect and wary, and to look about them what they did for fear of an ambush. Yet seeing in the end no remedy and that otherwise he could neither stay the mutiny, nor rule the Captain thereof: he sent out *M. Statilius* (the Provost marshall) with a troop of Lucan horsemen in espiall to discover the coasts and see all were clear: who having ridden hard to the gates and given order to all the rest for to stay without the fortifications, himself with two horsemen besides entred within the rampire, and having looked and searched every corner advisedly, he returned and made relation, That past all peradventure there were knaves abroad, and a piece of treachery was in hand: for why, there are fires made (quoth he) on that side only of the Camp that looked toward the enemy: the pavilions stand open, and all things of price and value which they set more store by are left at random even to fit our hands: and we have seen besides in divers places, silver plate and coin scattered along the way here and there, as it were a bait laid to train us to a booty. These circumstances reported, of purpose to withdraw their minds from covetous and greedy desire of pillage; set them on and kindled them the more. And the souldiers had no sooner cried aloud, that unless the signal were given, they would set forwards without Commanders: but they had a captain straight at hand to lead them the way: for immediatly *Varro* sounded the march. *Paulus* who of himself made slow hast, and perceived besides that the birds in taking the Auspice approved not this enterprise, nor gave good tokens of happy speed, gave order straightwaies that his Collegue should be advertised of the unlucky Auspice, who was ready now to set out of the gate with his standard & that in any wise he should stay. Wherewith albeit *Varro* was not well content, yet the late misfortune of *Flaminius*, and the memorable overthrow at sea of *Claudius* [* *Pulcher*] Consul in the Punick war, wrought some scruple of conscience and fear in his heart. But it was even the fair grace of the gods (if a man may so say) and nothing else, which put by and deferred rather than impeached and inhibited the danger and destruction that hung over the Romans heads. For as good hap was it chanced at the very instant, when the Consul commanded the ensigns to be brought into the Camp, & the souldiers would not obey him that two slaves (who served sometime two horsemen, the one a Formian, and the other a Sidicin, and who in the year when *Servilius* & *Attilius* were Consuls among other forragers were taken prisoners by the Numidians) made an escape and fled that day to their old masters again. Who being brought before the Coss. advertised them constantly, that the whole army of *Annibal* lay close in ambushado on the farther side of the mountains. The coming of these bondslaves so right and jump as they did, caused the souldiers to obey their Coss. Whereas the one of them by his ambitious courting and seeking unto them at the first for a Consulship, and afterwards by his unseemly indulgence and pleasing of them, had lost all his majesty and reputation among them.

* Read the Breviary of the nineteeth book.

*Annibal*, when he saw that the Romans rather began to stir without advice, than still to run rashly on head to the full, and that his crafty device was disclosed and took no effect, returned again into his Camp. Where, he could not for want of corn make abode many daies: and besides, not only souldiers (who were not all one mans children but a confused mixture of all Nations) began daily to plot and enter into new designments, but also their Captain himself was of many minds. For whereas they began with muttering and grumbling, and afterwards with open mouth, to demand and call for their due wages, complaining first of the dearth of victuals, and in the end, of meer hunger and famine: and withall a rumour ran, that the mercenary souldiers,

and

A and the Spaniards especially, were minded and intended to give him the slip, and to turn to the enemy; *Annibal* likewise bethought himself otherwhiles as it was said, how he might flie into *Gallia*, but so, as he would leave his Infantry behind him at six and seven, and so be gone with his Cavalry alone. As men, I say, were thus plotting and devising in the camp, he resolved at length to dislodge from thence, and to remove into the hotter countries of *Apulia*, where the harvest was more timely: considering withal, that the farther he went from the enemies his souldiers who were by nature light-headed and inconstant, would not so easily revolt and flie from him. So he took his way by night, and made fires likewise, and left a few tents standing in sight, that the Romans fearing the like trains and ambush as before, might keep in, and not stir abroad. But when B as the same *Statilius* the Lucan, having scoured all the coasts, both beyond the camp, and the other side of the hills, and brought word that he had discovered the enemies afar off dismarching, then began they the morrow after to think and consult of making after him with hot pursute. But albeit both Consuls continued, as ever before, the same men still, that is to say, diversly minded, and persisting in their several resolutions: but so, as all in a manner accorded with *Varro*, and none agreed unto *Paulus*, but only *Servilius* the Consul of the former year: yet according to the opinion and counsel of the *major pars*, they went both together (for what might hold that which fatal necessity driveth) to make *Cannæ* much renowned and famous for the notable overthrow and defeat of the Romans. Neer this village *Annibal* had encamped under the wind *Vulturnus*, and had it on his back: which wind, when the fields are scorched and burnt with drought, is wont C to bring with it clouds (as it were) of dust. Which as it was good and commodious for the very camp it self, so it was like to serve in special stead, when they should range their battel in order, and fight, with the wind blowing on their back, against the enemy, whose eyes the dust was ready to put out, flying with the wind full in their faces so abundantly.

The Consuls having diligently searched the wayes and tried the passages ever before them, followed *Annibal* hard, and so soon as they were come to *Cannæ*, had him in sight: where they fortified two camps, of like distance almost asunder, as at *Gerion*; and divided their forces like as before. The river *Aufidus* ran close by both these camps, and yeelded watring places according as either of them had occasion and need, but not without some scuffling and skirmish. But from the lesser camp, which lay on the farther side of *Aufidus* the Romans had more liberty to water, be- D cause upon the farther bank there was planted no sconce nor guard of the enemy. *Annibal* having possessed himself of a good plot of ground to his mind, commodious and meet for the service of horsemen (in which kind of forces he was invincible) ordred his battailons in array, & by putting out certain Numidian light horse, made a bravado, and bade the Consuls battel. And even then it fell out, that both the Roman camps were disquieted and troubled anew, what with the mutiny of the souldiers, and what with the disagreement and jarring of the Consuls; whiles *Paulus* laid hard unto *Varro*, and set before his eyes the rashness of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*: and *Varro* again hit him home, and twit him with the example of *Fabius*, which made so goodly a shew in the eyes of fearful, idle, and cowardly Captains: both of them fell to protesting and calling God and man to witness, the one giving out that the fault was not in him that *Annibal* was E now Lord well-neer of all *Italy* already, and why? because himself was kept short and tied fast enough by his Colleague, and the souldiers whose hot blood was up, and who were eager of fight, had their weapons even plucked out of their hands: *Æmylius* on the other side complaining that if ought should hap amiss unto the Legions thus betrayed, and offered wilfully and unconsiderately to the danger of doubtful battel, notwithstanding he were not blame-worthy but innocent altogether, yet should he be the first that smarted, and be partaker of the mischief and misfortune: and yet he would gladly see, whether they who were so ready and hasty of their tongue to speak, would be as nimble & active of their hands to fight, when the time came. Thus whiles they spend time in chopping of Logick & quarrelling one with another rather then in good & sober consultations. *Annibal* who had stood arranged a good part of the day ready to fight, minding to retire his F other forces into his camp, sent forth certain Numidians out of the battel to charge upon the Romans on the other side of the river, who from the lesser camp went for water. These being a disordered & confused multitude, were not fully landed on the bank, but with the shout only & tumult of the Numidians, they were discomfited and put to flight: whereupon the enemy rode farther, even to the standing *Corps de guard*, quartered before the rampart, and hard at the very gates of the Roman camp. This was such an indignity offered to the Romans, to see themselves now thus braved and bearded even in the very camp by the auxiliary souldiers, and the rascal sort of the enemies, that there was no other thing stayed the Romans from passing the river presently, and embattelling themselves, but only this, that it was *Paulus* his turn that day to have the soveraign command of all. And therefore the morrow after, when it came to *Varro* his course for to rule, * That is a scarlet cassock out of the General his pavilion. G without any advice of his companion, he put forth the * signal of battel, and with all his forces put in order of battel, went over the river. *Paulus* also followed after him, as one who might well enough mislike and disallow the purpose of his Collegue, but otherwise could neither will nor chuse, but second him, and take part in the execution. Being once over the river, they join also the forces which they had in the smaller camp, unto the other: and in this manner they ordred the battel. In the right point which was neerer to the river was arranged the Roman Cavalry, and after them the footmen. The left point on the outside was flanked with the horsmen of the associats: within stood their Infantry: but in the middle part were bestowed the Archers

The memorable battel of *Cannæ*.

and looſe ſhot, cloſe to the main battel of the Roman Legions; and of all the reſt of light armed auxiliary ſouldiers, conſiſted the van-guard. The Conſuls led both the points, *Terentius* the left, *Æmylius* the right, *Cn. Servilius* had the conduct of the main battel. Now *Annibal* by the break of day, having ſent before the Baleare ſlingers, and his other light armor, paſſed over the river, and marſhalled them in battel array, ever as they came to land. The horſe as well Gauls as Spaniards, he oppoſed in the left point, neer to the bank, even againſt the horſemen of the Romans: the right conſiſted of the Numidian light horſe: and the main battel was ſtrengthned and fortified with his Infantry: but in ſuch manner as the Affricans flanked both, in manner of wings: and between them were beſtowed the Gauls and the Spaniards in the midſt. A man that had ſeen the Affricans, would have taken moſt of them for Romans, ſo armed were they with Roman armor, gotten much of it at *Trebia*, but moſt of all at *Thraſymenus*. The Frenchmen and Spaniards had targets neer of one faſhion, but their ſwords were unlike and far differing. Thoſe of the Gauls were very long and not pointed. But the Spaniard, whoſe manner is rather to fight with the thruſt and to foyn, then to laſh and ſtrike edglong, had handſome ſhort curtilaſſes, and ſharp at the point. And after this ſort ſtood theſe two nations armed before the reſt (terrible to behold, both for the bigneſs of their perſons, and alſo for their habit and attire.) The Gauls all from the navel upward naked: the Spaniards with linnen waſtcoats or jackets, glittering wondrous bright, bordred and embroidered with purple and ſcarlet. The compleat number of all, as well horſe as footmen, that ſtood embattelled, amounted (as they report) unto forty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand men of arms. Theſe Captains had the leading of the two points, to wit, *Aſdrubal* commanded the left, *Maharbal* the right. *Annibal* himſelf in perſon with his brother *Mago*, conducted the middle battel. The Sun ſhone ſidewiſe upon the flanks both of the one and alſo of the other army, very indifferent and commodious to both parts, were it that they were ſo placed and marſhalled of ſet purpoſe, or chanced at adventure ſo to ſtand: the Romans with their faces full ſouth, the Carthaginians into the north. But the wind which the inhabitants of that country call *Vulturnus*, aroſe and blew full upon the faces of the Romans, and raiſed ſuch ſtore of duſt, and drave it ſo upon their eyes, that it took away their ſight and proſpect. The cry and ſhout began on both ſides, and the Auxiliary ſouldiers put themſelves forth firſt to skirmiſh, and charged one another with their light ſhot. Then the left point of the Gauls and Spaniſh men of arms encountred and ran full upon the right hand of the Romans Cavalry, nothing at all after the order of horſe-ſervice, for they were of neceſſity to affront one another ſtraight forward, as having no room left about them to fling out and ride at large, being flanked on the one hand with the river, and encloſed on the other with the battaillon of footmen. Whereupon I ſay, they were forced to charge full butt from both parts, directly before them, ſo long as their horſes ſtood cloſe and thruſt together: but at length when they began to ſtir and wince, the riders, man to man, fell to take hold and claſpe one another, and every man to pluck his enemie beſides his horſe, ſo as now they were driven much what to fight on foot. This conflict was rather ſharp then long: and to be ſhort, the Roman Cavalry was diſcomfited and put to flight. And anon, as the horſe made an end of their fight, began the skirmiſh of the foot alſo. At the firſt the Gauls and Spaniards equal to their enemies both in force and courage maintained the conflict right hardily, and kept their order and arraies. At length the Romans caſt about and deviſed on what ſide, and with what form of a cloſe battaillon, to force back that pointed ſquadron of the enemies, ranged very thin, and by ſo much the weaker, and bearing out withal, from the reſt of the battel. Now when they had once driven them to retreat, and give ground, the Romans preſſed on ſtill at one inſtant, and with the ſame violence pierced through them as they fled for fear headlong, until they were entred as far as to the very midſt of the vanguard and main battel: and finding none able to ſtand in their way and make reſiſtance, they gained in the end the very rereward of the Africans: who having drawn in from both ſides their skirts and wings, ſtood together ſtrong, and firmly kept their ground. The Gauls and Spaniards continued ſtill in the midſt, ſomewhat advanced without the reſt of the battel. Now when this pointed ſquadron was driven in by the Romans, and made even and equal firſt with the front of the battel, and afterwards upon farther enforcement, gave way for them to paſs in a lane through the midſt thereof; by that time the Africans charged upon their flanks: and whiles the Romans unwarily were engaged over far within them, they came about them on the skirts, and within a while having ſtretched out and ſpread their wings, encloſed the enemies round on their backs alſo. Hereupon the Romans who had performed one battel and conflict in vain, were forced to give over the Gauls and Spaniards, whom they had diſaraied and put to flight, and were to begin a freſh fight with the Africans: and that to their own great diſadvantage; not only becauſe they being encloſed and pent up in a ſtraight room, were to deal with them that had compaſſed them all about and were at liberty, but alſo becauſe they being wearied, were to maintain a new skirmiſh with thoſe that were freſh in heart, and luſty. And now by this time, in the left point of the Romans battel, where the horſemen of their aſſociats were marſhalled to affront the Numidians they were faln to cloſe fight: which at the firſt theſe Numidians began but coldly and faintly, after the deceitful manner of Carthaginians, unto whom they were faſt and neer neighbours. For 500. of them or thereabout, having beſides their uſual javelins and darts which they commonly carry, ſhort daggers or skeins hidden under their cuiraſs and harneſs, made ſemblance of riding away from their own companies, and ſiding to the Romans, with their bucklers at their backs, all of a ſudden diſmounted from their horſes, and throwing their bucklers, targets, and

A and ſpears at their enemies feet, were received within the main battel, and from thence conducted to the hindmoſt in the rereward, were commanded there to abide behind at their back. And until ſuch time as the skirmiſh joined on all ſides, they continued quiet. But when they ſaw every mans eye and mind buſied and occupied in the conflict, then they caught up thoſe bucklers that lay ſtrewed and ſcattered among the dead bodies all abroad, and played upon the battel of the Romans from behind: and what with wounding their backs, & cutting their hamſtrings, they made foul work and ſlaughter among them, and more then that, raiſed a greater fear and tumult by far. Now when the Romans in one place were frighted and ran away, and in another fought for life, armed only with deſpair of all means to eſcape; *Aſdrubal* who had the charge of that ſide,
B cauſed the Numidian horſemen, who fought but coldly with thoſe that ſtood affront them, to be withdrawn from the midſt of the battel, and ſent them to purſue the enemies in the chace. And to the Affricans over weary now with execution and killing, rather then with any other fight, he joined the Gauls and Spaniſh footmen to aſſiſt them. On the other ſide of the battel, *Paulus*, albeit at the very firſt ſhock and encounter, he was ſore wounded with a bullet from out of a ſling, yet oftentimes he made head againſt *Annibal*, and kept his battaillons cloſe and thick together, yea, and in divers places renued the conflict, and evermore the Roman horſemen guarded and protected him. But at the laſt they left their horſes, becauſe the Conſul his ſtrength failed him to rule his own, and to ſit him. Whereupon there was one brought word unto *Annibal*, that the Conſul had commanded his men of arms to light afoot. Then (quoth *Annibal*, as the report goeth) Yea, mar-
C ry: But how much gladder would I be, if he delivered them into my hands bound hand and foot? And ſurely the horſemen fought ſo after they were alighted, as if there had been no doubt, but that the enemy had the victory. Howbeit, although they had the worſe, yet they choſe rather to die in the place, then to flie: and the victors angred at the heart with them for thus ſtaying the accompliſhment of the victory, went down with them, and killed outright all thoſe whom they could not make to give ground and yeeld. And yet a few ſuch as were wearied with much toil and overcharged with many wounds they enforced to retreat. Anon they were all diſbanded and ſcattered aſunder: and as many as could, recovered their horſes, and fled away. "*Cn. Lentulus* a Co-
"lonel ſeeing (as he rode by) the Conſul ſitting all agore blood upon a ſtone. Ah *L. Æmylius* (quoth
"he) whom the gods ought of right to regard and ſave, as being the only guiltleſs man, and in-
D "nocent of this days work and unhappy overthrow, take here this horſe of mine, while ſome
"vigor and ſtrength remaineth in you. Able I am to mount you upon him, to accompany and
"protect you alſo. Come I ſay, and make not this battel more curſed and ſorrowful by the death
"of a Conſul. Without it, I wot, we have cauſe enough already, and too much, of dolorous tears
"and woful lamentation. Whereunto the Conſul made this anſwer: I give thee thanks, O *L. Cor-*
*"nelius* gra-mercy for thy kindneſs, and God bleſs thee in this thy vertue and proweſs. But take
"thou heed to thy ſelf, leſt by thy fooliſh pity of me, thou loſe that little time which thou haſt to
"eſcape out of the hands of the enemies. Save thy ſelf, and go thy ways to the LL. of the Senat,
"and will them all from me in general, to fortifie the City of *Rome*, and man it well with ſtrong
"guards, before the enemy follow the train of victory, and come againſt it. But more particular-
E "ly, let *Q. Fabius* underſtand, that *L. Æmylius* yet, was mindful of his wholſom precepts, all the
"whiles he lived, and now alſo forgat them not at the hour of his death. And ſuffer thou me to
"yeeld unto nature, and let go my laſt breath, even here among the heaps of mine own ſlain ſoul-
"diers, that I may end my days and die neither an accuſed and guilty perſon, nor in my Conſul-
"ſhip ſtand up to accuſe my Collegue, and to defend mine own innocency, and juſtifie my ſelfe,
"by the blaming of another. As the Conſul uttered theſe words, firſt the multitude of his own ci-
tizens in the rout, and then the enemies in purſuit, ran over him; and not knowing who he was, overwhelmed him with javelins and darts good ſtore. As for *Lentulus*, his horſe carried him away to a little hill. Then they fled all amain as faſt as they could, 7000. recovered the leſſer camp, and ten thouſand the greater: and upon two thouſand put themſelves into the village it ſelf of
F *Canna*. But becauſe it was an unwalled and fenceleſs town, they were immediatly environed by *Carthalo* and the horſemen, and ſo periſhed every one. The other Conſul made no ſemblance, that he was offended or diſpleaſed with the companies that thus fled, were it of purpoſe, or as it chanced; and accompanied with fifty men of arms or thereabout eſcaped to *Venuſia*. In this battel were ſlain of Romans (by report) 40000. footmen, and 2700. horſemen; and in a manner, as many beſides of Allies, as of natural Citizens. Amongſt whom there was one Conſul, two Treaſurers, *L. Attilius* and *Furius Bibaculus*, 21. Colonels: ſome alſo who had been Conſuls, Pretors, and Ædiles. Of which number was *Cn. Servilius*, and *C. Minutius Numitorius*, who the year before had been Commander of the Cavalry for ſome certain days. Beſides 80. Senators, or ſuch as were Senators fellows, and had born thoſe dignities, in regard whereof, they were to be choſen Senators.
G Theſe ſerved as voluntaries and were enrolled among the Legions. There were taken priſoners at this field, as the general ſpeech went, 3000. footmen, and 300. men of Arms.

This is that noble battel, ſo famous for the overthrow at *Canna*, and comparable to that defeat at the river *Allia*. For like as this was of leſs importance then the other, in reſpect of that which enſued after the conflict, becauſe the enemy ſtayed his hand, and purſued not his victory: ſo if we conſider the loſs of men and defeat of the army, it was the greater, and for the ſhameful flight more diſhonorable. For the running away that was at *Allia*, as it betrayed the City, ſo it ſaved the Army: but at *Canna*, when the one Conſul fled, there were ſcarce 50. of his army that accompanied

him, and as for the other Conſul, whiles he lay a bleeding and dying, all his forces to ſpeak of, took their heels.

Now there being a number in both camps, half diſarmed, and wholly without their chief Commanders: the Captains of the greater Camp ſent a meſſenger unto the other, willing them to come over thither, that they might march in one entire company together, and depart to *Cannſium* in the night ſeaſon, whiles their enemies were faſt aſleep; as partly wearied with long fight and partly charged with wine & good cheer after their joyful victory. This adviſe, ſome there were that miſliked altogether and rejected. For why (ſay they) might not they come hither themſelvs to us, as well as ſend for us ſince we may as ſoon ſo join together? Becauſe, I wot, all the ways between are full of enemies, and they choſe rather to hazzard the bodies of others, then adventure their own perſons in ſo great danger. Others were not ſo much diſpleaſed for any diſlike of the motion, as their hearts failed them to take in hand the enterpriſe thereof. Then ſpake *P. Sempronius Tuditanus* a Colonel. "And will ye rather choſe (quoth he) to be taken captive by a moſt covetous and cruel enemy? And to have your heads valued at a price? And that Chapmen coming "to buy you in open market, ſhould ask every one of you this queſtion, Whether art thou a Roman Citizen, or a Latin Confederate? And ſo by thy diſgrace, reproach, and miſery, another man "ſhall get honor, and thy ſelf none. Ye are not (I ſee well) like to *Lucius Æmylius*, who made "choice to die valiantly, then to live in ſhame and obloquy; nor to many other ſo brave and "hardy men, who lie about him dead on the ground by heaps. But before day light ſurprize us, "and greater troops of enemies beſet the paſſages, let us break through theſe, that in diſorder and "out of array, make ſo foul noiſe at our gates. The point of ſword and edge of courage, is able to "paſs through enemies, ſtand they never ſo thick and cloſe together. We will make a pointed bat-"taillon in wedg-form, and pierce through their looſe and thin ſquadrons, as eaſily as if nothing "ſtood in our way. Go with me therefore as many of you, as are willing to ſave your ſelves and "the Common-weal. The word was no ſooner out of his mouth, but his ſword was out of ſcabbard, and with a pointed battaillon took his way through the midſt of the enemies: and when the Numidians flanked them, and ſhot hard at their right ſide that lay open to them, they ſhifted their targets to their right arm, and ſo eſcaped, to the number of 600. unto the bigger camp, and forthwith from thence joining to the other greater company, they retired themſelves ſafe to *Cannſium*. Theſe exploits were performed by men yanquiſhed, more upon a preſent fit of courage, as each mans natural inſtinct guided, or chance led him, then either any ſage adviſe of their own, or command of other.

The ſpeech of *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, to his fellow ſouldiers.

Now when all the reſt came about *Annibal* immediatly upon this noble victory to congratulat and rejoice with him, yea, and to adviſe him, that after ſo great a battel performed, he ſhould the reſt of that day, and the whole night following, both refreſh himſelf, and alſo give reſt and repoſe to his wearied ſouldiers: *Maharbal*, General of the Cavalry, was of mind that it was no giving over thus: Nay (quoth he) that you may know of what conſequence this battel is, you ſhall break your faſt and eat your dinner five days hence in the Capitol. Follow hardly with your horſemen, that they may ſee you are come, before they hear that you are comming. No, ſaith *Annibal* again, let curriers on Gods name go afore, and ſpare not to carry news thereof: Your words are good, and it is a gay matter and plauſible you ſpeak of: but the way thereto is longer, and more then I I can preſently conceive and comprehend: I give you thanks *Maharbal*, and I commend your good mind and forwardneſs: but we had need to deliberat and pauſe further upon this point. Ah (quoth *Maharbal*) true it is, I ſee well, that God hath not endued one man with all gifts. Thou haſt the way O *Annibal*, to win a victory, but not the grace to uſe a victory. And ſurely, in this one dayes delay, as it was certainly believed, ſtood the ſafety and preſervation of the City & Empire of *Rome*. The morrow after, ſo ſoon as ever the day began to appear, they minded only and intended the gathering of ſpoils, and to view that great butchery and ſlaughter: a pitiful and lamentable ſight even to the very enemies to behold. So many thouſand Romans lay there along in every place, horſemen and footmen pell mell, one with another, according as their hap was to meet together, and either to join in fight, or die in flight. Some were ſeen to ariſe up all bloody from out of the midſt of the ſlaughtered bodies, ſuch, as the bitter morning cold had nipped their wounds, and made them to ſtart up by reaſon of their ſmart, and were by the enemy knocked down again and killed. Other ſome they found lying along ſtill alive, cut ſhorter by the thighs & hams, who offred their bare necks & throats to be cut & call'd unto them to let forth the reſt of their blood. Divers were found with their heads covered within the earth, who as it appeared had made themſelvs holes & and gutters in the ground for this purpoſe, to inter themſelvs: whereinto they thruſt their mouths & faces, & being buried with mould caſt over them, were ſo ſtifled & choaked. But above all the reſt there was one that drew every mans eye upon him & made them all to wonder, a *Numidian* with his noſe and ears piteouſly mangled & cropt, but yet alive, lying under a Roman dead. For when his hands ſo wounded as they were, would not ſerve him to handle a weapon for very anger he fel mad & lay (ſo long as he had any breath within him) biting his enemy with his teeth.

After they had ſpent a good part of the day in gathering ſpoils, *Annibal* marched forward to aſſault the leſſer camp: and firſt and formoſt he turned aſide the arm of the river that flanked them, and ſo excluded them from the water. But they all within being over-wearied with toil, with watching and bleeding of their wounds, yeelded ſooner then he looked for: and, covenanted, *Imprimis*, to deliver up their armor and horſes: *Item*, to pay 300. Quadrigate

peeces

A peeces of silver, for every Roman: 200. for every one of the Allies: and every bondman 100 a peece. *Item*, that after this ransom paid, they should depart in their single apparel. Thus they received their enemies into the camp, and were themselves put all in ward: but, Allies and Citizens by themselves, apart one from the other. While they trifled time there, there were about 4000. footmen, and 200 horsemen, even as many as either their strength or hearts would serve, who out of the greater camp fled to *Canusium*, some marching in order, others scattering abroad over the fields, which was not the worse way of the twain, and less safe. And then the camp was surrendered to the enemy, by those that were hurt and heartless, upon the same conditions that the other was. A rich booty was there gotten: and setting aside horses, and men, and silver, which
B they used much in trappings and caparisons of their horses, (for souldiers, be ye sure, occupied very little silver, either in their own apparrel, or at their boord) all the pillage was given to be rifled and ransacked amongst them. Then he gave commandment that the dead bodies of his own men should be gathered together for to be buried. And as men say, they were to the number of eight thousand, all right valiant and hardy men. Some Authors report, that the Roman Consul also was sought up and interred. As for those, which escaped to *Canusium*, were by the Canusins entertained only within the walls, and lodged in their houses: but a noble Lady and a wealthy, named *Busa*, relieved them with some victual, apparrel, yea, and money also in their purses for their journey. In regard of which bountiful liberality of hers, after the war was finished, she was highly honored by the Senat of *Rome*.

C Now, there were amongst them four Colonels, namely, *Fabius Max.* of the first Legion, whose father had been Dictator the year before; and *L. Pullicius Bibulus*, of the second Legion, together with *P. Cornel. Scipio*, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher* of the third Legion who had been Ædile but lately afore: and by general consent of them all, *P. Scipio*, a very young man, and *Ap. Claudius* were chosen to bear the soveraign rule, and to have the absolute command and conduct of the army. But as they sat with some few others, in counsel together about the managing of their main affairs, behold *P. Furius Philus*, whose father had been a Consul, gave them to understand that all their consultations were in vain, and that they did but foster and cherish a fool ish hope of an overthrown state: for the Common-weal was in a desperate case, past all cure, and remediless. Also that certain noble young Gentlemen, of whom *L. Cecilius Metellus* was the principal, min-
D ded nothing else but to take sea, and were ready to embark, to abandon *Italy*, and to fly for succor to some King or other. This evil tidings as it was most grievous and heavy in it self: so falling out as it did, presently upon other misfortunes so suddenly and unlooked for, put them into their dumps, and wonderfully amazed and astonied them all. And when they that were present in place laid their heads together, and thought good to call others to counsel upon this point, *Scipio* a young man, even then predestined to be the fatal Captain of this war, answered: What do we here? (quoth he) it is no time now to sit consulting in so great extremity, but leaving all discourses, presently to proceed to action, and to do some exploit. As many therefore as are willing to save the Common-weal, take arms and go with me forthwith: for no where are our enemies (to say a truth) encamped against us more, then where such designments are plotting and contriving.
E Forth he went with a few following after him, unto the lodging of *Metellus*: and finding there the young Gentlemen aforesaid, close together in counsel thereabout: he drew his sword and brandisht it naked over their heads, as they sat in consultation. "I swear before you all (quoth he) "and I swear from my very heart, and no man urgeth me thereto that I for my part will neither "forsake the Common-weal, nor suffer any Citizen else of *Rome* to abandon her. And if I fail wit- "ting and willing, then confound me O *Jup. Opt. Max.* and bring a most shameful end upon my "house, my family, and all that I have. Swear thou O *L. Cecilius* after me, as I have done, I ad- "vise thee: and ye all that are here present take the same oath: for whosoever shall refuse know "he assuredly, that upon him I have drawn this sword. Hereat they being no less terrified, then if they had seen the Conqueror himself *Annibal* in person took the oath every one, and yeelded
F themselves unto *Scipio*, for to be kept in ward to serve against *Annibal*.

At the same time, whiles these things were working at *Canusium*, there arrived at *Venusia* upon four thousand foot and horsemen together, such as in their flight had been separated asunder all over the fields, and repaired unto the Consul there. The Venusins took order for them all, that they should be gently entertained, and carefully tended, and divided into several houses: and they bestowed upon the horsemen, a side cassock, a coat, and *25. *Quadrigates* a peece: and gave ten *Quadrigates* to every footman: and armor besides, to as many as wanted. And in all other courteses of hospitality, both publick and privat, they strove and endeavoured that the people of *Venusia* should not in any kind of friendly offices, come behind ore woman of *Canusium*. Howbeit in regard of the great multitude, the burden and charge lay more heavy upon dame *Bu-*
G *sa*: for now their number was risen to be ten thousand. Then *Appius* and *Scipio* having intelligence that the other Consul was alive and well, dispatched a messenger presently to advertise him how many footmen and horsemen there were in all with them: and to know his pleasure withal whether he would command the army to be brought unto *Venusia*, or abide still at *Canusium*. But *Varro* (the Consul) of his own accord brought his forces to *Canusium*. So as by this time, they made a pretty good shew of a Consular army, and seemed sufficient to defend themselves, if not by force of arms in the field, yet at least wise, with the strength of walls within the town. But the news came to *Rome*, that there was not so much as this small remnant left of Citizens and Con-

* 15 s. 7 d. ob. ster. A Quadrigate, which is a peece of silver coyn among the Romans, the same that *Denarius*: called so of *Quadriga*, i. a chariot drawn with four horses, represented on the one side of the peece.

Confederates together: but that the two Conſuls and both the armies were put all to the ſword H
and hewn in pieces to the laſt man. Never was there known ſo great a terrour and turmoil with-
in the walls of *Rome* (and the City ſtill remaining in ſafety.) I will therefore even at firſt, ſink un-
der my load and ſaying nothing at all: and never will I go about to recount thoſe things by diſ-
courſe of words, which in reporting, I ſhould make leſs then they were indeed. For there went
not now, a flying rumor firſt of one foil, and then of another; to day of this loſs, and to morrow
of that; as the year before when the Conſul and his army were defeated at *Thraſymeneas*, but ma-
nifold overthrows together were multiplied and altogether at once, to wit, how both the Con-
ſuls were ſlain, and two Conſular armies loſt: no camp, not a pavilion of the Romans left ſtand-
ing: neither Leader nor Souldier remaining alive: and how *Annibal* was now become Lord of I
*Apulia*, of *Samnium*, and well neer of all *Italy* full and whole. And verily, there is not (I ſuppoſe)
a nation under the cope of heaven beſides, but would have been overwhelmed and cruſhed utter-
ly under the huge heap and heavy weight of ſo great a ruin & overthrow. Should I compare ther-
with the defeat and foil that the Carthaginians received at the Iſland *Ægates*, in a conflict at ſea:
wherewith they were ſo quelled, and their backs ſo broken, that at one clap they loſt *Sicilia* and
*Sardinia* both, and that which more is, yeelded themſelves tributaries and ſubjects to the people
of *Rome*. Or ſhould I make compariſon of their unfortunate and unhappy battel in *Africk* after-
wards? wherein this very ſame *Annibal* gave over play, yeelded the bucklers, and confeſſed himſelf
vanquiſhed. Nay, they are not any way comparable with this, but only that they were born and
ſupported with leſs courage, and valour of mind.

Well, to proceed, *P. Furius Philus*, and *M. Pomponius* the Pretors, aſſembled the Senat in the K
Court *Hoſtilia*, for to conſult about the defence and guard of the City; for they made no doubt,
but now that the armies were both defeated the enemy would ſpeedily come to aſſault *Rome*, the
only piece of work, and warlike ſervice that remained behind undone. But being to ſeek what
counſel to take, and what remedy to deviſe for redreſs of theſe calamities, ſo exceeding great and
grievous, and yet not known to the full, and interrupted and ſhrewly troubled beſides with the
clamorous noiſes and plaints of women: whiles that in every houſe almoſt, they ceaſed not to
mourn, weep, and wail confuſedly, as well for the quick as the dead (becauſe as yet it was not o-
"penly and for certain known who were alive, and who were ſlain.) Then *Fabius Max.* gave
"his opinion, that certain light horſemen ſhould be made out and ſent forth by the highways *Ap-* L
"*pia* and *Latina*, and to ride along and enquire of them whom they happed to meet with, (ſuch I
"mean as fled, and were ſcattered here and there aſunder) if happily ſome of them could report
"upon his knowledge, what was become of the Conſuls, and the armies: and in caſe the im-
"mortal gods had of their mercy and compaſſion ſpared ſome poor remnant ſtill of this miſerable
"and woful Empire, for the Roman name; where that reſidue of ſmall forces was; what way *An-*
"*nibal* took; and whither he was gone after the battel was fought; what preparation he maketh,
"what preſently he is doing, or intendeth for to do. His advice was, I ſay, that to eſpy, hearken
"and learn certainly, theſe premiſes, certain luſty young men, active and induſtrious, ſhould be
"imployed. But for the LL. of the Senat thus much, that conſidering there were few Magiſtrates
"at home, and thoſe not able to rid the City of this tumultuous and fearful hurliburly, therefore M
"they ſhould take upon themſelves, to debar the dames and women for coming abroad, and
"force them every one to keep home, and tarry within doors; to reſtrain the plaints and outcries
"of houſholds and families: to cauſe ſilence throughout the City; to take order that all Poſts,
"and meſſengers of news, ſhould be brought before the Pretors; and that every man ſhould at-
"tend at home the tidings, good or bad, that concerned himſelf, or his own ſtate. Over and be-
"ſides, that they ſhould ſet warders at the gates, to ſee that no perſon went out of the City: and
"compel every man to hope for no other earthly ſafety for themſelves, but in the preſervation of
"the City, and walls thereof. And when the tumult and hurry is once huſht, then (quoth he)
"may the Senators well be called again into the Councel-Houſe, and conſult for the defence and
"ſafeguard of the City. When all the aſſembly liked well, and approved of this opinion, and went N
every man on *Fabius* his ſide without contradiction, ſo as the market place, by authority of the
Magiſtrates, was cleared and voided of the multitude, and the Senators were divided and gone
ſundry ways to appeaſe the uproars: then at laſt, came letters from *Terentius* the Conſul, impor-
ting, that *L. Æmylius* the Conſul was ſlain together with the army: that himſelf was at *Canuſi-*
*um*, buſie in rallying the reliques of ſo great an overthrow, as it were after a ſhipwrack upon the
ſea: and there were ten thouſand ſouldiers of them, or very nere, and thoſe much out of frame
and good order. As for *Annibal*, he ſat ſtill now at *Cannæ*, buſily occupied about the ranſoming of
priſoners, and intentive to the reſt of the ſpoil and pillage: not meaſuring the victory with the
mind and courage of a conqueror, nor yet after the guiſe and manner of a noble warrior and great
commander. Then were the privat and particular loſſes alſo divulged and ſpread abroad through O
every man his houſe and family, and the whole City was ſo filled with ſorrow and lamentation,
that the Anniverſary ſolemnity of ſacrifices to *Ceres* was forelet, becauſe it was not lawful for
thoſe that mourned to celebrate the ſame: and there was not a matron throughout the City, but
was in heavineſs and ſorrow for the time. Leſt therefore other ſacrifices likewiſe, as well publick
as privat, upon the ſame occaſion, ſhould be neglected and diſcontinued, there paſſed an Act
of the Senat, by vertue whereof a term was prefixed, to make an end of mourning within thir-
ty days. Now was the trouble of the City no ſooner allayed, and the Senators called again

into

A into the Councel-House: but to mend the matter, there were other letters brought out of *Sicily* from *T. Octacilius* the Vice-pretor, notifying thus much, That the realm of *Hiero* was much wasted by the Carthaginian navy: and when he would have succoured him at his earnest suit and petion, there was another Armado ready rigged, decked and furnished, riding by the Islands *Ægates*, waiting the opportunity of the time, that when the Carthaginians perceived once that he had turned and bent his forces to the defence of the coast and river *Syracuse*, they might immediatly set upon *Lilybæum*, and the rest of the Roman province. And therefore in case they were minded to aid and maintain a confederate King, and defend the Realm of *Sicily*, they must of necessity rig and man another fleet out of hand. When the letters both of the Consul and also of the Vice-Pre-
B tor were read, agreed it was, and thought meet, that *M. Claudius*, Admiral of the fleet which rid in the harbour of *Ostia*, should be sent unto the army at *Canusium*, and letters be dispatched withal unto the Consul, willing him upon the delivery of the army unto the Pretor, to repair unto *Rome* with all speed possible, and not fail, so far forth as he might, without any detriment and hindrance of the Common-weal. Besides these so great losses and adversities, men were put in fear with sundry prodigious tokens: and among others, in that one year, two Vestal Virgins, *Opimia*, and *Floronia*, were detected and attainted of manifest whoredom: the one of them was buried quick, as the manner was, under the ground at the gate *Collina* the other killed her self. *L. Cantilius* (a Secretary or Scribe unto the Bishops, whom now they call * *Minores Pontifices*) the party who had committed fornication with *Floronia*, was by the chief or high Priest so beaten with rods
C in the *Comitium*, that he died under his hand. This heinous fact, and enormous offence falling out among so many misfortunes and calamities, was reckoned, I say, (as usually it is) for a portentous sign; and therefore the Decemvirs were commanded to search and perule the Books of *Sibylla*. And *Q. Fabius Pictor* was sent to *Delphos*, to consult with the Oracle there of *Apollo*, and to learn, by what prayers and supplications they might pacifie the gods, and what would be the end of so great and fearful miseries. In the mean while, out of the learning contained in those books of destinies, there were performed certain extraordinary Sacrifices: among which, a Frenchman together with a French woman; likewise a Grecian man and woman, were let down alive in the beast market into a vault under the ground stoned all about: a place aforetime embrued and polluted with the blood of mankind sacrificed, but not according to the ceremonies and religi-
D on of the Romans. When they had sufficiently (as they thought) pacified the gods, *M. Claudius Marcellus* sent from the haven of *Ostia* for the defence and guard of the City, 1500. souldiers; whom he had levied and enrolled for the service at sea. Himself having sent afore the legion belonging to the Armado (which was the third) with *Theanius Sidicinus* a Colonel, and delivered the fleet unto *P. Furius* companion with him in commission: within few days after made haste, and with great journeys arrived at *Canusium*. At *Rome*, by vertue of the Authority of the Senators, *M. Junius* was created Dictator, and *T. Sempronius* General of the horse, who proclamed a muster, and enrolled all the younger sort above 17. years old, yea, and some also under that age, that yet were in their * *Pretexta*, and were not come to * *Toga virilis*. Of these were made up four legions
E tion, to receive souldiers from thence according to the form of the league: giving commandment, that harness, weapons, and all other habiliments of war, should be in readiness. Also to furnish out the army, they plucked from the Temples, and publick Galleries and walking Places, the ancient spoils and armor of their enemies. And for very need and want of free men, they were compelled to devise a new kind of mustering never used before: for they bought up in open market, with the City money, 8000. lusty strong young men, meer bond-slaves: but they demanded first of every one by himself, whether they were willing to serve in the wars, and so they put them in armor. And they thought it better to take up and levy souldiers thus, then to redeem and buy again their own who were captives, albeit they might have been ransomed for smaller sums
F of money. For *Annibal*, after this so fortunate field fought at *Cannæ*, setting his mind wholly upon the affairs belonging to an absolute conquest, rather then any more wars; caused his captives to be brought forth, and severed the Roman confederates apart from the rest; and unto them (as he had done aforetime at *Trebia*, and the Lake *Thrasymenus*) he spake graciously, and sent them home unransomed. The Romans also he called unto him, and gave them kind and loving words, more then ever he had done before. "What? we and the Romans (quoth he) war not "mortally and deadly one with the other to the utmost: nay, our quarrel is rather for honour "and soveraignty. And as my father and progenitors afore me, were subdued of the Romans, and "yeelded at length to their valor and prowess: so the only thing that I seek for, and indeavor unto "is this, That they likewise in their alternative turn, may give place unto my felicity and vertue "together. And therefore I grant the Romans this favor and liberty, to redeem their prisoners: "and this shall be the ransom, for every man of arms I demand * 500 *Quadrigats*, 300 for a foot-"man, and 100. for a bondman. And albeit the horsemens ransom was somewhat inhanced, above that sum which they capitulated for, when they yeelded, yet glad they were to accept of any condition and covenant whatsoever. So it was agreed, that ten out of them should be chosen by voices, to go to *Rome* unto the Senat: and he took no other pledge for assurance of them but their oath, that they would return again. With them was sent *Carthalo*, a Noble man of *Carthage* with commission (if he could perceive haply the Romans encline to peace) to offer unto them conditions, and to capitulate with them. They were not so soon gone out of the camp, but one

of

* The Petty or Minor Prelates.

* It was the uppergarment that the Romans children used until they were fully 16. years of age, embroidered with purple.

* Otherwise called *Pura*, & ἀπόξυρος, because it was all white, and without any purple, which they put on at 17.

of them (a man of no Roman nature and disposition) made semblance, as if he had forgotten H
somewhat behind him, and so to discharge himself (forsooth) of his oath, returned into the camp,
and before night overtook his company again. When word was brought, that they were coming
to *Rome*, there was a Lictor sent out to meet *Carthalo* upon the way, and to warn him in the
name of the Dictator, before night to depart out of the confines of the territory of *Rome*. But
the Committees of the Captives had audience granted them in the Senat-house by the Dictator.
And the principal man among them, *Marcus Junius*, spake in this manner.

The Oration of *M. Junius* to the Senat.

"Right honourable, and my very good LL. of the Senat, There is not one of you all ignorant,
"that never any City whatsoever, hath been at less charge for redeeming of prisoners taken in I
"wars, and made so small regard of them, then ours. But if we be not blinded in our own con-
"ceit, and think better of our cause, then there is reason: never were there any souldiers that fell
"into the hands of our enemies more to be accounted of by you then we are. And why? We yeel-
"ded not our weapons in battel for cowardize and fear, but after that we had stood well neer un-
"til night fighting over the dead bodies of our fellows slain, and so maintained the fight to the
"very last, then we retired our selves into the camp. The rest of the day and night following,
"notwithstanding we were weary with travel, and faint of our hurts, yet we manfully defended
"our rampart. The morrow after, when we were beset and invested round about by the conque-
"rors army, yea and excluded from water: and saw no other hope at all to break through our e-
"nemies, ranged so strong and close together, and thinking it not a matter of reproof, and against
"the law of arms, that when 5000. of our Citizens were slain in field, some Roman souldiers K
"should remain alive after the battel of *Cannæ*; then and not afore, we agreed upon a sum of
"money, that being ransomed, we might be set at large, and so we yeelded unto the enemies our
"weapons, wherein now we saw no help at all. We have heard likewise, that our ancestors re-
"deemed themselves from the Gauls with a sum of gold: and our fathers also, notwithstanding
"they were most straight lated, and hardly brought to capitulate and compound for peace, yet
"sent Embassadors to *Tarentum*, for to redeem their captives: and both those battels, first in *Ita-*
"*ly* with the Gauls, and then before *Heraclea* with *Pyrrhus*, were not so ignominious and shame-
"ful for the losse it self, as for the fright and beastly running away. But the plains of *Cannæ* are
"covered all over with heaps of Roman bodies; and we that be here had not remained alive af-
"ter them, but that the enemies strength held out no longer, nor their sword would serve to kill L
"any more. And yet there be some of our men also who fled not back in battel: but being left
"behind to guard the camp, were taken prisoners by the enemy as well as we, at what time as it
"was surrendred into their hands. Certainly, I envy not the fortune, nor repine at the welfare and
"good estate of any Citizen or fellow souldier, neither would I be thought the man, who by de-
"basing another, would seem to advance my self. But even they verily (unless peradventure good
"footmanship and swift running deserve reward) who for the most part fled out of the field un-
"armed, and never stinted before they gat *Venusia* or *Canusium* over their heads, cannot justly pre-
"fer themselves before us nor boast and glory, that they stand the Common-weal in better stead
"then we. Find them you shall (I doubt not) good men and valorous souldiers: so shall you us
"too, yea, and more ready to do true service to our country, in that by your bounty and good M
"means we have been ransomed and restored again into our country. Ye have levied souldiers of
"all ages and degrees, and I hear say, there be 8000. bondmen in arms. We are no fewer in num-
"ber our selves, and redeemed we may be with as small moneys as they are bought, I say no more
"but so, for if I should make farther comparisons between us and them, I must do wrong to the
"Roman name and nation. This is a special thing moreover (my LL.) which in mine advice ye
"are duely to consider in this deliberation, in case ye be so hard-hearted, as to have no regard of
"us, or of our desert, namely, in what enemies hand ye leave us. It is with *Pyrrhus* peradventure,
"who used us being his prisoners, like friends and guests. Nay, is he not a Barbarian and Cartha-
"ginian? who whether he be more covetous or cruel, can hardly be imagined. O that ye saw the
"irons and chains, the nasty filthiness and foul usage of your Citizens. I am assured, you would N
"be no less moved and affected to compassion at the sight thereof, then if ye beheld on the other
"side your Legions lying slain all over the plains and fields of *Cannæ*. Ye may observe and behold
"the sorrowful chear, and salt tears of our kinsfolk standing here in the porch and entry of this
"Court, and waiting for your answer. And if they so fare, and are so pensive for us, and for them
"that are absent, what heavy hearts have they themselves (think ye) whose liberty and whose
"life lieth now a bleeding? And in good faith, if so be *Annibal* himself would, contrary to his
"nature, be respective and merciful to us, yet should we think our lives did us small good, so long
"as we are reputed of you unworthy to be ransomed and redeemed. There returned in times past
"to *Rome* certain captives, sent home by *Pyrrhus* without any ransom paid, but they returned ac-
"companied with Embassadors right honorable personages of this City, who had been sent for O
"their redemption. And shall I return unto my country again not esteemed a Citizen worth
"300. Deniers. Every man hath a mind by himself, and a fansie of his own my LL. And I wot
"well that my body and life is in jeopardy. But I fear more the hazard of honor and good name,
"lest we should be thought condemned and rejected by you. For the world will never beleeve,
"that you did it to spare your purse, and to save money.

When he had made an end of his speech, immediatly the multitude who were gathered toge-
ther in the common place, set up a lamentable and piteous cry, and held out their hands unto the
Counsel-

A Councel-house, beseeching the LL. of the Senat to let them have and enjoy their children, their brethren, and kinsfolk again. The very women also, for fear and necessity, thrust themselves among this press of men in the market place. But when all others besides the Senators were voided, they began to debate and consult about the matter in hand. Great variance there was in opinion. Some thought it reason, that their ransom were disbursed out of the common chest: others were of mind, that the City should be at no charge at all for their redemption: marry they would not be against it, but that they might be enlarged and delivered at their own cost and expenses. And in case there were any that had not ready coin enough for present payment, the chamber of the City should lend them money, so as the people might have good security, as well by sureties
B bound, as by their good and lands, morgaged for the satisfaction of that debt. And when *T. Manlius Torquatus*, a man of the old world for precise severity, and as most folk thought too too hard and austere in this point, was demanded his opinion, he spake, by report, to the cause in this wise.

The Oration of *T. Manlius Torquatus* in the Senat.

"If the Committees (quoth he) had treated and made suit, for the redemption of them only
"that are captive in the hands of the enemies, and there staied; it they had not touched the per-
"son of any other besides, I would in few words have knit up my verdict and judgement of them.
"For what need I to have done else, but put you in mind, and exhort you, to observe the custom
"delivered unto you from your ancestors, and to maintain the example, so good and necessary for
"the service of war. But now, seeing they have not only justified, but also (as it were) glorified
C "themselves, in that they yeelded unto the enemies, and thought it good reason to be preserved,
"not only before them that were taken prisoners by the enemies in the field, but also those that
"saved themselves, and escaped to *Venusia* and *Canusium*; yea, and before *C. Terentius* himself the
"Consul; I will not hide any thing from you my LL. but acquaint you with every thing that was
"done there. And would to God, that the words which I will utter here in your presence, I
"might deliver at *Canusium*, even before the body of the army, the best witness of every mans
"cowardise or valour: or at least wise, that *P. Sempronius* were present here alone whom, if these
"fellows would have followed as their leader, they had been souldiers at this day in the Roman
"camp, and not captives at the devotion of the enemies. For whiles the enemies were wearied
"with fight, joyous and jocund of their fresh victory, and most of them retired into their own
D "camp; they might have had the whole night to save themselves at their pleasure: and if that were
"not, yet being seven thousand strong, they had been able to have made a lane through them,
"were they never so thick, and to have broken away in despight of their hearts. But neither at-
"tempted they so much of themselves, nor yet would follow the leading of another. *P. Semproni-*
"*us Tuditanus* ceased not all night long almost, to exhort, to admonish, and encourage them, for
"to follow his conduct, to take the time when but a few of their enemies were about their camp,
"whiles they were at repose and rest, and whiles the night lasted favourable unto them, for to
"hide and cover their enterprise: perswading with them, that before day light they might easily
"reach unto places of security, and arrive safely at the Cities of their Allies. Like as in the days
"of our Grandfathers, *P. Decius* a Tribun Colonel in *Samnium*; like as of late time when I was
E "a young man my self, in the first punick war, *Calphurnius Flamma* said unto three hundred his
"voluntary souldiers, at what time as he minded to lead them to the gaining of a little Hill, stan-
"ding in the midst of his enemies: Let us die hardly my souldiers, and by our death save and de-
"liver our Legions, beset and besieged round about. If *P. Sempronius* had said so much to you,
"he would never have esteemed you men of valour, nor yet Romans, if no man among you would
"have born him company, or seconded him in that singular vertue. But he shewed you a plain and
"easie way, leading as well to life and safety, as to honour and glory. He offered himself to be
"your guide, to bring you to your native country: to your parents, your wives and children: yet
"would not your hearts serve you to escape and save your selves. Where had your hearts been
"then, if he would have had you to die for your country? 50000. of our Citizens and Confede-
F "rates, lay that very day slain at your feet. If so many examples of manhood and vertue could
"not move you, nothing in the world will ever move you; it so great a foil and overthrow was
"not able to make you despise and set little by this life; none will ever do it. Desire home a Gods
"name, and long after your native country, whiles ye are free and in safety: nay, desire to be in
"your country, whiles it is your country, and whiles ye are Citizens thereof. Now your desire
"and longing cometh too late, being distranchised, having lost your former estate and right of
"Citizens, and made your selves bondslaves to the Carthaginians. Think ye for a peece of money
"to recover your liberty again, and to return to your former degree, from which through faint-
"heartedness and cowardize ye are fallen? You would not hearken nor give ear to *P. Semproni-*
"*us* your Citizen, willing you to take weapon in hand and to follow after him: but anon after, ye
G "could listen after *Annibal*, commanding you to betray and render the camp, and deliver up your
"armor. But why blame I their lithernes and dastardly fear; when I may reprove and accuse them
"for willful and lewd wickedness; For they not only refused to be ruled by his good counsel and
"exhortations, but also attempted to hinder and stay him in his intended enterprize, had not
"right hardy and valiant men with their swords drawn, set these dastardly beasts farther off. *P.*
"*Sempronius*, I tell you, had somewhat ado, to pass the ranks and squadrons of his own country-
"men, before he could break through the battaillon of his enemies. Longeth our country to have
"these for her Citizens? who if the rest had been like them, should by this day, have had never

a one

a one of them that fought at *Canna*, for her Citizens. Of seven thousand armed souldiers, there H
were found 600 that had the heart to break away, maugre the enemies, to escape and return with
liberty, and with their armor, home into their country, notwithstanding there were forty thou-
sand enemies to resist them: how easily then and safely, deem you, might a power almost of two
Legions, have passed through them and gone their ways? Ye had had this day my Lords twenty
" thousand at *Canusium*, of right brave hardy, and loyal souldiers. But now which way can these
" cowards possibly be reputed true and faithful Citizens (for valiant souldiers, I am sure, they will
" not think themselves, nor take up on them to be, unless a man could be perswaded and be-
" leeve they were such) who would have impeached and withstood the rest for getting away even
" when they were at the point to open a passage; or that they rather do not envy now, both the I
" safety and also the honor of others which they have won by prowess; knowing in their own
" conscience, that their timorousness and cowardliness was the cause of most ignominious and
" shameful servitude. They loved better to close within their pavilions, and to look for the day
" light and the enemy together: whenas in the still dead time of the night, they had the oppor-
" tunity to escape. But how then? Although their hearts failed them to break away out of the
" camp, yet to defend the same manfully, they had courage and valor enough. Besieged they were,
" straitly beleaguer'd: invested they were day and night for a good time: and in their armor forced
" to stand upon their guard, and manfully they quit themselves within their rampart, and at length
" (God wot) when they had assayed and endured all extremities, when all succors failed them for
" sustentation of this life; so pinched with hunger and so enfeebled, that they were not able to
" bear their own armor and lift up their weapons; overcome at the last, rather with the necessi- K
" ty of mans frail nature then by the violence of the enemies, they, good men gave over and yeel-
" ded themselves. Nay forsooth, it is neither so nor so. The morrow morning when the sun arose,
" the enemies advanced and approached toward the rampart: and within two hours after, with-
" out any trial and hazard of skirmish, they delivered up their weapons and themselves. Thus ye
" see what their good service was, for two days together. When they should have stood to it in
" field, and fought, then they fled back to their tents: when they were to guard and defend their
" trench and rampart, they surrendered them to the enemy: good no where, neither in battel nor
" in bastil. I agree to ransom you, you (I say) when you ought to have sallied forth of the camp,
" linger behind and stay still: and when need was, to abide by it and to defend it like valiant men,
" surrender camp, give up your weapons, and yeeld your own bodies to the enemy? Nay, but to
" speak what I think, my sentence is (my LL.) that these fellows deserve no more to be ransomed,
" then those to be delivered unto *Annibal*, who issued out of the camp, pierced through the midst
" of the enemies, and most valiantly saved themselves, for to do service another day in their coun-
" try. When *Manlius* had said, albeit the prisoners were allied neer in kindred to most of the
Senators: yet over and besides the precedent of the City it self, which never from the first begin-
ning favoured the redemption of such souldiers, as suffered themselves to be taken prisoners: the
ransom it self, which amounted to a good round sum made them to pause: because they were un-
willing both to empty the publick treasury; (having already disbursed great sums, in buying up
bond-slaves, and arming them for the wars) and also that *Annibal* (who as the voice went was
at a very great stand for money) should be enriched therby. When this their answer was returned, M
to wit, No redemption of captives: there was a new fit of weeping and wailing afresh added to
the former sorrow of the people, namely for the loss of so many Citizens; and so with many a
tear that they shed, with hideous plaints and moans which they made, they accompanied the Com-
mittees above bidden as far as the gate. One of the ten went home to his house the same time, who
upon a fraudulent and dangerous return made into the enemies camp, as is aforesaid, supposed be
had acquitted himself and discharged his conscience of his oath. Which being known and recoun-
ted to the Senat, they were all of mind that he should be apprehended, and attended with a good
and sufficient guard at the charge of the City, and so carried back to *Annibal*. There goeth ano-
ther report of these Captives, that first there came ten of them as Committees: and when it was
debated in the Senat, and doubt made, whether they should be admitted into the City or no; N
they were at length received, but so, as that they had no audience in the Senat: and upon longer
stay made then they looked for, three others followed after them, to wit *L. Scribonius*, *C. Calpur-
nius*, and *L. Manlius*. Then by mediation of one Tribun of the Com. a kinsman of *Scribonius*, the
matter was propounded in the Senat concerning the ransom of the captives; but granted it would
not be: whereupon the three latter Committees returned to *Annibal*, and the other ten that first
came, remained still behind: who upon a colourable occasion, had made an errand back to *Anni-
bal*, when they were well onward on their way, to take a note, forsooth, of the names of the pri-
soners, and thereby seemed to have discharged their conscience of the oath. Also, that in the Se-
nat there was hard hold, much question and variance, about the delivering of them again into the
hands of *Annibal*: and how at last, they who were of opinion to have them rendered and sent back,
failed of their purpose, by reason they came short by some voices and opinions, and that the o-
other side carried it clean away. But by the next Censors that came in place, they were so marked
and branded with all notes of disgrace and shame, that some of them immediatly made themselvs
away with their own hands: and the rest forbare, not only the common place and market all their
life time after, but also came not abroad, in manner, to be seen in the very street, and never loo-
ked out of their doors. Thus a man may rather marvel, that authors should so differ among them-
selves,

A ſelves, than from any of them pick out and diſcern the truth. But how much greater this overthrow and loſſe at *Cannæ* was, than any other before time, appeareth by this evident argument, in that thoſe Allies, which ever to that day ſtood faſt and ſure unto them, now fell to ſhrink and fail: and ſurely for no earthly thing elſe, but becauſe they began to deſpair of the main chance of the whole State and Empire. For hereupon there revolted unto the Carthaginians, the Attellans, the Calatins, the Hirpins, a part of the Apulians, all the Samnits, except the Petellins all the Brutii in general, and the Lucans. And more then theſe, the Surrentins, and the whole traſt well-neer of the Greeks along the ſea coaſt. The Tarentins, Metapontins, the Crotonians, the Locrians, and all the Gauls within the Alps. And yet for all theſe defeats, and rebellions of their Allies
B and Subjects, were not the Romans one whit enclined to make any mention of peace, neither before the coming of the Conſul, nor yet after that he was returned, and renewed again the dolorous remembrance of that woful overthrow received. And even at that very inſtant, ſo high minded was the City, and ſo far from drooping and being caſt down, that as the Conſul returned homeward from ſo great a defeat, whereof himſelf only was a principal cauſe, he was not only met upon the way by all the States and companies of the City in great numbers, but alſo highly thanked, in that he deſpaired not of the State of the Common-weal: who, if he had been the General and Leader of the Carthaginians, ſhould have been ſure to have ſmoaked for it, and endured all extremity for torment and puniſhment.

C

# The three and twentieth Book

## *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

D

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the three and twentieth Book.

THe Campans revolted unto *Annibal*. Mago was ſent to Carthage, with news of the victory at Cannæ: and in the entry of the Councel-Houſe, he poured out (on the floor) the golden rings which had been plucked from the fingers of the Romans there ſlain, which by report exceeded the meaſure of a *Modius*. Upon theſe tidings, Hanno the nobleſt perſonage among all the Carthaginians, perſwaded with the Senat of Carthage, to ſue unto the people of Rome for peace, but he prevailed not, by reaſon of the Barchin ſide and faction, that gain-ſaid him. Cl. Marcellus the Pretor fought fortunatly before Nola, in a ſally which he made out of the town againſt Annibal. The Army of Annibal fell to riot at Capua,
E and gave themſelvs to ſuch ſenſuality, while they wintred there, that both in bodily ſtrength, and alſo in courage of mind they became much enfeebled. Caſilinum was beſieged by the Carthaginians, and the inhabitants within were driven by extream famine, to eat thongs and leatherings, plucked from off their ſhields and targets, yea, and to feed upon Miſe and Rats. They lived with Nuts which the Romans ſent unto them down the river Vulturnus. The body of the Senat was repleniſhed by receiving unto them a new ſupply from out of the order of Knights or Gentlemen, to the number of 197. L. Poſthumius the Pretor, was together with his army defeated by the Gauls, and put to the ſword. Cneus and Publius Scipioes, vanquiſhed Aſdrubal in Spain, and had the conqueſt thereof. The remnant of the army defeated at
F Cannæ was ſent away and confined into Sicily, and commanded not to depart from thence, before the war was fully finiſhed. A league and ſociety was concluded between Philip the King of the Macedonians and Annibal. Sempronius Gracchus the Conſul, diſcomfited and ſlew the Campans. Moreover, this book containeth the fortunate exploits atchieved by T. Manlius the Lord Deputy in Sardinia, againſt the Carthaginians and the Sardi: who took the General himſelf Aſdrubal, together with Mago and Hanno, priſoners. Claudius Marcellus the Pretor vanquiſhed and defeated in a ſet battel before Nola, the army of Annibal: and was the firſt that put the Romans in ſome good hope of better ſucceſs, after they had been toiled out with ſo many foils and loſſes.

## *The three and twentieth Book of* T. Livius.

G

ANnibal after the battel fought at *Cannæ*, and the winning and ranſacking of both the Roman camps, diſlodged anon, and was removed out of *Apulia* into *Samnium*, being ſent unto, for to come unto the Hirpins country by *Statius*, who promiſed to betray and deliver the City of *Conſa* into his hands. Now there was a Citizen of *Conſa* named *Trebius*, a noble perſonage and of great name in his country. But the bend and faction of the *Coſſanes* (a family of great power, by favour of the Romans) kept him down and over-weighed him: but after

after the fame of the battel of *Canna* and the coming of *Annibal*, divulged and blown abroad by the ſpeeches of *Trebius* thoſe *Coſſanes* abandoned the City: and ſo was it without any conflict rendered unto the Carthaginians, and received a garriſon. *Annibal* leaving behind him there, all the pillage and baggage that he had, divided his army into two parts: giving *Mago* in charge, to poſſeſs himſelf of the towns of that country, which would revolt of themſelves from the Romans: or elſe to force them thereunto, in caſe they denied and refuſed ſo to do. Himſelf took his journey through the land of *Campane*, toward the nether ſea, intending to aſſault *Naples*, that he might be Lord of a Port Town alſo, and have it at his devotion. When he was entred the confines of the Neapolitans, he placed ſome of the Numidians in Ambuſh, as cunningly as he could, (and there for the moſt part, the wayes are hollow, and full of cloſe and ſecret nooks and holes) others he commanded to make a ſhew of driving away a booty out of the fields, and to ride out braving before the gates of the City. Againſt whom (ſeeming to be not many, and thoſe diſordered) a troop of horſmen iſſued forth, but the enemies of purpoſe giving back and retiring from them, led and trained them on, to the place of ambuſh: and ſo they were environed on every ſide, and there had not one of them eſcaped alive, but that the ſea was neer, where they eſpied many fiſher boats along the ſhore on the bank ſide, and as many of them as were skilful in ſwimming, gat unto them, and ſaved themſelves: but in that ſkirmiſh nevertheleſs certain young gentlemen were ſlain. Among whom, *Hegeas* alſo, the Captain of that Cornet of horſemen died in the place, who followed too hotly upon them that retreated & ſeemed to flie. But *Annibal* after he had viewed the walls, and ſaw they were not eaſie to be won, was diſcouraged and ſcared from giving aſſault to that City. From thence he turned his journey, and took his way to *Capua*, a City flowing in wealth and ſuperfluity of all pleaſures, by reaſon of long felicity, and the favourable aſpect of gracious fortune. But among all corruptions that there raigned, it was infected moſt with the licentious looſeneſs of the Commons, who exceeded beyond all meaſure, and abuſed their liberty. *Pacuvius Calavius*, a man of noble race there, and popular withal, but one that by lewd and indirect courſes became rich and mighty, by means thereof, had both Senat & Com. under his girdle, and might do what he would. This man chanced to be head Magiſtrate the ſame year that the Romans were defeated and overthrown at the Lake *Thraſymenus*: and ſuppoſing that the Commonalty (who had been a long time maliciouſly affected to the Senat and Nobility) would by occaſion of alteration in the State, enterpriſe ſome notable act, to wit, (in caſe *Annibal* ſhould come with his victorious army into thoſe parts) the murdering of the Senat, and delivering of *Capua* into the Carthaginians hands. This man I ſay, lewd and bad enough otherwiſe, but yet not ſtark naught and wicked in the higheſt degree: and deſirous to lord it, and domineer with the ſafety of the Common-wealth, rather then with the utter deſtruction of the ſame; as knowing ful wel that no State could remain ſafe, ſpoiled and bereft once of a publick counſel: caſt about and plotted, how he might both ſave the Senate, and alſo oblige the ſame to be at his and the Commons devotion. He aſſembled therfore the Senat one day together, and after he had proteſted with a ſolemn preamble, "That in no caſe he would like & allow of the deſignment and intent "of revolting from the Romans, unleſs it were upon neceſſity and conſtraint: for as much as himſelf had married the daughter of *Appius Claudius*, and had fair iſſue by her: and beſides affianced "a daughter of his own in marriage unto *Livius* in *Rome*: but yet (quoth he) there is a matter of "greater conſequence toward, and a danger like to burſt out more to be feared then that. For the "Commons intend not by way of revolt and rebellion to rid the City of the Senators authority, "but are purpoſed to maſſacre all the Senators, and ſo to deliver unto *Annibal* and the Carthagi-"nians, the Common wealth clearly void of a Senat. Of which imminent peril (quoth he) I know "how to free you, in caſe you will wholly truſt and rely upon me, and forget all former jars, and "old debates, which have fallen out in governance and managing of the Senat. Now when all "of them in place, for fear were forced to put themſelves into his hands: I will, quoth he, ſhut "you up within the Councel-Chamber, and pretend unto them, as though I were one of their "complices, both privy and party to this intended practiſe of theirs: and ſo by ſoothing them up "under a colourable approbation and allowance of their deſignments, which I ſhould in vain "croſs and gain-ſay, I ſhall find out a ready way to ſave all your lives. And for aſſurance here-"of, ask and have of me what bond and ſecurity ye will your ſelves. Thus having made his faithful promiſe to be faſt and true unto them, he went forth, and commanded the Councel-Houſe dores to be ſhut ſure, and left warders to keep the gate and entry thereof, that no man without his licenſe and commandment, ſhould either enter in, or come forth. Then after he had called all the people together to an audience, in a ſolemn and frequent aſſembly, thus he ſpake unto them. "That which ye have often wiſhed for (O ye Campans, my good neighbors and "friends) namely, to have the power and mean to revenge your ſelves throughly of this wicked and curſed Senat, now lieth in your hands to perform with ſafety at your pleaſure. And ye "need not by way of an uproar to aſſault their houſes one after another, to the great danger and "hazzard of your perſons, conſidering how they are defended with ſtrong guards of their vaſſals, "favorites, and bond-ſlaves: ye have them all faſt and cloſe mued up within the Councel-Chamber: themſelves alone, without company, without armor and weapon: there you may take them. "But ſee that ye do nothing haſtily upon head without pauſe, nor raſhly without adviſement. I "will ſo compaſs and bring about, that ye ſhall give your doom of life and death upon every one "of them, to the end that each one may have his deſert, and ſuffer due puniſhment accordingly.

The Oration of *Pacuvius Calavius* to the Commons of *Capua*.

But

A "But above all things ye muſt have an eye and look to this, that proceed ye not too much in "heat and choler: but that ye have more regard of your own ſafety and profit, than of ire and re-"venge. For (I take it) they be theſe Senators only whoſe perſons ye hate and deteſt; and your "meaning is not wholly to put down and overthrow the Senat quite: for either ye muſt accept "of a King (O government abhominable) or elſe admit a Senat, the only Council indeed of a free "City and State: and therefore with one buſh (as they ſay) ye are to go ſtop two gaps, and to do "both at once, namely, to aboliſh and depoſe the old Senat, and to elect a new, I will command "that the Senators ſhall be cited by name one after another: and concerning their life and death, "I will demand your opinion and reſolute ſentence: and look what judgment ye give, ſhall ſure-"ly ſtand and be put in execution. But before the condemned guilty perſon be done to death, ye
B "ſhall ſubſtitute in his room a new Senator, ſome good man of valour and courage, and worthy "to ſucceed in his place. With that he ſat him down. And after all their names were thrown in-to a lottery pitcher and ſhuffled together, he cauſed him to be cited and called aloud by name, and the man himſelf to be brought forth of the councill-Houſe whoſe names chanced to be drawn out firſt. He was no ſooner named, but every man cried out, that he was a lewd and wicked per-ſon, and worthy to be hanged. Then *Pacuvius* ſaid, I ſee (quoth he) what deſtinie ye preſage this man. Rejected he is and caſt out for naught and unjuſt: chooſe now a good Senator, and a right-teous in his room. At the firſt, all was ſilent, and as ſtill as midnight, for default of finding a better to place in his ſtead. Afterwards, when ſome odde groom, paſt all ſhame and reverence, ſeemed to nominate one: by and by they grew to much louder words, and greater clamors: while ſome ſaid
C flatly that they knew not the man, others laid to his charge ſundry lewd and naughty vices, and objected againſt him either abject baſeneſs, poverty and beggery, or elſe ſome diſhoneſt kind of trade and occupation, whereby he lived. Thus fared they and much worſe a great deal, when a ſe-cond or third Senator was named: ſo as it was well ſeen, that the men bethought themſelves and repented of that they had done already, conſidering how they failed ſtill and were to ſeek, when they ſhould ſubſtitute another in his place: foraſmuch as it booted not, but was abſurd to nomi-nate the ſame again, ſince that their nomination gained them nothing but either to hear their vi-ces deciphered, or to bear reproachfull terms: and as for all the reſt, they were far more vile and obſcure perſons, than thoſe that came firſt into their remembrance, and were ſooneſt thought up-on. So the people fell at length, and gently came down to this point, and confeſſed, that, Much
D better was bad they knew, then bad they knew not; and ſeldome came the better: willing the old Senators to be let out of ward and enlarged. By this policy *Pacuvius* having bound the Senat to himſelf, more then to the Commons, and even as much as their life was worth; with-out force of arms ruled the roſt and all was at his devotion and command. Hereupon the Senators laid aſide the remembrance of their own dignity, port, and liberty, became affable to the Com-mons and would ſalute them kindly: inviting them courteouſly, and entertaining them liberally at their boords with exquiſite and delicate fare: undertaking and maintaining all their ſuits and cauſes: ready at all times to aſſiſt them, and ſtand by them: and in one word, empanel'ing Juries (to go upon all cauſes and matters in law) of thoſe whom they knew to be gracious and popular, and fitter to win and procure the favour and affection of the common ſort. Thus at the Councel-
E Table all matters were decided, as if the Commons had there ſat, and not otherwiſe.

This *Capua* was a City ever given to diſſolute life and exceſs in pleaſure, as well by reaſon of the naturall corruption and inſet diſpoſition of the inhabitants, as alſo for the plenteous and flow-ing abundance of all delights, and the alluring inticements of all dainties, that either ſea or land might affoord. But at that time ſuch was the obſequious fawning and the flattery of the Nobles, ſuch was the licentious living of the Commons) they were ſo laviſh, that they exceeded in luſt and ſuperfluity beyond meaſure, and laid it on in expenſe without ſtay. Beſides their contempt of laws, Magiſtrates, and Senat, they grew to this paſs after the overthrow at *Canna*, that whereas be-fore they had ſome awfull and reverend regard of the Romans, now they deſpiſed and ſet naught by the government and Empire of *Rome*; and nothing elſe ſtood in the way, but that preſently
F they would have rejected their rule, and ſhaken off the yoak of obedience and allegeance, ſaving only this, That by reaſon of ancient entercourſe of croſſe and mutuall marriages, many noble hou-ſes and mighty families were linked and allied to the Romans: and again, which was the greateſt bond of all, whereas there had ſerved in the Roman wars, certain of them, there were three hundred men of arms, and thoſe of nobleſt birth of all the Campans, choſen out of them and ſent by the Romans to be reſiant in ſundry garriſons of the Cities of *Sicily*: whoſe fathers and kinſfolk (with much ado) obtained, that Embaſſadors ſhould be ſent unto the Conſul of *Rome*. They found the Conſul at *Venuſia* with a few ſouldiers, and thoſe armed by the halves (for as yet he was not gone to *Canuſium*) being in that poor taking and hard plight, as he could not be in worſe; either to move pity in the hearts of true and well affected allies, or to breed contempt in proud
G and hollow-hearted friends, ſuch as theſe Campans were. Contemptible was their caſe, but the Conſul made himſelf and his condition more deſpiſed, by bewraying too much his preſent diſtreſſes, & laying open to the world the nakedneſs of his calamity. For when the Embaſſadors delivered un-to him, That the Senat and people of *Capua* took it to the heart, and greatly grieved at the ad-verſe overthrow of the Romans, and promiſed therewith, to furniſh him with all things fit and meet for war: "Ye have (quoth he) O Campans, obſerved an order and cuſtom, and for form and "faſhion viſited us your confederats, in willing us to require at your hands all ſupplements of war;

The Oration of *Varro* to the Embaſſa-dors of *Capua*.

"rather then ſaid any thing directly befitting the preſent eſtate of our fortune. For what have we H
"left us at all, after this diſcomfiture of *Canna*, that we ſhould be willing to have that ſupplied
"by our allies which is wanting? As who would ſay, we had ſomewhat already. Should we de-
"mand of you footmen, as though we were furniſhed with horſe? Should we ſay that we lack-
"ed money, as if money only were wanting, and nothing elſe? No, no, Fortune hath deal ſo
"hardly with us, that ſhe hath left us juſt nothing, nor ſo much as that, which might be made
"up and ſupplied by others. Our Legions of footmen, our Cornets of horſe, our armour and muni-
"tion, our ſtandards and Enſigns, horſe and man, money and victuals, all is gone, loſt and peri-
"ſhed; either in the battell, or the morrow after in the ruin of our Camp, when we were turned
"out of our tents and pavillions. And therefore ye are not, O Campans, to aid and help up in this
"war; but in our behalf, and for us, ye ought to take the whole charge of the war upon your I
"own ſelves, againſt the Carthaginians. Call to remembrance how in times paſt, when your an-
"ceſtors and forefathers were fearfully driven to keep within your wals, ſtanding in dread and
"bodily fear, not of the Samnits only your enemies, but alſo of the Sidicins: we took them into
"our protection, and defended them before *Sarricula*: and how for your ſakes we began war
"with the Samnits, and maintained the ſame for the ſpace of an hundred years, and in great
"variety of fortune, giving and taking ſundry foils all the whiles. Over and beſides, call to mind,
"how we concluded an indifferent and equall league with you to the diſadvantage of neither
"parts: how we granted unto you the liberty of living under your own laws: and how at the
"laſt (a matter, I wot, of right great importance and conſequence, before this our late over-
"thrown at *Canna*) we granted unto a great part of you, the freedom and priviledge of Burge- K
"ſie, and parted with you the franchiſes of our own City. And therefore ye ought of right (my
"Maſters of *Capua*, to repute this loſſe and misfortune now received, to be as well yours as ours:
"and to make reckoning to defend the common ſtate and countrey of both. It is neither Samnit
"nor Tuſcan that ye have to deal with, to whom if we loſt and parted with our Empire, yet it
"remained ſtill within the compaſs of *Italy*: but the enemy that purſueth us, is a Carthaginian,
"drawing after him a train of ſouldiers, who are not ſo much as born in *Affrick*, but coming
"from the farthеſt and moſt remote parts and bounds of the world, from as far as the * ſtreights
*Gibraltar. "of the Ocean ſea, even from *Hercules* his pillars: void of the knowledge of all law, right, and
"difference of condition, without reaſon and diſcretion, and (in manner) without commerce of
"mans language. Theſe ſouldiers ſo fierce and fell by nature, ſo cruell and mercileſs by uſe and cu- L
"ſtome, their captain hath withall made more wild and ſavage, by making bridges, cauſeys, and
"high wales, over heaps of dead mens bodies: and (which I abhor to ſpeak) by teaching them
"to eat mens fleſh. To ſee and endure theſe men to be their LL. whom feeding as they do upon
"ſuch execrable meats and viands, which even to touch and handle without great horror we
"may not: to reſort for juſtice as far as into *Affrick* and *Carthage*, and to ſuffer *Italy* to be re-
"duced into a Province under the Numidians and Moors, what is he that would not deteſt and
"abhor, were he but born only within *Italy*? A worthy honour and immortall glory it will be
"for you, O ye Campans, if the Roman Empire and dominion, thus growing to ruin and falling
"down proſtrate under the weight of this late overthrow, might by your fidelity and forcible
"power be ſtaid and upheld, and ſet upright again. I ſuppoſe ye have levied and enrolled alrea- M
"dy thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, out of the Campain: for coin, for corn, ye have
"ſtore and plenty: Now if your faith and truth be anſwerable to your wealth and fortune, nei-
"ther ſhall *Annibal* find that he hath won the victory, nor the Romans feel that they have loſt
"a journey. With this Oration thus ended, the Conſul gave the Embaſſadors their diſcharge,
and diſmiſſed them. As they returned homewards, one of them, *Sabius Virius* by name, ſaid
thus unto his fellows. "Now is the day come (quoth he) wherein the Campans may be able
"not only to recover again the lands which in times paſt the Romans have wrongfully taken
"from them, but alſo obtain and enjoy the ſoveragin rule and Empire of *Italy*. As for *Annibal*, we
"may conclude, covenant & capitulat with him what articles and conditions as we liſt our ſelves,
"to our beſt behoof and benefit: And it is all to nothing, that *Annibal* having now diſpatched N
"and finiſhed the war, will of his own accord depart like a Conqueror into *Affrick*, and with-
"draw his forces out of theſe parts: ſo as the dominion of *Italy* ſhall be left wholly to the peo-
"ple of *Capua*. *Virius* had no ſooner delivered theſe ſpeeches, but they all applauded him and
accorded thereto. And in ſuch terms they related their Embaſſage, as all men thought no leſs
but the Roman Empire and name was utterly periſhed and extinct for ever. Incontinently the
Commons and the greateſt part of the Nobility of *Capua* enclined to revolt and rebell: Yet
by the countenance and authority of the ancients and Elders the matter was ſtaid and defer-
red for ſome few daies. At length the greater part prevailed, whoſe opinion was, that the ſame
Embaſſadors which were ſent to the Roman Conſul, ſhould be addreſſed in embaſſie unto *Anni-
bal*. But I find in ſome Annal-records, that before they went, and before their reſolute determi- O
nation to revolt, there was an Embaſſage ſent from the *Capuans* to the City of *Rome* demanding
thus much, That if they meant to have any aid and help from them, one of their Conſuls might
be a Capuan. Whereat the Senat of *Rome* took ſuch ſnuff and indignation that the ſaid Embaſſa-
dors were commanded to void the Council-Houſe, and a Serjeant ſent after them at their heel
to ſet them out of the City: charged them at their perill, to take up their lodging that night
without the territories of *Rome*. But becauſe this demand jumpeth too near to the like that the

Latine

A Latines made long before: and both *Calius* and other Historians have (not without good reason) passed it over and said nothing thereof, I dare not avow it for a truth. Well, Embassadors there came unto *Annibal*, and concluded peace with him under these conditions, and covenants: *Inprimis*, That no General, Captain, or Magistrate of the Carthaginians should have any jurisdiction or power over a Citizen of *Capua*: *Item*, That no Citizen of *Capua* should be compelled against his will to serve in any wars, or execute the charge and office of a souldier. *Item*, That the Campans still enjoy their old Laws and Magistrates of their own: *Item*, That *Annibal* deliver unto the Campans three hundred Roman Captives, such as they themselves shall choose; whom they might course and exchange for these three hundred horsemen of the Campans that were in
B garrison, and served for pay in *Sicily*. These were the Articles of the accord. But the Campans stuck not to do more than so, and to go farther than their capitulations: committing divers and sundry outrages. For the Commons suddenly at once apprehended all the Roman Captives over the confederate souldiers, yea, and attached other Citizens of *Rome*, that were either employed in any military charge, or otherwise occupied in their private affairs: and caused them to be clapt up within the stoves and hot houses, as in ward and safe custody, where their breath being stuffed and stopped up with exceeding heat, and steaming vapours, they were stifled, and died miserably. But there was one *Decius Magius*, a man who wanted no means of soveraign authority, but only the sobriety, discretion, and wisdom of the Citizens with whom he lived; who withstood all that ever he could such enormous and audacious courses, and endeavoured to hinder the Em-
C bassage sent to *Annibal*. And so soon as he heard that *Annibal* was sending a garrison, he recounted unto his fellow Citizens the proud and lordly rule of *Pyrrhus*, the miserable and wretched thraldom of the Tarentines, as precedents sufficient to give them warning. He ceased not to cry aloud in open place and audience, first, that they should not receive the garrison into the City: then, that being admitted, they should either be thrust out again; or rather if they would expiate and make amends by some valiant and memorable act for that shamefull lend part of theirs in revolting so from their most ancient Allies, yea, and kinsmen by blood, they should fall upon the Carthaginian garrison, and kill them every one, and so reconcile themselves again to the Romans. *Annibal* having intelligence of these plots (for they were not a forging and contriving in a corner) first sent certain messengers to summon *Magius* to repair unto his presence within his Camp.
D After that, seeing he stoutly denied to go, (for he pleaded that *Annibal* had no authority nor right to command a Citizen of *Capua*) he waxed wroth, and commanded the man to be apprehended, and to be haled perforce bound unto him. But fearing, upon better advice, lest by offering such violence some tumult might arise, and in the heat of blood break forth into an inconsiderate fray, he dispatched beforehand a messenger of purpose unto *Marius Blasius*, the Prætor or L. Governor of *Capua*: signifying, that the morrow next following he would be personally in *Capua*: and so with a small guard about him, he set forth of his Camp, and put himself on his journey. *Marius* assembled the people together, making proclamation, and warning them to be ready in all frequent solemnity, with their wives and children, to meet *Annibal* upon the way. They of the adverse side unto *Magius* and the Romans performed this not only
E obediently, but also most effectually, and with great diligence and endeavour. Yea, the common sort likewise were very forward in this action, as desirous especially to see this great General and brave warrior, so noble and renowned for his many victories. *Decius Magius* neither went forth to meet him, nor yet kept his house, because he would not seem to fear and carry a guilty conscience: but walked up and down idly for his pleasure in the Market place with one of his sons, and a few of his vassals and followers, whiles the whole City besides was busily occupied, and much troubled in the entertaining and beholding of this great Captain and Commander of the Carthaginians. *Annibal* being entred the City, incontinently required to have audience in their Council-House. Whereupon, the Nobles and principall Citizens of *Capua* requested him that he would not that day intend any weighty matters of importance, but himself in person solem-
F nize it with joy and mirth, as an high and festivall holiday for his welcome thither. And albeit he was by nature hasty, and ready to fall into fits of anger, yet because he would not seem at his first coming to deny them any thing, he employed a good part of that day in seeing and viewing the City. Entertained and lodged he was and his whole train with the *Manii*, *Celeres*, *Stenius*, and *Pacuvius*, the most noble and honourable personages, and the wealthiest of all others. Thither unto him, *Pacuvius Calavius* (concerning whom I spake before, the principal man of that bend and faction, which reduced the City to the obedience and devotion of *Annibal*) brought his own son a young Gentleman, and said withall, that the youth kept continually with *Decius*, and that he was fain to pluck him away from his company and train, whose part he took, and stuck most stiffly to him, in maintaining the old society and amity of the Romans, against
G the new League with the Carthaginians; and neither the bending and inclination of the whole City to the contrary side, nor yet the reverent majesty of a father, had yet driven him from his obstinate resolution. And for that time the father laboured with *Annibal* rather by way of prayer and intreaty, than by excusing and clearing his son, that he would not be discontented nor displeased with the young man. So he was overcome with the importunate request and plentifull teares of the father, and gave commandment, that he together with his father should be bidden to supper, at which feast he purposed to have the company of no other guests of all *Capua*, but only of his hostess that have him entertainment, and one *Jubellius Taurea*,

a famous and brave warrior. To supper they went long before day-light went down, and fared at H
the table, not after the guise of Carthaginians nor according to the discipline of souldiers, but after the order of a City and house, which had been used a long time to have the boord furnished with sundry sorts of dainty dishes, and with all delicate junkets to please the palate and taste. *Perolla* only the son of *Calavius*, could not be brought to change his mind, and shew himself cheerful and merry at meat, notwithstanding the Masters of the feast, and *Annibal* himself otherwhiles invited him to bear them company, and sit with them; but he ever made his excuse to his father, that he was ill at ease and sickly whensoever he seemed to examine him, and to know the cause of such wonderful trouble of mind, and vexation of spirit. So, a little afore sun-setting, when his father arose, and was gone out from supper, he followed hard after him: and when they weee come into I
a secret place apart, (a garden it was on the back side of the house) "I will tell you a thing father,
"I have in my head a policy, and a ready mean, how we shall not only obtain pardon at the Ro-
"mans hands for our trespass committed, in falling away from them, and turning to *Annibal*: but
"also how we Campans may be in far greater estimation and favour among them than ever we
"were. The father marvelling hereat, was desirous to know what device that might be: and with
"that the youth cast his gown from off his shoulders, and shewed him a good blade girded to
"his side. I will, quoth he, out of hand, establish and seal sure the Roman League with the bloud
"of *Annibal*. I was desirous (father) to let you know of it aforehand, if peradventure you would
"be willing to be out of the way when the deed is a doing. The old man seeing and hearing this,
in a great fearfull agony, as if he had been present to see the execution of that which he heard K
him to speak of, "Now I beseech thee, my son (quoth he) and pray thee of all loves and bonds
"that bind children and parents together, that thou wilt not before thy fathers face either com-
"mit or suffer this so horrible a part, full of all abominable wickedness whatsoever, and not to be
"named. There are not many hours since, that we sware by all the gods and holy hallows in hea-
"ven, and by joyning hand in hand, made faithful promise, and obliged our selves to communi-
"cate together with him, and to eat at the holy table of sacred viands. And are we no sooner
"departed asunder from our familiar conference and parley, but we arm our selves against him?
"Arisest thou indeed from thy friends guest-boord, to which thou wert thy self a third man bid-
"den of all the Campans, and even by *Annibal*, and wilt thou stain and pollute that boord with
"the bloud of the principal guest? I, thy father, erewhile was able to reconcile *Annibal* to my L
"son; and can I not pacifie my son likewise, and appease his fierce stomack against *Annibal*? But
"if their be nothing sacred and inviolable, nothing to be trusted in the world, neither faithfull
"promise nor religious oath, nor any piety at all and good nature, things so honest and just: then
"adventure hardly, and spare not to put in execution all actions detestable and not to be spo-
"ken, so that besides the note and infamous mark of wickedness, they bring not upon our own
"heads present mischief, and utter confusion. Darest thou alone assail the person of *Annibal*?
"What will that multitude about him do the while, so many freemen and bondmen both? All
"their guard and regard all their eyes upon him alone what serve they for? What will become of
"so many hands of theirs? Thinkest thou that they will be benummed and dead at the time of
"that frantick enterprise of thine? The grim visage of *Annibal* himself, whom whole armies of M
"souldiers tremble to behold: who the people of *Rome* dread, and for fear of whom they quake
"again, wilt thou alone abide to see? And if all other means of help should fail him, wilt thou
"endure to strike and wound me thy father, putting my body between for the safegard and de-
"fence of *Annibal*? And stab me thou must through the very heart, before thou canst hurt him
"or run him through. Suffer therefore thy self here to be frighted from this thy intended mischief,
"before thou have the foil there, and miss of thy purpose. Let my prayers take place with thee,
"as once this day they prevailed for thee. With that, he marked his son to weep and shed
tears, and embracing him about the middle, and kissing him ever and anon, he left him not, nor
gave over to pray & entreat him instantly, untill he got at his hands to lay off his sword, and pro-
mise him faithfully, that he would not attempt any such enterprise. Then the youth, seeing how N
the case stood, "I will (quoth he) pay unto my naturall father that kindness and love, in which
"I am bound as a debtor to my native Country. But alas for you, good father, I am right sorry
"for your hard hap; who are to answer before God and the world, for the betraying of your
"country no fewer times than thrice already. Once, when you gave counsell and perswaded to
"forsake the Romans, and to revolt from them: again, when you were the principall agent, and
"advised to make peace with *Annibal*: and now this day the third time, when you are the only
"obstacle and hinderance that *Capua* is not restored again into the hands of the Romans. O O
"sweet country, and native soil of mine, take here at my hands this sword, wherewith erewhile
"I was girt and armed for dear love of thee and was fully minded to defend this thy chief Castle
"and Fortress, and not to spare, but embrue it in the bloud of thy mortall enemy: take it I say,
"since my own father is ready to wrest it from me. This said, he flung his sword over the garden
wall into the high way and open street: and therewith, because he would not grow into any
suspition, he shewed himself again to the guests within the house, and took part of the banquet.
The morrow after, the Senate in favour of *Annibal* solemnly met together in great number:
in which frequent assembly, the beginning of his speech was very pleasant and gracious: wherein
he gave the Capuans thanks, for preferring his amity before the alliance of the people of *Rome*:
and among other fair and magnificall behests to them made, he promised that within a while,

*Capua*

A *Capua* ſhould be the head City and chief State of all *Italy*, whereunto the people of *Rome*, together with other nations, ſhould reſort for law and juſtice." Mary, quoth he there is one that hath "no part or fellowſhip in the ſociety and league made between the Carthaginians and you, name-"ly, *Magius Decius*, who neither was a Campan nor ought of right to be ſo called and reputed: "him I demand to be delivered into my hands, and that in my preſence the Senate ſhould be aſ-"ked their opinion concerning his treſpaſs, and an Act preſently entred thereof. All of them there aſſembled allowed of the motion, and gave their aſſent in the end: albeit a great ſort of them thought both the man unworthy of that hard fortune and calamity, and that this was but an ill beginning and a very overture to the infringing of the right of their freedom. The chief Ma-
B giſtrate then went forth of the Council-Chamber, and late in the Judiciall Hall or Temple, and commanded *Decius* to be attached, and to ſtand before him at his feet, and there to anſwer for himſelf and make his defence. Who perſiſted ſtill in the ſame ſtoutneſs and boldneſs of ſpirit, alledging that by vertue of the covenants in the League compriſed, he might not lawfully be preſſed and forced thus far. Whereupon he had irons clapt upon him, and commandment was given that he ſhould have a Lictor attend upon him, and ſo be conveighed into the Camp of *Annibal*. All the way as he was led, ſo long as he was bare-headed and open-faced, he went preaching to the multitude that flocked about him, and with a loud voice ſpake and ſaid: "Now Capuans, ye have
C "the liberty that ye ſought and longed for. In the open market place, at noon-day, and in your "ſight, lo how I, a man inferior to none in all *Capua*, am led away bound in chains to die. What "greater violence could be offered if *Capua* were won by aſſault of the enemy? Go forth, go and "meet *Annibal* adorn and hang the City with rich cloath of tapiſtry. Regiſter in your Kalender, "among other holidaies, this day of his Entry, that in the end ye may behold this goodly triumph "over one of your own Citizens. Upon the utterance of theſe words, the multitude ſeemed diſcontented at the indignity of this ſight. Whereupon he was hoodwinked, and his head covered, and the Serjeant was charged to have him away quickly, and make haſte out of the gates. So, he was brought into the Camp, and immediatly ſhipped and ſent to *Carthage*, for fear leſt ſome commotion might ariſe in *Capua*, upon ſo unworthy and ſhameſull a deed: and leſt the Senat alſo ſhould repent themſelves, that they had delivered and yielded out of their hands a principal perſonage among them: alſo to prevent that no Embaſſage might be ſent unto him for his redeli-
D very, whereby he ſhould either offend his new Allies, in caſe he denied them their firſt requeſt, or ſuffer *Capua* to have alwaies a buſie and ſeditious Citizen ready ever to ſtir up new troubles, if he granted their ſuit. The ſhip wherein he was embarked, was by a tempeſt caſt upon *Cyrene*, a port town in the dominion at that time of the KK. There *Magius* fled for refuge as to a Sanctuary, unto the Image of King *Ptolomeus*, and was brought by his guard and keepers unto *Alexandria* to the Kings preſence, and enformed the King, how contrary to the tenor and priviledge of the covenant he was in bonds by *Annibal*. Whereupon he was looſed from his chains, and put to the choice, whether he would return to *Capua*, or go to *Rome*. *Magius* anſwered, that he could not in *Capua* remain in ſafety, and if he went to *Rome*, at that time eſpecially when there was war between the Romans and the Capuans, he ſhould be ſooner lodged there in a priſon like a fugitive runnagate,
E than entertained in houſe for a friend and loving gueſt: and concluded in the end, that he would make abode and live the reſt of his daies more willingly in no place of the world, than in his highneſs Realm whom he found already to be the ſaviour of his life, and the redeemer of his liberty and enlargement.

While theſe occurrents fell out abroad, *Q. Fabius Pictor*, ſent (as is aboveſaid) Embaſſador to *Delphos*, returned to *Rome*, and out of a writing he read openly, the anſwer of the Oracle in theſe words (now ye muſt underſtand, that in this Script were certain gods and ſaints named, unto whom they ſhould make ſolemn ſupplication, and the manner alſo with all ceremonies and compliments thereto belonging:) "Then (O Romans) if ye ſhall ſo do, your ſtate ſhall proſper and be
F "more happy: your Common-weal ſhall go forward better to your mind, yea, and victory in the "wars ſhall happen unto the people of *Rome*. But remember that when all things ſhall go well on "your ſide, and your State ſhall be ſaved and preſerved, ye ſend unto *Pythius Apollo* a preſent, ac-"cording to the merit of a due recompence: and of the ſilver raiſed of the pillage, prizes, and "ſpoils taken from the enemies, do him honour accordingly. After he had rehearſed theſe words, truly tranſlated out of the Greek Original then he ſaid moreover, That ſo ſoon as he was departed from the Oracle, he preſently ſacrificed unto all thoſe gods with frankincenſe and wine. Alſo, that he was commanded by the Prieſt of *Apolle*, that like as he both came to the Oracle, and alſo celebrated ſacrifices, crowned with a garland and chaplet of Laurel, ſo he ſhould in the ſame man-
G ner adorned take ſhip and be imbarked, and not lay off the ſaid garland before he was arrived to *Rome*. Finally, that all ceremonies performed moſt preciſely and diligently, which he was commanded to obſerve, he had laid and beſtowed the ſaid chaplet upon the altar before the Shrine of *Apollo* at *Rome*. Then the Senate made a decree, That thoſe ſacrifices and ſupplications ſhould with all ſpeed and careſull regard be celebrated.

While theſe things paſſed at *Rome* and in *Italy*, *Mago* the ſon of *Amilcar*, arrived at *Carthage* and brought the firſt tidings of the victory at *Canne*. This *Mago* was not immediatly and directly ſent from his brother, out of the field where the battel was fought, but ſtaid certain daies about receiving the homage and ſubjection of certain Cities of the *Brutii*, which revolted from the Romans. Who having audience given him in the Senat of *Carthage*, related what acts

and exploits his brother *Annibal* had atchieved in *Italy*: namely, That he had given battell to H
six Generals, whereof four were Consuls, and two were the Dictator and Commander of horse-
men: That he had fought against six entire Consular armies, in which battels he had slain above
200000 enemies, taken prisoners more than 50000. That of those four Coss. he had killed twain
outright: as for the other two, one of them was deadly hurt, the other having lost his whole ar-
my, was fled, accompanied scarcely with fifty men: that the General of the Cavalry created with
full Consular authority, was discomfited and put to flight: and the Dictator (for sooth) because he
never would hazard the fortune of a field, was counted the only warrior and worthy Captain:
That the Brutii and Apulians part of the Samnits, and Lucans, were revolted to the Carthagini-
ans: That *Capua*, the head City not of *Campan* only, but (after the Romans defeat and overthrow I
in the battell at *Cannæ*) of all *Italy* also, was surrendred to *Annibal*. For these so many and so
worthy victories, he required (meet and requisite it was) that there should be a solemn festivall
day holden and sacrifices solemnized to the honour of the immortal gods. And for the better as-
surance of these lucky and fortunate atchievements, and to verifie his words, he caused the gold
rings of the Romans, slain at *Cannæ*, to be poured forth in the porch and entry of the Council-
House. The heap of them was so great, that as some authors affirm, when they measured the same,
they filled three *Modii* and an half. But the constant report went, and sounding neerer to a truth,
that they were not above one *Modius*. He added moreover, and said, (and all to prove their over-
throw the greater) that none but knights and men of arms, and those of the better sort, who served
on horses found at the Cities charges, used to wear that ornament. The drift and conclusion of his K
speech was this, "That the sooner that *Annibal* hoped to make an end of the wars, the more he
"ought to be aided and helped with all provision and furniture accordingly. And why? The ser-
"vice was far from home, in the midst of the enemies land, a huge deal of corn was consumed, a
"great mass of money was spent; and as so many battels had utterly swoopt up the enemies ar-
"mies, so reckning was to be made, that they had in some measure lessened and impaired the for-
"ces of the conqueror. Therefore, a new supply of men was to be sent over, and money for soul-
"diers pay, yea and corn also was to be transported to so brave souldiers, that had done so singu-
"lar good service, and deserved so well of the Carthaginian nation. Upon these reports of *Mago*,
"when all men else were wondrous glad, and took great contentment, *Himilco*, a man of the
"Brachin bend, supposing he had now good occasion and opportunity offered to carp and check L
"*Hanno*. How now *Hanno* quoth he, what say you to this gear? Repent you still and misliketh
"war undertaken against the Romans? Let us see now, give your voice and opinion that *Annibal*
"be yielded: forbid now thanksgiving to be performed to the immortall gods, for this prosperous
"speed and fortunate success. Let us hear a Roman Senator now to speak in the Council-House
"of the Carthaginians. Then *Hanno*; "I would have held my peace this day, my LL. quoth he,
"for fear to speak ought that in this common and generall joy might not be altogether pleasant
"unto you. But now, seeing a Senator bluntly spurreth me the question, whether I mislike still of
"the enterprise of war against the Romans? if I should keep silence and say nothing, I might
"seem either proud and insolent, or else faulty and culpable. Whereof the one is the part of a man
"that hath forgot the liberty of other men; the other a property of him, that thinketh not of M
"his own. Well may I therefore answer to *Himilco*, that I cease not yet to mislike this war, nor
"never will give over to blame and challenge this invincible Captain and warrior of ours, be-
"fore I see the war ended and determined, upon some indifferent hand, and tollerable conditi-
"on: and nothing else shall stint the mis's I have, and quench the longing desire of the old peace,
"but the making of a new. And therefore these particulars, which *Mago* erewhile so magnified
"and vaunted of, are for the present joyfull news to *Himilco*, and other of that crue, and the sup-
"posts of *Annibal*: and to me likewise in some measure, they may be acceptable tidings in this re-
"gard, that good success and lucky speed in war, if we will make the right use and benefit of our
"fortune, will be a mean to procure us a more easie and honourable peace. For if we let slip this
"advantage and opportunity of the time, when as we may seem rather to give than take condi- N
"tions of peace, I fear me, that even this present so goodly a shew of rankness as it maketh now,
"will run up all to straw, and bear no head to yield corn in the end. And yet let us consider now,
"what a special matter this is. Slain I have whole armies of enemies; Therefore send me fresh and
"new souldiers. What could you (Sir) demand more, if you had been overthrown? Won I have
"by force two strong holds where the enemies were encamped, full and traight (we must needs
"think) of prizes and victuals; Allow me more corn and money. What would you have requi-
"red and craved more, I say, in case you had been rifled, and turned perforce out of your own
"Camp and pavilions? But that I may not marvel alone at these strange Enthymemes and conclu-
"sions (for it is as free and lawful for me to ask some questions, seeing I have already answered to
"*Himilco*) I would fain have *Himilco* or *Mago*, I care not whether, to make answer likewise to O
"me. Say, that in the battell before *Cannæ*, the Roman Empire was wholly defeated and foiled.
"Say also, that certain it is, how all *Italy* is at point ready to revolt: tell me first and formost whe-
"ther any one Nation of the Latine people is faln from them to us? Secondly, whether any one
"person of the five and thirty wards in *Rome*, is run away, and fled to *Annibal*? When *Mago* said
"nay, and denied both. Why then (quoth he) there be great numbers of our enemy still behind.
"But I would gladly know what courage, what heart, what hope that multitude hath. When
"*Mago* answered, he could not tell. And nothing (quoth *Hanno*) is more rife & easie to be known.

"Say

A "Say man, ſent the Romans any Embaſſadors to *Annibal* to treat for peace? Nay, had ye any in-
"telligence brought unto you, that there was ſo much as one word liſped, or mention made at
"*Rome* of peace? When *Mago* ſaid flatly, nay, to that too. Why then (quoth *Hanno*) by this ac-
"count this war will find us work, and keep us occupied as much as it did the very firſt day that
"*Annibal* ſet foot in *Italy*. How variable fortune was in the former Punick war, how victory
"went and came reciprocally, we are moſt of us yet alive that well remember. We never ſped bet-
"ter nor had a luckier hand, both by land and ſea, than before *Caius Lutatius*, and *Aulus Poſthu-*
"*mius* were Conſuls. And whiles *Lutatius* and *Poſthumius* were Conſuls, were we vanquiſhed
B "and utterly overthrown before the Iſlands *Ægates*. And in caſe now (which God forbid) for-
"tune ſhould change to change and turn her wheel, hope ye to have peace then, being overcome,
"which now when we are conquerors, no man offreth nor ſeeketh after. For mine own part,
"if any man ſhould ask mine opinion of peace, either to preſent and tender it to the enemies,
"or to accept it at their hands, I wot well what to ſay: but if ye would know what I think con-
"cerning thoſe demands of *Mago*, my advice is, that there is no ſence nor reaſon to ſend aid and
"ſupplies to conquerors: now if they bear us in hand, delude, and abuſe us with a vain and falſe
"perſwaſion of conqueſt and victory, much leſs a great deal. Theſe remonſtrances of *Hanno*
took ſmall effect with many of them: for, both the ſecret grudge and rancor which he bare to
the Barchin Houſe much impeached his credit and authority, and alſo by reaſon that their minds
C were ſo fully poſſeſſed of the preſent joy, they could admit and abide to hear of nothing, that
might ſound otherwiſe to daunt their glad hearts; thinking verily that the war would ſoon be
at an end if they now would ſtrain a little and help it forward. And therefore with great conſent,
there paſſed an Act of the Senat, That there ſhould be a ſupply ſent unto *Annibal* of forty thou-
ſand Numidians, forty Elephants, and many talents of ſilver. Alſo the Dictator was ſent before
with *Mago* into *Spain* to levy and hire twenty thouſand footmen, and four thouſand horſe-
men for to make up thoſe broken armies which were in *Italy* and in *Spain*. But theſe matters (as
uſually it hapneth in time of proſperity) were performed but ſlackly and at leiſure. The Romans
contrariwiſe made more ſpeed, as being by nature more induſtrious: and beſides, ſuch was their
adverſe fortune and extremity, that they might not neglect their affairs and go ſlowly about
D their buſineſs. For neither the Conſul was wanting in any affairs that were by him to be mana-
ged: and the Dictator *M. Jun. Brutus*, ſo ſoon as he had performed all the complements concer-
cerning ſacrifices and religious ceremonies, propoſed unto the people, That (as the uſuall man-
ner was) he might mount on horſeback. Which done, over and beſides the two legions of Citi-
zens, which in the beginning of the year had been levied and enrolled by the Conſuls, and the
bondſlaves that were before muſtred, and certain ſquadrons gathered together out of the Picene
and Gauls country, he proceeded to the laſt remedy and ſuccour of a diſtreſſed and well near de-
ſperate ſtate, when as honeſt and direct courſes muſt give place unto commodious and profitable
policies and alight from his horſe, and made proclamation, That whoſoever were guilty and con-
demned of any capital crime, or whoſoever were impriſoned for debt, and would willingly ſerve
E under him, he would take order that they ſhould be exempt from all puniſhment, and diſcharged
from their creditors. And of ſuch he armed ſix thouſand with the ſpoils of the Gauls, which in the
triumph of *Flaminius* were carried in ſhew. Thus he departed from *Rome* five and twenty thou-
ſand ſtrong.

*Annibal* having poſſeſſed himſelf of *Capua*, and ſollicited the Neapolitans once again, and
ſounded their minds, propoſing before their eyes fear and hope, and all in vain, led his forces in-
to the Country of *Nola*, with this mind, not at firſt to go roughly with them to work, and by
way of open hoſtility, becauſe he was not out of all hope that they would willingly come off and
yield themſelves: but in caſe they wavered, and anſwered not his hope and expectation in ſome
good time, he would ſurely proceed againſt them in all extremity, and put them to whatſoever
they could endure or fear. The Senate, and eſpecially the principall of them, continued faſt and
F ſure in their alliance with the people of *Rome*: But the commons (as their manner is, deſirous of
alteration and to ſee a new world) enclined wholly to the ſide of *Annibal*, caſting many doubts,
and fears, that their lands and poſſeſſions ſhould be waſted and ſpoiled with ſundry calamities
and indignities that follow upon ſiege: neither wanted there heads and ring-leaders of a rebelli-
on. Whereupon the Senate (for fear leſt if they ſhould ſeem to thwart and croſs them, they
had not been able to withſtand the violence of the multitude once up and drawn to an head)
cloſely diſſembled their intent and purpoſe, and ſo by temporizing, prevented a preſent miſchief.
For they made ſemblance that they liked well, and were reſolved of revolting unto *Annibal*:
but upon what conditions and capitulations they ſhould enter into new league and amity, they
knew not certainly. So having taken a farther time they diſpatched in haſte certain Embaſſadors
G unto the Roman Prætor *Marcellus Claudius*, who remained with the army at *Caſinum*, adverti-
ſing him in how great jeopardy the ſtate of *Nola* ſtood, to wit That *Annibal* was already Lord
of their lands and the Carthaginians would ſoon be maſters of the City, unleſs they were ſuccou-
red and relieved: that their Senat were driven to this ſhift for to yield unto the Commons, and
grant to revolt whenſoever they would have them; and by that means ſtaid them that they
rebelled not over haſtily. *Marcellus* after he had commended the Nolans willed them with the
ſame diſſimulation to protract time and hold off untill his coming: and in the mean while to
conceal and keep ſecret to themſelves, the dealings and treaties with him, and in no caſe to be

known

known of any hope they had of aid from the Romans. Himself went from *Cannsium*, to *Calatia*, H and from thence passed over the river *Vulturnus*, and by the way of *Satricula* and *Trebia*, journeyed over *Sueſſula* through the mountains, and arrived at *Nola*. A little before the coming of the Roman Prætor, *Annibal* was departed and gone out of the Territory of *Nola*, and drew downwards to the sea-side near unto *Neapolis*: his teeth watered at the Port-town, and that out of *Affrick* his ships might arrive thither, as to a safe and sure harbour. But after that he heard that *Naples* was held by a Roman Provost, *M. Junius Syllanus* (sent for thither by the Neapolitans themselves) and had received a garrison: seeing he could not be admitted into *Neapolis*, no more than into *Nola*, he went to *Nuceria*. Having beleaguered it round a long time, and often assaulted it forcibly, and assaied to sollicit as well the Commons as the Nobility, but without effect; at the I length by famine he forced them to yield, and so became master of the Town upon composition, That they should depart every man disarmed in their single garments. Then, as one that would seem ever from the beginning, to use clemency to all Italians, but only the Romans; he made fair promises of great rewards and advancement to honour, unto all those that would tarry behind and serve under him. But no man upon those hopes would remain with him. For they all gave him the slip, and went sundry waies, some to their friends and acquaintance, others at a venture as their mind stood, to divers Cities of Campain, but most to *Nola* and *Naples*. Amongst the rest, there were almost thirty Senators, and those (as it fell out) of the best sort, that came to *Capua*: but being kept out there because they had shut their gates against *Annibal*, they went to *Cumes*. The pillage of *Nuceria* was bestowed upon the souldiers, the City sacked and burnt. K Now kept *Marcellus Nola*, not presuming more upon the strength of his own garrison, than upon the confidence he had in the great men and chief of the City. But he had the Commons in jealousie, and above all, one *L. Bantius*, who for that he had complotted to rebell, and therefore stood in fear of the Roman Deputy: one while was pricked and incited to attempt treason, and to betray his Country; another while, in case he shou d fail of that opportunity, and miss his purpose, to make an escape and run away to the enemy. A couragious and lusty young man he was, and the braveſt Cavaleer in those daies of all the Roman Confederats. His hap was to be found lying half dead among the heaps of slain bodies before *Cannæ*: *Annibal* took order for the curing of his hurts, and when he was throughly healed right curteously sent him home well and bountifully rewarded. In remembrance of which favour and good turn, and in token of L thankfulness, he was willing to deliver and yield *Nola* into the hands of *Annibal*, to be at his devotion. But the Prætor had an eye unto him, and observed how his head wrought, and was busily occupied to bring an alteration. And seeing there were but two waies to deal with him, either by punishment to keep him short, and cut him off; or by some benefit to win his heart: he thinking it a better course, to gain unto himself so hardy and valiant a friend, than only to bereave his enemy of him; he sent for him, and in this manner spake friendly unto him: "You have (quoth "he) amongst your countrymen and fellow-Citizens, I see well, many that envy you, as it appears "well by this, that there is never a neighbour you have at *Nola* that hath told me of you, and "how many noble exploits and good services in war you have performed. But yet your valour "cannot be unknown and hidden, ever since you served in the Roman army. For many there M "be which were souldiers then with you, which have made report unto me of your proweſs and "what perils you have entred into, and how often you have put your life in hazard, for the safety "and honour of the people of *Rome*: and namely, how in the battel before *Cannæ* you gave not "over fight, untill at length having bled well near to death, you were born to the ground and "lay under foot, overwhelmed with men, horse and armour, falling upon you, and so kept down "that you could not rise up again. But be of good chear man, and go on still in this thy vertue and "well-doing: you shall have at my hands all honour and reward that may be possible: and the "oftner you come to me and keep me company, you shall find it will be more for your reputation "and commodity both. The young man was glad at heart for these gracious words and large promises: and so *Marcellus* gave unto him freely, a good brave courser, and commanded the Trea- N surer to tell him out in money * 500 * Bigats of silver, charging his officers and Lictors to let him have access unto him at his pleasure, whensoever he came. By this curteous usage and humanity of *Marcellus*, the young mans stoot heart was so dulced, mollified and easie to be wrought, that of all Confederats and Allies there was not one, who bare himself more valiantly, nor maintained more faithfully the State of *Rome*. When *Annibal* was approached to the gates of *Nola* (for he was returned from *Nuceria*, and came thither again) and the Commons within the town practised afresh to rebell, *Marcellus* had a little before the coming of the enemies, retired and put himself within the wals: not for fear that he should not be able to keep the field and his hold; but lest he should give advantage and opportunity to betray the City, seeing too many of them within disposed and forward thereunto. After this, they began on both sides to arrange their battels in O array the Romans under the wals of *Nola*, the Carthaginians before their own fort. Small skirmishes there were between the City and the Camp of *Annibal* (with variable event of fortune) because the Generals were not willing, either to deny and debar some few that were so eager and forward to call for fight, or yet to give forth the signall of a generall battell. Whiles these two armies temporized thus, and held their *Corps de guard*, continually, and in manner of a solemn set Assembly, the chief Nobles of the Nolans advertised *Marcellus*, that there used to be night-meetings and conferences between their own Commons and the Carthaginians: and

* 14 li. 11 s. sh. 6 d.

* *Bigatus* was a piece of Roman silver coin, so called of *Bigia*, a chariot drawn with two horses, stucken or stamped upon the one side, and it was the same that *Denarius*.

A and that it was plotted and ſet down, That when the Roman Hoſt was iſſued in battel-array out of their gates, the Commons in the mean while ſhould fall to rifling their carriages, packs, and truſſes within, and then ſhut the gates upon them, and keep the walls: and ſo having the City and all their goods and baggage under their hands, ſhould from thenceforth receive *Annibal* into the City inſtead of *Marcellus*. Upon theſe advertiſements, *Marcellus* after he had thanked and commended the Senators of *Nola*, determined before any commotion and mutiny aroſe within the walls to try the fortune of a battel. At thoſe three gates that ſtood toward the enemy he ranged his forces divided into three battaillons, & gave order that all the carriages ſhould follow after: and that the lackies, launders, and other Camp-followers together with the feeble and ſickly per-
B ſons, ſhould carry ſtakes and pales for the rampier. At the middle gate he placed the flower and ſtrength of the legions, together with the Roman Cavalry: at the two gates at either hand he beſtowed the new ſouldiers the light armed, and the auxiliary horſemen of allies. The Nolans were by ſtreight commandment forbidden to approach the gates or the walls. As for the baggage and carriages the ordinary guard was appointed to attend thereupon, for fear, leſt while the Legions were buſie in fight, there ſhould be ſome aſſault made upon them. In this order and array marſhalled they were within the gates. *Annibal*, who likewiſe ready arranged ſtood with banner diſplaied (as he had done for certain daies together) untill it was well toward noon firſt wondred at it, that neither the Roman army iſſued out of the gates nor any ſouldier appeared upon the wals: and ſuppoſing afterwards, that their uſuall complots and conventicles were diſcovered and reve-
C led, and that for very fear they kept within and ſat ſtill, ſent back part of their ſouldiers into the Camp, with commandment, in all ſpeed to bring abroad into the open field before the vanguard, all the Ordnance and Artillery for to batter the City walls; with aſſured confidence, that if he came hotly upon them, and gave an aſſault, whiles they thus lingred and iſſued not forth, the Commons would make ſome tumult and ſtir within the City. But anon as every man was buſily occupied, running to and fro in haſte about his own charge, before the vanguard and foreſront of his battel, even at the point when he advanced forward to the wals; all upon a ſudden a gate was ſet open, and *Marcellus* cauſed the trumpets to ſound the alarm, and the ſouldiers to ſet up a ſhout, commanding the footmen firſt, and then the horſe to ſally out, and with all the might and
D force they could, to charge upon the enemy. Soon had they terrified their main battell ſufficiently, and made diſorder there, when at the two gates of each ſide, *P. Valerius Flaccus* and *Caius Aurelius*, two Lieutenants generall, iſſued forth upon their flanks and wings. The horſe-boies, ſculli-ons and the other multitude aboveſaid, which was ſet to guard the carriages, aroſe up and made a new outcry, and ſhouted, ſo as to the Carthaginians (who contemned them before for their ſmall number eſpecially) they repreſented all at once a ſhew of a mighty army. I dare not avouch that which ſome Authors ſtick not to write, that of enemies were ſlain in this conflict 2300 and that the Romans loſt but one only man. But what victory ſoever it was, either ſo great, or ſmaller, ſurely a doughty piece of ſervice was that day atchieved & I wot not whether I may truly ſay, of the greateſt conſequence that any ever was, during the time of that war. For as the time
E was then, it was a greater matter for the Romans (albeit they were the Conquerors) not to be vanquiſhed of *Annibal*, than it was afterwards to vanquiſh him. *Annibal* diſappointed of his hope to win *Nola* retired to *Acerre*. And *Marcellus* immediately having ſhut the gates, and placed the guards and warders to keep the ſame, that no man might go forth, ſat judicially in the market-place to examine thoſe that had uſed ſecret conference and parling with the enemies: and finding above ſeventy guilty of this action, pronounced ſentence of death upon them, as in caſe of treaſon. Thoſe he cut ſhorter by the head, and commanded their goods to be confiſcat. And thus leaving the government of the City to the Senat thereof, he departed with all his forces, and above *Sueſſula* encamped himſelf, and there abode.

*Annibal* being come before *Acerra*, firſt ſummoned the City, to ſurrender voluntarily & without conſtraint: but ſeeing them obſtinate, and willing to relent, he made preparation to lay ſiege
F unto the town, and to aſſault it. But the Acerrans had better heart and courage, than might and ſtrength to reſiſt him. Therefore, when they ſaw themſelves like to be intrenched all about, and were paſt hope to defend and keep the town: before the enemies had brought all ends of their trenches and ſconces together, they got between the trenches and rampiers (where they were not finiſhed, and ſtood not cloſe together) in the dead time of the night, and eſcaped through the ſentinels and watches that were ſlendely looked unto, and as well as they could making ſhift through by-waies and blind lanes over hedge and ditch (as either their wits guided them, or their fear carried them) recovered thoſe Cities of *Campania*, which they knew for certain were not revolted, but perſiſted true and faſt unto the Romans. *Annibal* after he had put *Acerra* to the ſack, and ſet it on fire having intelligence, that the Roman Dictator and the Legions were received at *Caſili-*
G *num*: and fearing, leſt while the enemy lay ſo near encamped, ſome ſhould have recourſe alſo into *Capua*, led his army to *Caſilinum*.

At the ſame time *Preneſte* was held by 500 Preneſtins, with a few Romans and Latines, who upon the news of the overthrow at *Canna*, were retired thither. Theſe Preneſtins, by occaſion that they were not levied and muſtered at *Preneſte* by the day appointed, ſet out from thence ſomewhat too late; and were come as far as *Caſilinum*, before the rumour was bruited of the defeat before *Cannæ*: where they joyned themſelves with other Romans and Confederats, ſet forward from *Caſilinum*, and marched together with a good great company: but meeting by the way

with

with the tidings of that unfortunat field, turned back again to *Casilinum*. And after they had spent H
certain daies there, as well fearing the Campans, as suspected of them again, (for they devised on
both sides how to entrap one another, and how to avoid each others trains) and having received
also certain intelligence, That in *Capua* there was treating about a revolt, and that *Annibal* was
there received; they in one night set upon the Townsmen of *Casilinum*, and killed them, and got
that part of the City which is on this side *Vulturnus*, (a river that runneth through it, and divideth
it into two parts) and kept it still. Their number was well encreased by the coming of a cohort
of four hundred and sixty Perusins, who likewise were driven to *Casilinum*, by the same report
and news, which a few daies before had turned the Prenestins thither. And surely there was suf-
ficient almost of armed souldiers to man and defend the walls of that part, being of so small a cir- I
cuit as they were, considering the town was flanked on the one side with the river. And again,
for the proportion of corn (whereof they had small store) they were men but too many. *Anni-
bal* being now not far from thence, sent before him the Getulians, under the conduct of a Captain
named *Isalca*; with direction, that first, if he could come to a parley, he should perswade with the
Inhabitants within, and by fair words induce them to open their gates, and receive a garrison: but
in case they continued still in their obstinacy, then to assail them by force, and give the attempt
to enter into the City one way or other. When they were come under the walls, the barbarous
Captain *Isalca*, supposing (because he heard no noise, and saw no stirring) that they had quit and a-
bandoned the town and were fled, began to assail the gates, break open the locks, & burst the bars.
But all at once on a sudden the gates were set open, and two cohorts well appointed and provi- K
ded for that purpose within, sallied forth, with an exceeding great noise and tumult, overthrew a
number of the enemies, and beat them down. Thus when the first had the repulse and were set
back, *Maharbal* was sent with a greater power to second them, but was not able to make his par-
*Casilinum* be-sieged. ty good with these squadrons that sallied forth and charged upon him. At last *Annibal* himself en-
camped even before the wall, and with all his power and forces put together, made preparation to
give assault to this little town, & small garrison. And whiles he pressed hard upon them with fresh
and hot assaults, investing it round about, the enemies from off their wals, curtains, and turrets, let
flie their shot so lustily upon the assailants, that he lost some of his best & most forward men ther.
Once they issued forth of themselves upon a bravery, and minded to bid them battel, but by a
course of Elephants, set between them and home, they had like to have been shut forth and kept L
out, and so they made haste in great fear to recover the gates and put themselves within the town
again; having lost, considering so small a number, a great sort: and more had died for it, but that
the night parted the fray, and made an end of the skirmish. The morrow after, the assailants were
all of them sharp set to give a fresh and hot charge, but not before there was a murall Coronet of
gold shewed, and promised unto him that first could scale the walls. And the General himself cast
in their teeth and reproved them for being so long about the assaulting of a smal and weak sconce,
to speak of, seated also upon a plain: whereas before they had won the strong town of *Saguntum*.
He put them in mind both all and some, of *Canna*, *Thrasymenus*, and *Trebia*. Then began they to
set mantlets and pavoises to, and to undermine. Many and sundry enterprises were attempted,
and nothing left undone, that either by meer force could be performed, or by art and cunning de- M
vised. The Roman associats against these their engins and fabricks raised mounts, and platforms:
yea, and with countermines and cross trenches met with the mines of the enemies; so as both a-
bove ground and underneath, they impeached all their attempts; so long, untill *Annibal* for very
shame was fain to give over his design for the present. And when he had fortified his standing
Camp and placed there a mean guard for the defence of it, because he would not seem to have re-
linquished altogether the enterprise, he withdrew himself into *Capua*, there to winter. There he
lodged his souldiers within house for the better part of winter: those souldiers, I say, who many
a time and often had endured long, and held out against all travels and hardness that can possibly
happen to the body of man; and never had been used to any good keeping, nor acquainted with
delights and pleasures of the world. But even these men, whom no calamity, no misery could N
tame and overcome, were spoiled and undone with too much wealth and excessive dainties: and
so much the rather, as they more greedily fell thereto; and having not tasted thereof before, gave
themselves wholly that way, and were deeply plunged and drowned therein. For sleeping on
soft beds, wine and delicate fare, wenching and bathing, stews and hot-houses, idleness and ta-
king ease, which by use and custome grew pleasant and delightsome unto them every day more
than other; had in such sort weakned their bodies, and made their hearts so effeminate, that from
that time forward the reputation and name only of their victories past defended them more than
any present strength and vigor they had: insomuch, as expert and skilfull warriors judged their
Captain *Annibal* in more fault, and farther overseen in this action, than in not leading his Army
streight forward to *Rome*, after the battell before *Canna*. For, that stay might have been O
thought to have deferred only the entire and finall victory for a time, but this errour and over-
sight seemed to disable him for atchieving the victory for ever. So little retained he of his for-
mer old discipline that I assure you, he went out of *Capua* again as if he had led some other Ar-
my, and none of his own. For, not only they returned from thence most of them intangled and
snared in the love of harlots, but so soon as they came again to lie abroad on the bare earth
under tents and pavilions covered with beasts hides, to march long journeys, and to taste of
other military toil and labour; their bodies so tired, their hearts so fainted, as if they had been

raw

A raw ſouldiers, new come into the field: in ſuch wiſe, as all the time of their ſummer abode in Camp, many of them without licenſe and paſport, would ſlip out of the way, and depart from their colours: and theſe ſtart-backs had no other place of haunt to lurk in, but *Capua*. Now when the winter ſeaſon began to be more mild, and draw towards the Spring; *Annibal* brought forth his ſouldiers out of his winter harbours and returned to *Caſilinum*: where, albeit the aſſault ceaſed, yet the ſiege had continued ſo ſtreight, that the townſmen and the garriſon within the Fort, were driven to extream neceſſity and want of victuals. Now the Captain over the Roman Camp was *T. Sempronius* [*Gracchus*] by reaſon that the Dictator was gone to *Rome* to take new Auſpices. And as for *Marcellus*, who was deſirous for his part to relieve and ſuccour the beſieged, was impeached for coming to them partly, by the riſing and ſwelling of the river *Vulturnus*, & partly,
B by the intreaty of the Citizens of *Nola* and *Acerra*, who greatly feared the Campans, in caſe the garriſon was once departed from them. And *Gracchus*, lying and keeping near unto *Caſilinum* ſtirred not one foot, by reaſon of the expreſſe commandment of the Dictator, That he ſhould attempt nothing in his abſence: albeit there came daily from *Caſilinum* into the Camp ſuch news, as would have moved and provoked the moſt patient man that was. For it was conſtantly reported, and for certain known, that ſome of them within the town, no longer able to endure the famine, threw themſelves down headlong; and brake their necks: others ſtood unarmed upon the wals, offring their bare and naked bodies, as a Butt and mark to the ſhot of arrows, and other darts. *Gracchus* grieved much to hear theſe pitious tidings, yet durſt he not for his life, skirmiſh & fight without the warrant of the Dictator: & he ſaw full well, that if he would convey corn and
C victuals unto them openly, fight he muſt, there was no remedy. Having therefore no hope at all to ſend any, but it ſhould be ſpied, he deviſed to fill many tuns and pipes with corn, that he had gotten together out of the country all about: and withall to diſpatch a meſſenger to the chief Magiſtrate of *Caſilinum*, adviſing him, that he ſhould in the night ſeaſon take up all thoſe veſſels that came down the river. The night next following every man watched at the river ſide according to the hope they conceived by the foreſaid Roman meſſenger, and ſo received thoſe tuns, hulling down the midſt of the ſtream: and the corn was equally divided amongſt them all. Thus did they the morrow after, and the third day alſo. For ever by night theſe veſſels were let down into the water and the ſame night might eaſily come unto them: by reaſon whereof the ſentinels and guard of the enemies were nothing ware of that which was done. But afterwards the current growing more
D ſwift and rough, by occaſion of continuall rain that fell, the ſaid tuns were ſome of them driven croſs the channel to the bank ſide, even where the enemies warded: and were eſpied waving and ſticking among the willows and oſiers that grew along cloſe unto the banks: whereof *Annibal* was advertiſed. And ſo from thenceforward they tended the watch more ſtrieghtly that nothing ſent down the river *Vulturnus* could eſcape them, and paſs to the City. Afterwards there was powred into the water great ſtore of nuts from the Camp of the Romans; were floated down the Channel unto *Caſilinum*, and with grated skimmers of wicker were taken up. But at the laſt they within the Town were driven to this poor ſhift and extremity, for to take their thongs and bridle rains, to pluck off their leather from their ſhields, and buckles, and make them ſoft in ſcalding water, and prove how they could eat them. Nay, they ſpared not ſo much as mice, and rats, nor
E any other like vermin. Nor there was not a weed nor a root that they could come by, upon the banks and terraces under the wals, but they gathered and digged up. And when the enemies had turned up with a plough all the green-ſord of the counter-ſcarp without the wals, they within caſt turnip-ſeed upon the mould. Whereupon *Annibal* made a hout at it, and cried aloud: What? ſhall we ſit here about *Caſilinum* ſo long, untill theſe rapes be come up and grown. And whereas before that time, he would never vouchſafe to hear of any compoſition & agreement, now at laſt he was contented to take reaſon, and be conferred withall about the ranſom of as many as were freemen within the Town. And it was covenanted between him and them that they ſhould pay for their redemption * ſeven ounces of gold apeece. So upon faithfull promiſe made, and ſecurity given
they yeelded themſelves: and were kept bound in priſon untill they had made full payment of the * 12 lib. ſter.
F gold aforeſaid. After which, they were ſent back under ſafe conduct to *Cumes*. For this is more like to be true, then the report which goeth, That there was ſent out after them certain horſemen, who fell upon them and ſlew them in the way. Moſt of them were Preneſtins. And whereas there were of them in all five hundred and ſeventy in garriſon the one half well near, were either by ſword or hunger conſumed: all the reſt together with their Prætor *Manitius*, (one who afores time had been a Scribe or Notary) returned ſafe to *Preneſte*. In memorial and teſtimony of this, his ſtatue was erected in the Market place of *Preneſte*, armed in his cuiraſſe, clad in a long robe, with his head covered: and three other images, with a title or inſcription engraven in a plate of Braſſe, with this tenor: That *Manitius* had made a vow for the ſouldiers who lay in garriſon with him at *Caſilinum*. And the ſame title alſo was engraven under three other images, ſet up in
G the Temple of *Fortuna*. The Town of *Caſilinum* was reſtored again to the Campans, with a ſtrong garriſon of 700 ſouldiers, deducted out of the army of *Annibal*: for fear leſt when he was departed once from thence, the Romans ſhould aſſail them.

The Senat of *Rome* by vertue of a decree, granted unto thoſe ſouldiers of *Preneſte* double wages, with five years vacation and reſt from warfare. And when to gratifie them farther for their valiant ſervice they made offer unto them, of the Burgeſſie and freedom of *Rome*, they choſe rather to remain ſtill at home, and would not change their own country. But what befell unto the Perſins,

rusins is not recorded so plainly: for neither appeareth evidence by any publicke monument and memoriall of their own, nor yet decree extant of the Romans. At the same time the Petellins (who alone of all the Brutii remained in friendship and amity with the Romans) were assaulted not only by the Carthaginians, (that were possessed of a great part of the Countrey about them) but also by the other Brutii with whom they would not joyn in the complot of their rebellion. The Petellins not able of themselves to hold out and endure these dangers, sent their Embassadors to *Rome*, for to crave their aid and assistance: whose humble prayers and pitious tears (for after an answer received, That they should provide and shift for themselves, they fell into lamentable moans and complaints, and lay prostrate upon the Earth, before the porch of the Councell-House) wrought exceeding compassion and pity in the hearts of the Senators, and also of the people: whereupon the LL. were moved again the second time, by *M. Æmylius* the Prætor to deliver their opinion. And when they had cast all about, and well weighed and considered, their present state, and what they were able to do; being forced to confess, that it lay not in their power to help their Allies, so far distant and remote from them: they willed them to repair home again; & since they had performed their fidelity to the full, according to covenant, they gave them leave in this calamity of theirs to take that course that they thought best for themselves. When they were returned with this answer unto the Petellins, their Senat all on a sudden was strucken into such sorrows, dumps and fearfull maze, that some of them were of mind, and gave advice to abandon the City, and fly every man whersoever he could: others were of opinion and perswaded, that seeing they were forsaken of their old friends, they should joyn with the other Brutii, and by their means, turn to *Annibal*, and come under his protection. Howbeit a third side prevailed, who would in no wise that any thing should be done over hastily and rashly: but that they might meet again, and sit in councell about the matter. And so it was put off, and respite given unto the next day. Then after more mature diliberation, and their former fear somewhat aswaged, the principall personages there assembled grew to this resolution, namely, To convey all things out of the Teritory about them into the City, and to fortifie both it and the wals.

Near about one and the same time, there came Posts with Packets of Letters to *Rome*, from out of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. Those out of *Sicily* from *Otacilius* the Vice-prætor, were read first in the Senat-House, importing these news: That *L. Furius* the Prætor was come out of *Affrick*, and with his fleet arrived at *Lilybæum*: himself sore hurt, and lying at point of death: that neither the souldiers, nor sailers and marriners had their money or corn duly paid at the day; neither indeed was there any to be had, for to keep touch and make paiment: moving and advising them earnestly, to send supply thereof with all convenient speed: and if they thought so good, one also of the new chosen Prætors to succeed after him. To the same effect in manner wrote *Cornel. Mammula* the Pro-Prætor, out of *Sardinia*, as touching that point of money and corn. Answer was returned to the one and the other, that they had it not, and therefore they were to look themselves both to their Armadoes and Armies, and to provide for them. *Otacilius*, who addressed Embassadors unto *K. Hiero* (the only refuge and stay of succour that the people of *Rome* had received for souldiers pay, as much silver as was needfull, and corn to serve six months. The confederat Cities likewise in *Sardinia* contributed liberally unto *Cornelius*, and served his turn. At *Rome* also for want of silver, there were (by a law published by *Minutius*, Tribune of the Commons) created three Bankers, called *Triumviri Mensarii*, to wit, *L. Æmylius*, who had been Consul and Censor: *M. Attilius Regulus*, twice Consul aforetime; and *L. Scribonius Libeo*, a Tribun of the Commons for the time being. Two Duumvirs also were chosen, *M.* and *C. Attilii*, who dedicated the Temple of *Concord* which *L. Manlius* Prætor had vowed before. Three high Priests also were consecrated, *Q. Cecilius Metellus*, *Q. Fabius Max.* and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, all to supply the rooms of *P. Scantinius* late deceased: of *L. Æmylius Paulus* the Consul, and *Q. Ælius Pætus*, slain both in the journey of *Cannæ*.

Now when as the LL. of the Senat had fulfilled other wants, and made up all decaies and breaches, which fortune by continuall calamities and losses had wrought and brought upon them, so far forth, as by any wisdom and policy of man, they could provide for: at length they had respect and regard unto themselves also, even to the desolate estate of the Councel-House and the unfrequented number of Senators assembling to the publicke Councell of the City. For since that *L. Æmylius* and *C. Flaminius* were Censors, there had been chosen no new Senators, notwithstanding that in five years space, what with unfortunat battels, and what with other particular chances, so many of them had miscarried. And when *M. Æmylius* the Prætor, in the absence of the Dictator (who after the loss of *Casilinum* was now gone again to the host) had at the request of them all propounded this matter: then *Sp. Carvilius*, after he had in a long oration complained, not only of the penury, but also of the small choice of those Citizens, who were capable of Senators dignity, spake unto the point, and said, "That he held it a matter of good importance both for the "full repairing and restoring of the decayed body of the Senat, as also for to bind the Latine Na-"tion in a more fast bond of amity, that two Senators out of every State of the Latines (if the LL. "of the Senat of *Rome* would agree unto it) should be infranchised Citizens of *Rome*, and taken "into the Senat in place of those that were deceased. This opinion of his the LL. of the Senat could abide to hear with no better ear then in times past they accepted the motion and demand of the Latines themselves in that behalf. And there being throughout the whole House a great muttering

A muttering, for very indignation and diſdain of thoſe his words, *Manlius* above the reſt brake out into this ſpeech, and ſaid; "That they were not all dead, but one man yet was left alive of that "houſe and line, out of which a Conſul (when time was) threatned in the Capitol, that he would "kill with his own hand, that Latine whomſoever he ſaw ſitting in the Councel-Houſe of *Rome*. With that, *Q. Fabius*: "Never was there a thing, quoth he, propounded and mentioned in the "Senat-houſe, in a worſe and more unſeaſonable time, than at this preſent, when as the hearts and "affections of our Allies being ſo wavering, their faith and alleageance ſo doubtful, the very break-"ing and broaching of ſuch a matter as this, were enough to ſet them farther out. And therefore "this inconſiderat ſpeech of one fooliſh vain perſon, is to be ſuppreſſed and buried preſently with B "the ſilence of all men, and never once to be ſpoken of again. And if ever there were uttered at "Councel Table, any ſecret and myſtery, which were to be concealed, this of all other ought moſt "to be kept cloſe, hidden and ſmothered in oblivion, and reputed as never ſpoken at all. So this "matter was daſht, and dyed there in the very birth. Then they proceeded and agreed, to creat Dictator for the chooſing of Senators, one that had been Cenſor aforetime, and of all thoſe who had been Cenſors, and were then living, the moſt ancient: and thereto they gave order, that *C. Terentius Varro* the Conſul ſhould be ſent for, to the nomination of that Dictator. Who being returned out of *Apulia*, leaving the camp there with a good guard, and taking long journeys, until he was come to *Rome*: the night next following (as the manner was) created by authority of an act of Senat, *M. Fabius Buteo*, Dict. for ſix moneths, without a General of Horſe. When he was C mounted up with his Serjeants to the *Roſtra*, [which is the place of publike audience] for to make a ſpeech unto the people, he ſaid: "That he neither allowed of two Dictators at one time, "(a precedent never ſeen and known afore) nor yet could take himſelf for a Dictator, ſo long as "he was without his General of Cavalry. I miſlike alſo (quoth he) that the entire authority and "power of Cenſors, ſhould be put into the hands of one and the ſelf-ſame man, twice: and that a "Dictator ſhould have the rule and government for ſix moneths, unleſs he were created for the "managing of wars. And therefore (ſaid he) I will my ſelf limit and gage thoſe things, which "fortune, occaſion of the times, and neceſſity have made exceſſive and beyond all meaſure pow-"erful. Neither am I minded to depoſe or diſplace any of thoſe from his Senators dignity, whom "*C. Flaminius*, and *L. Æmylius* late Cenſors, have admitted into the Senat: but only, that a D "tranſcript and reheatſal be made of their names, for that I would not have it lie in the power of "one man alone, to cenſure and give judgement of the fame and behavior of a Senator: but this "courſe will I take in ſubſtituting new Senators in the room of the dead, that it may appear, and "be ſaid; That this Order and degree is preferred before that, and not one perſon before another. So after that the names of the old Senators were copied out and read, then he choſe firſt into the place of them that were deceaſed, thoſe who after the time of *L. Æmylius* and *C. Flaminius* Cenſors, had born any Magiſtracy of State, and of the chair, and yet were not elected Senators. And according as they had exerciſed their office one before another in order of time, ſo were they choſen firſt Senators in their courſe. This done, he made a ſecond election, of thoſe who had been Ædiles, Tribuns, Pretors, or Queſtors: and laſt of all, ſuch as could ſhew the ſpoils taken from the E enemies of *Rome* hanging in their houſes: or had been honoured and rewarded with a Civick garland. Thus after he had with right great approbation and contentment of all men, taken into the Senat 177. forthwith he reſigned up his office, deſcended from the pulpit a private man again, diſcharged and put from him the Serjeants, and came and ſtood beneath among the other multitude that attended their own private buſineſs: trifling out the time for the nonce and of purpoſe, becauſe he would not have the people to leave the common place for to wait upon him. Howbeit, for all that lingering and ſtay which he made, the peoples affection cooled never the more, and ſo with a goodly train of men he was accompanied, and conducted home to his houſe.

The next night following, the Conſul returned toward the army, without making the Senate F privy and acquainted with his departure, for fear he ſhould have been detained ſtill in the City for the ſolemn election of new Magiſtrats. The morrow after the Senate decreed, upon a motion propounded by *M. Pomponius* the Pretor, to write unto the Dictator, that if he thought it were for the good of the common-weal, he would together with his General of the Cavalry, and *M. Marcellus* the Pretor, repair to *Rome* to ſubrogate and chooſe new Conſuls, to the end that when they were all together in place, the LL. of the Senate might by them take knowledge in what ſtate the Common-wealth ſtood, and conſult how to provide for every thing. They all came that were ſent for accordingly, leaving behind them their Lieutenants for the government and conduct of the Legions. The Dictator ſpake of himſelf but little, and with much modeſty, aſcribing the greateſt part of the honor unto *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, and then ſummoned the general aſſembly G for the Election: in which were choſen Coſſ. *L. Poſthumius* the third time (who then was abſent, and as L. Deputy ruled the Province of *Gallia*) and *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, who at that time commanded the Cavalry, and repaired to *Rome* with ſpeed. Then were elected Pretors M. *Valerius Levinus*, *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Q. Mutius Scævola*. The Dictator after the chooſing of theſe Magiſtrats, returned to *Theanum*, where the army wintred: leaving the General of the Horſe behind at *Rome*, to the end that he being to enter into his government, within few dayes after, might conſult with the LL. of the Senat as touching the levy and enrolling new armies againſt the year enſuing.

Whiles they were in their buſieſt and deepeſt conferences about theſe matters, news came of a freſh overthrow: ſuch was the fortune of that year to heap one calamity in the neck of another: to wit, that *L. Poſthumius* the Conſul elect, was himſelf ſlain, and the army together with him in *Gallia*, utterly defeated and deſtroyed. The manner of which misfortune was this. There was in thoſe parts a wide and huge forreſt (which the Gauls call *Litana*) through which *Poſthumius* was to lead his army. The trees there growing on either hand of the paſe, the Gauls had ſo cut, that they might ſtand upright of themſelves ſo long as they were not ſtirred, ſo, being forced never ſo little, they muſt needs fall down. Now had *Poſthumius* the conduct of two Roman legions; and of aſſociats beſides, from the high coaſts of the upper Sea, he had enrolled ſo many ſouldiers, as that he came into the enemies countrey 25000 ſtrong. The Gauls who had beſtowed themſelves in ambuſh round about the skirts of the wood, ſo ſoon as the army was all engaged within the ſtreights of the paſe, ſhoved from them the trees (ſo guilded) which ſtood next unto them, and they fell one upon another (ſtanding as they did, ſo tickliſh of themſelves, and ready to totter and come down on both ſides of the way) and in the fall overthrew withal and covered over and over both horſe and man, with their armour and munition, ſo as ſcarce ten of them eſcaped alive. For as moſt of them were felled and ſtrucken ſtark dead, either with the bodies of the trees, or the broken arms and boughs; ſo the reſt of the multitude, affrighted with this unexpected and unhappy accident, were killed by the Gauls that beſet all the ſtreights and paſſages of the wood: and of that great number, they took few priſoners, who making towards a bridge ſtanding over the River, were intercepted by the way, and ſtopped by the enemies that kept the advenue of the bridge: in which place *Poſthumius* was ſlain, for he ſtrived all that ever he could, not to be taken alive. The ſpoils of this General Captain, together with the head cut off from the reſt of his body, the Boians with great joy and ſolemnity brought into the Temple that amongſt them was reputed moſt holy and ſacred. And after they had cleanſed the head, as their manner is, they enchaced and garniſhed the skull with gold, and that ſerved as well for an holy veſſel to ſacrifice and Divine withal, upon high and feſtival dayes, as alſo for an ordinary drinking mazar for the high Prieſt, and other Prelats of that Temple. The booty alſo which the Gauls gained of their enemies, was of no leſs importance than the victory: for although a great part of the beaſts and living creatures was cruſhed and ſqueaſed to death with the fall of the wood, yet all other things, by reaſon that nothing was ſcattered and loſt by flight, were found wholly on the ground, as the ſouldiers lay along in that order as they marched.

The defeature of *L. Poſthumius* and his army.

Theſe woful tidings being reported, the City was for many dayes in ſuch fear and perplexity, that all ſhop windows were ſhut up, and no ſtirring at all in the ſtreets throughout, from one end to the other, as if it had been night continually. Then the Senat gave the Ædiles in charge to walk all about, and command the ſhops to be ſet open, and to make no more ſhew in the City of publick ſorrow and heavineſs. Then *T. Sempronius* aſſembled a Senate, ſpake comfortably to the LL. of the Councel, and exhorted them, that "as they were not diſmayed with the overthrow "and diſcomfiture at *Cannæ*, ſo they would not be caſt down and daunted with lighter and ſmal- "ler loſſes and calamities. For if it might pleaſe the Gods to bleſſe them, and give them good "ſpeed (as they hoped no leſs) againſt the Carthaginian enemies and *Annibal*, the war with the "Gauls might without danger and inconvenience either be laid aſide clean, or put off and defer- "red. As for the revenge of this deceitful practiſe, it ſhould reſt ſtill in the power either of the "immortal Gods, or of the people of *Rome*, to be performed one time or other. But for the preſent, they were to conſult and reſolve concerning *Annibal* their grand enemy, and to grow to ſome point and concluſion of ſuch forces as were meet for that war. And firſt himſelf diſcourſed and laid down what companies of foot and Horſe, what number of citizens, and how many confederats were in the army of the Dictator. After him, *Marcellus* ſhewed and recounted the proportion of his own power and their ſtrength. Alſo, what forces, and of what quality, were with *C. Terentius* the Conſul in *Apulia*, they were required to declare, who might ſpeak upon their knowledge. Then they proceeded to caſt and examine, whether two Conſular armies well appointed and furniſhed, were ſufficient to go through ſo great a war. Thus for that year they let *France* alone, albeit they had good cauſe to be angry, and were provoked that way to follow revenge. The Dictator his army, was appointed unto the Conſul. As for the forces under the leading of *Marcellus*, conſiſting of them that fled out of the field at *Cannæ*, thoſe they ordained to be ſent over into *Sicily*, there to remain in ſervice ſo long as the war continued in *Italy*: and that thither alſo ſhould be poſted over out of the Dictator his Legions, all thoſe ſouldiers who were able to do leaſt ſervice, there to abide in ſouldiery, without any other limitation of time than that, which the * Laws in that caſe provide for. For the other Conſul, who ſhould be ſubſtituted in ſtead of *L. Poſthumius*, there were aſſigned two Legions of Roman Citizens: and order was given, ſo ſoon as the Auſpices would permit, he ſhould be elected with ſpeed. Likewiſe it was agreed upon and ordained, to ſend for two legions beſides out of *Sicily*: out of which, the Coſſ. unto whom thoſe Legions aforeſaid of the City were allotted, ſhould take what ſouldiers he thought needful. Finally, *C. Terentius* the Conſul, had his commiſſion of command continued for another year, without empairing one jot of the army, which he had in his conduct for the guard and defence of *Apulia*.

* i. The term of ten years.

Amids theſe affairs and preparations in *Italy*, the war went forward nevertheleſſe in *Spain*, and ever to that day proſpered on the Romans ſide. *P.* and *Cn. Scipios* divided their forces ſo, as

A as *Cn.* should serve by Land, and *Publius* at Sea with the navy. *Asdrubal* the chief Colonel and Commander there of the Carthaginians, distrusting his own strength both by Sea and Land, kept himself aloof, and far from the enemy, in sure places of safety; Unto whom, after long suit and instant prayers, were sent 4000 foot, and 500 horse out of Affrick for supply. Having thus at length, with new helps gathered fresh hope, he encamped neerer to his enemy, and gave order and direction withal, that the Armado should be rigged and decked for the defence of the Islands, and the Sea-coasts. And whiles he was thus beginning hotly to make war again, he was suddainly distempered and disquieted with the revolt of the Admirals and great Captains of the navy: who for their fearful abandoning of the fleet upon *Iberus*, having been sharply checked and rebu-
B ked, were never after trusty and sure, either to the Colonel himself, or to the State of *Carthage*. These fugitive renegats had first practised to raise troubles and insurrections in the Land of the Carpesii, and by their soliciting and instigation, certain Cities were procured to rebel, and one of them they had forced by assault. Whereupon, *Asdrubal* turned his forces from the Romans, and bent them wholly against that Nation: and with a cruel army entring the frontiers of the enemies, determined to give the charge upon *Galbus*, a Nobleman and renowned chieftain of the Carpesians, even before the City, that some few dayes before was left where the said *Galbus* with a puissant power kept himself strongly encamped. Having therefore sent out before, certain vancurriers lightly armed, to train forth and draw the enemies to skirmish, he made out withal cer-
C tain Companies of his Infantry sundry wayes to over-run and spoil the country, and likewise to catch up and meet with all straglers, dispersed in the fields. Whereupon, at one time there was a skirmish before the camp: and likewise in the fields, they were either slain or put to flight. But afterwards, having by divers wayes from all parts recovered again the camp, suddainly they shaked off all fear, plucked up their hearts, and thought themselves good enough, not only to defend their fort and hold, but also to bid the enemy battail. They sallied out therefore of the camp in good array, shouting, dancing and hopping after their manner: so as this unexpected boldness and courage of theirs, terrified the enemies, who a little before had challenged them to fight. Whereupon *Asdrubal* himself withdrew and retired his power for more security to an hill of good
D height, and situat for his advantage, with a River likewise between him and his enemies. The light armed vancurriers also, and the forlorn hope, together with the Horsemen that rode scattering abroad, he caused thither to repair for their better safety. And because he trusted neither hill nor river, he fortified himself with a trench and rampier besides. In this alternat and interchangeable fear on both sides, there passed some bickerments; and blows were dealt between. In which, neither the Numidian Horsemen were able to match the Spaniards in that kind, nor the Moores archers could make their part good with the light Carpesians targetiers, who in nimbleness and swiftness were as good as they; and for courage and bodily strength, far better. These Carpesians seeing they neither could provoke *Asdrubal* to a battail, with all their braving hard under his camp, nor yet easily by assault win it, they took by force the City *Asena*, into which *Asdrubal* when he first invaded the Frontiers of his enemies had conveighed store of corn and other
E victuals: yea, and became LL. of all the country thereabout. And they grew so lusty and audacious, that neither in their march and array nor within their camp they would be ruled and ordered by any mans command. This secure and careless negligence of theirs, when *Asdrubal* perceived to arise (as usually it doth) upon good success and prosperity; after an exhortation made to his souldiers, to charge upon the enemies, roving abroad without their colours, he descended from the hill, and marched in battail array against the camp. So soon as the Spaniards were advertised by those who came in great hast, and fled from the Sentinels and *corps de guard*, that he was coming, and neer at hand, with a great outcry they gave the alarm. And as every man could get
F weapon in hand they ran upon the head to battail, without direction and commandment of Captain, without signal, ensign, and order confusedly. When the formost in the vanguard were joyned in conflict and come to hand-fight, some of their fellows were seen running on heaps and by troups, and others were not well come forth of the camp: At the first the enemy was terrified with their bold adventure. Afterwards as they encountred, thin and loosely raied, with the enemies thick and closely ranged together, seeing themselves too weak, and not sufficient, so few in number to defend themselves, they looked back one upon another for succour: and being on every side put back, and forced to retreat and lose ground, they cast themselves into a ring, and thus thrust (as they were) close together, body to body, and armour to armour they were so pent and pestered in so narrow a ground, that they had scarce room enough to wield their weapons: so they were compassed and environed round with the enemy, and for a good part of the day
G hewen in peeces and massacred. Some few of them that brake through by dint of sword, escaped to the woods and mountains. With like fear the camp was abandoned: and the day following, the whole nation yeelded, and came under the subjection of the Carthaginians.

Long they continued not quiet. For within a while news came from *Carthage*, that *Asdrubal* should make what speed he could with his army into *Italy*. Which rumour being blown abroad through *Spain*, turned in manner all their hearts away unto the Romans. Whereupon *Asdrubal* addressed his Letters immediately to *Carthage*, shewing what hurt the fame of his departure had done already: and in case he should set forward on his journey, and go out of those parts, all *Spain* would turn to the Romans, before he were passed the river *Iberus*. For over and besides, that he had not strength enough to leave behind for a garrison, nor a sufficient com-

mander in stead of himself, the Generals of the Roman armies, who had set foot in *Spain*, were so strong, as he might hardly make head against them with equal puissance. And therefore, if they had any regard of *Spain*, he advised them to send one to succeed him with a strong power: for he should have his hands full, and enough to do in the Province, fail out things as fortunately as they could. These letters, albeit at the first sight they greatly troubled the Senat, yet because the Italian affairs seemed of more moment and greater importance, they wrought no alteration in their intended course, either for *Asdrubal* himself, or his forces. Howbeit *Himilco* was sent with a complete and competent army, and a greater Armado, both for the holding of *Spain* in their allegeance, and also for their defence by Sea and Land. Who having passed over with all his power as well for Land-service as the Sea, fortified his camp, drawn his ships ashore, laid them up in drie Land, and empaled them strongly all about; himself in person with his elect and most choice men of arms, made what hast possibly he could, through nations partly enemies, partly doubtful and untrusty, and staied not either in one place or other (but evermore standing upon his guard) until he was come to *Asdrubal*. After he had declared unto him the order decreed by the Senat, and what he had in commission, and taken himself direction likewise from him, in what manner the war in *Spain* was to be managed, he returned back again to his own camp. In which voyage to and fro he travailed safely by no one thing more than by speedy expedition. For he was ever gone from a place, before the people could agree together and make head against him. Now *Asdrubal* before that he dislodged and set his army on foot out of those parts, levied sums of money of all the Cities and states under his jurisdiction: for well he knew, that *Amilcal* had paid sweetly before him for his passage through certain countries: and as well he wist besides, that the Gauls he was fain to wage: for amongst them no money no men. And if he undertook and entred upon that great expedition, poor and bare of treasure, he had never reached so far as the Alps. Thus having in great hast raised and collected his monies he came down to the river *Iberus*.

When the Romans heard of the proceedings and designments of the Carthaginians and likewise of the journey of *Asdrubal*: both the Generals (laying all other matters apart) prepared to joyn their whole forces together, to oppose themselves, and to withstand such intended attempts: supposing and considering, that if *Amilcal* (who by himself alone was an enemy to Italy hardly supportable) were once seconded by Colonel *Asdrubal* and the Spanish army, the Empire of *Rome* would soon be at an end. Upon these careful cogitations being grieved and perplexed they after-hied all their power over to *Iberus*; and after they had passed over the river, and long consulted whether they should encamp themselves and abide the coming of the enemies to fight them battail: or by invading and assailing the associats and subjects of the Carthaginians, to stay the enemy and hinder his intended journy: they resolved at length and made preparation to assault *Iberia* (so named of the river near by) the richest and most wealthy City at that time, of all others in those parts. Whereof when *Asdrubal* was advertised, he for to help his friends, advanced himself likewise to set upon another City lately yeelded to the Romans, and reduced under their subjection. And so the Romans after they had begun to lay siege to *Ibera*, gave over that enterprise, and made head against *Asdrubal* himself. And for some few dayes they lay incamped five miles asunder one from the other, not without some light skirmishes: but never came to pitch a set fair field. At length upon one and the same day (as if they had been so agreed afore) they happened on both sides to set out the signal of battail, and to come forth with all their power into the plain ground. The Romans stood arranged in three battailons: one part of the Infantry was placed before the standards in the vanguard, another Regiment bestowed behind in the rereguard: the men of arms flanked the sides like wings. On the other part, *Asdrubal* strengthned his main battel with Spaniards: in the right point he marshalled the Carthaginians, in the left the Africans. As for the auxiliar and mercenary Horsemen, whom he waged and hired; such as were Numidians, he ordained afront the Carthaginians footmen to guard them: the rest that were Africans, he distributed and disposed about the skirts and edges of the battailons. Neither were all the Numidians placed in the right flank, but such as after the guise and manner of Vaulters, led two Horses apeece: and used often times in the mids of the hottest conflict, to leap armed as they were from their wearied horse to another fresh one. So nimble are they themselves, and so tractable and well taught to their hands are their Horses. Thus stood they arranged on both sides in order of battail. The Captains of either part for hopes in manner nothing unequal: for neither in number or quality of souldiers, was there any great oddes between them: Mary, for courage and heart there was great difference and inequality in the souldiers themselves. For the Romans (notwithstanding they fought far from home) were so perswaded by their leaders, that they fought for *Italy* and the City of *Rome*: and therefore as if the whole hope of their safe return into their country were to be tried and decided in this one battail, they resolved either to win the day or to dye for it. On the other side, the souldiers were not so resolute, for most of them being Spaniards, would have chosen rather to be conquered and overcome in *Spain*, than with conquest and victory to be drawn into *Italy*. And therefore at the first shock, when scarcely the darts and javelins were launced and let flye, their main battail retreated: and so soon as the Romans with great violence redoubled the charge, they turned their backs and fled. Howbeit in both flanks the fight was hot enough. The Carthaginians of the one side, the Africans on the other, charged the Romans very hard, and fought sore against them, as if they had them invironed round about within their battailons. But when as the whole power of the Romans were once rallied and gathe-

red

A red together in the mids, they were ſtrong enough to remove and ſet back the wings of the enemies. So they maintained fight in two divers places at once. But both in the one and the other, the Romans (after they had diſcomfited the main battail in the mids) were no doubt, much better, as well in number, and alſo in ſtrength and vigour of men. Many a tall fellow was there ſlain. And had not the Spaniards at the firſt when the battail was ſcarce begun, fled amain by heaps, very few of the whole battail had eſcaped and remained alive. The Horſemen fought little or not at all. For the Moors and Numidians, ſo ſoon as they eſpied the battail to ſhrink and loſe ground, preſently all on a ſuddain fled as faſt as they could, and left the ſides and flanks of the ſaid battail naked, driving afore them the Elephants withal. And even *Aſdrubal* himſelf, who maintained the skirB miſh to the very laſt, eſcaped with ſome few out of the thickeſt maſſacre and execution. The Romans took their camp and rifled it. This battail was of ſuch import and conſequence, that it cauſed all the Spaniards, who were before but wavering, to turn wholly to the Romans: and left *Aſdrubal* no hope at all, to paſs with his forces into *Italy*, nor ſo much as to make abode with ſafety in *Spain*. The news hereof being bruited abroad and ſent to *Rome*, by the letters of the two *Scipio's*, great joy there was, not ſo much for the victory, as becauſe *Aſdrubal* was tied by the foot, and ſtaied for coming into *Italy*.

Amids theſe exploits in *Spain*, * *Petelia* (a City of the Brutii, having endured the ſiege and many aſſault for certain moneths) was finally won by *Himilco*, one of *Annibal* Captains. But that victory coſt the Carthaginians much blood, and many a ſore wound. No force nor violence overC came the beſieged Petelians more, than very famine. For having conſumed and eaten up all food of corn, all fleſh of four footed beaſts whatſoever: they were driven at length to feed and live upon ſhoomakers lether, weeds, and roots, tender barks of trees, and the crops of briers and brambles: and they gave not over ſo long as they were able to ſtand on their legs upon the walls, and bear their armour. * *Belicastro.*

*Annibal* after the winning of *Petelia* conducted his army againſt * *Conſentia*, which being not ſo valiantly defended, was within few dayes ſurrendred up into his hands. Neer about the ſame time, a power of the Brutians alſo, laid ſiege unto *Croton*, a City built and inhabited by the Greeks, and in times paſt, mighty in men and munition: but now at this time ſo diſtreſſed with manifold and grievous calamities, that of all ages one with another, they were not able to make twenty D thouſand men. And therefore no marvail, if the enemies were ſoon maſters of the City, being ſo deſtitute as it was of Citizens to defend it. Only the Caſtle they kept ſtill, into which there were ſome that eſcaped in that tumult when the City was taken, out of the mids of the maſſacre. The Locrians likewiſe revolted unto the Bruti and the Carthaginians, by reaſon that the common multitude were fraudulently betrayed by the chief and principal Citizens. The Rhegines only of all that country, continued both true unto the Romans, and alſo at their own liberty to the very laſt. The ſame diſpoſition to revolt, was to be ſeen even in *Sicily*, in ſo much as the very houſe of *Hiero* was not cleer and free in all parts from rebellion. For *Gelo* his eldeſt ſon, having in contempt both the olde age of his father, and alſo (after the overthrow at *Cannæ*,) the ſociety and friendſhip of the Romans, turned unto the Carthaginians. And he had, no doubt, made a general alteration E in *Sicily*, but that his death came between and cut him off; which hapned ſo jump, even when he was arming the multitude, and ſolliciting his friends to rebellion, that his very father himſelf was drawn into deep ſuſpition that he took his life away. Theſe were the occurrents that fell out that year with variable event, in *Italy*, *Affrick*, *Sicily*, and *Spain*. * *Cosenza.*

In the end of the ſame year, *Q. Fabius Maximus* moved the Senat, and made requeſt, that the Temple of *Venus Erycina*, which he had vowed being Dictator, might now be dedicated. And the Senat made a decree. That *Titus Sempronius*, Conſul elect, ſhould ſo ſoon as he was entred into his office, propoſe unto the people, that they would creat two Duumvirs for the dedication of Temples. And in honour of *Æmylius Lepidus*, who had been Conſul twice, and Augur, his three ſons, *Lucius*, *Marcus*, and *Quintus*, exhibited certain funeral games for three F dayes ſpace; and a ſhew in the Common place likewiſe for three dayes together, of two and twenty pair of ſword-ſenſers, to fight at ſharp to the death. The Curule Ædiles, *C. Lectorius*, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, now Conſul elect, who in his Ædileſhip had been General of the Horſemen, ſet out the Roman games, which were renewed and continued ſtill for three dayes. Likewiſe, the Playes of the Commons, were thrice exhibited by *M. Aurelius Cotta*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*. Now after three years expired of the Punick war, *T. Sempronius* the Conſul, began his government upon the * Ides of *March*. As for the Prætors, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, who had afore-time been Conſul and Cenſor, obteined by lot the juriſdiction of the Citi- * 15 of March.
zens: and *M. Valerius Corvinus*, of the ſtrangers and aliens. To *Appius Claudius Pulcher* was
G alotted the government of *Sicily*: and to *Q. Mutius Scævola* of *Sardinia*. *M. Marcellus* was by the people allowed to have the authority of a Vice-Conſul, in regard that he above all the Roman Captains, after the defeat of *Cannæ*, mannaged his affairs and warred proſperouſly in *Italy*.

Now the very firſt day that the Senat was aſſembled in the Capitol, they decreed upon the firſt motion, that within the compaſſe of that year, there ſhould be levied a double tax or tribute: and that one ſingle tribute ſhould be forthwith gathered, for preſent pay to all the ſouldiers, ſaving thoſe that ſerved at *Cannæ*. Then concerning the armies this order was ſet down: *Imprimis*, that *T. Sempronius* the Conſul, ſhould appoint the two legions of Citizens a certain

day to meet at *Cales*. *Item*, that six legions should be conducted to the camp of *Claudius* above *Suessula*. *Item*, that the legions which there were (and those consisted for the most part of the re- H
sidue of the Cannian army) *Ap. Claudius Pulcher* the Pretor, should put over Sea into *Sicily*: and as for those that were in *Sicily*, they should be transported to *Rome*. *Item*, unto that army which was appointed to meet by a day, at *Cales*, *M. Claudius Marcellus* was sent: and he was commanded to conduct the legions of the Citizens to the camp of *Claudius*. Last of all, to receive the charge of the old army, and to lead it into *Sicily*, *T. Metilius Croto* Lieutenant, was sent by *Ap. Claudius*. Men looked at first, and yet they said nothing, that the Consul should call an assembly for the creating of a Colleague unto him. But after that they saw that *M. Marcellus* was sent out of the way (as it were of purpose) whom above all others they were desirous to be the Consul for I
that year, in regard of his notable good service whiles he was Pretor, there arose much muttering in the Senat house. Which the Consul perceiving: "My LL. quoth he, it was for the good of "the Common-wealth, that both *M. Claudius* should go into *Campain* to exchange the armies: "and also that the Election of Consuls, should not be proclaimed, until that he were returned again "from thence, with dispatch of that business which he had in charge: that ye might have a Con- "sul, such a one as the present condition of the State required, and your selves most desired. So there was no more speech of the election, until *Marcellus* was come back again. In this mean time were two Duumvirs created, *Q. Fabius Maximus* for the dedication of one Chappel to *Venus Erycina*, and *T. Octacilius Crassus*, of another to the Goddess *Mens*. Both stand upon the Capitol hill, divided asunder no more than with one only conduct of water passing between. And K
as concerning the three hundred Campain Horsemen, who had served out their full time of warfare faithfully, and were come to *Rome*, a motion was propounded to the people, that they should be enfranchised Citizens of *Rome*: and in like manner, that they should be reputed as free Denizens of *Cumes*, from the day afore that the Capuans revolted from the people of *Rome* and rebelled. The chiefest cause of proposing this act, was this, because themselves denied flatly that they knew, to whom they did appertain, seeing they had abandoned their old native countrey: and as yet were not enrolled and incorporat into that state, unto which they had retired. After that *Marcellus* was come again from the army, the solemn day of election of a Consul in place of *L. Posthumius*, was published. And with exceeding great consent of all men, *Marcellus* was cho- L
sen: and forthwith he was to begin his Magistracy. At whose first entrance, it hapned to thunder: and the Augurs being called to give their opinion of it, pronounced, that they thought he was not rightfully created. And the Senators gave it out commonly and bruited abroad, that the Gods were not well pleased therewith, because (forsooth) two Cossi. were elected of the commonalty (a thing never seen before.) Whereupon *Marcellus* resigned up his place, and in his room was substituted *Fabius Max.* the third time.

That year the Sea burned. At *Sinuessa* a cow brought forth a horse sole. And at *Lanuvium* in the Temple of *Iuno Hospita*, certain statues or images dropped with bloud: and about that Temple it rained stones. For which showr, there was solemnised, according to the customable manner, a Novendial sacrifice. The other prodigious signs likewise were expiat with great care and heedful regard. The Consuls then, parted their armies between them. *Fabius* took charge of those M
forces which had been commanded by *M. Junius* the Dictator. *Sempronius* had the conduct of all the voluntary souldiers, and besides of 25000 of Auxiliaries sent from the confederats. *M. Valerius* the Pretor had the legions appointed for him, that were returned out of *Sicily*. *M. Claudius* the Vice-consul, was sent unto that army, which lay in garison at *Nola*, above *Suessula*. And the Pretors took their journey into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. The Consuls, whensoever they would assemble the Senat, proclaimed that the Senators, and all others that had lawful authority to speak their mind and deliver their opinion in the Councel-House, should meet at the gate *Capena*. The Pretors, those that were Judges in the Court, and to whom the civil jurisdiction appertained, erected their Tribunal seats and places of Assizes at the publick Fish-pool, and thither they commanded all writs to be returned, and apparence there to be made. And for that year all pleas and N
judgements of causes passed there.

In this mean time news came to *Carthage* (from whence *Mago* the brother of *Annibal* was minded to transport and set over into *Italy* 12000 footmen, and 1500 horsemen, 20 Elephants, and 1000 talents of silver, together with a guard and supply of 60 gallies) That in *Spain* things went untowardly: and that all the Cities of *Spain* (in a manner) were revolted unto the Romans. Some there were of opinion, to withdraw *Mago* with that fleet and power of his, from the enterprise of *Italy* into *Spain*. Considering there was good hope shewed of a suddain, recover again *Sardinia*, for that there was but a small power of Romans there; and *Cornelius* the old Lord Deputy, well acquainted with the State of the Province, was now upon his departure from thence, and a new expected in his turn. Over and besides, that the Sardinians were weary already of the Ro- O
mans government, which they had so long endured, as who the year that past was, had tyrannised over them cruelly, and exercised their authority with oppression, covetously imposing upon them hard exactions and tributs, and levying of them a most unjust taxation and contribution of corn: and finally they wanted nothing but an head, upon whom they might relie themselves. To this effect there was an Embassage sent secretly from the Lords and Princes of the Island. And the principal actor and procurer hereof, was *Hersicora*, a man in those dayes of greatest authority and power among them. Upon these tidings aforesaid, hapning so just at one time, they were both dis-

A disquieted and also refreshed. So they sent *Mago* with his fleet, and other forces into *Spain*: and they chose for the expedition into *Sardinia*, *Asdrubal* surnamed *Calvus*, for the L. General, furnished and appointed with as great a power almost, as *Mago* had.

At *Rome* likewise, the Consuls having dispatched the affairs of the City, addressed themselves to the war. *T. Sempronius* appointed *Sinnessa* to be the *Rendez-vous*, where the souldiers should meet at a certain day. And *Q. Fabius*, by an order and direction from the Senat, made an Edict, That all men should before the first day of *July* next ensuing, gather all their corn out of the countries, and convey the same into the principal walled strong Towns: proclaiming that whosoever did not accordingly, their fields he would lay wast; sell their servants in port sale at the spear, and B set their farms and villages a fire. Not so much as the Pretors themselves (created for civil jurisdiction and to decide law matters) were freed and exempted from the conduct of war. As for *Valerius* the Pretor, he was appointed to go into *Apulia*, for to receive the army of *Terentius*: and when the legions were returned out of *Sicily*, to imploy them especially for the guard and defence of that country; and that the army of *Terentius* should be sent with some one of the Lieutenants. And *M. Valerius* had 25 sail allowed him, to keep and defend all the Sea coasts between * *Brundusium* and * *Tarentum*. The like number of ships was assigned to *Q. Fulvius* the City Pretor, for to guard the River side, neer adjoyning to the City of *Rome*. *C. Terentius* the Proconsul had in charge to take up by commission souldiers in the Picene country, and to guard those quarters. And *T. Ostacilius Crassus*, after that he had dedicated the Temple of *Mens* in the Capitol, C was sent into *Sicily*, as Lord Admiral of the Armado there.

* *Brindisi.*
* *Taranto.*

Upon this war between two of the mightiest Cities, and most puissant states of the World, there was not a King and Prince, no, nor a Nation under Heaven, but was amused. Among whom *Philip* King of the Macedonians, had an eye thereto, and was more intentive, in that he was neerer unto *Italy*, and only divided from thence by the Jonian Sea. He at the first, when the bruit came to his ears, That *Annibal* was passed beyond the Alps: as he joyed much, that there was war kindled between the Romans and the Carthaginians, so, as long as it was uncertain, whether nation was the stronger, he wavered in mind and was in suspence, whether of the twain he should wish to have the victory. But after that he heard once, that in three several battails one after another, *Annibal* and the Carthaginians had gotten the better hand, he enclined to the fortunat side, and D sent Embassadors unto *Annibal*: who sailing off, and desirous to avoid the Havens of *Brundusium* and *Tarentum*, which were guarded and kept by the Romans fleet, arrived and landed at the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*: and so through *Apulia*, travailing toward *Capua*, chanced to light upon the mids of the Romans *corps de guard*, and were brought before *M. Valerius Levinus* the Lord Deputy, being then encamped before *Nuceria*. Where *Xenophanes*, the principal of the Embassadors, bashed not to say, That he was sent from King *Philip*, to treat and conclude a league and amity with the people of *Rome*, and had commission and direction to the Consuls, to the Senat likewise and people of *Rome*, to that effect. *Valerius* taking great contentment to hear of this new society and friendship with so noble a King, especially upon the rebellion of so many old allies, courteously intreated and friendly entertained this false hearted enemy, in stead of a trusty friend: and E appointed diverse to accompany him forward, to guide him carefully in the wayes, and to shew him what places, what passages and streights were held and kept, either by the Romans, or the enemies. *Xenophanes* with these instructions passed through the midst of the Roman guards into *Campania*, and so the next way arrived at the camp of *Annibal*, and made a league and amity with him, under these conditions and capitulations. *Imprimis*, That King *Philip* should with a right puissant Armada (for that he was supposed able to set out 200 sail) pass over into *Italy*, wast and spoil all the Sea coasts, and to his power maintain war by Sea and Land. *Item*, That when the war was finished, all *Italy*, together with the very City of *Rome* should be possessed by the Carthaginians and *Annibal*, and unto him all the pillage and booty likewise should belong. *Item*, When *Italy* was thus subdued, that they should sail into Greece, and wage war with what Princes F there they pleased, and that all the Cities of the main, and the Islands which lay to *Macedony*, should fall unto *Philip*, and be annexed to his Kingdome. In these terms, and upon these Articles, in manner, was the league concluded and confirmed between the General *Annibal*, and the Embassadors of the Macedonians: and with them were sent back unto the King for the better ratifying of the said covenants, certain Legats, to wit, *Gisgo*, *Bostar*, and *Mago*, who arrived together at the same Temple aforesaid, of *Juno Licinia*, where there rid closely a ship at anchor, expecting their return. From whence being departed, they were not so soon lanched out into the deep, and had taken the open Sea, but they were descried by the Roman fleet that guarded the coasts of *Calabria*, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* made out certain Corcyreans, to pursue and fetch in that ship. Whereupon, the Macedonians began to flie, but seeing themselves overmatched in swiftness of sail, and G not able to make way with them, they yeelded themselves unto the Romans, and were presented unto the Admiral; Who demanded what they were, from whence they came, and whither they were bound. *Xenophanes* who had already sped so well by making of a lye, began to cog again, and say, That he was sent from *Philip* unto the Romans: that he came unto *M. Valerius*, because to him only he was able to pass in safety, but could not possibly get beyond *Campania*, being so strongly kept with garisons of the enemies. But afterwards, upon the sight of the Carthaginian habit and apparel, they began to suspect the Embassadors of *Annibal*: and they being questioned withal, their speech and language bewrayed them. Then was their retinue taken apart, and threatned to con-

confeſs. Letters alſo were found upon them, ſent from *Annibal* unto *Philip*, concerning the peace between the King of the Macedonians and *Annibal*. Upon theſe matters thus detected and certainly known, it was thought good to convey the Embaſſadors and their Company with all ſpeed priſoners to *Rome*, unto the Senat there, or unto the Conſuls whereſoever they were. To this purpoſe were choſen five Pinnaſſes that were moſt ſwift, under the conduct of *L. Valerius Antias*, who had his direction and charge to part theſe Embaſſadors in ſeveral ſhips, and keep them ſure aſunder: and to take good heed, that they neither talked nor conferred together.

About the ſame time it hapned at *Rome*, that *Au. Cornelius Mammula*, upon his departure out of the Province *Sardinia*, made report in what ſtate the Iland ſtood; namely, that they all enclined to rebellion and war: that *Mutius* who ſucceeded after him, preſently upon his firſt coming, by reaſon of the ill air and unwholſom water, was fallen into a ſickneſs, not ſo quick and dangerous, as chronick and tedious, and would not be able long to endure the ſervice of war: that the army there, as it was ſufficient to guard and keep in good order a quiet and peaceable Province, ſo it could not hold out with the war that was like to enſue. Whereupon the LL. of the Senat gave order, that *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, ſhould levy and enrol 3000 foot, and 400 horſe, and provide that this legion ſhould paſs over with all ſpeed into *Sardinia*: and ſend therewith whom it pleaſed him to conduct and manage the war until *Mutius* were recovered of his diſeaſe. For this intent was *T. Manlius Torquatus* ſent Governour; one, who had been twice Conſul and Cenſor, and in his Conſulſhip and ſubdued the Sardinians.

Neer about the ſame time, there was an Armado ſent out from *Carthage* unto *Sardinia*, under the leading of *Aſdrubal* ſurnamed *Calvus*, and being ſore toſſed and beaten with tempeſts, was caſt upon the Balear Ilands: where (ſo far out of order was not only the ſhip-tackling, but alſo the very keels and bodies of the ſhips ſo ſhaken) they drew up the ſhips to ſhore, and whiles they ſtayed there about calking and trimming them again, they ſpent much time.

In *Italy* whiles the wars began to ſlake and wax cold, by reaſon that after the battail of *Canne*, the ſtrength of the one part was much abated, and their force decayed, and the courage of the other, well allayed and made effeminat: the Campains upon their own heads began to contrive, how to reduce the State of *Cumes* under their obedience, firſt ſoliciting them to revolt from the Romans: and ſeeing that courſe would not ſpeed and take effect, they deviſed by a fraudulent practiſe to compaſs and entrap them. The Campans uſe yeerly to ſolemniſe a ſet feaſt and ſacrifice in a certain place called *Hamæ*: and they gave notice unto the Cumans, that the whole Senat of *Capua* would reſort thither: requeſting the Senat of *Cumes* likewiſe to meet them there, for to confer and conſult together in common, how both Cities, the one and the other, might have the ſame friends and the ſame enemies, and no other: giving them withal to underſtand, that they minded there to have a good guard about them of armed men, for fear of ſome ſodain and dangerous attempt from the Romans. The Cumans, albeit they ſuſpected ſome treachery, denied nothing, ſuppoſing thereby to colour and cover their own crafty intended deſignment. Now all this while, *T. Sempronius* the Roman Conſul, having ſurveyed and purged his army at *Sinneſſa*, at which place he had made proclamation, that his forces ſhould meet together: paſſed over the river *Vulturnus*, and encamped neer unto *Linternum*: where becauſe the Souldiers in the ſtanding camp had nothing elſe to do, he exerciſed them to run often the race and skirmiſh in aray, to the end that the raw Souldiers (for ſuch were the voluntaries for the moſt part) might by uſe and practiſe learn how to follow their colours in good order, and in the time of battail know their own ranks and enſigns. In theſe kinds of training, the ſpecial care that the General had, and the only thing that he aimed at, was their concord and good agreement. And for this purpoſe, he charged the Lieutenants, and the Colonels and Captains, that they ſhould not caſt in any mans teeth one or other, their fortune and condition aforetime, thereby to breed any diſcord and heartburning among the companies: and that the old experienced ſouldiers ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be but equal in eſtate to the new learners: and thoſe that were born free unto the voluntaries, who had been ſlaves: reputing them all of birth good enough, and of gentle bloud deſcended, unto whom the people of *Rome* had vouchſafed to commit their armor and enſigns: ſaying, that the ſame fortune which had driven them ſo to do, forced them likewiſe to maintain the ſame, and make the beſt of it, now it was done. The Captains were not more careful in giving theſe good leſſons and inſtructions, but the ſouldiers were as diligent to obſerve the ſame: and within a while their hearts and affections grew to be ſo linked and united together, that they forgat generally, in what degree and of what condition each ſouldier entred into ſervice. Whiles *Gracchus* was buſied hereabout, the Embaſſadors of *Cumes* certified him, what kind of Embaſſage came unto them from the Campans, a few dayes before, and what anſwer they had returned: advertiſing him that their feſtival day was to be holden three dayes after: that not only the whole Senat would be preſent, but alſo the camp and army of the Campans. *Gracchus* having commanded the Cumanes to convey all that they had out of the fields and territories about, into their City, and themſelves to keep within their walls: himſelf the day before the ſolemnity aforeſaid of the Campans, removed his power to *Cumes*, and there incamped. Now *Hamæ* is three miles off from thence. The Campans by this time were aſſembled there in great number, according to appointment: and not far from the place, *Marius Alfius* the chief head Magiſtrat of *Capua*, was incamped cloſely with fourteen thouſand ſouldiers. He, what with preparation of the ſacrifice, and

A and contriving withal, the deceitful train of treachery, was more busy and careful thereabout, than either in fortifying his camp, or in any other military action. Thus for three dayes continued this festival sacrifice at *Hama*. And ever in the night season it was performed: so, as before midnight all was done and finished, *Gracchus* supposing that a good time for his ambush to be employed, having set certain warders before the gates, that no man might go forth to give intelligence, caused the souldiers betwixt the sixt and tenth hour of the day, [from noon until four of the clock] to refresh themselves and take their sleep: that in the beginning of the dark night, they might assemble togather at the watch-word or signal given them. And about the first watch he commanded to display their Ensigns and advance forward: and thus with a still march, he ar-
B rived at *Hama* by midnight; surprised the hold of the Campans, and entred all the gates at once, being negligently guarded, by reason of their overwatching. Some he killed lying along fast asleep: others, as they returned unarmed from the sacrifice. In this night-tumult there were slain more than two thousand, with *Marius Alfius* himself their leader: and 43 Ensigns taken and carried away. *Gracchus* with the losse of fewer than one hundred of his souldiers, having won the camp, retired speedily to *Cumes*, for fear of *Annibal*, who lay in fort encamped upon *Tifata* over *Capua*. And (as he was a provident man and of great forecast) nothing was he de-
ceived in his opinion. For so soon as this defeat was reported at *Capua*, *Annibal* supposing that
C he should at *Hama* find the army of the Romans (consisting for the most part of raw souldiers, and those, bondslaves) jocund and lusty above measure, and insolent upon their fresh victory, busie in rifling their dead enemies thus conquered, driving away booties, and charged with pillage; removed his forces in hast, and marched apace beneath *Capua*: and encountred with some of the Campans that were fled, whom he caused between two guards to be conducted safe to *Capua*, and such as were hurt and wounded, to be set in waggons and carried thither. Himself found at *Hama* the camp empty and void of enemies, and nothing there but the tokens of a fresh massacre, and the dead bodies of his friends and allies lying here and there scattered. Some there were that advised him presently to advance forward to *Cumes*, and to assault the Town. And albeit *Anni-*
*bal* was willing enough thereto, and passing desirous (seeing he could not come by *Naples*) to
D have *Cumes* at least, a maritime port-Town, as well as the other; yet because his souldiers had brought nothing with them but their weapons, as being led forth to march in such hast, he retired back again to his fort and camp upon *Tifata*. From whence, at the importunat prayers of the Campans, the day following he furnished himself with all the Ordinance and Ensigns meet for the assault of a City, and returned toward *Cumes*: and having wasted the territory thereof, he encamped himself a mile from the Town. Then *Gracchus*, more for shame, that he might not seem to leave his associates in such necessity, (who craved protection and recommended themselves to him, and to the people of *Rome*) than for any confidence and trust that he reposed in the strength of his army, stayed in *Cumes*. Neither *Fabius* the other Consul, who was encamped at *Cales*, durst set his army over the River *Vulturnus*: as having been busied first at *Rome* in renewing the Auspices and bird-flights: and after that, troubled also about the fearful
E prodigious signs which were reported one after another. And when he sought expiation thereof by sacrifices, the Sooth-sayers made answer and said, That they could not perceive that the Gods were appeased and pacified for all that he did. Thus whiles *Fabius* upon these occasions was kept back, *Sempronius* was besieged, yea, and by this time assaulted, with fabricks and engins of battery. One mighty great Towre of wood there was erected against the Town. Against which, the Roman Consul raised another from the very wall somewhat higher than it: for that he used the wall (which of it self was of good height) in stead of a ground-work, and planted thereon strong posts and piles of timber to bear up the foresaid frame. From thence, at first the souldiers within, defended the Town and Walls with stones, with long poles and perches and other instruments to lance against the assailants. But at length seeing the other turret co-
F ming forward even close to the Town wall, they flung thereon at once much firework, and burning matter: at which fires the multitude of armed men for fear leapt headlong down the turret: and withal, they of the Town issued out at two gates at once, discomfited the guards of the enemies, and drave them into their camp: so as that day *Annibal* was more like one besieged himself, than laying siege unto others. There were of Carthaginians slain about fourteen hundred; forty wanting one were taken prisoners alive, such as about the walls and their *Corps de guard* stood careless and negligent, fearing nothing lesse than a sally out of the Town, and were suddainly at unwares taken and surprised. *Gracchus* sounded the retreat, and caused his men to retire within the Walls, before the enemies after their suddain fright could be rallied toge-
ther. The morrow after, *Annibal* (supposing that the Consul in his ruff for this happy hand, would come into the field to fight a set battail) arranged himself in array between his Camp
G and *Cumes*. But after that, he saw no stirring at all from the usual guard and defence of the City, and nothing put to the rash hazard of doubtful hope, he retired to *Tifata*, without any good at all done.

At the very same time that the siege was raised before *Cumes*, *Titus Sempronius* surnamed *Longus*, fought fortunatly in *Lucania* before *Grumentum*, with *Hanno* the Carthaginian: slew more than two thousand of his enemies, lost himself two hundred and eighty men, and went away with 41 ensigns. *Hanno* thus driven out of the confines of *Lucania*, retired himself back into the country of the Brutii: And M. *Valerius* the Pretor, recovered by force from the Hir-

pins.

pins, three Towns that had revolted from the Romans. *Vercellius* and *Sicilius* the movers and H
Captains of that Rebellion were cut ſhorter by the head. More than one thouſand captives were
ſold at the ſpear in port-ſale, to who that would bid moſt. All the pillage beſides was given to
the ſouldiers, and the army brought back to *Cumes*.

Whiles theſe things hapned in the Countries of the Lucans and Hirpins, thoſe 5 ſhips above-
ſaid (wherein were embarked the Embaſſadors of the Macedonians and Carthaginians as pri-
ſoners) having fet a compaſs from the upper Adriatick Sea unto the nether Sea of Tuſcan, round
about (in a manner) all the Sea coaſt of *Italy*, hapned to ſail along neer the City of *Cumes*: and
being not certainly known whether they were friends or enemies, *Gracchus* put forth out of his
fleet two Pinaces to encounter them. When as by demanding and queſtioning one with another, I
it was once certified unto them, that the Conſul was within *Cumes*, and the ſhips there arrived
in the haven, the priſoners were brought to the preſence of the Conſul, and all the letters deli-
vered. The Conſul after he had read over the letters, both of *Philip* and *Annibal*, ſealed them
up again ſure, and ſent them by Land unto the Senat of *Rome*, but commanded the Embaſſadors
themſelves to be conducted thither by Sea. When as both letters, and alſo the Embaſſadors
were arrived at *Rome*, in a manner, all in one day, and that (after due examination) words and
writings agreed together in one: at the firſt the LL. of the Senat were penſive and plunged deep-
ly into cares, conſidering in how great danger they ſtood of a new Macedonian war, who were
hardly able to endure the Carthaginian. But in concluſion, ſo far were they off from being
utterly diſmayed hereat, and ſinking under the water, that forthwith they began to treat and de- K
bate, how they might begin themſelves to war with theſe enemies firſt, and ſo ſtop them from
their entrance into *Italy*. The captive Embaſſadors they laid up faſt in irons: their train and re-
tinue were ſold in open market: and beſides the five and twenty ſhips, whereof *Q. Fulvius Flac-
cus* was Admiral, they took order for twenty more to be rigged and decked: which being pro-
vided, furniſhed and ſhot into the pool afloat, together with thoſe five barks wherein the priſo-
ners were conducted: there were 50 ſail in all, that looſed from *Oſtia* and arrived at *Tarentum*.
*Quintus Fulvius* had commiſſion to embark the ſouldiers of *Varro*, who had been under the lea-
ding of *L. Apuſtius* the Lieutenant at *Tarentum*, with his fleet of fifty ſail, not only to defend
the Sea-coaſt of *Italy*, but alſo to hearken and have an eye after the Macedonian war: and in
caſe he could learn, that the deſignment and intent of *Philip* was ſutable to thoſe letters and in- L
formations of the Embaſſadors, then he ſhould by his letters certifie *M. Valerius* the Pretor ſo
much; and that leaving with *L. Apuſtius* his Lieutenant the charge of the army, he ſhould go to
the Armado at *Tarentum*, and with all ſpeed poſſible ſet over into *Macedony*, and there endea-
vour to keep *Philip* play at home within his own realm. As for that money which was ſent unto
*Appius Claudius* into *Sicily* for to be repayed unto King *Hiero*, it was appointed unto him for the
maintenance of his Armado, and managing of the Macedonian war. This mony was by *L. Apu-
ſtius* the Lieutenant brought to *Tarentum*, and with it, there were ſent from *Hiero* * 200000
Modii of wheat, and 100000 of barley.

* Much about 5000 quarter of London meaſure.

Whiles theſe preparations and doings paſſed at *Rome*, one ſhip of thoſe priſoners which were
ſent to *Rome*, chanced to ſingle it ſelf from the other, and to eſcape away to *Philip*: whereby M
he was advertiſed, that the Embaſſadors or Commiſſioners were taken, and the letters intercep-
ted. But he not knowing what covenants had paſſed between *Annibal* and his legats, and what
anſwer they ſhould have brought unto him, ſent forth another embaſſage with the ſame com-
miſſion. The Embaſſadors ſent unto *Annibal*, were *Heraclitus* ſurnamed *Scotinus*, *Cicero* of *Be-
rea*, and *Soſitheus* of *Magneſia*. Theſe went to and fro between in ſafety, theſe caried and reca-
ried their errands fortunatly. But the ſummer was come and gone, before the King could enter
into action, or execute any enterpriſe. Of ſo great moment and importance was the boording of
that one ſhip at the firſt with the Embaſſadors, for the deferring of that imminent war intended
againſt the Romans.

When *Fabius* had paſſed over the River *Vulturnus*, after the expiation at length of the prodi- N
gious tokens aforeſaid, both Conſuls together made war about *Capua*. *Fabius* by aſſault won
theſe Cities, *Combulteria*, *Trebula*, and *Auſticula*, which had revolted unto the Carthaginians:
and within them he ſurpriſed the gariſon ſouldiers of *Annibal*. Many of the Campans likewiſe
were taken priſoners. At *Nola* (like as in the year before) the Senat held with the Romans, but
the Commonalty took part with *Annibal*, and plotted ſecretly, how to murder the Nobility,
and to betray the City. But to ſtop the proceedings of theſe miſchievous deſignments, *Fabius*
led his army between *Capua*, and the camp of *Annibal* upon the hill * *Tifata*, and fortified him-
ſelf upon the mountain * *Veſuvius*, in that fort where *Claudius* had encamped before. From
thence he ſent *M. Marcellus* the Vice-Conſul with thoſe forces which he had, into *Nola*, there
to lie in gariſon. O

* *Monte di Capua.*
* *Monte di Somma.*

Likewiſe in *Sardinia*, *T. Manlius* the L. Deputy, began to adminiſter thoſe affairs, which had
been forelet, by occaſion that *Q. Mutius* the Pretor was fallen ſick, and lay of a long and ling-
ring diſeaſe. *Manlius* after he had drawn the Gallies aſhore at *Caraleis*, and put the mariners
and rowers in arms for Land-ſervice, and received of the Pretor his army, was able to make
22000 foot, and 1200 horſe. With this power of men of arms and footmen together, he entred
into the enemies countrey, and not far from the camp of *Herſicora*, pitched his tents. *Herſicora*
himſelf was by chance gone then, into the country of the Pellidians (a people of *Sardinia*) to
arm

A arm the youth there, for the mending of his ſtrength; and left his ſon named *Hioſtus*, Ruler over the camp in the mean time. He a luſty hot youth, raſhly joyned battail, and quickly was diſcomfited and put to flight: thirty thouſand Sardinians in that field were ſlain, and upon 1030 taken priſoners alive. The reſt of the army firſt fled ſtragling aſunder over the fields, and through the woods; but afterwards, hearing by the voyce that went, how their captain was fled to *Cornus the head City of that region, they retired thither alſo. And ſurely they had in that one battail, made an end of all war in *Sardinia*, but that the Armado of *Carthage*, under the leading of *Aſdrubal* (which by tempeſt had been caſt upon the Baleare Iſlands) came in time to entertain the Iſlanders, in hope to rebel. *Manlius*, after it was noiſed abroad, that the Carthaginian fleet B was arrived, retired himſelf to *Caraleis*: which gave *Herſicora* good opportunity and overture to joyn with *Aſdrubal*. Who having landed his ſouldiers, and ſent the ſhips back again unto *Carthage*, went forward by the guidance of *Herſicora*, robbing and ſpoiling the Lands of the Roman confederats: and had come as far as *Caraleis*, but that *Manlius* with an army encountred him upon the way, and reſtrained him from ſo laviſh over-running and robbing the countrey. At the firſt they encamped one againſt the other not far aſunder: afterwards, they began to put out certain bands and companies, and to maintain light skirmiſhes with variable event, until at laſt they pitched a ſet field, and in full battail fought for the ſpace of 4 hours. The Carthaginians held out conflict a good while, and the victory ſtill remained doubtful (for the Sardinians were ever uſed to have the foil) but at laſt, ſeeing every quarter full of the Sardinians either lying along C dead, or running away, they alſo were diſcomfited: and as they turned their backs and were about to flie, the Romans wheeled about with that wing, wherewith they had defeated the Sardinians, and encloſed them round, and ſo they fell rather to killing than fighting any longer, 12000 enemies were there ſlain of Sardinians and Carthaginians together, about 3700 were taken priſoners, and 27 military enſigns won. This was a noble and famous battail, memorable eſpecially above all, for taking of theſe priſoners; namely, *Aſdrubal* the L. General, *Hanno* and *Mago*, two noble men of *Carthage*. *Mago* was of the Barchine houſe, neer of kin and in bloud to *Annibal*. *Hanno* was the ſollicitor of the Sardinians to rebellion, and no doubt, the principal Author of that war. Neither was this field leſs famous for the overthrow of the chief commanders of the Sardinians: for both *Hioſtus* the ſon of *Herſicora* was ſlain in fight: and alſo *Herſicora* D himſelf, as he fled with a few Horſemen, hearing beſides other calamities and loſſes, of the death of his ſon, in the night ſeaſon, becauſe he would have no man come between to ſtay his purpoſed intent, killed himſelf. All the reſt eſcaped to the City *Cornus*, as they had done afore, and there as in a place of refuge ſought to ſave themſelves. But *Manlius* following the train of his victory, came againſt it, and within few dayes was maſter of it. After this, other Cities alſo which had revolted, and turned to *Herſicora* and the Carthaginians, gave hoſtages, and yeelded by compoſition. And when *Manlius* had levied of them certain money for the ſouldiers pay and corn likewiſe, according to the power and ability or treſpaſs of each of them, he led his army back to *Caraleis*: and there having put the Gallies on the water, and embarked the ſouldiers that he had brought with him, he ſailed to *Rome*, and recounted unto the LL. of the Senat the utter ſubduing E of *Sardinia*. The money he delivered to the Treaſurers, the corn to the Ædiles, and the priſoners unto *Fulvius* the Pretor.

* Cornto.

* Cornto.

Much about that time, *T. Octacilius* the Pretor, having ſailed from *Lilybæum* into Affrick, and waſted the territory of the Carthaginians, as he was bound from thence and ſet ſail for *Sardinia*, whither *Aſdrubal* as the news went had lately croſſed over from the Baleare-Ilands, he met with the Armado returning back into Affrick: and after a skirmiſh made upon the Sea by his ſouldiers lightly armed, he took therewith ſeven Gallies with their oars and mariners: the reſt for fear were ſcattered, as it had been with a tempeſt, all over the Sea. And it hapned about the ſame time, that *Bomilcar* with certain companies of ſouldiers ſent from *Carthage* for a ſupply, and forty Elephants, and good ſtore of victuals came to *Locri*. For the ſurpriſing and ſetting upon him on F a ſudden, *Ap. Claudius* leading his army in haſt, and marching to *Meſſana*, under a colour of viſiting the Province, put over to *Locris* with the tide. Now was *Bomilcar* paſſed already from thence into the Brutians country to *Hanno*, and the men of *Locris* ſhut the gates againſt the Romans. So *Appius*, after much ado and preparation, having effected nothing, returned back to *Meſſana*. In the ſame ſummer, *Marcellus* made many rodes from *Nola* (which he held with a garriſon) into the Hirpins country, and the Samnits, about *Caudium*, and made ſuch waſt there, with fire and ſword, that they in *Samnium* called into their freſh remembrance the old loſſes and overthrows which they had received: whereupon there were ſent immediately from both nations Embaſſadors together, unto *Annibal*, who in this wiſe delivered their ſpeech unto him. "We "have been enemies, O *Annibal* to the people of *Rome*, firſt of our own ſelves, and in our own G "quarrel, ſo long as our armor & forces were able to defend us: but after that our hope therein be- "gan to fail us, we drew to a ſide, and took part with King *Pyrrhus*. And when he forſook us "once, we accepted of peace for very neceſſity: wherein we continued for fifty years almoſt, even "until the time that you entred into *Italy*. Neither was it your proweſs, vertue and fortune, ra- "ther than your ſingular courteſy and benignity extended toward our country-men and fellow "Citizens (whom being taken priſoners, you releaſed and ſent unto us back again) which hath "cauſed us to entertain your amity: in ſo much, that ſo long as you remain our friend, alive and "ſafe, we would not ſtand in dread of the people of *Rome*, no, nor of the very Gods themſelves (if

The Oration of the Embaſſadors of the Hirpins and Samnits unto *Annibal*.

"it

"it be lawful so to say) were they never so angry against us. Howbeit assuredly, for this summer H
"season, we have been divers and sundry times so spoiled and wasted, not only whiles you are a-
"live and safe, but also (which is more) present in place, where you might both hear, in manner,
"the wailing and weeping of our wives and children, and also see our houses on a light fire: So it
"seemeth it was *M. Marcellus* and not *Annibal* that had the victory at *Cannæ*. And the Romans
"boast and say, That you are good at the first push only, and when you have once let flie and lan-
"ced the Javelin (as it were) out of your hands, you are clean done, and can abide no longer. We
"warred almost an hundred years with the people of *Rome*, without help either of forein Cap-
"tain, or army of strangers: save that for two years only, *Pyrrhus* with the aid of our souldiers,
"rather increased his own strength, than by any power of his defended us. But we list not to make I
"vaunt and boast of fortunat successes and brave victories, namely, how we subdued and put under
"the yoke two Consuls, and two consular armies: nor of other noble exploits which hapned to
"our joy and honor. And as for the crosses and adversities that befell us during that time, we may
"report them with lesse grief and indignation, than those that this day light upon us. Then in
"those dayes, mighty great Dictators with their Generals of Horsemen, two Consuls at once,
"with their two royal hosts, entred our territories, having sent out before hand their espials and
"scouts, and led forth their souldiers to make spoil, under their colours and ensigns, aranged in
"good order of battail, and seconded strongly behind. Now are we exposed as it were to be a
"prey of one only garrison, and that but a small one, left for the guard and defence of *Nola*. For,
"now they overrun all our confines and borders, not by bands and companies in warlike wise, but K
"like Theeves and Robbers, more carelesly and negligently, than if they ranged about for their
"pleasure in the Roman territory. The only cause is this, because your self make no reckoning to
"protect us: and all our own youth (which if they were at home were able to defend us) serveth
"under your banner and standard. But I know neither you, nor your army at all: if I should not be
"perswaded and believe that he whom I wot well to have discomfited and put to fight so many
"Roman armies, were soon able to defeat and suppress these robbers that wander about our coun-
"try, straggling without leaders, and without their colours disordredly whither they list, according
"to the vain hope of pillage that haleth them here and there, and, as every one gapeth for prize,
"which they shall never get. No doubt but if you put forth a few of your Numidians, they will
"soon fall into their hands: Send but unto us a garrison to succour us, you shall quickly displace L
"that other at *Nola*; in case you judge not us (whom you have thought worthy to be your con-
"federats) now, unworthy to be defended after you have received us into your protection. Here-
"to *Annibal* made this answer again, and said; That the Hirpins and Samnits hudled up all at
The answer of *Annibal* to the Embassadors. "once together: they declared their calamities and losses, they craved aid and succour, and they
"made complaint that they were neither guarded by him, nor regarded of him. Whereas they
"should have first made declaration of their harms: after, sued for help: and last of all, if they
"might not obtein, then and not afore they should have complained, that they had besought his
"helping hand in vain. Howbeit he promised, that he would not bring his army into the territory,
"either of the Hirpins or the Samnits, lest himself also should be chargeable and troublesome unto
"them, but into the next quarters belonging to the allies of the Romans: by spoiling and wasting y
"whereof, both he would fill his souldiers hands, and also with the terrour thereof, set their ene-
"mies far enough off from them. And as for the managing of the Roman war, like as the battel
"of *Thrasymenus*, was more noble than that of *Trebia*; and the field of *Cannæ* more memorable
"than that of *Thrasymenus*: even so would he make the memorial of *Cannæ* dim and obscure, in
"regard of one greater victory yet, and more renowned than the other. With this answer, and
with honourable rewards besides, he dismissed the Embassadors, and gave them their dispatch.
And leaving a small guard to keep the Hill *Tifata*, he marched in person with the rest of his ar-
my against *Nola*. Thither also was *Hanno* come, out of the country of the Brutii, with the sup-
ply that he brought from *Carthage*, and the Elephants. Where, after *Annibal* had pitched his
Tents not far from the Town, and made diligent enquiry, he found, that the case was far other-
wise, than it was reported by the Embassadors of his associats. For *Marcellus* bare not him- N
self in any of his actions, so as it might be truly said, that he blindly committed ought to the ha-
zard of fortune, or rashly adventured upon the enemy. For he never went a plundring without
his scouts and espials, without setting strong guards in due places, whereunto he might retire
himself in safety: but had a good eye afore him, and a wary regard and heedful forecast, as if he
were to encounter with *Annibal* in person. And even then at that time, when he perceived,
that the enemy approached and was coming, he kept his forces within the City: commanding
the Senators of *Nola*, to walk up and down upon the walls, and to survey all over, and espie
what the enemies did, or were about. Amongst whom, it hapned, that *Hanno* being come under
the very wall, espied *Herennius Bassus*, and *Herius Petrius*, whom he called out to a parle. And O
when they were gone forth unto him by the permission & leave of *Marcellus*, thus he spake unto
them by his interpreter. First, he highly extolled the vertue and fortune of *Annibal*, debasing and
treading, under foot the dignity and Majesty of the people of *Rome*, growing now old in time, and
decaying in force and strength. "Which if they were (quoth he) on both sides equal, as some-
The speech of *Hanno* to *Herennius* and *Herius* Nolans. "times they were, yet seeing they had good experience, how heavy and grievous the government
"of the Romans was to all their Allies, and again, how indulgent & gracious *Annibal* is, even to all
"the captives of the Italian nation and name, they should wish rather to be in league & amity with
"the

A "the Carthaginians, than with the Romans. If both Coss. were with their armies at *Nola*, they
"were no more able to match with *Annibal*, than they were at *Canne*: much less might one Prætor with a few raw and new souldiers hold out and keep *Nola* against him. And as for the Nolans themselves, it concerned them much more than it did *Annibal*, to consider, whether he "should win *Nola* by force, or enter upon it by surrender and composition. For to be Lord thereof "he made no doubt, like as he was Master already of *Capua* and *Nuceria*: but what odds and difference there is between the state of *Capua* and of *Nuceria*, the Nolans know best themselves, who "are seated (as it were) in the mid way between both. Loath he was to prognosticate so much unto *Nola*, what calamities might befall the City, if it were conquered by assault: rather yet would
B "he give his word and promise, That if they would deliver *Marcellus* with his garrison, and yield "up *Nola* into *Annibal* his hand, they should themselves, and none but they set down and capitulate under what conditions they would entertain alliance & friendship with *Annibal*. To this motion *Herennius Bassus* framed his answer in this sort." For many years already there hath been "continuall amity between the people of *Rome* and *Nola*, and neither of both to this day hath "repented therof. As for the Nolans themselves if they had been disposed to turn with the wind, "and to change their faith and alleageance, together with their fortune, they would have done it "long before this: for now it was too late to start & alter. If they had minded to yield themselves "unto *Annibal*, they would never have sent for a garrison of Romans: but since they were now "come to protect and defend them, they had imparted & communicated all their state with them
C "already, and would take such part as they, so long as they had an hour to live. This emparl put *Annibal* clean besides all hope of gaining *Nola* by treason. Therefore he beleaguered the town on every side, and invested it round about like a garland, to the end, that in one instant he might give the assault on every part of the walls. When *Marcellus* saw him under the walls he set his people first in battel aray within the gate, and then with a great noise and tumult he suddenly sallied out. At their first shock and onset divers of the enemies were beaten down and slain: but after that, they ran from all parts to battel, and were come together with equall forces, the fight began to be hot and sharp, and a memorable conflict it had been and few like it, but that it rained and poured down so fast, and with so many storms and tempests, that it parted both the battels, and staid the fight. So for that day, having with that smal skirmish kindled their courages, and set their bloud in
D heat, they retired back, the Romans within the City, and the Carthaginians to their Camp. Howbeit, of the Carthaginians there were slain, upon the first sally and charge given, not above thirty, and of the Romans not one man. This tempestuous shower of rain lasted all night long, and continued still, and never gave over untill nine of the clock before noon the next day. And therefore, albeit they were sharp set, and their fingers itched on both sides to be a fighting, yet for that day they kept within their hold and strength. So the third day *Annibal* sent out certain companies into the territory about *Nola*, for to forrage and fetch in booties: which, so soon as *Marcellus* understood, he presently set his men in array, and entred the field, neither was *Annibal* for his part behind. Now there was a mile distance, or very near, between the City and the enemies Camp. In this space between (for all about *Nola* is plain and champian) they encountred and joyned battel.
E The shout that they set up on both sides, reclaimed and caused to return unto the fight already begun the nearest of those cohorts and bands which were gone a forraging into the country. The men of *Nola* likewise came unto the Romans, and mended their battel: whom *Marcellus* commended for their forwardness, and gave them in charge to abide in the rereward, to help as occasion served, and to carry forth of the skirmish those that were hurt and wounded, and to forbear fight in any case, unless they had a signall and token given them by him. The fight was doubtfull, for both the Generals gave encouragement effectually, and also the souldiers did their best, and fought right manfully? *Marcellus* was earnest with his men to press hard and charge still upon their enemies, whom they had defeated not three daies ago, who not many daies past were put to flight, and driven from *Cumes*, and who the year before were beaten from *Nola* under his con-
F duct by other souldiers, saying, " That they were not all there in the field, but many of them gone "ranging abroad in the country, for to hale booties, and get prizes. As for them that fought they "were such as were decayed with rioting and following their delights in *Capua*, such as with "wine-bibbing in every tavern, whore-hunting in every Stews and Brothel-house, all the whole "winter, were become enfeebled in body, spent and wasted utterly. As for that lively strength and "vigour of theirs, it was clean gone: those able and lusty bodies were decaied, those couragi-"ous hearts abated, wherewith they passed over the Pyrenean mountains, and the high cliffs of "the *Alps*. There remained now nothing but the reliques and shadow of those men to fight, who "are scarce able to bear their very armour, to lift up their arms, and carry their own bodies. "Adding withall, that *Capua* was another *Canna* unto *Annibal*: there died his warlike proweſs,
G "there, lost he his military discipline; there was the glorious fame of former daies buried; there "the hope of future time for ever suppressed and stifled. As *Marcellus* by reproving these and such like things in his enemies, animated his own souldiers: so *Annibal* rebuked his men with more sharp words and bitter checks. "I know these to be (quoth he) the same arms and weapons, "the very same ensigns and standards which I saw and had at *Trebia*, at *Thrasymenus*, and last "of all at *Canne*. But sorely me thinks, when I went to *Capua* there to winter, I caried with me "thither, other manner of souldiers than I have brought again from thence. Have ye indeed so "much ado to maintain fight with a Roman Lieutenant, Leader of one only Legion and cornet;

The answer of *Herennius* to *Hanno*.

The speech of *Marcellus* to his souldiers.

The words of *Annibal* to his souldiers.

"whom heretofore two full Conſular armies were never able to abide in the field? Shall *Mar-* H
"*cellus* with young and raw ſouldiers of his own, ſeconded only with the aid of the Nolans,
"challenge and bid us battel the ſecond time? Where is that ſouldier of mine that unhorſed C.
"*Flaminius* the Conſul, and ſtroke off his head? What is become of him that at *Canna* ſlew L.
"*Paulus*? What? is the edge of the ſword dull, and the point blunt? Or are your right hands
"aſleep and benummed? Or what ſtrange and wonderfull accident is befaln you? Ye that were
"wont, being few in number, to vanquiſh many, are ye now, being many in number, hardly able
"to withſtand and abide the violence of a few? Ye ſpake big, and gave out great brags and
"proud words, that if any man would lead you, you would win *Rome*, that you would. Behold,
"now, a ſmaller piece of ſervice. Here I would have you prove your ſtrength, and make triall of I
"your valour. Let us ſee now, win me *Nola*, a City ſcituate in the Champian, on a plain, defen-
"ded neither with ſea nor river. O out of this ſo wealthy a City, will I be ready to lead you, la-
"den with rich pillage and poil, whither ſoever ye will, or follow you, whereſoever ye would
"have me. But nothing availed either his chearfull words, or his checking rebukes, to encou-
rage and confirm their hearts. For the Carthaginians being forced on every ſide to retreat,
(whiles the Romans grew more and more animated, not only through the comfortable
ſpeeches of their own Captains, but alſo the Nolans themſelves, who with their loud ſhou-
ting in token of their love and affection, enkindled their courages to hot fight) turned their
backs, and were driven into their hold. And when the Romans were deſirous to aſſail the
ſame, *Marcellus* reconducted them to *Nola*, with great joy and congratulation even of the Com- K
mons there, who before, were more enclined and affected to the Carthaginians. There were
of the enemies ſlain that day above one thouſand, ſixteen hundred were take priſoners, nine-
teen military enſigns won, two Elephants gotten alive, and foure ſlain in the conflict. Of Ro-
mans there were not killed all out one thouſand. The morrow after they ſpent (upon a truce
concluded) in burying the dead that were ſlain on both ſides. Of the ſpoils of the enemies
*Marcellus* made a great fire, upon a vow pronounced unto *Vulcan*. On the third day, 1272
horſemen of Numidians and Spaniards, one with another (upon ſome ſpleen and anger I be-
leeve, or elſe for hope of more liberall entertainment and commodious gain) fled from *Anni-*
*bal* and turned to *Marcellus*: whoſe valiant and faithfull ſervice ſtood the Romans in very good
ſtead oftentimes during that war. And after the war was ended, the Spaniards in *Spain*, and L
the Numidians in *Affrick*, in reward of their vertue and proweſs, were endued with fair lands
and large poſſeſſions. *Annibal* ſent *Hanno* back from *Nola* to the Brutii, together with the
forces that he came with: himſelf went to the wintring harbours of *Apulia*, and lodged about
*Arpi*.

*Quintus Fabius* ſo ſoon as he heard that *Annibal* had taken his way into *Apulia*, conveyed all
the corn from *Nola* and *Naples* into his Camp, which he had pitched above *Sueſſula*: and ha-
ving well fortified the hold, and left there a ſufficient garriſon to guard the place for that winter
time, removed himſelf nearer to *Capua*, and there encamped: and ſo waſted the Campan Ter-
ritory with fire and ſword, that the Campans little truſting in their own forces, were conſtrai-
ned to iſſue forth of their gates, and fortifie themſelves in Camp before the City, in the open M
plain. Six thouſand they were in all. Their footmen were weak and not for ſervice: their horſe-
men were far better and more able: ſo that oftentimes they charged their enemies with their
horſe, and provoked them to fight. Among many brave men of arms that the Campans had,
one *Jubellus*, ſurnamed *Taurea*, a Citizen of *Capua*, was the worthieſt and beſt horſeman of them
all, by many degrees: inſomuch, as when he ſerved under the Romans, *Claudius Aſſellus* only,
a Citizen of *Rome*, was able to match him in glory of good horſemanſhip, and horſe-ſervice. This
*Taurea* when he had ridden all about the troops of his enemies, caſting his eye every way, to ſee
if he could eſpy *Claudius Aſellus*, enquired at length cloſely, after ſilence made, where about
he was, and made this challenge unto him, That ſeeing he was wont in words to contend with
him for valour and proweſs, he ſhould now determine the queſtion by the ſpear-point and N
dint of ſword, and either be deſpoiled of his glorious armour, if he were overcome, or elſe
gain the ſame with the victory. Which defiance being brought into the Camp to *Aſellus* his
ears, he made no more to do, but went preſently to the Conſul, to know whether he might
with his good leave and licence out of his rank fight extraordinarily with his enemy that bad
him combat. After leave obtained, he armed himſelf immediatly, mounted on horſeback,
and rode before the enemies *corps de guard*, oftentimes calling upon *Taurea* by name, and bidding
him come forth to encounter whomſoever he durſt. Now were the Romans by this time gone
forth of the Camp in great number to behold this combat: the men of *Capua* likewiſe filled not
only the rampier of their hold but alſo the walls of the City to ſee this fight. When as they
had made ſome goodly flouriſh afore hand with brave ſwords and ſtout ſpeeches, to ſet out the O
action: they ſet ſpear in reſt, and put ſpurs to horſe, and juſtled together amain. Afterwards,
having gotten the liberty of the ground they dallied one with another, trifling out the time, and
making a long peece of work of it, without giving or taking wound. Then quoth the Campan
Knight to the Roman, This will be but a fight of horſes, and not of horſemen, unleſs we ride
out of the open plain ground here into this hollow way, where having no ſuch ſcope to prick
out at large, we ſhall ſoon come to hand gripes, and cloſe together. The word was not ſo ſoon
ſpoken, but *Claudius* turned his horſe head, and rode into the foreſaid way. But *Taurea* a ſtoutter

champion

A champion in word than deed: Oh take heed of all things (quoth he) how you ride a gelding in a ditch: Which grew afterwards to a by-word, uſed among the country people. *Claudius* after he had rode in and out, up and down, a long time in the lane, and never met with his enemy, returned again into the open plain: and rating the cowardice of his enemy, with great joy and gratulation, rode back as conquerour into the Camp. Some Annals and Chronicles do record and add to this combat of horſemen, a ſtrange and wonderful thing (no doubt) if it be true, as by the common opinion it is reputed no leſs: namely, that when *Laurea* fled back into the City *Claudius* followed hard after him in chace, entred with him at one gate ſtanding open, and rode out clear at the other unhurt, to the great wonder and aſtoniſhment of the enemies. Upon this the B ſtanding Camps were quiet on both ſides: and the Conſ. removed backward farther off from the City, that the men of *Capua* might ſow their grounds: neither did he any harm unto their fields, before the corn was come up and ſo well grown that the blade thereof yielded good forrage and food for the horſes; which he gathered and brought into the ſtanding Camp and hold of *Claudius* above *Sueſſula*, and there he built winter harbors for to make his abode. And he gave order to *M. Claudius* the Vice-Conſull to keep ſtill at *Nola* a competent garriſon for defence of the City; and to diſcharge the reſt of the ſouldiers, and ſend them to *Rome*, that they ſhould neither be cumbrous to their Allies, nor chargeable to the Common-weal. *Tib. Gracchus* alſo whiles he led his Legions from *Cumes* into *Apulia* to *Luceria*, ſent *M. Valerius* the Prætor from thence to *Brundiſium*, with that army which he had at *Luceria*, commanding him to keep the ſea-coaſt of the C Salentines Country, and to provide for all things neceſſary againſt *Philip* and the Macedonian war.

In the end of this ſummer, wherein theſe acts were atchieved, whereof I have written, there came a packet of Letters from *P.* and *Cornel. Scipios*, importing how great and how fortunate exploits they had performed in *Spain*: but there wanted money for pay: and apparell and corn to ſerve both ſouldiers and mariners. And albeit all theſe things were away, yet as concerning money, if the City Chamber and common Treaſure were not ſtored, they would make ſome ſhift to raiſe it of the Spaniards: but for all the reſt, needs it muſt be ſent from *Rome*, for otherwiſe neither could they keep the Army together nor hold the Province in their allegeance. When the letters were read there was no man there but acknowledged that they wrote a truth, and demanD ded that which was reaſonable. But they conſidered withall, what great armies both on land and at ſea they maintained: and what a mighty Armada they muſt prepare and ſet out anew, in caſe the Macedonian war went forward. As for *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, which before the wars began, paid tribute, were hable to find and keep the garriſons, that lay there for the guard of the Provinces: and that they were to truſt upon their own revenues and tribute for the maintenance of the charge they were at. But as the number of them that paid rent and conferred tribute, was greatly diminiſhed by ſo great overthrows of the armies, both at the pool *Thraſymenus*, and alſo at *Canne*: ſo thoſe few that remained if they were burdened with many exactions and payments, ſhould be plagued and undone another way, therfore it was concluded, that unleſs the Commonweal maintained not her ſelf by her credit and borrowing money, ſhe were not able to be ſuſtaiE ned by her own wealth and riches. So it was agreed, That *Fulvius* the Prætor muſt needs aſſemble all the people together, and lay abroad and declare unto them the neceſſity and exigent that the Common-weal was driven unto, and to exhort all them that had enriched themſelves and encreaſed their livings, by renting and taking to farm the revenues and commodities of the City, ſhould now do good to the Commonweal for a time, by which they were grown to that wealth, and undertake the proviſion at a price, and furniſh the army in *Spain*, with all neceſſaries thereto belonging, to be contented and paid therefore with the firſt, out of the common Cheſt, when it were ſtored with money. Thus the Prætor made declaration of theſe matters in the open aſſembly of the people, and withall determined and ſet down a certain day, whereupon he minded to put forth the ſouldiers liveries and apparel, and corn to be provided for the Spaniſh Army, F and all things elſe requiſite for the mariners. When the day was come, there preſented themſelves unto him three companies of nineteen men, for to take this bargain. Who made two requeſts and demands, the one, that for that three years next enſuing, there ſhould be no other Publicans or farmers of the City: the other, that whatſoever they ſhipped, the Common-weal would make good againſt all force of enemy, or violence of tempeſt. Both being granted, they took upon them the matter, and ſo the Common-weal was ſerved by the money of private perſons. This was the demeanor, this was the loving affection to their country, that went through all degrees of men (as it were) after one ſort and manner. And like as they undertook with great courage to ſerve the army ſo with ſingular fidelity they performed every thing, in ſuch ſort, as there was nothing at all wanting, no more than if they had been maintained from a rich treG ſury, as in times paſt. At what time as this proviſion came the town of * *Illitargi* was aſſailed by *Aſdrubal*, *Mago*, and *Amilcar* the ſon of *Bomilcar*, becauſe it revolted unto the Romans.

* *Aldea el rio*, or *Anduiar el rio*.

Amidſt theſe three ſeverall Camps of the enemies, the two *Scipios* paſſed into the City of their Allies, that made reſiſtance againſt, and with great loſs of men; and brought corn with them whereof there was great want: and after they had encouraged and exhorted the townſmen that with the ſame reſolution they would defend the walls as they had ſeen the Roman army to fight for them and in their quarrell: they led forth their power to give an aſſault

upon the greateſt Camp, whereof *Aſdrubal* was the General. Thither alſo repaired the two Captains and two Armies of the Carthaginians, when they ſaw that the whole triall of the matter was there to be determined, and ſo they iſſued out of their tents and fought. Threeſcore thouſand enemies were that day in field, and about 16000 Romans: and yet the victory went ſo clear with the Romans, that they ſlew more of their enemies than they were in number themſelves, took priſoners more than three thouſand men, and not many under a thouſand horſe; and withall won 60 military enſigns wanting one, and killed five Elephants in the battel: and to conclude, were Lords that day of three Camps. After that the ſiege was raiſed from *Illiturgi*, the Carthaginian armies were led to the aſſault of the town * *Incibili*, having their companies made up and ſupplied again out of the Province, (as being a nation of all others moſt deſirous and eager of war, ſo there be hope of piilage or good recompence) and at that time eſpecially full of young and luſty men. Where there was a ſecond field tought with like fortune of both ſides as before. There were ſlain above thirteen thouſand enemies, and more than 3000 taken priſoners, beſides two and forty military enſigns, and nine Elephants. Then in a manner all the Cities of *Spain* revolted to the Romans. And far greater exploits were that ſummer performed in *Spain*, than in *Italy*.

* *Chelas.*

# The four and twentieth Book

## *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the four and twentieth Book.

HIerome, *King of the Syracuſians (whoſe grandfather* Hiero *had been a friend unto the people of* Rome) *revolted unto the Carthaginians, and for his cruelty and pride, was by his own people murdered.* Titus Sempronius Gracchus *the Pro-Conſul, had a fortunate battel near* Beneventum, *againſt the Carthaginians and* Hanno *their General, through the help eſpecially of the bondſlaves, whom for their good ſervice, he commanded to be made free.* Claudius Marcellus *the Conſul laid ſiege unto* Syracuſa *in* Sicily, *which wholly in manner was fallen away and turned to the Carthaginians. War was proclaimed againſt* Philip, *King of the Macedonians, who in a night-skirmiſh was ſurpriſed, diſcomfited, and put to flight: and with his army well near diſarmed, eſcaped into* Macedonie. *To manage that war,* Valerius *the Prætor was ſent. This book containeth alſo the acts atchieved in* Spain *by* P. *and* Cn. Scipios *againſt the Carthaginians.* Syphax *King of the Numidians, having entred into amity with the Romans, fought againſt* Maſaniſſa *King of the Maſſilians: who ſtood for the Carthaginians, and being overcome, paſſed over into* Spain *with a moſt mighty army unto* Scipio, *lying over againſt* Gades, *where the narrow ſea runneth between* Affrick *and* Spain. *The Celtiberians alſo were received into friendſhip, whoſe aids the Romans ſent for: and this was the firſt time that mercenary ſouldiers were waged and ſerved in the Roman wars.*

## *The four and twentieth Book of* T. Livius.

HAnno was not ſo ſoon returned out of *Campane*, into the country of the *Brutii*, but by their help and guidance he tollicited to rebellion the Greek Cities which continued the more willingly in league and alliance with the Romans, becauſe they ſaw that the *Brutii*, whom they both hated and feared ſided with the Carthaginians. And firſt he aſſaied and went in hand with *Rhegium*, where he ſpent certain daies to little or no purpoſe. In this mean time, the Inhabitants of *Locri* were buſie in carrying away with great haſte the corn, wood and fewel, and all things elſe, neceſſary for the uſe of man, out of the country into the City; becauſe they would leave nothing for the enemy to prey upon. And daily more and more of them went out of the gates by heaps, ſo as at laſt there was no more left in the City, than thoſe that were compelled to repair the breaches of the walls and the gates, and to bring into the turrets and bulwarks ſtore of darts and other ſhot. Againſt this multitude and confuſed mixture of all ages, ſexes, and degrees ranging over the fields, whereof moſt were altogether unarmed *Amilcar* the Carthaginian ſent out his Cavalry, giving them direction, and charging them to hurt no perſon. Theſe horſemen oppoſed their troops between them and home, only to exclude them out of the City, when they were ſcattered one from another in flight. The General himſelf in perſon encamped on a high ground from whence he might view the country and the City. And gave commandment to a cohort of the *Brutii* to approach the walls to call forth the principall Citizens of *Locri* to parle, and by making promiſe of *Annibal* his friendſhip, to perſwade and exhort them to yield up the town. At the firſt they gave no credit at all unto the *Brutii*, whatſoever they ſaid: But afterwards, when they diſcovered *Hanno* and the Carthaginians upon the hils, and heard by ſome few

A few of their own Citizens that were fled back & escaped, how all the rest of the multitude were faln within danger of the enemies, they made answer, that they would confer and consult thereupon with the body of the people. So immediatly they were assembled together. The most light headed persons were desirous of a change and new alliance: they also, whose kinsfolk and friends were by the enemy intercepted and kept out of the City, had their minds engaged and bound sure enough, as if they had put in hostages: and some few who were well affected inwardly in heart, & liked of constancy and true loyalty, yet durst not be known thereof, and shew themselves to stand to it: so as, they all agreed in outward appearance, to surrender themselves to the Carthaginians. And after they had closely conveighed into the haven, and embarked *L. Atilius* the Captain of the B garrison, and all the Roman souldiers that served under him to the end, that they might be transported to *Rhegium*, they received *Amilcar* and the Carthaginians into the City, with this condition, that presently there should be concluded a league upon equall and indifferent covenants and capitulations between them. But the promise in this behalf (when they had once yielded themselves) was nothing well performed: whiles *Amilcar* charged the Locrians, with fraudulent dismissing and letting go the Romans: and they again alleaged for their excuse, that they fled away, and made an escape. The horsemen also followed hard in chase by land, if haply either the tide might cause the ships to stay in the current within the straight, or drive them a land. But those whom they pursued, they could not overtake: marry, other ships they espied, crossing the streights from *Messana* to *Rhegium*. Roman souldiers they were sent from *Claudius* the Prætor, to lie in C garrison there, and to keep the town. Whereupon they presently departed from *Rhegium*.

As for the Citizens of *Locri*, they had peace granted them by expresse order and direction from *Annibal* upon these conditions: *Imprimis*, That they might live free under their own laws: *Item*, That both the City and the haven should remain still in the hands of the Locrians. The substance of the covenant rested and was established upon these terms, That the Carthaginians and Locrians should aid and assist one another mutually, both in peace and war. So the Carthaginians retired from the streights notwithstanding the muttering and murmuring of the *Brutii*, because they had left *Rhegium* and *Locri* untouched, which two Cities they made full account to have sacked and rifled. And therefore they of themselves having levied and put in arms a power of fifteen thousand of their own youth, marched forward to assail *Croton*, a Grecian City likewise, and sea-D ted upon the sea. Assuring themselves, much to better their estate, if they could be possessed of a port and sea-town, fenced with strong wals and Bulwarks. This only troubled and perplexed their minds, that they durst not, but send unto the Carthaginians for aid: fearing lest they might seem to have entred into action and war, without regard of the common good of their confederats, if they called them not: and doubting besides, that if the General of the Carthaginians should prove again, rather an arbitrator of peace, than a coadjutor in war, they should fight in vain against the liberty of *Croton*, as they had done before against the City of *Locri*. Whereupon they thought best to send Embassadors unto *Annibal* for his warrant, and to be secured from him, that if *Croton* were recovered by the Brutians, it should be subject unto them. *Annibal* made answer, that this matter required consultation of men present with them in place, and therefore E he put them over to *Hanno*, from whom they received no certain answer to trust unto. For willing they were not, that a noble and rich City as it was, should be spoiled: and besides, they were in good hope, that in case the Brutians should assail it, and the Carthaginians all the while not seen, either to allow or help them in their enterprize, the Citizens would the more willingly revolt unto them. The Inhabitants within *Croton* were not of one mind, and affected alike. For there was one malady that had infected all the Cities of *Italy*, namely, the dissention between the Commons and the Nobles. The Senators inclined to the Romans, the Commoners on the other side took part with the Carthaginians. This division within the City, the *Brutii* were by a fugitive runaway advertised of in these terms: namely, that *Aristomachus*, the ring-leader and head of the Commons, minded to betray the City: that it was a wide, vaste, and desolate town taking a F great circuit of ground: and all the walls being decaied and in sundry places broken down, the Senators and the Commons kept their severall guards and watches in sundry quarters far asunder. And look (quoth he) where the Commons ward, there ye may enter at your pleasure. Upon this intelligence and direction given by the fugitive, the *Brutii* environed the City round about: and being let in by the Commons at the first assault were masters of all places, saving the Castle. The Nobles held that piece foreseeing what might happen, and therefore provided themselves of a sure refuge. Thither fled *Aristomachus* also, pretending that he meant to deliver the City to the Carthaginians, and not to the *Brutii*. Now this City *Croton* had a wall (before *Pyrrhus* coming into *Italy*) twelve miles in compass; but after it was laid waste by that war, scarce the one half of the town was inhabited. The river that was wont to run through the midst of the town passed now G along the wals without those streets where the houses stood thick and well peopled, far from the parts inhabited.

Six miles without the town there stood a noble Temple of *Lacinia Juno*, more renowned than the City it self, as being honoured with great religion and devotion of all the Cities and nations thereabout. A sacred grove there was in that place compassed with a thick wood, of tall fir trees, having in the midst within it divers pleasant and fruitfull pastures, wherein were fed beasts consecrated unto the goddess, of all sorts, without any keeper and pastor. And albeit the cattell went forth in the morning by herds and flocks of their own kind, severed by themselves, yet at night they used to return back again to their own pens and stalls, without harm received either by the

wait-laying of wild and ravenous beasts, or by deceitfull fraud of men. Great encrease therefore H
and much commodity accrued by those cattel, insomuch as thereof was made a massie Column
or pillar of beaten gold, and consecrated in that place, so as the Temple was famous, as well for
riches, as holiness and devotion. And many times it falleth out, that to such notable places there
are attributed some strange miracles. For the report goeth, that there standeth an altar in the very
porch of the Temple, the ashes lying whereupon, no wind was ever known to blow away.

But to return to *Croton*. The Castle thereof on the one side standeth upon the sea, on the other
side it bendeth and looketh toward the land. Defended in times past it was only by the naturall
situation of the ground, but afterwards fortified also with a wall; on that part whereas *Dionysius* the Tyrant of *Sicily*, having gained the back rocks and cliffs behind, by craft and guile sometime I
won it. This Castle at that time supposed to be strong and safe enough, the Nobles seized and kept,
notwithstanding the *Brutii* and their own Commons besieged them. At length the *Brutii* seeing
the Castle impregnable, by all the forces and assaults that they could make of themselves, were
driven of necessity to crave aid of *Hanno*. Who having assaied to draw and urge the Crotoniats
to yield, upon these conditions, To suffer a Colony of the *Brutii* thither to be brought, and there
planted; and that thereby a City lying so waste and desolate, might be replenished and peopled
again, as in ancient time: could not move and perswade any one of them all, but *Aristomachus*.
For all besides, protested and said, they would die before they would be intermingled with the
*Brutii*, to change their own rites and manner of life, their customes, their laws, and within a while
their language also, for others that were strange and forrain. *Aristomachus* alone, seeing that he K
could not prevail neither by perswasions to induce them to yield, nor find any means to betray the
Castle like as he had done the town before, fled away to *Hanno*. Shortly after, certain Embassadors
from *Locri*, by the licence and permission of *Hanno*, entred the Castle, and perswaded them to be
content for to be translated to *Locri*, rather than to abide and stand out the extremity: saying, that
they had sent Embassadors already to that intent unto *Annibal*, and had got a grant at his hands,
that they might so do. So they abandoned *Croton*, and the Crotoniats were brought down to the
sea side and embarked, and the whole multitude departed to *Locri*.

In *Apulia*, the very winter season was not quiet between the Romans and *Annibal*. *Sempronius*
the Consul wintred at *Luceria*, and *Annibal* not far from him in *Arpi*: and as they could spy op-
portunity, or take their vantage, of the one side or the other, there passed some light skirmishes be- L
tween them. But the Romans had alwaies the better, and every day more than other, became
more wary and secured from all trains and deceitful snares of the enemy.

In *Sicily* the Romans found a great change, and all out of order, by reason that King *Hiero* was
dead, and the Crown translated to his Nephew, or sons son, *Hieronymus*: being yet a child, not like
to use his own liberty with moderation, and much less to sway the Kingdom and Scepter with
discretion. His guardians and friends gladly entertained the protection and government of such
a nature, and were ready enough to plunge him headlong into all vice and wickedness. Which
King *Hiero* foreseeing, was willing (by report) in his latter daies, to have left *Syracusa* free and
at liberty, to the end that so noble a kingdom, acquired and established by good means, should
not under the Lordly dominion of a child to the great obloquy and shame of the world, be ruinate M
and come to nought. But his daughters with tooth and nail crossed this his designment, and made
full reckoning, that the child should only bear the name of a King, but the government of the
whole State should wholly rest in them and their husbands, *Andronodorus* and *Zoilus*: who were
the principall guardians, left to oversee the young Prince. And an easie matter it was not, for an
aged man, now fourscore years old and ten, so hardly laid at day and night, by the fair speeches,
and feminine flatteries of his daughters, to keep his mind free, and to apply and convert it to in-
tend private regards, and the publike consideration of the State. "And therefore he left fifteen tu-
"tors to oversee and govern the child, whom he besought upon his death-bead, even when he
"was going out of this world, to maintain entire and unspotted, the faithfull alleageance to the
"Romans, which he had kept and observed inviolate for the space of fifty years: and to set to N
"their helping hand willingly, to direct the young Prince above all, to tread in his steps, and to
"follow that discipline wherein he had been nurtured and taught. After he had given this charge,
and yielded up his breath, the guardians came abroad, brought forth the Kings last will and testa-
ment, and shewed the young Prince in the open assembly of the people (and well near fifteen years
of age he was.) Where some few, such as were bestowed here of purpose within the press of the
assembly for to shout and shew testimony of their joy and good liking, approved with open
voice, and allowed the Kings will: whereas all the rest fared as Orphans in a City bereaved of their
King, and (as it were) become fatherless, and feared all things that might ensue. The King was
interred, and his funerals solemnized, with the love and kind affection of his people and subjects,
more than with any studious care and diligence of his own friends that were neerest to him. O
After this, *Andronodorus* removed from about the Prince all other guardians but himself, giving
out oftentimes that *Hieronymus* was past a child, and able to govern of himself as King. Thus by
deposing the Protectorship, which was common to him and many others, he took upon him
and usurped the power and authority of them all. Hard it was even for a right good King and
well governed, that should succeed after *Hiero*, to find favour and win grace among the Syracu-
sians: so heartily they affected and loved King *Hiero*. But *Hieronymus*, as if he had been willing
and desirous, that by his vicious and wicked life, they should have a great misse of his grandfa-
ther, and wish again for him; at the very first sight, when he [illegible]ed himself abroad in open
place,

A place, declared unto the world, what difference and great odds there was. For they who ſo many years together had never ſeen *Hiero*, nor his ſon *Gelo*, either in habit of apparel, or in any other ornaments and port, differing from all other Citizens, now beheld him in his purple robes, with his regall Crown and Diadem, attended with his guard and train of armed penſioners: yea, and otherwhile, after the manner of *Denis* the Tyrant, riding forth of his Court and Palace, in a Chariot drawn with four white ſteeds. This proud pomp and ſtately array was accompanied and ſuited with ſemblable qualities and conditions. He contemned and deſpiſed all men: he ſcorned moſt proudly to give audience to humble ſuppliants: and ſent them away with reproachful terms and taunts. And not only ſtrangers, but alſo his very guardians hardly might have acceſs unto
B him: and to conclude, his luſts and delights whereunto he gave himſelf, were new and ſtrange: his cruelty that he exerciſed outragious and inhumane. So dread and terrible was he to all, that ſome of his Tutors, either by making themſelves away, or by voluntary exile were driven to prevent and avoid the danger of cruell torments. Of whom, three only, who alone had more familiar recourſe into the Court, to wit, *Andronodorus* and *Zoilus*, the ſons in law of King *Hiero*, that had married his daughters, and one *Thraſo*, had little or no ear given unto them in other matters; but whiles two of them drew toward the Carthaginians, and *Thraſo* to the Roman alliance: with their arguing, debating and diſpute, they otherwhile turned the mind of the young King to hearken and give audience to their opinions. Now it hapned that there was a conſpiracy intended againſt the life and perſon of the Tyrant, and the ſame detected by one *Calo*, the companion
C and playfellow of *Hieronymus*, and of the ſame age: one who ever from his childhood had been familiarly acquainted with him, and inward to all his ſecrets. This revealer of the conſpiracy, could appeach and nominate all the conſpirators, only *Theodorus*, by whom himſelf was made privy to the treaſon, and ſollicited to be a complice therein. The party was apprehended incontinently, and delivered unto *Andronodorus* to be tortured; Who at the firſt without delay, confeſſed himſelf to be guilty, but concealed all the reſt that were acceſſaries. At the laſt, when he had been torn, mangled, and diſmembred, with moſt dolorous torments, and intolerable for any man to endure: pretending and making ſemblance that he could abide no longer pains; diſcloſed not for all this the guilty perſons indeed, but accuſed the innocent, and ſaid falſly, that *Thraſo* was
D the firſt deviſer of the whole plot: and unleſs they had born themſelves, and relied upon ſo mighty an head, to ſet them on work, they would never have attempted ſo dangerous an enterpriſe. He appeached alſo ſome other of the Tyrant his guard and houſhold ſervants and daily waiters: even ſuch as came into his mind during the time of his dolours and paines, and whom amidſt his groans he imagined to be ſuch, as whoſe lives might be beſt ſpared, and deaths leaſt lamented. The naming of *Thraſo* eſpecially made the Tyrant to beleeve, that the detection founded to be a very truth indeed: whereupon the man was immediatly led to execution and put to death; and the other innocents, as clear as himſelf, taſted of the ſame cup, and ſuffered with him for company. As for the conſpirators themſelves, albeit one of their fellows was a long while put to bitter and extream torture, there was not one of them that either hid his head or made an
E eſcape: ſo aſſured confidence had they in the reſolute conſtancy and faithfull promiſe of *Theodorus*: and ſuch power and ſtrength had *Theodorus* himſelf to keep cloſe the ſecrets committed unto him. Now when *Thraſo* was once diſpatched out of the way, who only was the means to hold them in, and to bind them to their alliance and alleageance to the Romans: then forthwith they began openly to encline to rebellion, and ſent as Embaſſadors for the ſame purpoſe, two noble young Gentlemen, *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* unto *Annibal*; From whom alſo they were ſent back again in Embaſſage. Theſe were both born at *Carthage*, but deſcended in bloud from the Syracuſians by their grandfather, that was from thence baniſhed: and were themſelves by the mothers ſide meer Carthaginians. By entercourſe of theſe two Embaſſadours, a League was concluded between *Annibal* and the Tyrant of *Syracuſe*. And *Annibal* was content that they ſhould abide ſtill as Leigers
F in the Tyrants Court.

When *Appius Claudius* the Prætor and Lord Deputy of the Province of *Sicily* heard theſe news, he addreſſed ſtraightwaies Embaſſadors unto *Hieronymus*: who ſaying, that they were come to renew the alliance which they had with his grandfather, had ſcornful audience given them to deliver their meſſage, and were diſmiſſed and ſent away by *Hieronymus* with a frump, demanding of them by way of a ſcoff, "How they had ſped at the battel of *Canna*. For I can hardly beleeve "(quoth he) that all is true which the Embaſſadors report of that field: and I would gladly "know the certain truth & thereupon deliberate and take counſel, which ſide I were beſt to take. The Roman Embaſſadors ſaid, they would repair again unto him when he could begin once to give audience with gravity and in good earneſt to their embaſſage: and ſo after they had warned & admoniſhed, rather than praied and entreated him, not to change, but to ſtand to the firſt covenant and promiſes, they departed. Then *Hieronymus* ſent his Legates to *Carthage*, for to confirm the League with the Carthaginians, according to the alliance and amity made with *Annibal*. In which it was capitulate and covenanted, that when they had expelled the Romans out of *Sicily* (which would ſhortly come to paſs, in caſe they ſent thither ſhips and a power of men) the river *Himera*, which (as it were) divided the Iſland in the midſt, ſhould confine and limit, both the Syracuſian kingdom and the dominion of the Carthaginians. After this, being puffed up with the fair flattering ſpeeches of ſuch as were about him, who ſuggeſted unto him, to remember and call to mind that not only King *Hiero* was his grandfather, but alſo King *Pirrhus* by the mothers ſide: he ſent Embaſſadors unto the Carthaginians, to give them from him to underſtand, That he deemed

med it right and meer, that all *Sicily* wholly ſhould lie unto his dominion: and that the Empire H
of *Italy* only belonged properly to the Carthaginian people to acquire and conquer. This levity
and vain-glorious humour they neither wondred at, as a ſtrange thing in a giddy-brained young
man; nor yet greatly blamed and found fault with, ſo long as they might eſtrange him wholly
and alienate him altogether from the friendſhip of the Romans. But all things in him turned to
his overthrow and utter confuſion. For whiles *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* were ſent afore with two
thouſand ſouldiers for to ſound and ſollicit the Cities rebellion, that were held by the garriſons
of the Romans: and himſelf in perſon entred the country of the Leontins, with all the reſt of the
forces, which amounted to fifteen thouſand foot and horſe together: certain conſpirators, who
chanced all to be his own ſouldiers, and bare arms under him, poſſeſſed themſelves of a vake I
houſe ſtanding over a narrow lane, through which the King was wont to go down into the mar-
ket place of the City: there, when other ſtood armed and well appointed, and waiting when the
King ſhould paſs by, one of the conſpirators (whoſe name was *Indigemines*) had given him in
charge, becauſe he was one of the ſquires of the Kings body, when the King approached near
unto the door of the ſaid houſe, to find ſome occaſion or other, in that ſtraight paſſage, to ſtay
the troop and train that followed behind. And ſo he effected indeed, and put in execution, as it
was agreed and contrived. For *Indigemines*, lift up his foot, making as though he would looſe
and ſlack a ſtraight knot of his ſho-latchet, which hindring his going, whereby he ſtaid the com-
pany that followed after, ſo long, that the King paſſing by alone without his guard of armed men
about him, was aſſaulted mean while, and recieved ſundry ſtabs and wounds, before they could K
come to reſcue and ſave him. Hereupon aroſe an outcry and tumult, and divers of the guard let
flie at *Indigemines*, who by this time was ready to oppoſe himſelf, and to award all venues: how-
beit he was hurt only in two places, and ſo eſcaped. The guard ſeeing the King there lying dead,
fled away as they could. The murtherers, ſome of them betook themſelves into the market-place
unto the multitude, that rejoiced for the recovery of their freedom: others repaired to *Syracuſe*,
to intercept and prevent the deſignments of *Andronodorus*, and other favourits and followers of
the late King.

Whiles things ſtood in theſe uncertain and doubtful terms, *Appius Claudius* foreſeeing war
like to enſue, and that very ſhortly, addreſſed his letters unto the Senat of *Rome*, certifying them
that *Sicily* enclined already, and was at hand to ſide with the people of *Carthage*, and with *Anni-* L
*bal*. Himſelf in the mean time bent all his forces toward the frontiers of the Province and con-
fines of that Kingdom, to withſtand and hinder all the proceedings and enterpriſes of the Syra-
cuſians.

In the end of that year, *Q. Fabius*, by order from the Senate, fortified *Puteoli*, a town of mer-
chandiſe, and which in time of wars began to be much reſorted unto and frequented, and there
he placed a garriſon. From whence as he was in his journey toward *Rome* againſt the grand Ele-
ction of Magiſtrates, he proclaimed the ſolemn aſſembly of the people for that purpoſe, to be the
next Comitiall day that followed upon his arrivall thither: and ſo it fell out, that he went along
the City ride immediatly upon his journey, and came down into *Mars* field before he entred the
City. Upon which day, when it hapned that the Century of the younger ſort was drawn out by M
lot, and had the prerogative, and by their voices nominated *T. Octacilius*, and *M. Æmylius Regillus*
for Conſuls, then *Q. Fabius* after ſilence made, roſe up, and delivered this or ſuch like ſpeech.

The Oration of *Q. Fabius* to the people of *Rome*.

"If either we had peace in *Italy*, or war at leaſtwiſe with thoſe enemies, with whom if we dealt
"neither negligently or unadviſedly, the matter were not much, nor importing great hazard and
"danger: I would think, that whoſoever diſturbed and croſſed your favours and free affections
"which ye bring hither with you into this ſolemn place of aſſembly, to beſtow honours and dig-
"nities upon whom ye pleaſe, had but ſmall and no regard of your liberty and freedom. But ſince
"that in this war and with this enemy never any General of ours faulted in the managing of his
"affairs, but it coſt us dear, and we had ſome great foil and overthrow; it behoveth you, that
"with what mind and careſull regard ye enter the field to combat in your armour, in the ſame ye N
"ſhould come hither into this *Mars* field in your gowns, and ſo proceed by your ſuffrages to
"elect your Conſuls: and that every one of you ſhould thus ſay to himſelf, I am to nominate a
"Conſul to match with General *Annibal*. No longer ſince, than this very year, when as before
"*Capua*, *Jubellius Taurea*, the braveſt horſeman and Cavalier of all the Campans defied the Ro-
"mans, and challenged them to fight man to man, *Aſellus Claudius*, the nobleſt Knight of all the
"Romans, and beſt man at arms, was choſen to encounter him. In times paſt, againſt a Gaul
"that offered combat upon the bridge over *Anio*, our anceſtors ſent out *Manlius*, a couragious,
"reſolute, and puiſſant Champion. Neither can I deny, but upon ſuch another occaſion not ma-
"ny years after, the like truſt was repoſed in *M. Valerius*, who took arms likewiſe againſt ano-
"ther Gaul that challenged ſingle fight. And even as we are deſirous, & wiſh to have our foot and O
"horſemen both, more valorous and hardy than our enemies, or if that will not be, at leaſtwiſe
"equall unto them, and able to countermatch them: even ſo let us be carefull to find out a Gene-
"rall of our own comparable every way to the chief commander of our enemies. And when we
"have choſen the beſt warrior and Captain in the whole City, then preſently without any longer
"delay, being elect and created for one whole year, he ſhall be ſent to match with an old captain,
"that hath ever continued in the field, one who is not encloſed within compaſs of time, nor re-
"ſtrained & gaged within the ſtraight bounds of law, but that he may order & manage every thing,
"according as the occaſions and preſent occurrences of war do require: whereas, by that time

that

A "that we can make all ready, and diſpoſe every thing in order, and ſet in hand to begin our affairs,
"the year is come about and clean gone. Now foraſmuch as enough hath been ſaid, what manner
"of Conſuls ye ought to create: it remaineth to ſpeak ſomewhat of them, whom the preroga-
"tive Century ſo highly favoureth, and is ſo much affected unto. As for *M. Æmylius Regillus*, he
"is the Flamin of *Quirinus*, whom neither we may take from his miniſtry of Sacrifice, nor yet
"retain and keep him ſtill, but we ſhal neglect either the ſervice of the gods, or the due care and
"regard of the wars. *Octacilius* hath married my ſiſters daughter, and hath fair iſſue by her. But
"your favours and good turns ſhewed both to me, and alſo to my anceſtors, are not of ſo ſmall
"account and reckoning, but that I ought to prefer the Common-weal before all private re-
B "gards and alliances whatſoever. Every mariner, yea, and any paſſenger is able to ſteer and rule
"a Ship in a calm water: but when a bluſtering tempeſt is up, and the veſſel toſſed in a troubled
"ſurging ſea, and carried away with violent force of the winds, then there had need to be a man
"indeed, and a skilful Pilot to ſit at the ſtern, and to guide the helm. We ſail not now in a ſtill
"and quiet ſea: but we have been drenched, and in a manner drowned, with ſome ſtorms alrea-
"dy: and therefore we ought to have exceeding great care and be well adviſed aforehand, whom
"we have to be the ſteers-man. In a matter of leſs conſequence and importance, we have made
"triall, O *T. Octacilius*, of your knowledge and ſervice: and you have not given us yet ſo good
"proof of your vertue and proweſs therein, that we ſhould put you in truſt with the managing
"of greater affairs. A Navy whereof you were Admiral, we rigged and trimmed to your hands
C "this year for three cauſes: firſt, to annoy and ſpoil the ſea-coaſt of *Affrick*: ſecondly to defend
"and keep to our behoof the ports and havens of *Italy*: laſt of all, and above all, to empeach and
"ſtay all ſupplies and new ſuccours, together with money munition, and victuall, for being tranſ-
"ported unto *Annibal* from *Carthage*. If *Octacilius* have performed, I ſay not all theſe things,
"but in any one quit himſelf well, to the good and benefit of the State, Elect him Conſul hard-
"ly, and good leave have you. But if it appear, that while you had the rule of the Armada, all
"things (that a man would have) paſſed out of the country unto *Annibal*, with as great ſafety
"and ſecurity, as if the ſeas had been open and void of enemies: If, I ſay, the ſea coaſt of *Italy*
"hath all this year been more in danger, and ſubject to ſuſtain harm, than that of *Affrick*: what
"reaſon can you alledge, wherefore the people of *Rome* ſhould chooſe you above all others, to
D "oppoſe as Captain, to confront their enemy *Annibal*. If you were Conſul in place already, we
"would judge it requiſite and good to nominate and create a Dictator, according to the exam-
"ple of our foreſathers: neither could you take ſnuff or be offended, that there ſhould be found
"in the City of *Rome* a better warrior, and more ſufficient than your ſelf. And ſurely it concerneth
"no man more than you, O *Octacilius*, to ſee that there be not impoſed a burden upon your
"ſhoulders, under which you ſhould fail and fall down right. Wherefore I adviſe and exhort you
"all, as much as poſſibly I can, in electing of Conſuls this day to carry that mind, and uſe that care-
"full providence, as ye would, in caſe ye were ſtanding armed in battel array; and to chooſe out
"of hand two Generall Captains, under whoſe conduct and government ye ſhould preſently
"fight a field: and make choiſe of ſuch Conſuls, unto whom our children were to take the oath
E "of allegeance: at whoſe commandment, they ſhould come and aſſemble together, and under
"whoſe charge and protection they might willingly ſerve as ſouldiers. The pool *Thraſymenus*, the
"plain before *Cannæ*, are heavy examples for us to remember: but yet they ſerve for good prece-
"dents unto us to teach us how to avoid the like miſchief another time. So the prerogative Cen-
tury of the younger and puny ſort, was called again to a new ſcrutiny, and to give their voices a-
gain. Whereat when *T. Octacilius* began to cry out aloud and ſay very ſtoutly, that *Fabius* his drift
was to continue Conſul ſtill, and therewith grew to be clamorous and troubleſome to the aſſem-
bly: the Conſul commanded the Lictors to go unto him, and to lay hold upon him. And foraſ-
much as yet he had not entred into the City but came down ſtraightwaies into the *Mars* field pre-
ſently from his journey, he put them in mind, that the knitches of the rods together with the axes
F within them ſhould be born before him. And in the mean time the prerogative Century began
afreſh to give their voices: and by it were nominated Conſuls *Q. Fabius Maximus* the fourth
time, and *M. Marcellus* the third time: and all the Centuries beſides without any jarring and
variance elected the very ſame. One of the former Prætors likewiſe was choſen again namely *Q.
Fulvius Flaccus*. And other new created, that is to ſay, *T. Octacilius Craſſus* the ſecond time, *Q.
Fabius* the Conſul his ſon, who at that time was Ædile of the chair and *P. Cornelius Lentulus*. Af-
ter the Election of the Prætors was ended and finiſhed, there paſſed an Act and decree of the Se-
nate that *Q. Fulvius* ſhould extraordinarily have the charge of the City, and be Prætor there: and
that he above all other, when the Conſuls were gone forth to the wars ſhould be Preſident and
Governour of the City of *Rome*. There fell great rain and much ſnow that year, whereby the *Tiber*
G overflowed the fields, overthrew many houſes, and overwhelmed much cattel and people, ſo as
they utterly periſhed,

Thus in the fifth year of the ſecond Punick war, *Q. Fabius Maximus* the fourth time, and *M.
Claudius Marcellus* the third time, when they entred their Conſulſhip, ſet the City on thinking and
muſing of them more than uſually had been known. For in many years there had not been the
like couple of Conſuls. And old men would talk and ſay, that even ſo were *Max. Rullus* and
*P. Decius* declared Conſuls againſt the Gauls war: and after them likewiſe, *Papyrius* and *Carvi-
lius* againſt the Samnits and Brutii; againſt the people alſo of *Lucania* and *Tarentum*. Mar-

cellus

*cellus* was created Consul in his absence, whiles he was with the Army abroad and *Fabius* being H himself present and president of the Election, was ordained to continue still in his Consulship. The occasion of the time, the necessity and occurrence of the wars, and the peril and hazard of the whole state were such, as no man looked nearly into the example and precedent to find fault withal, nor had the Consul in any jealousie of ambition and desire of rule: but rather every man commended his noble and hauty mind, who seeing that the Common-wealth stood in need of an excellent Captain, and knowing himself without all question to be the man, made less reckoning and account of the envy and ill will of men, that thereby haply might accrue, than of the good and profit of the Common-wealth. The same day that the Consuls began their office, they assembled the Senators in the Capitoll: and the first thing they did, was a decree, that the Con- I suls should either cast lots, or agree together between themselves, whether of them two should assemble the people for the election of Censors, before he set forward to the army. After this, all they had their authority prolonged and continued still, who were employed abroad with the forces; and their commissions were renewed and sealed again, for to abide in the government of their Provinces: to wit, *T. Gracchus* at *Luceria*, where he abode with the army of the Voluntaries: *C. Terentius Varro* in the Picene country: *M. Pomponius* in the Province of Gaul (on this side the *Alps*.) It was enacted also, that of the Prætors of the former year, *Q. Mutius* as Vice-Prætor should govern *Sardinia*: that *M. Valerius* at *Brundusium* should scoure the river, look to the sea-coasts, and have an eye to all the attempts and enterprises of *Philip* King of the Macedonians. *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, the new Prætor, was appointed to rule the Province of *Sicily*: and *T.* K *Otacilius* to be admiral of the same Navy, which the year before he had the charge of against the Carthaginians.

Many prodigious and strange signs were reported that year and so much the more as they were beleeved to be true of the simple and superstitious sort of people. Namely that within the happel of *Sospita Juno* in *Lanuvium* the Ravens builded their nests. In *Apulia* a green palm tree was on a light fire. At *Mantua* a pool maintained by the overflowing of the river *Mincius* appeared red with bloud. At *Cales* it rained chalk, and at *Rome* in the beasts market it rained bloud. In a village, called *Istricus* a spring under the ground, brake out and yielded such abundance of water, that it overturned, tumbled up and down and carried away (as it had been the stream of a river) divers vessels as pipes tuns, barrels and tercs that were in the place. The open and publike hall L within the Capitoll the Temple of *Vulcan* in *Mars* field a nut-tree in the Sabins country: the high street, the wall, and a gate at *Gabii*, were all blasted with lightning and fire from heaven. And by this time other miraculous and monstrous signs were commonly blown abroad, to wit, that the spear of *Mars* in *Preneste* of its own accord, stirred and moved forward: that an oxe was heard speak in *Sicilia*: that the Infant within the mothers womb, in the Marrucins country was heard to cry *Io Triumphe*, at *Spoletum*, a woman turned to be a man. At *Hadria* there appeared an Altar in the skie, and apparitions or shews of men discovered about the same, arraied in white. At *Rome* also within the City was seen, now the second time, a swarm of Bees in the very market-place: a thing wondred at because it was rare and seldom known. Some there were also, that avouched how they descried armed Legions on the hill *Janiculum*; Whereupon the City rose up M in arms and when they were come into the *Janicle*, they said plainly, that there were none there appeared but the ordinary inhabitants of the hill. These prodigious sights, by direction from the Aruspices [*i.e.* the Soothsayers] were expiate, and the gods pacified with greater sacrifices: and a solemn procession and supplication was proclaimed unto all the gods that were shrined at *Rome*, and had their chappels there.

After all complements performed, that belonged to the pacification of the gods, the Consuls proposed unto the Senat concerning State-matters, and especially about the managing of the wars, Namely, what forces should be prepared, what numbers of souldiers levied, and where they should be bestowed severally. And agreed it was That there should be eighteen Legions employed in the wars. Whereof the Consuls were to take unto them two apiece: the Provinces likewise of N *Gaul*, *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, should be guarded each of them with other twain. *Q. Fabius* the Lord Deputy of *Apulia*, was to have two Legions under his hand to command the Province: and *T. Gracchus* other two of voluntaries, to keep the country about *Luceria*: and *C. Terentius* the Pro-Consul, to have the charge of one in the Picene country: and *M. Valerius* another, for the Navy about *Brundusium*: and last of all, twain were left behind for the guard and defence of the City of *Rome*. For to make out this full number of Legions six of necessity were to be levied new. And the Consuls were appointed with all convenient speed to enroll them: and likewise to provide an Armada that year of 150 Gallies, together with those ships which ride in the river along the coasts of *Calabria* for the defence of that Country. When the muster was done and the new ships haled and shot into sea, *Q. Fabius* assembled the Centuries for the election of Censors: wherein were O created *M. Attilius Regulus* and *P. Furius Philus*.

The rumour still encreased, that *Sicily* was out and up in arms. Whereupon *T. Otacilius* was commanded to go thither with his fleet. And because there wanted sailers and mariners the Consuls, by vertue of a decree of the Senat published an Edict, That as many as in the time of *L. Æmylius*, and *C. Flaminius* Censors, either themselves or their fathers were assessed in the Subsidy book from 50000 Asses unto 100000 in goods, or who afterwards grew to that worth should find one mariner, and six months pay. *Item*, That whosoever were rated above 100000 unto 300000

should

A should be charged with three marriners, and one years pay. *Item*, That whosoever were valued in the Censors book between 300000 and 1000000, should allow five marriners. *Item*, That those above that proportion should set out seven. And every Senat should provide eight mariners, and furnish them with a whole years pay. According to this Edict, the mariners were set out well armed and appointed by their Masters, and having with them aforehand meat dressed and sodden to serve them thirty daies, they were embarked. This is the first time that ever the Roman Navy was furnished with sailers and mariners, at the proper charges of private Citizens.

This extraordinary preparation more than usuall, terrified the Campans most of all other, for
B fear lest the Romans would begin war that year, with laying siege to *Capua*. Therefore they dispatched Embassadors unto *Annibal*, requesting him to come nearer unto *Capua* with his forces. For why? at *Rome* there were new armies levied, for to assail that City: and the Romans were not discontented more with the revolt of any than of them. And forasmuch as this message was delivered in such haste and fear, *Annibal* thinking it good to make speed, lest the Romans prevented him, dislodged and removed from *Arpi*, and encamped upon *Tifata* over *Capua*, in the fort, where he kept of old. Then, leaving the Numidians and Spaniards behind him both to guard the Camp, and also to defend *Capua*, he went down with the rest of his army to the Lake *Avernus*, pretending in shew there to sacrifice, but in very deed to sound and solli it *Puteoli* and the garrison there for to rebell. *Maximus* was no sooner advertized that *Annibal* was departed from *Arpi*, and in his
C return to *Campania*; but he journied night and day, and never staid, untill he was come again, and repaired to his army. And withall, he gave order and direction unto *T. Gracchus*, to remove with his power from *Luceria*, and to draw near to *Beneventum*: likewise unto *Q. Fabius* the Prætor, (who was the Consul his son) to supply the room of *Gracchus* at *Luceria*. At the same time the two Prætors took their journey, and went into *Sicily*, *P. Cornelius* to the army there on land, and *Ostacilius* to keep the sea-coast, and to be admiral of the Navy: and the rest spred them every one into their several Provinces. They also who had their authority and government continued, ruled the same countries that they did before.

Whiles *Annibal* abode at the Lake *Avernus*, there came unto him from *Tarentum*, five noble young Gentlemen (Roman associats) which had been taken prisoners, some at the pool *Thrasymenus*,
D others at *Cannæ*, whom he had sent home in the same manner of curtesie, as he had shewed ever to all the Allies of the Romans. These Gentlemen, in remembrance of his favours and benefits, made report vnto him, "That they had perswaded and induced a great part of the youth of "*Tarentum*, to entertain rather the amity and alliance of *Annibal*, than of the people of *Rome*: "and for this intent they were sent Embassadors from them, to request in their name, that it "might please him to come nearer with his forces to *Tarentum*. For say they, if they might but "once see from out of *Tarentum* his standard and ensigns, and himself near encamped, the City "would without delay be surrendred up into his hands. For the younger people had the com-"mons at their beck and commandment, and the commons ruled the whole state of *Tarentum* "at their pleasure. *Annibal* after he had commended and thanked them, and withall loaden them
E with many fair and great promises, willed them to return home, to hasten and set forward, and effect these intended designments, saying, that he would be there in good and convenient time. With these hopes the Tarentins took their leave, and departed. *Annibal* himself was wonderfully desirous to be Master of *Tarentum*. He saw it was a noble City and a wealthy, seated also by the sea-side, and a very commodious Port, looking and lying toward *Macedonia*: and well he wist that King *Philip* (if he should pass over into *Italy*, seeing the Romans were possessed of *Brundusium*) would arrive at this haven. When he had performed the Sacrifice for which he thither came, and (whiles he made his abode there) forraged all the Territory of *Cumes*, even as far as the Cape of the Promontory *Misenum*: suddenly he turned his army and marched to *Puteoli*, for to surprise
F and give a camisado to the fort and garrison there. There were six thousand of them within the town: and the place not only by naturall situation strong, but also surely fortified by industry of man. *Annibal* having staied there three daies, and assaied the fort and the garrison on every side, seeing he could not prevail nor effect any thing, went forward from thence, and proceeded to the wasting of the Territory of *Naples*, upon anger, rather than any hope of gaining the City. The Commons of *Nola*, who long time were discontented with the Romans, and at deadly fewd with their own Senators, upon his coming into the territory and confines so near unto them, began to rise in a commotion. Whereupon, there came Embassadors unto *Annibal*, requiring him to advance to *Nola*, upon assured promise, that the town should be delivered into his hands. But
G *Marcellus*, who was sent unto by the Nobles, prevented this their plot and designment: and in one day he reached to *Suessula* from *Cales*, notwithstanding he made some stay to ferry over the river *Vulturnus*. And so the next night he sent into *Nola* 6000 footmen and 300 horse, for to aid and defend the Senat. And like as the Consul bestirred himself with all speed and diligence, to make *Nola* sure to him aforehand, so *Annibal* contrariwise temporized, being not so ready now to credit the Nolans; as having twice before given the like attempt, and to no purpose in the end, and therefore he trifled out the time, and made small haste.

At the same time also, *Q. Fabius* the Consul came against *Casilinum*, which was kept by the garrison of the Carthaginians, to see if he could surprise it. And to *Beneventum* at one time (as if they had been so agreed) came on the one side, *Hanno* from the Brutii, with a great power of foot and horse; and on another side, *Gracchus* from *Luceria*: who entred the town first. From whence so

soon

ſoon as he heard that *Hanno* lay encamped within three miles of the City, by the river *Calores*, H and there waſted the Country, he himſelf iſſued, and pitched his tents within a mile of the enemy: where he aſſembled all his ſouldiers together, purpoſing to make a ſpeech unto them. He had with him the Legions that conſiſted moſt of voluntaries, who already two years before, had been more willing to deſerve their freedom in ſilent manner, than to challenge and demand it with open mouth. Howbeit, he perceived when he departed out of the winter harbors, that they began to murmur and grumble in the army when they marched: and to complain in this wiſe. What? ſhal we never ſerve in the quality and condition of freemen? Whereupon he had written unto the Senat, and ſhewed unto them, not ſo much what they deſired, as what they deſerved to have: certifying them, that unto that day they had done him good and valiant ſervice: and wanted nothing I ſave only their freedom, but they might go for true and lawful ſouldiers. Whereupon the Lords of the Senat had put it unto his diſcretion for to do by them what he thought was expedient for the Common-weal. Thereupon, before that he ſhould join battell with the enemy, he pronounced theſe words before them all, and ſaid: "That now the time was come, of obtaining and acqui- "ring that liberty, which ſo long they hoped after. For the next morrow they were to affront "their enemies with banner diſplaied, and to fight in a plain and open ground, where without "fear of any ambuſh the triall might be made with meer force and true valour: Whoſoever there- "fore can bring me the head of an enemy, him my pleaſure & will is, to make free immediatly: and "who ſo loſeth ground and retreateth, him will I chaſtiſe as a bondſlave ought to be puniſhed. "Now every man hath his ſtate and condition lying in his own hands: and of your freedom K "not only my ſelf will aſſure you, but for further warrant, ye have the allowance of *M. Marcellus* "the Conſul, and generally of all the LL. of the Council, whoſe advice I ſought, and who committed "unto my hands the ordering of your liberty. And withall he read the Conſuls letters, and the decree of the Senat in that behalf. Whereat they ſet up a mighty cry, in token of their aſſent and approbation, and called for battel, and earneſtly urged to give the ſignal out of hand. Then *Gracchus* having pronounced the next day for battel, diſmiſſed the aſſembly. The ſouldiers were joyous eſpecially ſuch as were to have their freedom in reward of one daies ſervice, and beſtowed the reſt of that day in making their armor and weapons ready. The morrow after, ſo ſoon as the trumpets began to ſound: they were the firſt of all other that preſented themſelves before the General his pavilion, well appointed and ready to fight: and by the ſun riſing *Gracchus* led forth his men into L the field in order of battel. The enemies for their parts were nothing behind, but forward to encounter them. They were in number ſeventeen thouſand of footmen moſt of them Brutii and Lucans: of horſemen, twelve hundred: among whom there were very few Italians, the reſt were in manner all Numidians and Moors. The fight was ſharp, and continued long, and for four hours it was not ſeen which ſide had the better. No one thing elſe troubled the Romans more, than their enemies heads, which were the prizes to redeem the ſouldiers liberty. For as any had killed their enemies luſtily, they were fain firſt, with much ado, to cut off their heads, within the troubleſome preſs and tumult, and ſo to loſe time: and after that, by reaſon that their right hands were employed and occupied with holding the ſame heads, it fell out, that the beſt ſouldiers gave over fighting, and the feeble daſtards and fearfull cowards only were to maintain the conflict. Which when the M Marſhals of the field and Colonels reported unto *Gracchus* and namely, that there was not a ſouldier of the enemies ſtanding that was wounded and hurt any more: but they that lay along were hacked and hewed as it were by butchers: and that his own ſouldiers inſtead of ſwords, held their enemies heads in their hands: he commanded in all haſte, that upon a ſignal given, they ſhould fling away their heads from them, and charge afreſh upon the enemies. For their valour and proweſs (ſaith he) was well enough ſeen already, and evidently teſtified, and ſo long as they were ſo hardy men, and bare themſelves ſo manfully, they ſhould not need to doubt of their liberty. Then the conflict began to be renewed and withall the horſemen charged the enemies whom the Numidians received with equall valour: inſomuch as the fight of the Cavalry was as bravely performed, as the other of the Infantry: whereupon once again the victory ſeemed doubtfull to N which part it would encline: whiles in both hoſts the Generals reproached and debaſed the adverſe part. *Gracchus* ſaid that the Brutii and Lucans were ſo often vanquiſhed and ſubdued by the Roman anceſtors: and *Hanno* again girded at the Romans, calling them bondſlaves, and ſouldiers let looſe out of priſon and houſes of correction. At the laſt, *Gracchus* declared aloud, and ſaid, They were not to hope at all for their liberty, unleſs that day their enemies were diſcomfited and put to flight. This one word of his at length ſet their bloud in ſuch an heat, that they raiſed a freſh ſhout, & as if they had been caſt again in a new mould, they charged upon the enemies ſo violently that they could no longer be reſiſted and withſtood. Firſt, they that fought in the vangard of the Carthaginians were put out of order: then they about their ſtandards and enſigns: and laſt of all, the whole battel was driven back and gave ground. Whereupon they fairly turned their backs, and O fled ſo faſt one upon another into their Camp, in ſuch fear and fright, that not ſo much as at the very gates, nor upon the rampier, they ſtaid once, and turned again to make head: ſo as the Romans following them hard at the heels into their camp as it were in one train pel-mel made a new skirmiſh even within the rampier of their enemies. Where the fight was not ſo cumberſome by reaſon of the ſtreightneſs of the room wherein they were pent, but the maſſacre and execution was as cruell and bloudy. The priſoners alſo that were among the enemies, in this confuſed conflict and tumult joyned themſelves and ſtuck cloſe together: and having caught up ſome weapons,

helped

helped forward the victory: and either charging upon the backs of the Carthaginians slew them, or else hindred them in their flight and running away. So of that great army, there were not all out two thousand (and the most part of them horsemen) that escaped with the Generall himself: all the rest were either slain or taken prisoners: and of military ensigns were carried away forty save twain. Of the Victors there died fast upon two thousand. All the spoil, but only the prisoners, was granted to the souldiers. The cattell also was reserved, as many as within thirty daies the right owners could justly make claim unto for their own. When they were returned laden with booties and pillage into the Camp there were almost 4000 of the voluntary souldiers, who had fought but faintly, and brake not into the Camp with the rest: who for fear of punishment seized a little hill not far from the Camp, and kept it for their hold. But the morrow after being set from thence by the Colonels, they repaired again to the camp, at what time as *Gracchus* had summoned his souldiers to an assembly. Where, after that the Pro-Consul first had rewarded his old souldiers with military gifts, according to each one his prowess and good service in that battell; then as concerning the voluntaries, he said thus much, That he had rather they were all commended by him good and bad, one with another, than that one of them that day should taste of any punishment: and therefore he pronounced them all free in the name of God, to the benefit, happiness, and felicity, both of Common-weal, and also of themselves. At which word, they lifted up their voices aloud with exceeding cheerfulness and alacrity: and one while they clipped and embraced one another in their arms, with gratulation and great joy: another while again, they held their hands toward heaven, wishing and praying at the gods hands, all good blessing for the people of *Rome* and for *Gracchus* especially. "Then (quoth *Gracchus*) Before that I had made you all alike, "and to have equall part in the right and priviledge of freedom, I would not set upon any of you, "either the mark of a stout and hardy souldier, or the note of a faint-hearted and beastly co-"ward. But now that I have discharged my self of the trust committed unto me by the Common-"weal to the end, that all difference between prowess & cowardise, should not be forgotten al-"together and perish; I will take expresse order that the names of them whose conscience accused "them of faint fighting, and avoiding the hazard of battell, and therefore erewhile withdrew "themselves apart, be brought unto me. And when they are cited and called forth every one by his "name, I will compell them to take a corporall oath (quoth he) that unless it be upon sickness, so "long as they shall continue in souldiery they neither eat nor drink but standing upon their feet. "And this punishment (I am sure) you will willingly take in good part: when ye shall consider bet-"ter of it, and see that you could not have had an easier note of disgrace and shame, for your false "hearts and slender service. Then he gave the signall to truss up bag and baggage, and sounded the remove, and so dislodged: and thus the souldiers carrying and driving before them their booties, all the way disporting themselves so merily and jocund, returned to *Beneventum* as if they had come from some great dinner, upon a solemn and festival day, and not from fighting a bloudy battell. All the people of *Beneventum* came forth in great numbers to meet them at the gates, welcomed the souldiers, bad them joy, embraced them and invited them to their houses, to give them entertainment and lodging. The boords were spread in every mans court-yard, and furnished with store of viands: they willed them to come and make merry with them, and requested *Gracchus* to give his souldiers leave to feast and make good chear. And *Gracchus* was content, but upon this condition, that they should all eat their meals abroad in the open street. Then all things were brought forth, and set upon the tables at every mans door. The voluntaries took their repast and refection either with their caps on their heads, or else covered their crown with white wooll, some sitting, some standing: waiting and serving one another at the table, and eat their meat, and fed with them together. This was such a worthy sight and solemnity that *Gracchus* after he was returned to *Rome*, caused the representation and resemblance of the celebration of this day, to be drawn and portraied in colours and the picture to remain in the Temple of the goddess *Liberty*, which his father caused to built in the mount *Aventine*, of certain fines and forfeits, and afterwards there dedicated it.

Whiles these matters thus passed at *Beneventum*, *Annibal* having spoiled and harried the territory about *Naples*, removed toward *Nola*, and there encamped before the town. Whom when the Consul understood to be coming, he sent for *Pomponius* the Pro-Prætor, together with that army which lay encamped above above *Suessula*, and provided to meet with the enemy, minding presently to bid him battell. He sent out *Claudius Nero* with the strength of his horsemen in the dead time of the night at a back gate, that was farthest from the enemy, giving him in charge to cast about closely, and fetch a compass, and fair and softly to follow the enemy, as he marched: and when he perceived the battell was begun, then to come forward, and set upon him behind on his back. But whether it were that *Nero* missed of the way, or having not time enough, could not put this policy in execution, I know not. In his absence the armies joyned battell, wherein (no doubt) the Romans had the better hand. Howbeit, for default that the horsemen were not there in due time, the order of the direction failed, and took not effect. And notwithstanding that the enemies gave ground and retreated, yet *Marcellus* durst not follow hot upon them, but sounded the retreat to his own men, being in a good way of victory. Yet were there by report above 2000 of the enemies slain that day, but of Romans under 400. And about the sun set, *Nero* who all the day and night past had tired horse and man, and done no good, and now returned, without so much as a sight of the enemy, was sharply rebuked of the Cos. insomuch, that he gave him this

check to choak him, That it was long of him and none else, that they had not cried quittance H with the enemy, for the overthrow & loss received at *Cannæ*. The day following *Marcellus* came down again into the field, ready to give battel. But *Annibal*, as one that secretly confessed himself to be overcome, held himself close within the strength of his Camp. And on the third day, giving over all hope to get *Nola*, (an enterprise that never sped well) he departed in the still time of the night toward *Tarentum*, upon a better and more assured hope to gain it by treason.

The civill affairs at *Rome* were managed with no less courage at home, than the wars in the field abroad. For the Censors, who by reason that the City treasure waxed low, were eased of their care of setting out the publike works of the City by the great: and having nothing else to do, employed themselves in reformation of mens manners and chastising of vices and enormities, which I sprung upon war: like as mens bodies, which by long and lingring sickness grown weak, ever and anon breed new diseases. And first they convented before them those Citizens, who after the battel at *Cannæ*, were (by report) minded and disposed to leave the Common-weal, and to depart out of *Italy*. The ring-leader of them all was *L. Cecilius Metellus*, who hapned then to be Treasurer of the City. He, with the rest of that crue, who were culpable in the same crime, were commanded to make their answer, and plead their causes: but when they were not able to clear and quit themselves, the Censors charged them openly, that they had given out certain words, and made speeches against the State, tending to a sedition and conspiracy, for to abandon *Italy*. Next after them were cited to appear those cunning and crafty companions aboveseid, who with their over-subtill interpretation and construing of words, would seem to avoid their oath: those captives, I mean, K who being on their way to *Rome*, came back secretly into the Camp of *Annibal*, and took themselves freed and discharged, because they had sworn to return again. But these and the others afore rehearsed, as many as served upon the City horses, had their horses taken from them, were displaced out of their Tribe, and condemned all to lose their voices, and to serve without City pay. Neither were the Censors carefull to correct the Senat, and reform the degree of the Knights only, but also they proceeded to rase out of the publike checkroll of the younger Citizens, the names of all those, who for four years space had not served in wars, as many, I say of them, as could not justly plead and alledge, either ordinary immunity by law, or sickness for their excuse. And of these were found guilty above 2000: who were awarded to be *Ærarii*, and all of them to be removed out of their tribe. And besides this shamefull disgrace and note of ignominy awarded by L the Censors, there passed a heavy decree of the Senat against them, to wit, That all they whom the Censors had thus scored and noted, should be bound to serve on foot in the wars, and be confined and sent over into *Sicily*, to the residue there of the army that remained at *Cannæ*. And no other time of service and warfare was limited unto this sort of the souldiers, but untill the enemy were driven clean out of *Italy*.

Whiles the Censors, as is aforsaid, upon occasion that the Cities stock was so decayed, gave over and forbare to bargain for the repairing and maintenance of the Churches and holy Temples, and for the finding and provision of chariot horses for the State, and such like; there resorted unto them a great number of those that were wont at the spear to take these bargains at their hands by the great, and for a gross sum of money: who exhorted the Censors to deal in those matters M still, and to set, let, and enter into bargain with them, as if the City Chamber wanted no money: making this offer that none of them all would demand paiment out of the common Chest, before the wars were fully ended.

Then repaired unto the Censors the Masters of those bondmen, whom *T. Sempronius* had manumised and set free at *Beneventum*, saying, that they were sent by the Triumvirs, out of the office of the Bankers, called *Mensarii*, for to receive again their monies, according as they prized and valued their slaves: howbeit, they would not, before the war was finished. And as the hearts of the Commons were thus favourably affected, to sustain and support the poverty of the treasure-house; so the stocks of money also that belonged first to Orphans, and afterwards to widows, began now to be bestowed in the Chamber of the City: and they that presented and brought in N those moneys, beleeved assuredly, that they could not lay them up more sure and safe, than in the publike credit and security of the City. And whatsoever out of these stocks was disbursed and defraied, for to buy and provide any thing for the Orphans or widows aforesaid, the treasurers kept a book thereof, and noted it down in a register. This kindness and benevolence of private persons unto their country, extended it self from the City, even as far as to the Camp: insomuch, that neither horseman nor Centurion would take their wages, but rebuke and rate them, that could find in their hearts to receive their pay, terming them no better than mercenaries and hirelings.

Now *Q. Fabius* the Consul lay in Camp before *Casilinum*, which City was kept with a garrison of two thousand Campans, and seven hundred of *Annibal* his souldiers. They had for their Captain and Commander, one *Statius Metius*, sent thither by *Cn. Magius Atellanus*; who for that O year was * *Mediastuticus* of *Capua*. He put the bondslaves and Commons in arms, intermingled one with another, for to enter upon the Camp of the Romans, whiles the Consul was busie in assaulting *Casilinum*. *Fabius* was nothing ignorant of all these things, and therefore he sent unto *Nola* to his Collegue there, signifying unto him, that there was need of a second army to make head against the Campans, whiles the other was employed about the assault of *Casilinum*: and telling him besides, that either he must himself come in person, leaving a mean garrison behind him at *Nola*: or else if he might not be spared from thence, for fear of danger from *Annibal*,

* The head Magistrat, as Lord Maior.

A *Annibal*, he would send for *T. Gracchus* the Pro-Consul, from *Beneventum*. Upon this message, *Marcellus* having left in *Nola* a guard of two thousand souldiers, with the rest of his forces, presented himself before *Casilinum*: upon whose coming, the Campans who were ready to set forward, staid themselves and were quiet. So both Consuls together jointly began to assault *Casilinum*: where the Roman souldiers that rashly came under the walls received much hurt: and *Fabius* seeing little good done, judged it best to surcease and give over the enterprise, being a service of small consequence, and nevertheless very dangerous: and to depart from thence, seeing there was business toward of greater importance. But *Marcellus* contrariwise was of opinion and said, that as there were many things which great warriors were not to attempt: so if they were once B taken in hand and the adventure given, they were not lightly to be given over and laid aside; forasmuch as in it lay matter of great consequence, for fame and reputation, both waies: and so he prevailed, that the enterprise was not neglected and abandoned. Whereupon there were mantilets and all other kinds of fabricks and engines of battery and assault, bent against the City: so as the Campans besought *Fabius*, that they might depart to *Capua* in safety. And when some few were gone forth, *Marcellus* possessed himself of that gate whereout they went: & then they fell to kill and slay one with another, first about the gate: and after they had rushed once in, they put to like execution those also within the City. Fifty there were or thereabout of the Campans that first got out of the town, and fled for mercy to *Fabius*: and they by his guard and safe conduct arrived at *Capua*. But see *Casilinum*, through the lingring slackness of the Inhabitants that craved C protection, was (by advantage taken of their long parley, and temporizing) won by the enemies. The captives, so many as were either Campans or *Annibal* his souldiers, were sent to *Rome*, and there clapt up fast in prisons. But the multitude of the townsmen were distributed into sundry Cities adjoyning, and there kept in ward.

At the very same time that the Consuls after their conquest, retired from *Casilinum*, *Gracchus* being in the country of the Lucans, and having gathered and enrolled certain cohorts and companies of souldiers out of those parts, sent them out a forraging, under the conduct of a Captain of Allies, into the territories of the enemies. *Hanno* encountred them as they straggled in scattering wise out of order, and set upon them, and paid his enemies again with the like defeat and loss, or not much less than that which he had received at *Beneventum*: and in great hast withdrew himD self into the country of the *Brutii*, for fear lest *Gracchus* should overtake him.

The Consul *Marcellus* returned back to *Nola*, from whence he came, and *Fabius* went forward into *Samnium*, to spoil and waste the country, and to recover by force of arms the Cities which had revolted. The Samnits about *Caudium* were pitiously and grievously damnified: their villages in all places set on fire, their fields laid waste and destroyed, and great booties both of cattel and people driven away. Six towns forced by assault, namely, *Compulteria*, * *Telesia*, *Cossa*, *Melæ*, *Fuisulæ*, and *Orbitanium*. In the Lucans country, the town of * *Blandæ*: and in *Apulia*, the City * *Ancæ* was assaulted. In these towns and Cities, there were taken prisoners and slain 25000 of the enemies: of fugitives and runnagate traitors there were recovered 370, whom the Consul sent home again to *Rome*, and being thither come, they were all beaten and scourged with E rods in the *Comitium*, and then pitched down headlong to the earth, from the rock *Tarpeia*. These exploits were atchieved by *Q. Fabius*, within the compass of a few daies. But *Marcellus* by occasion that he lay sick at *Nola*, was hindred from performing any feats of arms. The Prætor likewise *Q. Fabius*, who had the charge and jurisdiction of the province about *Luceria*, won by force about the same time the town *Accua*, and fortified a standing camp planted before *Arpos.* *Telese.* * *Belvedere.* * *Callipoli.*

Whiles the Romans were thus employed about these affairs in divers other places, *Annibal* was come unto *Tarentum*, to the exceeding great damage and detriment of all places where he journeyed: but being once arrived in the territory of *Tarentum*, he began to march and lead his army most peaceably. There he did no harm at all, made no havock, nor once went out of the F high way. And it was evidently seen that all this was done not upon any modesty that appeared either in souldier or Captain, but only to win unto him the hearts of the Tarentins. But when he approached the walls of the City, and saw no commotion, nor insurrection from thence upon the discovery of his Vanguard, as he thought he should, he pitched his Camp almost a mile from the town. Now had *M. Valerius* the Vice-Prætor, who was Admirall of the Fleet at *Brundusium*, sent *T. Valerius* his Lieutenant unto *Tarentum*, three daies before that *Annibal* shewed himself before the wals. He had mustred and enrolled the flower of the Nobility, and so bestowed at every gate, and about the walls where need required, good guards for defence: with such vigilant diligence both day and night, that he gave no opportunity and advantage either to the enemies to adventure any assault, or to the doubtfull and untrusty friends to practice any treaG son. So *Annibal*, having spent there certain daies in vain, and seeing none of them who repaired unto him at the Lake * *Avernus*, either to come themselves, or to send messenger or letters: and perceiving now that he had rashly and foolishly followed vain promises, and so was deluded; dislodged and removed from thence. And even then also he spared the territory of *Tarentum*, and did no hurt at all: and albeit his fained and counterfeit lenity and mildness hitherto took no effect: yet he hoped still thereby to corrupt their faithfull alleageance to the Romans: and so he went to *Salapia*. And (by reason that midsummer was past, and he liked well of that place for a winter harbour) he conveyed thither all the corn from out of the Territory of *Metapontum* * *Lago di Tripergula.*

and *Heraclea*. Then he sent out the Numidians and Moors, to fetch booties and prizes from out H
of the Salentine country, and all the woods and chases next unto *Apulia*, from whence they drave
of other cattell small store: but of horses especially they brought away great numbers, of which
there were four thousand divided amongst the horsemen to be handled, broken, and made
gentle.

The Romans seeing there was like to be war in *Sicily*, & the same not lightly to be regarded: &
that the death of the Tyrant there, rather gave the Syracusians good Captains, than wrought any
change in their minds, or alteration in the cause: assigned unto *M. Marcellus*, one of the Consuls,
that Province to govern. Presently upon the murder of *Hieronymus*, first the souldiers in the Le-
ontin country, began to mutine and make an uprore, and boldly spake and said, That the Kings I
death should be expiate, and his obsequies solemnized with sacrificing the bloud of conspirators.
But afterwards, when they heard often iterated the sweet name of liberty and freedom restored
unto them: and that there was good hope that the souldiers should have a largess dealt amongst
them out of the Kings Treasure, and be under the command of Captains of better quality, and ha-
ving besides all this, a bedroll rehearsed unto them of the Tyrant his cruelty and foul facts, and of
more filthy and loathsome lusts: their affections were so altered, that they suffered the body of their
King to lie above ground unburied, whom a little before, they so greatly desired and wished for.
Now as concerning the conspirators, whiles the rest of them remained behind to assure and pos-
sesse themselves of the army, *Theodorus* and *Sosis* took the Kings horses and rode post, as hard as
ever they could to *Syracusa*, for to surprize upon a sudden all his followers and favourites (who K
knew nothing of that which was done) and fall upon them at unawares: but they were preven-
ted not only by the fame (which above all other things in such cases is most swift) but also by a
courrier one of the Kings servants. Whereupon *Andronodorus* had seized beforehand of that part
of the City which is called the Island, together with the Castle, and all other places that he could
come at which were thought of any good importance; and them he fortified with good guards.
* The City of *Syracuse* was divided into four parts, *Hexapylos Tiche, Acradina* and *Insula*.
* In other authors called, *Tyche*, or *Tuke Fortuna*, whose Temple there stood.
* *Archradine* of others.
*Theodorus* and *Sosis* being entred within the City at * *Hexapylos* after sun-setting, in the twy-light
and shutting in of the evening: and shewing the Kings royall robes all embrued with bloud, and
the ornament and attire likewise of his head, he passed through * *Thica*, and called aloud unto the
people to fight all at once for their liberty, and to arm themselves, and willed them to repair into
* *Acradina*. The people some of them ran out into the streets, others stood in their entries and L
porches, divers looked out at the windows from within their houses, and asked what the matter
might be? Every place shone with torch and cresset-light, and was filled with sundry garboils and
hurlyburlies. As many as were in arms gathered together in the open places of the City: those that
were unarmed, took down off the Temple of *Jup. Olympius* the spoils of the Gauls & the Illyrians,
which the people of *Rome* had given as a present to K. *Hiero*, and which he set aloft for a memori-
all: praying unto *Jupiter* that he would vouchsafe them this gracious favour, as to bestow those
sacred weapons & harness upon them that meant to arm themselves therewith, for the defence of
their country, or the maintenance of the Churches and shrines of the gods, & for the recovery of
their liberty. This multitude also joyned with the *corps de guards*, that in the principal quarters of
the City, were bestowed in places convenient. But *Andronodorus* amongst other places that he for-
tified made sure also with strong guards of armed men the publike garners of the City within the M
Island. There was a place enclosed round about with four-square stone, and built strongly like a
forress; this was possessed by the youth that had been appointed for to guard and defend that
quarter: and they sent messengers into *Acradina*, to signifie that the garners and the corn were
kept by them to the behoof of the Senat. And on the morrow at the break of day, the whole peo-
ple, as well armed as unarmed, assembled together in *Acradina*, within the Palace. And there before
the altar of *Concordia* which in that place stood erected, one of the principal and chief Citizens,
named *Polyneus*, made an Oration unto them all, with frankness of speech enough, tending unto
liberty and yet seasoned with modesty & moderation, in this wise: "Men (quoth he) that have ex-
"perience of servitude and other indignities, fall to abhor the same, and their stomacks rise a- N
"gainst them as known evils. But as for civill discord, what calamities & miseries it bringeth with
"it, the Citizens of *Syracuse* have heard their fathers tell, and not seen and tasted themselves. That
"ye have been so ready to take up arms and weapons in hand, I commend you for it: but I would
"con you more thank, if ye used them not, unless ye be driven thereto by extream necessity.
"For the present, I hold it good, and my counsel is, that Embassadors be sent unto *Andronodorus*,
"to intimate unto him, yea, and to require and charge him, to submit himself unto the Senat and
"people, and by them to be ordered: to set open the gates of the Island, to put away from about
"him his guard, and deliver up the castle and garrison. But in case he intend under the pretence
"of being guardian or protector to the kingdom of another, thereby to usurp it to his own use;
"he must be given to understand, by mine advice, that we will seek to recover our liberty out of the O
"hands of *Andronodorus*, more fiercely and forcibly than from *Hieronymus*. And so presently upon
this assembly, embassadors were sent. Then the Senat went together and sat in Council: for, as du-
ring the raign of *Hiero*, there was set an ordinary publike Councill of State: so after his death
unto that day, the Senators were neither called together, nor their advice taken or sought in any
matter. When the Embassadors were come unto *Andronodorus*, and had delivered their mes-
sage, he was himself (verily) for his own part moved with the generall consent of the Citizens;
but especially when he considered, that among other quarters of the City possessed by the ad-

verse

A verſe ſide, that one part alſo of the Iſland, which was the ſtrongeſt, was betraied (as it were) and held out againſt him. But when the Embaſſadors called ſtill upon him to come forth, his wife *Demarata*, daughter of King *Hiero*, puffed up ſtill with the proud mind and haughty ſtomack of a Prince, and full of the vain humour and ſpirit of a woman, put him oftentimes in mind of a ſaying, that *Denis* the Tyrant had evermore in his mouth, namely, "That a man ſhould not ride on horſe-
"back to be depoſed from his royall dignity and eſtate of tyranny, but be led fair and ſoftly a foot-
"pace, and go to that as a bear to the ſtake. An eaſie matter (quoth ſhe) it is for one to yield and
"forgo the poſſeſſion of high place and honour, and a thing that may be done in the turning of an
"hand, whenſoever one will: but to compaſs and attain thereto is a right hard matter, and of all
B "other moſt difficult. You were beſt therfore to borrow ſome reſpit of time of the Embaſſadors,
"for to take farther deliberation of this main point, and in the mean while, to uſe the advantage
"thereof, to ſend for the Souldiers out of the Leontin country: unto whom, no doubt, if you
"would promiſe a reward out of the Princes treaſure, you ſhall be Lord of all. This perillous un-
happy counſel of a woman *Andronodorus* neither deſpiſed and rejected altogether, nor yet preſent-
ly accepted and embraced: ſuppoſing it a better and ſafer courſe, if he meant to aſpire unto high
dignity and great puiſſance, for the preſent to temporize and give place unto the neceſſity of the
time. And therefore he willed them to carry back unto the Senat this anſwer from him, That he
ſubmitted himſelf, and would be ordered & ſet down by the Senat and the people. The morrow
after, ſo ſoon as it was day-light, he cauſed the gates of the Iſland to be ſet open, & ſhewed himſelf
C in the market-place of *Acradina*: where he aſſended up unto the altar of *Concord* from which the
day before, *Polyneus* had made a ſpeech unto the people. He began his Oration with an excuſe of
his late coming and long ſtay behind, and craved pardon therefore: alledging, "That he had kept
"the gates ſhut, not becauſe he meant to ſeparate his own affairs from the State, and not to take
"ſuch part as the City took: but when ſwords were once drawn he feared what would be the end
"and iſſue of murders and maſſacres, and whether men would ſtay their hands, when there was
"aſſurance of liberty effected, (as being contented with the death only of the Tyrant) or whether,
"as many as either in bloud and kindred, or in affinity and alliance, or in other offices or ſervice,
"were toward the K. and his Court, ſhould be counted culpable in the fault of another & ſo like-
"wiſe have their throats cut. For after that (quoth he) I underſtood once, that they who had de-
D "livered and ſet free their country, were minded and willing to ſave & preſerve it, thus enfranchi-
"ſed: and that there was conſulting on all hands indifferently for the good of the ſtate, I made no
"longer doubt of the matter, but to yield both mine own perſon, and alſo all that ever was under
"my hand (as committed unto me upon truſt and fidelity) unto my native country: now that he,
"who put all into my hand, is through his own folly & outrage overthrown and brought to con-
"fuſion. Then turning to the murderers of the tyrant, and by name calling unto *Theodorus* and *So-*
"*ſis*. A noble and memorable piece of ſervice ye have already done, (quoth he) but truſt me truly,
"your glory in this behalf is begun only, and not throughly finiſhed and performed: nay, a great
"danger is yet behind, unleſs ye ſee to the generall concord and unity of all parts, that the com-
"mon liberty of the City, turn not into pride and inſolency beyond all meaſure.

The Oration of *Andronodorus*.

E After this ſpeech ended, he laid down the keys of the gates, and of the Kings treaſure, at their feet. And ſo for that day, when the people were diſmiſſed from the aſſembly, with joy and mirth they went in proceſſion and ſupplication with their wives and children, round about all the Churches & Chappels of their gods. The day following, the ſolemn election was held for the creation of Prætors. And firſt, before all others, *Andronodorus* was choſen, and the reſt for the moſt part, the very murderers of the Tyrant. They elected alſo two that were abſent, to wit, *Sopater* and *Deomenes*. Who being advertized of all matters that paſſed at *Syracuſe*, delivered up the Kings treaſure which lay in the Leontins country, and was now brought unto *Syracuſe*, into the hands of the Treaſurers: who for the ſame purpoſe were created. Likewiſe that which was in the Iſland, and in *Acradina*, was committed over unto their cuſtody. That part alſo of the wall, which divi-
F ded the Iſland from the reſt of the City, and was ſuppoſed too ſtrong a bar between, was by com-
mon conſent caſt down and raſed. And as their minds were thus affected and enclined to procure
and maintain liberty, ſo all other matters ſorted ſutable and followed after accordingly.

*Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, when tidings came of the Tyrants death (which *Hippocrates* would fain have had concealed, and therefore ſlew the meſſenger that brought news thereof) being for-
ſaken of the ſouldiers, returned to *Syracuſa*; ſuppoſing for the preſent, that to be the ſafeſt
courſe they could take. Where, becauſe they would grow into no ſuſpition, nor to be noted to ſeek
for ſome opportunity and occaſion of change and alteration in the State, firſt they preſented
themſelves before the Prætors and Governors of the City, and ſo by their mediation, they had
acceſs to the Senat. They gave out, "That they had been ſent from *Annibal* unto *Hieronymus*
G "as unto a friend and confederate, and had yielded obedience unto him, as they were willed by
"their own Generall and Commander. Now their deſire was, to return again unto *Annibal*. But
"foraſmuch as they might not travell in ſafety, for the Roman forces, that ranged all over
"*Sicily*, they craved a convoy and ſufficient guard to conduct them, as far as to *Locri* in *Sicily*:
"aſſuring them, that by this ſmall curteſie and deſert of theirs, they ſhould reap great thanks of
"*Annibal*, and come into high favour with him. The ſuit was ſoon obtained. For deſirous they
"were, that thoſe Cavalies that uſed to lead the King, and were expert and skilfull beſides in war,
"and therewith needy and audacious, ſhould be ſent away: but they made not ſo good ſpeed to

put this their desire in execution, as they should have done. For in the mean season, these young and lusty matiall men, and such as ever had conversed with the souldiers, went up and down, one while to them, another whiles to the fugitive strangers that were revolted, (who for the most part were sailers and sea men that came from the Romans) yea, and sorted themselves with the basest and most abject persons of the Commoners, spreading tales, and whispering into their ears sundry suspitious matters of crime against the Senators and great men of the Nobility, saying, that they plotted and practised closely under hand nothing else, but that *Syracusa*, under a colour of reconciliation and accord, should be reduced to the obedience of the *Romans*: and then, the side and faction and some few with them that are of councell to renew the association, might be Lords, and tyrannize over the rest. By this means there flocked multitudes, every day more than other to *Syracusa*: whose ears were tickled, and itched still to hear such surmises, and were apt enough to give credit thereto. And they gave not only *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, but *Andronodorus* also good hope of an alteration, and a new world. For he (being at length overcome with the importunate suggestions of his wife, who ever put into his head, That now was the only time to usurp and take upon him the rule of the State, whiles all things were troubled, and in a confusion, upon their new and unknown liberty; whiles the souldiers were presented in their way, to be dealt withall, and daily maintained and fed out of the Kings Exchequer; and whiles those captains sent from *Annibal*, by reason of their acquaintance with the souldiers, were present to set forword, and further his designments) first therefore acquainted *Themistius*, who had married *Gelo* his daughter, with his complot: and after a few daies (full unadvisedly) imparted his mind also, unto one *Aristo*, an Actor of Tragedies, whom he used aforetime to make privy unto his other secrets. This *Aristo* was well born, and descended of a worshipful house, a man in good place and of honest reputation: and his profession (for among the Greeks it is reputed no matter of shame to play either in Tragedies or Comedies) was no blot either to his birth, or disgrace to his calling: and therefore as one who made more reckoning of his duty to his country, than of private friendship, bewrayed & disclosed all the treason unto the Prætors. Who finding by good proofs and certain evidences that this was no forged and counterfeit information, after consultation had with the Ancients of the Council, by their warrant and direction, set a guard of armed men about the door of the Senat House, and so soon as *Themistius* and *Andronodorus* were entred in place, slew them outright. And when there began some uprore upon this fact, which in shew seemed very horrible and hainous (especially to all the rest that knew not the cause:) at length they appeased the tumult and caused silence, and brought the informer into the Council House, that had detected the intended treason: who declared all things orderly in particular: namely, that this conspiracy was devised and sprung first from the marriage of *Harmonia* the daughter of *Gelo*, who was wedded unto *Themistius*: that divers auxiliary souldiers of Affricans and Spaniards were appointed and provided to massacre the Prætors, and other principal Citizens: that their goods were promised unto the murderers to be ransacked and rifled: that besides, there was a band of mercenary souldiers (such as were wont to be at a beck, and ready to execute the commandment of *Andronodorus*) set in a readiness to seize the Island again, and keep it to his use. And when he had laid every thing abroad in order, with all circumstances, what the practises were and by whom they were to be performed and executed, and shewed before their eyes most plainly the whole conspiracy: & namely, what persons and what forces should have been employed. Then the whole body of the Senat were likewise verily perswaded that they had deserved such an end, and were as justly murdered as *Hieronymus*. But without the Councel-House door, the confused multitude, composed of all sorts of people who were doubtfull of the matter, and knew not what to make thereof, cried out. And albeit they menaced and threatned before the entry and porch of the Senat, yet at the sight of the dead bodies of the Conspirators, lying before their face, they were affrighted and soon husht: so as with great silence they followed the whole body of the Commons to the publike place of assembly. Unto whom, *Sopater*, by order from the Senat, and his fellow Prætors, was commanded to make an Oration.

*Sopater* his speech to the people of *Syracusa*.

He began formally to inveigh against *Andronodorus* and *Themistius*, (as they that accuse men at the bar) and ripped up their former life past, charging them with all the wicked deeds and impious facts, committed since the death of *Hiero*: "For what (quoth he) did *Hieronymus*, nay, "what could he do of himself, so long as he was but a child and stripling, and scarcely come all "the while he lived to have any hair on his face? His officers and guardians, were they that ruled "all, and managed the kingdom at their pleasures, but so, as the blame and heavy load lay upon "him. Who if they had perished either before *Hieronymus*, or at least wise together with him, they "had been but well enough served. But they, who long ago had deserved to die, and for whom the "gallows had already groned, ceased not still, after the death of the tyrant, to devise and plot new "mischiefs, one in the neck of another. At the first, openly in the sight of the world, *Andronodo-*"*rus* by shutting the gates of the Island, entred by way of inheritance upon the kingdom, and "sought to seize in his own right, and immediat heir apparant, upon those things that he held "under the Prince, only during his nonage. Afterwards, being betrayed by them that were in the "Island, & besieged round about by the whole City (which was possessed fully of the *Acradina*) "seeing that in vain he had attempted to be King by apert and open force; he sought means now "to aspire thereto secretly, and by cunning sleights. Neither could he be so much as reclaimed "and won by any favours and honours done unto him: who being himself a traitor to the free-

"dom

A "dom of the ſtate, was notwithſtanding advanced to be Prætor, among other redemers of the li-
"berty of their country. But no marvel it was (quoth he) that theſe men were of this haughty
"ſpirit, and longed to be Kings; for they had to their wives two princely dames, the daughters,
"one of King *Hiero*, and the other of his ſon *Gelo*.

At theſe words, the people from all parts of the aſſembly began to cry out with one voice, that neither of them both were worthy to live, nor any one beſides of the Kings ſtock and linage ought to remain upon the face of the earth. See the nature and diſpoſition of the multitude; Either they ſerve baſely, or rule proudly. Liberty that is the mean between, they have neither the
B skill to deſpiſe with reaſon, or the grace to entertain in meaſure. Now, there wanted not (ye may be ſure, as at all times elſe) ready inſtruments and firebrands, to help forward, and kindle more anger, ſuch, as ſeeing the Commoners diſtempered already, and bloudily minded of themſelves, put them forward to murder and maſſacre. As it appeared then; For immediatly, as the Prætors put up a bill, that all the Kings ſtock ſhould be rooted out, and the whole line utterly extinguiſhed: before in manner that it was all read out and publiſhed, it paſſed clear, and was granted. And preſently there were ſent out certain perſons from the Prætors, that murdered *Demarata* and *Harmonia* the daughters of King *Hiero* and *Gelo*, the two wives of *Andronodorus* and *Themiſtius*. Now there was another daughter of *Hiero*, named *Heraclea*, wife to *Soſippus*, who having been ſent as Embaſſador from *Hieronymus*, to King *Ptolomeus*, choſe a life in voluntary exile, and lived not with
C his wife. She having an inkling given her aforehand, and knowing that the murderers were coming alſo toward her, took her two daughters, virgins: and together, with their hair looſe hanging down their ſhoulders, and in other moſt poor array and rufull habit, able to have moved pity and compaſſion, they were fled into a privat Oratory or Chappell unto their houſe-gods, to ſave themſelves. The mother ſeeing the murtherers fell to entreating them moſt pitiouſly, and recommended unto them the late remembrance of her father *Hiero*, and her brother *Gelo*: "Beſeech- The pitifull words of dame *Heraclea*.
"ing them not to ſuffer her (an innocent and guiltleſs perſon) to fare the worſe, and be puniſhed
"upon hatred that was born unto her nephew *Hieronymus*. As for me (quoth ſhe) I reaped no
"good by his Reign and Kingdom, unleſs it were the baniſhment and abſence of my husband:
"and as by the life of *Hieronymus*, my fortune was not ſo good as my ſiſters; ſo after he was mur-
D "dred and dead, my cauſe is not ſo bad, nor like unto hers. Moreover, and beſides, in caſe *Andro-*
"*nodorus* had effected his deſignments, my ſiſter ſhould have been a Queen, and reigned together
"with her husband: but as for me, I muſt have been a ſubject and ſervant with the reſt. Again,
"if there were any meſſengers ſent unto *Soſippus*, to report the death of *Hieronymus*, and the re-
"ſtitution of *Syracuſe* to liberty: who can make doubt, but that forthwith he would be embar-
"ked and take the ſeas, and return again into his country? But how much are men put beſides
"their hope, and deceived of their expectation? And who would ever have thought to have ſeen
"in a freed ſtate his wife and children in danger to loſe their lives? For wherein do we hinder the
"common liberty, or the courſe of laws? What danger can come to any perſon from us, one de-
"ſolate lone woman, and in manner a widdow, and two young maidens livings as Orphans fa-
"therleſs? And if it be ſaid again that there was indeed no fear of hurt to be imagined from us;
E "but only the Kings bloud and kindred was odious in the eyes of the people: Then, quoth ſhe,
"let us be ſent away far from *Syracuſe* and *Sicily*, and confined over to *Alexandria*, the wife to
"her husband, the daughters to their own father. But when they would neither give ear to her words, nor encline their hearts to pity and compaſſion: then becauſe ſhe would not ſpend longer time in vain (for now ſhe ſaw ſome of them drawing their ſwords forth) ſhe gave over all entreating for her ſelf, "and beſought them inſtantly to be good yet, to the young ſilly girles, and
"ſpare their lives, unto whom being of that age, even the very enemies in their heat of anger for-
"bare to offer violence: and that ſeeing they were to be revenged of tyrants, they would not play
"the tyrants themſelves, and commit that wickedneſs, which they ſeemed to hate in others. A- The tragicall
midſt theſe words the murderers (ſent from the Prætors) pulled her forth of the inward and moſt murder of La-
F ſecret place of the chappell, and cut her throat: and when they had ſo done, they aſſailed and fell dy *Heraclea* and her two
upon the the maidens, beſprent with the bloud of their mother: who for ſorrow of heart and fear daughters,
together being paſt themſelves and out of their wits, and as it were in a furious fit of frenzy, ran young virgins.
againſt them, and got out of the Chappell: minding, if they could have eſcaped forth, and recovered the ſtreet, to ſet the whole City on an uprore. And ſo ſhifted for themſelves, poor wenches, by running to and fro within the houſe, (which was not large and ſpacious) that for a good while they eſcaped amongſt the thickeſt of ſo many armed men, and oftentimes avoided their reaches, and caught no hurt: yea, and when they had caught hold of them, notwithſtanding they were to ſtruggle with ſo many hands, and thoſe ſo ſtrong, yet they wound away from them all: untill at length after they had received many a wound, and filled every place with bloud, they fainted and
G ſunk down, and yielded up their innocent ſpirits. This murder, no dout, was of it ſelf pitious; but much more lamentable, by occaſion of a preſent accident. For ſtraight after came a meſſenger with expreſs commandment, to ſpare the women, and not to kill them: for that upon a ſudden the hearts of the people relented, and enclined to mercy. But when they heard there was ſo quick diſpatch made of execution, that neither they had time to bethink themſelves and repent, nor ſpace to cool upon their heat, they fell pity and compaſſion into an extream fit of anger and choler. The multitude thereupon began to mutter and murmur, and called to have an election of Prætors in the room of *Andronodorus* and *Themiſtius* (for they were both of them Prætors) which

new

new election was not like to fall out in the end to the good liking and contentment of the other H Prætors in place. So a day was set down, and proclaimed for this election. At which time, it happened that beyond all mens expectation, one from the farthest part of the assembly nominated *Epicides*: and then another from thence named *Hippocrates*. After which, the same voices came thick and threefold still, so as it seemed the multitude would wholly go that way. The people there assembled, were a confused sort intermingled, as well with a number of souldiers, as of a company of Citizens and Commoners; yea, and many of them were strangers fugitive, shuffled among, such as rather than their life desired a generall change and alteration. The Prætors at first dissembled all, and would seem to take no knowledge thereof: but thought it best to put off the matter to a farther day: yet overcome at last with the common accord and consent of the people: and I fearing withall a mutiny and sedition pronounced and declared the men aforenamed for Prætors. Neither would they, at first hand so soon as they were created, set that abroach which was in their mind and desire to effect: notwithstanding they were displeased and discontented much, both for that there had been Embassadors dispatched unto *Appius Claudius*, about a truce for ten daies: and also when it was obtained, that there were others addressed to treat for the renewing of the ancient league with the Romans.

At the same time (*Ap. Claudius*) the Roman Generall lay at *Murgantia* with an Armada of 100 gallies, waiting there to hear what was the event of the troubles which arose upon the murder of the tyrants: and how far forth men would proceed upon this their new and unwonted liberty. And much about those daies, when as the Syracusian Embassadors were sent from *Appius* unto K *Marcellus* now coming into *Sicilia*, *Marcellus* himself after he heard the conditions of peace, thought they would grow to some good agreement and conclusion in the end: and therefore sent other Embassadors to *Syracuse*, personally to debate and confer in the presence of the Prætors, concerning the renewing of the League aforesaid. But by that time, they found not the City in the same quiet tune and peaceable state. For *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, after news came that the Carthaginian Navy was arrived and rid at anchor under the bay of * *Pachinus*, confidently, and without all fear buzzed in the ears one while of the mercenary souldiers, another while of the fugitive traitors, many false surmises against their brethren in Office, and namely, that they went about to betray *Syracuse* to the Romans. But *Appius* began to keep his Armada at anchor in the very mouth of the river, listning to know what heart and hope they of the contrary faction had, L to effect that which they intended. Much credit was given (as it should seem) unto those slanders and lewd suggestions: insomuch as at the first, the multitude ran to the waters side in a great hurry and tumultuous manner to hinder their landing, if haply they attempted it. In this troublesome confusion of all things, it was thought good, that the people should meet together to deliberate what was best to be done. In which assembly, whiles some drew one way, others haled and pulled another way, and were at the point to mutine and grow to a sedition, *Apollonides*, one of the principall and chief Citizens, made a speech to very good purpose for preservation of the publike peace, and thus he said: "Never was there any City nearer, either to hope of assured safety, or to "fear of utter destruction than this of ours at this present. For if all would go one way together, "and with one accord either encline to the Romans, or bend to the Carthaginians, there were M "not a City under the cope of heaven, whose state were more happy and fortunate than ours. "But in case we de distracted, and the Common-weal go divers waies, there would not be more "bitter and cruell war between the Syracusians and the Romans, than among the Syracusians "themselves: when within one and the same walls, there should be banding one against another, "and each side have their forces, their armor, and their Cr Captains of their own. And therefore "we ought of all hands to endeavour what we can, that all may be of one mind and draw in the "same line. As for the main point now in question, Whether society and alliance be the better "and more commodious, the Romans or the Carthaginians, is a matter of far less moment and "importance than to be consulted and studied long upon. Howbeit, in choosing our friends and "allies, we are to be directed by the authority and act of *Hiero*, rather than of *Hieronymus*: and N "to prefer that amity which we have tried for fifty years in much felicity, above a friendship for "the present unknown, and sometime heretofore found unfaithfull. It maketh somewhat also, to "resolve upon this course, that in case we should deny peace and alliance to the Carthaginians, "we need not presently go to war with them: but with the Romans we must out of hand make "account either of peace, or else of hot wars. This speech of his the less that it savoured of factious partiality and affection, the more authority and sway it carried with it. And besides the deliberation of the Prætors and choice Senators, the advice also of the martiall men were taken. And therefore the Captains of all their own ensigns and companies, yea, and the great Commanders of the auxiliary forces of their allies were willing to sit in Council together with them. When the matter had been often debated, and much contention and hot words passed between, at the last, O because there appeared no colourable reason or cause to make war with the Romans, they agreed that a peace should be concluded, and that together with their Embassadors, there should be others also from them to ratifie and confirm the thing.

* *Porto Longobardo*, or *Cabo Passaro*.

The Oration of *Apollonides*, to the people of *Syracuse*.

There passed not many daies between, when out of the Leontins country there arrived certain Orators, to crave help and succour for the guard and defence of their marches. This Embassage seemed to come very fitly and in good time, for to exonerate and rid the City of the unruly and disordered multitude, & likewise to send out of the way their Captains and ringleaders.

So

So *Hippocrates* the Prætor was commanded to lead thither the fugitive ſtrangers. Many alſo of the mercenary ſouldiers, that were waged to help them in their wars, accompanied them: ſo as in all, the number amounted to four thouſand. This expedition and journey contented greatly as well the ſenders and ſetters of it out, as alſo the parties themſelves that were ſent forth. For theſe of the one ſide had a good occaſion and opportunity now offered them, to contrive a change in State (the only thing that ſo long they had deſired) and thoſe of the other, were right glad, that the ſink (as it were) of the City was now well ſcoured and voided away. But this was like the palliative cure of a ſore, and a lightning for the preſent of a ſick body: whereby it might ſoon after by relapſe fall back, as it were, into a recidive, and a worſe diſeaſe and more dangerous than the other. For *Hippocrates* began at firſt to make rodes by ſtealth into the confines bordering upon the Roman Province, and there to waſte & ſpoil: afterwards when *Appius* had ſent a power of men to defend the frontiers of his confederats, he charged with his whole power upon that guard that was oppoſed againſt him, and ſlew many of them. Whereof, when *Marcellus* was advertized, he diſpatched Embaſſadors incontinently to *Syracuſe*, to charge them with the breach of peace: and to give them to underſtand, that there would never be wanting ſome occaſion or other of quarrell and war, unleſs *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* were removed, and ſent far enough out of the way, not only from *Syracuſe*, but alſo quite out of *Sicily*. *Epicides* for fear leſt if he remained preſent in the City, he might be charged and brought in queſtion, for the fault and treſpaſs of his brother abſent, or be wanting for his part, in the raiſing of new war; went himſelf alſo in perſon into the Leontins country: and ſeeing them there forward enough of themſelves, and provoked already againſt the Romans, began alſo to alienate and turn their hearts from *Syracuſe*. For in theſe terms he ſuggeſted and informed againſt the Syracuſians: namely, "how they had capitulated with the "Romans, that all the Cities and Nations which were under the Kings, ſhould be ſubject unto "them and within their juriſdiction: ſo as now they cannot be content (quoth he) with their li"berty, unleſs they rule alſo like Lords and Kings. I would aviſe and counſell you therefore, to "ſend word unto them and give them to underſtand, that the Leontins likewiſe deem it good "reaſon, that they ſhould themſelves be free: in regard either that the tyrant was killed within the "ground of their City, or becauſe the firſt alarm for liberty began there. For they leaving and a"bandoning the Captains there that followed the King ran at once from thence to *Syracuſe*. And "therefore they are (ſaith he) to raſe that aforeſaid article out of the inſtrument of the covenants, "or not to accept at all of peace with that condition. Soon were the multitude perſwaded hereunto. And therefore when the Embaſſadors of the Syracuſians came to the Leontins, both to make complaint for killing of the Roman *Corps de guard*, and alſo to command peremptorily, that *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* ſhould depart either to *Locri*, or to what other place they would rather chuſe, ſo they went their waies and voided clean out of *Sicily*: they returned unto them this ſtout anſwer again: that neither the Syracuſians had any commiſſion and warrant from them, to make peace with the Romans in their name, neither would they be tied and obliged to any confederacy made by others than their own ſelves. This anſwer the Syracuſians made report of to the Romans, and ſaid plainly, "That the Leontins were not under their juriſdiction, to be ordered and "cenſured by them: and therefore, any thing compriſed in the league with them notwithſtanding, the Romans might war againſt them without breach of any covenant: and in that war they "would not for their parts fail them, but do their beſt: upon condition, that when they were once "ſubdued, they might be reduced again under their obedience, according to the covenant comprehended in the League. Whereupon *Marcellus* with his whole power went forth againſt the Leontins, and ſent for *Appius* alſo, to aſſail them on the other ſide: and ſo hot were his ſouldiers in this ſervice, and bare themſelves ſo reſolute, for anger that the guard was ſlain, during the time that there was treaty of peace between that at the very firſt aſſault they won the City. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, after they ſaw the wals ſcaled, and the gates of the City broken open, betook themſelves for their ſafety, with ſome few into the Caſtle, from whence by night they made a ſecret eſcape, and fled to *Herbeſus*.

As the Syracuſians marched from home with a power of eight thouſand armed men, and were come forward as far as to the river *Myla*, they met with a meſſenger, who told them that the City *Leontium* was forced. They reported other news beſides, as well lies as truths, one with another, namely, that townſmen and ſouldiers indifferently without reſpect were put to the ſword; that he thought verily, there was not left one alive of fourteen years of age and upward; that the City was put to the ſack, and all the rich mens goods were given away. At this ſo fearful and horrible news, the army ſtaid and went not forward. And when they all were greatly troubled, their Leaders *Soſis* and *Diomenes*, conſulted what to do. This loud lie aroſe not upon nothing, but was occaſioned by miſtaking of a matter. For there were ſcourged and beheaded of fugitive traitors to the number of two thouſand. But of Leontins and other ſouldiers, there was not one hurt after the City was loſt. And every man had all his own goods reſtored unto him again: ſaving that only which in the firſt hurlyburly of a City newly won, hapned to miſcarry and periſh. Howbeit upon this bare report, they neither could be induced to go forward to the Leontins, complaining and grieving that their fellow ſouldiers were ſo betrayed and murdered, nor yet to abide there ſtill for to expect and hear more certain tidings. The Prætors perceiving their minds diſpoſed to revolt, and yet hoping that this mutinous fit of theirs would not continue long, in caſe the Captains and heads of their fury and folly were once rid out of the way led the army to *Megara*: and went

them-

themſelves in perſon with a few horſemen toward *Herbeſus*, hoping to gain the City by treaſon, H whiles they all there were affrighted. But ſeeing that enterpriſe would not prevail, they minded to uſe forcible means. The morrow after they diſlodged and raiſed their Camp from *Megara*, purpoſing with all their forces to aſſail *Herbeſus*. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* ſuppoſing this to be the only way for them, although at the firſt ſight not the ſafeſt, (conſidering all hopes beſides were cut off) namely, to put themſelves into the hands of the ſouldiers, who were for the moſt part acquainted with them, and beſides, upon the bruit of the execution and maſſacre of their fellow ſouldiers, throughly chafed, went out to meet the army. The formoſt enſigns in the forefront, happed to conſiſt of thoſe ſix hundred Cretenſians, who in the wars of *Hieronymus* had ſerved under them, and received a favour and benefit at *Annibal* his hands. For being taken priſoners at *Thraſymenus*, I among other auxiliaries that came to aid the Romans, they were ſet at large and ſent away without ranſom. Whom when *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* knew by their colours, habit, and faſhion of their armour, they held out branches of olives and other vails and tokens of ſuppliants, beſeeching them humbly to receive them, and being once received, to vouchſafe to protect them, and not to deliver them into the hands of the Syracuſians: by whom they ſhould ſoon be yielded unto the people of *Rome*, for to be murdred and cut in peeces. At this they all cryed aloud with one voice, and willed them to be of good chear, for they ſhould fare no worſe than their own ſelves. Upon this communication the enſigns ſtaid, and the army ſtood ſtill and marched not forward: but the generall Captains wiſt not as yet what the cauſe might be of this ſtay. After the rumour was ſpread that *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* were come, and that all the hoſt throughout by a generall applauſe K ſeemed to like well of their coming: the Prætors incontinently ſet ſpurs to horſe, and rode forward apace to the foreſront of the vanguard, demanding of the Cretenſians, what manner and faſhion this was of theirs? and how they durſt be ſo bold, as to parl and talk with enemies? and without licenſe of their Prætors to entertain them within their companies? And herewith they gave commandment, that *Hippocrates* ſhould be apprehended and bound ſure with chains. At which word the Cretenſians ſet up ſuch a cry, and the reſt ſo anſwered it again with the like, that it was well ſeen, in caſe they had proceeded forward as they began, they ſhould have incurred themſelves no ſmal danger. And thus in great perplexity, and fear of their own lives, they commanded to turn enſigns, and retire unto *Megara*, from whence they came; and diſpatched meſſengers preſently to *Syracuſe*, to ſignifie in what terms they ſtood. *Hippocrates* ſeeing the ſouldiers gi- L ven to be ſuſpitious and ready to beleeve every thing, deviſed a cunning ſhift beſides in this manner. After he had ſent out certain of the Cretenſians to beſet the waies between them and *Syracuſe*, he pretended that they had intercepted ſome letters from thence, which he read unto the ſouldiers, and were indeed framed and indited by himſelf. The tenor of the letters ran in this form: "The Prætors of *Syracuſe*, to *M. Marcellus* their friend, greeting. After theſe ſalutations and com- "mendations premiſed, as the manner is it followed written thus: you have done well and or- "derly in ſparing none at all of the Leontins. But all other mercenary ſouldiers beſides are in the "ſame Predicament: neither will *Syracuſe* be ever in quiet, ſo long as any forrain aid be either in "the City, or in your army. And therefore our advice and counſell is, that you would endeavour "to get them into your hands, who with our Prætors are encamped before *Megara*, and by exe- M "cution of them to deliver and ſet *Syracuſe* free in the end.

The contents of theſe letters were not ſo ſoon read, but with ſuch an outcry and alarm they ran to their weapons on all hands, that the Prætors amidſt this garboil were fain to ride away as faſt as they could gallop toward *Syracuſe*. But although they were fled, the mutiny nevertheleſs continued and was not appeaſed: for the ſouldiers fell upon the Syracuſians that were in the camp amongſt them, and they had all drank of the ſame cup, and not one eſcaped, but that *Epicides* and *Hippocrates* came between, and oppoſed themſelves againſt the multitude in this their furious rage not upon any pitifull compaſſion that was in them, or regard of common humanity, but becauſe they would not cut themſelves from all hope of return: and beſides, they were not only deſirous to have the ſouldiers themſelves affectionate unto them and faithfull, and withall inſtead N of hoſtages: but alſo purpoſed, by this ſo great deſert, firſt to gain and win unto them the kinſfolk and friends of thoſe ſouldiers, and afterwards to oblige and bind them faſt by ſo good a pawn and gage, remaining ſtill among them. And having good experience, with how ſmall a puff and gale of wind the common people turneth every way, they ſuborned a ſouldier, one of them who was beſieged within the City of *Leontium*, to carry news to *Syracuſe*, ſuting with thoſe faiſe tidings that were reported at the river *Myla*: yea, and to aver the ſame confidently upon his own knowledge, and tell things that were doubtfull, as if they were moſt certain, and by himſelf ſeen and known: thereby to ſtir up men to anger and indignation. This fellow was not only credited of the common multitude, but alſo being brought into the Council-Houſe, he greatly moved the Senat: inſomuch as ſome of them, more light of beliefe than others, gave it out openly and ſaid, O "That it was happy, that the avarice and cruelty of the Romans was thus diſcovered among the "Leontins. And god bleſs us from them here. For if they ſet foot once within *Syracuſe*, they "would commit the like outrages, yea, and worſe too a great deal, and more horrible; as they "ſhould find there greater matter to work upon, and to ſatisfie their covetous and greedy appe- "tite to the full. Whereupon they agreed in generall, to ſhut the gates, and to ſtand upon their guard, and defend the City. But they all feared not alike, nor hated the ſame perſons. For the martiall men, in a manner every one, and a great part of the common people abhorred the name of the

Romans:

A Romans: the Prætors, and ſome few of the principal Citizens, albeit they were in the huff, and poſſeſſed with the falſe report aforeſaid, yet they had more regard to provide for a miſchief that was more imminent and near, and ready preſently to fall upon their heads. And now by this time *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* were come before *Hexapylos*. Within the City, the kinſfolk and friends of thoſe Citizens whith were in the army, drew together in conventicles, conferred among themſelves to ſet the gates open, and agreed to have the common country of them all, to be defended againſt the violence of the Romans. Now, when one only wicket of *Hexapylos* was opened, and they ready to enter in thereat, the Prætors came upon them in the manner. And firſt they com-
B manded by word of mouth, and threatned them; after that, by vertue of their place and authority they ſeemed to fright and terrifie them: and laſt of all, ſeeing nothing could prevail, forgetting their own dignity and majeſty of their calling, they fell to pray and entreat them not to betray their country to thoſe, who aforetime were the inſtruments and ſuppoſts of the Tyrant, and now the corrupters of the army. But ſo deaf ear gave all the multitude in this their rage and furious fit unto the Prætors, that they within, as well as without, ſet their hands to, by all forcible means, to burſt down the gates, and ſo when they were all broken open, the army was let in ſafe, and received within the *Hexapylos*. The Prætors fled for refuge with the youth and ſtrength of the Citizens into *Acradina*. The mercenaries, the fugitives, and all the ſouldiers that were left in *Syracuſa* (of them who ſerved the King) joyned to the army, and augmented their forces. And
C ſo *Acradina* alſo, was upon the firſt aſſault won. All the Prætors, but thoſe that eſcaped by flight, and ſaved themſelves in the midſt of this hurry, were ſlain: and the night coming upon them, ſtaid the maſſacre. The day following, all bondſlaves were called to receive the cap, and made free: the priſons were ſet open, and the priſoners let go at large. And this confuſed rabble and multitude of all ſorts created *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* Prætors. And thus *Syracuſe*, having for a ſhort time liberty ſhining favourably upon it, fell again into her old ſervitude.

When news hereof came to the Romans, incontinently they diſlodged and removed the camp from *Leontium*, and marched directly towards *Syracuſe*. It hapned the ſame time that the Embaſſadors ſent from *Appius* by the way of the haven, were embarked in a galleace of five banks of oars: but another galley of four banks which was ſent before, was not ſo ſoon entred into the
D mouth of the harbour, but it was taken: and the Embaſſadors hardly, and with much ado eſcaped in the other. And now, the world there was grown to this paſs, that no laws of peace, no, nor ſo much as the very laws of arms were obſerved, but broken clean: at what time as the Roman army lay in camp a mile and an half from the City, at *Olympium*, the Temple of *Jupiter*. For when it was thought meet to ſend Embaſſadors from thence, *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* with their followers encountred them without the gate, and charged them upon their perill not to enter the City. The Roman Orator alledged, and ſaid, "That he came not to proclaim war againſt the Syracuſi-
"ans, but to bring aid and help, as well unto thoſe, who having eſcaped out of the midſt of the
"ſlaughter fled unto the Roman Camp, as alſo unto them, who being kept under with fear, en-
"dure bondage and thraldom more miſerable than baniſhment, yea, and death it ſelf. Neither will
E "the Romans (ſaith he) put up that ſhamefull and cruell murder of their Allies without due re-
"venge. And therefore, if thoſe perſons who were fled for ſuccour unto them, may return home
"ſafely into their country: if the authors of that maſſacre aboveſaid, be delivered into their hands:
"and if the Syracuſians may enjoy again their liberty, together with their laws, there ſhall not
"need any hoſtility or war. But in caſe theſe conditions be not performed, they would perſecute
"with fire and ſword, all ſuch as ſhall hinder and ſtand againſt the ſame, whoſoever.

To this *Epicides* framed his words in this wiſe: "If (ſaith he) ye had any meſſage and commiſ-
"ſion to parl with my brother and me, we would return you an anſwer accordingly. In the mean
"while ye were beſt be gone for this time, and return again when the City and ſtate of Syra-
"cuſe ſhall be under their governance, unto whom ye were ſent. As for war, if the Romans think
"it good to deal that way, they ſhall find and know by experience, try when they would, that it is
F "one thing to aſſail *Syracuſa*, and another to ſet upon *Leontium*. And ſo leaving the Embaſſadors,
"he made the gates faſt againſt them.

From this time forward the Romans laid ſiege unto *Syracuſe*, and began to beleaguer it both by ſea and land at once. On the land ſide at *Hexapylos*, by water at *Acradina*, upon the walls whereof the ſea beateth. And like as they won the City of the Leontins, by terrifying them at the firſt aſſault, and therefore diſtruſted not, but that they ſhould force and enter this alſo, one ſide or other, being ſo large and vaſt as it was, not compact, but built ſo ſcattering, one part far aſunder from another, they approached with all their fabricks, engins, and ordnance of battery againſt the walls. Which enterpriſe of theirs, ſo reſolutely begun, and ſo hotly and forcibly followed, had ſped well and taken effect, if one man at that time had not been in *Syracuſe*, *Archimedes* was he, a ſingu-
G lar Aſtronomer. A rare man for contemplation and beholding the ſky with the Planets, and other ſtars therein fixed: but a more wonderfull engineir for deviſing and framing of artillery, ordnance, fabricks, and inſtruments of war, whereby he would with very little ado, and at eaſe, check and fruſtrate all the inventions which the enemies with ſo great difficulty had prepared for to give the aſſault. This cunning artificer and admirable workman had planted engins of all ſorts upon the curtain of the wall, which ſtood on certain hills, and thoſe not of even height: and having for the moſt part high places that yielded hard acceſſe, and ſome other low again, whereunto men might come on even & plain ground, he fitted and furniſhed every place accordingly. Now *Mar-*

*cellus*

*cellus* from out his gallies of five ranks of oars, assaulted the wall of *Acradina*, which (as is above-H
said) is washed and dashed upon, with the sea. And from the other gallies, the archers, slingers,
yea, and the light armed darters (called *Velites*) whose javelins are of that fashion, that they be
unhandsome to be lanced back again (by those that have not the cast and skill of it) so assailed the
defendants, that they hardly suffered any one to stand upon the walls without hurt and danger;
These I say kept their gallies far distant fron the wall, because archers and darters had need of some
space and compass to lance and let drive their shot. But unto the gallies of five course of oars,
there were adjoyned other two of either side: for which purpose the oars within were taken a-
way that they might close larboord to starboord and so be coupled one unto the other. And thus
being rowed as one entire gally, by the help of the utmost oars without, they carried upon I
them platforms of timber, framed with floores and lofts of planks, and other engins and instru-
ments within them to batter and shake the walls. Against this artillery from the gallies, *Archi-*
*medes* bestowed and disposed upon the walls counter-engins of sundry sizes, some greater, some
smaller. Against those gallies that were furthest off he weighed and discharged stones of exce-
ding main weight and those that were nearer he annoyed with lighter bullets, but those he shot
far thicker upon them. And last of all, to the end that his own Citizens might, without taking
harm, make a counter-battery against the enemies, and so annoy them, he caused certain barba-
cans or loop-holes almost a cubit deep to be pierced through the walls, and to stand thick from
the foot the eof, to the parapet; and all to flank the enemy, through which overtures, they with-
in shot closely against the enemies some arrows out of bows, some quarrels out of scorpions and K
brakes of mean and indifferent bigness. And against those gallies, which approached more close
and near under the wals (because they would be within the shot, and that they within might carry
and levell over them) he devised a crane or swipe to be planted aloft upon the walls, having at
the one end, which hung over the sea, a drag or grapling hook of iron like an hand, fastned thereto
with a strong chain: which took hold upon the prow of a galley, and when the heavy counter-
poise of lead at the other end weighed it down to the ground, and therewith drew with it the
prow up on high, whiles it hung thus aloft in the air, the galley stood in a manner endlong upon
the poop. And then the swipe being let go again all at once suddenly with a sway, dashed the gal-
ley tumbling (as it were) down from the top of the wall, with such a swinge and violence against
the water (to the exceeding fear of the mariners) that if it had faln directly downright upon the L
keel, yet needs it must have received good store of water into it. Thus all their provision for as-
sault by the sea-side, was deluded and made void: and then they turned their whole forces from
thence, to give assault by land. But even that part of the wall likewise, was as well furnished with
all manner of engins and ordnance, provided at the great charge of *Hiero*, and by his carefull fore-
cast for many years together: but devised and framed by the artificial cunning and skill only of *Ar-*
*chimedes*. Besides, the naturall scituation of the ground was a great help: for that the rock, upon
which the foundations of the wall stand, is for the most part so steep and bending forward, that
not only the shot levelled out of an engine, but also whatsoever was but rolled & tumbled down,
with the very own weight and poise, came with a great force & violence upon the enemy. Which
foresaid cause made the assailants to have difficult climing up, and as unstedfast footing and kee- M
ping of their hold. Whereupon they went to counsel. And considering well, that all their attempts
and enterprizes were thus deluded and mocked by the enemy: it was thought good to give over
assault, and only by long and continuall siege, to cut them off from all victuals both by land and
sea. In the mean while *Marcellus* with one third part (well near) of the army, went forth in expe-
dition, to recover again those Cities, which taking occasion upon these troubles, were revolted to
the Carthaginians. And he gained *Pelorus* and *Herbesus*, which yielded on their own accord. As
for *Megara*, which he won by assault, he rased it down to the ground, and sacked it, to the fearfull
example of the rest and especially of the Syracusians.

And much about that time, *Himilco* also, who had a long time rid in the Bay of the Cape *Pa-*
*chynus* with his Armado disbarked and set aland at *Heraclea* (which they call *Minoa*) 25000 foot- N
men, 3000 horsemen, and twelve Elephants. He had not all this power of men when he lay with
his fleet under *Pachinus*. For after that *Hippocrates* had taken and held the possession of *Syracusa*,
he went to *Carthage*, where being sent unto both by Embassadors frgm *Hippocrates*, and also by
letters from *Annibal* (who moved him and remonstrances, That now the time was come to re-
cover *Sicily* again with much honour and glory: and being himself there present in person no bad
sollicitor by word of mouth to further and follow the cause) he easily perswaded the Carthagini-
ans and prevailed that as great a power both of horse and foot as might possibly be raised, should
pass over into *Sicily*. Being arrived at *Heraclea*, within few daies after *Agrigentum* was delivered
up into his hands. And all other Cities, which had banded and taken part with the Carthaginians,
were put in so good hope to drive the Romans out of *Sicily*: that even they who were besieged O
within *Syracuse*, to take heart unto them; and were so in their ruff, that supposing part of their
forces sufficient enough to defend their City, they parted between them the charge and managing
of the whole war in this manner: That *Epicides* should remain behind for the guard and defence
of the City, and *Hippocrates* joyn with *Himilco*, and war joyntly against the Romans. He with
10000 foot, and 500 horse, set out by night: and passed between the *Corps de guard*, where none
at all warded, and encamped about the *Acerræ*. As they were fortifying their Camp, *Marcellus*
came upon them as he retired back from *Agrigentum*, possessed now by the adverse part: whither
he

A he had made great haſte, but in vain, in hope to prevent his enemies, and get thither afore: but little thought he (and nothing leſs) than in his return from thence, at that time and in that place, to meet with an army of Syracuſians that ſhould make head againſt him. Howbeit, for fear of *Himilco* and the Carthaginians, whom he knew to be abroad, and with whom he was not able to make his part good with that power which he had about him, he marched as circumſpectly as he could, having his eye on every ſide, and led his army in good order of battell againſt all occurrences whatſoever might happen by the way. And ſo as good hap was, that carefull forecaſt and diligence, which he was provided with againſt the Carthaginians, ſerved him in very good ſtead againſt the Sicilians. Finding them therefore buſie in pitching their tents, without order, and ſcat-
B tered aſunder, and moſt of them unarmed, he environed ſoon all the Infantry that they had, and put them to the ſword. But the Cavalry after a ſlight skirmiſh begun, fled with their leader *Hippocrates* to *Acræ*. *Marcellus* after he had by his flight repreſſed and kept in the Sicilians, who were at hand to fall away and revolt unto the Romans, returned to *Syracuſe*: and after ſome few daies, *Himilco* joyned with *Hippocrates*, and encamped about eight miles from thence, upon the river *Anatis*.

Likewiſe about the ſame time, or very near, it hapned that 55 war-ſhips of the Carthaginians, under the conduct of *Bomilcar*, Admirall of the Armado put into the great haven of *Syracuſe* out of the deep and main ſea: and alſo the Roman fleet of thirty Gallies, with five ranks of oars, arrived at *Panormus*, and landed the firſt Legion there: and thus the war was turned and diverted
C from *Italy*. So wholly ſeemed both nations, as well Romans as Carthaginians, amuſed upon nothing now but *Sicily*. *Himilco* making full account to prey upon the Roman Legion which was ſet a land at *Panormus*, as they ſhould come to *Syracuſe*; miſſed of the right way to meet with them: for he marched and led his power far within land higher in the country, but the Legion coaſted along by the ſea ſide, accompanied as it were with the fleet which flanked them: and came to *Pachinus* unto *Appius Claudius*, who with part of his forces went out to meet them on the way. But the Carthaginians made no long ſtay about *Syracuſe*. For *Bomilcar* having ſmall truſt and confidence in his ſhips, conſidering that the Romans were coming toward him with a fleet, and were twice as many in number: and withall ſeeing, that by ſojourning there, he did no other good but with his company impoveriſh and eat out his friends, ſpred and hoiſed up ſail, and with a merry
D wind paſſed over into *Affrick*. *Himilco* alſo, who had dogged and followed after *Marcellus* in vain as far as *Syracuſe*, to eſpy ſome good opportunity and vantage to bid him battell, before he joyned with a greater power: ſeeing that he was hereof diſappointed, and the enemy lying about *Syracuſe* ſafe and ſecure, as well in regard of their fortifications as their forces: becauſe he would not ſpend any longer time to no purpoſe in ſitting there ſtill, to look upon their Allies how they were beſieged, he diſlodged and removed from thence: attending, whereſoever there were any hope and likelihood of revolt from the Romans, thither to come with his army, and ſhew himſelf in perſon, to encourage and animate by his preſence thoſe that favoured his part. And firſt he recovered *Murgantia*, where the Roman garriſon was betrayed by the inhabitants, and delivered unto his hands. Into which City the Romans had conveyed great ſtore of corn, victuall, and pro-
E viſion of all ſorts. Upon this revolt, other Cities alſo took heart unto them, and the Roman garriſons were either thruſt and driven out of the Caſtles and Fortreſſes, or elſe were treacherouſly betrayed, ſurpriſed, and deſtroyed.

The City *Ænna*, ſeated upon an high hill, and on every ſide inacceſſible as it was by naturall ſituation of the ground impregnable, ſo it had a ſtrong garriſon within the Caſtle, and a Captain of that garriſon, one, that was not ſo eaſie to be compaſſed and over-raught by deceitfull trains. His name was *Pinarius*, a witty man, and hardy withall, who repoſed more truſt in his own diligence to prevent, that he might not poſſibly be deceived, than in the truth and faith of the Sicilians. And at this time more than ever before, he ſtood upon his guard, and took heedfull care of himſelf and his charge, by occaſion that he heard of ſo many treacheries and treaſons, ſo many revolts
F of Cities, and maſſacres of garriſons: and therefore as well by day as night, he looked that the Caſtle was well provided and furniſhed of good watch and ward continually, & the ſouldiers never departed from their armour nor their appointed place. Which when the chief Citizens of *Ænna* perceived, who already had covenanted with *Himilco*, and promiſed to betray the fort and the garriſon: and ſaw that the Roman Captain was ſo wary, that he lay not open unto the opportunity of any fraudulent and guilefull courſe, they reſolved by apert and open means to effect this their deſigned enterpriſe. They alledged therefore unto *Pinarius*, "That the City and Caſtle "both ought to be in their power, ſince that they entred into leagne and amity with the Romans "as freemen, and were not yielded as ſlaves to be kept in dureſs and priſon. Reaſon would there-"fore, and meet it was (as they thought) that all the keys of the gates were delivered unto them.
G "With good and truſty allies, their own faith and truth is the ſureſt bond. And no doubt, the "people and Senate of *Rome* would con them greater thank, and eſteem more dearly of them, if "ſo be they of themſelves, not by conſtraint, but of willing mind, would abide and continue in "their ſound allegeance and faſt friendſhip. *Pinarius* made anſwer again, "That he was by his "General placed there Captain of the garriſon: at his hands he received the keys of the gates, and "the Conſtableſhip of the Caſtle, and the ſame to hold and keep neither at his own will, nor at "the pleaſure of the men of *Ænna*, but at his diſpoſition, who ſealed him his Commiſſion. Now "for a Captain to abandon his fort (quoth he) is a capital crime among the Romans, by vertue of

"a law, which our fathers themselves have confirmed, even by the exemplary punishment & death H
"of their own children, who have transgressed the same. And seeing the Consul *Marcellus* is not
"far off, ye may, if it please you, send your Embassadors unto him, of whom you may be certified,
"under whose power, commandment, and government I am." Tush, say they, we will never send
"unto him. But if words and reasons may not prevail we will work some other means to reco-
*Pinarius* his speech to his souldiers. "ver our liberty again. Then quoth *Pinarius* to them, If ye think much to address your messen-
"gers to the Consul, yet do me this favour, as to call a Common Councill of the people for my
"sake, that I may know whether these demands proceed from some few, or from the whole
"body of the City. So it was accorded and agreed, that a generall assembly should be proclaimed
against the morrow. Then *Pinarius* after that he was departed from this parly, returned into the I
fortress, and calling his souldiers together, spake unto them in this wise: "I suppose ye have heard
"already (my souldiers) in what sort the Roman garrisons have, these daies past, been betrayed
"and murdred by the Sicilians. That treachery hitherto ye have avoided and escaped; first & prin-
"cipally through the goodness of the gods: next and immediatly by your own valour and pro-
"wess, & by continuall watch & ward, standing in your armor both day & night. And I would to
"God ye might pass as well the time to come, without falling into this hard choice either to en-
"dure and suffer such horrible mischief: or to execute and commit a fearfull example of cruelty.
"This intended treason of theirs hath been carried and conveyed closely and cautelously all this
"while, & seeing they cannot as yet meet with any advantage to surprise us, they would seem now
"openly and without dissimulation, to demand for to have all the keys of the gates under their K
"hands. Which we should not so soon part with & render unto them, but presently *Ænna* would
"turn to the Carthaginians, and more cruelly should we here be murdered and hewn in pee-
"ces, than the garrison was at *Murgantia*. Much ado I had to obtain of them respit of this ore
"night to take further counsel: that I might advertise you of the present danger, wherein both I &
"you stand. To morrow morning by day-light, they purpose to hold a solemn assembly of the
"people, and to make a speech unto them, to accuse me, and to stir them up against you. And
"to morrow is the day that the City *Ænna* shall overflow either with the blood of you, or of the
"Inhabitants. And be ye well assured, that as ye shall lose all that you have if they surprise you:
"so in case you prevent them and begin the fray there shall no peril at all betide you. Look who
"first laieth hand on his sword and draweth it, he shall carry away the victory clear. Therefore yeL
"must be there prest in your armor, and attentive to expect a signal from me. I my self will be
"present in the assembly, and with parling and debating temporise and draw out the time until
"ye be all in readiness and every thing in order. And so soon as I shall give you a sign with my
"gown, then let me hear you set up an outcry, then let me see you fall upon the multitude: down
"with them and spare not, and put them all to the sword. See in any case there be not one of them
"escape your hands and remain alive, from whom ye may fear any harm, either by fraud or
"force. And now I beseech thee O Dame *Ceres*, and thy daughter *Proserpina*, and all other gods
"in heaven above, or in hell beneath, who inhabit this City, these holy lakes and sacred grores,
"wherein ye are honoured and worshipped, to vouchsafe to be propice and favourable unto us;
"in case we enter into this action and enterprise, for the avoiding of treachery intended against M
"us, and not to offer mischief unto other: and not otherwise. I would use more words unto you
"my friends and souldiers, for to animate and encourage you, if it were that you had to deal
"with men in arms: but since they are naked unarmed, & unwarned, you shall kill and slay them
"at your pleasure, and satisfie your selves with their blood. And to the end that you need not fear
"any harm from *Himilco* and the Carthaginians, loe the Consul himself lieth encamped near
"at hand. After this exhortation they were dismissed, to take their refection and rest. The next
day, they were bestowed in sundry parts of the City, some to beset all the streets; others to stop
the passages and the waies against the townsmen, that they might not escape. But the most of
them stood upon and about the Theatre, and were nothing suspected as being used heretofore to
behold and see the assemblies of the people. The Roman Captain *Pinarius* was by the Magistrates N
brought forth and presented before the people: where he pleaded, That it lay not in his hands but
in the power and authority of the Consul, to dispose of that which they demanded: and he ite-
rated for the most part the same allegations that he shewed the day before. At first they began
gently, some few by little and little; afterwards more and more of them, required him to deliver
up the keys; and so consequently all with one voice, charged and commanded him so to do: and
when he seemed to make some stay and defer the matter, they menaced and threatned fiercely, yea,
and seemed as if they would no longer forbear but proceed to extream violence. Then the Captain
made a sign with his robe, according to the former agreement: and with that the souldiers who
had their eyes upon him, waiting wistly for the signall and were ready for execution, set up a loud
cry and ran some from aloft upon the multitude assembled over against them; others stood thick O
at every corner of the Theatre, where the people should go forth, and opposed themselves against
them. Thus the men of *Ænna*, shut up and penned within the Theatre were massacred and lay
tumbled one upon other; not they only that were killed, but such also as fled one over anothers
head: the sound fell upon the wounded, the quick upon the dead, one with another, by heaps.
Then there was running from thence sundry waies, and as if the City had been taken upon assault
by the enemy, there was nothing but murdering and flying away in every place. And as hot and fu-
rious were the souldiers in the execution of this unarmed multitude (whom they judged wor-
thily

A thily and justly to be killed) as if like danger presented unto them, or choler raised in set battel had provoked them thereto. Thus *Ænna* was held still for the Romans by this means: were the deed simply ill, or by circumstance needfull and necessary; *Marcellus* misliked not of the fact & granted the pillage of the Citizens of *Ænna* to the souldiers: supposing that the Sicilians throughly frighted by this fearfull example would betray no more garrisons. The calamity and hard fortune of this City, (standing, as it did, in the very heart of *Sicily*) was in one day divulged and noised thoughout the Island, from one end to the other. And otherwise, a famous and renowned town it was, either for the natural situation so exceeding strong: or because all places in it were accounted sacred and holy, in remembrance of *Proserpina*: who in times past left her footing & traces there at
B what time as she was stoln away & ravished [by *Pluto*.] Now it was generally thought by the Sicilians, that this cursed and detestable massacre had defiled and polluted not only the habitations of men, but also the temples of the gods: whereupon even they likewise, who stood but doubtful and indifferent before, fell now away from the Romans, and turned to the Carthaginians.

Then *Hippocrates* retired to *Murgantia*, and *Himilco* to *Agrigentum*: who were sent for by the conspirators and traitors within *Ænna*, and approached with their forces, but to no purpose. *Marcellus* returned to the Leontins country: and after he had brought into the Camp corn and other victuals, and left there a mean guard, he presented himself to the siege that lay before *Syracuse*. And when he had sent *Appius Claudius* to *Rome* to sue for the Consulship, he committed the charge in his room of the Armado there, and the old leaguer unto *T. Quintius Crispinus*. Himself
C erected and fortified his wintring harbours five miles from *Exapylos*, at a place which men call *Leontia*. And these were the affairs of *Sicily* unto the beginning of winter.

In the same summer the war began likewise with King *Philip* which long before had been suspected. For there came Embassadors from *Oricum* to *M. Valerius* the Prætor Admiral of the fleet, for the defence of *Brundusium*, and the sea-coast thereabout of *Calabria*, and made report that *Philip* first assayed to win *Apollonia*, and was come up the river with one hundred and twenty light gallies, or foists with two ranks of oares against the stream: and afterwards, seeing he could not effect his purpose so speedily as he hoped, privily by night he approached with his army to *Oricum*: and that the City, situate upon a plain, neither strongly fenced with walls nor well manned with souldiers, nor yet furnished with armor and munition, was at the first assault surprised
D and won. And as they recounted these news, so they besought him to grant aid and succour: and to make head against this undoubted enemy of the Romans, either by Land or forces at Sea, and to chase him away from them: who for no other reason were by him assailed, but because they were neer neighbors to *Italy*. *M. Valerius* leaving the guard of that place to *L. Valerius* his Lieutenant General, with a fleet of ships well rigged, furnished & appointed: and having embarked these souldiers (which the gallies for war would not receive) in the merchants ships of burden, arrived at *Oricum* on the second day after: and finding that City kept with a small and slight garrison, which *Philip* when he departed from thence had left there, recovered it without much resistance. Thither repaired to him embassadors from *Apollonia*, who brought word that they were besieged, because they refused to revolt from the Romans: and were not able to hold out any longer against
E the forcible attempts of the Macedonians, unless a garrison of Romans were sent unto them. He promised to effect whatsoever they desired, and so shipped a thousand elect and choice souldiers in gallies, and sent them to the mouth of the river, under the conduct of a Captain of Allies *Nævius Crispus*, an industrious man, and an expert souldier. He having landed his men, and sent the gallies back to *Oricum* (from whence he came) to the rest of the Armado, conducted his souldiers higher in the country, far from the river side, by a way that was not beset nor held by the Kings forces: and in the night-season, unawares to all the enemies, entred the City. The day following they rested, only the Captain took a survey of the youth and able men of *Apollonia*, of their armor and the munitions and forces of the City. When he had seen and perused all, thereupon he was well appaid and encouraged to fight, and withall he had learned by the scouts and spies, how retchless,
F idle, and negligent the enemies were without. So at midnight he went forth of the City without any noise, and entred the Camp of the enemies so carelesly guarded as it was, and lying so open: that by credible report, there were above one thousand men got within the trench and rampier, before that any one was ware thereof: and if they had held their hands, and not fain to killing, they might have passed on still even as far as to the Kings Pavilion. But by reason that they slew the warders next the gates, the enemies were raised: whereupon, they were all so frighted and terrified that not only there was never a souldier took weapon in hand, and went about to repulse the enemy out of the Camp: but even the King himself, half naked as he was, and newly wakened out of his sleep, clad in simple apparell, scarce decent for a common souldier, much less I wot, for a King, was fain to run toward the river side to his ships. Thither also the other multitude fled dis-
G ordered in heaps. There were not many under three thousand either slain or taken prisoners in the camp. Yet there were more by odds of the enemies taken than killed. In the rifling of the camp the Apollonians met with *Catapults* and *Balists*, and other engins provided for the assault of the City, which they conveighed all to *Apollonia*, to serve for defence of their walls against the like occasion of needfull service. All the booty besides of the camp was granted unto the Romans.

Tidings hereof being come to *Oricum*, *M. Valerius* presently set forth the Armado as far as to the mouth of the river, that the King might not flie away and escape by sea with his ships: whereupon *Philip* distrusting his power as well by sea as shore, and doubting he was not able to match

the Romans, drew up ſome of his ſhips to land, ſet fire upon the reſt, and ſo by land went into *Macedony*, with a great part of his ſouldiers diſarmed and ſpoiled. The Roman fleet wintered at *Oricum* with *M. Valerius*. H

The ſame year in *Spain* the affairs went variably on both ſides. For before that the Romans paſſed over the river *Iberus*, *Mago* and *Aſdrubal* deſeated a mighty hoſt of Spaniards, ſo as, all the farther part of *Spain* had faln from the Romans, but that *P. Cornelius* made haſte to tranſport his army over *Iberus*, and came in good time to ſettle the wavering and doubtfull minds of the allies. At the firſt the Romans encamped at * *Caſtrum Album*, a place memorable for the death of great *Amilcar*. The Caſtle was well fortified, and thither afore they had conveyed corn. But becauſe all thoſe quarters thereabout were full of enemies, and ſundry times their Cavalry had charged the Roman footmen, and gone clear away without any harm, whereby there had been ſlain at times upon two thouſand of them, which either made ſmall haſte away, and ſtaid behind, or ſtraggled looſely over the fields: the Romans departed from thence, nearer unto places of more ſecurity and peace, and fortified themſelves in camp upon the mount of *Victoria*. Thither came *Cn. Scipio* with all his forces, and likewiſe *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſgo*, the third Captain of the Carthaginians, with a full army. And they all encamped beyond the water, over againſt the fort of the Romans aboveſaid. *P. Scipio*, accompanied with certain light armed ſouldiers, was gone out cloſely to diſcover and take view of the places thereabout: howbeit, not ſo covertly, but he was eſpied by the enemies, and (no doubt) they had put him to a ſhrewd foil in the open plain champian, but that he took a little hill thereby for his vantage. Where he was environed and beſet round about: but by the coming of his brother *Cneus*, he was delivered out of that danger. I K

* chaſteau haut.

*Caſtulo*, a famous and ſtrong City in *Spain*, and ſo near linked in affinity to the Carthaginians, that *Annibal* from thence married his wife, ranged to the Romans. The Carthaginians came againſt *Illiturgum* and began to aſſault it, becauſe a garriſon of the Romans lay there: and like they were to be Maſters of the town, by occaſion eſpecially of a great dearth and ſcarcity of victuals within. But *Cn. Scipio* for to relieve his friends and the garriſon, went out with a legion lightly appointed with carriages, and marching between the two camps of the enemies ſkirmiſhed with them, ſlew many of them, and entred the City. The morrow after he ſallied out, joyned in fight with the enemy, and ſped as well: ſo as in both battels there were ſlain of them above twelve thouſand in the place, more than ten thouſand taken priſoners, and 36 military enſigns carried away. Thus the ſiege brake up at *Illiturgum*. After this, the Carthaginians began to lay ſiege unto *Bigerra* (a City alſo confederat with the Romans.) But *Cn. Scipio* at his coming raiſed that ſiege without any conflict. Then the Carthaginians from thence went forward againſt *Munda*, and the Romans followed them thither ſtraight after. There they encountred together and fought a ſet battel with banners diſplayed, for the ſpace well-near of four hours. And as the Romans bare themſelves bravely, and had got the better, and were at point of the victory, the retreat was ſounded, by occaſion that *Cn. Scipio* was hurt ſore in his thigh with a barbed javelin, and the ſouldiers about him were greatly afraid that the wound was deadly. But no doubt, if it had not been for that ſtay and hinderance the very camp of the Carthaginians might that day have been forced. For not only the ſouldiers, but the Elephants alſo were driven already ſo far as the trench, and even there upon the very bank, 39 of them were ſticked with darts and pikes. In this battell likewiſe were killed (by report) twelve thouſand men, almoſt three thouſand taken priſoners, and 57 military enſigns won. Then the Carthaginians retired back to the City *Aurinx*, and the Romans followed upon them, becauſe they would give them no time to reſt and breath themſelves after their fright. Where *Scipio* being brought into the field in a litter, gave them battel the ſecond time, and got the victory clear: but fewer of the enemies were ſlain by the one half than afore, becauſe there were not ſo many in number left to fight. But (as they are a nation given naturally to renew war, and to be ever fighting, and cannot give over) they ſoon repaired and made up their forces. For *Aſdrubal* had ſent his brother *Mago*, to levy and gather new ſouldiers: whereupon they took freſh heart again to try another field. Theſe, being for the moſt part other ſouldiers (new come) fought as it were in revenge, and to uphold that ſide which in few daies ſpace had ſo often taken the foil, and demeaned themſelves as courageouſly as they before, and ſped as untowardly. For there were ſlain of them above eight thouſand, not many under one thouſand taken captives, with military enſigns 58. In rifling of them there was found very much ſpoil of the Gauls, as rings of gold, carkanets, collars, and bracelets great ſtore. Over and beſides, two great Lords and Princes of the Gauls, whoſe names were *Mœnicaptus* and *Civiſmarus*, were ſlain outright in that conflict. Eight Elephants taken alive, and three killed. L M N

Now when as the affairs in *Spain* went thus fortunatly with the Romans, they began at length for very ſhame to thinke of *Saguntum*, a town that was the cauſe of all theſe wars, and had now five years already been in the hands and poſſeſſion of the enemy. Whereupon by force of arms they recovered it, drave out of the town the garriſon of the Carthaginians, and reſtored it again to the ancient inhabitants, as many as remained alive, and had eſcaped theſe broils of war. As for the Turdetans, who were the occaſion of the wars between the Saguntins and the Carthaginians, they ſubdued them, and brought them under their ſubjection, ſold them in port ſale, and deſtroyed their City utterly. Theſe were the atchievances in *Spain*, during the time that *Q. Fabius* and *M. Claudius* were Conſuls. O

At *Rome*, when the new Tribunes of the Commons were once entred into their office preſently

*L. Metellus*

A *L. Metellus* one of the Tribunes aforesaid, arrested the Censors *P. Furius* and *M. Attilius*, peremptorily to make their appearance and answer before the people. These Censors had taken from him being Treasurer the year before, his horse of service allowed him by the City, cassed and displaced him out of his Tribe, deprived him of liberty to give his voice, and made him *Ærarius*, and all, for being a party with them at *Canna*, who complotted to abandon *Italy*. But by the means and mediation of the other nine Tribunes, they were discharged: for they would not suffer, that the Censors should come to their answer whiles they were in office. And the death of one of them, namely, *P. Furius*, was the cause that they could not accomplish the sessing and numbring of the Citizens. And when *M. Attilius* surrendred up his Magistracy. *Qu. Fabius Max.* held the solemn B assembly and Parliament of the people for the election of Consuls, wherein were created *Q. Fabius Max.* the Consul his son, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time, both absent. For Prætors, there were elected *M. Attilius*, and with him, they who at that time were Ædiles of the chair, to wit, *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, *Cn. Fulvius Centimalus*, and *M. Æmylius Lepidus*.

This year, as it appeareth in old Records, were the Stage-plaies first set out by the Ædiles of the chair, and continued four daies. This Ædile *Tuditanus* above-named was he, who at *Canna* (when all besides him for fear were astonied, in that wofull calamity) brake forcibly through the midst of the enemies, and escaped. When *Q. Fabius* the old Consul had finished the Election, then the new Consuls Elect were sent for, to repair unto *Rome*, and they entred their Magistracy. Then they assembled the Senat for to consult and take order for the war, for the Provinces as well their own, C as those that were under the Prætors: also concerning the armies, and the disposition of every charge and place of command. So the Provinces and armies were divided in this wise: The war with *Annibal*, whersoever it fell out, was committed to the managing of the Coss. with the charge of one army, which *Sempronius* himself had before under his conduct: and of another, commanded by *Fabius* the Consul. And those were two legions. *M. Æmylius* the Prætor, whose lot it was to have the jurisdiction over the forreiners, had committed his authority unto his Collegue *Atilius*, the Prætor of the Citizens of *Rome*, that he might govern the Province about *Luctria*, and those two legions, over which *Q. Fabius*, now Consul, had the command, whiles he was Prætor. To *Sempronius* the Prætor befell the Province of *Ariminum*. To *Cn. Fulvius* was allotted *Suessula*, with two legions likewise: so as, *Fulvius* should have the leading of the legions D of Citizens, and *Tuditanus* receive his from *M. Pomponius*. The government of the forrein Provinces continued still in the former deputies. *M. Claudius* ruled *Sicily*, so far as the dominion of King *Hiero* extended: and *Lentulus* the Vice-Prætor, had the charge of the old Province. *T. Octacilius* was high Admiral of the Navy, without any new supply or augmentation of forces. *M. Valerius* was employed in *Greece* and *Macedony*, with one legion, and the Armado which he had before. *Q. Mutius* was L. Deputy in *Sardinia*, having under him the old army, consisting of two legions. And *C. Terentius* had the administration of the affairs in *Picenum*, with that one legion which long time he had been Captain of. Moreover, it was decreed and agreed upon, that there should be mustred and enrolled two new legions of Citizens, and twenty thousand men besides levied of Allies and Associats. With these Captains and these forces aboveaid, they provided for E the defence and maintenance of the State and Empire of *Rome*, against many wars at once, either in hand already, or suspected shortly. The Consuls having enrolled two legions of Citizens, and chosen a supply to make out the rest, before that they set foot out of the City, procured the pacification of the gods, for the fearfull and prodigious tokens that were reported. For the wall and gates of *Rome* were blasted and smitten with lightning from heaven: and likewise the Temple of *Jupiter* at *Aricia*. Other vain objects and illusions also of the eyes and ears, which men imagined they saw and heard, were beleeved for truths. Namely, there appeared in the river of *Tarracina* certain resemblances and shews of Gallies, whereas indeed there were none such. And in the Temple of *Jup. Vicilinus*, which standeth in the Territory of *Cossa*, there was heard, forsooth, rustling of armor: and the river of *Amiternus* seemed to run with bloud. When satisfaction was F made for these strange signs, the gods pleased, and all well again, according to the direction set down by the Priests and Prelates, then the Consuls set forward in their expedition, *Sempronius* into *Lucania*, and *Fabius* into *Apulia*. Where it fell out, that *Fabius* the father repaired into the Camp at *Suessula*, as Lieutenant and assistant unto his son. And when *Fabius* the younger went forth to meet him, and his Serjeants or Ushers marching afore, said not a word to *Fabius* the father, nor put him aside to give way, for very reverence of his person, (such majesty he carried) the old man rode forward, and passed by eleven of the said Lictors with their bundles of rods. Then the Consul commanded the Serjeant that was next himself to do his office: and with that said Usher called upon old *Fabius*, to alight from his horse back: and at last, he set foot aground: I did all this but to try, quoth he, my son, whether you knew well that you were a Consul or no.

G "There came that night secretly to the Consul while the Camp lay there, one *Cassius Altinius*, "an Arpinate, with his three bondslaves, promising, that if he might have a good reward for his "service, he would betray *Arpos* into his hands. *Fabius* then proposed this matter unto his "Councill, to be debated of. Some were of opinion, that *Altinius* was to be whipped and put to "death, fugitive runnagate and false knave as he was: a common enemy, and a dangerous to either "part, and playing with both hands, like a double-hearted hypocrite. Who first, after the over-"throw at *Canne* (as if he might turn with the wheel of fortune, and go from his word and faith-"full promise, and change ever as she changeth) ranged himself unto *Annibal*; and by his exam-

"ple, drew with him *Arpos* to revolt and rebell: now after that he seeth the Roman estate to rise H
"again and hold up head (and that, beyond his hope, & contrary to his desires) he would play the
"villain and turn-coat again, and come with a new practice of a more shamefull treason than be-
"fore: as if treachery and falshood were of the nature and quality of a judgment passed in Sep-
"temviral court: and as if he might be allowed to carry two faces under a hood, and alter every
"hour. Faithless friend, that he is, not to be trusted, and slippery enemy, not to be regarded. A
"good deed it were, that together with that same traitor of *Falerii*, and the other of King *Pyr-*
"*rhus*, he made a third, and were punished accordingly for exemplary justice, to teach all rogues
"and runnagates hereafter how they run from their Lords and Matters. On the other side, old *Fa-*
"*bius* (the Consuls father) replied, and said, That men now adaies had forgot how to make diffe-
"rence of seasons, and in the very heat & midst of wars, reasoned and gave their opinion and cen- I
"sure of every thing and person, as in a free time of open peace: when, as indeed, we are to think,
"consider, and deliberate of this point, that (if possibly it might be) no more of our allies re-
"volt from the people of *Rome*, rather than invite and incite them thereto: and after one is star-
"ted aside, and upon repentance returned again to the ancient amity, to fall a reviling and rebu-
"king of him, and bitterly to say that he deserveth to be made an example to all others. For if it
"may be lawfull for one to turn from the Romans, and held unlawfull to return again unto the
"Romans no man need doubt, but shortly the Roman Empire will be forsaken of all her confe-
"derats and allies, and we shall see within a while all the Cities of *Italy* linked and confedered in
"fast league and friendship with the Carthaginians. And yet (quoth he) I am not the man that
"thinketh *Altinius* worthy to be trusted in any thing for all this, but I would take a mean course K
"& middle way between both extremities. My opinion is therefore, that for the present he should
"be taken neither for enemy nor friend, but commanded to ward, and to have the liberty of a
"prisoner, and only be kept forth-coming in some confederat and trusty City, not far from the
"Camp during the time of the war. And when the war is once finished and ended, then I hold it
"good to deliberate and consult, whether that his former revolt hath deserved more punishment
"than this his present return meriteth favour and grace. Every man liked well of this advice of
old *Fabius*, and gave their assent. So he was bound with chains, and both himself and his company
delivered over and put in custody, and a good roun sum of gold, which he then had brought with
him, was by commandment reserved for his use. At *Cales* he made his abode: where all the day
time he used to walk at liberty, with his keepers following him, but in the night they kept him L
close prisoner. But at *Arpi*, where his home was, they of his own house began first to miss him,
and seek for him: afterwards, when it was noised throughout the whole City, that he was out of
the way, and could not be found: the same hereof caused a tumult, for the loss of a principall per-
son as he was, thus revolted to the enemy. And for fear of an alteration in the State, presently the
news thereof was sent to *Annibal*. Who was nothing offended thereat, both because long afore
he had the party himself in jealousie and suspition as one neither fish nor flesh, a man of no cre-
dit, and hardly to be trusted: and also for that he found a good occasion and quarrel to seize up-
on the goods of so rich and substantiall a Citizen and to make sale thereof. But to the end that
the world might think that he was more angry against his person, than greedy of his substance, he
joyned with cruelty, a grave course also of judiciall severity, that the one might serve as a file to M
give lustre to the other. For having sent for his wife and children into the Camp, first he examined
them straightly, for to know whither he was fled, and what store of silver and gold he had left
behind him at home in his house: and when he had learned enough of them touching every par-
ticular, and as much as he desired, he burnt them quick to ashes.

*Fabius* being departed from *Suessula* purposed the first thing that he did to assail *Arpi*. Where
he lay encamped a mile from the town: and after he had well viewed by near approach, the si-
tuation of the City, and considered the wall, look where he saw it was most strong and sure, and
therefore guarded most slightly and negligently, there especially he purposed to give the hottest
assault. And when he had sufficiently provided and got together all ordnance and engins, requi-
site for the battery of Cities, he made choice of the most hardy and valiant Centurions of the N
whole army, and set over them certain Tribunes and Marshals, valorous and doughty good men,
and appointed unto them a Regiment of six hundred souldiers (for so many he thought sufficient
for the present service) with direction and commandment, that when the trumpet sounded the
relief of the fourth watch, they should bring scaling ladders to that place aforesaid. Now there
stood a gate low and narrow, answering to the street not much used and frequented, by reason
that quarter of the City was not inhabited, but stood void. That gate he gave them order first to
scale and clime over, and then to go forward on the wall, and from within-forth to break down
the bars, and level the said gate, and when they were Masters of that quarter of the City, then to
wind the horn, and give signall to the rest of the forces for to approach and come hard to the
town, saying, That he would have all things in readiness, and in good order. This direction was O
performed accordingly with great diligence, and that which was thought and feared would have
been an hindrance and let unto them in the action, was the only thing which helped them most,
that they were not descried. And that was a smoaking shower of rain that began after midnight,
which caused the warders and watchmen to quit their standings, forsake the Sentinels, and to
flie into the houses for covert. The first noise of the storm pouring down with such a force, made
that the rumbling of the souldiers could not be heard, as they were breaking down the gate; and

as

A as it grew after to rain more ſoftly, and ſo kept ſtill at one, it ſounded gently and ſweetly in their ears, untill it brought a good many of them faſt aſleep. Now after they had ſeized the gate, the Marſhals gave order, That the Cornettiers ſhould be beſtowed in that void ſtreet aforeſaid, diſtant equally aſunder, and to wind their horns, for to waken and raiſe the Conſul. Which being done, according as it was before agreed, the Coſ. commanded the ſtandards and enſigns to be brought forth, and ſomewhat before day-light entred at the ſaid broken gate into the City. With that, the enemies at length began to rouſe themſelves, for now the ſhower and ſtorm was paſt, and the day approached. There was a garriſon in the City at hand of five thouſand of *Annibal* his ſouldiers, armed and well appointed: and the Arpins of themſelves were 3000 ſtrong. Thoſe
B the Carthaginians put in the forefront, as a forlorn hope, and oppoſed them againſt the enemy, for fear of ſome treacherous prank that they might play behind their backs. Firſt, they began to arrange themſelves to fight in the dark, blind, and narrow lanes. For the Romans had filled and taken up not only all the ſtreets, but alſo the houſes that were next the gate to the end, they might not be gauled with ſhot, and wounded from aloft. Some Arpins and Romans fell at length to meet, to take knowledge and acquaintance one of another, and to began to commune and talk together. The Romans asked what the Arpins meant to rebell; for what offence and harm given of the Romans, and for what deſert and benefit received from the Carthaginians ſhould they (being naturall Italians) maintain war for Aliens, ſtrangers, and barbarous nations, againſt the Romans their old friends and ancient Allies; and ſo to bring *Italy* in ſubjection to *Affrick*, to do ho-
C mage and fealty, yea, and to become tributary, and to pay penſion unto it? The Arpins excuſed and cleared themſelves, ſaying, that they (ſimple men and ignorant in all things) were bought and ſold by their great rulers and principall Citizens, and lived in manner as captives and ſlaves under the command of ſome few perſons that might do all. Upon this beginning, more and more of them grew to parling and conference. At length the Prætor of *Arpi* himſelf was by his own people and Citizens brought and preſented before the Conſul: where, after faithfull promiſe paſſed between the enſigns and the battels; the Arpins immediatly bent their forces on the Romans ſide againſt the Carthaginians. The Spaniards likewiſe (who were not many under a thouſand men) after they had capitulat and agreed with the Roman Conſul, nothing but this one article, That the garriſon of the Carthaginians might be ſent forth and paſs away ſafe without harm:
D came with their colours to the Conſul. Then all the gates were ſet open for the Carthaginians to depart: and being ſent away upon ſafe conduct, without any harm at all or damage unto *Annibal*, arrived at *Salapia*. Thus *Arpi* was reſtored again to the Romans, without the loſs and detriment of any one man, but one only old traitor and new fugitive revolt. The Spaniards were appointed to have double allowance of victuals: and they performed good, faithfull, and valiant ſervice many times after to the Common-weal.

When one of the Conſuls was in *Apulia*, and the other in *Lucania*, one hundred and twelve men of arms, Gentlemen of the Nobility of *Capua*, having licence granted by the Magiſtrates to go out of the City, pretending to make a rode into the enemies country, and to fetch in booties and prizes, came directly into the Romans Camp, lying about *Sueſſula*. And meeting with the
E *Corps de guard*, declared who they were, and that they would parl with the Lord Deputy. Now *Cn. Fulvius* was the General and Commander of the army there: who being advertized and certified hereof gave order that ten only of all that number ſhould be brought before him unarmed. When he heard their ſuit and demand, which was nothing elſe, but that when *Capua* was recovered by the Romans, they might have their goods reſtored unto them: he received them all into his protection. The other Prætor alſo *Sempronius Tuditanus*, won by force the town *Cliternum*: where there were taken priſoners above ſeven thouſand men: and a good deal of copper and ſilver coin gained beſides. At *Rome* there chanced a fearfull and pitifull fire, which continued two nights and one whole day. All between *Salina* and the gate *Carmentalis*, together with the *Æquimelium* and the ſtreet *Jugarium*, were burned down, and made even with the ground. Likewiſe
F without the gate the fire ſpred far all about, and in the Temples of *Fortuna* and Dame *Matuta*, and *Spes*, conſumed much, as well hallowed as prophane.

The ſame year, when all things proſpered well and had good ſucceſs in *Spain*, *P.* and *Cn.* both *Scipios* having recovered many aſſociats and thoſe of ancient league that came in again to him and yielded themſelves; and beſides, gained ſome new confederats: conceived good hope, and took heart to proceed farther, even into *Affrick*.

*Syphax* King of the Numidians, on a ſudden fell out with the Carthaginians, and became their profeſſed enemy. Unto him the *Scipios* addreſſed three Centurions as Embaſſadors, to treat with him about a league and alliance: and to promiſe withall, that if he went on ſtill to trouble and moleſt the Carthaginians, by making war upon them, he ſhould do an high favour to the Senate and people of *Rome*: that they would endeavour and bring about, that in good time and place,
G he ſhould be well requited for that kindneſs, and receive at their hands a double recompence with thanks. This embaſſage pleaſed the barbarous King right well. And after he had conferred and reaſoned with the Embaſſadors, concerning military affairs, and the knowledge of warfare: and heard thoſe old & experienced ſouldiers talk of war, he ſoon found his own wants, and how unskilfull himſelf was in many points and feats of arms, in compariſon of that methodicall and orderly diſcipline, whereof they had diſcourſed. "The firſt thing then that he requeſted at their "hands, was this: That as they were good friends and faithfull Allies, two of them would go

"back

" back with their Embaſſie unto their Generals, and that the third might remain with him, to H
" read unto him a lecture in the military ſcience of warfare. Saying, that the nation of the Numi-
" dians were raw and altogether unskilful in footmens ſervice, and only nimble and practiſed in
" fight on horſeback. So (quoth he) from the firſt beginning of our nation have our anceſtors uſed
" to war: & ſo have we from our childhood been enured to fight. Mary, an enemy I have, truſting
" and preſuming much upon his Infantry, whom I would gladly be able to match every way in all
" kind of ſervice. Footmen I am able to ſet out as well as another: for why? my Realm is po-
" pulous, and yieldeth abundance of men: but altogether ignorant we are, how to fit them with
" armor, how to marſhall them, how to order and ſet them in battell array: inſomuch as all my
" people in battell go to it pell-mell, and are as a multitude hudled and thrumbled together at a I
" venture without skill, without diſcretion and adviſement. The Embaſſadors anſwered and ſaid,
That for the preſent they would do according to his will and pleaſure: but withal, they had his faithful promiſe & word of a Prince that he ſhould immediatly ſend back their companion again, in caſe their Generals approved not their deed in that behalf. *Q. Statorius* his name was, that ſtaid behind with the King. So *Syphax* ſent by the two Romans his anſwer to the foreſaid Embaſſage into *Spain*: and beſides, with them other Numidians, Embaſſadors of his own, to receive farther aſſurance and ſecurity from the Roman Generals: unto whom he gave in charge, that forthwith they ſhould ſollicit, perſwade, and entice all the Numidians that were auxiliary ſouldiers unto the Carthaginians, and ſerved in any Camp, City, or garriſon Town of theirs, for to abandon them and come to him. And *Statorius* for his part, having muſtered a great multitude of ſerviceable young K
men, choſe forth and enrolled a power of footmen, to ſerve in the Kings wars: and when he had ſorted them into bands and companies, and ordred them in battell array, as near as poſſibly he could, to the manner of the Romans: he trained them in their running to follow their colours: he taught them to keep their places in their ranks, and to double their files: and likewiſe he accuſtomed them to travell and do work: and ſo acquainted them with other military orders and exerciſes, that within ſhort time, the King repoſed as good confidence, and was as mighty in his new Infantry, as in his old Cavalry: and in a ſet pitched field on even ground, was able to meet the Carthaginian with banner diſplaied, and give him the foil in a full battell. The coming of the Kings Embaſſadors into *Spain*, was to the Romans alſo a matter of great conſequence and importance: for upon the rumour and fame that went thereof, the Numidians began to fail away apace, L
and to come thick unto the Romans. Thus were the Romans joyned in amity and friendſhip with King *Syphax*.

When the Carthaginians had intelligence of this new alliance, they addreſſed immediatly their Embaſſadors to *Gala*, who raigned in another part of *Numidia*, over a nation called *Maſſyla*. This *Gala* had a ſon named *Maſaniſſa*, of ſeventeen years of age, but a youth of ſuch towardneſs, and ſo forward in vertue, that even then he made good and apparant ſhew, that he would another day enlarge his dominion, and make a more flouriſhing and mighty Kingdom than his father ſhould leave it unto him. Theſe Embaſſadors declared unto *Gala*, " That foraſmuch as *Syphax*
" had entred league, and was banded with the Romans, to the end that by their alliance and ſo-
" ciety, he might be more mighty and puiſſant againſt other Kings and nations of *Affrick*: it M
" were alſo better for him and much more commodious to joyn with the Carthaginians in all
" convenient ſpeed: before that either *Syphax* paſſed over into *Spain*, or the Romans into *Affrick*:
" And *Syphax* (ſay they) may ſoon be defeated and overthrown now, while that he hath gained
" naught yet but the bare name of the Roman League. *Gala* was ſoon perſwaded to ſend a power of men eſpecialy at the earneſt inſtance of his ſon, who was very deſirous of that war, and to have the managing thereof. He with the help of the Carthaginian legions vanquiſhed *Syphax*, and gave him a great overthrow. So as at that field there were ſlain, by repoort, in one day thirty thouſand. *Syphax* himſelf in perſon, with ſome few Numidian horſemen, fled back to the Mauriſians, that inhabit the fartheſt coaſts, hard upon the Ocean over-againſt *Gades*. But the barbarous people at the fame of his coming ſo reſorted in great numbers to him out of all parts, that in a ſhort ſpace N
he was able to arm a mighty hoſt. And before he could with them croſs over into *Spain*, which was divided from *Affrick* with a narrow arm of the ſea, *Maſaniſſa* was come with his victorious Army: who in that place, of himſelf, without any help or aid of the Carthaginians, gave *Syphax* battell to his great honour and ſingular glory. In *Spain* no memorable exploit was atchieved, but that the Roman Generals allured and drew to them the able and ſerviceable manhood of the Celtiberians, for the ſame hire and ſtipend that they bargained for with the Carthaginians: and ſent from thence above three hundred Spaniards of the nobleſt parentage into *Italy*, to ſollicit their countrymen, who ſerved under *Annibal* as auxiliaries to follow them and take part with the Romans. This only, touching the affairs of *Spain* that year, is a thing worthy to be noted and remembred, That the Romans never waged ſouldier to ſerve in their war before that time, when O
the Celtiberians began to be their mercenaries, and firſt received pay.

The

A

# The five and twentieth Book

## *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

B

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the five and twentieth Book.

Publius Cornelius Scipio, *ſurnamed afterwards* Africanus, *was made Ædile, before he was of lawfull years.* Annibal *won the City* Tarentum (*all but the Caſtle, into which the Roman garriſon was retired*) *by means of certain young Tarentine Gentlemen, who had made ſemblance, that they went by night a hunting. The ſolemn plaies in the honour of* Apollo, *were now firſt inſtituted, upon occaſion of certain prophetical verſes of* Martius, *wherin the overthrow at* Cannæ *had been foretold.* Q. Fulvius *and* Ap. Claudius *Conſul, fought fortunately againſt* Hanno, *a Duke or Captain of the Carthaginians.* T. Sempronius Gracchus *the Pro-Conſul, was by a Lucan (his hoſt that gave him entertainment)*
C *trained into the danger of an ambuſh, and ſlain by* Mago. Centenius Penula, *who had ſerved in the wars as a Centurion, having made ſuit unto the Senat, to have the leading of an army, and promiſed, if this petition were granted, to win the victory of* Annibal, *and to vanquiſh him, took the charge of eight thouſand footmen, and gave battell to* Annibal: *but he was ſlain himſelf, and his whole army defeated and put to the ſword.* Cn. Fulvius *the Prætor fought unfortunately againſt* Annibal, *and loſt the field: in which fight there died ſixteen thouſand men. Himſelf, with two hundred horſemen fled and eſcaped.* Capua *was beſieged by* Q. Fulvius, *and* Appius Claudius, *the Conſuls.* Claudius Marcellus *in the third year of the ſiege won* Syracuſe, *and bare himſelf in that ſervice like a worthy and noble Knight. In that tumult and hurly-burly when the City was taken,* Archimedes, *whiles he was buſily occupied*
D *about certain Geometricall figures and forms that he had drawn in the duſt, was killed. The two* Scipios, Publius, *and* Cornelius, *after ſo many and ſo worthy exploits performed fortunately in* Spain, *came to a wofull and heavy end, being themſelves ſlain there, with the loſs well-near of their whole Armies, in the eighth year after that they went into* Spain. *And the main poſſeſſion of that Province had been quite loſt, but for the ſingular manhood and induſtry of* L. Martius, *a Knight of* Rome, *who having rallied and gathered together the remnants of the armies, ſo encouraged them, that by their valiant ſervice two ſeveral encamped holds of the enemies were won, ſeven and thirty thouſand of the enemies ſlain, and eighteen hundred taken priſoners, and a great rich booty obtained. Whereupon he was called Captain* Martius.

E

## *The five and twentieth Book of* T. Livius.

WHiles theſe affairs thus paſſed in *Affrick* and in Spain, *Annibal* emploied the ſummer ſeaſon in the territory of *Tarentum*, in hope by treaſon to be Maſter of the City of the Tarentins. In which mean while, certain baſe Cities of the Salentins, and towns of no importance revolted unto him. And at the ſame time, of thoſe twelves States of the *Brutii*, which the year before had turned, and banded with the Carthaginians, the Conſentins and Thurins were rallied wholly again to the devotion of the people of *Rome*. And more of them had returned likewiſe, but for *L. Pomponius Veientanus* Captain of the Allies: who after he had made certain rodes into the country of the *Brutii*, and ſped his hand
F well with many booties, took upon him the countenance of a ſufficient Colonel, and was no leſs reputed: and having gathered a power of men, ſuddenly in haſte, without good adviſement, fought with *Hanno*. In which conflict, a mighty multitude of his men were either ſlain or taken priſoners. But, as good hap was, they were but a diſordered unruly rabble of ruſtical clowns and bondſlaves: and the leaſt loſs of all other, was the Captain himſelf, who amongſt the reſt was taken captive: a man as then, the author of a raſh and fool-hardy fight, and had been aforetime a Publican or farmer of the City revenues, and alwaies (through his naughty practiſes and cunning fetches and ſhifts wherein he was become skilful) a diſloyal perſon, and dangerous both to the publike State, and alſo to thoſe private companies and ſocieties, with whom he had commerce and dealing. *Sempronius* the Conſul, lying in the Lucans country made many light skirmiſhes, but not
G any one worth remembrance, and won certain poor towns, and of ſmal regard, belonging unto the Lucans.

The longer that this war continued lingring, whiles proſperous ſucceſs and adverſe miſhap interchangeably wrought much variety and alteration as well in the inward minds of men; as in their outward ſtate and fortune; ſuch religious zeal and ſuperſtition (and the ſame for the moſt part in forrein ceremonies) had ſo ſeized & poſſeſſed the City, that either the men or gods therof, were ſuddenly all at once become clean altered and transfigured. Inſomuch as now the Roman rites and holy obſervations were contemned, not only in ſecret, & within doors at home in their

private

private houſes, but abroad alſo in the open ſtreets, yea, and in the common place and Capitoll: where there flocked alwaies a ſort of women that neither offered ſacrifice and oblations, nor ſaid their praiers, and did their devotions according to the uſe and cuſtome of their native country and City. Certain odd Prieſts and Chaplains, yea, and doting wizards and blind Prophets, had inveigled the minds and conſciences of men: whoſe number was the greater by reaſon firſt of the rurall people and peaſants of the country, who for need and poverty, and for fear together, were driven to quit their lands which they had not tilled and husbanded, by reaſon of the long wars, and many invaſions and rodes that laid all waſte, and ſo retired into the City: afterwards by the eaſie occupation and ready means of gain which they found by the errour of others, whom they ſoon ſeduced and abuſed: which trade they uſed and practiſed openly, as if it had been a lawfull art and myſtery. At the firſt, divers good and honeſt perſons began ſecretly to grieve and be offended herewith, yea, and to mutter and utter their griefs in private: but afterwards in proceſs of time the matter was preſented before the LL. of the Councill, and brake forth to open complaint in publike places. The Ædiles and Triumvirs Capitall were blamed much, and ſharply rebuked of the Senate, for not redreſſing theſe diſorders: and when they went in hand to rid the common place of this multitude, and to caſt down, over-turn, and fling away the preparation and proviſion for their ſacrifices and oblations, they had like to have been miſuſed and miſchieved by the people. When this malady and miſorder ſeemed now to be greater than might be remedied and reformed by the meaner and inferiour Magiſtrate, *M. Æmylius*, Prætor of the City for the time being, received Commiſſion by order from the Senate, to ſee that the people were eaſed and delivered from this new religion and ſuperſtition. He not only read unto them in a publike aſſembly the decree of the Senate in that behalf, but alſo made proclamation, *Imprimis*, that whoſoever had any books of propheſies or prayers, or treaties written of this art and ſcience of ſacrifices, ſhould bring in all thoſe books and writings unto him before the Calends of *April* next enſuing. *Item*, that no perſon ſhould ſacrifice either in publike place, or ſacred Church, after any new form or forrein rights and traditions. And in that year there died certain publike Prieſts, to wit, *L. Cornelius Lentulus* the Arch-Prelate, or high Prieſt: and *C. Papyrius Maſſo*, the ſon of *Caius* a Biſhop. Alſo *P. Furius Philus* an Augur, and *C. Papyrius Maſſo* the ſon of *Lucius*, a Decemvir deputed for holy myſteries. In place of *Lentulus* and of *Papyrius*, were *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Cn. Servilius Cepio* ſubſtituted high-Prieſt and Biſhop. For Augur there was created *L. Quintus Flaminius*: and *L. Cornelius Lentulus* was choſen Decemvir over ſacred ceremonies and divine ſervice.

Now the time drew near of the ſolemn election of new Conſuls: but becauſe it was not thought good to cal the old away, (buſied as they were in the wars) *T. Sempronius* one of the Conſuls nominated for Dictator, to hold that election aforeſaid, *C. Claudius Cento*, who named for his General of the Cavalry *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. This Dictator, the firſt comitiall day following, created for Conſuls *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* abovenamed, his Generall of horſemen, and *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*, who in his Prætorſhip had the juriſdiction and government of the Province of *Sicily*. Then were the Prætors elected, *Cn. Fulvius Flaccus*, *C. Claudius Nero*, *M. Junius Syllanus*, and *P. Cornelius Sulla*. When the Election was ended, the Dictator reſigned up his place.

That year was Ædile *Curule*, together with *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, one *P. Cornelius Scipio*, whoſe ſurname afterwards was *Africanus*. When he ſtood and made ſuit for the Ædileſhip, and the Tribunes of the Commons were againſt him, objecting that he was not eligible and capable of that office for that he was not of lawfull age to be a competitor, and to put in for it: If (quoth he) all the Quirites and Citizens of *Rome* will chooſe me Ædile, I have years enough on my back. Whereupon, in favour and furtherance of his ſuit, there was ſuch running and labouring on all hands to the Tribes for their voices, that the Tribunes ſuddainly ſurceaſed their purpoſe to hinder him. And this was the largeſs and donative that the Ædiles beſtowed. The Roman Games were, according to the wealth of that time, exhibited and ſet out with great ſtate and magnificence and continued one day longer than ordinary: and for every ſtreet throughout the City, was allowed a *Congius* of oyl. *L. Villius Tappulus* and *M. Fundanus Fundulus* Ædiles of the Commons, accuſed certain dames and wives of the City before the people, of diſhoneſt and incontinent life: and ſome of them being condemned, they forced into baniſhment. The Games called *Plebeii*, were renewed for two daies: and by occaſion of theſe games a ſolemn feaſt or dinner was kept for the honour of *Jupiter*.

* About a wine gallon.

Then *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the third time entred the Conſulſhip, together with *Appius Claudius*: and the Prætors caſt lots for their Provinces. It fell unto *P. Cornelius Sulla* his lot to have the juriſdiction both of Citizens and ſtrangers, which before was executed by twain. To *Cn. Fulvius Flaccus* fell *Apulia*: to *C. Claudius Nero* was allotted *Sueſſula*: and *M. Junius Syllanus* his hap was to have the rule of the Tuſcans. The Conſuls were appointed by decree of the Senate to war with *Annibal*, and to have under their command two legions apiece: and that one of them ſhould receive his legions of *Q. Fabius*, the Coſ. of the former year: and the other take his at the hands of *Fulvius Centimalus*. As for the Prætors, *Fulvius Flaccus* had Commiſſion for the conduct of the legions at *Luceria*, which ſerved under *Æmylius* Prætor there: and *Nero Claudius* was to have the leading of thoſe that were under the hand of *C. Terentius* in *Picenum*: and that they ſhould provide themſelves of ſupply to make up the full number of the Companies. *M. Junius* had the charge of the legions of Citizens muſtred the year before to ſerve in *Tuſcany*: *T. Sempronius Gracchus*,

A *Gracchus*, and *P. Sempronius Tuditanus* continued ſtill in the government of their Provinces, the one of *Lucania*, the other of *Gallia*, and kept their own forces. Likewiſe *P. Lentulus* governed the old Province in *Sicily*: *M. Marcellus* was Lord Deputy of *Syracuſe*, and ſo far as the Realm and Dominion of King *Hiero* reached. *T. Otacilius* Admirall of the Navy. *Greece* was governed ſtil by *M. Valerius*. *Sardinia* by *Q. Mutius Scævola*. *Spain* by *P.* and *Cornelius Scipios*. To the old armies before, there were other two new legions levied and enrolled by the Coſſ. So as in all, the whole forces for that year amounted to 23 Legions.

When the Conſuls ſhould muſter the ſouldiers, they were hindred by occaſion of a lewd prank
B plaied by one *M. Poſthumius Pyrgenſis*, to the great trouble and diſquiet of the State and publike peace. This *Poſthumius* was by his vocation and calling a Publican, who many years together for craſty and deceitfull dealing, for avarice and covetouſneſs, had not his fellow in all the City, but it were *L. Pomponius Veientanus* again; the ſame man, whom the year before as he forraged the territories of the Lucans raſhly and unadviſedly, the Carthaginians by the conduct of *Hanno* had taken priſoner. Theſe two (foraſmuch as it was covenanted and indented before, that the tranſporting of thoſe things which were for the proviſion of the armies beyond ſea, ſhould be warranted by the City againſt all danger of tempeſt; and that all dammage and loſs of goods that way miſcarrying, ſhould not lie upon the ſhoulders of the Publicans, who had undertaken by great to ſerve the armies, but be made good again out of the common Cheſt and Treaſure:) theſe publicans (I
C ſay) not only gave falſe information of certain ſhipwracks, but alſo if they brought word at any time truly of ſome ſhips that were periſhed, they were ſuch only as were loſt by their own fraud and deceit, and not caſt away by chance or violence of weather. For they would fraight & charge certain old veſſels and ſhaken bottoms, with ſome few wares of ſmall or no worth at all, and ſuffer them to ſink for the nonce in the deep ſea, and ſave the mariners and ſailers with ſmall pinaces and cockboats prepared aforehand for the purpoſe: and when they had done, lie ſhamfully and ſay that they had loſt merchandiſe and commodities in thoſe ſhips of ſundry ſorts, and of great value. Theſe cunning parts of theirs had been the year paſt revealed and notified to *M. Æmylius* the Prætor, and the Senat by him made acquainted therewith: howbeit there was nothing done, nor any act of Senat deviſed for the chaſtiſement of the offender: becauſe the L.L. of the Coun-
D cill in no caſe would offend the company and ſociety of theſe publicans and farmers, in ſuch a time eſpecially, when there was ſome need of them. Then the common people took the matter into their own hands, for to proceed with more ſeverity againſt theſe lewd and fraudulent practiſes. At length, two of the Tribunes of the Commons, *Sp.* and *Lucius* both *Carvilii* aroſe up and ſhewed themſelves. For ſeeing how odious and infamous an indignity this was, and not to be ſuffered, they brought *M. Poſthumius* in queſtion, and laid an action and ſet a fine upon his head, of two hundred thouſand * Aſſes. When the day of triall was come, whether the fine aforeſaid * 625 lib. ſter.
ſhould ſtand and be paid, or taken off and remitted; and that the Commons were aſſembled in ſo great number, that the great Court-yard of the Capitol would ſcarcely hold the multitude: the defendant ſpake for himſelf and pleaded at large. But the only hope that he ſeemed to have was
E this, in caſe *C. Servilius Caſca* a Tribune of the Commons, a friend and near kinſman of *Poſthumius*, would by vertue of his place come between and ſtop the courſe of law for proceeding farther, before that the tribes and wards were called forth, to go together and to give their voices. The two Tribunes abovenamed, having brought forth the witneſſes to depoſe, and their depoſitions being taken, commanded the people to void and make way: And the lottery casket or foſſer was brought forth to caſt lots in what Tribes the Latines ſhould give their voices. All this while the Publicans were earneſt with *Caſca*, to diſſolve the aſſembly by one means or other, and put off the Court for that day. The common people on the other ſide called on hard and gainſaid it. And as it fell out, *Caſca* ſat formoſt in one of the points and corners of the aſſembly. He wiſt not what to do, his mind was ſo perplexed for ſhame of the one ſide, if he did not help his friend and kinſman, and for fear on the other ſide, becauſe he ſee the people ſo eagerly bent. The Publicans ſeeing
F ſmall hope of help in him, with full intent to make ſome ſtir, and to trouble the Court, put forward forcibly and advanced themſelves through a void way, ſeized upon an high place, and between the Tribunes and the people, ruſhed in upon them, and fell to quarrell and braul both with the people of the one ſide, and alſo with the Tribunes on the other: inſomuch as they were like to go together by the ears. Whereupon *Fulvius* the Conſul, "See ye not (quoth he to the Tri-
"bunes) how baſely ye are accounted of, and made of no better reckoning among them, than pri-
"vate perſons? See ye not a riot and mutiny toward, unleſs ye make haſte and break up the aſ-
"ſembly? So the Commons were diſmiſſed, and a Senate called: Where the Conſuls made relati-
on unto the Lords of the Councill, and complained how the ſolemn Seſſion and Court of the The complaints of the Conſuls to the Romans.
Commons, was by the audacious violence of the Publicans diſturbed: "That Court (I ſay)
G "wherein M. *Furius Camillus*, upon whoſe exile enſued the deſtruction of the City, ſuffred
"himſelf to be condemned by ungrateful Citizens: wherein the Decemvirs afore him by vertue
"of whoſe laws the City is governed, and we live at this day: and wherein many principall Ci-
"tizens afterwards have been content to be ſet down and judged by the people. Moreover how
"*Poſthumius Pyrgenſis* by force wreſted from the Commons, the liberty of their voices and ſuffra-
"ges: ſubverted and made void the judiciall Seſſion of the Commons: curbed the Tribunes and
"had no regard of them: came as it were in warlike manner againſt the people of *Rome*: and got
"for their vantage the higher ground, to keep the Tribunes from coming unto the Commons:

"and

"and to ſtop the tribes for being called to ſcrutiny and to give their voices: and nothing elſe it H
"was that kept men from committing a fray, and ſhedding bloud, but the patience of the Magi-
"ſtrates themſelves: in that for the preſent, they gave place to the furious rage and malepart ſauci-
"neſs of a few: and for his will and pleaſure brake up the aſſembly, before they could go together
"about the matter they were met for: (which the defendant himſelf with force & arms was rea-
"dy to ſtop and hinder for going forward) becauſe they might have no occaſion given them to
"quarrel, which was the only thing that they ſought for. When this matter with all the circum-
ſtances was throughly ſcanned of, and the beſt men there had ſpoken their minds, and given their opinion according to the outragiouſneſs and indignity of the thing: and thereupon the Senat decreed, that this violence tended to the breach of common peace, and the hazard of the State (a I
moſt dangerous precedent to be ſuffered) then without more ado, the two *Carvilii* Tribunes of the Com. laid aſide clean all debating about the penall fine aforeſaid, and indited *Poſthumius* of a capitall crime: and commanded him to be attached by a principall Serjeant, and to be led to priſon, unleſs he put in good ſureties for his appearance to anſwer the cauſe, ſuch as would be bound for him body for body. *Poſthumius* put in bail: and made default at his day. The then Tribunes called the Commons together, preferred a bill unto them, which they granted to paſs as an act, in
* 1 of *May.* this form: That if *M. Poſthumius* came not forth & made appearance before the * Calends of *May*, and being cited and called that day, anſwered not to his name, and no lawfull excuſe alleaged for his abſence, they judged him to be a baniſhed man, and therefore awarded his goods to be ſold in port-ſale and himſelf to be excommunicate, and interdicted the uſe of water and of fire: and to I loſe the benefit of a Citizen for ever. This done, they began alſo to endite all thoſe, one after another, of a capitall crime, who were his abettors, and the movers and ſtirrers of a ſedition and commotion of the people and to call for perſonal pledges. At the firſt they committed as many of them as could find no ſuch ſureties: and afterwards, thoſe alſo that were ſufficient to put in bail. For the avoiding of which danger, moſt of them departed into voluntary exile. This was the end of the Publicans fraudulent dealing: and this was the iſſue of their audacious enterpriſe, in defence and maintenance of their guile and deceit.

After this, a ſolemn Court was called for the creation of the Arch-Prelate, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus* newly elected Prelate, was the Preſident of this election. Three competitors there were, who ſued for that Prelacy, and ſtrived earneſtly one againſt the other: namely, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, L
Conſul for the time being, who alſo had before been twice Conſul, and Cenſor beſides; alſo *T. Manlius Torquatus*, a man of great reputation, for that he had been likewiſe dignified with a double Conſulſhip, and one Cenſorſhip; and laſt of all *P. Licinius Craſſus*, who as yet, was to ſue for the Ædileſhip: howbeit, this young man in that ſute and contention was ſuperiour, and carried it away from thoſe grave, ancient, and honourable perſons. Before him, for the ſpace of an hundred and twenty years, there had not been created any one, the higheſt Prieſt, (ſave only *P. Cornelius* * *Caluſſa*) but had ſit before in the Ivory Chair and born office of State. The Conſul had
* *Scapula* rather. much ado to go through with the Levy, and to enroll the full legion of ſouldiers, by reaſon that the ſmall number of young and able men would hardly afford both to furniſh out the new legions of Citizens, and alſo to ſupply and make up the old. Howbeit the Senate would not ſuffer M
them to give over their enterpriſe which they were about, but agreed that there ſhould be choſen two Ternions of Triumvirs: the one ſort of them to be ſent out, within the compaſs of fifty miles every way from *Rome*, the other to go farther; with commiſſion, to take good view and ſurvey, both within that precinct and without, in all through-fares and market towns: in boroughs and places of frequent aſſemblies; of all perſons of free condition that they could ſet eye on: and ſo many as they thought able men of body to bear arms, although they were not come to the lawfull age for ſervice, to preſs them for ſouldiers. Alſo it was decreed, that the Tribunes of the Commons, if they ſo pleaſed, ſhould put up a bill, that all under ſeventeen years of age, who had bound themſelves by military oath, ſhould have as good pay, as if they had been enrolled ſouldiers at ſeventeen years or upward. By vertue of this decree, the two Ternions aforeſaid of the N
Triumvirs being choſen, made diligent ſearch, and viſited all the country over for free-born men accordingly.

At the ſame time letters came from *M. Marcellus* out of *Sicily*, concerning the demands of thoſe ſouldiers who ſerved under *P. Lentulus*, and they were read in the Senate Houſe. That army conſiſted of the reſidue which remained after the field loſt at *Canna*, and was confined into *Italy* (as hath been ſaid afore) with this condition, not to return back into *Italy* before the Punick war ſhould be ended. Theſe ſouldiers obtained licence of *Lentulus* to ſend as Embaſſadors unto *Marcellus* (where he lay in winter harbour) the principall men of arms, ſuch as ſerved on horſes allowed by the City, the chiefe Centurions alſo and the braveſt ſouldiers and choice flower of the Legions. One of theſe in the name of the reſt, having liberty granted them for to ſpeak, made O
The Oration of one of the Embaſſadors of the confined ſouldiers unto *Marcellus*. his oration in this wiſe. "We had come to you into *Italy*, O *M. Marcellus*, when you were Conſul,
"immediatly upon that decree made againſt us (which if it were not unjuſt and unreaſonable,
"yet ſurely it was heavy and rigorous enough: but that we hoped to be ſent into this Pro-
"vince (ſo generally tronbled and out of order by the death of the KK. there to be employed
"in ſome dangerous and cruell war againſt the Sicilians and Carthaginians both at once,
"and ſo with out bloudſhed and grievous wounds to make ſatisfaction for our treſpaſs unto the
"Magiſtrates and rulers of *Rome*. Like as in our fathers daies, they which were taken priſoners

"by

A "by King *Pyrrhus* before *Heraclea*, made amends for their fault by their good ſervice againſt the
"ſame *Pyrrhus*. And yet, I can not ſee, [my LL. of the Senat] for what ill deſert of our parts, ye
"either have been diſpleaſed aforetime, or are offended at this preſent with us. For me thinks,
"I ſee both Conſuls, and the whole body of the Senat of *Rome*, when I behold your face, O *Mar-*
"*cellus*: whom if we had had to our Conſul at *Canna*, it would have gone better both with the
"Common-weal, and with our ſelves, then it did. For I beſeech you, ſuffer us now, before I
"I make moan, and complain of our hard ſtate and condition, to purge our ſelves of that crime
"for which we are blamed. Set caſe, that neither the wrath of the Gods, nor deſtiny and fatal
"neceſſity (upon the Law and decree whereof dependeth the immutable order and infallible
B "courſe and conſequence of all things in the world) was the cauſe that we were defeated & over-
"thrown at *Canna*, but our own ſelves, and our default was the occaſion: let us ſee then, whoſe
"fault it was, the ſouldiers, or the Generals? For mine own part, I remember I am a ſouldier,
"and of my Captain and General I will never ſpeak but well; of him eſpecially, unto whom I
"know the Senat rendred thanks, for that he deſpaired not of the common-wealth; and whoſe
"government ever ſince his flight and running away, hath been prorogued from year to year, and
"who hath had the conduct of armies continually. Neither will I ſay ought of the reſt likewiſe,
"who eſcaped that unfortunat ſoil and deſeat, I mean our military Tribuns and Colonels, who
"(as we hear ſay) ſue for dignities, bear honourable offices in City, yea, and rule whole Provin-
"ces as LL. Preſidents in forein parts. It is ſo indeed my LL? do ye ſo eaſily pardon and forgive
C "your own ſelves and children? and deal ye ſo hardly, ſo rigorouſly and cruelly, againſt us baſe ab-
"ject perſons, and vile wretches? And was it no ſhame and diſhonor imputed to the Conſul and
"other great perſonages of the City to flie, when there was no other hope? and were the poor
"ſouldiers ſent by you into the field with this intention, to be all killed up, and none to eſcape? At
"the battail of *Allia*, the whole army in a manner fled away: Alſo at the ſtraights of *Caudium*
"(to ſay nothing of other ſhameful foils of our armies) the hoſt yeelded up their armor to the
"enemy, before they joyned battel, and fought one ſtrok. Yet, ſo far off it was, that thoſe armies
"ſuſtained any infamy and ſhameful reproach therefore, that both the City of *Rome* was recovered
"again by the means of thoſe Regiments which fled from *Allia* to *Veii*, and alſo the Caudine le-
"gions which returned to *Rome* naked, were ſent again into *Samnium* well armed: who ſubdued
D "and brought under the yoke of ſubjection the very ſame enemies, who had taken ſuch pride and
"joy in that diſhonour and ignominy of theirs. And now, for the army before *Canna*, is any man
"able to come forth and charge them juſtly, that either they fled, or for cowardly fear behaved
"themſelves unſeemly, and not like ſouldiers? Where were ſlain in field above fifty thouſand men:
"from whence the Conſul fled with fifty Horſemen, and no more: and of which company there is
"not one remaineth alive, but whom the enemy, weary with killing, ſpared and left. I remember,
"at what time as the priſoners taken there, were denied money to pay for their ranſome, then
"every man commanded and praiſed us, for ſaving and reſerving our ſelves againſt another day, to
"be employed in the ſervice of the Common-weal: for returning unto *Venuſia* to the Conſul,
"and for making a good ſhew of a compleat army. But now, in worſe caſe are we, than in our
E "fathers dayes, captives have been that were taken priſoners. For they only had their armor and
"weapons changed for worſe, their rank in the battel ſhifted, their place in the camp where
"they ſhould quarter, altered: which notwithſtanding, they recovered again all at once, by per-
"forming their good devoir to their country, and winning a victory in one fortunat battel. Not
"one of them was ever confined (as it were) to a place of exile: none put beſide hope to be diſ-
"charged from ſouldiery by ſerving out his full time: and to be brief, they were ſet to fight with
"ſome enemy or other, where they might once for all, either loſe their life, or end their diſhonor.
"And we, againſt whom nothing can be objected at all, unleſs it be this, that we were the cauſe,
"and none but we, that ſome citizen of *Rome* might be ſaid to remain alive of all thoſe that were
"at the battel of *Canna*: we I ſay, are ſent far enough off, not only from our native country, and
F "*Italy*, but alſo from all enemies: where we wax old in exile, to the end, that we ſhould have no
"hope, no occaſion and opportunity to wipe away and cancel our diſgrace, to mitigate and paci-
"fie the anger of our fellow-citizens, and finally to die with honor. But it is neither end of
"ſhame, nor reward of vertue and valour, that we deſire and crave: but only that we might be
"permitted to make proof of our courage, and ſhew our proweſs. Pains and perils we ſeek for,
"and to be employed in dangerous adventures, like hardy men and brave ſouldiers. Two years
"already there hath been ſharp and hot war in *Sicily*. Some Cities the Carthaginians won by
"force, other ſome the Romans took likewiſe by aſſault. Whole Regiments of foot, many troops
"and cornets of Horſe encounter together, and aſſail one another. At *Syracuſe* there are great
"enterpriſes and worthy feats of arms, both by Sea and Land. The ſhouts of them that fight, the
G "very clattering and ringing again of their armor and weapons, we can hear where we are, and
"we ſit ſtill like idle luſks, and do nothing, as if we had neither hands nor weapons to fight with.
"*T. Sempronius* the Conſul, with legions of bond-ſlaves, hath bidden battel to the enemies,
"and fought with them in plain field ſo oft, that they are well recompenſed for their labour with
"gaining their freedom firſt, and then the Burgeoſie of the City. Let us yet, in place and quali-
"ty at leaſtwiſe, of bondſlaves taken up and bought for money againſt theſe wars, fight with
"thoſe enemies, as well as they have done, and by our fight trie, whether we can regain our en-
"largement and liberty. Wil you your ſelf, O *Marcellus*, make tryal of us, and of our valour, by Sea,

" by Land, in pitched field, and battel ranged, or in giving assault and winning of walled Towns? H
" Put us to it, and spare not. The hardest adventures, the most painful and dangerous enterprises,
" are they which we require most gladly: that we may have that betimes, and at once which we
" should have come unto at *Cannæ*: seeing that all the time we have lived since, hath been destined
" to our ignominy and disgrace.

At these words they fell down prostrate at *Marcellus* his feet. *Marcellus* answered them, that he had neither power of himself, nor commission otherwise, to content them, and satisfie their request. Howbeit, write to the Senat he would: and according as the LL. should give advice and direction, so he would do and not fail. These letters (as I said before) were brought to the Consuls, and by them read in the Senat-house. And after deliberate consultation about their contents, the Senat passed this decree: That as concerning those souldiers, who had forsaken their I
fellows fighting before *Cannæ*, the Senat saw no reason, why they should be put in trust any more with the affairs of the Common-wealth: but if *M. Claudius* the Proconsul thought it good otherwise, he might do according to that which he judged convenient, and to stand with his own credit, and the safety of the State. Provided alwayes, that not one of them be dispersed with, and freed from service or charge of souldiery: nor rewarded with any military gift in testimony and token of his valour: nor yet reduced home again into *Italy*, so long as the enemy made abode there.

After this, the Pretor for the City, by vertue of a decree from the Senat, and an act of the Commons, assembled the people together. In which Session were created five Commissioners K
called *Quinqueviri*, for the reedifying and repairing of the turrets and the walls: Likewise two other fraternities of Triumvirs, the one for taking an inventary of all sacred things, and to sign and note all offerings and oblations: the other for reedifying the Temples of *Fortune* and dame *Matuta*, within the gate *Carmentalis*, and likewise of *Spes* without the gate, which the year past were consumed by fire. Great and fearful tempests hapned this year. On the Alban mount it rained stones continually for two dayes. Many places were blasted and smitten with lightning from Heaven; and namely, two Chappels in the Capitol, and the Rampier about the camp and fort above *Suessula* in divers places thereof: and two watchmen in their Sentinels stricken stark dead. The wall and certain turrets thereon at *Cumes*, not only smitten but also shaken down and overthrown with lightnings and thunder-bolts. At *Reate* there was seen an huge stone to flie to L
and fro in the air. The sun also appeared more red than it useth to be, and like to bloud. In regard of these prodigious sights, there was a solemn Procession and supplication all one day; and the Consuls for certain dayes together, attended only upon Divine service of the Gods: and the Novendial Sacrifices were devoutly celebrated nine dayes together.

Now whereas a long time already both *Annibal* hoped, and the Romans also suspected that the Tarentins would revolt: there fell out between, an occurrence and outward accident, which hastned it the rather. There was one *Phileas* a Tarentine, who having abode long at *Rome* under colour of an Embassador leger, a busy headed man, and of an unquiet spirit, one that of all things could not away with rest and peace, in which so long as he lived he thought every day a year, and that now he was waxen old and aged therein, found means to have access unto the hostages of the Tarentins. Kept they were in the Close belonging to the Temple of Liberty, with M
the less attendance and careful eye because it was expedient and good neither for themselves, nor for their City, to make an escape, and deceive the Romans. These hostages he had oftentimes sollicited and perswaded by much talk and many reasons, and at length having bribed and corrupted two sextons and warders of the said Temple, he trained them forth in the evening out from the place where they were in safe custody: and when he had accompanied them onward on the way as a guide, and directed them how to pass secretly, he fled himself and they together. By day break the next morning they were missed, and their escape was noised throughout the City: Whereupon, men were sent out after them from all parts, to fetch them in again: who having overtaken them at *Terracina*, laid hold of them, and brought them back to *Rome*: where in the N
*Comitium*, they were by the consent of the people, beaten with rods, and then thrown down headlong from the cliff *Tarpeia*.

The cruel rigor of this punishment, caused much anger; and provoked two of the noblest and most famous Grecian Cities in *Italy* to indignation, not only in publick generally, but also in private particularly: according as any man was either in bloud joyned, or in alliance and friendship linked to them who were thus foully and shamefully put to death. Amongst whom there were about thirteen noble Gentlemen of *Tarentum*, conspired together and the chief of them were *Nico* and *Philomenes*. These conspirators before they would stir and enter into any action, thought best to speak and confer with *Annibal* first: and so having gone forth of the City under a pretence as if they went to the chace a hunting, by night they came unto him. But when they drew neer unto O
the camp, the rest hid themselves within a wood neer unto the high way: *Nico* and *Philomenes* only went forward to the watch, and there being taken (as they requested themselves) were brought before *Annibal*. Who when they had delivered unto him their complot and upon what occasions they entred into that designment they were highly commended, and promised great rewards, and willed and charged by him, that to the intent they might bear their contry-men in hand, how they ever went out of the City to fetch in some booties, they should drive afore them into the City, certain cattel of the Carthaginians, which were put out to pasture and feeding

and

A and herewith gave them his word to do it ſafely, and without any impeachment and reſiſtance whenſoever. Thus theſe yong Gentlemen were ſeen to bring in good ſtore of cattell: and as they were known to make this adventure the ſecond time and oftner ſtill, men marvailed the leſſe at the matter, and ſuſpected nothing. Now upon a new parling and communication with *Annibal*, they covenanted with him upon his faithful promiſe in theſe terms. *Imprimis*, for the Tarentins themſelves, to enjoy freely their Lands and goods, and live under their own laws. *Item*, to pay no penſion nor tribute unto *Annibal*, nor be forced to receive a garriſon againſt their wills. And laſt of all, to betray the garriſon ſouldiers of the Romans, and all their fortreſſes and places of ſtrength deliver up into the hands of the Carthaginians. When theſe conditions and capitulations B were agreed upon, then *Philomenes* uſed much oftner to go forth and come in again in the night: and as he was known to be a great hunter, and much delighted in that exerciſe, he had his hounds following him hard at his heels, and all other furniture about him fit for huntſmen: and lightly ever he took ſome wild beaſt or other with his hounds, or elſe got ſomething from the enemy, that of purpoſe lay ready for his hands: and alwayes as he brought home ought with him, he would beſtow it either upon the Captain of the Roman garriſon, or deal it among the warders of gates. And they all, verily believed and were perſwaded, that his going out and in thus, moſt by night, was only for fear of the enemies. Now, when he had uſed this ſo accuſtomably that he had made it an ordinary practiſe, in ſo much, that at what time of the night ſo ever he had but once lured or whiſtled, the gate was ſtreight ſet open for him: then *Annibal* thought it time, to put the C plot aboveſaid in execution. Three dayes journey he was off; Where became he would have men the leſſe marvail, why he kept a ſtanding camp ſo long ſtill in one place he feigned and made himſelf ſick. The Romans alſo, that lay in garriſon at *Tarentum* gave over to ſuſpect his long abode and leaguering there. But after that he was determined and reſolved to advance toward *Tarentum*, he picked out ten thouſand foot and horſemen together, whom he ſuppoſed for nimble bodies, ſwift footmanſhip, and lightneſs of armor to be moſt meet for expedition: and with them at the fourth watch of the night, he marched forward with his enſigns. And having ſent out afore-hand fourſcore Numidian light Horſes, he commanded them, to ride about and ſcour all the wayes on every ſide, and to caſt their eye to eſpie and diſcover all the coaſts, that no country people a far off might deſcry and view the army on foot, but they ſhould be ſeen: and withal to D bring in, as many as were gone before, and kill all them they met and encountred: to the end that the Peaſants there inhabiting, might think they were Theeves and Robbers, rather than the vantcurriers and fore-riders of an army. Himſelf in perſon marching with great ſpeed and celerity, pitched his camp almoſt 15 miles from *Tarentum*. Neither would he there, be known unto his men of his purpoſe, nor tell them whither they ſhould go: only he called his ſouldiers together, and charged them to hold on the direct way, and not ſuffer any one to turn aſide, nor in the march go out of his rank or file: and above all things, to be ready for to receive their charge and commandment from their Captains, and do nothing without their warrant and commiſſion. As for himſelf, he would when he ſaw his time, let them know his mind, and what the ſervice was that he would have done. And about the ſame very hour and inſtant, news came as far as *Tarentum* that E ſome few Numidian Horſemen forraged the country, and had put the villagers in great fright all about. At which tidings, the Captain of the Roman garriſon was no more moved, nor made any other haſt, but only gave order, that ſome of the Horſemen the next morning by day light ſhould ride forth, to keep the enemy from farther excurſions. In the mean time, they that had this charge, bare themſelves ſo careleſly in providing themſelves to execute that which they were commanded, that contrary-wiſe, they took thoſe outrodes of the Numidians for a good argument, That *Annibal* with his army was not diſlodged, but abode ſtill in leaguer where he lay firſt. *Annibal* when it was once dark and dead night, began to ſet forward. *Philomenes* was there ready to be his guide, loden with his game hunted as his manner was. The reſt of his conſpiracy waited their time to execute their ſeveral charges, as it was agreed among them. Now it was ordred between F them afore, that *Philomenes* coming in at the uſual little wicket, with his veniſon that he had hunted, ſhould bring in with him ſome armed men: and *Annibal* on another part, come to the gate called *Temenis*, which looked toward the Eaſt, and ſtood on the Land ſide of the City, a good way within the wall, as it were in a nook. When *Annibal* approached the ſaid gate, he made a fire, in token that he was come (as it was deviſed between them before) and it flamed forth and gave a ſhining light. The like did *Nico* again. Then the fires on both ſides were put out, that they made no more blaze. And *Annibal* in great and ſtill ſilence, led his army cloſe to the gate. *Nico* came ſuddainly at unawares upon the watchmen faſt aſleep, killed them in their beds, and opened that gate. *Annibal* entred with his Regiment of footmen, and commanded the cavalry to ſtay behind, to the end they might have liberty of open ground to ride, whitherſoever there was need, G and as occaſion required. Now by this time, *Philomenes* alſo was come neer to that little gate on the other ſide, where he uſed to make his egreſs and ingreſs to and fro. And when he had raiſed the watchman with his voyce ſo wel known, and with his whiſtle wherewith now he was familiarly acquainted, & ſaid withal, that he was troubled with tugging and lugging of a foul & heavy beaſt: therewith the wicket was ſet open. Two luſty fellows there were carrying in the wild bore between them, and he himſelf followed with one of the huntſmen, lightly & nimbly appointed, and whiles the watchman his eye was upon the two porters that carried the beaſt, wondring at the bigneſs of the bore, and took no heed to himſelf, *Nicom.* thruſt him through with his ſpear. Then

tred in after them, about thirty men armed, who killed the reſt of the watch, and brake down the great gates withal: and immediatly there entred the companies with banner diſplayed: and ſo, forth from thence they were conducted and brought to the market place, without making any noiſe, and there joyned themſelves to *Annibal*. Then *Annibal* divided two thouſand Gauls into three Regiments, whom he ſent into ſundry parts of the City: and gave order to the Tarentins and the Affricans, to get poſſeſſion of the moſt principal and populous places of the City; and when the cry and ſhout was once up, to kill all the Romans whereſoever, and to ſpare the Townſmen. But to the end that this might be orderly done, he gave direction to the yong Gentlemen aforeſaid of *Tarentum*, that ſo ſoon as they eſpied a far off, any of their own Citizens and Country-men, they ſhould bid them be quiet and ſtill, to hold their peace, to be of good cheer and fear nothing. By which time, they began to ſet up a ſhout and cry, as men uſe to do in a City taken by aſſault, but what the matter ſhould be, no man of the Town or garriſon could certainly tell. For the Tarentin inhabitants ſuppoſed verily, that the Roman ſouldiers of the garriſon were riſen up to ſack the City: the Romans on the other ſide, thought that the Townſmen mutined, and they were in doubt of ſome traiterous practiſe. The Captain himſelf awakened and raiſed at the firſt tumult, eſcaped to the key, where he took a ſmall Barge or whirry-boat, and fled to the Caſtle. The Trumpet alſo that ſounded from the Theatre, made the greater terror: for it was both a Roman Trumpet, provided aforehand for the purpoſe by thoſe Traitors, and a Grecian blew it, one who had no skill; and ſo it was doubtful, both who he was that ſounded, and who they were that he gave ſignal unto. When day appeared, and the Romans ſaw the armour of the Carthaginians and Gauls, then they wiſt well in what door the wind was, and how the World went: and the Greeks ſeeing the Romans lying along every where ſlain, were ſoon aware that the City was taken by *Annib. l.* But after it was broad day light, and that the Romans who remained unkilled, were fled into the Caſtle, and the noiſe and hurliburly began by little and little to ſlake and give over: then *Annibal* commanded the Tarentins to be called to a general aſſembly, and to preſent themſelves without arms. When they were all come together, but only thoſe who with the Romans were fled for company into the Caſtle, there to abide ſuch fortune as they; *Annib. l* ſpake kindly unto the Tarentins, gave them good and friendly words, rehearſed with great proteſtation what favors he had ſhewed to all their Citizens, whom he had taken priſoners either at *Thraſymenus*, or at *Cannæ*: and withal, after he had bitterly inveighed againſt the Lordly and proud rule of the Romans, he commanded every man to repair home to his own houſe, and ſet his own name upon his dore: for that ſo many houſes as had not the name written upon them of the Maſter thereof, he would preſently upon ſound of Trumpet, command to be rifled. Over and beſides, that if any one ſhould hap to write his own name, and ſet it on the door or lodging-houſe of a Roman (for he ſaw divers of their houſes empty) he would take him for an enemy, and deal with him accordingly. After this ſpeech ended, and the aſſembly diſſolved, when the doors were marked with their titles and inſcriptions aforeſaid, whereby the houſes of friends and enemies were known diſtinctly one from another: the ſignal was given by ſound of Trumpet: and then there was running every where from all parts to ranſack the lodgings of the Romans. And ſome prety ſprinkling of pillage they met withal. The next day after, he advanced againſt the Caſtle to aſſault it, which after he ſaw impregnable and not poſſible to be won, either by forcible aſſault, or by artificial devices of fabricks and engins, by reaſon that both the Sea came to it, wherewith the greater part therof was compaſſed, in manner of a demy Iland, and alſo fortified beſides on another part with exceeding high and ſteep rocks: and withal, fenced from the City with a ſtrong wall and deep ditch: therefore, becauſe he would neither let nor hinder himſelf from atchieving greater affairs, whiles he was carefully buſied onely about defending the Tarentins nor yet leave them without a ſtrong guard, for fear leſt the Romans from out of the Caſtle, might at their pleaſure come upon them, he determined to raiſe a rampiar for a partition between the Caſtle and the City, for their defence againſt the ſaid garriſon. And he was not out of hope, but that when the Romans ſhould offer to iſſue forth to hinder the ſaid work, they might alſo be fought withal: and in caſe they adventured raſhly to run on, and engage themſelves too far, they might be cut off in their heat, & the forces of the garriſon might be ſo diminiſhed & abated by ſome great ſlaughter & execution, that the Tarentins of themſelves ſhould be able with eaſe to defend their City againſt them. The ſaid work was not ſo ſoon begun, but the Romans all of a ſuddain, ſet open the Caſtle gate, ſallied forth & charged upon the pioners as they were labouring about their bulwark. The guard that attended for the defence of the workmen, and ſtood before their work, fell off and ſuffered themſelves to be put back, to the end that the enemies upon their firſt ſucceſs, ſhould be more adventurous: ſuppoſing that the further they gave ground, the more of the other would follow after and chaſe them. Which being perceived, the Carthaginians whom *Annibal* had kept cloſe for this purpoſe, and had in readineſs very wel appointed, roſe out of all parts, and made head again. Neither were the Romans able to abide their forcible violence. And flie they could not in multitudes by occaſion that the ſtraightneſs of the place would give no leave: and beſides, many things lay in their way: partly, the work that was begun, and partly, other proviſion of ſtuffe brought for the ſame, which mightily hindred and impeached them. Moſt of them fell headlong into the trench: and to be ſhort, more periſhed in their flight, than were killed in the fight. After this, the fortification went in and again, and none durſt venture to hinder it. So he caſt a mighty deep ditch, & raiſed an high rampier within it. Alſo behind it, a prety diſtance off, he went in hand

to

A to build a mure or wall to it, in the very ſame quarter; that they might be able even without any guard at all, or ſtrength of men, to defend themſelves againſt the Romans. Howbeit, he left them an indifferent band of ſouldiers, which might withal help out ſomewhat in making of the wall. Himſelf then departed with the reſt of his army as far as the River *Galeſus* (five miles off from the City) and there encamped. From which ſtanding camp, he came back once again to ſurvey the work: and finding that it went better forward than he looked for, he began to conceive ſome good hope that the citadel alſo might be won by aſſault. For why it was not defended ſurely by ſituation on high ground, as others are, but ſeated on a plain, and divided from the City, by a wall only and a ditch. Now when as it began to be aſſailed with fabricks, and artillery deviſed of all B ſorts, there hapned a new ſupply to be ſent from *Metapontum* to aid the garriſon: whereby the Romans took heart unto them, in ſo much as in the night time of a ſuddain, and before they were looked for, they ſet upon the fabricks and ordinance of the enemies planted thereupon: ſome they caſt down and overthrew, others they fired and conſumed. And there an end of *Annibal* his aſſault of the Caſtle from that ſide.

The only hope behind now, was in continual ſiege: and yet that hope promiſed no great effect, becauſe they that held the Caſtle, had the Sea free at their command, all that ſide, whereas the ſaid fort (ſtanding as it were in an half Iſland) overlooketh the mouth of the haven: and the City contrary-wiſe, was wholly ſecluded from al entercourſe of paſſage and commodities coming in by Sea, and liker were they that beſieged the fortreſs, to feel the want and ſcarcity of victu- C als than thoſe that were beſieged within it. Then *Annibal* after he had called together the principal citizens of *Tarentum*, laid open unto them all, the preſent difficulties, ſaying; "That he "neither ſaw any way to win by force the Caſtle ſo ſtrong and fortified as it was, nor had any "hope at all to gain it by ſiege, ſo long as the enemies were Lords of the Sea. But if they had "ſhips once, whereby they might hinder and ſtay the coming in of their victuals and other "commodities, the enemies immediatly would either quit the peece, or yeeld themſelves. The "Tarentins held well with that, and approved the device. But (ſay they) he that giveth us that "counſel, muſt alſo affoord us means to effect the ſame. For the Carthaginian ſhips if they were "ſent for, and ſet out of *Sicily* might well do the feat: mary, as for our own which lie ſhut up "as it were, within a little creek and bay, conſidering that the enemy keepeth the mouth and en- D "try of the haven, how is it poſſible that they ſhould get out from their harbour into the open "Sea, and paſs without danger? Paſs (quoth he?) Paſs they ſhall, make no doubt of that. "Many things, I tell you, conſidered in their own nature are cumberſome and difficult, but by "pollicy and wit of man are eaſily welded and wrought with a ſleight. Ye have a City here ſeated "upon a plain and champain ground, the wayes anſwering to every ſide of it are even, large, and "broad enough, yea, and open to all quarters. I will chuſe that way which croſſeth the midſt of "the City, and paſſeth along to the haven and the Sea, and ſo will carry and tranſport the ſhips "upon wains, with no great ado and trouble. And ſo, both the Sea ſhall be ours clear, which "now the enemies keep, and alſo we ſhall beſiege the Caſtle round, as well by Sea as by Land: "nay, more than that, within ſhort time we ſhall either enter it, being abandoned of the ene- E "mies, or elſe be maſters both of it and them together.

Theſe words not only put them in good hope, that the enterpriſe would be effected, but alſo ſet them in a wonderful good conceit and admiration of the Captain himſelf. Then out of hand, all the wains and carts were taken up from all places as many as could be had, and were put together, and coupled one to another. Divers cranes and other inſtruments were ſet to, for to draw up the ſhips to Land the way made plain and level, that the carts might go more eaſily, and paſs away with leſs trouble and more expedition. After this they got together draught oxen, cart jades and other labouring beaſts, yea, and men alſo for to draw: and thus the work was luſtily begun, inſomuch, as within few dayes, the fleet well rigged, appointed, and dreſſed, was brought about the Caſtle, and rid at anchor even in the avenue & entry of the haven. In theſe terms ſtood *Taren-* F *tum*, when *Annibal* left it, and returned back to his wintering harbours. But authors write diverſly of this revolt of *Tarentum*, whether it hapned the year paſt, or at this preſent. But the greater number of them, and thoſe that lived neerer to that time, when the remembrance of theſe matters was freſh, affirm that it was this very year.

At *Rome*, the Conſuls and Pretors both remained ſtill, until the *fifth day before the Calends of *May*, by occaſion of the Latin holy-dayes, upon which day, when they had performed a ſolemn ſacrifice, with all complements thereto belonging, on the *Alban* Hill, they departed every one to his ſeveral charge and Province. After this, there crept into the minds of men a new ſcrupuloſity of conſcience upon certain prophetical verſes of one *Martius*, a noble and famous Prophet in times paſt. Now, by reaſon that in the year before, there was diligent ſerch and inquiſition made, G for ſuch books of *Fortune*, according to a decree granted out of the Senat, thoſe verſes came to light, and to the hands of M. *Æmylius* Pretor of the City, who ſat upon that commiſſion. And he immediately gave them to *Sulla* the new Pretor. Of two Propheſies of *Martius*, the one, which afterwards caried the greater authority with it, by reaſon of the event that hapned ſo right, and declared it ſo evidently, cauſed the other alſo, whereof the time was not yet come, to be of credit and believed. The former contained a Prediction of the overthrow at *Canna*, in theſe or ſuch like words:

*From Trojane line, O Romane once descended,*
*Flie* Canna *River, neer to* Cannæ *Town:*
*Lest strangers born, who have thy death intended,*
*Force thee to fight on* Diomede *his down.*
*But warning mine, thou wilt not rest upon,*
*Until with blood thou first do fill the plain;*
*And then to Sea from fruitful Land, anon*
*Thy men shall down the stream by thousands slain.*
*Thy flesh must bait the fish in Ocean deep,*
*And lure the foules that flie from high to prey,*
*And feed wild beasts, on earth below that keep.*
*Mark well my words.* Jove *thus me taught to say.*

And they who had been souldiers, and served in those wars, knew as perfectly *Diomedes* his plains, and the River * *Canna*, as they did the very defeat it self, and losse at *Cannæ*. Then was the other Propheſy likewise read, which was the darker of the twain: not only because future things are more uncertain, than those which are past already; but also by reason of the kind of writing, which was more obscure and intricate, in these terms:

* The same that Aufidus.

*If enemies ye would expel, if botch and plaguie sore*
* *Sent from a far, ye would drive forth, and vexed be no more;*
*To* Phœbus (*Romans*) *I advise, ye vow, from year to year*
*To set forth playes in solemn wise, with mirth and merry chear.*
*From publick stock, the people must, part of the charge disburse:*
*The rest shall ye, for you and yours, defray with privat purse.*
*The soveraign Pretor must procure these games to be perform'd,*
*Who sits in place, mens pleas to hear, and see all wrongs reform'd.*
*Then shall the ten Decemvirs hight, the Greekish rites observe,*
*In slaying beasts for sacrifice, and nothing from them swerve.*
*If all be done accordingly, your joy shall aye increase,*
*Your State shall daily grow in wealth, and fruits of blessed peace.*
*For God Apollo will you save, he will your foes destroy,*
*Who at their pleasure wast your fields, and work you much annoy.*

* *Apollo* is called in Homer Ilia. 9. *Ekebolos*, i. shooting afar off.

For the explanation and expiation both, of this propheſie, they took one whole day. And the morrow after, there passed a decree from the Senate, That the Decemvirs should peruse and look into the books of *Sibylla*, about the exhibiting of those said games, in the honour of *Apollo*, and celebrating likewise of the sacrifices. And when all was perused, and relation made before the Senat: the Lords made an Act, and set down an order; First, to vow and set forth solemn pastimes accordingly, to the honour of *Apollo*. *Item*, After the Games were done and finished, to allow the Pretor * twelve thousand Asses, toward the expenses of the divine service, and two greater beasts for sacrifice. There passed also another Act of the Senat, That the Decemvirs should celebrate divine service, and sacrifice after the observance and rites of the Grecians; and offer upon the Altar these beasts, to wit, an Ox with guilded horns, and two white femal Goats, with guilded horns likewise, for *Don Apollo*: and a Cow with horns, in like manner guilded, for Dame *Latona*. The Pretor, when he was to represent the Games within the *Circus Maximus*, gave commandment, and made proclamation, That the people, during the time of those solemnities, should contribute money, for an offering to *Apollo*, every man according to his ability, and as he might well spare. This is the beginning of the Apollinare Games and Playes exhibited for to obtein victory, and not for to escape some plague or pestilence, as most men suppose. And when they were celebrated, the people stood to behold and look on, adorned with garlands upon their heads, and the dames and matrons of the City went in procession, and made supplications. Every mans doore was set open, and they feasted and made good chear generally through the City in the open street; and a high holyday this was, solemnised with all kind of ceremonies that could be devised.

* 37 *lib.* 10. *sb. sterl.*

But to return again to *Annibal*, who was about *Tarentum*; and both Consuls remaining in *Samnium*, but ready, as it seemed, to besiege *Capua*: it fell out, that the Campans already were distressed with hunger and famine, (a calamity that usually followeth long and continual siege) and the reason was, because the armies of the Romans had impeached and hindred their seedneſſe. Therefore they dispatched Embassadors to *Annibal*, beseeching him, that he would take order for grain to be brought into *Capua*, from all parts neer adjoyning, before that the Consuls were come abroad with their legions into their territory, and all the wayes beset, and passages stopped by the guards and companies of the enemies. Whereupon, *Annibal* gave direction to *Hanno*, that he should remove out of the country of the Brutii, and passe over with his forces into *Campania*, and endeavour so, that the Campans might be provided of sufficient store of corn. Then

*Hanno*

A *Hanno* diſlodged anon, and departed with all his power out of the * Brutians countrey, purpoſing to avoid the leaguer of his enemies, and namely the Conſuls, who lay in *Samnium*: and when he approached neer to * *Beneventum*, he pitched his Tents three miles from the City it ſelf, upon a high ground. After which, he commanded, that the corn ſhould be brought to him into his camp, out of all the aſſociat and confederat Cities thereabout, into which it had been carried in the ſummer afore; and allowed a good guard for the ſafe convoy thereof. After this, he ſent a meſſenger to *Capua*, to give them notice, upon what day they ſhould attend, and be in readineſſe to receive their corn; and againſt the time, provide out of the countrey for the carriage, carts, wains, and draught-beaſts, and pack-horſes of all ſorts. But the Campans, like as they carried B themſelves in all things elſe, idly and negligently, ſo in this they were very ſlack and retchleſs: for they ſent little above forty carres, and ſome few beaſts for carriage beſides. For which they had a check given them, and were rebuked by *Hanno*; becauſe that hunger, which cauſeth the very dumb beaſt to beſtir it ſelf and make hard ſhifts, was not able to prick them forward to be more careful about their own buſineſs. So there was a farther day appointed for to fetch their corn, and to come more furniſhed and better provided for carriage. All this being reported to the men of *Beneventum*, with the circumſtances and particulars, as it was, they addreſſed with all ſpeed ten Embaſſadors to the Roman Conſuls, encamped then about *Bovianum*. Upon which intelligence given of the affairs at *Capua*, they took order, and agreed between themſelves, that one of them ſhould conduct an army into *Campania*. And *Fulvius*, who undertook that charge, C marched by night to *Beneventum*, and put himſelf within the walls of the Town. And there he was advertiſed by them that dwelt neer hand, That *Hanno* was gone out with part of his forces, for to purvey corn; that there were 2000 carts come, with a rude and diſorderly multitude beſides of people, without armor; that all that they did was in hurry, in haſt, and great fear; and finally, that the camp was out of form and faſhion, and all good military order clean gone, by reaſon of a rabble & multitude of country clowns, come out of thoſe quarters, and entermingled amongſt them. The Conſul, I ſay, being enformed for certain by credible perſons of theſe things, gave his ſouldiers warning to make ready againſt the next night enſuing, nothing but their enſigns and weapons, for that they were to charge upon the camp of the Carthaginians. And ſo they ſet forward at the relief of the fourth watch, leaving their packs and truſſes with all their bag D and baggage behind them at *Beneventum*: and preſenting themſelves before the camp, ſomewhat before day, they put them into ſuch a bodily fear, and ſo terrified them, that if it had been pitched upon a plain ground, no doubt, it had been won at the firſt aſſault. But the height of the place, and their rampiers and fortifications beſides, which could not poſſibly be entered upon, without climing upon the ſteep hill with much difficulty, were a defence unto it. By day light there was a luſty aſſault given, and a hot skirmiſh begun, but the Carthaginians not only defended and kept their rampier, but alſo (as having the vantage of the ground) they chaſed and thruſt the enemies back, as they mounted up the hill. Howbeit, reſolute hardineſſe overcame all hardneſs and difficulties whatſoever; For in diverſe places at once they advanced as far as the banks and trenches; but it coſt bloudy blows firſt, and the death of many a ſouldier. The Conſul therefore E calling the Coronels and Marſhals together, ſaid, it were not amiſſe to give over that raſh and heady attempt, and, as he thought, it were the ſafer courſe, for that day to retire the army to *Beneventum*, and on the morrow to encamp themſelves afront the enemy, to the end, that neither the Campans might get forth, nor *Hanno* return and enter into the Town again. And that this might be the ſooner effected, and with a great deal more eaſe, he would ſend for his Colleague alſo with his army, and both of them jointly bend their forces that way. But theſe devices of the Captain general were ſoon daſht. For as he was about to ſound the retreat, the ſouldiers with a loud voyce cried out, that they could not away with ſuch faint Captains: they ſcorned to be commanded in ſo cold and ſlothful ſervice; they would none of that: and ſo put the Conſul out of his bent. It hapned, that next unto the gate entring into the enemies camp, there ſerved F a cohort or company of the Peligni, led by Captain *Vibius*, who caught the banner out of the bearer his hand, and flung it over the rampier, and with that, fell to curſing himſelf and his company both, wiſhing a plague light upon him and them to, if the enemies went away with that banner: and therewith led himſelf the way, and brake firſt through the trench, and over the paliſado into their camp. Now by this time the Peligni fought within the rampier: and then *Valerius Flaccus* a Coronel of the third legion, from another ſide fell to upbraid the Romans, and hit them in the teeth with their beaſtly cowardice, for ſuffering their allies to have the honor of entring and taking the camp. Whereupon *T. Pedanius* (a centurion of the Regiment called *Principes*, and ſerving in the firſt place thereof) took likewiſe an enſign from him that carried it, and withal, Now ſhall, quoth he, this enſign, and this Centinere (meaning himſelf) preſently be G within the rampier of the enemies: let me ſee who dare follow, and ſave it from being taken by the enemy. At firſt, his own band and company followed him hard at heels, as he clambred to get over the rampier, and then the whole legion came after likewiſe. By this time, the Conſul alſo ſeeing his ſouldiers climbing over the rampier, changed his purpoſe, and was of a clean other mind: and from calling and reclaming his ſouldiers back, fell to exhort and encourage them, ſhewing in how great hazard and danger a right hardy and valiant cohort of allies were, and the whole Legion of Citizens beſides. They all therefore ſet to, and every man did his beſt: and notwithſtanding there was many a dart driven and javelin lanced, notwithſtanding the enemies oppoſed

* *Abruzza.*

* *Beneventi, or concordia Caſtra.*

poſed their armor and bodies full againſt them yet they never ſtinted to aſſay every place, as well H
high as low, until they were broken through, and gotten in. Many a man was hurt (ye may be
ſure) but yet even they that bled until they fainted, and were not able to fight any longer, carried
this mind and ſtrove withal, to die yet within the rampier of their enemies. Thus in the turning
of an hand the camp was won, as eaſily as if it had been pitched upon a plain and even ground,
and not fortified at all with trench and rampier. From this time now, there was no more fight-
ing, but killing on all hands in that tumult and confuſion of pell mell within the camp. Slain
there were of enemies more than ſix thouſand, and above ſeven thouſand taken priſoners, toge-
ther with the Campan purveiors for corn, and all the proviſion of wains, carts, and labouring
beaſts. Beſides, another huge booty was taken, which *Hanno* when he went a foraging all abroad, I
had raiſed out of the country of the aſſociats of the people of *Rome*. Then the Conſul after he
had caſt down all the fortifications of the camp, returned from thence to *Beneventum*. And there
both the Conſuls together (for *Ap. Claudius* alſo thither came after a few dayes) made ſale of all
the prizes and pillage, and divided the ſame. *Vibius* the Pelignian, and *T. Pedanius* a principal
centurion of the third legion, by whoſe forward and ſingular good ſervice, the camp of the ene-
mies was forced, were rewarded eſpecially above the reſt. *Hanno* then together with ſome few
forragers whom by chance he had with him returned from *Cominium Ceritum* (whither the news
came of the loſſe of the camp) into the Bruttians country, more like one that fled in rout, then
marched in warlike order.

The Campans alſo having heard, as well of their own loſſes as of their allies, ſent Embaſſadors K
unto *Annibal*, to certify him; "That both the Conſuls were at *Beneventum*, that the war was
"within a dayes journey of *Capua*, and but a ſtep from the very gates and walls of the City: and
"unleſs he made good haſt to ſuccour and reſcue them, *Capua* would ſooner come under the
"obedience and ſubjection of the enemies, than *Arpi* did. And he was not to make ſuch a reck-
"ning of all *Tarentum* (much leſs then of the Caſtle alone) as in regard thereof to leave *Capua* un-
"defended, and yeeld it to the people of *Rome*, *Capua* I ſay, which he was wont to compare and
"make equal with the City of *Rome*. *Annibal* promiſed that he would take care for the good
eſtate of the Campans: and for the preſent he ſent two thouſand Horſemen with the Embaſſa-
dors, as a guard to keep the country and territory from invaſion and ſpoil.

The Romans in this mean time, among other their affairs, neglected not the ſafety of the L
Caſtle of *Tarentum*, and the garriſon there beneged. For *C. Servilius*, Lieutenant, by order and
authority of the Senat, was ſent by *P. Cornelius* the Pretor into *Hetruria*, to purvey for corn, and
to buy ſtore: who with certain ſhips laden therewith, arrived in the haven of *Tarentum*, paſſing
even through the guards of the enemies. At whoſe coming, they that before whiles they had but
ſmall hope, were oftentimes by way of parly moved by the enemies to go to the contrary ſide, now
themſelves began to perſwade and ſollicit the enemy to come unto them. And the garriſon ſure-
ly was ſtrong enough, conſidering that the ſouldiers which lay at *Metapontum*, were drawn from
thence to the defence and keeping of the Caſtle of *Tarentum*. And therefore the Metapontins, ſo
ſoon as they were delivered of the fear whereby they were kept and held in as with a bit, revol-
ted unto *Annibal*. Semblably did the Thurins alſo, who inhabited the ſame tract by the Sea ſide. M
They were moved and perſwaded thereto, not ſo much by the rebellion of the Tarentins and
Metapontins, with whom they were linked in kindred, and joyned neer in blond (over and be-
ſides that they were deſcended as well as they, out of *Achaia*) as with anger toward the Romans
for the hoſtages lately by them killed. Their friends therefore and kinſfolk diſpatched letters and
meſſengers unto *Hanno* and *Mago* (who were in the country of the Brutii neer at hand) offer-
ing to deliver the City into their hands, if they brought their power and preſented it before their
walls. Now was there one *M. Atinius*, Captain there over a ſmall garriſon, whom they ſuppo-
ſed might be eaſily drawn forth of the Town to make ſome raſh and inconſiderat skirmiſh, preſu-
ming not ſo much upon his own ſouldiers (who were but an handful) as upon the youth and flour
of the Thurians, whom he had of purpoſe enrolled into bands and companies, and furniſhed N
with armor againſt the like occaſions of ſervice. The Carthaginian Captains afore named, had
divided all their forces between them in two parts, and were entred into the territory of Thurii:
and *Hanno* with his Regiment of footmen, advanced with banners diſplayed before the City:
*Mago* with the Horſemen, ſtaid behind cloſe among the Hills, over-againſt the Town, and there
lay ſecretly in ambuſh. *Atinius* then, who by his eſpials was enformed only of the ſquadrons of
footmen, came forth with his forces into the field, ignorant (God wot) both of the falſhood and
treaſon of the Townſmen, and alſo of the covert trains and ambuſhment of the enemies. The
skirmiſh of footmen was exceeding faint and cold, whiles the Romans being but few, fought in
the vanguard: and the Thurins looked rather when the skirmiſh ſhould end, than made any haſt
to fight themſelves and help: and withal, the ſquadrons of the Carthaginians gave ground for O
the nonce, to train the enemy as far as the ſide of the Hill, under which, on the other ſide their
Horſemen lay in wait and were ambuſhed. And thither they were not ſo ſoon come, but the
Horſemen made haſt to ſhew themſelves, with a great outcry, and preſently put to flight the raw
and diſordered company and multitude of the Thurins; who were not very faſt and ſound in
heart to them on whoſe ſide they fought. The Romans, albeit they were environed round, whiles
the footmen lay ſtill at them on the one ſide, and the Horſemen charged them a-freſh on the other
ſide, yet they mainteined fight, and held out a long while: but at laſt, they likewiſe turned their
back

A back and fled to the City. There the traitors and conſpirators being gathered together on heaps, ſo ſoon as they had let in at the gates ſtanding wide open, the companies of their own citizens: when they ſaw once the Romans running apace in diſaray toward the City, made a falſe alarm, crying aloud that the Carthaginians were at hand, and that both enemies and friends together intermingled, would enter the City, unleſs they made better haſt to ſhut the gates. So they excluded the Romans out, and gave them as a prey to be hewn in peeces by their enemies. Howbeit, *Atinius* with ſome few, was received within the Town firſt. After this, there was ſome mutiny and diſſention between the citizens themſelves, for a little while. Some were of mind to ſtand upon their guard and defend the Town: others were of opinion, to yeeld unto fortune of B the time, and deliver it up to the victors hands. But in concluſion, fortune and bad counſel together, (as for the moſt part it falleth out) prevailed. And ſo, after they had brought *Atinius* and his ſouldiers to the haven ſide, unto their ſhips for to be embarked, more upon good will that they bare to him for his mild and juſt government, and therefore were ready to ſave him, than for any regard at all they had of the Romans, they received the Carthaginians into the City.

The Conſuls then led the legions from *Beneventum* into the territory of *Capua*, not only to make ſpoil and marre the corn, that was laid up already in ſtrong Towns againſt winter, but alſo to aſſail *Capua*: ſuppoſing they ſhould make their Conſulſhip renowned unto poſterity, by the deſtruction of ſo rich and wealthy a City: and beſides, do away that great diſhonour and ſhameful C blemiſh of the Empire of *Rome*, in ſuffering a City ſo neer unto them to continue now three years in rebellion, without revenge and condign puniſhment. But to the end that *Beneventum* ſhould not be without a guard, and that againſt all ſuddain accidents and occurrences of war, in caſe *Annibal* ſhould come to *Capua*, for to reſcue and aid his allies, (which they made no doubt but he would do) there might be Horſemen to withſtand his violence: they commanded *T. Gracchus* to come out of *Lucania*, with the cavalry and light armed footmen: and to take order and leave ſome other to govern the legions and the ſtanding camp, for the guard and defence of thoſe parts there.

*Gracchus* before he diſlodged out of the Lucans country, hapned to have a fearful and prodigiD ous token, as he offred ſacrifice. For after the ſacrifice was performed and accompliſhed, two Snakes came gliding out of a blind hole, no man knew how, to the entrails of the beaſt, and fell to eat the Liver: and ſo ſoon as they were eſpied, ſuddainly glid out of ſight and were no more ſeen. Now, when as the bowel-pryers had given advice to kill a new ſacrifice, and ſo ſoon as the inwards were opened and laid foorth, to tend and look unto them more heedfully; the Snakes came again, as it is reported, the ſecond and third time: and when they had once given as it were an aſſay, and taſted the Liver, they went cleer away without hurt and untouched. And albeit the Soothſayers aforeſaid, had given an *Item*, and foretold, that this prodigious ſight perteined properly unto the chief Captain and General, and warned him to take heed of ſome cloſe perſons and ſecret practiſes: yet his fatal deſtiny of death that hung over his head, could by no forecaſt and providence be altered and avoided. Now there was one *Flavius* a Lucane, the principal head of E that bend and ſide of the Lucans, which when the other faction revolted unto *Annibal*, took the Romans part; and having been by them choſen the Prætor, had continued in that place of Magiſtracy a year already: this man all on a ſuddain chanced his mind and affection, and ſeeking to wind and enter into the favour of *Annibal*, could not be content to revolt himſelf, and to draw with him the Lucans to rebellion; unleſs he made a league alſo and covenant with the enemies, and ſealed it with the murder and bloud of his General: of him (I ſay) who being enterteined and lodged in his houſe, he purpoſed villanouſly to betray. He entred therefore into ſecret ſpeech and conference with *Mago*, Governour over the *Brutii*, and having capitulated with him, under his faithful word and promiſe, That if he delivered the Roman General into his hands, the Lucans might live in freedom under their own Laws, in league and amity with the Carthaginians; he told him of a place into which he would bring *Gracchus*, with a ſmall company and guard about him: willing *Mago* to put his foot and horſe in arms, and in ſuch a place aforehand, wherein he might beſtow cloſely and ſecretly a mighty number of men. When the place was well viewed and conſidered all about, they agreed upon a day, for putting this plot in practiſe. This done, *Flavius* cometh to the Roman General *Gracchus*, and enformeth him that he had begun an enterpriſe of great conſequence, for the accompliſhment and full perfecting whereof, he needed the helping hand of *Gracchus* himſelf; "Namely, he had perſwaded with all the Prætors and Go"vernors, who in that univerſal and general trouble of all *Italy*, had revolted unto *Annibal*, for "to return again into the league and friendſhip of the Romans: ſeeing that the Roman ſtate and "their Dominion, which by the overthrow at *Canna* was come in a manner to the loweſt ebb, "and faln into extream deſpair, flowed now again, and grew every day more than other, greater "and mightier; whereas contrary-wiſe, the puiſſance of *Annibal* decayed much, and was well"neer come to nothing: beſides, the Romans were men that might be appeaſed and reconciled "again, eſpecially the treſpaſs being ſo long ago done and paſt: for never was there nation un"der the ſun, more tractable, more exorable and ready to pardon a fault: and how often have "they (to go no further for examples) forgiven the open Rebellion even of their fore-fathers and "anceſtors? Theſe (quoth he) were my words unto them, and indeed, but my words. Mary "they had rather hear *Gracchus* himſelf ſpeak, and hear the ſame from out of his own mouth:

"they

"they would more gladly talk with him in perſon, and take hold of his right hand, which as the H
"aſſured pawn of his faithful promiſe, he carieth alwayes with him whereſoever he goeth, and
"they deſire no more. I have therefore (ſaith he) appointed a convenient place of enterview and
"conference: lying out of the way and forth of ſight, but yet not far from the Romans camp.
"There the matter may be diſpatched in few words, and all the name and nation of the Lucans,
"reduced under the obedience and alliance of the people of *Rome*. *Gracchus* ſuſpecting no fraud
nor harm neither in his words nor deeds, ſounding all to a great likelihood of ſimplicity and truth
in his conceit, departed out of the camp attended upon with his Sergeants, and guarded only
with a cornet of Horſemen: and ſo by the guidance of his own hoſt, in whoſe houſe he lodged,
was plunged headlong within the danger of the ambuſh of his enemies; Who ſuddainly aroſe: I
and *Flavius* becauſe he would put it out of doubt that he was a traitor, went to their ſide and
joyned with them. Then they let flie arrows, and ſhot darts againſt *Gracchus* and his Horſemen
on every ſide. "Whereupon *Gracchus* alight from horſeback, and commanded the reſt to do the
"ſame, exhorting them, that the only thing which fortune now had left unto them, they would
"grace and honour with vertue. For what remaineth elſe for us, (a ſmall handful unto them)
"environed as we are with a multitude of them, within a valley compaſſed about with hills and
"woods, but preſent death? This only we are to reſolve upon, Whether in this preſent amaze-
"neſs and heartleſs fear, we will as beaſts ſuffer our throats to be cut without revenge again; or
"turning wholly our timorous expectation and ſuffering of death, into choler and courage, fight
"adventurouſly and manfully, and bathing our hands in the bloud of our enemies, loſe our lives K
"and fall down dead, upon the weapons and bodies of them, lying gaſping themſelves under us.
"Ah! that Lucan, that fugitive rogue and rebel, that treacherous and falſe traitor, ſee ye all lay at
"him. Whoſe hap it will be, ere he die, to be his Prieſt, to ſacrifice and ſend him to the Devil,
"he ſhall win an honourable prize, and find no ſmall ſolace and comfort in his own
"death.

With theſe words, he wrapped his rich coat of arms about his left arme (for they had not brought forth with them ſo much as their ſhields) and charged with exceeding force upon the enemies. The fight was far greater on their part than for the proportion and number of the men. The bodies of the Romans lay open moſt unto the ſhot. And thus overcharged on all ſides from the higher places: as being in the valley ſubject to the volley of their darts, they were ſoon pier- L
ced through. When *Gracchus* was left naked alone, and his guard dead at his feet, the Carthaginians did what they could to take him alive: but he having eſpied among the enemies his good hoſt and friend, that Lucan, ran among the thickeſt preſſe: where he was ſo fully bent to mischief him, that they could not will nor chooſe but kill him outright, without they would have loſt the lives of many other. He was not ſo ſoon dead, but *Mago* ſent him ſtreight wayes unto *Annibal*, and commanded that his body together with the knitches of rods (belonging to his Magiſtracy) ſhould be preſented and ſhewed before the Tribunal ſeat of the General. And this is the true report of the end of *Gracchus*: to wit, that he let his life in the Lucan Land, about the plains which are called *Veteres Campi*. There be ſome that tell it otherwiſe, how he being accompanied with his Serjeants, and three ſerving men his bondſlaves, went out from the camp within the M
territory of *Beneventum*, neer unto the River * *Calor*, for to waſh himſelf: where there chanced his enemies to lurk, and lye in wait among the willows and ſalows that grew by the bank ſide, and ſo being unarmed and naked too, he was aſſaulted, where he defended himſelf as well as he could with flinging at them pible ſtones ſuch as the River afforded and carried down with the ſtream, and ſo was ſlain. Others write, that by advice of the Bowel-pryers, he went out of the camp half a mile off, for to purge and expiate in ſome pure and clean place, thoſe prodigious tokens above rehearſed: and there was beſet and environed round about with two troops of Numidian Horſemen, who hapned there to lie in ambuſh. See how variable and uncertain the fame goeth, both in what place, and after what manner, this ſo noble and famous perſon came by his death. Nay, the very funeral and ſepulture alſo of *Gracchus*, is diverſly delivered. Some ſay he was N
enterred by his own ſouldiers within the Roman camp. Others give out and ſay (and that is the more common report) that by the appointment of *Annibal* he was buried in the very entrance of the Carthaginian leaguer; that there was a funeral fire made in ſolemn wiſe to burn his corps; that the whole army juſted and ran at tilt and tornment in their compleat armor; that the Spaniards leaped and danced Morrice; and each nation according to their guiſe and manner performed ſundry motions and exerciſes as well of their weapons, as of their bodies: yea, and that *Annibal* himſelf in proper perſon, with all honor of funeral pomp that might be deviſed, both in word and deed, ſolemnized the obſequies in the beſt maner. This ſay they that affirm the thing to have hapned in the Lucans country. But if a man ſhould believe them, who record how he was ſlain at the River *Calor*, then the enemies gat nothing of him but only his head. Which being O
preſented unto *Annibal*, he ſent *Carthalo* immediatly with it into the Roman camp, unto *Cn. Cornelius* the Treaſurer or Queſtor: who there within the very camp performed the funerals of the General, and both army and citizens of *Beneventum* together ſolemnized the ſame right honourably.

*Gracchus* killed by his hoſt, a Lucan.

*Calor.*

The Conſuls being entred into the territory of *Campan*, as they forraged all abroad, ſtraggling one from another, were by the Townſmen of *Capua* which ſallied out, and by the Horſemen of *Mago*, put in fear; whereupon in great fright and haſt, they rallied the ſouldiers to their colours,

that

that were ranged over the Country: but before they could well embattail them, and set them in array, they were discomfited, and lost above a thousand and five hundred men. Upon which good success, the enemies (as they are a nation by nature proud) began to be very lusty and exceeding audacious, insomuch, as they offered to skirmish sundry times with the Romans, and ever challenged them to fight. But that one battail, so unadvisedly and inconsiderately atchieved, made the Consuls more circumspect and wary afterward. Howbeit, one small occurrence happened, which, as it encouraged and animated them again, so it abated the hearts, and daunted the boldness of the other. For in war there is nothing (be it never so little) but one time or other, it is the occasion of some great consequence and importance. There was in the camp one *T. Quintius Crispinus*, linked in special friendship and familiarity with *Badius*, a Citizen of *Capua*. Their acquaintance grew and encreased upon this occasion: This *Badius* upon a time, before the revolt of *Capua*, fell sick at *Rome*, and lying in *Crispinus* his house, was liberally and kindly used, yea, and tenderly seen unto by him, during his sickness. This *Badius* having put himself forward before the standing guards, that warded at the gate of the Roman camp, willed, that *Crispinus* should be called out unto him. Which being told unto *Crispinus*, he supposed no otherwise of it, but that he should talk friendly and familiarly with him. For albeit both nations generally were at enmity, in regard of the publick State, yet the private right and band of hospitality, remained still in force, and was not forgotten, and therefore he went out somewhat apart from the rest of his fellows. Now, when they were come in sight and interview one of the other. I challenge thee, O *Crispine* (quoth *Badius*) to combat: let us mount on Horseback, and trye it out between us two, without any other companion, whether of us is the better man at arms. To this *Crispinus* made answer again and said, We want no enemies, neither you nor I, upon whom we may make proof of our manhood: as for me, if I met and encountred you in the very battail, yet I would decline, avoid, and shift from you lest I should defile and stain my hand in the murder and bloudshed of my guest and friend. And with this he turned from him, and went his way. But the Campane contrary-wise, upon these words, was the more eager with him, railing and rating at him for his effeminat cowardise and dastardliness, letting flie at the harmless and innocent man, all spightful terms and reproachful language; which himself I wot (if he had his due) was well worthy of: calling him a friendly foe, and a kind enemy indeed and finally charged him, that he made his excuse of sparing him, for friendship sake, whom he knew he was not able to match in manhood and valour. But if (quoth he) thou thinkest, that by the breach of publick league and covenant, our private bands of amity and hospitality, are not yet enough broken in sunder, then here I pronounce openly, in the hearing of two armies, That I *Badius* a Campane, renounce all hospitality with thee *T. Quintius Crispinus* a Roman, and so farewel all friendship for ever: I will, I say, have no more to do by way of acquaintance with thee, no society, no alliance, no hospitality will the guest have with [illegible]at host, who in hostile manner is come to invade his native country, and to make assault upon the publick buildings and private houses thereof. And therefore, if thou be a man, meet me in the field. *Crispinus* drew back a long time, and was loth to enter into the action, but at last his fellow Horsemen, serving in the same troop and cornet with him, forced and perswaded him, not to suffer that bragging Campane, thus to insult over him without revenge. Whereupon he made no more ado, nor any longer delay, but whiles he went unto the L. Generals, to know their pleasure, whether they would permit and license him, out of his order and rank, to fight with an enemy that challenged him, and gave him defiance. And having obtained leave, he buckled his armor about him took his weapon, mounted on Horseback, and calling upon *Badius* by name, bad him come forth if he durst to sing'e fight. The Campane made no stay, and so with spear in rest, set spurs to, and they ran their Horses full carier one at the other. *Crispinus* with his lance pierced *Badius* above his shield, through the left shoulder, and therewith unhorsed him, and when he was faln to the earth with the push, he alight himself from his horse, minding on foot to fall upon him as he lay along, and so to dispatch him outright. But *Badius*, before his enemy seised upon him, left his targuet behind and his horse, and by good footmanship recovered his own fellows. *Crispinus* then, all goodly to be seen with the spoils of his enemy, made shew of the horse and armor that he had won, and bearing up withal the bloudy point of his lance, was with much praise and great gratulation of the souldiers, brought honourably to the Consuls, and presented before them. At whose hands he was both highly commended, and also liberally rewarded.

*Annibal* having dislodged out of the territory of *Beneventum*, and removed into *Capua*, within three dayes after he was come thither, brought forth his forces into the field, making no doubt at all, but that, considering the Campans in his absence, had but few dayes before fought fortunatly, the Romans now would be so much lesse able to abide his royal army so often used to victory. And verily when the conflict was once begun, the Roman battailons of the Infantry were much troubled and distressed, especially with the fierce assault of the Horsemen, who overcharged and pelted them mightily with their darts and Javelins, until the signal was given to their own Cavalry also, to set hard to, and charge the enemies with their horse. Now whiles the men of arms were busy in fight on both sides, it hapned that the Regiment of *Sempronius* [*Gracchus* lately slain] were descried marching a far off under the conduct of *Cn. Cornelius* the Treasurer, which put both parts in like fear, lest they were some new and fresh enemies that advanced against them. So they sounded the retreat on either side, as if they had been agreed so

to

to do, departed out of the field (as a man would say) on even hand, and retired themselves unto H
their several holds: howbeit, the greater number was slain of Romans, upon the first violent charge given by the Horsemen. From thence the Consuls intending to draw *Annibal* away from *Capua* departed sundry wayes, *Fulvius* into the territory of *Cumes*, and *Claudius* into the Lucans Country. The next day, when *Annibal* was advertised, that the Romans had abandoned their camp, and that they were gone into divers parts with their several armies, being at first uncertain whom to pursue, resolved at length to make after *Appius*, and so began to do. But after he had once trained the enemy about to the place that he desired, he returned himself another way to *Capua*. And *Annibal* hapned also upon a new occasion presented, to have a good hand of his enemies in those parts. I

There was one *M. Centenius*, surnamed *Penula*, one of the chief Centurions of the *Pilani*, a singular good Captain in that kind, as well in regard of his mighty and goodly body, as also of his brave mind, and valiant courage. This man having served out his ordinary time required by Law, was by the means of *P. Cornelius Sulla* the Pretor, brought into the Senat-house, and became a Petitioner unto the LL. of the Councel, that he might have the leading of five thousand footmen: promising that within short time, by reason he was so well acquainted with the nature and qualities of the enemy, and withal so much beaten in coasting those quarters, he would do some great deed, and atchieve a piece of notable service: and look, by what cunning devices and stratagems, both our leaders and our armies had been until that day, entrapped and over-raught, the very same would he use and practise against the enemy. He was not so vain and unadvised in K
making this offer, but they were as sottish and foolish again in taking him at his word, and trusting him: as who would say, A good Leader and Commander, and a stout and hardy souldier were all one. And so where as he demanded but five thousand, he had the charge given of eight thousand: whereof the one half were citizens, the other allies and confederats: and besides them, he himself also gathered together out of the country as he marched, a good Company of Voluntaries: in so much as his power was doubled, by that time he came into the Lucans Country, where *Annibal* abode after that he had followed *Claudius* in vain, and to no effect. But a man that had but half an eye might see what the sequel and event would be of the conflict between General *Annib. l.* and Centinere *Centenius*: between both armies also, the one of old beaten souldiers used ever to victories, the other of raw novices and yong beginners, yea, many L
of them taken up suddainly in hast, and slenderly armed by the halfs. For so soon as both hosts had confronted one another, and that on neither side they dallied and shifted off, but minded presently to go to it & fight: soon were they on both parts arranged in order of battail. And albeit the Romans had many disadvantages, yet they mainteined skirmish more than two hours: and that so hotly and couragiously, that they shrunk not one jot, so long as their leader stood on foot. But after that he once was strucken down and slain, who not only in regard and remembrance of the former name (that he had won) of valour and prowesse, but also for fear of future shame and dishonor, in case he should remain alive after the defeat of his forces, whereof he was the only cause through his fool-hardy rashness, presented himself desperately upon the pikes of his enemies, where he might be sure of nothing but present death: and incontinently the Roman bat- M
tailon was discomfited and put to flight. And so hard bestead they were, in seeking wayes and means to escape (all the avenues were so laid and beset with the Horsemen) that of so a great a multitude, there were hardly one thousand saved, all the rest miscarried here and there, and came by their death one way or other.

In this mean time, *Capua* was streightly beleaguered by the Consuls, and they began to assault it in most forcible manner: great preparation there was of all things needful unto such an exploit, and with great diligence every thing provided and brought accordingly. Corn was conveighed to *Casilinum*, and laid up there for store: at the mouth of the River *Vulturnus* (where now the City standeth) was the sconce and castle fortified (which *Fabius* before had built) and a strong garrison therein planted, to the end that both the Sea so neer, and the whole River also might be N
at their command. Into these two fortresses standing on the Sea side, as well the corn which lately was sent out of *Sardinia*, as also that which *Mutius* the Pretor had bought out of *Hetruria*, was transported from the Port of *Ostia*, whereby the army might be served plentifully all winter season. Over and besides that losse received in the Lucans country, the army likewise of the *Volones*, *i.* Voluntary souldiers (which during the life of *Crassus*, had served truly and faithfully) now abandoned their colours; as if by the death of their Captain they had taken themselves fully discharged from warfare.

*Annibal* made no small account of *Capua*: for willing enough he was, that his allies and friends there should not be forsaken and left in so great peril wherein they stood; and yet upon that fortunat succes which happed unto him through the rashhes of one Roman Captain, his fingers O
itched to be doing with another of them, and hoped to find some good opportunity and advantage to surprise and overthrow both Captain and army. Whereas therefore certain Apulian Embassadors advertised him, that *Cn. Fulvius* the Pretor, (who at the first in assaulting of certain Cities in *Apulia*, which had revolted unto *Annibal*, bare himself like a wise and prudent Captain: now afterwards, upon his good fortune and happy speed in those affairs, whereby himself and his souldiers had made up their mouths and filled their hands well with booties and pillage) both himself and his men were grown so idle, and so dissolute, that no good government nor military disci-

A discipline remained among them: hereupon *Annibal* having good experience, (as often heretofore, so in this late instance but few dayes past) in how small stead an army serveth, when it is directed by an unskilful Leader, removed his forces into *Apulia*. Now lay the Roman legions and *Fulvius* the Pretor, encamped about *Herdonia*. And when the news came thither, that the enemies were on their journey coming toward them, hardly might the souldiers be reclaimed and stayed, but they would in all haste pluck up standards and ensigns, and straightwayes go into the field and bid them battail, without commission and commandement of their Pretour. And no one thing more held them back, than the assured hope they had, to do it at their pleasure whensoever they would. *Annibal* the night following, having certain intelligence, that there was a tu-
B mult in the camp, and that most of the souldiers mightily importuned their General to put forth unto them the signal of battail, and called earnestly unto him for to lead them out into the field, made full account to meet with good opportunity and occasion, to have a fair day of his enemies: and therefore he bestowed three thousand men lightly appointed, in divers villages thereabout, among the thick groves and bushes, and within the woods: who at a sign given them, should all at once upon a suddain, start up and leap forth of their lurking corners: and withal, he gave order to *Mago*, with two thousand Horsemen or thereabout to keep all the wayes whereas he supposed they were most like to flee and make escape. Having thus ordred all things beforehand in the night time: at the break of day he entred the field with his army, and embattailed himself in warlike manner. *Fulvius* for his part, was not behind; not induced so much upon any
C hope or conceit he had of good speed, as drawn and haled thereto through the rash enforcement and compulsion of his souldiers. And therefore as they came forth to battail upon a head and heat, inconsideratly, so they were set in array as disorderly; even at the pleasure of the souldiers, according as they came forth and took up their ranks and files, as they list themselves: and then again, as the toy took them in the head left the same, either upon wilfulness or fear. The first legion together with the left wing or cornet of Horsemen, were first marshalled: and the squadrons drawn and stretched out in a great length: notwithstanding the Knight-Marshals and Coronels cried out, that within, there was no strength nor power at all; and that the enemies whersoever they should hap to charge, would break in upon them and go through. But no wholesome counsel for their own good might be taken and considered upon: nay they would not so much as
D lend their ear, and give them the hearing. And by this time *Annibal* was in place, with another manner of army (you may be sure) and otherwise ordered and aranged. And therefore the Romans were not able to abide so much as the first shout and shock of the onset. The Captain himself (as foolish and heady as *Centenius*, but in courage and resolution far short of him) seeing how the world went, the field like to be lost, his souldiers in fear and great perplexity; recovered his horse in great hast, and with some two hundred horsemen fled away and escaped: all the army besides, beaten back affront, beset behind, flanked on the sides, and environed round, were so killed and hewn in pieces, that of eighteen thousand, there were not past two thousand saved. And the enemies besides were masters of the camp.

When these losses one in the neck of another were reported at *Rome*, the City was set in a great
E fit of sorrow and fear for the while: but so long as the Consuls, in whom rested the main chance, had hitherto prospered and sped well, they were the lesse troubled at these by-blowes and crosse misfortunes. Whereupon they addressed *C. Lectorius* and *M. Mitilius* as messengers unto the Consuls, willing them to gather together with good care and diligence, those dispersed reliques and remainders of the two armies; also to have an eye and heedful regard unto them, that upon fear and desperation they yeelded not themselves to the enemy (as it hapned after the Cannian overthrow;) and last of all, to make diligent search and seek out those *Volones*, or voluntary servitors, that had abandoned their ensigns and cassed themselves. The like charge was laid upon *P. Cornelius*, who had commission besides to levy more men. And he made proclamation throughout all market Towns, fairs, and places of frequent resort, That those *Volones* should be found out
F and brought again to their own colours, to serve as aforetime. All these directions were executed and accomplished with exceeding great care and diligence.

*Appius Claudius* the Consul, after he had made *D. Junius* Captain of the sconce erected upon the mouth of the River *Vulturnus*, and *M. Aurelius Cotta* Governour of *Puteoli*, with commission, That as any ships [with corn] from out of *Hetruria* or *Sardinia* arrived there, they should immediatly send the corn to the camp; went back himself to *Capua*: where he found *Q. Fulvius* his Colleague, transporting thither all provision from *Casilinum*, and making preparation for the assault of *Capua*. Then both Cons. jointly together besieged the City: and sent unto *Claudius Nero* the Pretor, for to come unto them from *Suessula*, out of the old camp of *Claudius*.
G Who likewise leaving a small garrison there to defend the peece, with all his power and forces, descended into the plains before *Capua*. So there were three royal pavillions pitched for three LL. Generals about *Capua*: and three full armies in three sundry places began to fortifie, erecting bastions and forts in places not far distant: yea, and to cast a trench and raise a rampier round about the City. And in divers quarters at once, they skirmished with the men of *Capua*, whensoever they came to hinder their fortifications, with so good success, that the Townsmen were driven at last to keep within their gates and walls. But before that those rampiers and trenches aboveseid were fully finished, and all ends brought together, there were Embassadors dispatched unto *Annibal*, to complain in the name of the Capuans, as finding themselves grie-

ved, that he had forſaken *Capua*, and in a manner delivered it into the Romans hands: and withall, to beſeech him earneſtly, that now or never, he would reſcue and ſuccor them, being not only beſieged, but alſo ſhut up and almoſt trenched about, as within a priſon. *P. Cornelius* likewiſe the Pretor of the City of *Rome*, ſent his letters unto the Conſuls, adviſing them before they had fully inveſted *Capua* round about, to make offer unto the Capuans of this liberty, That as many as would, might depart with bag and baggage out of *Capua*: and whoſoever went forth before the * Ides of *March*, ſhould enjoy their freedome and all their goods and lands: but as many as after that day, either departed or tarried there ſtill behind, ſhould be reckoned no better than very enemies. Theſe intimations were made known unto the Campans, but ſo light they ſet by them, that they fell a railing, reviling, and menacing the Romans, with moſt reproachful taunts and ſpightful terms. *Annibal* was departed from *Herdonia* with his legions unto *Tarentum*, hoping either by force or fraud to gain the Caſtle. And ſeeing he little prevailed, he turned from thence and took his way to *Brunduſium*, ſuppoſing that Town would be betrayed into his hands. Whiles he lay there alſo and loſt his time in doing nothing, the Embaſſadors of the Campans arrived and came unto him, with complaints and humble requeſts both at once. Unto whom *Annibal* made this glorious and lordlike anſwer with a Majeſty: Once already have I raiſed the ſiege, and never will the Conſuls, I trow, abide my ſecond coming. The Embaſſadors having received their diſpatch, departed with this hope: but much ado they had, to put themſelves within *Capua*, ſo enclоſed round was it (by this time) with a double trench and a rampier.

* 15. of March.

It fortuned at the very ſame inſtant, when *Capua* was thus ſtreightly beleaguer'd, that the ſiege alſo and aſſault of *Syracuſe* came to an end: helped forward and haſtned by inteſtine treachery and treaſon withal, as well as by force of army and valour of Captain abroad. For *Marcellus* in the beginning of the ſpring, doubtful in himſelf and hanging in ſuſpence, whether to bend his whole forces toward *Agrigentum* againſt *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*, or ſtill proceed to beſiege *Syracuſe*: albeit he ſaw the City might not poſſibly be won, either by forcible aſſault, (conſidering it was by ſituation both by Sea and Land invincible) or piniug famine, by reaſon the paſſage in manner lay open to and fro between it and *Carthage*, for ſafe tranſporting of all ſort of victuals: yet becauſe he would leave no ſtone unrolled, but try all wayes that could be deviſed; he commanded certain revolts from the Syracuſians (for there ſided with the Romans ſome of the nobleſt perſons of the City, who at the time of the firſt backſliding from the Romans, becauſe they miſliked and abhorted all rebellion and change in the ſtate, were driven out and baniſhed the City) to deal with their bend and faction by way of conference, to ſound the hearts (I ſay) of ſuch as were their followers, and to ſollicit them to their part: and withal to aſſure them (upon their warrant) that if by their means *Syracuſe* were betrayed, they ſhould live in freedome, and enjoy their own Laws as they would themſelves. But no opportunity could they eſpie for to parly and talk with them. For by reaſon that there were many ſuſpected to encline and draw that way, every man had a careful eye and regard unto them, that there could be no treachery practiſed, but ſoon it would be found out and detected. Yet a bond-ſervant toward one of the baniſhed perſons aboveſaid hapned to be let into the City, pretending that he was run away from the adverſe part unto them: who hapning to meet with ſome few, began to move and broach ſuch a matter. After which, certain others lying cloſe hidden under the nets in a fiſher boat came about by water to the camp of the Romans, and had conference and communication with thoſe former fugitives and exiled men. And thus from time to time, this was practiſed in the ſame manner, by divers and ſundry perſons, until at length they were a crew of fourſcore in all. Now when all things were concluded for the betraying of the City, neer upon the point of execution, it chanced that one *Attalus* (a falſe brother among them, who took ſnuff that he was not ſpecially truſted in the matter) diſcloſed the conſpiracy unto *Epicides*, and appeached the parties: whereupon they were all put to extream torture, and ſuffered death every one. When this plot would ſpeed no better, they conceived hope another way, by a new occaſion and occurrence that preſently offred it ſelf. There chanced one *Damaſippus* a Lacedemonian, ſent from *Syracuſa*, as a meſſenger to King *Philip* for to be taken priſoner by the Roman armado. Now both *Epicides* was very deſirous and exceeding careful how to ranſome him, and alſo *Marcellus* was not unwilling for his part to grant the ſame. For even then the Romans began to affect the friendſhip of the Ætolians, with which Nation the Lacedemonians were confederat, and in league. So, when there ſhould be commiſſioners and delegates ſent on both ſides, to parle and treat about his redemption the moſt indifferent place for them to meet in, was at the key or wharf of * *Trogili*, faſt by a turret which they call * *Galeagra*, as being juſt in the midſt between, and moſt convenient for both parties. It hapned now, that as they had recourſe oftentimes thither about this buſineſs, one of the Romans well viewed the wall neer by, he counted the ſtones that appeared in the forefront of the wal, and made eſtimate to himſelf of their quadrature and proportion; and withal, giving a gueſs as neer as he could of what height (by his reckoning) and meaſure the wall might be: and ſuppoſing it was a good deal lower than either he himſelf or others had alwayes before taken it to be and eaſy to be ſca'ed with ladders, even of a mean ſize and middle ſort, he relateth the matter and his conceit of it to *Marcellus*. And in his opinion it was a thing not to be neglected, but to be thought upon. But for aſmuch as there was no acceſs unto that place by reaſon that for the lowneſs therof, it was the more carefully guarded and defended, it was thought good to wait for ſome opportunity and advantage to help that difficulty. Which, as good hap was, offered it ſelf preſently unto them by

* Stinſino.
* Scala Graca.

means

A means of a fugitive: who gave them intelligence, that they held a ſolemn feaſt of *Diana* at that time within the City, and the ſame continued three dayes together: alſo he ſaid, that for want of other things, during this ſiege to make good chear withal, they ſpared for no wine, but made merry therewith in great plenty and abundance. For why? not only *Epicides* had bountifully beſtowed wine upon the whole Commons, but alſo the great men of the City had in every ward and pariſh where they dwelt, allowed a proportion beſides, of their own charges. When *Marcellus* heard this, he called unto him ſome few of his Colonels and knight Marſhals, and conferred with them: and when they had ſorted out certain choice and elect Centurions and ſouldiers, fit and ſufficient men to adventure and execute ſo great a peece of ſervice, and withal provided ladders
B ſecretly; to all the reſt he commanded a watchword and warning to be given, That they ſhould betimes take their refection of meat and repoſe of ſleep, for that in the night they were to be employed in an expedition and action of ſervice. After this, when he thought it was about the time, that they (as having feaſted all day long, and well filled their bellies with meat, and their heads with wine) were gone to reſt, and newly fallen ſound aſleep, he commanded one enſign or company of ſouldiers, to cary ladders; and beſides them, there were upon a thouſand well armed and appointed, marching with ſilence and in thin ranks, brought thither to the place. When the formoſt without any ſtir or noiſe at all had ſcaled the top of the wall, others followed in their courſe. For the forward and reſolute boldneſs of the former, was able to animate and encourage the reſt, if they had been fals-hearted. By this time now, the thouſand armed ſoldiers had ſeized
C that part, when the reſt of the ladders were ſet to: and upon more ladders ſtill, they gat up to the wall in diverſe places, upon a ſignal given them from the gate *Hexapylos*. Unto which places the Romans were now come, and found no ſtirring at all, but exceeding ſilence and deſolation, for aſmuch as a great ſort of them had made good chear within the turrets, and either were faſt aſleep with drinking wine already, or elſe were bibbing ſtill, notwithſtanding their eyes were heavy, and their hearts aſleep. And yet, ſome few of them they took in their beds, and killed. Neer unto *Hexapylos* there is a little wicket, which with great violence they began withal, to break it open. So as now, both from the wall (as was before appointed) they gave ſignal by ſound of trumpet: and alſo from all parts they went not to work any more by ſtealth, but plainly and openly without diſſimulation. For they were come already as far as *Epipolæ*, a place full of
D watchmen and warders. And the enemies were to be terrified now and ſtrucken into fear, and no longer to be dealt withal by craft and guile. And it fell out ſo indeed, that they were mightily ſcared. For they heard not ſo ſoon the ſounding of the trumpets, and the ſhouting and outcry of them that were poſſeſſed of the walls and one part of the City, but the warders, thinking all was gone, ſome ran along upon the wall, others leapt from the walls, or elſe were born down headlong, with the preſs of others that were affrighted. And yet many there were, who were not ware at all of this miſery and extremity, both becauſe generally they were all dead aſleep, and alſo by reaſon that the City was ſo wide and large, that a thing felt and ſeen in ſome remote parts, reached not ſtreightwayes throughout, to all the reſt. The gate *Hexapylos* was broken down ſomewhat before day, at which *Marcellus* with all his power entred the City. He wakened them all, and
E ſet them to their buſineſs; he made them take weapon in hand, and to help (what they could) a City in a manner wholly ſurpriſed and taken. *Epicides* made haſt from the Iſland (which they themſelves call *Naſos*) with a company of ſouldiers about him, making full account to drive them out again: as ſuppoſing that they were but ſome few, who through the negligence of the watchmen and warders were got over the wall: and ever as he met with any that were ſcared and in fear, he ſaid unto them eftſoons, that they themſelves made more ado, and every thing worſe than there was cauſe, reporting all in greater meaſure and more fearful manner than need was in very truth. But when he ſaw all places about * *Epipolæ* full of armed men, after ſome ſmall volley of ſhot, and little skirmiſh with the enemy, (whereby he provoked them, rather than did any good elſe) he turned back again with his companies, and retired into *Acradina*, not fearing ſo much the vio-
F lence and multitude of the enemies, as leſt ſome inteſtine miſchief by this occaſion might ariſe, and that he ſhould find in this tumult and hurliburly the gates of *Acradina*, and the Iſland ſhut againſt him. *Marcellus* being entred within the walls, took his proſpect from the higher places, and when he beheld under his eyes the moſt goodly and beautiful City of all others in thoſe dayes, (by report) he wept and ſhed tears abundantly, partly for joy that he had brought his purpoſe to good a paſs, and partly in compaſſion and remembrance of the ancient glory and renown of that City. He called to mind the navies of the Athenians by them ſunk and drowned: he thought upon the utter overthrow of two puiſſant armies, together with the loſs of two moſt noble and famous Captains of theirs: moreover, there came into his memory ſo many wars fought againſt the Carthaginians, with ſo great peril and hazard: ſo many and ſo mighty Tyrants and Kings that
G raigned and kept their ſeat and royal court there: and amongſt the reſt, he could not chuſe but think of King *Hiero*, of freſh and famous memory, a Prince, who above all other gifts which his own vertue and fortune had graced and endued him withal, was recommended eſpecially for his many favours and good turns done unto the people of *Rome*. When all theſe things preſented themſelves to his remembrance, with this cogitation beſides, how all that beauty and glory within one hours ſpace was ready to burn on a light fire, and to be conſumed into aſhes: before that he advanced his enſigns againſt *Acradina*, he ſent before, thoſe Syracuſians who had converſed (as is aforeſaid) amongſt the guards and garriſon of the Romans, to perſwade the enemies with mild and gen-

* Some make it the fifth part of *Syracuſa*.

tle ſpeech, yet, to yeeld the City. It ſo fell out, that the moſt part of them that warded the gates H and walls both, of *Acradina*, were certain fugitive revolts fled from the Romans, who had no hope at all, upon any condition whatſoever to be pardoned. Theſe would ſuffer none, either to approach the walls, or to parle and ſpeak with any. And therefore *Marcellus*, after he ſaw that enterpriſe fruſtrate and diſappointed, commanded to retire with the enſigns unto *Euryalus*. This *Euryalus* is a little mount and fort, ſituate in the utmoſt quarter of the City remote far from Sea, and commanding the high way that leadeth into the fields, and the middle parts and very heart of the whole Iſland; a place very commodious for the taking up and receipt of all victuals. The Captain of this hold was *Philodemus* an Argive, placed there by *Epicides*. Unto whom there was ſent from *Marcellus*, *Soſis*, one of them that murdred the tyrant: and after long communication, I *Soſis* with crafty words abuſed by him, and colourably put off until another time, made relation unto *Marcellus*, that *Philodemus* had taken a farther day of reſpite and deliberation. But he put off ſtill from day to day, trifling out the time of purpoſe, until *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* might come with their forces and legions, making no doubt, but if he might receive them into his fortreis, the whole army of the Romans being now encloſed within the walls, ſhould be overthrown and utterly defeated. *Marcellus* ſeeing that *Euryalus* was not delivered up, (and forced poſſibly it could not be) encamped himſelf between *Neapolis* and *Tyche* (ſo are two parts of the City named, and may for their bigneſs go well enough for two entire cities of themſelves:) for fear leſt if he were once entred into the populous and moſt inhabited places of the City his ſouldiers greedy of pillage, would not be kept together, but run looſely up and down to rifle. Thither came unto him K from *Tyche* and *Neapolis*, Embaſſadors and Orators, with olive branches adorned with ſacred veils and infules, humbly beſeeching him to hold his hand from effuſion of bloud, and firing the City. *Marcellus* calling his Councel about theſe their petitions, rather than demands, after mature deliberation, by general conſent of all, gave expreſs and ſtreight commandment to the ſouldiers, that no man ſhould offer abuſe or violence to the body of any free-born perſon whattoever: as for all beſides, his will and pleaſure was it ſhould be their booty. Now was the camp of *Marcellus* defended on both ſides with houſing in ſtead of a wall, and he beſtowed a good *corps de guard* at the gates thereof, lying open over againſt the ſtreets: leſt when the ſouldiers ran to and fro in the City, the camp in the mean while might be aſſailed. Then upon the ſound of Trumpet the ſouldiers fell to their buſineſs, ran into all parts, brake open dores, ſet all on a fearful hurry, but ſpilled L no bloud: and they never gave over ranſacking and rifling, until they had caſt out and carried away all the riches and goods, that had been a gathering a long time, during their wealthy and proſperous eſtate. Amid theſe ſtirs, *Philodemus* alſo ſeeing no hope of ſuccours and reſcue, after he had covenanted for his ſecurity, to return ſafe and without harm to *Epicides*, withdrew his garriſon away with him out of the fort, and rendred it up to the Romans.

Now whiles every man was turned another way, and buſied in that part of the City which was forced, *Bomilcar* taking the advantage of one night, wherein the Roman fleet by reaſon of a violent tempeſt could not ride at anchor in the main Sea, gat forth of the haven of *Syracuſe* with 35 ſhips, and having Sea-room, hoiſed up ſails, and away he went with a mery gale of wind, leaving 40 behind for *Epicides* and the Syracuſians: and after he had informed the Carthaginians in what M danger the ſtate of *Syracuſe* ſtood, returned within few dayes with a fleet of a hundred ſail, rewarded for his labor (as the report went) by *Epicides*, with many rich gifts, which the treaſure of King *Hiero* paid for. *Marcellus* poſſeſſed now of the fortreſs *Euryalus*, and having planted there a garriſon, was well rid of one care yet: for he doubted, leſt if a new power of enemies had been received behind his back into that fort, they would greatly have annoyed his men, encloſed now as they were, and encumbred within the walls.

After this he beſieged *Acradina*, and inveſted it round about, and fortified three ſeveral camps (in meet and convenient places) againſt it, hoping to ſhut them up into ſuch ſtreights, that they ſhould be driven to extream ſcarcity and want of all things. Now when as for certain dayes, the guards of the one ſide and the other had reſted quiet, ſuddainly upon the arival of *Hippocrates* and N *Himilco*, they within began from all parts to ſet freſhly upon the Romans. For, firſt *Hippocrates* (after he had encamped and well fortified himſelf faſt by the great Key, and given a ſignal to them that kept *Acradina*) aſſaulted the old camp of the Romans, where *Criſpinus* lay with his guard for the defence thereof: then *Epicides* alſo ſallied forth, and brake upon the *Corps de guard* of *Marcellus*: and withal, the Carthaginian fleet approached cloſe to the ſtrand that lieth between the City and the Roman camp, to hinder that *Criſpinus* might have no aid ſent unto him from *Marcellus*. And yet for all this ado, the enemies made a greater ſtir and tumultuous alarm, than any skirmiſh to ſpeak of: for *Criſpinus* not only gave *Hippocrates* the repulſe, and drave him from the defences of his own camp, but alſo followed him in chace, as he fled fearfully in haſt away: and *Marcellus* forced *Epicides* to take the City again, and get it over his head. So as now they O ſeemed very ſufficiently provided and appointed againſt all dangers from thence forth, of their ſuddain ſallies and irruptions.

A great peſtilence in *Syracuſa*.

Over and beſides all theſe troubles, there hapned a common calamity unto both, the plague and peſtilence: in ſuch manner, as it might ſoon have withdrawn the minds, as well of the one part as of the other, from thinking any more of war. For, beſides that it fell out to be the Autumn or harveſt ſeaſon of the year, the place it ſelf by nature unwholſome, ſtinking and corrupt (but much more without the City than within) the extream and intolerable heat of the

weather

A weather mightily diſtempered all their bodies generally, in the camps both the one and the other. At the firſt, by occaſion of the diſtemperature of the ſeaſon, and corruption of the place, they both fell ſick and died: but afterward by viſiting and tending one another that were infected, the diſeaſe grew catching and contagious, and ſo ſpred and increaſed more and more: in ſuch manner, as either they that were faln ſick periſhed for want of looking to and diligent attendance; or if any came about them, to keep them and miniſter unto them, they were infected and endangered alſo as deeply as the other: ſo as every day a man could go no where, but either death, or corſes carried forth to their graves, were preſented to his eyes: night and day in all places there was nothing heard but weeping, wailing, and piteous lamentation. In the end their B hearts were ſo hardned and made ſavage again, by continual uſage to this miſery, that not only they gave over to weep over the dead, and to accompany them unto their ſepulchres with due mourning and doleful plaints but alſo to carry them forth and to inter them: ſo that the breathleſſe bodies lay ſcattred all abroad on the ground in the ſight of them, that looked every hour for the like miſerable death themſelves. The dead killed the ſick: the ſick infected the ſound, partly with fear, and partly with the corruption and peſtiferous ſtench that came from their bodies. And becauſe they would die rather upon the ſwords point, than of this maladie, ſome of them made offer to go alone among the armed guards of their very enemies, to be killed out of hand, and rid out of their miſery. Howbeit, the plague was hotter by far in the Carthaginian camp, than among the Romans, by reaſon of corrupt water, and much ſlaughter committed there, C and ſo long ſiege about *Syracuſe*. For of the enemies army, the Sicilians at the firſt, ſo ſoon as they ſaw the ſickneſs to ſpread commonly, and increaſe by reaſon of the corruption of the place, got themſelves away, and ſtole every man home to the Cities neer adjoyning. But the Carthaginians were fain to ſtick by it ſtill, as having no place to retire themſelves unto, and ſo, they together with their Generals themſelves *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, died all of them, and not one eſcaped. *Marcellus* when he ſaw this mortality grow thus hot, brought his people into the City, where the houſes and ſhadowy places yeelded ſome good refreſhing to the ſick and weak bodies: howbeit, many alſo of the Roman army went of it, and turned up their heels. Thus when the Land-ſouldiers of the Carthaginians were all gone and conſumed of the plague, the Sicilians who had ſerved under *Hippocrates*, withdrew themſelves into certain Towns, which were not D great, yet ſure and ſtrong both by natural ſituation, and alſo by ſtrength of walls and other defences; the one of them three miles from *Syracuſe* the other fifteen miles diſtant from the haven mouth: and thither they conveighed from out of their own cities adjoyning, all manner of victuals, and ſent abroad for aids of men.

In the mean while *Bomilcar* ſet ſail once again with his fleet for *Carthage*, where he made relation of the ſtate of their confederats in ſuch terms, that ſtill he fed them with ſome hope, That not only by their help they might be ſaved, but alſo that the Romans (notwithſtanding they had in ſome ſort forced and taken the City) might be ſurpriſed and taken there themſelves: and in concluſion perſwaded and prevailed ſo with them, that they granted not only to ſend with him a great number of hulks and caricks, laden with ſtore of all things, but alſo to furniſh him with E more ſhips of war, to encreaſe his Armado. Whereupon he departed from *Carthage* with 130 Gallies, and 70 ſhips of burden, and had forewinds good enough to ſet him over into *Sicily*. But thoſe winds kept him from doubling the point of the Cape *Pachynus*.

The fame and rumor firſt of *Bomilcar* his coming, and then his delay above mens expectation, that checked it again, wrought diverſly in the minds of the Romans and Syracuſians, miniſtring one while fear, another while joy unto them both. Whereupon *Epicides* fearing leſt if the ſame Eaſterly winds which then held, and were ſettled in that corner, ſhould continue many dayes more, the Carthaginian navy would return again into *Affrick*, leaving the guard of *Acradina* to the Captains of the waged and mercenary ſouldiers, ſailed to *Bomilcar*, riding ſtill with his fleet in the rode that looketh toward *Affrick*, and fearing a conflict at Sea, not ſo much F becauſe he was inferiour to the enemies either in force or number of ſhips (for he had many more than the Romans) but for that the winds ſtood more favourably to help the Roman Armado than his: howbeit, in the end he perſwaded him to try the fortune of a battail at Sea. And *Marcellus* for his part, ſeeing both the Sicilian forces gather and aſſemble together from all parts of the Iſland, and underſtanding that the Carthaginian fleet was coming with great ſtore of victuals: for fear leſt at any time whiles he was ſhut up within the enemies City, he ſhould be aſſailed both by Sea and Land: albeit he was ſhort of them in number of ſhips, yet determined to hinder *Bomilcar* for arriving at *Syracuſe*. Thus rid two armadaes of enemies affronting one another, about the head of *Pachynus*, ready to joyn battail, ſo ſoon as the calmneſs of the weather would give them leave to advance into the main and open Sea. Therefore when the Eaſt wind began to lie, G which for certain dayes had bluſtred and raged, firſt *Bomilcar* weighed anchor: and the vanguard of his Armado ſeemed to gather ſtill into the deep, only becauſe he might more eaſily gain the Cape and promontory aforeſaid. But ſo ſoon as he ſaw the Romans ſhips make way toward him, (I wot not what ſuddain accident it was that affrighted him) he ſet up all his ſails and fell off, into the main Sea: and after he had ſent certain meſſengers to *Heraclea*, willing them for to fet again their hulks home into *Affrick*, himſelf coaſted all along *Sicily*, and ſhaped his courſe for *Tarentum*. *Epicides* diſappointed thus on a ſuddain, of ſo great hopes that he had, becauſe he would not return again to the ſiege of a City, whereof a great part was loſt already, ſaileth to

*Agrigentum*, there to abide and expect the event and ſmall iſſue, rather than to ſtir himſelf and H
trye any more, how to help them with any ſuccour from thence.

Theſe things being reported in the camp of the Sicilians, to wit, that *Epicides* had quit *Syracuſe*; that the Carthaginians had abandoned the whole Iland of *Sicily*, and in manner yeelded it again into the hands of the Romans: after they had ſounded firſt their minds who were beſieged, by talk and conference with them, they ſent Embaſſadors unto *Marcellus*, to treat about conditions of ſurrendring the City. When they were grown in a manner to this point, without any ſquaring or difference at all, That the Romans ſhould have the ſignory all and wholly which belonged unto the Kings: and that, all the reſt the Sicilians ſhould enjoy, with liberty and their own proper Laws; the Embaſſadors aforeſaid called forth to a parley, thoſe unto whom *Epicides* at his departure had committed the government of the affairs, and declared unto them, that I
as they were addreſſed Orators unto *Marcellus*, ſo they were from him ſent unto the army of the Sicilians: that generally all, as well the beſieged, as thoſe who were without the danger of the ſiege, ſhould be comprized within the treaty, and abide one and the ſame fortune: and that neither the one ſide nor the other ſhould capitulate or enter into any covenant for themſelves apart, without all the reſt. Who being received and admitted, for to ſalute and ſpeak unto their kinsfolk and friends, made them acquainted with the agreement and compoſition between *Marcellus* and them: and ſo after they had preſented unto them ſome good hope of their ſafety, they perſwaded with them ſo far forth, as to joyn with them, and all together, for to ſet upon and aſſault the bodies of the Captains deputed by *Epicides*, namely, *Polyclenus*, *Philiſtio*, and one *Epicides* ſurnamed *Sydus*. When they were once made away and killed, they called the multitude K
together unto a general aſſembly: where they complained greatly of their poverty, and penury of all things (for which they were wont to murmur ſecretly among themſelves:) "And albeit "ye are diſtreſſed (ſay they) with ſo many miſeries and calamities, yet are ye not to blame for- "tune therefore, ſo long as it was in your own power and choice, either to be delivered from "them, or to endure them longer. As for the Romans (ſaid they) it was not hatred, but meer "love and charity, that moved them to come againſt *Syracuſe* for to aſſault it. For when they "heard that the government of the ſtate was uſurped by *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* (the miniſters "firſt belonging to *Annibal*, and after to *Hieronymus*) then they began to lay ſiege unto it intending not the overthrow and deſtruction of the City it ſelf, but to put down and depoſe the L
"cruel tyrant that ruled the ſtate. Seeing then, that now *Hippocrates* is dead, *Epicides* excluded "from *Syracuſe*, his Deputies and Captains killed, and the Carthaginians driven out of all their "hold and poſſeſſion of *Sicily*, both by Land and Sea, what reaſon have the Romans, but to be "willing and well content, that *Syracuſe* ſhould continue in ſafety now as well as if *Hiero* him- "ſelf were living, the only mainteiner and obſervant upholder of the Roman amity? And there- "fore, if ought but well ſhould happen, either to the City, or to the Citizens, ye may thank your "ſelves and none elſe, for letting ſlip opportunity now offered, of reconciliation and attone- "ment with the Romans. Never look to have the like occaſion hereafter, to that, which at this "inſtant is preſented: if ye had the grace to ſee what a door is opened for you, to be delivered "from the yoke of moſt inſolent and proud tyrants. This ſpeech they gave ear unto with ex- M
ceeding accord and general applauſe. But before that any Embaſſadors were nominated to be ſent unto *Marcellus*, it was thought good that new Pretors ſhould be created. Out of the number of which Pretors, there were Orators addreſſed unto *Marcellus*. And the principal man among them, ſpake in this wiſe. "Neither we Syracuſians (quoth he) O *Marcellus*, at the firſt re- "volted from you Romans, but *Hieronymus*, impious and wicked Prince as he was; yet nothing "ſo much hurtful to you as to us: nor afterwards, when peace was knit again upon the murder "of the tyrant, was it any citizen of *Syracuſe*, but *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* (the Kings right "hands and miniſters, who oppreſſed and kept us under, with fear of one ſide, and with deceiva- "ble ſleights on another ſide) that made the brack, and were the troublers and diſturbers of this "peace. Nor yet can any man come forth and ſay truly, that ever we were at our own liberty, N
"and entertained not peace and amity with you. And now alſo I aſſure you, ſo ſoon as by the "maſſacre of theſe, that held *Syracuſe* in ſuch oppreſſion and bondage, we began again to be our "own men and to have the law in our own hands; the firſt thing you ſee that we do, is this, to "come and preſent our ſelves unto you, to deliver up our armor and weapons, to yeeld our bo- "dies, our City, the walls, and all the ſtrength thereof, and to refuſe no condition, that it ſhall "pleaſe you Romans to impoſe upon us. As to your ſelf, O noble *Marcellus*, the Gods have "given you the honour of conqueſt, over the moſt noble and beautiful city of all other in *Greece*. "Behold now, what memorable acts ſoever that we have at any time atchieved, either by Land "or Sea, all makes to the advancement of the glorious title and dignity of your triumph. See "you then, that another day it be not known by bare hear-ſay and the trump of fame, how great O
"and mighty a City you have won, but rather that it may ſtand ſtill and remain for all poſterity, "for a mark and worthy ſpectacle to behold: to the end, that whoſoever hereafter, ſhall reſort "thither by Land, whoſoever ſhall arrive there by Sea, it may preſent unto them, both our Tro- "phees and worthy victories over the Athenians and Carthaginians; and alſo this of yours over "us the braveſt conqueſt of all the reſt. See (I ſay) that you leave for your houſe and family, "the City of *Syracuſe* whole and ſound, to do homage and fealty ever hereafter, to the name and "linage of the *Marcelli*, and to hold of them as of their ſoveraign LL. in chief and in villenage.

"That

A "That all the World may see, that the late remembrance of *Hieronymus*, beareth no greater stroke "with the Romans, that the ancient name of King *Hiero*, a noble Prince of famous memory. "Much longer was he a friend, than the other an enemy. His good deeds and many favours ye "have tasted and felt with great contentment: the folly and madness of *Hieronymus*, hurt none "of you, but wrought his own confusion and overthrow. There was nothing but they might "have obteined at the Romans hands: all was cleer there, and no danger from thence. But a- "mong their own selves they were at more war: there was the peril, there was all the mischief. "For the Roman rebels, who were run from them, doubting that they should be delivered over "into their hands, and not comprised within the terms of the composition and protection, drave
B "the auxiliaries also that were waged souldiers into the same scruple and fear. They hastily there- "fore took arms, and first killed the Pretors: and afterwards, ran all about to massacre the Syra- "cusians. Look whom they hapned to meet, them they murdred in this furious fit of choler. "Whatsoever came next to their hands, and lay handsome for them, they rifled. And because "forsooth they would not be without their leaders, they created six provosts or Captains, that "three should govern *Acradina*, and other three *Nasos*. At the last, after the uprore was "appeased, the mercenary souldiers aforesaid, followed the matter throughly by search and "diligent inquiry, what were the capitulations indeed agreed upon with the Romans; and "then began the very truth to appear, namely, that their condition and the fugitives were far "different.

C These Embassadors in very good time returned from *Marcellus*, and certified them that they were caried away with a wrong surmise and false suspition, and the Romans had no just cause to punish them. Now there was one of those three Provosts of *Acradina*, a Spaniard named *Mericus*. Unto him there was sent for the nonce among those of the retinue and train of the Embassadors aforesaid, one of the Spaniards, who were auxiliary souldiers, serving under the Romans: who finding *Mericus* alone without other company, gave him to understand especially above all "things, in what terms he had left *Spain* (and from thence he was newly come) namely, how the "Romans there were grown mighty, and held a great hand over them with their forces. And "that himself, in case he had a mind to do some worthy deed, might soon rise, and be a great man "in his country: chuse whether he list to serve under the Romans, or return again into his own
D "home. Contrary-wise, if he went on still in this course he had begun, and minded still to be "besieged, what long abiding place could he have there, shut up as he was from Sea and Land? *Mericus* pondered well these reasons: and when it was agreed, that there should be addressed new Embassadors unto *Marcellus*, sent his own brother with them, who by the self-same Spaniard was brought apart from all the rest unto *Marcellus*: and after he had a protection granted, he laid the plot, and ordered all the matter how it should be done, and so returned to *Acradina*. Then *Mericus* because he would withdraw mens minds from all suspition of treason, and that he intended nothing lesse, than to betray *Acradina*, gave it out, That he liked not, and would no more of this recourse, ever and anon, of Embassadors between; and therefore as he would admit of none to come from *Marcellus*, so he would send no more to him. And to the end, that
E all the guards should be kept more diligently, he thought it good to divide conveniently among the Provosts, the quarters of the City, and assign to every one his ward by himself, and that each one should be bound to answer for the safe keeping of his own division, and for no more. Then all gave their consent to part accordingly, and to himself befel the charge of that quarter which reacheth from the fountain or well *Arethusa*, unto the mouth or entry of the great key or haven. And hereof he gave notice and intelligence to the Romans. Whereupon *Marcellus* caused a great Hulk, laden with armed souldiers, to be fastned by an haling rope unto a Gally of four course of oars, and so in the night by strength of oars to be rowed and drawn up after it into *Acradina*, and landeth the souldiers over against the gate, that is neer to the fountain *Arethusa*. This being done about the relief of the fourth watch, *Mericus* received the souldiers that were set ashore at
F the gate, according as before it was agreed. And *Marcellus* by the dawning of the day, with all his forces gave a Camisado upon the walls of *Acradina*, in such manner, that not only he turned thither unto his assault all those that kept *Acradina*, but also from *Nasos* there came running whole squadrons and companies of armed men (leaving their own wards) for to repel and put back the violence and assault of the Romans. In this turmoil and trouble, certein Barges appointed and furnished thereto aforehand, were brought about to *Nasos*, & there set other souldiers aland: who coming at unwares upon the *corps de guards* that were left half naked and very weak, by reason of the departure of their fellows, and finding the gates wide open, at which erewhile the souldiers ran out, with small ado were masters of *Nasos*, left, as it was, forlorn of warders, who in fear made hast to run away and escape. And none of them all had lesse means to de-
G fend themselves, or smaller mind to tarry still, than the fugitive rebels, for they durst not well trust their own fellows, and so in the hottest of the skirmish made an escape. *Marcellus* so soon as he understood, that *Nasos* was won, and likewise that one quarter of *Acradina* was held and kept for him, and that *Mericus* with his guard had joyned to his souldiers, sounded the retreat: for fear, that the Kings treasure, which was more in name than in deed, should be rifled and spoiled.

Thus by suppressing the violence of the souldiers, both the rebel fugitives that were in *Acradina*, had good time and place to shift for themselves and get away, and also the Syracusians delivered

livered now at last from fear, opened the gates of *Acradina*, and sent Orators unto *Marcellus*, craving nothing but life for themselves and their children. *Marcellus* called his Councel together, and those Syracusians likewise, who in the time of civil dissention, were driven to forsake their houses, and remained among the garrisons of the Romans: and then he made the Embassadors this answer. "There have not been (quoth he) more benefits and good turns for the space of "fifty years received at King *Hiero* his hands by the people of *Rome*, than detriments and mis- "chiefs intended against them within these few years, by them that have seized and possessed the "City of *Syracusa*. But most of those mischiefs in the end, have lighted upon their heads right "justly, who duly deserved the same: and for the breach of league and covenants, they themselves "have suffered at their own hands more grievous punishment by far, than the people of *Rome* "would willingly ever have required. As for me, this is the third year that I lie in siege before "*Syracusa*; not, I assure you, with this intent, that the City should not be reserved safe and "sound for the natural people thereof to keep and inhabit, but that the Captains and ring-leaders "of fugitives and rebels might not seize it, and so hold it in captivity and oppression. How "much the Syracusians might have done with me at first, may be easily seen by the example ei- "ther of those Syracusians who conversed among the guards of the Romans, or of the Spanish "Captain *Mericus*, who yeelded up his garrison. Yea, and the hardy and resolute course in the "end taken (although it were with the latest) by the Syracusians themselves, may sufficiently "testifie the same. Whereby also it may appear, that for all my travel and pain which I have un- "dergone, for all the perils which I have adventured and passed through, about the walls of *Sy-* "*racusa*, both by Land and Water, thus long; I have gathered no fruit so sweet and pleasant as "this, that it may be said, how I was able, yet at last, to win and conquer *Syracusa*.

*Syracusa* won and ransacked

Then the Questor was sent, attended with a guard, unto *Naxos*, for to enter upon the Kings treasure there, and to keep the same in safety. The pillage of the City was given to the souldiers: but there were appointed certain warders over every house of theirs, who were among the garrisons of the Romans, for to save the same. Amids many cruel, spightful, and foul examples of anger, malice, and covetousness, which hapned to be committed during the time of this saccage, it is reported That in so great hurliburly as possibly might be, when a City is newly taken, and hungry souldiers run to rifling, *Archimedes* was busily occupied, and studying upon certain Geometrical figures that he had drawn out in the dust, and hapned to be slain by a souldier, that knew not who he was. Whereat *Marcellus* was much offended and displeased: and thereupon gave especial order, that he should be honourably enterred: yea, and caused his kinsfolks to be sought out: and all they in remembrance of him, and for his name sake, were not only saved but also well accounted of, and had in good reputation. Thus you see in what sort, and by what means especially, *Saracuse* was won. A City wherein was found such store of wealth and riches, as hardly would have been gotten in *Carthage*, if it had been forced then: notwithstanding it was able to hold out with *Rome*, and maintein war with equal force and power.

*Archimedes* killed.

Some few dayes before the winning of *Syracuse*, *T. Octacilius* with fourscore Gallies, of five ranks of oars, crossed the Seas from *Lilybæum* to *Utica*, and being entred the gate before day light, chanced to take by the way certain Caricks charged with corn. After he was disbarked and set a Land, he wasted grievously part of the territory about *Utica*, and returned to the City with booty and prizes of all sorts. And the third day after he went from *Lilybæum* he returned thither again with 130 caricks full of corn and other booty: and that corn he sent forthwith to *Syracuse*: which if it had not come as it did in good time to help the present necessity, the conquerors as well as the conquered had felt the smart of most extream and grievous famine.

In the same summer, the Roman Generals in *Spain* (who almost for two years had done no memorable act there but warred by policy and stratagems, more than by force of arms) dislodged from their forts and winter harbors, and joyned their armies together. Then they called a Councel, where they jumped with one general accord in this opinion, That considering all this while they had effected this much only, as to empeach and stay *Asdrubal* from all means of passing over into *Italy*, it was now high time to make an end at once of the war in *Spain*. And to effect and bring this to passe, they supposed verily that their strength was well amended and sufficient, by reason that in the winter time they had levied and put in arms thirty thousand Celtiberians. Now the Carthaginians had in *Spain* then, no fewer than three armies. *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisgo*, and *Mago*, were encamped with all their forces together, distant from the Romans almost five dayes journey: *Asdrubal* the son of *Amilcar*, an ancient warrior, and an old Captain in *Spain*, was somewhat neerer with his whole power, before a City named *Anitorgis*. Him the Roman Generals were desirous to defeat and vanquish first: and in good hope they were, that they had strength enough and to spare, for to accomplish that: mary, this was their only doubt and fear, lest upon the discomfiture of him, the other *Asdrubal* and *Mago* would for fear retire themselves into the unpassable woods, and take the wilds and mountains, and so maintein a long war. They supposed therefore it was the best course to divide their power between them in two parts, and at once to compass the whole war of *Spain*. And thus they agreed to part their forces; namely, That *P. Cornelius* should lead two third parts of the army, consisting of Romans and allies, against *Mago* and *Asdrubal*: and that *Cn. Cornelius* with the other third part of that old army should joyn with the Celtiberians, and war against *Asdrubal* the Barchine [*i.* son of *Amilcar* above-said.] Both these Captains with their hosts set out together in their journy, putting the Celtiberians

A berians before in the vanguard, and encamped neer the City *Anatorgis* in the ſight of their enemies, having but the river running between. And there *Cn. Scipio* ſtaid behind, and made his abode with the power aforeſaid: but *P. Scipio* went onward to perform that part of the war which he purpoſed and intended. *Aſdrubal* after he perceived that there lay in camp but a ſmall power of Romans, and that their whole hope relied upon the aids of the Celtiberians; as one that could well skill of the falſhood and treachery of the barbarous people, but eſpecially of all thoſe nations, among whom he had been ſo long a ſouldier: by reaſon that both camps, as well his own as the other of the Romans, were full of Spaniards, he uſed by the means of reciprocal commerce of their language, for to have ſecret ſpeech and conference with the principal heads of the Celtiberi-
B ans, and ſo treated with them, that in conſideration of a great ſum of money, they were perſwaded and yeelded in the end to withdraw all their forces from thence, and give the Romans the ſlip. And this they ſuppoſed was not ſo heinous and odious a fact. For why? they were not dealt withal to turn their ſwords upon the Romans, and to war againſt them: again, they were to have as good pay and wages to ſit ſtill, and not to ſerve, as was ſufficient to bind them for to bear arms and fight: and laſt of all, reſt it ſelf, and ſleeping in a whole skin, together with their return home to their own, and the joy and pleaſure of viſiting their friends, and ſeeing their goods and lands, were plauſible and pleaſing inducements to every man. And therefore the Captains themſelves were no ſooner drawn thereto, than the very multitude. Over and beſides, to ſtrike it dead ſure, they ſtood in no fear of the Romans (being ſo few as they were) that they could poſſibly keep
C them perforce. And ſurely, this might well ſerve, to be a Caveat for Roman Captains ever hereafter, and ſuch precedent examples and inſtances as this, may ſtand in ſtead of good leſſons indeed, to teach them how they truſt again the aids of foreiners; and never to relie themſelves ſo much upon them, but that they alwayes have in their camp the greater part of their own forces, and the more number of their natural ſouldiers. All on a ſuddain therefore the Celtiberians diſlodged, plucked up ſtandards, and departed from them, and never bad them farewel. And when the Romans demanded the cauſe of this change, yea, and beſought and importuned them to tarry, they made them no other anſwer but this, That they were called and ſent for home, by occaſion of wars in their own country. *Scipio* ſeeing that theſe Allies of his were ſo ſlippery, and could nei-
D ther be intreated nor enforced to ſtay: and that himſelf alone without them was not able to make his part good with the enemy: and to joyn again with his brother, was a thing impoſſible: for want of all other good means, for the preſent, when he ſaw no remedy elſe, determined to retire himſelf as far backward as he could: having this eſpecial care above all things, not to encounter and joyn battail with the enemy in plain field, without ſome advantage, who now was paſſed over the river, and traced him hard at heels in his diſmarch.

About the ſame time *P. Scipio* ſtood in the like terms of fear, but in more danger by the coming of a new enemy, and that was *Maſaniſſa* the young Prince, who then was a friend and penſionary ſouldier of the Carthaginians: but afterwards mighty and renowned for his amity with the Romans. He with his Numidian Horſemen firſt encountred *P. Scipio*, as he marched on his journey, and afterwards both day and night moleſted and troubled him very ſhrewdly: in ſuch ſort, that
E not only he would intercept and catch up thoſe that were gone out wandering and ſtragling far from the camp, a fuelling or foraging, and ſend them ſhort of home; but alſo ride braving even before the camp. Many a time would he venture, yea, and enter upon the thickeſt of the ſtanding *corps de guard*, and make foul work and trouble among them. By night alſo he uſed oft to make many ſtarts upon a ſuddain, and aſſail the gates of the camp and the rampier, and put them in exceeding great frights. So as the Romans at no time, nor in no place could be at reſt and quiet for him, but ever in fear and doubt of ſome ſhrewd turn or other by him: ſo as they were driven to keep within their rampier, cut off from the uſe of all commodities abroad, and in a manner as good as beſieged: and more ſtreightly yet were they like to be beleaguered, in caſe *Indibilis*, who was
F coming (as the rumor went) with 7500 Sueſſetans, were once joyned with the Carthaginians. Whereupon *Scipio* a wary warrior and prudent Captain otherwiſe, driven to theſe hard extremities, and forced to make ſhifts, entred into a raſh and inconſiderate deſignment, even to go on and meet (forſooth) *Indibilis* in the night, and in what place ſoever it ſhould be his hap to encounter him, there to bid him battail, and fight with him. Leaving therefore a mean guard to keep the camp, and *T. Fonteius* his Lieutenant, as Provoſt and Captain, he ſet out at midnight, and meeting with his enemies, joyned battail with them: but they skirmiſhed rather by looſe companies in their march, than with their united forces in ſet and pight field. Howbeit, the Romans had the better hand ſo much as it was, conſidering what a confuſed and diſorderly conflict there might be. But the Numidian Cavalry, whom *Scipio* thought he was ſecured of, and that they were not aware of him, all on a ſuddain flanked the ſides of the Romans, and mightily terrified them. Againſt theſe
G Numidians, whiles *Scipio* made head again afreſh, behold a third ſort of enemies alſo charged upon his back, even the Carthaginian Captains, who by this time while the other were in fight, had overtaken their allies and were come thither. So as the Romans were to maintain battail on all hands, and were at a ſtand, and in doubt with themſelves againſt which enemy to turn firſt, or what way with a cloſe couched ſquadron to give the venture for to break through. As the General was thus manfully fighting, and encouraging his ſouldiers, preſenting and oppoſing himſelf forward, where was moſt need and danger, his chance was to be run through the right ſide of his body with a Lance: and that maſſive band of the enemies which had charged upon the thick battailon,

*P. Scipio* ſlain.

battailon, which environed their Captain, seeing *Scipio* falling from his Horse ready to die, in great joy and mirth set up a cheerful shout, and ran all over the army, and caried glad tidings that the Roman General was slain. This voice being once spread all abroad, caused both the enemies to take themselves undoubtedly for victors, and the Romans to make no other accompt but they were vanquished. Whereupon they having lost their Leader, began forthwith to flie out of the field. But as it was no hard matter for them to make a lane and break through among the Numidians, and other auxiliary souldiers lightly armed; so to escape and go cleer away from so many Horse, and Footmen also, who were as swift on foot as the horsemen, it was almost impossible. Thus they were more in manner slain in their flight now, then in their fight before. And there had not one remained alive, but that the day being far spent already, and toward evening, the night came on apace and overtook them. The Carthaginian Captains, and those also of *Affrick*, taking the full benefit of this their good fortune, slept not their businesse, nor made delay: but presently after the battail, scarcely allowing their souldiers so much sleep as would content nature, marched in great hast toward *Asdrubel* the son of *Amilcar*: making accompt assuredly, that when they had joyned their power with his, they should break the neck of this war, and end it once for all. When they were come to him great joy and gratulation there was between the Captains and the hosts of both sides, for this fresh victory newly atchieved: and seeing they had already defeated so brave a warrior and great commander, together with his whole army, they made no doubt but expected certainly to have another hand as good as this.

The news verily of this so great a foil and overthrow, was not yet come unto the Romans: but yet they were strucken into a sad dump and deep silence, and more than that, into a secret presage and fore-deeming of some unlucky tidings: as commonly mens minds use to fore-give and tell aforehand, when there is some mischief and ill toward them. The General himself besides that he saw he was abandoned and forsaken of his associats, and knew the forces of the enemies so mightily reenforced; by good conjectures and gesses, yea, and by very reason was induced to suspect some loss and calamity received already, rather than enclined to hope after any good success and happy speed. For thus he discoursed with himself: How is it possible that *Asdrubal* and *Mago* should bring their armies together without conflict, unless my brother be slain in fight, or have forgotten to be a warrior? how cometh it that he withstood them not? or how hapneth it that my brother followed not hard after them fast upon their backs? At leastwise, if he had not been able to keep them asunder, but that both Captains and armies must needs meet and joyn in one, yet he himself me thinks, at leastwise would have come by this time to his brother, and brought his own power to his. In this perplexity and anguish of spirit, he thought yet, for the present time, that the only good course he could take, was to withdraw himself back from thence as far as he could: and so all that one night unwares to his enemies (who so long only were quiet) he marched a great way, and won much ground of them. The next morning, so soon as the enemies perceived that the Romans were dislodged and gone, they sent out the Numidian light Horsemen, and began to follow after them apace, and pursued them as fast as possibly they could: and before night the Numidian Cavalry had overtaken them, and skirmished one while with the tail of their march, another whiles at their sides and flanks, and gave them no rest: whereat the Romans made as it were a stand, and began to defend and save their army as well as they could: yet with great wariness and regard of security, *Scipio* encouraged them so to fight, as they might march on still and gain ground, before the Infantry overtook them. But as one while the army was one foot, and another while stood still, in long time they rid but a little ground. And *Scipio* seeing the night draw on apace, reclaimed his souldiers from farther skirmishes: and after he had rallied them together, he retired with them up to a little mount, no sufficient place (God wot) of safe retreat for an army, especially so troubled and affrighted already, yet higher than any other place all about. There the first thing that he did, was to bestow the baggage and cavalry in the mids within his forces: and at first the infantry ranged round about in a ring, made no difficult matter of it to put by the violent charge of the Numidian Horsemen. But afterwards when the three Generals marching with three full armies approached, their Captain *Scipio* perceiving that he was never able to keep that place without some fortification, began to cast his eye about, and to bethink with himself, by what means possible he might empale himself round about as it were with a rampier: but the hill was so naked of wood, and the soil of the ground besides so stony and craggy, that he could neither finde any underwood fit to cut out stakes for a pallisado nor earth meet to make turfs for a bank, or minable for a trench: and in one word, all things untoward and unhandsome for a mound, and to fortifie withal. Neither was there any place there, to speak of, so steep and upright, but the enemy might at ease mount up and climb it. All the hill on every side, had a gentle rising and ascent up to the top. Howbeit, to represent some shew and resemblance yet of a rampier, they were forced to take their pack saddles, with their packs tied fast unto them, and so round about to pile them and raise them to the usual height of a mure: And where there wanted pack saddles to make up the work, there they were fain to heap together, all sorts of fardels, trusses, and other carriages, and to put them between the enemies and them. The Carthaginian armies when they were come, matched very easily up against the Hill. But the new fashion and manner of their defences and fortifications, was very strange unto them, so as at the first the souldiers marvelled much

nd

A and were astonied thereat, and stood still. But their Captains on all sides cried out upon them. And why stand ye gaping (say they) so; and do not pull in peeces and pluck away that fooli sh bable there, good to make sport with? A very toy, that women and children would scarce stand about thus long? Why, the enemie is taken already in a pinfold, and lieth lurking and hiding himself behind the trusses and other carriages. After this manner (I say) the leaders rated at the souldiers. But it was not so easy a matter either to get over that Barricado of the packs, or to remove and rid them out of the way, as they lay piled close against them; nor yet to unfold and unwrap the pack-saddles, lying overwhelmed as they did, under the packs, and entangled together with them. Thus they were hindred and staid a long time: and when at length they had put this
B bag and baggage aside that was set in their way, and made passage and entrance for the armed men, and that in divers places, the camp and tents were soon taken on all sides, ere a man could turn about: and so being few to many, and frighted men to late conquerors, no marvel if they were killed and hewn in pieces in every place. Howbeit, many of the souldiers having fled for refuge into the forrests neer by, escaped into the camp of *P. Scipio*, whereof *T. Fonteius* his Lieutenant had the charge. As for *Cn. Scipio* some write that he was slain upon that mount at the first onset
C and assault made by the enemies: others report that with a few others he fled into a Tower hard by the camp: and that there was a fire made round about it, and so when the gates thereof were burned, which by no violent means otherwise they could break open, the enemies entred and took it, and they within were killed every one. Captain and all.

Thus *Cn. Scipio* came to his end, in the seventh year after that he went into *Spain*, and on the nine and twentieth day after that his brother lost his life. Their death was bewailed and lamented no less over all *Spain* than at *Rome*. For among the citizens at home one part of their sorrow they took for the loss of the armies, another part went for the distraction and alienation of the Province and a third again was spent in the cogitation of the publick calamity: but *Spain* from one end to the other, mourned only for their Governors and Captains, and had a great misse of them. And *Cneus* of the twain, was more bewailed, because he had been longer time their ruler, and had won the favour and affection of men, and possessed their hearts before the other: and was the first that ever gave them in those parts a proof and tast of the Romans just and temperat government.

When the army was thus defeated and brought to nothing, so as *Spain* seemed utterly lost,
D there arose one man yet, that recovered all again, and brought the decaied state to the former perfection. There was in the army one *L. Martius*, the son of *Septimius*, a Gentleman and Knight of *Rome*, a forward young man: for courage and wit, far above the degree and condition wherein he was born. Besides this excellent and most toward disposition of his by nature, he had great helps by the discipline and instruction of *Cn. Scipio*: under whom, for so many years he was trained and had learned all military knowledge and skill meet for a souldier. This *Martius*, what by rallying the dispersed souldiers who were fled, and what by drawing others out of sundry garrisons had raised and assembled together a reasonable good power, and joyned with *T. Fonteius*, the Lieutenant aforesaid of *P. Scipio*. But the Roman Knight, above all others, grew to so great
E credit and reputation among all the souldiers, that when they had fortified their camp within the river *Iberus*, and were determined among themselves, to chuse one General over the armies, in a solemn assembly of souldiers, even by their own military election: they went one by one in course one after another, unto the main *corps de guard* that defended the rampier, and to the other wards belonging unto the camp, until they had all given their voyces: and so by general consent created him their General. All the time which they had after, (and that was but small) they employed in fortifying their hold, and conveying thither corn and victuals: and what charge soever was imposed by him upon the souldiers, the same they executed readily and willingly, and without any shew that their hearts were dismayed, and cast down any jot at all. But after that news was brought, that *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisgo*, was coming against them, to dispatch clean the reliques
F of the war; that he had passed over *Iberus* and approached neer: and the souldiers saw once the signal of battel put forth unto them by this new General; calling to mind, what noble warriors they had served under but a while before: what worthy leaders they were wont to have, and with how puissant armies they used heretofore to go to the field; they fell a weeping every one, shaking and beating their heads: some lift up and stretched out their hands to heaven blaming and accusing the Gods: others lay along upon the ground, calling every one upon his own Captain by special name. Neither could their piteous moans and plaints be staid notwithstanding the Centurions encouraged what they could the souldiers of their companies: notwithstanding (I say) that *Martius* himself sometimes spake them fair, sometimes rebuked them, for giving themselves to such foolish and vain puling, like women: and not rather resolve to raise up their hearts,
G and with him to quicken and whet their stomacks in defence of themselves and of the commonweal, and not to suffer their former Captains and Leaders to lie dead and unrevenged. By this time now all on a sudden the shout of the enemies was descried, and the sound of the trumpets were within hearing, being come close under the rampier. Whereupon all at once turning their sorrow and weeping into anger and indignation, they run every man to his armor and weapon: and as if they had been born mad they hastned from all parts to the gates and entries of the camp, and charged upon the enemies as they came carelessly and without order and array. Immediately this unexpected and suddain object, stroke an exceeding fear into the Carthaginians:

as

as wondring from whence ſo many enemies ſhould ſtart up ſo ſoon, conſidering the armies were H
ſo lately clean in a manner deſtroyed; and how it came to paſſe, that being newly vanquiſhed
and put to flight, they ſhould be ſo ſtout, ſo bold and confident of their own ſelves; who a Gods
name, ſhould be their General, after the two *Scipios* were ſlain; what Captain and Governor
had they over the camp; and who gave out the ſignal of battail: marvelling (I ſay) at theſe pre-
miſſes, and ſo many particulars, that they once imagined not afore, at firſt hand they wiſt not
what to do, but as amazed men, began to give ground and retire; but afterwards, being ſtill
fiercely followed upon with a violent charge, they were plainly beaten back and put to flight.
And verily, either there had been a foul havock and ſlaughter of them that fled, or a raſh and
dangerous enterpriſe for them who would have followed the chace: but that *Martius* haſtned I
to ſound the retreat, and oppoſing himſelf againſt the foremoſt enſigns of the vanguard, yea, and
taking hold of ſome of them himſelf, ſtaid the main battail and repreſſed their violence, who were
upon the point already to purſue them with heat. And ſo he reduced them back again into the
camp, as greedy as they were ſtill of murder, and thirſty of bloudſhed. The Carthaginians, who
at the firſt were driven from the rampier, and for fear haſtned away; after that they ſaw none to
follow them, ſuppoſed they had been afraid, and therefore ſtaid ſtill: whereupon they departed to
their camp again in rechleſs manner, fair and ſoftly. And as careleſs as they were in their retire
thither, ſo negligent were they in guarding the ſame: for although their enemies were neer, yet
they remembred and thought again, that they were but the tail and reliques of two armies, van-
quiſhed and defeated a few dayes before. Upon this reſolute perſwaſion of theirs, and baſe con- K
ceit of the enemies, they were very negligent every way within their camp: whereof *Martius* ha-
ving by his eſpial, certain intelligence, reſolved upon a deſignment, which at the firſt ſight ſeemed
more like a project of hazard, than an enterpriſe of hardineſs; and it was no more, but even up-
on a bravery to ſet upon the enemy in his own camp, and give him a camiſado. For as he thought
it an eaſier empreſe, to force the hold and pavilions of *Aſdrubal*, being but one, than to defend
and keep his own, in caſe three armies and three Captains ſhould joyn together: ſo he conſidered
withal, that either if he ſped well in this exploit, he ſhould reſtore and ſet upright again unto the
Romans, the decayed and proſtrate State of *Spain*: or if he were diſcomfited and put back, yet by
giving the adventure firſt upon the enemies, he ſhould not be altogether contemned, and of no
reputation. But leſt this attempt ſo ſuddain, and the terror and error which may fall out in the L
night-time, ſhould happen to trouble this his deſigned plot, and the courſe of his good fortune;
he thought it not amiſs, to make a ſpeech unto his ſouldiers, and to exhort and encourage them
afore-hand. And therefore calling them together to a general audience, in this manner he diſ-
courſed unto them of his intent and purpoſe.

The Oration of *Martius* to his ſouldiers.

"My valorous and loyal ſouldiers, either the reverence and affectionat love of mine, toward
"our chief Captains during their life, and after their death; or the very preſent condition and
"ſtate wherein we all now ſtand; may be a ſufficient teſtimony and proof to any man whoſo-
"ever, that this charge and government of mine, as it is in regard of your judgement of me right
"honourable, ſo it is in truth, and in very deed, to me moſt weighty, and full of care and trouble.
"For at what time as (but that fear took away all ſence of ſorrow) I was not ſo much maſter of M
"my ſelf, as to ſeek out and find ſome comfort and ſolace for mine own penſive ſoul and heavy
"ſpirit; I was forced being but one, (which is a moſt hard matter for a man to do in time of
"grief) to miniſter conſolation unto the common misfortune and calamity of you all. And
"ſurely I have no liſt at all (the harder is my caſe) to avert my mind from continual grief of hear,
"not ſo much as even then, when as I am to ſtudy and deviſe, by what means I may be able to
"preſerve (for the behoof of my country) theſe ſmall remnants of two armies. For why? the gri-
"vous and bitter remembrance of calamities paſt, is ever before me. The two *Scipios* trouble me
"all the day time with careful thoughts, they diſquiet me in the night ſeaſon with fearful dreams,
"they make me oftentimes to ſtart out of my ſleep, willing and charging me, to ſuffer neither
"them nor their ſouldiers (who were your fellows and companions, and for the ſpace of eight N
"years in thoſe parts where they ſerved, never received foil) nor yet the Common-wealth, to
"continue unrevenged; warning me withal, to follow their diſcipline, their precepts, rules, & good
"inſtructions. And like as, whiles they lived here among us, there was no man more obedient than
"my ſelf to their directions and commandments; even ſo after their deceaſe, whatſoever in my
"conceit, I judge they would have had eſpecially done in all occurrences, the ſame my deſire is,
"that you alſo (my ſouldiers) would like of and approve for the very beſt. I would not have you
"to weep, wail, and lament ſtill for them, as if they were extinct and gone for ever, (for they live
"ſtill, and ſhall, ſo long as the world endureth, and continue immortal in renown and fame of
"their worthy and noble acts) but rather ſo often as you remember and think of them, to go like
"hardy and valiant men to a field, even as if you heard them ſpeaking unto you, or ſaw them gi-
"ving out the ſignal of battel. Neither was it (I aſſure you) any other object but that, preſented
"yeſterday unto your eyes and minds, which effected ſo memorable a piece of ſervice as it was:
"by which ye have made good proof unto your enemies, and given them to underſtand, that the
"Roman name died not together with the *Scipios*; and that the vigour and vertue of that people
"which was not extinct and buried, by the overthrow at *Canna*, will ever riſe again (ye may be
"ſure) out of all adverſities, let cruel fortune ſtorm and rage aſmuch as ever ſhe can. And now,
"ſince ye have ſhewed ſuch valour and hardineſs already of your own accord, I have a mind
"and

A "and would gladly ſee, how bravely ye will bear your ſelves upon the direction and command-
"ment of your Captain. For yeſterday, when I ſounded the retreat unto you, at what time as
"you followed ſo freely upon the enemy, being troubled and diſarraied; my deſire and meaning
"was not to repreſs and abate your bold courage, but to defer and reſerve it againſt ſome greater
"opportunity of advantage, and for a more honourable and glorious exploit: that anon upon the
"firſt occaſion, you being prepared and provided, might ſurpriſe them at unawares, and not tran-
"ding upon their guard, armed and wel appointed, aſſail them diſarmed & naked. and that which
"more is, whiles they are in their beds faſt and ſound aſleep. And the hope that I conceive of this
"good opportunity and effect thereof (my ſouldiers) ariſeth not upon ſome fantaſtical imagina-
B "tion of mine own brain by hap-hazard, and upon vain preſumption, but grounded upon good
"reaſon and preſent experience. For verily, if a man ſhould demand even of you your own ſelves,
"What the reaſon was, that being but few in number, and lately diſcomfited ye were able to de-
"fend your camp, againſt many more than your ſelves, and thoſe heartned with freſh victories, ye
"would make no other anſwer but this, That you, fearing that which followed, had both fortifi-
"ed your camp in every reſpect with ſtrong munitions, and were your ſelves well appointed and
"furniſhed, yea, and ready to receive them whenſoever they came. And ſurely, ſo it is, and we find
"it true by experience: Men are leaſt ſure and ſecured againſt that which fortune ſaith is fearleſs,
"and need not to be prevented, becauſe that which we neglect is evermore open and expoſed to
"all dangers. Now the enemies doubt nothing leſs at this time, then that we, who were ſo lately
C "our ſelves beſieged and aſſailed by them, will now come to give an aſſault upon them in their
"hold. Let us adventure to do that which no man would beleeve that ever we durſt enterpriſe,
"and the ſelf-ſame cauſe which ſeemeth to make the thing moſt difficult, ſhall effect it ſooneſt of
"all others. At the change of the third watch I will lead you forth without any noiſe at all in
"great ſilence. Well enformed and aſſured I am, that in their camp the Sentinels are not relieved
"in due courſe and order, neither yet the ordinary *corps de guard* kept as they ought to be. Your
"ſhout and outcry ſhall not ſo ſoon be heard at the gates, nor your firſt charge and aſſault given,
"but ye ſhall ſurely be maſters of the camp. Then let me ſee you perform that ſlaughter and exe-
"cution among them heavy and dead aſleep, affrighted with an unexpected alarm, and taken on
"a ſudden unarmed, and in their beds; from which yeſterday ye thought much, that ye were cal-
D "led away and reclaimed. I wot well, that this ſeemeth unto you an audacious enterpriſe and ful
"of hazard, but when things go croſs and ſtand in doubtfull terms, and when other means fail the
"hardieſt attempts, yea, and the moſt venturous and deſperate courſes, are ever ſafeſt and ſpeed
"beſt. For if a man ſtay never ſo little at the very inſtant when a thing is to be done (whereof the
"opportunity paſſeth and flieth away ere one would think) immediatly when it is once gone, he
"may fling his cap after well enough, and complain thereof and ſay, had I wiſt, but never the
"nearer. One Army they have hard at hand, and two more are not far off: now if we venture of
"them here, our opportunity and advantage is as good as theirs. And once already ye have
"made triall of their forces and your own: put we it off another day, contenting our ſelves with
"the bare name of yeſterdaies ſally, and give over ſo, it will be great doubt and danger, leſt all
E "the Generals with all their armies be rallied and re-united. And ſhall we then be able to hold
"our own againſt three Generals and three hoſts, whom *Cn. Scipio* having about him his whole
"puiſſance, freſh and in good plight, could not withſtand nor abide? Our Captains by dividing
"their forces, and diſmembring one compleat army, were defeated and overthrown: ſemblably
"may our enemies, parted while they be, and ſevered aſunder, be diſcomfited and brought to
"nought. Lo, this is the only way for us to war and none other. And therefore let us wait no lon-
"ger than the commodious opportunity of the next night. Go ye then a gods bleſſing make much
"of your ſelves, take your repaſt and repoſe, that ye may be freſh and luſty to break into your ene-
"mies hold with the ſame reſolute courage, wherewith erewhile ye defended your own. The
ſouldiers, as they gladly gave ear to this new counſell of their new captain, ſo, the more audaci-
F ous and adventurous that it was the better it pleaſed them. The reſt of the day behind they ſpent
in furbiſhing and making ready their harneſs and weapons, and in cheriſhing their bodies, yea,
and the better part of the night they ſlept quietly. And ſo at the relief of the fourth watch they
ſet forward.

Now were there other companies alſo of Carthaginians, beyond this next camp aboveſaid, a-
bout ſix miles diſtant from thence. A hollow way and valley there lay between, ſtanding thick of
trees. In the midſt of this wood, for a furlong ſpace well near, he beſtowed cloſely a cohort of foot-
men, yea, and certain horſemen of Romans: but by his leave this was but a craſty and ſlie trick,
borrowed of the Carthaginians. Thus the midſt way being intercepted and taken up, the reſt of
the forces were conducted in a ſtill march toward the enemies in the next camp. And finding no
G guards before the gates, no Sentinels upon the rampier, they entred in as it had been into their
own hold, and no man made reſiſtance: then they ſounded trumpets, and gave the alarm. Some fall
to killing of the enemies half aſleep; others fling dry litter and ſtraw for to kindle fire upon their
huts and pavilions; other ſome again keep the gates, that none ſhould iſſue forth. So the fire, the
outcry, and maſſacre all together put them out of their right wits, and made them, as it were, be-
ſides themſelves; that neither hear they could, nor yet make any ſhift for themſelves. Unarmed
and naked men fell among the bands of armed ſouldiers. Some run in haſte to the gates, others
finding the waies and paſſages beſet run up to the rampier: and look as any eſcaped and got away

from thence by that means he flieth straight waies directly toward the other camp. Where they were caught up by the cohort of footmen, and the cornet of horsemen, which rose up suddenly out of their Ambuscado: and being enclosed on every side, were killed to the last man. And yet, if it had been any ones good hap to have escaped from thence with life, so swiftly, and with so great expedition, the Romans after they had got the nearer camp, sped themselves to the other, that he could not have recovered it before them, to bring news of the defeat. And even there likewise, the farther they were off from their enemy, the more negligent they were: and because some also a little before day were slipt away a forraging, fuelling, and plundering, the Romans found every thing more loose and out of order, than in the other camp. Their weapons only stood reared up in their *corps de guard*, the souldiers themselves were unarmed, either sitting and lying all along on the ground, or walking up and down before the gates, and under the rampier. With these souldiers so secure, so retchless, so disarmed and disordered (the Romans being yet in their hot blood, and not cooled upon their fresh massacre, and more than that, lusty and brag for their new victory) began to make a fray, and to skirmish. But the Carthaginians were not able to keep them out of the gates. And so within the Camp there was a hot and cruell fight: for, from all parts thereof, they ran together upon the first alarm that arose in the very beginning of the tumult and scuffling. And long had that skirmish continued, but that the Romans bucklers and targets seen all bloudy were a pattern unto the Carthaginians of a former execution; and thereupon drave them into a mighty fear. This fearfull fight caused them all to turn back and take their heels: and thus as many of them as escaped killing got out by heaps whersoever they could make shift to find way, and were clean turned out of their camp, and all that they had. So in the compass of one day and night, by the conduct and direction of *L. Martius*, there were two encamped holds forced and won from the enemies: in which there were 37000 of the enemies slain, saith *Claudius* who translated the Annals of *Acilius* out of the Greek tongue into the Latine and 830 taken prisoners besides the gain of a mighty rich booty. In which pillage there was found a shield of silver weighing 138 pound, with the image and portraiture of *Asdrubal* the Barchine. *Valerius Antias* recordeth, that the camp only of *Mago* was taken, and seven thousand men slain: and that in another battell with *Asdrubal* upon a tally forth, there died ten thousand, and 4330 were taken prisoners. *Piso* writeth, that when *Mago* followed after our men in an hot and disorderly chace (for they seemed to give back and retreat) there were five thousand men killed by the train of an ambush. But all writers do blaz on the great honour and fame of Duke *Martius*. And besides the very truth of his glorious name, they make mention also and speak of some miracles: namely that as he made the Oration unto his souldiers, there was seen a flaming fire burning from his head without any sense and feeling of his, to the great wonder and fear of the souldiers that stood about him: and that in the memoriall of his brave victory over the Carthaginians, there remained in the temple of *Jup.* untill the Capitoll was burned, that foresaid shield, with the Image of *Asdrubal*, and it was called *Martius* his shield. After this, *Spain* was quiet for a long time, whiles both sides after so many overthrows given and taken between them, were loath to hazard the main chance in one battell.

In the time that these affairs passed in *Spain*, *Marcellus* upon the winning of *Syracuse*, having set all other things in order throughout *Sicily*, with such faithfulness and upright integrity, that not only he greatly augmented his own glory, but also enlarged the majesty of the people of *Rome*, brought over to *Rome* all the goodly and beautiful ornaments of that City, their graven and molten images, their pictures and painted tables, whereof there was great store in *Syracuse*. These braveries (no doubt) at the first were no more but the spoils of enemies, and lawfully acquired in right of war and conquest. But from thence began our great love and liking to the cunning workmanship of Grecian Artisans: and from hence came afterwards our licentiousness and outrage in spoiling and robbing, so commonly & ordinarily, all sacred and profane places, where these things were to be had: which staid not so, but proceeded and turned at length to the spoiling of the Roman gods themselves, and to that very first Temple which by *Marcellus* was beautified and adorned principally above the rest. For strangers and forrein travellers used in pilgrimage to visit the Temples which were dedicated by *Marcellus* at the gate *Capena*, in regard only of the most rare and singular workmanship of the ornaments in that kind, of which at this day there is very little or nothing to be seen.

Now from all City well-nere of *Sicily*, there resorted Embassies unto him: as their causes were divers and unlike, so their conditions were not all one. As many as before the winning of *Syracuse* had either not rebelled at all, or became reconciled and in favour again, they were accepted in the quality of faithfull Allies, and made much of: those who for fear after the loss of *Syracuse*, yielded were reputed as conquered, and received laws and conditions at the will and pleasure of the Conqueror. There remained yet no small reliques of war about *Agrigentum* for the Romans to dispatch namely, *Epicides* and *Hanno*, the Captains of the former war: and a third, sent new from *Annibal* in the room of *Hippocrates*, a Citizen of *Hippos* (his countrimen name him *Matines*) descended from the *Libyphœnices*, a man of Action, and one who under *Annibal* had been brought up, and taught all feats of arms, and skill of warfare. Unto his charge were committed by *Epicides* and *Hanno* the Numidian Auxiliaries, with whom he over-ran all the countries belonging to the enemies: he went unto all the Confederats, and so wrought with them to continue fast in their allegiance, and to send aids to every one in due time accordingly: in such sort, that within

A within short time he got himself a great name throughout all *Sicily*, so as the favorits and faction of the Carthaginians had no greater hope in any than in him. And therefore both Captains, as well *Hanno* the Carthaginian, as *Epicides* the Syracusian, who for a time had been pent up within the walls of *Agrigentum*, bearing themselves as well upon the fidelity as policy of *Mutines*, boldly adventured to come forth of the walls of *Agrigentum*, and upon the river *Himera* encamped themselves. Whereof *Marcellus* having intelligence, forthwith removed with all his power, and sate him down encamped, almost four miles from the enemy, minding to wait and expect what they did or went about. But *Mutines* gave him neither opportunity of place to rest him long, nor respite of time to take counsell in, but crossed the river, and with exceeding terrour, and tumultu-
B ous noise assailed the standing guards of his enemies: yea, and the morrow after gave them battell as it were in a pitcht field, and drave them within their holds and fortifications. But being called from thence by occasion of a mutiny of Numidians within the Camp (who to the number almost of three hundred were departed to *Heraclea Minoa*) he went to appease their moods, and to reclaim them to due obedience: but he gave the rest of the Captains (by report) a great charge and express warning, not to fight with the enemy, howsoever they did in his absence. But both the Captains were greatly offended thereat, and *Hanno* especially, who was already male-content, and repined at his glory: What? saith he, thinketh *Mutines*, a base African and not of the right stamp neither, to gage and rule me a Carthaginian Generall, sent with Commission from the Senat and people? He perswaded therefore *Epicides* effectually to pass over the river, and to strike
C a battell: for, quoth he, if we should stay for him, and then hap to have a fortunate day of it and win the victory, all the honour no doubt shall redound to *Mutines*.

Be ye sure, *Marcellus* thought this a great indignity, that he who had repulsed at *Nola Annibal*, even when he bare himself so bravely upon his fresh victory at *Cannæ*, should give one foot to these petty enemies, vanquished already by him both by sea and land: whereupon he commanded his souldiers to arm in all haste, and to bring forth the standards and ensigns. But as he was arranging his men in battell array, there came riding unto him all on the spur, with bridle on the horse neck, ten Numidians from out of the army of the enemies, with these tidings and intelligences, assuring them, "That their countrimen, who first were offended and discontented by occasi-
"on of that mutiny aforesaid, wherein three hundred of their company departed and went away
D "to *Heraclea*: and then afterwards, because they saw their own head and leader, by the practise
"of those other Captain, who maligned and envied his glory, sent far enough out of the way, e-
"ven against the very day when the battell should be fought; were not disposed at all to fight,
"but would sit still and not stir. A kind of people these were, deceitfull otherwise, and used to break promise; howbeit now, they were just and true of their word. Upon this, as the Romans took better heart unto them, (for there was a speedy pursevant or courrier sent throughout the battaillons from company to company, for to signifie unto them, that the enemy was disappointed and abandoned of his Cavalry, whom they feared most of all other) so the enemies were mightily dismaied and put in fear: for over and besides, that they had no help from them who were the greatest strength of their army, they were in a deep fear lest their own horsemen would
E set upon them. By which occasion the conflict was not great, for at the first shout and shock given, well it was seen which way the game would go, and the matter was soon determined. The Numidians, who at the first encounter, and during the conflict, had stood quiet in both points of the battell, seeing their own fellows turn back and flie, bare them only company for a while as they fled: but after that they perceived them all to make haste for fear to *Agrigentum*: fearing also themselves there to be besieged among them, slipt away every one to their own Cities. Many thousands were there slain and taken prisoners: and eight elephants besides taken alive. This was the last field fought by *Marcellus* in *Sicily*: upon this victory he returned to *Syracuse*. By this time now was the year almost come about and growing to an end. And therefore at *Rome* the Senate decreed, that *P. Cornelius* the Prætor should send letters to the Consuls, lying before *Capua*, pur-
F porting this tenour: That forasmuch as *Annibal* was far from them, and no great matter of consequence like to be performed the while at *Capua*; the one of them (if they thought so good) should repair to *Rome*, for to create new Magistrates in the room of the old. The Consuls having received the letters, agreed between themselves and took order, that *Claudius* should go to hold and accomplish the solemn election of Magistrates: and *Fulvius* remain still at *Capua*. So *Claudius* created new Coss. *Cn. Fulvius Centimalus*, and *P. Sulpitius Galba* the son of *Servius*: a man that had not born any curule office of state before. After these were Prætors chosen, *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, *C. Sulpitius*, *C. Calpurnius Piso*. Unto *Piso* befell the jurisdiction within the City. *Sulpitius* had the government of the Province *Sicily*. *Cethegus* of *Apulia*: and *Lentulus*, of *Sardinia*. The Consuls had the government of their Provinces prorogued for to continue
G one year longer.

H

# The ſix and twentieth Book

## *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the ſix and twentieth Book. I

ANnibal *encamped himſelfe at three miles end from* Rome, *faſt upon the river* Anio. *Himſelf in perſon, accompanied with two thouſand men of armes, rode to the gate* Capena, *for to view the ſite of the City. And notwithſtanding that for three daies ſpace the armies of both ſides were come into the field ready embattelled, yet they never joyned in conflict, by reaſon of the tempeſtuous and ſtormy weather: But ever as they were returned again into their Camp, preſently it proved fair.* Capua *was won by* Q. Fulvius, *and* Appius Claudius *the Pro-Conſuls. The Nobles and principall Citizens of* Capua *poiſoned themſelves. When as their Senators ſtood bound to ſtakes (for to be whipped) and there to loſe their heads, there came letters from the Senate of* Rome *unto the Pro-Conſul* Q. Fulvius, *with direction to ſpare their lives: but before that he would read them, he put them up into his boſome, and willed* K *the miniſters or executioners to let the Law have his courſe, and to do their office, and ſo he went through with the execution. It hapned that in a ſolemn aſſembly of the people there was much debate and queſtion, who ſhould govern as L. Deputy the Province of* Spain: *and when no man was willing to undertake that charge,* P. Scipio, *the ſon of that* Publius *who was ſlain in* Spain, *made offer to go that voyage, and by the voyces generally of the people, and with one accord of all he was thither ſent. In one day he aſſaulted and alſo forced* New-Carthage, *being a young man, not fully 24 year old. And there went an opinion of him, that he was deſcended of ſome heavenly race: both for that himſelf, after he was come to ſeventeen years of age, and had put on his mans robe, converſed within the Capitoll, and alſo becauſe there was a ſnake or ſerpent ſeen oftentimes in his mothers bedchamber. This book containeth beſides the affairs in* Sicily: *the amity concluded with the* Ætolians: *and the war againſt the Acarnanians and* Phi- L *lip King of the Macedonians.*

## *The ſix and twentieth Book of* T. Livius.

CNeus Fulvius Centimalus, and *P. Sulpitius Galba* the Conſuls, when they had entred into their Magiſtracy upon the Ides of *March*, aſſembled the Senators into the Capitoll, where they conſulted with the LL. about the ſtate of the Common-weal, concerning the adminiſtration of the wars, and as touching the Provinces and the Armies. *Q. Fulvius* and *Ap. Claudius*, the Conſuls of the former year, continued ſtill their rule and full command, with M the charge of the ſame forces which they had before under their hands. And over and beſides, they were expreſly commanded, not to depart from *Capua* (before which they lay at ſiege) untill they had forced and won the City. For at that time the Romans among all their other affairs were moſt amuſed upon it: not ſo much for anger and malice, (wherof they had never againſt any one City greater and juſter cauſe) as in this regard, that being a ſtate ſo noble and mighty, like as by revolting firſt it had drawn and induced certain other Cities to do the ſame: ſo if it were recovered and regained, like it was to reduce their affections again, to look back and return unto their old allegiance and obedience to their wonted ſigniory of *Rome*. The Prætors alſo of the former year, *M. Junius* in *Tuſcany*, and *P. Sempronius* in *Gaul* continued in their places of regiment, with two legions a piece under their conduct the ſame which they had before. And ſo *M. Marcellus* re- N mained as Pro-Conſul behind in *Sicily*, for to finiſh and diſpatch the reliques of the war there, with the power of that army which he had already: and had commiſſion (if need were of new ſupply) to make up the number of his companies, out of thoſe legions which were commanded by *P. Cornelius* the Vice-Prætor in *Sicily*; provided alwaies, that he choſe no ſouldier out of thoſe bands, unto whom the Senat had flatly denied, either licence to be diſcharged, or paſport to return home into their country, before the war was fully ended. Unto *C. Sulpitius*, whoſe lot it was to govern the Province of *Sicily*, were aſſigned thoſe two legions, which *P. Cornelius* had before: with a freſh ſupply out of the army of *Cneus Fulvius*, which the laſt year was ſhamefully defeated, beaten and put to flight in *Apulia*. Theſe ſouldiers, all the ſort of them, had the ſame limitation of ſervice and no other, appointed and ſet down by the Senat, as thoſe former who remained O after the overthrow at *Canna*. And this diſgrace they had beſides, as well the one company as the other, That they might not winter within any town, nor build them any ſtanding camp for wintring harbours, within ten miles of a City. *L. Cornelius* the Lord Deputy in *Sardinia*, was allowed to have the conduct of thoſe two legions which were under the leading of *Q. Mutius*. And order was given unto the Conſuls, to levy and enroll a new ſupply thereto, if need required. *T. Otacilius* and *M. Valerius* were appointed to guard and defend all the ſea-coaſts of *Sicily* and *Greece*, with

the

A the help of those Legions and Armadoes which they had already. The Greeks had fifty sail in their fleet, and were manned with one Legion. The Sicilians had one hundred ships, and two Legions to furnish them. So that in this year the Romans maintained three and twenty Legions, to wage war both by sea and land.

In the beginning of the year, when the letters of *L. Martius* were read and scanned in the Senat house, the L.L. there assembled, liked well of the contents, and spake highly in the praise of his worthy acts: but many of them were offended at the superscription, because he took upon him the honourable title of a Pro-Prætor in his stile, and wrote thus, [*L. Martius the Pro-Prætor to the Senat*] considering, that his command was neither granted by the people, nor allowed and
B confirmed by the Senat. "An ill precedent (say they) it is, and of bad consequence, that Generals "of the field should be chosen by armies, and that the solemnity of Elections, so devoutly begun "in the name of the gods, and with the religious observation of the Bird-flight, should now be "transferred into the Camps and Provinces far from Laws and Magistrates, and committed to "the inconsiderate wills of rash affectionate souldiers. And when some there in place were of opinion, that the matter should be put in question at the Council Table, it was thought better to defer that consultation, untill those gentlemen of service, that brought the Letters from *Martius*, were gone and departed. As concerning corn and apparell for the army, they agreed to write back unto him, that the Senat would take order and provide for both: but they would not allow in any cause to give him this addition, and to write [*To Martius the Pro-Prætor*] lest that they might
C seem to approve the very same thing by their prejudice and doom aforehand, which they had left for to be decided and determined afterwards. When the Gentlemen aforesaid had their dispatch, and were dismissed, the first thing that the Consuls propounded was it, and no other: and generally they jumped in this one point, for to deal with the Tribunes of the peoples, that with all speed possible they would move the Commons, and propound unto them, for to know, who their will and pleasure was should be sent L. Deputy into *Spain*, for to have the government of that army, whereof *Cn. Scipio*, L. Generall, had the conduct.

This matter, I say, was treated of with the Tribunes, and a bill preferred thereof unto the Commons: but there was another greater contention in terms, that had possessed their minds already. For *C. Sempronius Blæsus* had commenced a criminall action against *Cn. Fulvius*, accusing
D him for the lois of the Army in *Apulia*. and ceased not in all the assemblies of the people to make invectives against him, charging him, "That being Captain Generall, through his much folly, ignorance, and rashness, he had brought his army into a place of danger: reproving him more- "over, and saying, That never any Captain but *Cn. Fulvius* had corrupted, marred, and infected "his legions with all kind of vices before that he betraied them to the enemies: in such wise, that "it might be well and truly said, that they were altogether spoiled and defeated before they had a "sight of their enemies: and were not vanquished by *Annibal*, but by their own Colonell and "Commander. See (quoth he) the disorder that is in Elections, and how no man, when he is to "give his voice doth well weigh and consider, who it is that he chuseth a General & unto whom "he committeth the charge of an Army. Behold the difference between *Cneus Fulvius*, and
E "*T. Sempronius*. This man having the leading of an army of bondslaves, by discipline, good or- "der and government, within short time brought his souldiers to that good pass, that there was "not one of them all throughout the army remembred and regarded how basely he was born, "and of what parentage descended, but all in generall bare themselves so, that they were to their "friends assure defence, and to their enemies a fearful terror: and after that he had recovered them "at *Beneventum*, & other Cities, (as it were, out of the chaws of *Annibal*) he restored and delive- "red them safe & sound to the people of *Rome*. Whereas contrariwise *Cn. Fulvius* having received "an army of Roman Citizens, well and worshipfully born, liberally and honestly brought up, had "taught them servile vices fit for slaves, and so trained them, that with their friends and allies they "were stout, proud, and unruly: and among their enemies were cowards & very dastards: & so far
F "short they were to bear off the violence of the Carthaginians that they were not able to abide "so much as their first cry and shout. And no marvel I assure you, that the souldiers could not stick "to it in the battel, and hold out manfully; when the General himself was the first that ran away "beastly. I rather wonder at it that any of them stood to it and died in the field, and were not all "of them as fearful as *Cn. Fulvius*, and took not heels with him for company. Yet *C. Flami- "nius*, *L. Paulus*, *L. Posthumius*, both *Scipios*, as well *Cn.* as *Pub.* chose rather to lose their lives in "battel, than to forsake their armies when they were environed round with enemies. But *Cn.* "*Fulvius*, he was in manner the only man that returned to *Rome* with news of the army defea- "ted and overthrown. Now verily, a great indignity it is, and a shamefull manner of proceeding, "that the residue of the army, after the overthrow at *Cannæ*, because they fled out of the field,
G "were confined and transported over into *Sicily*, with expres condition, not to return again from "thence, before that the enemy were clean gone and departed out of *Italy*: & that the very same "rigorous and heavy decree passed likewise, and was executed against the Legions of *Cn. Fulvius*; "and *Cn. Fulvius* himself, who fled out of the battell which was through his own folly and rash- "ness begun should go away clear, and escape without all punishment: that himself I say should "lead his old age in taverns, stews, and brothel-houses, where already he hath spent his youth- "full daies; while his poor souldiers (who had faulted in nothing, but that they were like unto "their Captain) be sent far enough off, and packed away (as it were) into exile, and endure shame-

The Oration of *T. Sempronius Blæsus* against *Cn. Fulvius*.

"full and ignominious ſouldiery. Lo, how unequally at *Rome* the freedom of the City is parted H
"between the rich and the poor; between men of nobility and high calling, and thoſe that are of
"mean parentage and low degree.

The anſwer of *Cn. Fulvius.* Thus much ſpake the plaintiff *C. Sempronius Blaſus*. The defendant on the other ſide ſhifted all the blame from himſelf, and laid the whole fault upon his ſouldiers, alledging and pleading thus, "That when they called upon him haſtily, and with great wilfulneſs for to give battell, he "brought them forth into the field not on that day which they would themſelves (for it was late "in the evening) but the morrow after, when both time and place were meet and convenient for "the purpoſe: and notwithſtanding they were well appointed and orderly embattelled, yet were "they not able to ſuſtain, either the fame, or the fury of the enemies, I know not whether. And "when they all fled away amain, he alſo was carried away in the throng of the rout: like as *Varro* I
"the Conſul, at the battell before *Canna* and as many other Generals elſewhere. And what good
"could he have done to the Common-weal, in caſe he had ſtaid behind alone? unleſs perad-
"venture his death might have cured and remedied the publike ſores and maladies, or made
"amends for the common loſſes. Neither was it for want of victuals, nor for that he light at un-
"awares upon places of diſadvantage and danger; nor yet, becauſe he was entrapped within the
"trains of an ambuſh, marching on enemies forward, without ſending his eſpials before, that he was
"overcome; but even by mere force, by dint of ſword, in open field, and in a pight battel. And it
"was not he could do withall if his own men were fearfull and timorous, and the enemies hardy
"and venturous, he had not the rule of their hearts. It is long of every one his own nature to be
"either bold or heartleſs. K

Two ſeverall daies was he judicially accuſed, and at both times a fine of money only ſet upon his head in caſe the matter ſhould go againſt him. At the third Seſſion the witneſſes were produced forth, to be depoſed and give evidence: and after that he had been ſhamefully reviled, and charged with all manner of reproaches, there were very many upon their oath teſtified, That the firſt beginning of the fright and flight both, was occaſioned by the Prætor himſelf: and that the ſouldiers ſeeing themſelves forſaken by him, and ſuppoſing verily that their Captain and Leader was not affraid of his own ſhadow but had great reaſon to fear, they likewiſe turned their backs and fled. Upon which evidence, the whole Court was ſo incenſed againſt him with anger, that they cried all with one voice, to commence a capitall action, for that he was worthy to die. Whereupon aroſe a new debate and controverſie: for whereas the Tribune had twice before laid L
a penall action upon him of money, and now at the third time ſaid that he would have a jury of life and death go upon him: then he called upon the other Tribunes for their helping hand to mitigate this rigour of the Tribune. But when thoſe his Collegues made anſwer again and ſaid, that they would not oppoſe themſelves nor hinder his courſe, but that he might proceed in the ſuit at his own good pleaſure, *more majorum, i. e.* [according to the ancient manner uſed by their fore-fathers,] either by order of law, or rule of cuſtome, and bring him being but a private perſon to the triall either of a capitall crime, or penall treſpaſs: then *Sempronius* ſpake and ſaid flatly, that he laid upon him a criminal action of treaſon againſt the State; and requeſted of *C. Calphurnius* the Lord chief Juſtice of the City, for to have a day of hearing and judiciall triall by the people. Then the defendant caſt about to help himſelf by another remedy, namely, in caſe he could compaſs that M
*Q. Fulvius* his brother might poſſibly be preſent at the Seſſion when he ſhould be judged: who at that time was a man of great credit and reputation, in regard both of the name that went on him for his noble acts, and of that great hope which men had of him, that he was like preſently to be Maſter of *Capua*. But when this ſaid *Q. Fulvius* had requeſted ſo much by letters, endited to that purpoſe as effectually as he could deviſe, and to move commiſeration and pity in behalf of the life of his brother, the LL. of the Senat returned this anſwer unto him again, That it was not for the good of the State that he ſhould depart from *Capua*: thereupon, before the Seſſions day was come, *Cn. Fulvius* departed of his own accord into exile to *Tarquinii*, and the Commons made an act and confirmed that baniſhment of his to be a juſt, due, and ſufficient puniſhment for his offence. N

During theſe buſineſſes at *Rome*, the whole ſtrength and force of war was bent againſt *Capua*, and yet the City was rather ſtraightly beleaguered than forcibly aſſaulted; inſomuch as neither the ſervants or bondmen, nor the common people were able to endure the famine any longer: and ſend unto *Annibal* any meſſengers, they poſſibly could not, by reaſon of the ſtraight watch and ward that the Romans kept, ſo near one unto the other. At length there was a certain Numidian offered to go and to eſcape clear away, who having taken letters unto *Annibal* to put him in mind to be as good as his promiſe, departed in the night, and paſſed through the midſt of the Roman camp, and put the Campans in very good hope, to iſſue forth at all the gates, and to make a ſally upon the enemy, whiles their power and ſtrength ſerved them. And verily in many ſcuffles and ſkirmiſhes which they made, they got the better for the moſt part in horſe-fight: O
but lightly their footmen had ever the worſe. The Romans for their parts were nothing ſo much pleaſed when they had the upperhand at any time, as they were diſcontented and ill apaid, to receive a foil in any kind of ſervice of them, who were not only beſieged, but in manner overcome already and conquered. So they deviſed a means in the end, to make up and ſupply by induſtry and policy the defect they had in ſtrength and force. They choſe out of all the Legions certain luſty young men, ſuch as for clean ſtrength of body, and lightneſs withall, were moſt nimble and ſwift,

A swift. These had every one of them, a light buckler or targer, shorter than commonly horsemen have, and seven javelins or darts apiece, four foot long, with iron heads at one end, like as those Javelins have, which they use to lance that are lightly armed, and begin skirmishes. And every horseman took up one of these behind him on horseback, and used them, both to sit the horse and ride, and also to leap down on foot, with great activity and agility, at the signall and token given them. Now, when as, after daily practice and exercise, they were able to do it nimble enough, and without fear, they advanced forth into the plain, lying between their camp, and the wall of the City, and affronted the horsemen of the Campans as they stood arranged in battell array: and so soon as they were come within a darts cast, the light javelottiers aforesaid, B dismounted from their horses, at a sign given them: and behold, all of a sudden, out of the Cavalry there was a battaillon of footmen arranged, who charged the men of arms of the enemies, and let flie their shot with great force, dart after dart, which they lanced so thick, that they galled many a horse, and wounded also many horsemen. Howbeit, their fear was much greater, by reason of the strange and unexpected manner of fight. The Roman horsemen seeing their enemies thus affrighted set too hard, and charged them upon lustily, chased them and beat them down even to the City gates. After this, the Romans were the better in horse-service also. And hereupon began the manner from henceforth to entertain such light armed javelottiers, called *Velites*, even among the Legions. The first deviser of this mingling of footmen among the horsemen they say was one *Q. Navius* a Centurion, and that he was highly honoured by the Generall for C his invention.

Whiles things stood thus at *Capua*, *Annibal* was greatly distracted in mind, and possessed with two contrary cogitations, whether he should go to gain the Castle of *Tarentum*, or to rescue and save the City of *Capua*. At last the regard of *Capua* prevailed with him: for he saw that as well friends as enemies depended thereupon, and had their mind and eye wholly bent that way; as being a City like to give the very triall and proof, what would the issue be generally of all the revolt and rebellion from the Romans. Leaving therefore behind him a great part of his carriage in the Brutians country, and all his souldiers heavily armed, he made hatte into *Campania*, with an elect power of foot and horse, such as he supposed most meet and best appointed for expedition and riddance of way: yet as fast as he marched, there followed after him three and thirty Ele- D phants, and so he sate him down closely in a secret valley behind the mountain *Tiffata*, which overlooketh the City *Capua*. At the first coming he forced the fort called *Galatia*, and compelled the garrison there to quit the place, and then he turned and opposed himself against the enemies who besieged *Capua*. But he dispatched certain courriers afore unto *Capua* to signifie unto them at what time he minded to set upon the camp of the Romans: that they also at the very instant might be ready to issue forth at every gate of the City to do the like. The Romans having no fore-knowledge by their espials of this occurrence, were mightily terrified: for *Annibal* himself assailed them one way, and all the Campans as well foot as horsemen (together with the garrison souldiers of the Carthaginians under the leading of *Bostar* and *Hanno* their captains) sallied out another way. The Romans therefore being driven to their shifts, as well as they might in so E sudden and fearfull a case, had an eye to this, not to make head altogether one way, and so to leave the rest quite without defence; therefore they divided their forces in this manner among themselves: *Appius Claudius* opposed himself against the Campans: and *Fulvius* against *Annibal*. *Claudius Nero* the Vice-Prætor, with the horsemen belonging to the sixth legion, quartered upon the way that leadeth to *Suessula*: and *C. Fulvius Flaccus* the Lieutenant with the horsemen of Allies, took up his standing, and planted himself over-against the river *Vulturnus*. The battell began not after the usuall manner, only with shouts and outcries, but besides all other clamours of men neighing of horses, and rustling of armour, there was a multitude of Campans good for no other service of war, placed upon the wals, who together with ringing and sounding of basons and vessels of brasse (as the manner is in the still dead time of the night, when the moon is in the F eclipse) made such an hideous noise, that it caused even them that were in fight to be amused thereupon, and to listen after it. *Appius* with small ado repulsed the Campans from the trench and rampier. But *Fulvius* on the other part had more trouble to deal with *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, who charged so fiercely upon him, that the sixth legion there gave ground and retreated: which being once beat back, a Squadron of Spaniards and three Elephants passed forwards as far as the rampier, and had already broken through the main battell of the Romans: but they were in suspence between doubtfull hope and present danger, thinking one while to break through and pass into the Camp: and doubtfull another while to be excluded from the rest of their companies. *Fulvius* seeing this fear of the Legion and perill wherein the Camp stood, encourageth and exhorteth *Q. Navius* and other principall Centurions, to assail valiantly, to kill and hew in pieces that one company of the enemies which were fighG ting under the counterscarp. "For all now lieth a bleeding, quoth he, and in extream hazard: "for either you must give the enemies way, and then wil they more easily enter into the camp, then "they had already pierced through the thick squadrons of the battell; or else ye must defeat and "slay them in the place even under the trench. And that (quoth he) were no difficult piece of ser- "vice, considering they are but few in number, severed and shut out clean from the succour of "their fellows: and the same Roman battaillon which seemeth now disbanded and open, whiles "it is affrighted, if so be it would make head and turn both sides upon the enemy, were able to

"com-

"compass round and environ them, and put them to a doubtful hazard, yea, and cut them in pie- H
"ces within the midst. *Navius* had no sooner heard the General speak these words, but he caught the ensign of the second band of *Hastati* from the ensign-bearer, and displaied it in the faces of the enemies, threatning to fling it among the midst of them, unless his souldiers made the better haste to follow him, and settle themselves to fight. He was a goodly tall and personable man of body, his brave armor besides set him out and beautified his person: and withall, the advancing of his ensign on high, drew every mans eye upon him, as well enemies as friends. But when he was approached once to the banners of the Spaniards, then from all hands they spared him not, but lanced at him their barbed javelins, and the whole battell in manner was bent only against him. But neither the multitude of enemies, nor the volley of their shot, was able to repress and rebut the I violence of that one man. Likewise *M. Attilius* a Lieutenant, caused the ensign-bearer of the first band of the *Principes*, belonging to the same Legion, to enter with his ensign upon the cohort and troop of the Spaniards. The Lieutenants also *L. Porcius Licinius* and *T. Popilius*, who had the guarding of the camp, fought valiantly upon the rampier in defence thereof, and killed the Elephants upon the very counterscarp, as they were passing over and entring the camp. And by occasion that their bodies filled up the ditch, the enemies had a passage made them into the camp, as it were over a causey or bridge raised of purpose to give them way: and there over the very carkases of the Elephants, there was a cruell slaughter committed. But on the other side of the camp, the Campans and the garrison of the Carthaginians had the repulse already: and under the very gate of *Capua* which openeth upon the river *Vulturnus*, there was another skirmish, where the X Romans striving to enter the town, were not so much put back and withstood by force of armed men, as by brakes, scorpions, and other engins of ordnance, which being mounted and planted upon the very gate, discharged shot so violently, that they drave the enemies farther off. Over and besides, the forcible and furious assault of the Romans was danted and suppressed, by reason that their General himself, *Ap. Claudius*, was hurt; who as he was encouraging his men to fight in the very forefront of the vangard, happed to be wounded with a dart above in his brest under the left shoulder: yet there were an exceeding number of enemies there slain before the gate, and the rest were driven for fear to make haste and get the City over their heads. *Annibal* also perceiving the Cohort of the Spaniards lying along dead, and the camp of the enemies so manfully defended even to the death: gave over farther assault, and began to retire his ensigns, and to turn backward L all his footmen, interposing his horsemen behind them, for fear the enemy should charge them on the tail. The legions were exceeding eager to pursue after the enemies: but *Flaccus* commanded to sound the retreat, supposing they had done well enough already, and effected two things, to wit, that both the Campans saw in how little stead *Annibal* served them; and also *Annibal* himself knew and perceived no less. Some writers that have recorded this battell, set down, that of *Annibal* his Army there were slain that day eight thousand men, and of Campans three thousand: that the Carthaginians lost fifteen ensigns, and the Campans eighteen. But in others, I find that the conflict was not so great, and that the fright was much more than the skirmish: for when as the Numidians and Spaniards together with the Elephants brake at unawares into the Roman Camp, those Elephants as they passed through the midst thereof, overthrew and M laid along many of the tents and pavilions; and the Sumpter-horses and other beasts there for carriage, with great noise brake their halters, and collars, fled for fear, and bare down all afore them as they went. And that besides this tumultuous fright and confusion, *Annibal* dealt fraudulently, by sending in among the rest certain that could speak the Latine tongue (for some such he had about him) who in the Consuls name gave commandment (since that the Camp was lost) that every souldier should make shift for himself, and flie to the next mountains. But this deceit was soon espied and prevented with the loss and slaughter of a number of enemies: and the Elephants were coursed out of the Camp with fire. But howsoever this battell was either begun or ended, the last it was fought there, before that *Capua* was yielded up and surrendred. N

The singular valour of *Navius*.

The *Mediastituticus* (for so they call the head Magistrate and Governor of the City of *Capua*) for that year, was one *Seppius Loesius*, a man of base parentage and mean calling. The report goeth, that his mother upon a time as she made satisfaction in the name of him (being then fatherless and under age) by a purgatory sacrifice, for a prodigious domestical portent, that happed in her house, was told by the Soothsaier out of his learning, that one day the chief government of *Capua* should befall to that child: whereat, she seeing no likelihood nor hope at all of any such matter, said thus again, You talk of a poor City of *Capua*, when that day comes; and God save all, when my son shall be advanced to the highest place and government thereof. But these words spoken at random and in jest, proved afterwards good earnest, and true indeed. For when as the Citizens were driven to great straights, through sword and famine, and were past all hope of recovery: in O such sort, as they that were of quality and born for honour, refused to be in place of authority, this *Loesius* complaining that *Capua* was forlorn, betraid, and abandoned by her own nobility took upon him the chief Magistracy, and was the last of all the Campans that bare soveraign rule in that City.

*Annibal* perceiving that neither his enemies would be drawn forth any more to fight: nor possibly he could break through their camp for to come unto *Capua*: for fear lest that the new Consuls should stop all the passages, and intercept his purveyance of victuals, determined to dislodge without

A without effecting his purpose, and to remove from *Capua*. And as he cast and tossed to and fro in his mind what course to take, and whither to go; it came into his head to make no more ado, but to march directly to *Rome*, the very head and seat-City of the whole war. This was the upshot of all, and the empresse that he most desired. Howbeit as all others much grieved and greatly blamed him, that he had over-slipt the opportunity when it was, even presently upon the battell at *Cannæ*: so himself acknowledged no less that he was mightily overseen. And yet the thing was not so far past (he thought) that he should despair, but upon some sudden fright and unexpected tumult, he might seize of some quarter of the City or other. And if *Rome* were once in that hazard, then either both the Roman Generals, or one at the least, would immediatly leave the siege of *Capua*.
B Who if they had once divided their forces, both of them would be the weaker, and minister either unto him, or to the Campans, some occasion of good fortune. The only thing that troubled his mind was this, for fear lest that as soon as his back were turned, the Campans would yield themselves unto the Romans. He therefore with large and liberall rewards induceth a certain Numidian (an audacious and adventurous fellow, one that cared not what dangers he undertook) to be the carrier of certain letters, and to enter into the camp of the Romans, counterfeiting himself to be a fugitive, from the adverse part unto them: and so when he espied his time, to slip secretly from the other side of the camp to *Capua*. The letters were very comfortable, importing unto them, "That his remove and departure from thence was for their good and safety, whereby he
C "meant to withdraw the Roman Captains and their forces from *Capua* to the defence of their "own City of *Rome*: willing them not to let fall their hearts and be discouraged; for by patient "abiding some few daies they should be wholly freed and delivered of the siege. Then he made stay of all the shipping and vessels that he could find upon the river *Vulturnus*, and commanded them to be brought to *Casilinum*, which he had fortified aforetime with a pile or Castle to guard and keep the place with a garrison. And having intelligence that there was such store of barges and bottoms upon the river, as would serve to transport in one night his whole army: he made provision of victuals for ten daies, brought down his army by night to the river side, and crossed the water with all his power before the next day-light. But this was not carried so secretly, but before that it was effected, intelligence was given thereof by certain runnegate fugitives: whereupon *Fulvius Flaccus* addressed his letters unto the Senate of *Rome*, and gave notice thereof. At
D which tidings men according to their sundry fansies and humours were diversly affected: and as so fearfull an occurrence required, incontinently the Senate assembled.

*P. Cornelius*, surnamed *Asina*, was of opinion, that all the Captains and Armies whatsoever should be called home out of all parts of *Italy*, without regard of *Capua* or any other exploit besides, save only the defence of the City. *Fabius Maximus* thought it was a dishonest, lewd, and a shamefull part, to depart from the siege of *Capua*, and to be scared to turn here and there, and to be carried away with every copy of *Annibal* his countenance, and with his vain threats and menaces. He that won a victory at *Canna*, and durst not then go forward to the City, hath he conceived any hope now to win *Rome*, being also lately repulsed from *Capua*? No, he marcheth toward *Rome*, not minding to besiege it, but hoping to raise the siege from *Capua*. And howsoever it
E be, I am assured (quoth he) that *Jupiter* (the witness of covenants broken by *Annibal*) and other gods besides, will defend us with the help of that army which we shall find at home in the City. Between these two opinions *P. Valerius Flaccus* held the mean, and prevailed: for he having a regard and due consideration, both of the one and the other; thought good to write unto the Colonels that lay before *Capua*, and to certifie them what strength they had of able men to defend the City: as for the forces of *Annibal*, and what power was needfull to maintain the siege at *Capua*, they themselves knew best. Therefore in case that one of the Pro-Consuls there, and part of the army might be spared from thence and sent to *Rome*, and nevertheless, the siege continue with the conduct of the other Pro-Consul, and the rest of the army: then *Claudius* and *Fulvius* should so order the matter between themselves, that the one of them might remain still be-
F fore *Capua* at siege, and the other repair to *Rome*, for to defend and keep their native country from the same danger. Hereupon the Senate agreed, and made an Act: which being brought unto *Capua*, *Q. Fulvius* the vice-Consul who was to go to *Rome*, by reason that his Collegue was sick of his hurt, chose out of the three armies certain companies of souldiers, and so with fifteen thousand footmen, and one thousand horsemen, passed over the river *Vulturnus*. Then having certain intelligence, that *Annibal* minded to march along the Latine street way: he took his journey through the towns and burroughs situate upon the way *Appia*, and sent his courriers before unto *Setia*, *Sora*, and *Lavinium*, which are seated near unto it, not only for to lay provision of victuals ready for
G him in their Cities and towns, but also from the country villages farther out of the way, to bring their provision to that port through-fare: and to draw forces into their towns for their own defence, and every one to stand upon their good guard, and to look unto their state, as well publike as private.

*Annibal* the same day that he had crossed *Vulturnus* encamped not far from the river. And the morrow after entred into the territory of the Sidicins, and led his host near unto *Cales*. There, after he had staid one day, forraging and spoiling the country, he marched by *Suessula*, into the territories of *Allifas* and *Casinum*, by the way of the Latine street. Under the town *Casinum* he abode in camp two daies, and raised booties here and there in every place. From thence leaving *Interramna* and *Aquinum*, he came into the country about *Fregellæ*, as far as to the river *Liris*,

where

where he found the bridge cut down by the Fregellans for to impeach and let his journey. *Fulvi-*H
*us* likewise was staid at the river *Vulturnus*, by reason that the barges and bottoms were burnt by *Annibal*: and much ado he had, for the great scarcity of timber and wood, to make punts and boats for to set over his army. But *Fulvius*, after he had once transported his men in such boats and planks as he made shift withall, had afterwards no hindrance in his journey; but found not only store of victuals in the Towns and Cities as he travelled, but also plenty thereof brought ready for him to the waies side right curteously. Then the souldiers as they marched on foot cheered and encouraged one another to mend their pace and make speed, considering they went to the defence of their naturall country. Now there was a post sent from *Fregellæ*, who rode night and day and never made stay, and he put the City in exceeding fear. The running together I besides of the people, that ceased not to make every thing more than it was, and to invent somewhat of their own fingers ends, and put it to the news that they heard, made a greater hurry than the messenger himself, and set the City in an uprore. And not only the women were heard to weep and wail in their own private houses: but also from all parts the Dames of the City came flocking into the streets, running about to all the Churches and Chappels of their gods and goddesses, sweeping the Altars with the tresses of their hair hanging down, kneeling upon the bare ground and stretching out their hands up toward heaven unto the gods; pouring out their prayers and supplications, That they would vouchsafe to preserve the City of *Rome* out of the hands of the enemies, and to save the Roman wives and their little children from harm and all abuse. The body of the Senat gave attendance upon the Magistrates in the common place, ready to give K
them their advice and counsell. Some receive of them direction, and departed every man to execute his charge: others offer themselves to the Magistrates, to be employed in any service whatsoever. Sundry guards were bestowed in the Castle, in the Capitoll, and upon the walls: all places about the City were well manned. The Alban mountain also and the Castle of *Tusculum* were furnished with good garrisons. Amidst this alarm tidings came, that *Q. Fulvius* the Pro-Consul was departed from *Capua*, and onward on his journey to *Rome* with an army. And because he should not be abridged of his power and authority, after he was come into the City, there was a decree granted out of the Senat-House, that *Q. Fulvius* should have as large a commission of rule and command as the Consuls themselves. *Annibal*, after he had made fouler work and havock in the territory of *Fregellæ*, than in other places, for anger that they had cut down the bridges a- L
gainst his coming, led his army through the Frusinat, Ferentinat, and Anagnine countries, and came forwards into the territory *Lavicos*: and so by *Algidum* he marched toward *Tusculum*. And when he could not be let in there within the walls, he descended beneath *Tusculum*, on the right hand to *Gabii*: from whence he conducted his army into *Pupinia*, and eight miles from *Rome* encamped. The nearer the enemy approached to the City, the greater slaughter was made of the peasants that fled from him, by his vancurriers, the Numidian light-horsemen whom he sent afore to make riddance. And many there were of all conditions and ages that were taken captive.

In this tumultuous trouble, *Fulvius Flaccus* with his army entred *Rome* at the gate *Capena*: from whence he went through the midst of the City, along the street *Carinæ* into the *Exquilia*, M
and from thence he went forth, and between the gates *Exquilina* and *Collina* pitched his tents. Thither the Ædiles of the Commons brought victuals: the Consul and the Senate resorted to him into the camp, where they sate in Council about the State of the Common-weal. And agreed it was, That the Consuls should lie encamped likewise about the gates *Collina* and *Exquilina*: that *C. Calpurnius*, Prætor of the City, should have the keeping of the Capitoll and the Castle with a guard, and that the Senators keep residence continually in good number within the compass of the *Forum*, what need soever there should be of their counsell and advice, against all sudden accidents. By this time *Annibal* was come forward as far as to the river *Anio*, and within three miles of the City lay encamped where he kept a standing Leaguer. But himself in person with 1000 horsemen advanced forward toward the gate *Collina*, even as far as to *Hercules* his N
Temple, and rode all about as near as he well could, to view the walls, and the situation of the City. *Flaccus* took foul disdain thereat, and thought it a shamefull indignity, that he should brave it at his pleasure so scornfully without revenge, whereupon he sent out certain of his own Cavalry, and gave commandment, That they should set the enemies horsemen farther off, and chase them back into their Camp. Whiles they were in skirmish together, the Consuls gave order, that the Numidian horsemen, such as were fled from the enemy, and turned to the Romans (who were at that time to the number of twelve hundred upon the Aventine hill) should pass through the midst of the City to the *Exquilia*: supposing that there were none more meet than they, for to fight among the valleys, the garden houses, the sepulchres and hollow waies on every side. Whom, when some from the Castle and the Capitoll, espied riding down the O
descent of the hill, called *Clivus Publius*, they ran crying about the City, The Aventine is taken, The Aventine is taken. Which alarm caused a tumult, and gave such an occasion of fear, and running away, that if the Camp of *Annibal* had not been without the walls, the fearfull multitude doubtless would have abandoned and quit the City. But they took their horses, and got every man up to the terrasses and leads thereof: from whence they pelted with stones and other shot, their own friends instead of enemies, as they rode scattering one from another in the streets. This tumult could not be repressed, nor the error appear, by reason that the waies were so pestered with

A with a number of the country peasants, and of cattell besides, whom sudden fear had driven into the City. Howbeit, the horsemen fought fortunately, and the enemies were removed and set back. And because it was necessary to stay all disorders and uprores that chanced upon small occasions to arise, it was thought good and agreed upon, that all those who had been either Dictators, or born the office of Centors, should have their full power and authority until such time as the enemy was clean departed from about the walls. And that was to good purpose: for all the rest of that day, and the night following, there were divers and sundry garboiles, without any cause or occasion raised, and the same stilled and appeased by that means.

The next day *Annibal* passed over *Anio*, and brought forth all his whole power into the field. B Neither were *Flaccus* and the Consuls behind hand for their parts, but ready for battell. When both armies stood arranged in order on both sides, amused upon the issue and event of that one fight, which was for no less a prize and reward to the victorious part, than the very City of *Rome*; there fell such a mighty storm of rain and hail together, and so troubled both hosts, that they could scarce hold their weapons in hand, but were driven to retire themselves for safety into their severall Camps, fearing nothing less than their own enemies. The morrow after likewise, when they stood in the same place in battell array, the like tempest parted them asunder. And they were not so soon retired into their Camp, but the day was wonderful fair, and the weather calm again.

The Carthaginians took this for an ominous presage to them of ill luck. And *Annibal* was C heard (by report) to say, That one while his mind, another while his fortune, would not give him leave to win the City of *Rome*. There were other occurrences besides, as well small as great, that discouraged him and abated his hope. Of more importance was this, that whiles he lay with his host in arms before the walls of *Rome*, he understood, there were certain companies with banners displaied sent into *Spain* for to supply the armies there. Of less reckoning was this, that he was advertised by a certain captive, how the very same plot of ground whereon he was encamped, happened at the same time to be sold: not underfoot, but at the full price, and nothing abated. This he took to be so presumptuous a part, and such a scornfull indignity, namely, that there should be a chapman found at *Rome*, to make purchase of that piece of land, which he was possessed of and held in right of arms, that presently he called for the publike crier and trumpet, and gave com- D mandment unto him, to proclaim port-sale of all the shops of Bankers and money changers at that time about the *Forum* in *Rome*. Nevertheless, hereupon he was moved to dislodge and retired his camp backwards from the City to the river *Iuria*, six miles from *Rome*. From whence he took his way to the grove of *Feronia*, where stood a Temple, in those daies much renowned for wealth and riches. The inhabitants thereabout were certain Capenats, who used to bring thither the first fruits of their corn and revenues yea and many other oblations besides, according to their store: by means whereof they had adorned and garnished it with much gold and silver. Of all those gifts and offerings was this Temple then robbed and spoiled. But after the departure of *Annibal* from thence there were found great heaps of brass, by reason that the souldiers upon touch and remorse of conscience had cast in many brazen pieces. The sacking and pillage of this Temple, E all writers do agree upon, and make no doubt thereof. *Cœlius* saith, That *Annibal* as he went toward *Rome* from *Eretum*, turned thither, and he setteth down the beginning of his journey from *Reate Cutil æ* and from *Amiternum*. And that out of *Campania*, he came into *Samnium*, and from thence into the country of *Peligni*, and so passed beside the City *Sulmo*, to the Marucins, and then by the territory of the Albenses into the Marsians land, and from thence he marched to *Amiternum*, and so forward to the town *Foruli*. Neither is there any errour or doubt in all this, because the marks and tokens of the voyage of so great an army could not within the memory and compass of so small an age be confounded and worn out. For certain it is, that he passed that way. The only difference lieth herein, whether he came to the City of *Rome*, or returned from thence into *Campania*, by that way aforesaid.

F Now was not *Annibal* to resolute to defend *Capua*, but the Romans were as fully bent, and more eager to continue the siege and assault thereof. For he sped himself so fast another way in his voyage back, first out of the Lucans country to the Brutians, and so on still to the streight [ of *Sicily*] and to *Rhegium*; that with his sudden coming thither, he surprised them at unawares, even before they heard of his arrivall. As for *Capua*, albeit in the time of *Fulvius* his absence it was no less straightly beleagured, yet it felt the coming again of *Flaccus*: and besides, there was much marvell there, why *Annibal* returned not back as well as he. Afterwards, they understood, by conference with some that were without, how they were forsaken and forlorn of *Annibal*, and that the Carthaginians were past all hope to keep and hold *Capua* still to their own use. There was an Edict moreover of the Pro-Consul, passed by order from the Senat, and the same published and divulged among the enemies, That what Citizen soever of *Capua* would turn to the G Romans before such a certain day he should have a generall pardon. But there was no coming in, nor ranging to the Romans side; for fear of punishment at the Romans hands, more than for any regard of their allegiance to the Carthaginians: because their transgression and trespass in their former revolt was so great, that it might not be abandoned. And as no one man at all privatly on his own head came over to the camp of the Romans, so there was no good order taken by publike councill for the benefit and safety of the whole City. The Noblemen had given over managing of state-matters, and could not be brought by any means to assemble in the Senat.

And

And in chief place of government was he, who had not won to himself any honour thereby, but H his unworthiness was derogatory to the authority and power of that Magistracy which he bare. For now there was not one of the chief Citizens and Noblemen that would be so much as seen in the Market place or Common Hall of assemblies: but shutting themselves within doors in their privat houses, they expected every day for the destruction of their country, together with their own undoing and overthrow. The whole charge and care lay upon *Bostar* and *Hanno* Captains of the garrison in the fort there of the Carthaginians, and more carefull were they of their own welfare, than fearfull for the jeopardy of their friends and Allies. These two wrote letters unto *Annibal*, endited not only in plain terms and frankly, but also sharply and bitterly: wherein they laid unto his charge, "That he had not only betraied *Capua* into the hands of the enemies, but also I "delivered and exposed them and the garrison to the cruell clutches of the Romans to be massa-"cred and executed. That he was gone his waies, and departed into the country of the *Bruttij*, as "one that turned away his face of purpose, because he would not see with his own eyes the loss "of *Capua*. But, I wot the Romans contrariwise could not be withdrawn from the siege of Ca-"*pua*, no, not by the assaulting of the City of *Rome*: so much more were the Romans resolute "enemies, than the Carthaginians constant friends. But if he would return again to *Capua*, and "bend the full force of his war thither, both they and the Citizens also of *Capua* would be ready "to sally forth and encounter the enemies. For why, they passed not over the Alps with intent to "war with the Rhegins and Tarentins; no, but where the Roman Legions were, there ought the "armies of the Carthaginians to be. Thus at *Canna*, thus at *Thrasymenus* were the victories at- I "chieved, by affronting and meeting the enemy, by joyning camp to camp, and by hazarding the "fortune of the battell. To this effect were the letters penned, and given to certain Numidians; who for a good reward had offered their service before, for the safe carriage and delivery of them. These fellows presented themselves before *Flaccus* in the Camp, in habit and quality of fugitives unto his side: hoping to spy out some convenient time when they might give him the slip and be gone. Now by occasion of the famine which had continued long in *Capua*, there was none but might pretend a good and reasonable cause to depart from thence to the adverse part. But behold, there hapned a Capuan wench to come into the leaguer (a naughty-pack and an harlot, that one of the supposed counterfeit fugitives aforesaid kept,) she enformed the Generall of the Romans, that those Numidians, fraudulently and by covin pretended to flie unto his part and had L letters about them unto *Annibal*. This would she stand to, and be ready to aver to the very face of one of them, who bewrayed & disclosed the plot unto her. At first, when he was brought forth before her, he set a jolly countenance of the matter, & made it very strange, & pretending stoutly that he knew not the woman; but by little and little he was convicted by manifest truths, and especially when he saw that they called for the rack, and that he was upon the point to be put to torture: and so in the end confessed that all was true, and therewith brought forth the letters. Over and besides, another thing was now revealed, which before was kept close and secret: to wit, that there were other Numidians besides, who under the colour of fugitives had gone up and down in the Roman camp: of these there were apprehended not so few as threescore and ten, and they together with the new were whipped with rods, had their hands cut off, and sent back again to M *Capua*. This pitious spectacle and sight of so fearfull execution killed their courage, and brake the very heart of the Campans. Whereupon the people ran together unto the Council-House, and compelled *Lesius* to assemble a Senat, and openly threatned the Nobles (who a long time had absented themselves from publike consultations) that unless they would now repair into the Senat, they would go home to their very houses, and pluck them out by the ears into the street. For fear hereof the chief Magistrate had a frequent and full assembly of Senators. Whiles all the rest were of opinion to send Embassadors to the Roman Generals, *Vibius Virius* (who had been the chief cause and principall author of their first revolt from the Romans) being demanded his advice, spake to the point in this manner.

The Oration of *Vibius Virius* in the Senat of *Capua*.

"They that talk of Embassadors of peace, and of yielding, little consider and remember either N "what they would have done, in case the Romans had been at their devotion and mercy, or what "themselves must endure and suffer. For what think ye will become (quoth he) of this present sur-"render of ours, in comparison of that whereby in times past we freely gave unto the Romans "our selves, and all that we had, for to obtain their aid and succour against the Samnits? And "have we so soon forgot, at what time, and in what condition and state we were when we for-"sook and abandoned the people of *Rome*? Also, after our revolt, how we most cruelly and "shamefully killed their garrison, who we might have dismissed and sent away with their lives? "Moreover, how often we have issued forth against them lying at siege, and how mischievously "minded we were unto them, yea, and how we have sallied upon them in their camp? Over and "besides, call ye not to remembrance, how we called for *Annibal* to surprise and defeat them? O "and (that which of all other is most fresh in memory) how we sent him from hence to give the "assault to *Rome*? On the contrary side mark well and call to mind, how maliciously they have "attempted and practised all hostility against us: by which ye may well know what account to "make of them, and what ye are to trust unto. For when they had a stranger and forrain enemy "within *Italy*, nay, when they had *Annibal* their enemy: when the wars were so hot, that all "was on a light fire: they passed by all other affairs, yea they let *Annibal* himself alone, and sent "both their Consuls with two compleat Consular armies to besiege and force *Capua*. This is the

"second

A "second year that they keep us entrenched round about, penning us up, and pining us with ex-
"treame famine and hunger: during which time, they themselves as well as we, have endured the
"utmost extremities and dangers that are, and sustained most grievous and infinite travels: of-
"tentimes being killed and cut in pieces about their rampiers, trenches, and ditches, and finally
"driven almost out of their Camp and hold. But to let pass and speak no more of these ordinary
"matters, seeing it is an old and usuall case for them to abide painfull toil, and incur many pe-
"rils, who besiege and assault any Cities or towns of their enemies: See a manifest sign of their
"deadly feud, and execrable hatred against us. *Annibal* with a puissant power of foot and horse-
"men both, assailed their Camp, yea, and in some part was Master of it. Think ye that in so great
"danger of theirs they were one jot withdrawn from the siege? He passed over the river *Vul-*
B "*turnus*, and burnt the territory of *Cales*: yet for all that calamity and loss, which their allies re-
"ceived, stirred not they one whit, nor gave over their enterprise. He commanded to march for-
"ward with banner displayed against the very City of *Rome*: they made as little account of that
"dangerous tempest toward, as of all the rest. After he had passed over the river *Anio*, he pitched
"his tents within three miles of the City: nay, he approached at length the walls, and made a bra-
"vado even under the gates: to be short, he presented unto their eye his resolution, and menaced
"to make *Rome* too hot for them unless they levied the siege before *Capua*: and yet they gave not
"over but beleaguered us still. The very wild and savage beasts be they never so fell, be they mad-
"ded never so much with blind rage and woodness against one, yet if another go to their dens,
"and offer to take away their whelps, they will turn again to succour and help their young ones:
C "but the Romans, notwithstanding *Rome* was besieged, their wives and children in danger; whose
"pitious cries and lamentable plaints were heard almost even hither; notwithstanding their al-
"tars, their sacred fires, the temples of their gods, the monuments and sepulchers of their Ance-
"stors, were profaned, abused, and polluted, could not be drawn away from *Capua*. So eager, so
"hungry are they to be revenged of us, so thirsty are they to drink our bloud. And good rea-
"son, haply, they have so to do. For would not we also have done the semblable, if fortune had
"given us the opportunity? But seeing the will of the immortall gods is otherwise: and conside-
"ring that I owe nature a death; in my power it is (whiles I am at liberty, whiles I am mine own
"man, and master of myself) to avoid torments, to shun shamefull ignominies and reproaches
"(whereof the enemy hopeth I shall feel the smart) and that by one kind of death, which as it is
D "honest, so it is also easie and gentle? Never will I endure to see *Ap. Claudius* and *Q. Fulvius*
"proudly and insolently bearing themselves upon their conquest over us: never will I be led and
"haled bound with chains through the City of *Rome*, to make a shew, and to serve for a spectacle
"and gazing stock in their Triumph: and afterwards either in dark prison, or tied openly to a
"stake, yield my back and side to be rewed, whipped, and mangled: and then lay my neck upon
"the block, to have my head chopt off with the bloudy axe of the Romans. Never wil I behold
"my native country sacked, spoiled, and put to fire and sword, nor the chast married dames of *Ca-*
"*pua* to be forcibly ravished, the fair and beautiful maidens shamefully defloured, and the well-fa-
"voured young boies and freeborn, unnaturally abused. They raised *Alba* in times past from the
"top to the very foundation, and left neither stick nor stone thereof; *Alba* I say, from whence they
E "had their off-spring, and were first descended: to the end that there might remain no memory at
"all of their stock and first originall. And shall I ever beleeve they will spare *Capua*, & receive into
"mercy, against which they are more hatefully and mortally bent than against *Carthage*? There-
"fore, my masters and friends, as many of you as are minded and resolved to die before ye see
"these so many miseries and wofull calamities, I have at home a supper this night well furnished
"and provided for you all: and when ye have eat meat your fill, and drunk wine to it liberally,
"the same wassell cup that first will be presented unto me, shall go round about to you all: and
"that one draught shall deliver your bodies from torments, preserve your spirits from anguish
"and contumelious disgrace; keep your eyes from beholding all cruell acts, your ears from hearing
"all shamefull indignities which follow and attend upon conquered persons. There shall be also
F "in readiness certain servitors of purpose to make a mighty great fire within the base court-yard
"of mine house, and to cast our dead bodies thereinto. This is the only honest way to death, and
"beseeming us who are free born and gentlemen indeed. In which doing, our enemies will won-
"der at our vertue and valour: yea, and *Annibal* himself shall well know that he hath forsaken
"and betraied his trust and magnanimous allies.

This Oration of *Virius*, there were more men present that heard with applause and good li-king than could find in their hearts to put that in execution which they so well allowed & appro-ved. The greater part of the Senat, not despairing, but that the clemency of the people of *Rome*, which had been tried and seen oftentimes in many wars, might be gained and extended also unto them; concluded, to send Embassadors with commission to yield *Capua* into the Romans
G hands. Some seven and twenty Senators there were that accompanied *Vibius Virius* home to his house, and supped with him: and after they had done what they could to drink themselves drunk, and to intoxicate their brains with freely taking in their wine, (thereby to withdraw their minds from the sence and apprehension of their imminent harm and misery) drunk all of the poysoned cup abovesaid. This done, and the banquet ended, they rose from the table, took one another by the hand embraced each other, taking their last leave, bidding a finall adieu and fare-well, and bewailing together with plenteous tears their own misfortune, and the miserable state

*Vibius Virius and divers Senators of Capua poyson themselves.*

of their country; some staid behind to be burned in one and the same fire for fellowship, others brake company and departed to their own houses. Now, by reason that their veins were filled with full feeding and drinking wine so liberally, the poyson was not so quick of operation, nor so effectuall as to hasten their death. And therefore most of them languished all night long, yea, and continued drawing on a piece of the next day, before they let their last breath: but yet they all had yielded up their ghost before that the gates were set open for the enemies.

*Capua* delivered to the Romans.

The day following, the gate of *Jupiter* which stood next over against the Roman Camp, was by the commandment of the Pro-consul opened. Thereat entred one legion and two corners of horsemen, under the leading of *C. Fulvius* the Lieutenant: who after he had first above all other things given expres order, that all armor of defence, and weapons of offence (which was to be found in *Capua*) should be brought forth and presented unto him; placed and disposed at all the gates, warders sufficient to see that no person might possibly go forth, or be let out: then he laid hold upon the garrison of the Carthaginians, and commanded the Senators of *Capua* to repair into the Camp, before the Roman Captain Generals themselves. So soon as they were thither come straightwaies they had irons clapped upon them, and were commanded to make tender unto the treasurers of all the gold and silver they had. The gold amounted to 70 pound weight: the silver rose to the weight of three thousand and two hundred pound. Five and twenty of the Senators were sent to *Cales*, eight and twenty to *Theanum*, to be kept safe in ward. Even those who were known for certain to have principally moved and perswaded the revolt from the Romans. Concerning the punishment of the Senators of *Capua*, *Fulvius* and *Claudius* could not agree. *Claudius* was more tractable and exorable, and might have been soon entreated for a pardon. *Fulvius* was more rigorous, and proceeded to a harder course. Whereupon *Appius* put over the whole deciding and determination thereof unto the Senate of *Rome*. Alledging, that it was meet and requisite, that the LL. of the Councill should have the examination of the cause, and namely, upon these points. *Imprimis*, whether they had complotted and combined in this action, with any of the free burroughs and Cities belonging to the state of the Latines. *Item*, whether they had any help and relief from thence in the time of the war, or from any other towns whatsoever? But *Fulvius* in no case would condescend thereto, nor suffer that the minds of faithfull and loyall allies should be disquieted with doubtfull surmises and suspitions of any crimes; and called in question upon the appeachment and delatory information of those that never yet made reckoning or conscience, either what they did, or what they said. And therefore he protested to suppress that manner of proceeding, and crush that inquisition for ever. After this communication they departed asunder: and *Appius* made no doubt but that howsoever his Collegue fared and took on, giving out so shrewd and bitter words, he would yet take pause and stay for the letters from *Rome*, concerning so weighty a business as this was. But *Fulvius*, because of his designment, brake up his keeping of state in his royall pavilion, and sent his officers and ordinary train out of the way, because he would not be hindred and empeached by them, in the course of his designment: and commanded the Colonels and Captains of the Allies, to give warning unto two thousand chosen men of arms, for to be in readiness and present themselves at a third sound of the trumpet. With this power of horsemen he set forward by night, and marched to *Theanum*: and by break of day entred the gate and kept his way on into the market-place. At the first entrance of the horsemen, the people ran together from all parts: then he caused the chief Magistrate (a Sidicin) to be called, and charged him to produce his prisoners the Capuans, whom he had in custody. When they were all brought forth, they were first whipped with rods, and then beheaded. From thence he rode upon the spur to *Cales*: where so soon as he was set on the Tribunall seat, in place of judgement, and the Capuan prisoners likewise presented in place and bound to the stake; there came a horseman in post from *Rome*, and when he had delivered letters from *C. Calphurnius* the Consul, and the people of *Rome* unto *Fulvius*; there ran a rumour from the Tribunal through all the assembly, that the whole process against the Campans was to be put off and reserved entire to the censure and doom of the Lords of the Senate. And *Fulvius* supposing it to be no less indeed after he took the letters, never brake them up, but bestowed them in his bosome, and gave commandment to the Crier, to charge the Lictor or executioner to do his office, according to law. Thus they also that were at *Cales* were executed and suffered death. Then he read the letters, and the order set down by the Senate: but it was too late now, to stay that which was done already and past and which indeed was hastened with all speed that might be, for fear it might have been crossed and prevented.

The Senators of *Capua* executed.

Now as *Fulvius* was arising from the bench, *Taurea Jubellius*, a Campan, passing amidst the throng, called by name aloud upon *Fulvius*. Whereat *Flaccus* wondring what the man meant, sat him down again upon his seat, and demanded what he would: Mary (quoth he) command me also to be killed that thou maiest boast and glory another day, that thou hast done to death a better man by far and much more valiant than thy self. Surely (quoth *Flaccus*) this fellow is lunatick and not well in his wits: and again, were I minded to take his life from him, I am inhibited by vertue of the act of the Senate. "Then (quoth *Jubellius*) since that my country is forced and lost, "my kinsfolk and friends made away: seeing also that I have with mine own hand murdred my "wife and children, because they should suffer no vilanous indignity; and may not my self so "much as die this death which my countrimen here have suffered before my face, I will seek by "vertue and manhood to ease my self of this life, so tedious, so irksome, and odious unto me: and with

A with that, he drew forth the skein which he had hid under his garment, and ſtabbed himſelf in the breſt quite through his body, and there at the feet of the L. General fell down ready to dye in the place. Foraſmuch as both the execution of the Campans, and alſo the moſt part of other matters were performed according to the will of *Flaccus* alone: ſome there be that write how *Appius Claudius* died about the time that *Capua* was yielded. And that this very ſame *Taurea* neither came to *Cales* of his own accord, nor killed himſelf: but that as he was a binding to the ſtake, becauſe the words which he uttered could not be heard for the confuſed noiſe of the people, therefore *Flaccus* commanded ſilence, and then *Taurea* ſpake thoſe words before rehearſed, namely, That himſelf a right valiant and hardy man was put to death by a meaner perſon than himſelf, and much inferior to him in valour and vertue. Whereat by the commandment of the Pro-Con- *Jubellius killeth himſelf.*

B ſul the crier pronounced and ſaid: Go to Serjeant, let this brave and valiant man have the more ſtore of rods beſtowed upon him, let him have good ſcourging, lay on load, and ſet the laſhes ſurely on, and let him be the firſt that you proceed againſt, let him have the law to the full. Some there be that have written, how the act of the Senat was read before he proceeded to the beheading: but becauſe there was this branch or clauſe within the act, That if he thought ſo good, he ſhould reſerve the whole deciding of the matter unto the Senat: he conſtrued it thus, that it was put to his diſcretion for to weigh and conſider what was moreprofitable to the Common-weal. This done, he returned from *Cales* to *Capua*. *Atella* and *Calatia* were both ſurrendred into his hands; where they alſo who were the chief heads of thoſe ſtates ſuffered the like puniſhment. Thus there were about fourſcore of the Senators put to death: and to the number well-near of three hundred

C Capuans (born of noble blood) committed to priſon. Others of them were beſtowed in ſafe cuſtody within divers Cities of the Latines, and came to ſundry unhappy ends. The multitude beſides of the Campan Citizens were ſold outright.

It remained now to put to queſtion and debate, what was to be done with the City and the Territory thereto belonging. And ſome were of mind, that a City ſo exceeding mighty, ſo near a neighbour, and ſo dangerous to *Rome*, ſhould be utterly raſed and deſtroyed. But the conſideration of a preſent commodity and gain took place and prevailed. For in regard of the territory and land lying about it (which was well known to be the moſt fertile ſoil in all *Italy*, and yielded all manner of fruit) the City was ſaved: whereinto thoſe husbandmen that tilled the grounds might retire themſelves and dwell. And for the peopling and inhabiting thereof, there was a multitude

D reſerved of the Inhabitants which were there already, namely of Libertines and enfranchiſed bondſlaves, Merchants factors, retailers, artizans, and craftſmen who kept there ſtill and remained. But the whole territory, and all publike edifices were ſeized to the uſe of the people of *Rome*. Moreover, order was taken, that *Capua* ſhould be inhabited only, and repleniſhed with people like a City: but no form of Common-weal, no Corporation, no Senat, no aſſembly of Commons, nor Magiſtrate of their own ſhould be allowed there. For without a common Council of State, without magiſtracy and government, without intelligences and reciprocall commerce, as in the body of a Commonalty, they ſuppoſed, that they would never agree together in any complot, but be far unmeet to contrive a conſpiracy and compaſs alteration. As for a Provoſt or Governor to miniſter law, and execute juſtice among them, they purpoſed to ſend them one yearly from *Rome*.

E Thus were the affairs ordered and compoſed at *Capua*, by a good policy and commendable courſe every way. For thoſe that were moſt in fault and guilty were puniſhed with rigour and that ſpeedily. The number of Citizens were ſcattered and diſperſed ſundry waies, without all hope to return again. The bare houſes and walls that had not offended they were ſpared, and neither burned nor pulled down. And beſides, the commodity and gain that accrewed unto the Romans by this manner of proceeding, they won ſome name of clemency and mercy among their Confederates and Allies: in that they ſaved a moſt noble and wealthy City, at the ruins whereof all *Campane*, and as many States as bordered about *Campane*, would have grieved much, and groaned again. By this means alſo the enemy was conſtrained now to confeſs, and could not otherwiſe chuſe, how powerful and mighty the Romans were to chaſtiſe and puniſh their faithleſs aſſociats,

F yea, and how feeble *Annibal* was, and not able to defend and maintain thoſe whom he had received into his protection.

The Roman Pro-Conſuls after they had finiſhed and performed their charge at *Capua* aſſigned unto *Claudius Nero* ſix thouſand footmen out of thoſe two Legions which he had before *Capua*, and three hundred horſemen which he had choſen himſelf: alſo of Latine Allies as many foot in number, and 800 horſe beſides. This army *Nero* embarked at *Puteoli*, and tranſported into *Spain*. When he was arrived at *Taracon*, after he had there landed his ſouldiers, and laid up his ſhips in dock, and armed with all his mariners (to make the greater number) he marched to the river *Iberus*, where he received the forces of *T. Fonteius*, and *L. Martius*, and from thence advanced toward the enemies.

G *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Amilcar* lay encamped at a place called the *Black-ſtones*, in the Auſetans country: it lieth between the towns *Illiturgis* and *Mentiſſa*. Now *Nero* kept the narrow ſtreights of the forreſt there. *Aſdrubal*, becauſe he would not be pent up in ſo ſtreight a room, ſent an herald or meſſenger of peace to him, who ſhould make promiſe in his name, that if *Nero* would permit him to paſs peaceably from thence, he would withdraw all his forces out of *Spain*. The Roman Captain took this meſſage joyfully: and *Aſdrubal* requeſted, That they might emparl the next day, and deviſe together how the Romans would ſet down conditions and articles in writing,

ting, as touching the rendry and delivery of the fortresses in every City, and likewise of prefix- H
ing some day, by which time the garrisons should be removed and displaced, and the Carthagi-
nians have away all their bag and baggage without fraud and covin. *Asdrubal* having obtained
his request, presently commanded, that in the very evening, and all night long the heaviest and
most cumbersome part of his whole army should escape what way soever they could out of the
gullet of the forrest. But he gave especiall direction, that they should not over many of them
that night go forth, because their small number was not only fitter to deceive the enemy, and
not so soon to be discovered, but also might more easily pass through those narrow and diffi-
cult passages. So the morrow they came to an enterview and parl: where the time was spent of
purpose in much needless talk, and drawing of books, more than cause was: whereupon the day
being far gone, the business was put off unto the next day. And the night ensuing between, mi- I
nistred *Asdrubal* more time to send others away. And yet could not they make an end that day
neither. Thus there passed certain daies, employed in open shew about dispute and reasoning
of the articles and conditions of agreement, and the nights were bestowed in letting out the
Carthaginians closely out of their Camp. Now, after that the greater part of his host was gone
away clear, then he began to wrangle and jar, yea, and to go from some offers that he had
voluntarily made, and ever they were further and further off from agreement. For *Asdrubal* the
less that he feared, the less also was to be trusted. And by this time in manner all his Infantry
were got out of the forrest, and the next morning, not only the forrest, but all the plains about
were overcast, and covered with a thick and foggy mist. Which *Asdrubal* perceiving, he sent
a messenger to *Nero*, requesting to defer their farther conference and communication to the K
morrow; pretending, that the present day was a festivall holy-day among the Carthaginians,
and therefore they made scruple upon it to follow any other business but serve God. All this while
there was no fraud so much as once suspected. *Asdrubal* had no sooner obtained respite for that
day, but forthwith he and all his Cavalry, together with his Elephants, dislodged, and without
any noise or stir recovered without any harm a place of security. By the fourth hour of the day
the sun had dispatched and scattered the mist, and cleared the sky, and then the Romans might
discover the Camp of their enemies empty, and no creature left therein. Then at length, *Clau-
dius* perceiving that *Asdrubal* had shewed him a Carthaginian trick, and that he was at length
thus over-raught by his falshood and cunning practice, began to make out after him, minding
to bid him battell. But the enemy would none of that, and fell off. Howbeit there passed some L
small skirmishes between the rereward of the Carthaginians, and the forlorn hope and van-
courriers of the Romans. Amidst these affairs (the States of *Spain*) neither they who revolted
after the overthrow of the Romans returned again unto them; nor any new fell away, more than
before.

At *Rome*, the Senate and people after the recovery of *Capua*, took as great care for *Spain* now,
as for *Italy* it self. And agreed they were in generall, that the army there should be strengthned
with new forces and a Generall thither sent: but who should be the man was not yet concluded.
Forasmuch as they were to take some extraordinary care in the chusing of one to be sent thither,
where two singular and renowned warriors were slain within the compass of thirty daies, and to
succeed in the room of those twain. Whiles some nominated one, and some another, at length M
they grew to this point, that the people should hold a solemn assembly (as it were, purchased)
for election of a Pro-Consul to go over into *Spain*. And the Consuls accordingly proclaimed
a set day for the said assembly. At first there was great expectation that those persons who took
themselves worthy of so great command should put forth themselves, and prefer their own
names beforehand. But when this expectation failed and came to nothing, every man began afresh
to rerricate and renew the former grief, and mourn again for the losses received, and to find the
want and miss of so valorous Captains whom they had lost. Whereupon the whole City being
sad and pensive, and in manner destitute of all good counsell, and not resolved what to do in this
hard case, came yet down into *Mars* field upon the day appointed for the election. Every
mans eye was upon the Magistrates, and beheld the countenances of their great men and Ru- N
lers, how they looked one upon another, grieving and grumbling, that the State was at so low
an ebb, and the Common-weal grown to so desperate a case, that no man durst be seen to take
upon him the government and Province of *Spain*. Then all of a sudden, *P. Cornelius* (his son
that was slain in *Spain*, a young Gentleman, not fully four and twenty years old) shewed him-
self, and said, That he would undertake that charge upon him: and therewith stepped up into
an higher place, from whence he might be seen and there he stood. Upon whom, when all men had
cast their eyes, and viewed him well, in a generall accord and favourable affection unto the man,
they wished unto him straightwaies a happy and fortunate government. And when the assem-
bly was willed to give their suffrages, and go to a scrutiny, there was not one Century from the
first to the last, nor one person from the highest to the lowest, but gave their voice with *P. Scipio*,
for to take a voyage as L. Deputy into *Spain*. But after the thing was passed, and their passi-
onate heat of affection once allaied, they were on a sudden driven into a still silence and deep
dump, to think what a strange and new deed they had done. And that which they bethought
themselves most of, was this, that favour had carried them away in this action more than the
due consideration and regard of his age. Some there were that had in dread and horror the omi-
nous fortune also of that family; and the name of him that out of two mournfull houses was to

go

A go into those Provinces where he must fight amongst the Sepulchres both of father and uncle. When *Scipio* perceived, that presently upon the election passed in so hasty a fit, the people grew to be heavy and pensive; he called them to an open audience, and there before them all discoursed of his young age, of the government committed unto him, and of the future war that he was to manage: and that with so noble courage and hauty spirit, that he renewed afresh and kindled again the former zeal and heat that was so cooled: and possessed mens minds with more assured hope than usually mans faithfull promise, or reason grounded upon the confidence of precedents past, or any earthly thing is wont to afford and warrant. For *Scipio* was a rare and wonderfull man, not only in regard of those true vertues inherent in him: but also for that he had framed B himself even from his young and tender years, by artificiall means, to the better setting out of those inbred parts and qualities of his own: making shew and semblant before the multitude, that the most things which he did, were either represented unto him by night-visions and apparitions, or else suggested, as it were, by revelation from the gods above; were it that he was superstitiously given, and his mind wholly possessed therewith, or that by his policy he might effect his designments, and have his commandments performed with more expedition, as if they were directions delivered from the Oracles and the very mouth of the gods. Over and besides that, he made this overture to credit and reputation, and prepared mens minds in this sort from his very first beginning. From the very time that he once put on his mans gown, there was no day went over his head, but before he began his own private business, or enterprised any publike affairs, he C would go into the Capitoll: and so soon as he was entred into the Temple, there sit him down, and alone by himself bestow a good time in some secret Ile and corner thereof. This ordinary manner of his, which he continued all his life long, (were it of purpose considerately, or by chance unadvisedly) made divers men beleeve verily, that it was a truth indeed, which was commonly supposed and reported, That the man had a god to his father. Which deep and setled imagination of the people, resembled and renewed again the like fame (in all the world) to that which went before and was bruited abroad of *Alexander* the great, and for the vanity and fabulous speech of folk, was the very same and all one in every respect: namely, that his mother conceived him by a mighty great serpent: for that very often in her bed-chamber there was seen some such prodigious and wonderfull thing, and ever as any body came in, it would wind away of a sudden, and va- D nish out of sight. These strange and miraculous conceits he would never himself elevate and discredit as toies and vanities, but rather cherish and encrease the opinion thereof, by a certain cunning cast of his own, in that he would neither deny and disavow any such matter, nor yet affirm plainly and verifie the same. Many other devices he had of like sort, partly true indeed, partly feigned and counterfeit, which caused men beyond all measure to have this young man in wonderfull admiration. Upon the strong and grounded presumption whereof, the City at that time conferred upon him (far unmeet, I wot, in regard of his unripe years) so great a government, and a world withall of weighty and important affairs.

Besides, the forces which remained in *Spain* of the old army, and those which were transported over from *Puteoli* with *Claudius Nero*, he had a supplement also of ten thousand foot, and one E thousand horsemen: and to assist in the conduct of his wars, he had as coadjutor appointed unto him *M. Junius Syllanus* the Pro-Prætor. Thus with a fleet of thirty ships, (and Galleys there were all of five banks of oars) he took the seas, and set sail from the mouth of *Tybre*, and coasting along the Tuscan seas under the *Alps*, and through the gulph of *Gallia*, he doubled at length the point and cape of *Pyrene*, and disbarked at *Emporia* a City of Greeks: (for descended they are also from *Phocæa*) and there he set his people a land. From thence, having taken order that his ships should follow after, he marched by land to *Taracon*, which he appointed for the *Rendezvouz*, where all his allies and confederats (for at the wonder and fame of his landing, there flocked Embassadors unto him from all parts of the Province) should meet together at a generall Diet. There he commanded that the ships should be bestowed in their docks, save only three Galleys F (of three ranks) which came from *Massiles*, and upon curtesie and kindnes accompanied him from home, and those were sent back again. Then he gave audience to the Embassadors, who hung in doubtfull suspence by reason of the variety and of sundry changes and chances that lately had happned, and to them he began to return answer, and give them their severall dispatches: but with such a spirit and boldnes (upon confidence that he had in his own rare vertues) that he let not fall in all his speech one word that might move quarrell, and savoured of rigour, and yet whatsoever he spake, it carried an exceeding majesty with it, and a singular credit. Being departed from *Taracon*, he visited both the States of the Allies, and also the standing wintring camps of the army: where he highly commended the souldiers, for that notwithstanding they had received two shrewd blows, upon two so great defeats one in the neck of another, yet they held the Province G still, and kept the field; and not suffering the enemies to reap and taste the fruit of their fortunate victories, and kept them out of all the countries lying within *Iberus*, and defended faithfully all their confederats according to the trust reposed in them. *Martius* he had in his train alwaies about him; whom he so highly honoured, that it was very well seen, he feared nothing less than that any other man should eclipse or shadow his glory. Then *Syllanus* succeeded in place of *Nero*, and the new souldiers were brought into the standing winter leaguers, and *Scipio* having reviewed all the Cities and the States that he was to survey, and performed all other affairs that were then to be done, retired and withdrew himself to *Tarason*.

The fame of *Scipio* was no leſs bruited among the enemies, than it was rife with his own Ci- H
tizens and loving allies: and a certain preſage went withall of the future event, which carried (as
good hap was) the greater fear and dread with it, as there was leſs reaſon that could be rendred
and given thereof. They had betaken themſelves into their wintring harbours far diſtant and re-
mote aſunder. *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſgo* even as far as to the Ocean ſea ſide unto *Gades*: *Mago*
into the midland parts, and eſpecially above the foreſt and chaſe of *Caſtulo*. And *Aſdrubal* the ſon
of *Amilcar* wintred neareſt unto *Iberus* about *Saguntum*.

In the very end of that ſummer, when *Capua* was won, and *Scipio* come into *Spain*, the Car-
thaginian Armado which was ſent for out of *Sicily* to *Tarentum*, for to intercept the victuals, and
empeach the ſame for coming to the Roman garriſon that held the Caſtle of *Tarentum*, had ve-
rily ſtopped all the paſſages from the ſea to the ſaid Caſtle: but by their long abode in thoſe parts, I
and keeping the ſeas ſo ſtraightly, they had cauſed a greater dearth and ſcarcity of victuals among
their own friends than their enemies: for there could not by the help of thoſe Carthaginian ſhips
ſo much corn be along the river that was poſſeſſed by friends, nor from the open ports, for to fur-
niſh the townſmen of *Tarentum*, as the navy it ſelf conſumed and ſpent in maintenance of that
rabble of ſea-men, ſailers, and mariners, mingled of all ſorts of people. So as the garriſon of the
Caſtle being but few in number there was able to be ſuſtained by the proviſion they had afore-
hand, without the help of any new brought in unto them: whereas the Tarentins and the Navy
could not have ſufficient conveighed unto them: by reaſon whereof, at length the Armado had
leave to depart thence with more thanks of the City, than they had for their firſt *bien-venu* thi-
ther. And yet victuals were not much cheaper, becauſe when the help by ſea was gone, there could K
no corn at all be brought from other parts abroad.

At the end of the very ſame ſummer, when *M. Marcellus* was come to the City out of *Sicily*,
his own Province, *C. Calphurnius* the Prætor aſſembled the Senat for his ſake in the Temple of *Bel-
lona*. Where, after he had diſcourſed of the acts by him atchieved, and complained after a mild
and modeſt ſort, laying open his griefs, not ſo much in the behalf of himſelf, as of his ſouldiers:
in that when he had performed and accompliſhed his charge and commiſſion in his Province, he
cou'd not have licence to bring home his army with; he demanded that he might be allowed to
ride in triumph into the City: but he could not obtain it. This matter was much canvaſſed
and debated, *pro & contra*, Whether it were leſs meet and convenient, to deny him triumph being
now preſent, in whoſe name whiles he was abſent, for the fortunat ſucceſs and good ſpeed of all af- L
fairs under his conduct and government, there was a ſolemn proceſſion decreed, and ſacrifices
done to the honour of the immortall gods: or to grant him triumph (as if the war were fully fi-
niſhed) whom the Senate had commanded to make over his army to his ſucceſſor; which ſurely
they would never have decreed, but that the war remained ſtill within the Province: and eſpeci-
ally ſeeing the army it ſelf was away, the beſt witneſs ſimply, whether he had deſerved a triumph
or no. At length, a middle and indifferent courſe between both was agreed upon, namely, that he
ſhould enter the City ovant in a petty triumph. And the Tribunes of the Commons, by the ap-
probation firſt of the Senate, propoſed unto the people, that *M. Marcellus* ſhould the ſame day
that he came ovant into the City retain ſtill his full authority and government. The day before he
entred the City, he rode in triumph upon the mount *Albanus*, and from thence, in ovant wiſe he M
ſent a rich booty before him into the City. There was carried in this pomp the counterfeit of the
*Marcellus* triumpheth. City *Syracuſe* won, crosbows, brakes, ſtanding ſlings, and all other warlike inſtrument: beſides,
the ornaments teſtifying long and continuall peace, and the great wealth and treaſure of the
Kings: as divers veſſels of ſilver and braſs curiouſly wrought; other houſhold furniture alſo, rich
hangings of tapiſtry, and garments of great price; many goodly images and right noble ſtatues,
wherewith *Syracuſe* was adorned and beautified, even with the beſt and principal Cities of *Greece*.
In token alſo of a victory over the Carthaginians, there were eight Elephants brought in a ſhew.
And that which was not the leaſt ſight and ſpectacle to behold, *Soſis* the Syracuſian, and *Mericus*
the Spaniard went afore with crowns of gold upon their heads. The one of them was the guide
when *Syracuſe* was entred in the night ſeaſon: and the other betraied *Naſos*, and the garriſon there. N
Both theſe were enfranchiſed Citizens of *Rome*, and had fifty acres of land a piece granted unto
them for ever. *Soſis* had his land ſet out in the territory of *Syracuſe*, which either belonged to the
Kings, or to the enemies of the people of *Rome*, and a dwelling houſe (chuſe where he would in
*Syracuſe* of all thoſe that were ſeized upon by right of conqueſt.) As for *Mericus* and the Spaniards
that with him fled from the enemies, and ſided unto the Romans, they had aſſigned unto them a
City to inhabit, and land to occupy in *Sicily*, which ſometime belonged to them that had revolted
from the people of *Rome*. And order was given to *M. Cornelius* for to appoint them the ſaid City
and land whereſoever he thought good. And in the ſame territory there were allotted and ſet out
four hundred acres of land unto *Belligenes*, by whoſe means *Mericus* was allured and induced to
leave the adverſe part and turn to the Romans. O

After that *Marcellus* was departed out of *Sicily*, the Navy of the Carthaginians disbarked eight
thouſand footmen and three thouſand Numidian horſemen. Unto them revolted the Murgantine
land, and *Hybla*, together with *Magella*: and other ſmall piles of baſe account, took example by
them and followed after. The Numidians with their Captain *Mutines*, ranged over all *Sicily*, and fi-
red the towns and villages belonging to the aſſociats of the people of *Rome*. Over and beſides all
this, the Roman army there, being diſcontented and angry, partly, for that together with their Ge-
nerall,

A nerall, they were not licenced to go out of the Province: and partly, for that they were forbidden and debarred, for wintring in any good towns; demeaned themselves slackly and lazily in their military service: in such sort, as if there had been a head to lead them, as they had a heart to move them, they would have mutined and rebelled. Among these troubles and difficulties, *M. Cornelius* the Prætor, both appeased and mittigated the stomacks of the souldiers, as well by comfortable words, as by rebukes and checks: and also brought under his obedience and subjection, all those Cities which had revolted. Of which he according to the former act of the Senate, allotted *Murgantia* to the Spaniards, unto whom both a City and land to it was by order aforesaid due. Both the Consuls who had the government of the Province *Apulia*, seeing there was less cause of fear
B and terrour now from the Carthaginians and *Annibal*, were commanded to cast lots between them for the Provinces of *Apulia* and *Macedonia*. So *Macedonia* befell unto *Sulpitius*, and he succeeded there instead of *Levinus*. *Fulvius* was sent for home to *Rome*, about the election of the Consuls. And when he held the solemn assembly of the people, for the choice and creation of the Coss. The Century of the younger Citizens, which had the prerogative to give their first voice, declared *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *T. Otacilius* for Consuls. *Manlius* being there present in place, when the multitude came about him to congratulate with, God give you joy, &c. (for that there was no doubt, but the whole body of the people would approve this choice of the first Century) came with a great company about him to the tribunall seat of estate where the Consul sat: and made request unto him, that he would give him the hearing of some few words, and command
C that prerogative century which had given their voices to be called back again to a new scrutiny. And when every wan was attentive, and expected what he should demand, he alledged for his excuse a pair of ill eyes. "For a shameless Pilot of a ship is he, and as impudent a Generall of an ar- "my (quoth he) who having to do all by other mens eyes, would require to have the goods "and lives of other men to be put into their hands. And therefore may it please your honour to "command this Century of the younger sort to give their voices anew, and in creating Consuls, "to remember the war that is in *Italy*, to consider of the troublesome state of the Common- "weal, and to think of this, That scarcely yet mens ears have had any rest, since they resounded and "rung again with the noises and alarms, that the enemies raised within these few months, when "they lay in siege neer unto the wals of *Rome*. But after these words, when the said Century cried
D with one accord, that they were of the same mind still, and would nominate the same Consuls again, and none other; then *Torquatus*, "Neither (quoth he) shall I be able, if I were Consul to "bear with your fashions and conditions, nor you again endure my rule and commandment. To "the scrutiny therefore once again, and think how the Carthaginians war within *Italy*, and *Anni-* "*bal* is the Generall of the enemies. Then the Century moved as well by the authority and reverence of the mans person, as by the applause and admiration of the people, who wondred at his vertue, besought the Consul to call forth and cite a Century of the elder bands: for that they would willingly confer with more ancient men than themselves; and by their sage advice and good direction nominate the Consuls. When those elders were called to this Century, there was some time allowed for to commune apart secretly with them, within the place railed in, called *Ovile*.
E These ancients said unto them, that they were to consult of three persons, whereof two already were full of honourable dignities, which they had born, to wit *Q. Fabius* and *M. Marcellus*. But verily, (say they) in case ye would have some new Cos. to be chosen, for to be opposed against the Carthaginians, ye have *M. Valerius Lævinus*, a notable man, one who hath performed singular good service and atchieved many noble deeds, both by sea and land against King *Philip*. So when they had three propounded unto them the elder were dismissed and the younger entred into a second scrutiny; and declared for Consuls, *M. Claudius Marcellus* (glittering then in the prime of his glory, for the late subduing and conquest of *Sicily*) and *M. Valerius*, who was absent. This foredom and choice of the prerogative Century, all the rest followed after, and by their suffrages confirmed. "Let them mock on now and scoff hereat all they that have nothing in admiration but
F "antiquity and things done in elder time. For mine own part, if there be any such City and Com- "mon-wealth at all, consisting of wise men and Philosophers, as some great Clarks have rather "imagined in their fansies, than found in effect: I dare be bold to think & say, that in it there could "not possibly be either rulers and Magistrates more grave and temperate in their desire of dignity "and government, or a people better mannered, nurtured, and instructed. But that it should be "thought an unlikely matter and scarce credible that a Century of younger persons were willing "to consult with the elder, and be advised by them to whom they should give their voices, for to "be created the chief Magistrates; it is the corruption of this our age that is the cause: wherein "we see how small reverence and authority even parents themselves have, and of how slender "and base account they be amongst their own naturall children.

The Oration of *T. Manlius* to the Consul.

After this followed the Election of Prætors, wherein were created *P. Manlius Volso*, and *L.*
G *Manlius Acidinus*, *C. Lectorius*, and *L. Cincius Alimentus*. When this Election was finished it fortuned that news came, how *T. Otacilius* (whom the people, as it seemed, would have chosen in his absence to match *T. Manlius* in the Consulship, but that the ordinary course of the election was disturbed and stopped) departed this life in *Sicily*. The Apollinare games in the former year had been exhibited: and when *Calphurnius* the Prætor put up a bill, and moved the Senate, that they might be celebrated again that year also, there passed a decree, That they should be vowed to continue from time to time for ever.

The

The ſame year certain prodigious tokens were ſeen and reported. In the Temple of *Concordia* the Image of *Victory*, which ſtood upon the lantern and top thereof was ſmitten with lightning, and being ſhaken and driven from its own place, reſted faſt upon thoſe other Images of *Victory* that were fixed in the foreſtront of the ſaid Temple, and fell not down from thence. Word alſo was brought, That in *Anagnia* and *Fregellæ* the walls and the gates were likewiſe blaſted and ſtricken with fire from heaven: and that in the market place of *Sudertum* there ran ſtreams of bloud a whole day together: That in *Eretum* it rained ſtones: and that in *Reate* a female mule brought forth a ſole. Theſe ſtrange and wonderfull ſigns were purged and expiate with greater ſacrifices: and a ſolemn ſupplication proclaimed; wherein for one day the people ſhould wholly attend their devotions, and pray unto the gods: and likewiſe a Novendiall ſacrifice. In that year died certain publike Prieſts of State, and new were choſen in their ſtead. *Caius Livius* in the room of *M. Pomponius Matho* the High Prieſt: and *M. Servilius*, to ſupply the place of *Sp. Carvilius Maximus*, the Arch-Augur. And foraſmuch as *T. Otacilius Maximus*, the Prelate or Biſhop, died when the year was expired, there was none nominated for to ſucceed him. *C. Claudius* the Arch-flamine of *Jupiter* loſt his Flaminſhip, and was deprived of that Sacerdotall dignity, becauſe he had committed an errour in ſacrificing, when he ſhould miniſter and diſtribute the inwards of the beaſt.

About the ſame time M. *Æmylius Levinus* (after he had by ſecret conferences ſounded aforehand and ſollicited the minds of the Ætolian Princes and great LL.) came with a ſmall fleet of ſhips lightly appointed, to their general Diet or Councill, ſummoned before for that purpoſe only. In which ſolemn aſſembly, after he had made declaration, "That *Syracuſa* and *Capua* were "won, and under the protection of the people of *Rome*, and what good ſucceſs they had in the "affairs and wars of *Italy*: and diſcourſed beſides, That the Romans, according to their ancient "cuſtome, received by tradition from their forefathers, uſed to reſpect and make much of their "Allies: and namely, That either they received them into the City of *Rome*, and endued them "with the ſame franchiſes that they themſelves enjoyed, or elſe dealt ſo liberally with them o-"therwiſe, that they liked of their condition ſo wel, as they choſe rather to be allies than Citizens: "he proteſted and ſaid, That the Ætolians ſhould be much more honoured amongſt them than "all others, for that they were the firſt that of all forrain nations beyond ſea, entertained league "and amity with them. As for King *Philip* and the Macedonians, their heavy friends & dangerous "neighbours, he had ſo danted their courages, abated their forces, and driven them to that paſs, "that not only they were forced to abandon thoſe towns, which by violence they had taken "wrongfully from the Ætolians, but alſo had much ado themſelves to keep *Macedony* it ſelf quiet, and without perill of hoſtility: promiſing withall, That he would bring and reduce the Acarnanians (for whom the Ætolians were ſo diſcontented and grieved, that they were diſmembred "from the body of their State) under their ancient form of juriſdiction and ſeignory again. Theſe relations and promiſes made by the Roman General, were confirmed and aſſured unto them by the authority and countenance of *Scopas* (who for the time was the Prætor or head Magiſtrate of that State) and of *Dorimachus* a Prince of the Ætolians, who with leſs modeſty and greater aſſeveration and confidency extolled and magnified the greatneſs, power, and majeſty of the people of *Rome*. The principall matter that induced and moved them was the hope of recovering and keeping *Acarnania*. Whereupon, there were conditions drawn & engroſſed, under which they ſhould joyn in league and friendſhip with the people of *Rome*. And this branch was added to the reſt of the defeazances, That if they were ſo pleaſed, and liked well of it, there ſhould be comprized in the ſame league and privileges, the Eleans and Lacedæmonians, together with *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus*: of which three, *Attalus* was King of *Aſia* the leſs, the other were Princes and Potentates of * *Illyricum*. The articles ran in this form. *Imprimis*, That the Ætolians ſhould immediatly make war by land with King *Philip*. *Item*, That the Romans at ſea ſhould help with twenty galliaces at the leaſt, bearing five ranks of oars. *Item*, As touching all the Cities that ſhould be conquered (beginning from *Ætolia*, ſo far as to * *Corcyra*) that the ground whereon the Cities were ſeated, the edifices, the walls, and the lands thereto belonging, ſhould be ſeized to the uſe of the Ætolians: all other goods and chattels elſe, ſhould be a prize for the people of *Rome*. *Item*, That if the Ætolians hapned to make peace with *Philip*, it muſt paſs with this clauſe and proviſo, that the peace ſhould ſtand good upon this condition, That *Philip* abſtain to make war upon the Romans and their Allies, and all thoſe that lived under their dominions. *Item*, In caſe the people of *Rome* fortuned to piece again, and be confederate with the King, they ſhould put in a caveat and proviſo, that he might have no liberty to war upon the Ætolians or their aſſociates. Theſe were the covenants agreed upon: and being fair engroſſed two years after into a pair of indentures the one of them remained for the Ætolians in *Olympia*, the other for the Romans in their Capitoll, among other ſacred records and monuments, for a perpetuall memoriall to all poſterity. The occaſion of ſo great delay was becauſe the Embaſſadors of the Ætolians were ſtaid and kept very long at *Rome*. But that was no let nor hinderance at all to the proceedings in the wars. For the Ætolians preſently made war upon *Philip*: and *Lævinus* conquered * *Zacynthus* (a little Iſland near to *Ætolia*, having a City within it of the ſame name, which he forced by aſſault, all ſave the Caſtle) likewiſe * *Oeniadæ* and * *Naxus*, which he won from the Acarnanians before: and all theſe he gave to the Ætolians. And ſuppoſing that *Philip* having his hands full of the war upon his own frontires had no time to think upon *Italy*, and the Carthaginians, and to mind the

* *Sclavonia.*

* *Corphu.*

* *Zanto.*

* *Dragamſto.*
* *Nicſia.*

A the covenants that passed between *Annibal* and him, he retired himself into *Corcyra*.

*Philip* lying in winter harbor within *Pella*, was advertized of the * Ætolians revolt. Therefore because he minded at the prime of the Spring to conduct an army into *Greece*, to the end that *Macedony* and the Cities bordering thereupon, should not be molested by the Illyrians, whom he supposed would be at quiet and not stir, if they were once frighted with the harms of others, he made a sudden rode and expedition into the marches of the Oricins and Apolloniats: and when the Appolloniats issued forth against him, he repelled them, and with great fear and terror drave them within their walls. After he had wasted the confines next to the Illyrians, he turned his forces with like celerity and speed into *Pelagonia*: and then won by assault a City of the B Dardanians, situate in the frontires of *Macedonia*, through which the Dardanians meant to have their passage. And when he had performed these exploits in great hatte, not forgetting how the Ætolians and Romans both maintained war against him joyntly, he descended through *Pelagonia*, *Nympheum*, and *Bolea*, into *Thessaly*; supposing verily that the people of those countries might be incited to wage war together with him against the Ætolians. And leaving there behind him (at the streight of *Thessaly*) *Perseus* four thousand strong, for to debar the Ætolians entrance that way: himself in person before that he should be occupied in greater affairs, led forth his army into *Macedonia*, and from thence into *Thracia*, and so forward against the Medians. That nation was wont to make incursions, and to invade *Macedony*, whensoever they could perceive that the King was either busied in other wars, or his Realm disfurnished and slenderly provided C of good gard and strong garrisons. He began therefore to forrage and spoil the territories about *Phragandæ*, and to assault *Iamphorina*, the principall City and chief strength of that Region *Medica*.

* *Jenizæ Sophiano, aut Zuchia Nigro.*

*Scopas* having intelligence that the King was gone into *Thracia*, and kept there occupied in the wars, put all the serviceable young men of *Æolia* in arms, and prepared war against *Acarnania*. The nation of the Acarnians, albeit they were both in strength unequall, and also saw already, that they had lost the walled City of the *Oniades*, and *Naxus*: and knowing well, that the Roman forces would come upon them besides: rather upon anger than any good counsell and advisement, made preparation for war, and resolved to meet them. Their wives and children, and elder persons such as were above forty years of age, they sent away into *Epirus*, adjoyning near unto them. D Of all that were fifteen years old and upward unto threescore, they took a solemn oath that they would never return back without victory. They laid also a heavy curse and cruell malediction upon all those of their own nation: and framed a most humble requett in as effectuall terms as they could devise, unto all their friends, that none of them should entertain within their Cities, their doors and houses, nor admit to their table, any one of them that were vanquished, and fled out of the field: yea, and besought withall the Epirons to gather together the dead bodies of as many of them as should chance to be slain in battell, and to inter them all in one grave and erect a tomb and monument over them, with an Epitaph and inscription to this effect; *Here lie buried and entombed the Acarnanians, who fighting in defence of their country, against the violence and injuries of the Ætolians, lost their lives manfully in the field.* By this means, when their courages were enkind- E led and incensed, they encamped themselves in their utmost frontiers, abiding the coming of their enemies. And having dispatched messengers to *Philip*, to give notice to him in what jeopardy they stood they constrained him to give over that war which he had in hand, considering that *Iamphorina* was surrendred up into his hands, and that he had sped wel otherwise in the rest of his affairs. The Ætolians, upon the first fame that was blown abroad of that solemn oath taken by the Acarnanians, were wel cooled, and not so hasty to set forward: but hearing once of *Philip* his coming, they were driven to retire again as far as possibly they could within their own confines. Neither *Philip* for his part marched on further than to *Clime* (notwithstanding that he made great speed afore, and took long journies; for fear that the Acarnanians should be surprized, before he could reach unto them) for so soon as he heard that the Ætolians were retired, he himself also returned F unto *Pella*.

*Levinus* in the beginning of the spring took the sea, and loosed from *Corcyra*, and having doubled the point of *Leucates*, and sailed as far as *Naupactum*, there he published and gave knowledge, That he would shape his course from thence for *Anticyra*: and that *Scopas* and the Ætolians should there meet him, and be in readiness. This *Anticyra* is situate in *Locris*, on the left hand, as ye enter into the gulph of *Corinth*. By land it is a small journey thither from *Naupactum*, and as short a cut by sea. So within three daies after they began to assail the City on both sides. The fiercer assault was from the sea-side, both because they had in their ships engines of battery, and other ordnance and artillery of all sorts; and also, for that the assailants from that part were Romans. So within few daies the City was yielded up, and delivered again unto the Ætolians, the pillage thereof fell to the Romans share, according to covenant. There *Lævinus* received letters G from *Rome*, specifying thus much, That he was declared Consul in his absence, and *P. Sulpitius* was coming to succeed him in the Province: but by occasion that he lay there sick of a long disease, he came to *Rome* later than all men expected.

*M. Marcellus* entring his Consulship upon the Ides of *March*, assembled the Senat that day, only for form and order sake: "for he made open profession there, that during the absence of his "Collegue, he would treat of no matters, either concerning the state of the City, or the Pro- "vinces. But this protestation he uttered withall, and said; That he knew full well that there were

"many

" many Sicilians in the towns and villages near unto the City, backbiters and slanderers of him, H
" who for his own part he was so far off from hindring, but that they might freely for all him,
" divulgate and publish abroad in *Rome* all those crimes which were devised and spoken against
" him by his adversaries, that were it not that they pretended some fear forsooth, to charge the
" Consul with any matters, in the absence of his Collegue, he would straightwaies give them au-
" dience in the Senate: but so soon verily as my brother Consul is come home, I wil not quoth he,
" I assure you, suffer any one matter to be debated here, before that those Sicilians be sent for into
" the Senate house. And I understand that *M. Cornelius* hath taken generall search like a muster
" over all *Sicily*, to the end there might come a number to *Rome* with complaints of me: he also
" with letters full of untruths hath buzzed into all mens ears, and born the whole City in hand, I
" that the war continueth still in *Sicily*, and all to diminish and abridge my glory. The Consul having that day won the commendation and name of one that knew how to rule and govern his affections, dismissed the Senat: and it seemed that there would be a generall vacation not of law matters only, but of all other things & as it were holyday still, untill the other Consul came unto the City. This rest and idleness (as the wonted manner is) set the Commons having nothing else to do, a talking: and now their tongues walked apace, ceasing not to spread rumours, That by this long and continuall war, not only the lands and territory about the City of *Rome* (especially where *Annibal* had marched with his cruell army) were wasted, but also *Italy* was in a manner dispeopled and laid desolate, by reason of so many musters and levies: complaining, that whole armies were defeated and put to the sword at *Cannæ* in defence of the Common-wealth: and K that there were two Consuls created, both martiall men, and warriors, over-fierce and eager of fight, such as time of peace and quietness were able to find occasions of war: so little was it to be looked for at their hands, that in time of war they would seek for peace, and suffer the City to have any breathing time and intermission. These speeches rumoured among the common people were interrupted and staid by occasion of a Scare-fire that began in sundry places together about the *Forum*, in the night of that day, which was immediatly before the festivall daies of *Minerva*, called *Quinquatrus*. At one and the self-same time the seven merchants shops and ware-houses, which afterwards were turned into five, and the shops of the Bankers and money changers which now are called *Novæ*, (or the new-shops) were on fire. Divers private mens houses also the fire caught, for as then there were no stately Halls and Palaces of the City there built. Likewise the L fire took hold of the common prison, called *Latumiæ* the Fish market hall likewise, and the royall gallery or walking-place. Hardly could the Chappel of *Vesta* be saved, and that by the good help and pains-taking especially of thirteen bondslaves; whose bondage was bought out at the Cities charges, and they made freemen. The fire continued one night and a day: and no man made doubt, but it came by mans hand, and was the practice of some lewd persons; for that the fires began in many places at once, and those far distant asunder. Whereupon the Consul by the advice and direction of the Senat, made proclamation in a solemn assembly of the people, that whosoever would come forth and give notice by whose means that fire was procured, he should be well rewarded: if he were a free-man, with a piece of money; if bond, with freedome. In hope of which recompence, a certain slave belonging to the *Calavii* the Campans, (his name was *Manius*) was induced to bewray the masters whom he served, and five other young Gentlemen of *Capua*, whose fathers had lost their heads by the commandment of *Q. Fulvius*. Those he appeached to have made the said fires: and he gave them a warning besides, that they intended to do more mischief about the City, if they were let alone, and not apprehended; so they were attached, and their household-servants. At the first, these persons made light account both of the informer, and the information they made, and elevated the credit that was given thereto: alledging, that the day before the party himself being chastised and scourged by his Masters, ran away, and so upon an anger and giddy fit devised (by occasion of this misfortune which was meer casuall) to frame an accusation against his masters. But when the matter was averred to their teeth in open place, and that they, by whose ministery the feat was done, were in the midst of the *Forum* put to N the rack for to utter a truth, then they all made confession of the fact. So as well the Masters that were the setters thereof, as the servants that were privy and accessary thereto, had their deserts, and suffered for it. The informer who disclosed the villany, was made free, and had * 20000 asses for his labour.

* 648 l. 13 s. 4 d. Rom.

As the Consul *Lævinus* passed by *Capua* in his journey [homeward,] there flocked about him a number of Campans, and besought him with tears, that they might have leave to go to *Rome*, and present themselves before the Senate, there to make suit (if haply there were any pity and commiseration in them) not to destroy them utterly, nor suffer *Q. Flaccus* to consume the name and generation of the Campans from off the face of the earth. "Now *Flaccus* for his part
" denied flatly that he bare them any private grudge by malice: but only hated the Campans as O
" the common enemies to the state, and so he would do ever, so long as he knew them so ill affe-
" cted as they were to the people of *Rome*: for there was not a nation upon earth, nor a people un-
" der heaven more spightfully & deadly bent against the Roman name than they were. And that
" was the cause (saith he) that he penned them up within their wals. For whosoever of them chan-
" ced any way to make an escape, they ranged about the country like brute and savage beasts, ren-
" ting, tearing, and killing whosoever came in their way. Some of them are fled to the adverse side
" unto *Annibal*: others are gone to *Rome* to set fire on the City, and there (quoth he) shal the Con-
" sul

A "ſul find the market place half burned, and the very prints and tokens remaining freſh of the
"Campans miſchievous practiſes. There ſhould he ſee that they minded to have done violence
"upon the Chappel of *Veſta*, and to have put out thoſe eternall fires, and utterly defaced the fatal
"pledge of the Roman Empire, beſtowed and laid up ſure in the moſt ſecret place of the Chap-
"pell. Neither thought he it was ſafe for the City to permit the Campans to come within the
"walls thereof. Then *Lævinus* having cauſed the Capuans to take a corporall oath, and ſwear un-
to *Flaccus*, that they would make return to *Capua* before five daies were expired, after they had
their anſwer and diſpatch from the Senate; commanded them to come after him to *Rome*.
Attended thus as he was with his company, he encountred the Sicilians alſo, who came forth to
B meet him: and with this multitude he entred the City, accompanied (I ſay) with the Campans
and Sicilians, both vanquiſhed and ſubdued by war, as accuſers of two moſt famous perſons,
*Marcellus* and *Fulvius*, who had conquered two moſt noble and renowned Cities, *Syracuſe*, and
*Capua*.

But both the Coſſ. treated and conſulted firſt with the Senate, about the ſtate of the Common-
weal, and the government of the Provinces. There *Levinus* related in what terms ſtood *Ma-
cedony* and *Greece*: the Ætolians alſo, with the Acarnanians and Locrians: likewiſe what acts
he had atchieved in thoſe parts both by ſea and land; and how he had repulſed *Philip* back into
*Macedonia*, when he began to make war upon the Ætolians, who now was retired and gone
into the utmoſt parts of his Kingdom: ſo as the legion might be withdrawn from thence, for
C that the Armado was ſufficient to keep the King forth of *Italy*. Thus much ſpake he of himſelf,
and of the Province whereof he had been governour. Then both Conſuls in common, propoſed
unto the Senat, concerning the Province. And the LL. decreed that one of the Conſuls ſhould
take the charge of *Italy*, and of the war with *Annibal*: and the other ſhould have under his
hand the Armado, whereof *T. Octacilius* was the Admiral; and together with *L. Cincius* the Prætor
govern the Province of *Sicily*. They were allowed the two armies which were in *Tuſcany* and
in *France*, conſiſting of four legions: whereof two of the former year, that were of Citizens
ſhould be ſent into *Tuſcany*, and thoſe two which the Conſul *Sulpitius* had conducted, ſhould be
led into *France*. Moreover, that he ſhould have the government of *France*, and the leading of the
Legions there, whom that Coſ. would appoint, whoſe lot it was to have *Italy* for his Province.
D Into *Tuſcany* was *C. Calphurnius* ſent, with Commiſſion after the term of the Prætorſhip expired,
to have his full juriſdiction to continue for a year. Likewiſe to *Q. Fulvius* was aſſigned the
keeping of *Capua*, and his rule prorogued for another year. The armies, as well of Citizens as of
Allies, were by commandment of the Senat abridged and made leſs: ſo that for two legions there
ſhould be but one, and that conſiſting of five thouſand footmen, and three hundred horſemen:
that they ſhould be diſcharged of ſouldiery who had ſerved longeſt: that of Allies there ſhould
be left ſeven thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe: with the ſame reſpect and conſideration
of ſervice in diſmiſſing the old ſouldiers. As for *Cn. Fulvius* the Conſul of the former year, he
ruled the ſame Province of *Apulia* ſtill, without any alteration of his forces: only his govern-
ment was continued unto him another year. And *P. Sulpitius* his Colleague, was commanded
E to ſend away all his army, only the mariners and ſailers excepted. Likewiſe order was given that
ſo ſoon as the new Conſul was arrived and landed in the Province of *Sicily*, the army there,
which was commanded by *M. Cornelius*, ſhould be ſent out of *Sicily*. Unto *L. Cincius* the Prætor
were aſſigned the ſouldiers that remained after the defeat at *Cannæ*, for to keep *Sicily* in order,
and thoſe aroſe to two legions. And as many legions were appointed for *P. Manlius Volſo* the
Prætor, for to go into *Sardinia*, even thoſe whereof *L. Cornelius* had the leading in the ſame Pro-
vince the former year. As for the legions of Citizens, the Conſuls were enjoyned to levy and
enroll them ſo, as they entertained no ſouldier of all thoſe who had ſerved in the army, either of
*M. Claudius*, or *M. Valerius*, or *Fulvius*: nor exceeded the number that year of one and twenty le-
gions of the Romans. When theſe Acts were paſſed in the Senate-houſe, the Conſuls caſt lots for
F their ſeverall Provinces. *Sicily* and the Armado fell to *Marcellus*: *Italy* and the war againſt *Anni-
bal*, to *Levinus*.

This lot that fell to *Marcellus* ſo ſtruck the Sicilians dead, (who ſtood in the preſence of the
Conſuls, looking for the event of the lottery) as if *Syracuſe* had been loſt again: in ſuch ſort, as
their pitifull lamentations, and their woſull plaints, for the preſent turned all mens eyes up-
on them, and none after miniſtred cauſe of much ſpeech and talk. For they went about to
all the Senators from one to another, in poor and vile array, proteſting, "That if *Marcellus* came
"amongſt them again as L. Deputy, they would not only forſake every man his own country
"where he was born, but alſo abandon the whole Iſland of *Sicily*: complaining that without any
"deſert of their parts, heretofore he had been cruelly bent againſt them, and his hatred was irre-
"concileable: and what would he now do in his choler, and knowing that the Sicilians came to
G "*Rome* of purpoſe to make complaints of him? The Iſland were better (ſay they) to be on a light
"fire to burn with *Ætna*; or to be all a very ſea, than thus to be expoſed as a prey unto a mor-
"tall enemy, for to be devoured. Theſe grievous moans and pitious complaints of the Sicilians
firſt carried to the houſes of the Nobles and great men of the City, and there taken up and much
talked of by many, whiles ſome pitied the Sicilians, others envied *Marcellus*, ſpread abroad at
length ſo far, untill they came to the Council-Table. And the Conſuls were dealt withall, to
propoſe unto the Senate, that they might exchange their Provinces one for another. Then *Mar-*

*cellus*

*cellus* ſtood up and ſaid, "That in caſe audience had been given to the Sicilians already in the Se- H
"nat-houſe, peradventure he would deliver his opinion to another purpoſe: but now left any
"man might ſay, that they were bridled for fear, and durſt not ſpeak their minds freely, nor com-
"plain as they would of him, at whoſe command, and under whoſe obedience, they were to be
"within a while: he was for his part ready to make change of his Province, if his Collegue were
"as well content, and made no greater ſcruple of the matter. Only he requeſted that the Senate
"would not prejudice his cauſe. For if at the firſt (quoth he) it had been hard and unjuſt, extraor-
"dinarily and without caſting lots, to give my Collegue the free choice of his own Province, how
"much greater wrong then ſhould I have, nay, what diſgrace were offered unto me, if my lot
"ſhould be taken from me and transferred upon him. So for that time, the Senat having made an I
overture unto *Marcellus*, what they would have done, rather than by any decree prejudiced the matter, brake up. And the Conſuls between themſelves privatly made exchange one with the o-ther. See the fortune and fatall deſtiny of *Marcellus*, that haled him, as it were, to be matched with *Annibal*, and to fall into his hands: to the end that the ſame man, who of all the Romans, was the firſt that vanquiſhed *Annibal* in fight, and won the honour from him: ſhould now in the midſt of proſperity and happy ſucceſs of war, be the laſt Roman General that was ſlain by *Annibal*, and yielded the glory of giving him the overthrow. After the Provinces were thus interchangeably ſhifted, the Sicilians were brought into the Senat. Where they made a long ſpeech as touching the perpetuall and conſtant faithfulneſs unto the end of K. *Hiero*, towards the people of *Rome*; and all to curry favour and gain thanks unto the whole nation of *Sicily*. Recounting, "that *Hieronymus* K
"firſt, and after him *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, as for other things, ſo eſpecially for their revolting
"from the Romans, and turning to *Annibal*, were odious and hateful unto them. For which cauſe
"and nothing elſe *Hieronymus* was by the hands of the chieftains of their young gallants, as it
"were by a publike decree of the ſtate made away and killed, and the nobleſt of their young gen-
"tlemen, to the number of ſeventy, conſpired to murder *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*: who being diſ-
"appointed and put by the effecting of their deſignment, through the delay of *Marcellus*, (who at
"the time before appointed, came not with his power to *Syracuſe*) were appeached, their inten-
"ded plot revealed, and they all by thoſe tyrants put to death. And yet, to ſpeak a truth, *Marcel-*
"*lus* himſelf was he that gave the firſt occaſion of the tyrannizing of *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, in
"that moſt cruelly he ſacked and rifled the Leontins. But from that time forward, the Nobles of L
"*Syracuſe* never ceaſed to come in unto *Marcellus*, & promiſed to deliver the City into his hands,
"whenſoever he pleaſed. But he, forſooth, at firſt, ſtood upon theſe terms, that he would rather
"force it by aſſault: but afterwards, ſeeing he could not effect that his purpoſe, notwithſtanding he
"had wrought all the devices he could, both by ſea & land, he made choice of one *Soſis* a copper-
"ſmith & *Mericus* a Spaniard, to have them to work and contrive the betraying of the City, rather
"than of the principal of the Syracuſian Nobility, who had ſo often offred that ſervice, and never
"yet would it be accepted: & all, I wot, becauſe he might pretend ſome colourable cauſe of juſtice,
"to proceed in all rigor againſt the moſt ancient allies of the people of *Rome*, for to maſſacre them,
"and make ſpoil of all that they had. Set caſe that *Hieronymus* had not revolted and gone to *An-*
"*nibal*, but the whole people and Senat of *Syracuſa*: Suppoſe, that the Syracuſians in generall, by M
"publike conſent had ſhut the gates againſt *Marcellus*, & not their Tyrants *Hippocrates* and *Epi-*
"*cides*, when they had the Syracuſians ſure enough under their own hands: Say they had warred
"againſt the people *Rome* with as ſpightfull and cankred malice as the Carthaginians do, and ever
"did: what greater hoſtility could *Marcellus* poſſibly have exerciſed againſt them more than he
"hath, unleſs he would deſtroy and raſe the City to the very ground? Surely he hath left nothing
"in *Syracuſa* but the bare walls, the naked and empty houſes of the City, the temples and chappels
"of the gods defaced & broke open; for the gods themſelves, with all the rich & gorgeous orna-
"ments are carried away. Many a man is ſpoiled and robbed of his goods, in ſuch ſort, as having
"nothing left him but the bare ſoil, they are not able when all is gone, with his leavings to main-
"tain themſelves, and ſuſtain their wives and children. They were humble petitioners therefore, N
"and ſuppliant ſuiters unto the LL. of the Senate, to take order, that reſtitution might be made
"unto the rightful owners, if not of all (for that is unpoſſible) yet of ſo much at leaſt, as was to be
"found, and might be truly owned again.

The complaints of the Sicilians againſt *Marcellus*.

After theſe and ſuch like complaints, *Levinus* the Conſul commanded them to go forth of the Councill-Houſe to the end that the LL. might be conſulted with, and deliver their opinions concerning their demands. "Nay mary (quoth *Marcellus*) let them ſtay ſtill rather, that I may anſwer
"to their very faces: ſeeing my LL. our caſe and condition is ſo hard, who war and fight for you,
"that we muſt have thoſe to enform againſt us, and be our accuſers, whom we have conquered
"and ſubdued by martiall arms; Let it even be ſo that two Cities, to wit, *Capua* and *Syracuſa*,
"won this year, may convent judicially both their conquerors, the one *Fulvius*, the other *Mar-* O
"*cellus*. When the Embaſſadors were brought back again into the Senat-houſe, then began *Mar-*
"*cellus* the Conſul, and ſpake in this wiſe.

*Marcellus* his defence againſt the Syracuſians.

"I am not ſo far overſeen, and forgetfull, my Lords, either of the majeſty of the people of
"*Rome*, or of this place of command which I now hold, that I would plead mine own cauſe,
"Conſul as I am, againſt theſe Grecians, my accuſers, in caſe the queſtion were of any crime or
"fault of mine own. But all the controverſie to be diſcuſſed, ſtandeth not upon theſe terms, to
"examine what I have done, whom the right of war will juſtifie and bear out, howſoever I have
"proceeded

A "proceeded against enemies: but what these men have deserved to suffer. If they were not ene-
"mies, nor so to be reputed, then it mattered not, and it had been all one, either now or in the
"life time of King *Hiero*, to have forced *Syracusa*. But if it appear, that they have revolted, that
"they have evil intreated our Embassadors, threatned to lay violent hands, and to run upon them
"with sword and force of arms; that they have manned their walls, and shut their gates upon us;
"that they have maintained the army of the Carthaginians against us: who can be grieved and
"offended, if they have suffered as enemies, who stuck not first to offer all hostility whatsoever?
"Rejected I the Nobles of *Syracusa* when they would have delivered the City into my hands?
"And made I more account of *Sosis*, and *Mericus* the Spaniard, and thought them worthy to be
"trusted in so important a matter? Ye are not, I am sure, the meanest of the Syracusians, that thus
B "reproach others with baseness of estate. Who was it of all you here, that promised to open me
"the gates? that undertook to receive my armed souldiers into the City? Nay, nay, ye hate and
"curse them in your heart, who have so done; and even in this place cannot forbear to give them
"hard terms, and revile them: so unlike it is, that you your selves ever meant to have done any
"such thing. Even this abject condition and base calling of theirs, my LL. which these men twit
"them with, is a manifest token, and a most evident argument, that I refused none, that was wil-
"ling to do good service unto our state and Common-weal. At the very first, before I laid siege
"unto *Syracusa*, I assaied by all means to have peace; one while sending Embassadors unto them,
"otherwhiles going in person to parle with them. Afterwards, seeing that without all reverence
"of Embassadors, they shamed not to offer them abuse; without regard of my self, they deigned
C "me no answer when I came to the gates, and conferred with their chief Nobility: after much
"travel, toil, and infinite pains, sustained both by Land and Sea, at length by mere force and hot
"assault, I became Master and Lord of *Syracusa*. Now as touching that which hath befain unto
"them, since they were overcome, and lost their City, I would suppose they had more reason, and
"juster cause to make their moan, and complain unto *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, those that
"are likewise conquered, than before the Senat of the people of *Rome* their Conqueror. For mine
"own part, my LL. if I had ever meant to deny and disavow the spoiling and sacking of *Syracusa*,
"and not to stand to it when I had done, I would never have been so ill advised, as to beautify and
"adorn the City of *Rome* with the spoils thereof. And what I have given or forgiven unto any
"particular person, I am assured that I may well justify and avow the same, both by the law of
D "war, and also by the desert of every one. Now, my LL. whether ye will approve and ratify my
"doings or no, it concerneth and toucheth the Common-weal rather than my self. My part I have
"done, and discharged my duty faithfully. It much importeth now the State, that by reversing (as
"it were) and disanulling mine actions, ye make not your other Generals from henceforth, to be
"more slack and backward in the like employment. To conclude my LL. since that ye have heard
"both my self and the Sicilians speak our minds face to face, we will all together go out of this
"Temple, that in my absence the Senate may more frankly speak to the point, and deliver their
"opinions. Thus the Sicilians were dismissed, and he himself went forth also to the Capitol, for to
take a levy of souldiers.

E The other Consul in the mean time, put to question the demands of the Sicilians before the LL. Much canvassing a long while, and discussing there was of the matter, and divers opinions passed. Many of the Senators following *T. Manlius Torquatus* the head and principal man, that maintained a side, were of this mind, "That they should have made war against the tyrants, the com-
"mon enemies as well to the Syracusians, as to the State of *Rome*. And as for the City, it was
"(say they) rather recovered and received, than won by force: and being so received, it was to
"be re-established in her own ancient laws and freedom, and not after it was so wearied with
"miserable servitude, to be scourged and afflicted with war upon it. But between the warring of
"the tyrants of the one side, and the Roman General of the other, a most beautiful and noble City,
"standing in the midst (as a prize and reward for the winner) is undone by the means; even that
F "City which sometime had been the garner (as it were) and the Treasure-house of the people of
"*Rome*: by the munificent liberality and bounty whereof, by whose rich presents and goodly gifts
"our City many a time and oft, yea, and but of late dayes in this Punick war, hath been relieved and
"adorned. If King *Hiero* should arise again from the dead and come among us, *Hiero* (I say) the
"most faithful maintainer of the Roman state, with what face could we shew unto him, either *Sy-*
"*racuse* or *Rome*? When he should see of one side, his own native country, half raised and wholly
"spoiled: and on the other side, coming to *Rome*, in the very entring of the City, and hard at the
"gate, should behold the spoils of his own City? Notwithstanding these and such like speeches
cast out among them, to procure ill will and hatred to the Consul, and to move pity and compassi-
on to the Sicilians, yet the LL. of the Senat in favour of *Marcellus*, agreed upon a milder decree,
G and enacted, That whatsoever he had done, either during the war, or after conquest, should be
ratified and allowed for good: *Item*, for the time to come, the Senat would take order and pro-
vide for the good of the Syracusians, and give the Consul *Levinus* a special charge, to have re-
gard of the welfare of that City, so far forth, as might not be prejudicial to the state of *Rome*.
Then were two Senators sent into the Capitol to the Consul, to request him to repair again unto
the assembly of the Senate: and after the Sicilians also were admitted into the place, their act
and decree aforesaid was openly read. The Embassadors had good words given them, and were
dismissed: whereupon they fell down prostrate at the feet of *Marcellus* the Consul, beseeching

him to pardon that which they had ſpoken, either to bewail, or to eaſe their calamity; and to re- H
ceive both them in particular, and the City of *Syracuſe* in general, unto his merciful protection. After this, the Conſul with gracious words licenſed them to depart.

When the Sicilians had their diſpatch, the Campans had audience given them in the Senate: and as their ſpeech was more lamentable, ſo the cauſe was heavier, and harder to be digeſted: for nei- "ther could they themſelves deny, but that they deſerved condign puniſhment: nor Tyrants had "they any, upon whom they might lay the blame. But they thought they had ſuffred enough for "their ſins already, in that ſo many of their Senators died by poiſon, and ſo many loſt their heads. "Some few of their nobility and but a few remained yet alive, who as they were not touched in "conſcience, nor ſo faulty, as to lay violent hands upon themſelves, ſo the Conqueror in his furious I "wrath, adjudged them not worthy of death: they therefore made humble ſuit for themſelves, "their wives and children, to obtain freedom, and to enjoy ſome part of their own goods, being, "as they were, meer citizens of *Rome*, and moſt of them by affinity and neer kinred, upon mutual "and croſs mariages, linked in alliance and bloud to the Romans. After that they alſo were willed to void out of the Senat houſe: for a while, there grew ſome queſtion and doubt, whether *Q. Fulvius* ſhould be ſent for from *Capua* (for preſently upon the taking of the City, *Claudius* the Conſul died) that this matter might be argued and diſcuſſed in preſence of the General himſelf, like as the other had been reaſoned of and debated between *Marcellus* and the Sicilians. But afterwards when they ſaw in the Senat-houſe M. *Attilius*, and *C. Fulvius*, the brother of *Flaccus*, both his Lieutenants: likewiſe *Q. Minutius*, and *L. Veturius Philo*, Lieutenants unto *Claudius*, who had K been preſent in all actions, and were eye-witneſſes of every thing; and beſides, were unwilling that either *Fulvius* ſhould be called away from *Capua*, or the Campans longer delayed: M. *Attilius Regulus*, who of all them that had been at the ſervice of *Capua*, was of greateſt authority and reputation, being demanded his opinion, ſpake in this wiſe.

"I take it (quoth he) when *Capua* was newly won, I was one of Councel with the Conſuls "there, when queſtion was asked, and enquiry made, Whether any one Campane had deſerved "well of us and our Common-weal. And found it was, that two women only, to wit, *Veſia Oppia*, "born in *Atella*, but dwelling then at *Capua*, and *Faucula Cluvia*, ſometime a common ſtrumpet "and curtizan, were well willers unto us. The former of theſe twain daily ſacrificed for the wel- "fare, life, and victory of the Romans; the other, ſecretly ſuſtained the poor and needy Roman L "captives with food and victuals. As for all other Campans, from the higheſt to the loweſt, they "were no better affected unto us, than the Carthaginians. And even thoſe, who were beheaded "by *Quintus Fulvius*, ſuffered death, not becauſe they were more faulty than others, but for that "they were of greater mark and calling than the reſt. Now, that the Senate ſhould decide the "cauſe of any Campans, who are enfranchiſed denizons of *Rome*, without a grant from the peo- "ple, I ſee not how it can be. For in our fore-fathers time the like caſe was of the Satricans that "rebelled: and then *M. Antiſtius*, a Tribun of the Commons, firſt put up a bill, and the Commons "afterwards paſſed it, namely, That the Senat might have power and authority, to give their opini- "on, and determine of the Satricans. Therefore I am of mind, that we deal with the Tribuns of "the Commons, that one or more of them, prefer a bill unto the Commons, by vertue whereof we M "may be authoriſed to ſet down ſome order for the Campans. Then *L. Attilius*, a Tribun of the Commons, by leave and advice of the Senate, propoſed unto the Commons a bill in this form and manner. *Whereas the Campans, Atellans, Calatins, and Sabatins, who have yeelded themſelves unto* Fulvius *the Pro-conſul, to be at the pleaſure and devotion of the people of* Rome: *all that alſo which they have ſurrendred together with themſelves, as well their territory as their City, as all utenſils both ſacred and prophane, their neceſſary implements, and all other things whatſoever, I demand your will and pleaſure, O Quirits, what ſhall be done with the premiſſes?* The Commons after deliberation, gave their voyces to the ſaid bill in this form. *Our will and pleaſure is, that whatſoever ye the Senators, who now are ſet in Councel, or the moſt part of you think good and determine, ſhall ſtand for juſt and lawful.* Upon this grant or Act of the Commons, the Senat by a decree awarded unto *Oppia* N and *Cluvia*, firſt their own goods and liberty: and moreover if they were deſirous to crave far- ther reward at the Senates hand, they were beſt to repair unto *Rome*. For every family and ſeveral houſe of the Campans, there were ſpecial acts and decrees made, all which to repeat and rehearſe, would not quit the labour. Some had their goods confiſcate: themſelves, their Children and Wives were to be ſold, excepting thoſe their Daughters which were wed- ded, before that they came under the ſubjection of the people of *Rome*. Others were to be clapt up in Priſon, until farther order were taken for them hereafter. Moreover, of ſome Campans they made diſtinction by valuation of their wealth, whether their goods were to be confiſca e or no. All their beaſts and cattail which were taken, ſave Horſes; all their bond-ſlaves, but males fourteen years of age and upward, all moveable goods alſo which were not annexed O and faſtned to the ſoil, they awarded for to be reſtored to the true owners. All Campans, Atellans, Calatins, Sabellans, excepting thoſe, who either themſelves, or whoſe parents took part and ſided with the enemies, they judged to be free: provided alwayes, that none of them were either Free-denizens of *Rome*, or of *Latium*. *Item*, it was enacted, that none of all them who had been at *Capua* whiles the gates were ſhut, ſhould remain either in the City or territory of *Capua*, within a certain day prefixed: but ſhould have a place ſet out unto them for to dwell in, on the farther ſide of *Tyberis*, ſo it were not upon the very bank cloſe unto

*Tyber.*

A *Tyber.* As for those that during the time of war had been neither at *Capua* nor in any other City of Campan, which revolted from the people of *Rome*, they should be removed to inhabit on this side the River *Lyris* between it and *Rome*: but such as were turned and passed to the Romans side, before that *Annibal* came unto *Capua*, they should be transplanted on the hither side of *Vulturnus* the River: provided, that none of them should possess either house or Land within fifteen miles of the Sea. As concerning them who were displaced and confined to inhabit beyond the *Tyber*, neither they nor their heirs and successors for ever, should purchase and hold house or Land in any place, but in the territory either of *Veii*, *Sutrium*, or *Nepesium*: but so, as they exceeded not the stint of five hundred Acres of ground. As touching the goods and chattels of all the Senators, of such as had born Magistracy in *Capua*, *Atella*, or *Calatia*, they awarded that sale should be
B made thereof in *Capua*. As for those that were free born, and whose bodies were to be sold, they should be sent to *Rome*, and there set a-sale. Finally, the Images and Statues of brass, which were said to have been won and taken from the enemies, whether they were sacred or profane, they referred to the Colledge of the Priests and Prelates, to determine thereof at their discretion. Thus they gave the Campanes their dispatch, and sent them away much worse apaid for these decrees, than they were when they came first to *Rome*. And now they complained no more of the cruel proceedings of *Q. Fulvius* against them, but blamed the iniquity and unjust dealing of the very Gods, and their own cursed fortune together.

After the Sicilians and Campanes were dismissed, there was a muster taken: and when an army was levied and enrolled, there began some question and reasoning about the mariners and
C Rowers to furnish the Gallies. For the accomplishment whereof, when the Consuls could neither raise men enow, nor yet find mony at that time in the Chamber of the City, for to prese and hire them, and pay their wages withal: they published an edict, that private men according to the rate and proportion in the Subsidy book, out of all orders, degrees, and companies, should as aforetime find Rowers at their own charges, and maintain them with meat and money for thirty dayes. Upon which Edict and Proclamation, all men so grumbled and muttered, and were so highly discontented and angred, that they wanted an head and Captain, rather then matter and occasion of a mutiny and insurrection: giving out, "That the Consuls had taken a course,
"and were in the very train to plague, undo, and destroy the Commons of *Rome*, like as they
"had already the Sicilians and the Campans. For thus many years they have been pilled, polled,
D "clean spent and consumed with exaction of tributes, and had nothing left them but the bare
"ground, and the same lying wast and untilled. As for their Houses upon their Lands, the ene-
"mies had burned: their servants and hinds, such as should husband and till their grounds, the
"Common-wealth had bereaved them of: one whiles buying them up to the war, for some small
"piece of mony: otherwhiles levying and pressing them to the Seas to be Gally-slaves, for a thing
"of nothing. A man could not so soon get one brass farthing, or single silver denair before-hand,
"but it went by and by either for Gally-pay, or for yearly Tribute. And to give that now which
"they had not, they might never be brought by any force or for any mans commandment what-
"soever. Let them sell and make an hand of their goods, imprison and punish their bodies too,
"when all is gone besides; seeing there is nothing left them to ransome and redeem the same
E "again. These and such like words were not only muttred in huggermugger, but uttered also and given out in broad terms even in the market-place and before the Consuls, by the multitude that flocked and gathered together in exceeding great numbers: in such sort, as the Consuls were not able with all that ever they could do, to appease the mutiny, neither by sharp rebukes, nor fair words and comfortable speeches. Then they said, that they would give and allow them three dayes respit for to think and consider of these matters: which they themselves bestowed wholly and employed in taking a view and survey of their goods, and making dispatch and riddance thereof out of the way. The next day the Consuls called the Senate together to consult about the supply of Rowers and Gally-slaves: where, after much debating and arguing, that the Commons had good reason to make denial; at length the drift of all their speech was this, "That
F "whether it were right or wrong, the burden must lye on privat mens shoulders, there was no re-
"medy: for seeing there was no mony in the common chest, how should Mariners and Rowers
"else be gotten and levied? And without Armadoes, how possibly should either *Sicily* be held
"still in possession, or *Philip* be kept out of *Italy*? or the Sea coasts of *Italy* remain in safety and
"security? In these distresses and difficulties the Councel being perplexed, and to seek for reme-
"dy; and whiles every mans wits were in the wan and so confused, as if they were benummed
"and stone cold: Then *Lævinus* the Consul, As the Magistrate (qd. he) goeth before the Senate in
"place of honor, and the Senat likewise before the common people in worth and dignity: so they
"ought in all difficulties and hard occurrences to undergo the weightiest burdens first, and be the
"Foremen and Leaders in all dangerous adventures whatsoever. For if a man would enjoyn his
G "inferiors to bear some grievous and heavy load, let him first take it up himself, yea and impose the
"same upon his own train and company: all the rest then, will be more willing and obedient to
"follow after, and do the semblable. And never will they grutch at any cost or charges, when
"they see their Leaders and Rulers take more upon themselves, than they are well able to wield
"and sustain. To the end therefore that the people of *Rome* may be provided and furnished of a
"fleet rigged and trimmed, as our desire is, and that private persons may not think much, nor
"refuse to find Rowers thereunto; let us first that are here command our own selves: let us,

The speech of *Lævinus* the Consul.

"I say, that be Senators, bring abroad in common all the gold, all the silver, all the brasen coin H
"that we have, so as every man reserve rings only for himself, his wife and children: and a little
"tablet or Jewel for his son, as a pendant to hang about his neck. Also let all them that have wives
* 3 pound ste, or daughters, retain still one ounce weight of * gold, and * one pound of silver: And as many as
* 3 pound ster. and two shil. over, if *libra* be *centenaria*, have born office of State, and sitten in the Ivory Chair, keep still the trappings and caparison of their Horses, and two pound weight a piece, the one of gold, the other of silver; for to have a Salt-sellar, and a little boll or cup, to sacrifice and offer unto the Gods withal. As for the rest of the Senators, let us leave them but one pound weight of silver, and no gold at all, and five thou-
* 15 pound 12 shil. 6 pence st. sand * Asses in coin, to every housholder a piece. "All other gold, silver, and brasen money be-
"sides, let us forthwith bring abroad and present unto the Triumvirs or publick bankers, before
"that we make or enact any decree of Senat: to the end, that our good example in this volun- I
"tary benevolence and contribution, and our earnest endeavour to help the Common-weal, may
"stir up and provoke the hearts and affections, first of those that are by calling Gentlemen and
"Knights of *Rome*, and then forward the rest of the commons, to imitate and follow us with
"some emulation. This is the only means which we that are Consuls have thought upon and de-
"vised, after much talk and conference together. Set to therefore, my masters, in the name of
"God, and lead the way: God will bless your good beginnings. So long as the City standeth
"on foot, and holdeth up the head, no man need to fear his private state; but it shall do well
"enough. Go the weal-publick to wreck once, and decay, let no man ever think to save his
"own. All the whole house liked so well of these motions, that not only they gave their accord
and consent thereto, but over and besides, yeelded hearty thanks unto the Consuls for their good K
advice and counsel. When the Senat was dismissed, every man for himself brought forth his gold, his silver, and brasse money, and laid all together in common; and that with such speed, striving a vie who could go before another, and have his name entred first in the publick Rolles and Registers: as neither the foresaid Triumvirs were able to receive it fast enough, as it was tendred unto them; nor the ordinary Clerks and Notaries to set it down in writing, and take note thereof accordingly. This consent and agreement of the Senators, the Knights and Gentlemen of *Rome* in their place and calling seconded; and the commons for their parts were not behind. So without any constraint of law, without edict, without any exhortation made by the Magistrate, the common-weal wanted neither Rowers for to furnish the armadoes, nor mony to pay the Rowers. And thus when all things were provided necessary for the wars, the Consuls went forth to their L
several Provinces.

Never was there any time of this war, wherein Carthaginians and Romans together, had more tryal of the alternative and variable change of fortune: never hung they more in equal ballance, between fair hope and fearful danger. The Romans, in their Provinces tasted both of sweet and sour. In *Spain* on the one side, they sped ill and lost: in *Sicily* on the other side, they sped well and won: so as their sorrow was interlaced still and mingled with joy. Also in *Italy*, the losse of *Tarentum* turned to their woe and damage: but the keeping of the Castle there with the garrison, beyond all their hope and expectation, brought them joy and comfort for their sorrow. Also, their suddain fright and fear, for the siege and assault of the City of *Rome*, was saived and cured again within a few dayes after, by the forcing and winning of *Capua*: and all that heavinesse and mourning turned into mirth and gladnesse. The affairs also beyond Sea, were checked M
with interchangeable turns and courses. *Philip* became their enemy in an ill time, and when they had little need thereof. Contrary-wise, the Ætolians and *Attalus* the King of *Asia* the lesse, proved to be their new friends and loving allies: whereby even then fortune, seemed to smile on the Romans, and by that overture, promised as it were, unto them the Empire of the East. Semblably the Carthaginians, as they lost *Capua*, so they won *Tarentum*, and made a saving game of it. In like manner, as they took no small pride and glory, in coming to the walls of *Rome* without resistance; so they were danted and dismaid again, that this their enterprise took no better effect in the end: and held themselves much disgraced and dishonoured, that whiles they sat themselves before one gate of *Rome*, there was an army of Romans led forth at another, and N
sent into *Spain*. And even in *Spain* also, the greater hope men had there, that upon the death of two so noble and valiant Generals, and the defeat of two as puissant armies, the war was come to a final end, and the Romans driven from thence for ever: the more spight it was, and the greater grief and vexation they conceived again, when by the valour of *L. Martius* a tumultuary Captain, chosen in hast they knew not how, those former victories turned to vanities, and came to just nothing. Thus fortune was indifferent, and all things doubtful and wavering in suspence, both on the one side and the other. Their hope all one as it was at first: their fear, the same still, neither more nor lesse: So as between hope and fear, they fared, as if the war at this time were new to begin.

*Annibal* above all other things, was vexed to the heart, that *Capua* being more hotly and O
eagerly assaulted by the Romans, than manfully and faithfully defended by him, had diverted and turned away the hearts of many States of *Italy* from him. For neither was he able to hold them all with sufficient garrisons, unless he would dismember into many small portions, and mangle by piece-meal his army; which to do then, was no good policy: nor he thought it safe and good, to withdraw his garrisons from thence, & leave the fidelity of his allies at liberty, either to depend upon fickle hope, or to sway with suddain fear. And (as he was by nature covetous and cruel-

ly

A ly minded) he resolved at length upon this course, to make spoil of those Cities which he was not able to keep, and so to leave them wast and empty for the enemy. This designment was not so dishoneſt and shameful in the first enterprise, but it proved as bad and hurtful to himself in the effect and conclusion. For he lost the hearts clean, not only of those that were the parties grieved, and suffered these indignities, but also of all others besides. The present calamity and loss touched but some few: but the precedent and example reached to many more. Neither was the Roman Consul behind hand for his part, to sollicite and sound those Cities, from whence he saw some light appear, and any hope to gain them unto him.

There were in *Salapia* two noble men above the rest, *Dasius* and *Blasius*. *Dasius* was friend to *Annibal*, *Blasius* (to far as he might with safety) affected and favoured the Romans. And by enter-
B course of secret messengers, had put *Marcellus* in some good hope of betraying the City; but without the help of *Dasius* the plot could not be compassed and effected. Wherefore, after much musing and long deliberation, after many stayes and delayes, at length he resolved (for want rather of better counsel, than upon any hope to speed) to address himself to *Dasius*, and acquaint him with the matter. But *Dasius* not only misliking utterly and abhorring the thing, but also carrying a secret enmity to the party himself, the only eye-sore and concurrent that he had, striving to be greater than he, disclosed all to *Annibal*. Whereupon, both were sent for, and convented peremptorily before him. As *Annibal* was sitting upon the Tribunal seat, giving audience and dis-
C patch to certain other matters; and that he might anon the better attend unto *Blasius* and the action intended against him: whiles the plaintife and defendant stood apart by themselves from the rest of the people a good way, *Blasius* went in hand again with *Dasius*, and sollicited him for to deliver the City to the Romans. With that, *Dasius* (as if the matter had been too too apparant) cried out and said, That he bashed not to break unto him and move him, even in the presence and sight of *Annibal*, for to practise treason and betray the City. *Annibal* and all they that were there present, gave little credit unto *Dasius*: and the more audacious the thing it self was, the lesse likely-
D hood it carried with it of a truth. Every man supposed verily, it was nothing but emulation, envy, and cankred malice, that caused *Dasius* to charge upon him that crime, which because there was no witness to the contrary, he might untruly devise and more freely enforce against him. And so for that time, they were both discharged the court. But *Blasius* never gave over to follow still this bold enterprise, but beat still upon this one point, shewing how good and commodious the thing would be, both to themselves in private, and to their country in common, until he had wrought him so, and won him to grant, that the Carthaginian garrison, (and those were Numidians) toge-
E ther with the City *Salapia*, should be rendred unto *Marcellus*. But without much bloudshed they could not possibly be thus betrayed and delivered: for they were the most hardy and valiant horsemen by far, of all the Carthaginian army. Wherefore, albeit they were taken on a suddain unprovided, and had no use of Horses within the City, yet with such weapons, as in such a suddain tumult and uprore they could catch and come by, first they assayed and gave the venture to break through and escape away: and when they saw that they could by no means save themselves and get forth, they fought it out to the last manfully, even unto death: so as there were not of them above fifty left alive, and came into the hands of the enemies. And surely, the loss of this cornet of
F Horsemen, was a greater dammage unto *Annibal*, than the forgeing of *Salapia*: for never from that day forward, had *Annibal* the upper hand in cavalry, which was the only service whereby ever before he most prevailed.

Much about the same time the Castle of *Tarentum* was streightly distressed for want of victuals, and hardly could endure and hold out any longer. The only hope that the Roman garrison had, which lay there, and the Captain thereof *M. Livius* the Constable of the Castle, was in the provision sent out of *Sicily*. For the safe convoy whereof, along the coast of *Italy*, there rid at anchor a fleet welneer of twenty sail before *Rhegium*. The Admiral of this fleet appointed to wast these victuals from time to time, was one *Decius Quintius*, a man of obscure birth and base parentage, howbeit, for many worthy acts and feats of arms, much renowned in martial
G glory.

At the first he had the charge but of five ships, whereof two of the greatest, which were three banked Gallies, were allowed him by *Marcellus*: afterwards, upon his good service, when he had born himself bravely in many conflicts, he had three more committed unto him, and those were of five banks of oars, until at last himself, by calling upon the confederat Cities, as *Rhegium*, *Velia*, and *Paestum*, for the ships due by covenant unto the people of *Rome*, he had made a prety Armado, as is above said, of twenty sail. As this fleet had disanchored and was gone from *Rhegium*, *Democrates* with the like Armado for number of Tarentin ships, encountred almost five leagues from the City of *Tarentum*, at a port called *Sacriportus*. It fortuned at that time, that the Roman Admiral, little looking for any battel, came forth under sail only, but about *Crotone* and *Sibaris*, he had furnished his ships with Rowers also, and so his fleet for the bigness and taines of the Vessels, was well appointed, and sufficiently armed and manned. And even then it hap-
ned at one time, that both the boisterous wind lay, and the enemies also were within kenning, so as they had scarce time enough to fit their tackling, to make ready their Rowers, and to set in order their fighting men, against a skirmish that was so neer toward. There was not lightly seen a greater conflict, fought more hotly and fiercely between two royal Armadoes that affronted one another, than between these small fleets. For why, the battel was for a greater matter, than all

their ships came to. The Tarentins mainteined the fight more eagerly, because they were desirous H to recover their Castle out of the Romans hands, as they had done their City, after one 100 years almost, during which time, they had been out of the possession thereof: hoping thereby, if they could be masters of the Sea once by some fortunat and victorious battel, to cut off and intercept all hope of victuals from the enemies. The Romans on the other side bestirred themselves as lustily that by keeping the possession of the Castle, all the world might see, that *Tarentum* was not lost by force, clean strength and valour, but betrayed by stealth and treachery. So they sounded the battel from both parts, and ran affront one at another, with the beaks and stems of their prows, and neither staid rowing amain forward, nor suffered their enemy to part or go aside from them, until they closed and grapl'd their ships together, by the means of iron hooks like hands. And so neer I they buckled, in hot and furious fight, that not only they discharged shot aloof one against another, but also they coped together (as it were) foot to foot, at hand strokes with sword fight. Their prows and for-ships stuck grapled together, while the poops and hin-decks were driven about with contrary oars of the adverse part. So neer and so thick withal stood the ships, and within so narrow a room, that scarce one dart light into the water in vain, and did no harm. With their beak-heads they assailed one another, as it had been on land fight, and so close they were, that the souldiers might passe out of one ship into another, as they fought. Howbeit, two ships there were above all the rest, that maintained a notable fight, and in the vanguard and forefront of the battel, invested one another most furiously. In that of the Romans was *Quintius* himself in person, and in the other of the Tarentins, was one *Nico*, surnamed *Perco*, a man not only odious unto the Romans, for the publick quarrel between both states, but also maliciously bent, upon a private spight K and rancour, as banding with that faction, which had betrayed *Tarentum* to *Annibal*. This *Nico* espying *Quintius* both fighting and also encouraging his men withal, charged him at unawares, and ran him quite through with a partisan: who was not so soon faln forward headlong upon the fore-deck, armour and all, but the Tarentin following the train of his victory, and seeing the ship disordered and troubled for the losse of their leader, lustily came forward, and boorded her; laid about him manfully, and put by the enemies out of his way, until the Tarentins were masters of the prow and fore-castle. Whiles the Romans had much ado (so thrumbled they were and thrust together disorderly) to defend and keep the poop and hind-deck; with that, another gally of the enemies appeared on a suddain, and charged the hind-part. So the Roman ship in the midst between both, was boorded on every side, and taken. Whereupon all the rest were greatly terrified, seeing the L Admiral-ship was won by the enemy: and they fled on all hands. Some were sunk in the deep Sea, some made hast with their oars, and scudded to the land, but anon were a prize and prey to the Thurins and Metapontins. But of the Hulks and Caricks, which were fraught with victual, and followed after, very few there were that fell into the hands of the enemies: the rest shifting and turning their sails crosse, this wayes and that wayes, according to the inconstancy of the wind, recovered the main Sea.

But about *Tarentum* at the same time, their fortune was nothing so good. For whereas there went out of the Town upon a foure thousand men a foraging, for to purvey corn, *Livius*, Constable of the Castle and Captain of the garrison, spying his time (as he waited ever for all opportunities) made out of the said Castle 2000 armed souldiers, under the leading of *C. Persius* a valorous and M industrious man: who set upon the Tarentins straggling out of order, and dispersed in wandering wise over the fields; and after he had followed a long time the execution, killing them here and there as he encountred them; the rest, which were but few left of so many, he chaled to the Town: for they made hast in great fear thither, and were let in at the gates standing half shut, for fear lest at the same randon the Town should have been lost. So the Tarentins and Romans, when they had made the reckoning, put up all on even hand. For the Romans were winners by land, the Tarentins at Sea: and both of them disappointed alike of their hope of corn, which was presented to their eyes, but they never tasted thereof.

At the same time *Lavinus* the Consul, after a good part of the year was gone about, arrived in *Sicily*, greatly expected and looked for, as well by the old allies as the new: and the first thing of N all other and most important, he supposed, was together with this new peace, to settle and compose the State of *Syracusa*, so much disordered and out of frame. After that, he led his legions to *Agrigentum*, where only there remained the reliques of war; which City was kept by a strong garrison of Carthaginians. There fortune favoured his first designs. *Hanno* chanced to be the General over the Carthaginians, but he wholly relied and reposed all his hope in *Mutines* and the Numidians. This *Mutines* had ranged all over *Sicily* at his pleasure, and raised booties out of the territories and Lands of the Roman associats, and by no force or policy could he be intercepted of his passage back to *Agrigentum*, nor yet be pinned within the City, but that he would issue forth whensoever he listed. This glory of his, because now it checked (as it were) the fame and honour of the General, turned the man at length to displeasure and danger: so as, what good O service soever was atchieved, it was never well taken by *Hanno*, nor joyously accepted, in regard of the person, who was a prick alwayes in his eye. Whereupon in the end he gave away the Captainship of *Mutines* from himself, and bestowed it upon his own Son: thinking, that together with his government and command, he should lose all his authority and reputation also among the Numidians. But it fell out far otherwise. For the more that he was in disgrace and disfavour with *Hanno*, the greater grew the old favour and love of the Numidians toward him.

Neither

A Neither could he himself endure any longer the unworthy wrong and indignity offered unto him: and therefore in revenge he presently dispatched certain secret messengers unto *Lævinus*, with credence, that he would betray and deliver *Agrigentum* into his hands. By the mediation of these intercourriers, there passed sufficient security and assurance between them: and the matter being concluded, the manner also of contriving the plot, was agreed upon. Whereas therefore the Numidians were possessed, and had the guard of that gate that openeth toward the Sea: after they had either driven out the old warders from thence, or killed them, they let in the Romans at the same gate into the City, who were sent of purpose, according to the former agreement. And when they marched up into the midst of the City, even to the market place, with banner displaied, and with great tumult and noise; *Hanno* supposing it was nothing else, but a seditious uprising of B the Numidians (like as they had done sometimes before) came forth as to appease and stay a mutiny and commotion. But discovering a greater multitude afar off, than the Numidians were: and hearing withal the Romans to shout, with the manner whereof his ears had been well acquainted before time, he took him to his heels ere he came within the dart-shot. And being let out at a back postern gate, taking with him *Epicides*, he recovered with some few other the Sea side, where, a good hap was, they light upon a small bark or pinnace: and so leaving *Sicily* to the enemies, for which there had been much strife so many years together, they passed over into *Affrick*. The multitude besides both of Carthaginians and Sicilians, without any skirmish either begun or intended, fled like blind men they wist not whither: and finding all wayes made up, and no passage forth, they were miserably slain and hewn apieces about the gates. *Lævinus* being possessed of the C Town, caused all the chief men and rulers of the City, to be beaten with rods, and to lose their heads: all the rest together with the pillage he sold in port-sale, and the money that was raised thereof, he sent to *Rome*.

When the news of this misfortune of the Agrigentins was blown over *Sicily* all at once turned Roman, and *Annibal* lost all. For in short space there were 20 Towns betrayed and yeelded, six forced by assault, and to the number of 40 voluntarily surrendred to the devotion and protection of the Romans. The principal noble men of which States, after that the Consuls had either rewarded or punished according to their several demerits, and compelled the Sicilians generally to lay by arms and weapons, and to take themselves to the plough, for to ear, till, and sow their grounds; to the end that the Iland might bring forth fruit, not only to sustain and maintain the natural inhaD bitants thereof, but also to ease the price of corn and victuals in the City of *Rome*, and throughout all *Italy*, like as it had done many times before: he transported over with him into *Italy* a rabble and damned crew of unruly people from *Agatirna*. Some four thousand there were of them, a confuted multitude of all sorts, a very mish mash and sink, dunghil of vile and wretched persons, most of them Outlaws, Bankrupts, and notorious malefactors, in danger of death by the laws of their Cities where they lived. And being fled their countries, some for one fact, some for another, they chanced all upon like fortune to sort themselves (as commonly birds of a feather will flie together,) and at *Agatirna*, they made choise like outlaws, to live by robbing and spoiling: and this was their only profession and trade. *Lævinus* thought it no good policy to leave behind him these good fellows in an Iland, which began out now upon new peace to knit and unite again; for fear E lest they would minister matter of innovation and change; and besides, there was some good use of them among the Rhegins, for to forage and rove about the Brutians country: for such they stood in need of, and had laid for a company which were acquainted with theeving and stealing. And so this year made an end of the war in *Sicily*.

*P. Scipio* L. Deputy and General in *Spain*, having in the prime and beginning of Spring put his ships to Sea and set them aflote, and by an edict summoned all the aids of the allies to repair to the *Rendezvous* at *Taracon*; gave order and commandment, that ss well the ships of war as of charge and burden, should from thence set forward, and shew themselves at the mouth of the River *Iberus*. And after he had given direction and charge, that the legions from out of their winter harbors, should there meet together, himself accompanied with five thousand of his allies put himself on his journey to his main army. Being thither come, he thought it good to make some speech to the old souldiers especially, as many as remained alive after so great defeats and overthrows, and when he had assembled them all together to an audience, in this wise he spake unto them. "Never was there new General before my self, that could by good right, and in "regard of desert, render thanks unto his souldiers before he had employed them, and made "tryal of their good service. But as for me, before I ever came within sight of this Province, "before I entred my government and saw the camp, fortune hath obliged me, and made me be- "holden unto you. First, for your kindness and zealous affection to my father and to mine un- "cle, both while they lived, and when they were dead. Secondly, in that when the possession "of this Province was lost; after so great foils and overthrows, ye have by your vertue and va- "lour recovered the same again, and kept it entire to the behoof of the people of *Rome*, and my "self, the next successor in place of soverain rule and command. But forasmuch as our full "purpose and present resolution is, by the leave, favour, and power of the Gods, not so much "to hold the possession our selves and abide in *Spain*, but to dispossesse the Carthaginians that "they may have no footing nor abode at all there: and since the thing that we go about, is not "to stand keeping the bank of *Iberus*, for to stop the passage of the enemy: but to give the at- "tempt o passe over our selves by force: yea, and therewithal to transport the war over with

The Oration of *P. Scipio* to his souldiers.

us

"us into his own country, and to come home unto him. I fear me greatly, lest this will seem H
"unto some of you a greater designment, and more audacious enterprise of mine, than may ei-
"ther suit and sort with the fresh remembrance of those late defeats, or stand well with my young
"and unripe age. The foils and unfortunat foughten fields in *Spain*, can be of no man in the
"World forgotten later than of my self, whose father, whose Uncle, were within the space of
"30 dayes there slain, to the end that sorrow upon sorrow, funeral upon funeral, one mournful
"death after another, should infortunatly be heaped upon our house and family. But as this de-
"solate estate and defect almost of all my house and name (wherein I only, in manner, am left alive
"of my race) woundeth my heart and makes it bleed, as often as I think of it: to the publick for-
"tune and vertue of the Common-weal, reviveth my spirit again, and will not suffer me to de-
"spair totally of the state of this Empire: considering the destiny and Providence of the Gods, I
"whereby it is a thing given unto us, and our luck hath ever been, that howsoever we have recei-
"ved overthrows in all great wars and dangerous battails, yet in the end, we have gone away
"with the victory. I omit to speak of old examples, of *Porsena*, of the Gauls, and Samnits: and
"I will begin at the Punick wars. How many armadoes and fleets, how many brave Captains,
"how many valiant and puissant armies were there lost and miscarried, during the former? And
"what should I say of this in our dayes? In all the defeats and overthrows, I was either presen
"my self in person; or if I were not in any of them, yet I am sure, I was he that felt the smart of
"them, more than any man else whatsoever. The River *Trebia*, the mere *Thrasymenus*, the Town
"*Cannæ*, what are they else, but the very sepulchres and tombs of the Roman armies there hewn
"in pieces, and of their Consuls slain. And thereto, the general revolt of *Italy*, the rebellion of
"*Sicily*, the falling away of the greater part of *Sardinia*. Moreover and besides, this late affright
"and terror; namely, the Carthaginians camp pitched between *Anio* and the walls of *Rome*, and
"*Annibal* seen well neer, as conqueror at the very gates of our City. In these so great ruins and
"adverse distresses of our state, yet the vertue alone and valour of the people of *Rome* hath stood
"upright, sound, and immutable: yea, and hath raised up again and set on foot, all that which lay
"along on the ground. You only, my valorous souldiers, were the first, that after the discomfiture
"of *Cannæ*, under the leading and good fortune of my father, withstood *Asdrubal* in his journey and
"expedition toward the *Alps*, purposing to go down into *Italy*; who if he had joyned with his
"brother *Annibal*, certainly by this day, there had remained no memory of the Roman name.
"And in very truth, these affairs falling out so prosperously, made amends and recompence for all
"the former losses. But now through the goodness of the Gods, all things prosper and go well
"forward: and the affairs of *Italy* and *Sicily* both, mend daily, and are every day better than
"other. In *Sicily*, *Syracuse* and *Agrigentum* are won and wholly ours: the enemies be driven
"out of all the Iland, and the state is reduced into the form of a Province, subject to the people of
"*Rome*, and under their obeisance. In *Italy*, the Town of *Arpi* is recovered by surrender, the
"City of *Capua* is forced by assault. *Annibal* himself, having measured all the way, (but in fear-
"full hast and in manner of a flight) as long as it is from *Rome* to the Brutians country (in high
"*Calabria*,) is there driven up into the furthest angle and corner thereof, nothing more wishing
"and praying for at Gods hands now, than to be able to retire and get away safe out of his ene-
"mies Land. What thing then were lesse befeeming, my hardy souldiers, than this, If you who
"have sustained and upheld the decaying and down-falling estate of the Roman Empire in this
"Province you (I say) together with my two parents (whom for the reverence that I owe to
"them, give me leave to make equal, and to honour with that name) at what time as calamities
"and losses, hapned suddenly one in the neck of another, and the Gods themselves seemed to ne
"part and stand with *Annibal*; should now let fall your courages and be faint-hearted, because in
"those Provinces aforesaid, all things go well to our hearts desire and great contentment. As for
"the late misfortunes and adversities which have hapned here, would to God they had passed over
"without sorrow, as well of my part, as of yours. But for the present, the immortal Gods, Prote-
"ctors and Governors of the Roman Empire, who inspired into the minds and hearts of all the
"Centuries, to wish and chuse me to this place of soveraign honor, even the same Gods by augu-
"ries and auspices, by all tokens of the birds either by flight or sight, yea, and by visions also in the
"night season, do portend, signifie and promise unto me, all good speed and happy successe: yea
"and mine own mind giveth me, (which ever hitherto, hath been to me the truest prophe, and
"never deceived me) that all *Spain* is ours: and that within short time the whole Punick nam and
"nation, being expelled and driven out from hence, shall fill all Seas and Lands with their shame-
"full and dishonorable flight. That which my spirit and soul of it self presageth, the same doth rea-
"son also conclude by most certain and infallible demonstration. The allies and subjects here of
"the Carthaginians, oppressed and wronged by them, have humbly by their Embassadors craved
"our aid and succour. The Captains General of their forces, being at difference and odds all three
"among themselves, insomuch as they had like to have departed and revolted one from the other, O
"have distracted and dismembred their forces into three parts, and bestowed them in three sever-
"all countries, most removed and distant asunder. And no doubt, the like fortune is ready to fall
"upon their heads, which lately was our undoing and overthrow, upon the same occasion. For
"even as we before were forsaken of the Celtiberians, so are they now abandoned of their allies.
"Besides, they parted and divided their armies asunder: which was the only cause, that brought
"the utter ruin and destruction upon my father and uncle. And be ye sure, that their intestine
"discord

A "discord and dissention, will never suffer them to joyn friendly and unite again in one. And thus "singled as they are, they cannot possibly withstand our puissance. Now my souldiers, for your "part, do but favour the name of the *Scipios*: do but affect and love me, the issue and off-spring of "your noble Generals, budding forth again (as it were) out of the old stock, cut down to the roote. "Go to, old souldiers, and redoubted servitors, with bon-courage set over the River *Iberus* a new "army and a new Captain: pass over with them into those Lands, which ye have often conquered, "and wherein ye have atchieved many valiant and memorable acts. And for my self, I will so "endeavour and effect, that as ye now agnize in me, the resemblance of my fathers and uncles vi-"sage and countenance, the same feature, proportion, and lineaments of the body: so I will shew "and represent unto you, the true pattern and portraicture of their spirit, wit, faithfulness, and ver-B "tue, even as the express and lively image taken and drawn from their own selves: in such sort, as "every man may say, That Captain *Scipio* is either risen from the dead, or new born again. Ha-ving by this Oration, incensed and inflamed the courages of his souldiers, and left *Syllanus* with a guard of three thousand foot, and three hundred Horse, for the defence of that coast; he trans-ported over the River *Iberus*, all the rest of his forces, amounting to the number of five and twenty thousand foot, and 25 hundred Horsemen. There he was advised by some about him, seeing the Punick armies were departed into three countries so far remote and dissite asunder, to set upon and assail that which was next: but he doubting and fearing lest by that means he should draw them altogether, and knowing that he was not able alone, to match and make his part good with so many hosts at once, determined in the mean while, to be doing with new *Carthage*, and to besiege C and assault it. This City, as it was rich and wealthy in it self, so it was full of all the enemies furni-ture and provision for war. There was their armour kept, there was their money laid up, there re-mained the hostages of all *Spain*. Besides, as it was seated commodiously to cross over from thence into *Affrick*: so it stood upon a convenient and large haven, able to receive and harbour the greatest navy at Sea, and the only haven (if I be not deceived) of all that coast and tract of *Spain*, which boundeth next upon our Sea. But no man was made privy to his determination, or knew whither they should take their journey, save only *Lælius*. He being sent about with the armado, had di-rection so to temporise and guide his course by sail and oar, that at one and the self same instant, both *Scipio* might present his Land forces in the view of *Carthage*, and the fleet enter the haven. So they depated from *Iberus*, and within seven dayes came before the City of *Carthage*, both by Sea D and Land. His camp he pitched on the north-side of the City: which he entrenched and fortified on that outward back-part, that stood farthest from the City: as for the forefront, it was by natural situation of the ground, defended surely enough. For the site of *Carthage* is in this sort. There is a gulf or creek of the Sea, in the middle coast and river well neer of *Spain*, opposite most to the South-west wind, running & retiring in length within the Land half a mile, but lying out in breadth somewhat more. In the very mouth of this creek, there is a little Iland from the open Sea; which saveth, sheltereth, and defendeth the haven from all other winds, but only the Southwest. From the inmost nook of this bay, there beareth out a promontory like a demy Iland, which is the very Hill or Cape whereupon the City is built. The same on the East side and the South is compassed with the Sea: from the West, it is enclosed with a lake or standing mear, which also spreadeth somewhat E toward the North, of an uncertain depth; which altereth according to the tide, and as the Sea ei-ther ebbeth or floweth. Now, there is an elbo or bank of firm ground, somewhat lesse than a quar-ter of a mile over, that joyneth the City with the main or continent. To that side (notwithstan-ding it had been no great piece of work there to fortifie) the Roman General cast no trench, nor raised any rampier: either upon a brave and hauty mind, to shew the enemy how confidently he trusted in his own strength; or because, whensoever he advanced to the walls of the City (as oftentimes he took occasion so to do) he might have open recourse and regress again into the camp. But when the utter side, which required fortifications, was finished, he set the ships in order with-in the haven, making a shew, as if he would besiege them also on the water side. And when he had gone through all his armado, and given the Captains of the ships in charge, to look well to their F centinels and watches in the night (for that commonly enemies at their first besieging, make what attempts and adventures they can in every place) he returned into his camp. And because he would not only yeeld his souldiers good reason of this his designment, in that he began war first and principally with the besieging of that City; but also encourage them, and put them in good hope of the winning and conquest thereof, he assembled them together, and discoursed before them in this manner,

The situation of *New Car-thage*.

"My valiant souldiers and trusty friends, If any man here thinketh, that ye are brought hither The Oration "to assail a City only, and there an end: he rather maketh reckoning of your present pain and of *Scipio* to his "travel, than casteth the profit and commodity thereof ensuing. For ye shall in very truth give souldiers. "the assault to the walls but of one City: but in that one City ye shall be masters and conque-G "rors of all *Spain*. Here lie the hostages of all their Nobles, their Princes, and States. And no "sooner shall ye be Lords of them, and have them in your rule and custody, but presently, all that "now is under the hands of the Carthaginians in *Spain*, will be surrendered unto you, and at "your devotion. Here is all the money that the enemies have: without which, like as they are not "able to maintain war, (as who wage and entertain all their armies for pay) so it will mightily "stead us (if we light upon it) in gaining the hearts of the barbarous people. Here are their engines "and artillery, here is their armour, here is their tackling and provision for their navy, and all

"other

"other munition and furniture for war: wherewith we shall both furnish our selves, and disfurnish H
"the enemy. Gain we shall over and besides, not only right fair and beautiful, but also a most rich
"and wealthy City: yea, and more than that, of right great importance and consequence, in re-
"gard of a goodly and surpassing commodious haven: by means whereof, we may be provided
"both from Sea and Land, of all things needful and requisite for the wars. Which, as they will be
"of great moment to us that shall have them, so they will be the greater loss to the enemy that
"shall forgo them. This is their Castle for strength, their garner for corn, their treasury for mony,
"their armory, their arsenal: and in one word, their very store-house of all things whatsoever.
"Hither is the direct passage and streight cut out of *Affrick*, here is the only port and harbor for
"shipping, between the Islands of *Gades*, or *Gebraltar*, and the mountains *Pyrenæi*: from whence
"all *Spain* overlooketh (as it were) and commandeth *Affrick*. But knowing that you are well I
"appointed already, and prepared to the service, I will say no more but this: Now for the honour
"of the Romans, let us go courageously to it, and with all our might and main assault new Car-
"*thage*. And when they all with one accord cried unto him, so to do indeed, and that no other
thing was first to be done; then he advanced before *Carthage*, then he gave commandment to assail
it at once, by Land and Sea. *Mago* the Captain of the Carthaginians on the other side, when he
saw preparation made by Water and Land to give the assault; for his part ordered his forces and
disposed them in this manner. To make head against the Romans on that side where they lay en-
camped, he opposed two thousand Townsmen: with a guard of five hundred souldiers he kept
the citadel: other five hundred he placed upon a little hill belonging to the City which looketh to
the East: all the other multitude whatsoever, he appointed to make resistance in other places, K
where any outcries, shouts, or suddain alarms should be given. Then having set open a gate, he
sendeth those forth, whom he had arranged in that street which leadeth directly to the camp of
the enemies. The Romans (according as they were commanded by their Leader himself) in the
beginning gave ground a little and retired, to the end, that during the time of skirmish and con-
flict, they might be neerer to the supply of succours, which were to be sent to second them from
behind. And verily at the first they stood to it stoutly on both parts, and there was no ods perceiv-
ved. But afterwards, the Romans being still freshly reenforced from out of the camp, not only
discomfited the enemies, and put them to flight, but pressed on them so hard, as they fled disordered
and out of aray, that if *Scipio* had not sounded the retreat, it seemed, that they would have inter-
mingled themselves pelmel with those that ran away, and rushed into the City with them. With- L
in the City throughout there was no less fear than in the battel. Many courts of guard and other
places were abandoned, the curtein of the walls was left naked, and every man made what shift he
could to leap down and escape. Which when *Scipio* perceived (who now was turned to a mount
which they call *Mercurius Tentates*) and namely, that the walls were void of all the defendants,
he commanded all his souldiers to issue forth of the camp, to set forward to the assault, and to bring
ladders to scale. Himself in person, defended with the shields of 3 tall lusty young men going be-
fore him (for by this time they let flie afresh from the walls a mighty volley of shot of all sorts)
approached the City. There he exhorted, encouraged, and commanded them to do what was re-
quisite in this service. And that which made most to enkindle the courages of the souldiers, he was
there personally as an eye-witness and beholder of each mans valour or cowardise. Whereupon M
they stuck not to run upon the very shot, and to receive many a wound: and now nothing could
keep them back; neither the strength of the walls, nor the armed men that stood thereupon, but
they scaled striving who could mount upon the walls first. At the same time, that part of the City
also which the Sea beat upon, began to be assailed by the ships. But from thence, it should seem,
they made more ado with houting and hurrying, than effected ought by any forcible assault. For
whiles they came close to the walls with their ships; whiles they put forth their ladders and their
souldiers; whiles every man laboured to gain the Land, the neerest way he could: what with their
striving and hast-making, they hindred one another. And by that time *Mago* had filled the walls
full of armed men, who let flie arrows, Javelins, darts, and all kind of shot, whereof they had ga-
thered together exceeding great store. But neither men, nor arrows and darts, nor any things else N
defended the wall so much as the very wall it self. For few ladders they had that could reach up to
the top: and the longer any of them were, the more weak also they were. Whereupon, by rea-
son that they who were climed up to the highest rounds, could not gain the parapet and discharge
the ladder, and yet some or other still clambred up after, the ladders being overcharged with the
weight, brake in pieces. Some again there were, that notwithstanding the ladders under them
held still and stood unbroken, yet when they looked down from on high, their eyes so dazled, and
were overcast with a mist, that they lost their sight, and fell from the top to the ground. Thus when
ladders here, and men there, came tumbling down, and the enemies upon their good speed grew
to be more harty and hardy, the retreat was sounded: which gave to the besieged within the Town
not hope only of present rest and intermission of so great labour and toil, but also assured them in O
manner, for the time to come, that the City was tenable against all scalades, although it were
invested therewith round about. And as for fabricks and mounts to be raised and planted against
it, they were not only difficult and hard to be performed, but also would ask some long time: and
Minister in the mean while, space sufficient for the other Generals of their own to come to the
rescue. But scarce was the first assault fully ceased, when *Scipio* commanded other fresh and
unfoiled souldiers, to take the ladders of them that were wearied already and wounded, and

with

A with greater violence to give a new Camisado. Himself, so soon as he understood that it was ebb and low water, having been advertised by certain fishermen of *Taracon* (who sometimes with light boats used to row, and other whiles when their vessels touched the ground, to wade all over the lake upon firm ground) that men might easily passe to the walls on foot: thither to that place he brought all his souldiers to the assault. It was now almost noon-tide of the day; and besides that the water of it self naturally fell with the ebb into the Sea, there was a good sound northern wind arose, which drave the water out of the lake (which now was well fain) after the tide, and discovered such shallows, that whereas in some places thereof they went up to the navel, in some again they waded scarce knee deep. Which albeit *Scipio* knew well to be an ordinary thing in
B natural reason, and therefore with good forecast had made provision accordingly to take that advantage, yet he turned it to a miraculous and prodigious accident, attributing all to the immediate handy-work of the Gods: as who to give passage and footing to the Romans, had turned back the course and current of the Sea, discharged lakes of their water, and opened wayes unto them, that never before were troden with the sole of mans foot: and therewith he willed his souldiers to follow *Neptune*, the guide and Leader of the way, and to passe boldly through the mids of the lake close to the very walls. On the Land side the assailants had exceeding trouble in standing under the walls: for not only they were hindred by reason that the curtein was so high; but also as they went, they lay open and under their shot, and were wounded both wayes, so as their flanks and sides were more annoyed as they approached under, than their faces and forefront of their bodies. But on the other part, as they went quietly and easily through the mear to the wall, so they
C climed forward as securely to the very top thereof. For neither was it strongly fortified with bulwarks, nor raised to any height by industry and art of man, as being supposed by natural situation of the place, and the standing lake besides, strong enough and sufficiently defended: nor any guard of armed men were there in watch and ward, opposed against the assailants: whiles every man was busy, and wholly intended to help there, from whence some danger was seen. The Romans being thus entred the City over the walls without any skirmish, marched from thence with what speed they could, unto that gate, about which all the fight and hot skirmish was already begun: for there not only all their minds were bent and attired, but also their eyes and ears were occupied and possessed; whiles some fought, others looked on and encouraged the fighters: in such sort,
D that there was none of them all once perceived or knew, that the City was taken and surprised behind them, before the darts flew about their ears and light upon their back parts, and until they had the enemies both before and behind. Then not only the walls were taken (when the defendants upon a twofold fear, were driven to abandon them) but also the gate from withinforth and without, began to be broken down: and anon, after continual running and beating against it, the leaves thereof perforce flew apeeces, because there might be nothing to impeach or let them in their entrance: then the armed souldiers brake in most furiously. Many already had scaled the walls, and got over, but they turned and betook themselves every where to massacre and make havock of the Townsmen. But the main battel, which entred in at the gate with their Captains, orderly by companies and ranks in their array, marched forward through the midst of the City to
E the market place. From whence *Scipio* might see the enemies flie two wayes, some to the fortress upon the hill aforesaid, which standeth to the East, and was kept with a guard of five hundred souldiers: others into the citadel, into which *Mago* himself, with all the armed men in a manner, who were driven from the walls, had retired and fled for to save himself. Whereupon he sent a part of his forces to win the said Hill, and himself in person led the rest to the Castle. And as the fort upon the Hill was taken at the first assault and onset given, so *Mago*, after he had a while made some means to defend the Castle, seeing all places full of enemies, swarming every where, and no other hope, yeelded himself, the citadel, and the garrison. Until the Castle was surrendred and given up, there was nothing but murdering and killing all over the City, and not
F one spared that seemed to be fourteen years old and upward, if they came in their way. But then, upon the sound of Trumpet the execution ceased, and the Conquerors fell to sacage and pillage, which of all sorts rose to a mighty thing. Of free born, such as were of male sex, there were taken prisoners 10000. Then, so many of them as he found to be natural citizens of *Carthage*, he dismissed and let go free, and restored unto them not only the City, but also their own goods, which the first fury and rage of warriors had left untouched. There were of Artisans and handicrafts-
men, some two thousand: those by an edict he pronounced to be bond, and adjudged them as confiscate, to serve the Common-weal of the people of *Rome*: yet with some hope, that shortly they might obtain their freedom again, in case they performed good service, and shewed themselves diligent in all ministeries and offices of war. The rest of the multitude of inhabitants, such
G as were able and young lusty men, as also the stout and sturdy bondmen, he awarded them to the ships, for to furnish up the number of Gally-slaves and Rowers, and with the eight ships of war, which he took captive in the haven, he encreased his own Armado. Besides all this multitude, there were also the hostages of the Spaniards above written, of whom he took as great care, and as good regard, as if they had been the children of Allies and associats. A mighty deal of warlike artillery and ordinance was there found and seized on. Of Catapults of the greatest size 120, of a lesser sort 281. Balists some greater, some small; of them 33, of these 52. Of Scorpions and Crosbows to shoot quarrels as well great as small, and likewise of defensive armour, and offensive weapons, a huge deal, and a marvellous quantity. Military ensigns 74. Of gold and silver there

New *Carthage* forced by *Scipio*.

was

was a mighty mass brought unto the General. Golden cups or bolls there were 276, every one H
weighing almost one pound. Of silver tryed, wrought, and coyned, 18300 pound weight: and
much plate and vessels of silver. All this *C. Flaminius* the Treasurer, received either by weight or
tale. Of wheat there was 40000 Modii, of barly 270000. Of barks and ships of burden, there were
in the haven won by force, and taken, 113. Some were fraught with corn, armour, brass besides,
and iron, sail-cloth, and hemp, or spart for cables and ropes, also with timber for ship-wrights.
*Carthage* the Town it self, in so great store of wealth and warlike provision, was the least of all
other.

That day *Scipio*, having committed the charge of guarding and keeping the City unto *Lelius*
and the mariners, brought back the legions into the camp, and commanded the souldiers to refresh
their bodies with food and rest, wearied as they were, and over-laboured in one day with all man- I
ner of toil and work that belongeth to war-service: as who, had both fought a battel in the field,
and also taken so great pains, and undergone so much hazard and danger, in assaulting and forcing
the City, yea, and after it was won, had fought with disadvantage of ground, with those that were
fled into the Castle.

"The next day, after he had called both souldiers and mariners together, first he rendred laud and
"praise, yea, and thanks unto the immortal Gods, who in one day had not only made him Lord of
"the most mighty and wealthy City in all *Spain*, but also had laid up for him there against his co-
"ming, all the riches well-neer of *Affrick* and *Spain*: whereby as the enemies now had nothing
"left them, so he and his had all things plentiful. Then he commended the vertue and valour of K
"his souldiers, whom neither the sallying out of the enemies could fright, nor the mighty height
"of the walls scare, nor the blind and untried foords of the lake could once dismay, nor the situa-
"tion of the Castle seated upon an high cliff terrifie, nor yet the Castle it self most strongly built
"and fortified, was able to daunt and make afraid, but that they would pass over all and break
"through all. And therefore albeit every one of them deserved at his hands all rewards, yet the
"principal honour of a mural crown and garland, belonged properly unto him that first scaled and
"mounted over the wall. Come be forth therefore (quoth he) and shew himself, who taketh him-
"self worthy of that gift, and let him claim his due. Whereupon there were two that put in for it,
and demanded the same, *Q. Trebellius*, a Centurion of the fourth Legion, and *Sext. Digitus*, a Ser-
vitor at the Sea. Neither strived these parties themselves so hotly about the matter, as the love and
favour of them set all the whole army divided into legionary souldiers, and servitours at Sea, in a L
heat of contention, to labour for him that belonged to their side, and was a member as it were of
their body. *C. Lelius* Admiral of the fleet, went with the Sailers and Seamen. *M. Sempronius*
*Tuditanus* was altogether for the legionary Land-souldiers. This debate was like to breed a scab,
and to raise a very mutiny in the holt. Whereupon *Scipio* pronounced that he would appoint as
Delegates three Commissioners, to sit upon the cause who should take the deposition of witnesses,
and give their verdict accordingly, whether of these two persons entred over the wall first into
the Town. Now because *C. Lelius* and *M. Sempronius* were Advocats to the one party and the
other, he therefore adjoyned unto them a third person, one *P. Cornelius Candinus*, to go as an in-
different Mediator between them two: and gave order and commandment, that those other three
commissioners aboveseid should sit together, and hear and determine the controversie. When as M
the matter grew to a greater heat of contention, by reason that men of such mark and worth, were
acquainted with the action, and had their hand in it, who were not so much Advocats to plead,
but moderators and judges to bear down a side; *C. Lelius*, rising out from the court, came to the
"Tribunal seat unto *Scipio*: and informed him that the manner of proceeding in this matter in
"question, was without all good order, modesty and reverence; and so handled, that they were
"like to go together by the ears, and try it out by knocks. But, be it, quoth he, that no blows be
"dealt, yet it is a most shameful example and detestable precedent, that the honor and guerdon
"due to vertue, should be carried by fraudulent coven and ungodly perjury. For, quoth he, the le-
"gionary souldiers stand of the one hand, the Sea servitors on the other, and ready they be to swear
"on both sides all the oaths of God, and to that rather which their will and affection carrieth them N
"to, than which in their conscience they know to be true. By which guilt of forswearing and per-
"jury, they will not only bring a curse and vengeance upon themselves and their own lives, but
"also upon the ensigns, standards, and very Eagles, yea, and their religious military Oath and Sa-
"crament. Thus much I thought good to give you advertisement of afore-hand, and that by the ad-
"vise of *P. Cornelius*, and *M. Sempronius*. *Scipio* after he had highly praised *Lelius*, called the soul-
diers to an assembly, and there with a loud voice pronounced, and said thus: I am sufficiently in-
formed upon certain relation, that *Q. Trebellius*, and *Sex. Digitus* scaled the wall both together,
and therefore I award as well to the one as to the other a mural garland, in token and testimony
of their singular vertue. Then he rewarded the rest also, according to every mans desert and
valorous service. But above all other, he honoured *C. Lelius* Admiral of the fleet, not only in O
matching him equally with himself in all commendable parts and qualities, but also in presenting
him with a coronet of beaten gold, and thirty Oxen. Then he gave commandment that the ho-
stages of the Cities and States of *Spain* should be called forth. What a number were of them, I
am abashed and loth to set down in writing: for almuch as I find in some Chronicles, that they
were upon some three hundred, in others 725. The like variety there is of other matters, a-
mongst sundry writers; One writeth that the Punick garrison were ten thousand: another 7000.

and

A and a third comes with his two thousand, and no more. I meet with one record which reporteth, that there were 10000 taken prisoners: and another, that there were above 25000. Of Scorpions or Crosbows, great and small, I should say there were gained some 60, if I would take for mine author *Silenus*, a greek writer: but if I follow *Valerius Antias* and go by him I should tell you a tale of six thousand of the greater sort, and thirteen thousand of the smaller. See how little rule they had of their tongues to over-reach, or stay of their pens to set down so loud lies upon record. Nay, they are not well agreed so much as upon this point, who were the great Captains and Commanders. Most of them say, that *Lælius* was L. Admirall: there be again that would have *M. Junius Syllanus* to be the man. And *Armes* was Captain of the Punick garrison, and yielded to the Romans, if ye list to beleeve *Valerius Antias*: but by the testimony and credit of others, it was
B *Mago*. Moreover, the records accord not about the number of ships that were taken, nor of the weight of gold and silver, nor yet of the sum of money that was raised of the pillage. To conclude, if we must needs beleeve some one or other, the mean between is the best, and carrieth most likelihood of the truth.

But to return again to *Scipio*: "When he had called forth the hostages into his presence, first he "bad them all in generall to be of good cheer: for why? they were now in the hands of the peo- "ple of *Rome*, who ever desired to bind men unto them by favours and good turns more than to "awe them with fear and dread; and to have forrain nations knit and joyned in faithful amity, "rather than held in subjection by heavy servitude. Then after he had taken the names in writ-
C ing of their severall Cities, he also reviewed the number of the prisoners, and counted just how many belonged to every State. Which done, he dispatched messengers home into their countries, willing their parents and friends to come and receive every man their own. If haply any Embassadors of their Cities were present, he restored unto them their own hostages without delay: for all the rest, he gave expres charge to *C. Flaminius* the Treasurer to see unto them in all kind, courteous, and liberall usage. Whiles he was busie in taking this order, there hapned to come from among the hostages, even out of the midst of the company, an aged gentlewoman, the wife of *Mandonius*, brother to *Indibilis*, a Prince and great Lord of the Ilergetes. "She shed tears, and "fell down prostrate at the feet of the L. General: and withall began to beseech him most instant-"ly, to give a more special charge, concerning the custody of the women-sex: and to recommend "them to their keepers, for to be guarded with a careful eye, and to be kept and attended on
D "more tenderly. Why? quoth *Scipio*, I warrant thee good woman, they shall want for nothing "that is meet for them. Then replied this Dame again, We stand not so much (quoth she) upon "these terms; for a little thing, God wot, may serve and content them in this poor estate and low "condition: my care is for another matter, when I consider and behold the young and tender "age of these maidens here. As for my self, I am now past date, and without danger of that injury, "which our sex is subject and exposed unto. Now there stood about her the daughters of *Indibilis*, virgins in the fresh prime and flower of their age, and passing fair and beautiful withall; besides some other Ladies as nobly born as they: who all honoured her as their natural mother that bare them. Then *Scipio*, "I would (quoth he) in the ordinary course as well of mine own discipline "as of that which is established by the people of *Rome*, have a respective consideration, that no
E "one thing among us should suffer abuse, which elsewhere in any place of the world is held invi- "olable: this would I do, I say, for mine own credit, and for the honour of *Rome*: but to have a "more special eye that way, your own vertue also and worthiness bindeth me: who in the midst "of these your calamities and miseries have not forgot your womanly carriage and the honour of "your sex. And thereupon he delivered them over to the custody of a man of approved honesty and integrity, commanding him to guard them with no less reverence, modesty, and continency, than if they were the wives or mothers of their neerest friends that gave them entertainment. After this, there was presented unto him by his souldiers a damosel and virgin of ripe years, taken also prisoner: but so well favoured and surpassing in beauty, that whersoever she went every mans eye was upon her, in admiration of so rare and perfect a creature. *Scipio* having enquired of
F her country where she was born, and likewise of what parents she was descended; among other things learned, that she was espoused and affianced to a young Prince of the Celtiberians, whose name was *Allucius*. Forthwith he sent home to her parents and foresaid spouse, for to repair unto him: and in the mean time he understood that her husband that should be was wonderfully enamoured of her, and ready to die for her love. So soon as the young Gentleman was come, *Scipio* entred into a more familiar speech with him, than he did either with the father or mother of the maiden, and in these terms he entertained him: "I am a young man (quoth he) as well as your "self. Come on therefore, let us young men both devise and commune together more freely, and "not be too nice, coy, and bashfull one to the other. After that your espoused wife, taken captive "by my souldiers, was brought unto me, and that I heard of the exceeding fame and affection
G "that you cast upon her, I beleeved it full well: for her singular beauty deserveth no less. Now for- "asmuch as my self, if I might be allowed to use the pastimes of youth, (I mean no otherwise than "in honest and lawful love) and were not called away by the Common-weal, & employed wholly "in other affairs of state, I would think to be pardoned and held excused, if I had an extraordina- "ry liking to a spouse of mine own, and loved her extreamly. I must therefore needs favour and "tender your love, which is the thing I can, considering that I may not the other in any wise. Your "sweet-heart and best beloved I have entertained as well, and as respectively, as she should have

The rare continence and courtesie of Scipio.

" been with your father and mother in law, who are her own kind and natural parents. Reserved H
" she hath been, and kept for you alone, that you might receive her at my hands, unspotted and un-
" touched, and a present beseeming me and you both. In lieu and recompence therefore of this
" boon and gift which I now bestow upon you, I require at your hands again this only pro-
" mise and faithful covenant, that you will be a friend and well-willer to the State of *Rome*. And if
" you take me indeed to be a good and honest man, such as these nations and people here have
" known my father and uncle to have been before me: know you thus much, that in the City of
" *Rome* there are many more like unto us: and that there cannot at this day a nation in the world
" be named, which you would wish less to be an enemy to you and yours, or desire more to en-
" tertain as your friend. The young Gentleman being abashed for very modesty, and yet right
glad and joyfull withall, held *Scipio* by the hand, called upon all the gods, and besought them in his I
behalf to thank and recompence him therefore, since it lay not in his own proper power, in any
proportion or measure to be thankful and make requitall, either as himself could wish, or as *Sci-*
*pio* had deserved. Then were the parents and kinsfolk of the maid called for: who seeing the dam-
sell freely rendred and given them again, for whose ransome and redemption they had brought
with them a sufficient sum of gold; fell to intreating and requesting *Scipio* to vouchsafe for to ac-
cept the same at their hands, as a gift and token of their good will: assuring him, that in so doing,
they should take themselves no less bound and beholden unto him, than for the restoring and
delivering of the virgin untouched and undefiled; *Scipio* seeing them so earnest and importunate,
promised for to receive it, and withall, commanded that it should be laid down at his feet: and
calling *Allucius* unto him, " Here (quoth he) over and besides all your other dowry which your K
" father in law must pay you, have from me thus much more money to mend your marriage with,
" take this gold therefore to your self, and keep it for your own use. And so after this rich reward
given, and great honour done unto him, he was dismissed, and departed home with much joy and
hearts content: where he made report unto his countrymen and people of the praise-worthy
vertues of *Scipio*, and the favours from him received; saying moreover, there was come into *Spain*
a young man resembling the immortall gods in all respects; who as well by bounty, liberality,
and bestowing benefits, as by martiall prowess and force of arms, is in the very way to win and con-
quer all. So when he had assembled and mustred all his vassals and tenants, he returned within few
daies accompanied with a train of fourteen hundred of the best and most choice horsemen of his
country. L

*Scipio* keeping *Lælius* still with him, untill by his advice and counsel he had disposed of the cap-
tives, hostages, and other prizes and pillage: after he had setled all in good order, appointed a
Galiace of five banks of oars, wherein he embarked the prisoners, with *Mago* and some fifteen
Senators besides, who together with him were taken, and sent them to *Rome* with a messenger, to
carry tidings of this victory. Himself determined to sojourn a few daies in *Carthage*, which time
he spent in training and exercising his souldiers, as well of land service as at sea. The first day he
caused the Legions to run to and fro in their armour four miles out in length. The second day he
commanded them to scour and furbish their harness and weapons before their tents. Upon the
third day they joyned and encountred in battel-wise, and practised to fight with blunt wasters
and bastons; yea, and lanced one at another darts and javelins, rounded at the point end with M
bals in manner of foils. The fourth day they rested and reposed themselves. On the fifth day again
they ran at turnament as before, armed. This order they kept, exercising, labouring, and resting
by turns, so long as they abode at *Carthage*. And thus much for the Legionary souldiers. The
sea-servitors and mariners used in calm water and still weather to row up into the sea, and there
to make triall of the nimbleness and agility of their ships, representing shews of sea-fight and
skirmish. Thus without the City, they enured their bodies, and quickned their spirits and cour-
ages both on land and water. Within the town there was nothing heard but preparation of war-
furniture. All the publike shops and work-houses full of smiths, engineers, and all other artificers
for the purpose, plying their work, and never going from it. The Generall himself, as supervisor,
with equall and indifferent care oversaw all, One while he would be with the Armado in the har- N
bour: another while, he conversed among the Legions, and turneyed with them. A time he would
set by for to visit the works about the walls, and see how they went forward. Otherwhiles he
would be in the shops aforesaid, among the multitude of the Carpenters, and Smiths, and other
Artisans, viewing what they did there; and in the arsenall and ship-docks, observing and marking
how much they went forward day by day, striving by way of emulation, as they did, who could do
most and quit himself best. Having thus set them a work, repaired the walls which he had battered
and shaken, and placed certain guards there, for the defence of the City; he took his journey to
*Taracon*: and all the way he was visited and plied with sundry embassages. Some of them he an-
swered and dispatched as he was in his journey: others he put off, to give their attendance at *Ta-*
*racon*: for thither he had summoned all the allies and confederates, both new and old, to meet O
him. And in manner, all the Cities and States on this side *Iberus*, and many also of the farther Pro-
vince of *Spain* there assembled.

The Carthaginian Captains and Commanders at the first of set purpose, suppressed and stop-
ped the rumour of the winning of *Carthage*. But when the thing was too too apparent, & could
not be hidden and smothered, they used all the words they could to elevate it, and make the mat-
ter less than it was. To wit, " That by a sudden invasion and expedition of the Romans in one day
" [illegible]

A "(as it were) by ſtealth, it chanced that one of the Cities of *Spain* was ſurprized: that the inſolent
"and fooliſh young man bearing himſelf prodigally proud, and jocund beyond all meaſure, would
"ſeem to make up the meaſure of ſo ſmall a catch that he had got, with a great ſhew of a brave vi-
"ctory: but when he ſhall hear once that there are three Generals coming toward him, and three
"victorious armies of enemies, he will ſoon pull in his horns: he will then tell us another tale,
"when preſently he ſhall call to remembrance with grief of every vain in his heart, the death of
"father, of uncle, and other progenitors. Theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches they gave out among the people and common ſort, knowing in their own conſcience what a blow they had caught, and how much their ſtrength was decayed by the loſs of new *Carthage*.

B

# The ſeven and twentieth Book

## *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the ſeven and twentieth Book.

C CNeus Fulvius *the Pro-Coſ. was ſlain, and with his army utterly defeated by* Annibal *at* Herdonea. *But* Cl. Marcel. *the Coſ. had better fortune in a battell againſt him before* Numiſtro. *From whence* Annibal *diſlodged and departed by night.* Marcellus *purſued after him, and ever as he fell off, followed him hard ſtill, untill he gave him battell. In the former fight* Annibal *had the better, but* Marcellus *in the later.* Fab. Max. *the father being Conſul, had the Tarentins yield up unto him by treaſon. In* Spain, Scipio *fought a battell with* Aſdrubal *the ſon of* Amilcar, *at* Bætula, *and won the field. Among others there was a boy taken priſoner of royal bloud and of incomparable beauty: whom he ſent with rich gifts unto* Maſaniſſa *his uncle by the mother.* Claudius Marcellus *and* T. Quintius Criſpinus *the Conſuls,*
D *who chanced to go out of their Camp, to diſcover, as eſpials, the country, were forelaid by an ambuſh of* Annibal, *and entrapped. Where* Marcellus *was ſlain:* Criſpinus *fled. This book containeth alſo the wars and exploits atchieved by* P. Sulpitius *the Prætor, againſt* Philip *and the Achæans. The Cenſors held a ſolemn ſurvey and numbring of the Citizens, and purged the City. In which ſurvey there were found of Roman Citizens* 137108. *By which account it was ſeen, how many the people of* Rome *had loſt, by the adverſe fortune of ſo many battels.* Aſdrubal, *who with an army had paſſed over the Alps for to joyn with* Annibal, *was ſlain, and with him* 56000 *men beſides, by the conduct of* M. Livius *the Conſul, but not without the equall good ſervice of* Cl. Nero *the other Conſul: who being appointed to make head againſt* Annibal *left the Camp ſo, as the enemy was not ware thereof, and with an elect power of hardy men, environed and encloſed* Aſdrubal *about, and ſo defeated him.*

E

# *The ſeven and twentieth Book of* T. Livius.

THus ſtood the affairs in *Spain*. In *Italy* the Conſul *Marcellus* having recovered *Salapia* by compoſition, won by force two towns from the Samnits, *Maronea* and *Meles*. Where there were ſlain three thouſand of *Annibal* his ſouldiers, who had been left there in garriſon. Some good portion of the pillage was ſhared among the ſouldiers. Of wheat beſides, there was found there 24000 meaſures called Modii, and of barley 110000. But the joy from hence was not ſo great as the loſs and damage received within few daies after, not far
F from the City *Herdonea*. *Cn. Fulvius* the Pro-Conſul lay there encamped upon hope to regain that City, which after the defeat at *Canna*, had revolted from the Romans: a town neither ſeated in a place of ſurety, nor yet well furniſhed and manned for defence. The Captain thereof (*Cn. Fulvius* aforeſaid) was by nature ever negligent, but grown much more rechleſs now, preſuming upon a vain hope that he had of them within, in that he perceived how the townſmen already began to fail in their devotion and faithfull allegeance to the Carthaginians, eſpecially, after they heard, that upon the loſs of *Salapia*, *Annibal* was departed out of thoſe parts into the Brutians country. *Annibal* had intelligence of all this brought unto him from *Herdonea* by
G ſecret meſſengers, which, as it cauſed him to have a carefull eye to the ſaving and keeping of a friend City, ſo it miniſted good hope unto him for to ſurpriſe his enemie at unawares and unprovided. Whereupon with his army lightly appointed, he took long journies and made haſte to *Herdonea*, ſo as he prevented almoſt the fame and bruit of his coming. And to ſtrike the more terrour into his enemie, he thither marched in battell array. The Roman Generall, as adventurous and bold as he every way, but nothing at all ſo politick, nor ſo ſtrong, brought his forces forth in more haſte than good ſpeed, and gave him battell. His fifth legion, and the left wing or cornet of Cavalry began the skirmiſh, and charged hotly. But *Annibal* had given his horſemen direction, that when the Infantry was in the midſt of skirmiſh, with mind & eye wholly occupied that way, they ſhould wheel about and fetch a compaſs, and whiles ſome of them aſſailed

the Camp, the reſt ſhould play upon the back of their enemies: himſelf iterating eftſoons unto H
his men the name of *Cn. Fulvius*, for likeneſs ſake, becauſe two years before in the very ſame quarters, he had vanquiſhed another *Cn. Fulvius* who was Prætor alſo, aſſured them of the like ſucceſs now in this conflict. And verily this conceit and hope of his proved not vain and fruſtrate. For when as in cloſe fight and skirmiſh of the footmen many of the Romans were falo down and ſlain, but ſo, as yet the ranks ſtood unbroken, and the enſigns upright, behold a ſudden freſh charge of the horſemen on their back, and a great ſhout of the enemies withall deſcried and heard from the camp, firſt diſcomfited the ſixt legion, which being marſhalled in the ſecond battaillon, had been put in diſarray before by the Numidians, & then the fift, & ſo conſequently even thoſe that fought in the forefront of the vanguard before the enſigns. Some fled amain, others were killed in the midſt between, where *Cn. Fulvius* himſelf with twelve Tribunes of Knight marſhals were left dead I
in the place. Of Romans and Allies how many died in that conflict, who is able to ſet down for certain; ſeeing in ſome records I find the number fifteen thouſand, and in others not above ſeven thouſand?

The conqueror *Annibal* was Maſter likewiſe of the Camp and all the pillage there. As for the town *Herdonea*, becauſe he underſtood for truth, that it minded to have revolted unto the Romans, and would not continue faſt in their fidelity, if his back were once turned: after he had conveyed away the multitude of the inhabitants to *Metapontum* and the Thurians, he ſet it on fire and burnt it quite. The Nobles and principall Citizens, who were known to have had ſecret talk and conference with *Fulvius* he put to death. The Romans, who out of ſo great an overthrow eſcaped, made ſhift by divers and ſundry waies to flie, half naked as they were, to *Marcellus* the K
Coſ. into *Samnium*. But *Marcellus* nothing diſmaied and affrighted at this ſo great deſeat, addreſſeth his letters to the Senat at *Rome*, with advertiſement of the loſs of the Captain Generall, and the army at *Herdonea*: giving them yet to underſtand how himſelf, even he who after the Cannian field had tamed and danted *Annibal*, as luſty and proud as he was upon that victory, was minded preſently to encounter him, and make him take no long joy and pleaſure, wherein he now ſo vanted and exalted himſelf.

And at *Rome* verily, as they mourned much for the loſs paſt, ſo they feared as greatly the future dangers. The Conſul having paſſed out of *Samnium* into the Lucans country, late down before *Numiſtro*, in the very ſight of *Annibal*, and there in a plain encamped himſelf, notwithſtanding the enemy was poſſeſſed before of the hill, and had the vantage of the ground. And for to make L
more ſhew of his own confidence, and how little he feared, he firſt brought forth his men, and marſhalled them in order ready to bid battell. *Annibal* ſo ſoon as he ſaw the enſigns advanced forth of the gates, ſtaid not behind. And they arranged their battels in ſuch manner, as that the Carthaginians with the right wing took up part of the hill, and the Romans diſplaied their left wing in length, to the very walls of the town. After they had continued fight from the third hour of the day unto night, and that the vanguards on both ſides were weary with maintaining of skirmiſh ſo long: then the firſt legion of the Romans, with the right wing of their horſemen; the Spaniſh ſouldiers alſo of *Annibal* his part, the Balearian ſlingers likewiſe, together with the Elephants, began the fight, whiles the reſt were already in hot conflict, and cloſe together. For a long time the fight ſhrunk not of any hand. The firſt legion of the Romans was ſeconded with M
the coming in of the third: and among the enemies likewiſe there came in new ſouldiers that were luſty in place of the ſoiled and wearied. Whereby, of a lingring and long skirmiſh there began all on a ſudden a new, hot, and cruell battell, by reaſon that their courages were freſh, and their bodies in heart. But the night parted the fray, and left the victory doubtfull in the midſt. The morrow after, the Romans from ſun-riſing ſtood arranged in the field untill it was far day: and ſeeing none of the enemies appear and ſhew themſelves, they fell to gather up the ſpoils by leiſure, and heaped up in one place all the bodies of their own men that were ſlain, and made one great fire, and burnt them to aſhes. The night enſuing *Annibal* diſlodged ſecretly without any noiſe, and departed into *Apulia*. And *Marcellus*, ſo ſoon as day-light diſcovered the flight of his enemy (leaving his hurt and wounded people at *Numiſtro* with a ſmall guard, and *L. Furius Purpurio* a Co- N
lonell to be their Captain) followed him by his ſteps, and at *Venuſia* overtook him. There for certain daies paſſed ſome ſallies from the guards of both armies, whiles both horſe and foot one with another rather made ſlight skirmiſhes, than any ſet battels; and lightly the Romans had alwaies the better hand. From thence the armies were conducted through *Apulia*, without any memorable fight at all, by reaſon that *Annibal* in the night ſeaſon ever ſet forward, ſeeking ſome opportunity of forelaying and entrapping his enemy; and *Marcellus* never followed but in broad day light, and ſent out his eſpials before to clear the coaſts.

In this mean while *Flaccus* ſpending the time at *Capua*, in making port-ſale of the noblemens goods, and in ſetting and letting out to farm the land which was confiſcate and forfeit to the common-wealth of *Rome* (and all for a rent of corn) there hapned a new complot and practice O
which lay hidden for the time, to be detected and come to light, to the end that he might never want one matter or other to take occaſion for to plague and torment the Campans. He had taken order that his ſouldiers ſhould remove out of the houſes within the town, partly for that as well the tenements of the ſaid town within as the lands without ſhould be rented forth: and partly for fear leſt the exceeding pleaſantneſs and delectable ſeat of that City ſhould effeminate his army, as it had done the hoſt of *Annibal* before time: and commanded them to build themſelves

about

about the gates and along the walls, cottages and sheds in warlike fashion, and only to serve for souldiers. These were most of them made of hurdles and boords, some warled and wound with reeds, and all of them thatched with straw and stubble, as it were of purpose to minister fuell for fire. Now there were some hundred and seventy Campans had conspired at one certain hour of the night to set all a fire: and the principall heads and Captains were certain brethren of the *Blosii*: and it fortuned that by some of the same house and family the conspiracy was disclosed. Whereupon at once the gates were made fast by the commandment of the Pro-Consul: and the alarm being stricken up and sounded all the souldiers ran together. All those that were party or privy to the intended treason were apprehended, and after rigorous examination had by torture, they were condemned and executed: the informers were made free, and had each one a reward of * 10000 peeces of brass called Asses.

* 31 lib. 5 sterl.

When the Nucerines and Acerrans made moan that they wanted place of habitation, forasmuch as *Acerra* was in part burnt, and *Nuceria* utterly razed and destroyed: *Marcellus* referred them over to the Senat of *Rome*, and sent them thither. The men of *Acerra* had leave granted to re-edifie again their own edifices which were burned: But they of *Nuceria*, according to their own desire, were translated to *Atella*, and the Atellans commanded to remove unto *Calatia*, there to dwell.

Amidst the managing of many and weighty affairs, which falling out variably, one while well, another while ill, buzzed and amused the minds of men; yet the Romans forgot not the Castle of *Tarentum*: for M. *Ogulnius* and *P. Aquilius*, went as Embassadors into * *Ætolia*, for to buy up corn, to be conveighed and brought to *Tarentum*: and a thousand souldiers out of the City army, whereof the number of Romans and Allies was all one, were sent with the said corn thither to lie in garrison.

* Or *Hetruria*.

Now was the summer at an end, and the time drew neat of the Consuls election. But the letters of *Marcellus* unto the Senat (wherein he signified that it was not for the good of the Commonwealth to depart one foot from *Annibal*, whom he himself pursued still at heels, and so much the more hotly because he fell off and forbare to fight:) set the LL. of the Senat into a great perplexity, for fear either to call away the Consul from the wars, especially now in the midst of his best service, or to be without Consuls the next year. But it was thought in the end the best course, that *Valerius* the Consul, although he were not in *Italy*, but beyond sea, should rather be sent for, and called forth of *Sicily*. So by order from the Senat, there were letters dispatched unto him, from *L. Manlius* the Prætor of the City, together with those other letters of M. *Marcellus* the Consul: to give him to understand what the reason was, why the LL. called him rather out of his Province than his Collegue and companion in government.

At the same time there fortuned Embassadors to come unto *Rome* from King *Syphax*, "Recounting what prosperous wars their King had fought with the Carthaginians, assuring the Senat, that their Lord and Master, as he was not a greater enemy to any nation than to the Carthaginians, so he was not more ready to friend any State than the Romans: saying moreover, "that he had sent aforetime his Embassadors into *Spain* unto the Roman Generals *Cn.* and *P. Scipios*, and now was most willing to seek for the amity and friendship of the Romans even at the "very fountain and well head. The Senat not only returned answer to those Embassadors in most gracious and courteous terms, but also addressed Embassadors of their own with rich gifts unto the King, and by name, *L. Genutius*, *P. Petellius*, and *P. Popilius*. The presents which they carried were a side robe, and a kirtle of purple, an Ivory chair, a boll or cup of beaten gold, weighing five pound. These Embassadors had in commission and charge, presently after they had dispatched with the King, to visit other Princes and great Lords of *Affrick*: and for to bestow on them also, they carried robes pursled and embroidered with purple, and golden bowls of three pound weight. Likewise there were sent as far as *Alexandria* (in *Ægypt*) unto King *Ptolomeus* and *Cleopatra* the Queen, M. *Attilius* and M. *Acilius* as Embassadors, for to call to remembrance, and renew the old friendship: and to them also they presented gifts, namely unto the King a long robe and a kirtle of purple, with an ivory chair: unto the Queen a rich mantle of Baudkin, wrought with sundry colours, with a vail of purple.

In this summer time, whiles these foresaid matters passed, there were from out of the Cities and country towns adjoyning many prodigious sights, and fearfull tokens reported. At *Tusculum*, there fell a Lamb having an udder yielding milk: the louver and lantern of the Temple of *Jupiter* was strucken with lightning, and in manner all the roof uncovered. And much about those daies at *Anagnia*, the very soil and ground before the gate thereof caught fire with lightning, and for one day and night burned so, without any matter of fuell: and the fouls and birds of the air forsook their nests which they had built in the trees of the grove consecrated to *Diana*, near unto the carrefour or cross way of *Anagnia*. Near unto *Tarracina* there were seen in the sea, not far from the haven, serpents of an huge and wonderfull bigness to leap up above the water, and to disport and play like fishes. At *Tarquinii* a swine farrowed a pig with a mans face. Also in the territory of *Capena*, about the grove and temple of *Feronia* there were four Statues sweat much blond a day and a night. These fearfull tokens were by a decree of the Prelats purged and expiate by greater sacrifices. And a solemn Supplication proclaimed one day at *Rome* in every Church and Chappell before all the shrines of the gods: and another day in the territory of *Capena*, at the said grove and chappell of *Feronia*.

*M. Valerius* the Conſul, called by the foreſaid letters of the Senate, after he had recommended H
the charge of the Province and the Army, unto *Cincius* the Prætor; and ſent *M. Valerius Meſſala*
the Admiral of the Navy, with a certain number of ſhips into *Affrick*, as well to fetch in prizes,
as to eſpy and learn what the people of *Carthage* did and went about: himſelf with ten ſail took
the ſeas, and having a proſperous fore-wind arrived at *Rome*. And being come, preſently he aſſem-
bled the Senat, where he declared what acts and deeds he had performed in his Province, name-
ly, "Whereas for the ſpace almoſt of threeſcore years there had been war in *Sicily* both by land
"and ſea, and the ſame oftentimes fought with great loſs and many defeats; that he now had
"brought thoſe troubles to an happy end, and ſet the Province in quiet. That there was not in all
"*Sicily* one Carthaginian left; nor one Sicilian, of all them that for fear had been chaſed and dri-
"ven out from thence, but was returned and there replanted; that they were all brought home I
"again to their own Cities to inhabit, to their own lands, to plough and ſow; that now at laſt
"the fore-let and waſte ground was husbanded again, and made fruitfull, not only for the profit
"and commodity of the occupiers and tenants thereof, but alſo for the moſt aſſured relief and u-
"ſtentation of the people of *Rome*, both in war and peace. After this, *Mutines*, and the reſt who
had deſerved any thing well of the City of *Rome*, were brought into the Senat: unto whom, both
all and ſome (for the credit of the Conſul, and to diſgrace him of his promiſe unto them) there
were rendred all ſorts of honourable recompence. *Mutines* alſo was enfranchiſed Citizen of *Rome*,
and a Bill was preferred in that behalf to the people, by the Tribune of the Commons, and with
the grant and authority of the Senate.

During theſe affairs at *Rome*, *M. Valerius Meſſala* arrived in *Affrick* with a fleet of 50 ſail, and K
being landed one morning before day, ſuddenly and unawares to the people of the country, made
a rode into the territory about *Utica*: and having forraged it far and near, taken many men and
women priſoners, and raiſed a great booty of all ſorts of things beſides, returned to the Armado,
and croſſed the ſeas back for *Sicily*, and arrived again at *Lilybæum* upon the thirteenth day after
he looſed from thence, and took the ſeas firſt. Of the Captives (after ſtraight examination) he
learned thus much (which alſo he ſet down orderly in writing, and ſent unto the Conſul *Lævinus*,
that he might be acquainted likewiſe with the ſtate of the affairs in *Affrick*) namely, "that there
"were in *Carthage* five thouſand Numidians, under the conduct of *Maſaniſſa* the ſon of *Gala*, a
"moſt forward young man, and a right valiant warrior; that there were other ſouldiers alſo
"throughout all *Affrick* waged and levied for money, ready to be tranſported and ſent over into L
"*Spain* unto *Aſdrubal*, to the end that he with a moſt puiſſant power might with all ſpeed paſs
"over into *Italy*, and joyn his forces with *Annibal*: that in the effecting of this deſignment, the
"Carthaginians were aſſuredly perſwaded of the victory. Moreover, that there was a mighty na-
"vy a rigging and decking for to recover *Sicily* again, and as they verily thought, it ſhould paſs
"the ſeas very ſhortly.

Theſe news being read by the Conſul, ſo troubled and diſquieted the Senat, that they thought
there was no tarrying for the ordinary election of Magiſtrates, ſummoned and called by the Con-
ſul, but that they ſhould nominate a Dictator of purpoſe to aſſemble that ſolemn Seſſion, and
the Conſul immediatly to return again into his Province. But hereupon grew ſome debate and
queſtion for a time, while the Conſul ſaid, that he would nominate and create Dictator *M. Vale-*
*rius Meſſala*, who was then in *Sicily*, and Admiral of the fleet: but the LL. replied again and ſaid, that M
a Dictator might not be elected or declared without the Territories of *Rome*, and thoſe were all
within the limits and marches of *Italy*. But after that *M. Lucretius* (a Tribune of the Commons)
had put this controverſie to queſtion before the Senat for to be caſt and decided by their opini-
ons; then the Senate granted out a decree, That the Conſul before he departed from the City,
ſhould put up a bill or ſupplication unto the body of the people, that it would pleaſe them to
elect a Dictator: and whomſoever they by their ſuffrages choſe, him ſhould he pronounce and de-
clare for the Dictator: and in caſe the Conſul refuſed ſo to do, then the Prætor of the City ſhould
propoſe the ſame unto the people: and if not he neither, then the Tribunes ſhould propound it
unto the Commons. But when the Conſul denied flatly to put it unto the people, being a thing
meerly belonging to his authority and place, and likewiſe expreſſely forbad the Prætor to do it: N
then the Tribunes of the Commons took the matter upon them, whereupon the Commons gran-
ted, that *Q. Fulvius*, who then was in *Capua*, ſhould be nominated Dictator. But the night before
that very day that this aſſembly of the Commons was to be holden, the Conſul departed priſily,
and took his journey toward *Sicily*. The Nobles thus being diſappointed and deſtitute, thought
good to ſend letters unto *Marcellus*, for to lend his helping hand now unto the Common-weal,
thus forſaken and abandoned by his Collegue, and to declare him for Dictator, whom the people
had by their voices elected. So *Q. Fulvius* was pronounced Dictator by *Marcellus* the Conſul: and
by vertue of the ſaid act of the Commons, *P. Licinius Craſſus* the Arch-Prelate, was by *Q. Fulvi-*
*us* nominated Generall of the Cavalry.

The Dictator after he was come to *Rome*, ſent *Cn. Sempronius Bleſus* his Lieutenant, whom he O
had at *Capua*, to the Army into the Province of *Hetruria*, in ſtead of *C. Calphurnius* the Prætor:
whom by his letters he moved to take the government of *Capua*, and his army there. And him-
ſelf ſent out precepts for the ſolemn elections of Conſuls, againſt the firſt Comitial day that he
might by Law. But by reaſon of a contention that grew between the Tribunes of the Commons
and the Dictator, it could not paſs and be performed. For the Century *Galeria* of the younger
ſort,

A ſort, which by lot had the prerogative of giving their firſt voices, elected for Conſuls *Q. Fulvius*, and *Q. Fabius*: unto whoſe election no doubt, the reſt of the Tribes called forth in right courſe and lawfull order would have enclined, but that *C.* and *L. Ariani*, the Tribunes of the Commons came between with their negative voice: who ſaid, it ſtood not well with civility, that one man ſhould continue ever ſtill in Magiſtracy, and beſides, that it was a more ſhamefull example and foul precedent, that himſelf ſhould be created Conſul, who aſſembled the election: and therefore, if the Dictator would admit of his own name, and allow himſelf eligible, they would not ſuffer the aſſembly to continue any longer: but if there might be ſome other propounded beſides him, they would not hinder the proceedings thereof untill all was finiſhed. "The Dictator alledged
B "in the behalf of the election, and maintained the cauſe by the authority of the Senat, by the "grant and act of the Commons, and by ſundry examples of former times. For when *Cn. Servili-* "*us* was Conſul, at what time as *Flaminius* the other Conſul was ſlain at *Thraſymenus*: by order "granted out of the Senat, there was a bill preferred to the Commons, and the ſame paſſed by "their voices, That ſo long as the war continued in *Italy*, it might be lawfull for the people to "chuſe and create Conſuls again, as often as they pleaſed, whoſoever they would, out of the "number of them that had been Conſuls. And as for examples (quoth he) in this caſe, I can al-"ledge both old and new: to wit, long ago *L. Poſthumius Megillus* being Interrex, was even in "that very election which he called and held, created Conſul himſelf, with *Cn. Jun. Bubulcus*: and "of latter daies *Q. Fabius* likewiſe, who verily would never have accepted of the Conſulſhip, and
C "ſuffered it to be hung upon him ſo continually, if he had deemed it to be againſt the good of "the common-weal. After much debate and long alteration, entertained with ſundry like ſpee-ches, at length the Dictator and the Tribunes agreed to this point, and agreed of this iſſue, That they would ſtand to the award and judgment of the Senat. The LL. of the Senat were all of this mind, that the preſent condition of the common-weal required no leſs, but that the ſtate and the affairs thereof ſhould be managed by old and experienced Captains and Generals, and ſuch as were skilfull in feats of arms. And therefore they utterly miſliked that the election ſhould be hin-dred and diſturbed. Thus the Tribunes relented, and the election went forward and was finiſhed. So there were declared Conſuls, *Q. Fabius Max.* the fifth time, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the third time. Then were created Prætors, *L. Veturius Philo*, *T. Quintius Criſpinus*, *C. Hoſtilius Tubulus*, and *C. Au-*
D *runculeius*. When the Magiſtrates were once elected for the year, *Q. Fulvius* reſigned up his Di-ctators room.

In the very end of this ſummer, a Carthaginian fleet of forty ſail, under the conduct of *Amil-car* the Admiral, paſſed over into *Sardinia*, and at firſt invaded and waſted the territory of *Olbia*: then, after that *P. Manlius Volſo* the Prætor there, ſhewed himſelf with an army, they ſet a com-paſs about, and ſailed to the other ſide of the Iſland, and forraged the lands about *Caralita*: and ſo returned again into *Affrick*, enriched with prizes and booties of all ſorts.

In that year divers Prieſts died at *Rome*, and new ſubſtituted in their rooms. *C. Servilius* the Prelat or Pontifex was inveſted and inſtalled inſtead of *T. Octacilius Craſſus*. In like manner *T. Sempronius Longus*, the ſon of *Caius*, was choſen Decemvir, deputed for holy ceremonies, in place
E of *T. Sempronius Longus*, the ſon of *Titus*. *M. Martius* the King of Sacrificers departed this life: and M. *Æmylius Pappus* likewiſe the grand-Curio or Prieſt of the Curiæ: but to ſucceed them, were no Prieſts deputed that year. In this year alſo were Cenſors created, to wit, *L. Veturius Philo*, and *P. Licinius Craſſus* the High-Prieſt. As for *Craſſus Licinius*, had neither been Conſul nor Prætor, before he was made Cenſor, but ſtepped ſtreight from his Ædiles room into the place of Cenſor. But theſe Cenſors neither made choice of new Senators, nor yet did any publike act: the reaſon was, becauſe *L. Veturius* died, whereupon *Licinius* alſo gave over the Cenſorſhip. The Æ-diles of the Chair *L. Veturius*, and *P. Licinius Varus*, exhibited the Roman games, and renewed them again one day more than ordinary. The Ædiles of the Commons, *Q. Catius*, and *L. Portius Licinius*, ſet up in the Temple of *Ceres*, the molten images of braſs, which were made of the mo-
F ney taken for fines and amercements: and repreſented the plaies and paſtimes to their office be-longing, right ſtately and with great furniture and preparation, as the wealth and plenty of thoſe times would afford.

In the end of this year *C. Lelius* the Lieutenant of *Scipio* arrived at *Rome*, the four and thirtieth day after that he looſed and took ſea at *Taracon*: And as he entred the City with a mighty train of Captives, he ſet the people on running out of all parts to ſee that ſight. The morrow after he was admitted into the Senat-houſe: where he related, that new *Carthage*, the head City of *Spain*, was forced and won in one day; that divers Cities which had revolted were received upon ſurren-der; and other new entred into ſociety and friendſhip with the people of *Rome*. And by enquiry of the Captives they found their intelligences to agree in manner with the advertiſements and tidings contained in the letters of *M. Valerius Maſſala*. But the thing that troubled the Lords
G moſt, was the voyage of *Aſdrubal* into *Italy*, which hardly was able to withſtand the forces of him and *Annibal* together. *Lelius* being brought into the generall aſſembly of the people, diſcour-ſed of the ſame points which he had related in the Senat-Houſe. And the Senat, in regard of the happy ſucceſs of *P. Scipio*, granted by a decree, a ſolemn proceſſion for one day; and gave order that *C. Lelius* with all convenient ſpeed ſhould make haſte again, and repair into *Spain* with the very ſame ſhips that he brought from thence.

The winning of *Carthage* I have ſet down in this year, having the warrant of many writers: and

yet

yet I am not ignorant, that some there be, who have affirmed that it hapned the next year following. But me seems, it was an unlikely matter, that *Scipio* should spend one whole year in *Spain*, in doing just nothing. H

Now when *Q. Fabius Max.* was Consul the fifth time, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the third time, on that very day upon which they entred their office (which was in the Ides of *March*) both of them by decree of the Senat, had the government of the Province *Italy*: but so, as their jurisdiction was set out by the countries: so as *Fabius* should war about *Tarentum*, and *Fulvius* in the Lucans and Brutians countries. M. *Claudius* continued still in government one year longer. The Prætors had their Provinces parted between them by lot: unto *Caius Hostilius Tubulus* fell the jurisdiction over the Citizens, but to *L. Veturius Philo*, over forreiners, together with *Gallia*. *Titus Quintius Crispinus* ruled *Capua*, and *C. Aurunculeius* governed *Sardinia*. The armies were divided among the I Provinces in this wise: Unto *Fulvius* were assigned the two legions which *M. Valerius Levinus* had in *Sicily*: Unto *Q. Fabius*, those in *Hetruria*, which were commanded by *C. Calphurnius*. The City army was appointed to succeed those Legions in *Hetruria*: and *C. Calphurnius* was ordained to sit in the government of that Province, and to have the leading of that army which *Q. Fulvius* had. It was agreed moreover, that *T. Quintius* should be Lord President of *Capua*, and have the charge of the army there. And that *C. Hostilius* should receive the jurisdiction of *C. Lectorius* the Pro-Prætor, over the province at *Ariminum*, and likwise his army. Unto M. *Marcellus* the same legions were allowed, wherewith he had warred so fortunatly when he was Consul. Unto M. *Valerius* and *L. Cincius* (for they also continued one year more governours in *Sicily*) was the army remaining after the battell at *Cannæ* granted: and they were commanded to supply and make up K all the companies thereof, out of those souldiers that were left of the legions of *Cn. Fulvius*. For the Consuls caused them to be sought out and gathered together, and sent them into *Sicily*: and disgraced them with the very same kind of ignominious souldiery, in which the Cannians served: as also those who remaining of the army of *Cn. Fulvius* the Prætor, had been thither sent by order from the Senat, for anger and despite that they fled like as the other. Unto *C. Aurunculeius*, the same legions were given by decree in *Sardinia*, wherewith *P. Manlius Volso* had ruled and governed that Province. And *P. Sulpitius* having his government prorogued for one year longer, was commanded to rule *Macedonia* with the same legion and Armado still. Thirty Galleaces of five banks of oars were appointed to be sent out of *Sicily* unto *Tarentum*, to *Q. Fabius* the Consul. With the rest of the navy, it was agreed and order set down, that M. *Valerius Levinus* should either himL self pass over into *Affrick*, for to forrage and spoil the country, or send *L. Cincius* or M. *Valerius Messala*, whether of them he would. For the government of *Spain* there was no alteration, save only this, that *Scipio* and *Syllanus* had their commission continued, not for a year as the rest, but untill such time as they should be called from thence by order from the Senat. Thus were the Provinces divided, and thus were the forces bestowed for this year.

Among other affairs of greater importance, the Election of the high *Curio*, or chief parish-Priest, who was to be elected in the room of M. *Æmylius* late deceased, renewed and set on foot again an old contention [between Commons and Nobles.] For the *Patritis* denied, That *C. Manilius Attilius* (who was the only man of the Commons that stood for it) was eligible, and therefore not to be pricked; forasmuch as never any before him obtained that sacerdotall dignity, but M one of Senators calling. The Tribunes being called unto for their assistance referred the matter to the Senat. And the Senat put it unto the people, for to be decided by them. So *C. Manilius Attilius* was the first Commonner that ever was created *Maximus Curio*, [*i. e.* the grand-superintendent over all the *Curiæ* in matters of Religion.] And *P. Licinius* the Arch-bishop constrained *C. Valerius Flaccus* to be installed and inaugurate the Flamine of *Jupiter* against his will. And *C. Lectorius* was created Decemvir for holy rites and ceremonies, and for sacrifices, instead of *Q. Mutius Scævola* late deceased. The cause and occasion of inaugurating that Flamine by constraint and compulsion, I would willingly have concealed and smothered in silence, but that the ill name, wherein he was, turned afterwards to good fame and reputation. This *Flaccus* for his careless, loose and riotous demeanor in his youth, in regard of which vicious course of life he was odious to his own N naturall brother *L. Flaccus*, and other his kinsfolk, was for the same cause chosen Flamin by *P. Licinius* the said Arch-bishop. This man, so soon as his mind was employed about Church-matters and religious ceremonies, so suddenly all at once altered his life, and cast off his old behaviour, that there was not one of all the young men in *Rome* in more account and credit, nor better liked of the chief of the Nobility and LL. of the Senat, as well those of his own house and linage, as others that were strangers unto him. And when he saw himself grown generally into this good opinion and reputation among men, he began to have a very good conceit of his own parts and worthiness, insomuch, as he brought up an old custome again, and was so bold as to take his place in the Senat-House (a thing, that for many years space had been intermitted and discontinued in regard of the base unworthiness and insufficiency of the former Flamins.) When he was O entred into the Senat-chamber, *C. Licinius* the Prætor willed him to go forth, as being no place for him, and therewith drew him out: whenpon the Flamine called for help of the Tribunes of the Commons, pleading the ancient right and preheminence of that Priestly dignity, and alledging, that *C. Flaminius* in times past enjoyed that place, together with the pall or embroidered rich robe, and the Ivory chair. The Prætor on the other side cam upon him again, and said That right was not grounded upon old examples past all date, fetcht out of Chronicles time out of mind:

but

A but he would needs have it to be carried by the moſt freſh practice of the neweſt and lateſt cuſtome, affirming, That by preſcription of the time, either of our fathers or grandfathers daies, there was no Flamine of *Jupiter* uſurped that priviledge. The Tribunes, who were to moderate this queſtion, gave their judgment thus, That if a thing were forelet, and diſcontinued through the ſupine negligence of ſome Flamins, it was worſt for themſelves: and they deemed it no reaſon, that it ſhould hurt or prejudice the whole prieſthood. Whereupon, the Prætor himſelf forced not greatly upon the point: nor ſtood much with him, and ſo they admitted the Flamin into the houſe with great conſent of the Nobles, as well as of the Commons. And all men thus conceived of it, That the Flamin had obtained the thing, rather in regard of his ſanctimony and holineſs of life B than in the right of his ſacerdotall dignity.

The Conſuls before that they went into their Provinces, enrolled two legions of Citizens: for to ſupply and make up ſufficiently the defect of all the other forces. The old City army *Fulvius* the Conſul committed unto *C. Fulvius Flaccus* his Lieutenant, (and brother he was beſides to the Conſul) for to be led into *Hetruria*; with direction, that the Legions already in *Hetruria* ſhould be brought to *Rome*. And *Fabius* the Conſul cauſed the reſidue of the army of *Fulvius* to be ſought up and rallied, which aroſe to the number of 3336: and commanded his ſon *Q. Maximus* to lead them into *Sicily*, unto *M. Valerius* the Pro-Conſul, and of him to receive the charge of two Legions, and the thirty galliaces aforeſaid, bearing five ranks of oars. The withdrawing of theſe Legions out of the Iſland, nothing diminiſhed nor abridged the garriſons of that C Province, either in ſtrength or ſhew. For beſides the two old legions, well and ſufficiently filled and furniſhed, he had a great power, as well horſe as foot, of Numidians, ſuch as were fled from the adverſe part unto the Romans: and took up and levied beſides for new ſouldiers, even thoſe Siciſians alſo, who had been of the army of *Epicides* and the Carthaginians, men of approved valour, and skilfull warriors. Theſe forrain aids, when he had put to each of the Roman legions, he kept ſtill the form of two compleat armies. With the one he gave order to *L. Cincius* to defend that part of the Iſland which had been the Realm of King *Hiero*; with the other he maintained the reſt of the Iſland, divided ſometimes by the confines of the Roman and Punick dominions. There was a fleet alſo rigged and trimmed, conſiſting of ſeventy ſhips, for to guard and defend all the maritime coaſts, along the tract of the ſea ſide. Himſelf in perſon, with the horſeD men of *Mutines*, rode about all the Province, for to viſit the lands and grounds, and to take note which were tilled and well husbanded, which lay forelet and untilled, and to commend or chaſtiſe and rebuke the landlords and owners thereof accordingly. The care and regard of corn, thus far forth did good, that the Province was able both to ſend good ſtore to *Rome*, and alſo to convey unto *Catana* ſufficient to maintain the army that was to lie in ſtanding Camp that ſummer about *Tarentum*.

But the ſouldiers who were tranſported over into *Sicily* (and for the better part they were Latines and other Aſſociats) were like to cauſe a great riſing and commotion: whereby we may ſee, that of ſmall occaſions and beginnings oftentimes ariſe great matters of important conſequence. For the Latines and Allies in all their Diets and Councils at home, began to mutter and E grumble, "That now for ten years ſpace they were with continuall muſterings and paiments of "ſouldiers wages conſumed and ſpent, that there was not a year in manner went over their heads "but it coſt them ſome great loſs and overthrow in battell. Many were ſlain in the wars, other "died of diſeaſes. So that a Citizen of theirs, if he were taken and preſt once by the Romans, for "to be a ſouldier was more ſure to periſh, than if he were taken priſoner by the Carthaginians: "for the enemy ſent their captives back again *gratis*, and without ranſome, home into their coun"try: the Romans poſted and packed them away out of *Italy*, as confined to a place of ba"niſhment (to ſpeak truly) rather than appointed to ſerve in warfare. For, ſee how the ſouldiers, "remaining after the field of *Canna*, have continund there, and waxen old theſe eight years al"ready, and no doubt there were they like to lay their bones before that the enemy (who never ſo F "flouriſhed, nor was ſo ſtrong as now) would depart from thence. In caſe then that old ſouldiers "return not into their country, and new ſtill be choſen, within a while there would be none left "behind. And therefore beſt it were for them, before they were come to extream poverty and de"ſolation preſently to deny the people of *Rome* that, whiles ſomewhat is left, which ſhortly they "muſt be driven to do of very neceſſity when all is gone. And if the Romans ſee their Allies "once agree together, and take this courſe, they will then verily bethink themſelves, and grow to "ſome terms of making peace with the Carthaginians. For otherwiſe be ſure as long as *Anni*"*bal* hath a day to live *Italy* will never be clear of wars. Theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches paſſed in "their Diets aboveſaid. There were at that time thirty Colonies of the people of *Rome*: and whiles the Embaſſages from them all were at *Rome*, twelve of them denied the Conſuls flatly, and ſaid they were not able any longer to find either men or money. And thoſe were theſe, *Ar*G *dea*, *Nepet*, *Sutrium*, *Circeii*, *Alba*, *Carſeoli*, *Sueſſa*, *Sora*, *Setia*, *Cales*, *Narnia*, *Interamna*. The Conſuls amazed at this ſtrange and unexpected accident, being deſirous to drive them out of that mind, and to ſcare them from ſo deteſtable a reſolution, ſuppoſed they ſhould prevail more by chaſtiſing and rebuking, than by fair and gentle dealing: and therefore told them again, "That they had preſumed to ſpeak that unto the Conſuls, which they again were abaſhed "and could not find in their hearts to deliver and relate in the Senat-houſe. For ſurely (ſay they) "this is not a refuſall of ſouldiery and war ſervice, but a very meer revolting from the people

"of

" of *Rome*, and no better than an open rebellion. Therefore they were best to return again speedily H
" into their several Colonies, and to consult with their neighbors & countrimen, whiles the mat-
" ter remained yet all whole, as men who had rather let fall some words rashly at adventure, than
" resolved indeed to attempt and commit so hainous an act: yea and to tell them, and put them in
" mind, that they themselves were neither Campans nor Tarentins, but meer Romans, from them
" descended, and of their race; from thence sent as Colonies into the lands that were won by
" conquest, for to breed, increase, and multiply; and to admonish them, That whatsoever duties
" children owe to their parents, the same they owed unto the Romans, if there remained in them
" any kind and naturall affection, any remembrance of their ancient native country: and to ex-
" hort them to consider better of the matter, and to lay their heads together anew. Forasmuch as
" those designments of theirs tended to betray the State and Empire of *Rome*, and to deliver the I
" victory of all unto *Annibal*. When the Consuls one after another had dealt and been in hand
with them a long time in this manner: and the Embassadors nothing moved with their words,
made answer again, That neither they knew what other message to bring home; nor their Senat
what new counsell to take; since that they had not any more men to be mustred for souldiers,
nor money to be paid for wages: the Consuls seeing them so stiffly and obstinatly bent, made re-
lation thereof before the Senat, whereupon every man was stricken into so great fear and trouble
of mind, that many of them gave out, that the Empire of *Rome* was come to an end. The like, say
they, will the rest of the Colonies do, and surely all our confederates and allies are combined and
agreed to betray the City of *Rome* unto *Annibal*. But the Consuls comforted the Senat, and bad
them be of good chear, saying, That all the other Colonies besides would continue loyall and fast K
in their duty and alleageance: and even those also which had failed in their obedience, if there
might be Embassadors sent amongst them, to rebuke and chastise them, and not to speak them
fair and entreat them by way of prayer, would no doubt have a respective reverence of the ma-
jesty of the Roman Empire. Now when the LL. of the Senat had committed the ordering of this
matter wholly unto them for to manage and handle, according as they should think good for the
weal-publike: after they had throughly sounded the hearts and minds of all the rest of the Colo-
nies, they called and cited all the Embassadors, and demanded of them whether their souldiers
were in readiness, according to the capitulations of the covenant. Then *M. Sextilius* of *Fregelæ*
made answer in the behalf of eighteen of them, " That not only their souldiers were ready ac-
" cording to the form of the covenant, but also if more were needful more they would allow, and L
" whatsoever else the people of *Rome* imposed upon them, and wished them to perform the same
" would they strain themselves to do to the utmost: for, as yet they had people store, and a purse
" good enough: and as for their heart, it was much better than their ability. The Consuls after
they had made a short speech unto them by way of a preamble, saying, that they thought it not
sufficient for their desert to be commended from their mouth only, unless all the LL. generally
in the Senat-house gave them condign thanks with one voice and common accord, willed
them to follow after them thither. The Senat having thanked them in as honourable terms as
they could possibly devise, and entertained them with most gracious words, gave order to the
Consuls, to bring them forth also in the face of the whole people of the City: and before them,
among other singular favors and kindnesses which they had shewed both unto them and also un- M
to their ancestors, to make rehearsall of this late good desert of others, which they afforded un-
to the Common-wealth: to the end that now also, after so many ages and lives of men past they
should not be forgotten and buried in silence, nor defrauded of their just praise and due com-
mendation. And these were they that remained true hearted and fast unto the City of *Rome*:
The Signins, Nolans, and Norbans; the Sarticulans, Brundusins, and Fregellans; the Lucerins,
Venusins, and Adrians; the Firmans and inhabitants of *Ariminum*. And from the other sea side
the Pontians, Pestans, and Costans: and of mid-landers, the Beneventins, Esternins, Spoletins,
Placentins, and the Inhabitants of *Cremona*. Upon the aid and succour of these Colonies, the
Roman state at this time rested and stood maintained: and these all were highly thanked
both in the Senat and in the assembly of the people. As for the other twelve Colonies, which N
had refused to do their obedience, the LL. of the Senat gave express commandment that they
should not be so much as once minded or named: and that the Consuls should neither give
them their dispatch, nor retain them still, nor so much as speak unto them. This silent kind of
rebuke without word giving, seemed to stand most with the majesty and grandeure of the people
of *Rome*.

Whiles the Consuls were diligent in providing and making ready all other things requisite and
meet for the wars, it was thought good to bring abroad the *vicesimary* gold [ to wit, the twen-
tieth part of all their tributes and revenues ] which had been laid up and reserved apart in a more
secret closet of the City-chamber, against an hard winter (as they say) to serve for what need soever
the Common-wealth should stand in. So there was taken forth four thousand pound weight of O
gold, whereof three hundred pound was given to the two Consuls apiece, and so likewise to *M.*
*Marcellus*, and *P. Sulpitius* the Pro-Consuls: and to *L. Veturnus* the Prætor, unto whose lot the
Province of *France* befell. And *Fabius* the Consul had an addition besides himself above the rest of
one hundred pound weight of gold for to be carried into the Castle of *Tarentum*. The rest of the
gold they disbursed for to make ready paiment down upon the nail unto them that undertook to
provide apparrel for the army in *Spain*, which to their own fame, and the honour of their General,
served there in the wars.

More-

A Moreover, it was thought good, that before the Consuls departed into their Provinces the prodigious tokens should be purged and expiate. On the Alban mount there were smitten with fire from heaven the Image of *Jupiter*, and a tree standing near unto the Temple: likewise the lake at *Hostia*, the wall at *Capua*, and the Church of *Fortune*: and at *Sinuessa* the wall and gate of the town. These, I say were, blasted with lightning, and smitten with thunderbolts. There were some also brought word, that the water at *Alba* ran bloud. And at *Rome* within the sanctuary of the chappel of *Fors Fortuna*, a little image that stood upon her coronet, fell of its own accord from the head of the goddess into her hands. And at *Privernum* it was for certain reported and known of a truth, that an Oxe spake, and that a Vulture or Gripe flew into a shop in the market place,
B when it was full of people. And at *Sinuessa* there was an Infant born of doubtfull sex, between male and female, (which the common sort call *Androgynos*, as for the most part greek names, admit more easie composition of two words than the Latine) and there it rained milk, and a man-child was born with an Elephants head. These strange and fearfull signs were expiate, and satisfaction made for them with greater sacrifices: and a solemn procession in all the Churches and Chappels, with prayers and supplications was proclaimed for one day. Besides, a decree was granted, that *C. Hostilius* the Prætor should vow and set out the games and plaies of *Apollo*, in such manner as of late years they had been vowed and set forth.

About the same time *Q. Fulvius* the Consul held an assembly for the creation of Censors, and elected Censors were *M. Cornel. Cethegus*, and *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, who neither of them had
C ever had been Coss. And by a grant or commission from the Senat, there was a bill preferred unto the Commons, and the same passed, that these Censors should set, and to farm let the territory of *Capua*. The review of the Senat and choice of new Senators was hindred and staid, by reason of a contention between the two Censors, who should be the president of the Senat. Now the choosing of him lay in *Sempronius* his hand. Howbeit *Cornelius* alledged, that the custome and tradition of fore-fathers should be followed, namely, to elect him for President, who of all them that were now living had born first the office of Censor. And that was *T. Manlius Torquatus*. *Sempronius* replied again, and said, that as the gods had given him by lot the first place, so they had granted him free liberty to choose whom he would. And therefore he would elect *Q. Fabius Max.* whom at that time he was able to prove to be the principall man of all the City, without excep-
D tion, and take *Annibal* himself for the Judge. After much variance and contesting of words, at length *Sempronius* by relenting and permission of his Collegue elected *Q. Fabius Max.* the chief Senator. Then the Senat was changed, and new Senators chosen, and eight were overpassed and left out, among whom was *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, he that gave the infamous and shamefull counsell, to abandon *Italy* after the defeat at *Cannæ*. In noting likewise and disgracing the Knights and Gentlemen, the same cause was considered of, and took effect, but very few there were of them that were touched with that infamy: but all those horsemen belonged to the Cannian legions who were in *Sicily* (and no small number there was of them) had their horses taken from them: And to agravate this sharp punishment and note of disgrace, they were plagued also with time of long warfare: for so many of them as had served with horse allowed by the City, should
E not reckon upon the years passed already, but were to follow warfare ten years forward, and find themselves horses. Moreover, these Censors after diligent search and survey found out and met with a great number of those that ought to have served on horseback: and look how many of them were sixteen years old and upward at the beginning of the war, and had not been employed in the wars those all they disfranchised, and made Ærarii, or contributaries. After this, they bargained by the great for the repairing and re-edifying again of those edifices which had been consumed by fire about the *Forum*, [or market place] namely, the seven shops, the [fish] shambles, and the Kings Hall, or royall gallery.

Thus when all things were finished which were to be done at *Rome*, the Consuls set forward to the wars. And first *Fulvius* went before to *Capua*: and some few daies after *Fabius* followed: who
F besought both his own Collegue by word of mouth most earnestly, and also *Marcellus* by effectuall letters, to make sharp war upon *Annibal*, and to keep him occupied, while he assailed *Tarentum*: which City, if it were once taken from the enemy, he were then driven out of all, & having no place to put his head in, nor which he might make account to stand fast and trusty unto him, he should have no reason at all once to stay in *Italy*. He dispatched also a messenger to *Rhegium* unto the Captain of the fort and garrison, which by *Lævinus* the Consul was there placed against the *Brutii*: and those were eight thousand men. The greatest part of them were of these good fellows, and that damned crew, wherof we spake before, who used to live by robbing and stealing, and were brought thither from *Agatirna* out of *Sicily*. Unto whom there were adjoyned many of the *Brutii* also fugitives from thence, and as good as themselves every way, both for audaciousness, and also for neediness to set upon any bold adventure whatsoever. This power of men he
G commanded should be lead to waste and spoil the Brutians country first, and then to lie against the City *Caulonia*, and to assault it. They having performed this service, not only willingly & chearfully, but also with greediness: having also chased away and rifled the husbandmen and peasants of the country, assailed the City with all forcible means. *Marcellus* stirred up and provoked by those letters of the Consul: and having a good opinion of his own, that of all the Roman Captains there was not one so able to match *Annibal* as himself, left his wintering standing Camp, so soon as ever there was forrage and grass in the country, took the field, and encountred *Annibal*

at

at *Canuſium*. Now was *Annibal* in hand with the Canuſins, and ſollicited them to revolt. But H hearing once that *Marcellus* approached, he diſlodged from thence. The country thereabout was plain and open, without any covert places to beſtow an ambuſh, and to lay trains in therefore he began to retire himſelf from thence into the woodland parts. *Marcellus* tracked him ſtill, and followed him hard at heels, and encamped cloſe unto him: and ever as he had fortified and entrenched himſelf, he brought forth his men into the field, ready for battel. *Annibal* entertaining ſmall skirmiſhes with certain Cornets and troops of horſemen, and with light appointed footmen, that lanced darts and javelins, thought it not neceſſary yet to come unto a pight ſet battel, and venture all upon one throw. Howbeit he was drawn to a fight, maugre his head, howſoever he laboured to avoid it. For being gone afore one night, *Marcellus* overtook him upon a plain and open ground: and as he was pitching his tents he kept him from fortifying, by charging his pio- I neers and labourers on every ſide. Whereupon they came to a very battell, and fought with all the forces they had on both ſides: and when it grew toward night, they departed aſunder on even hand: but before it was dark they had encamped not far one from another, and in great haſte made ſhift to fortifie themſelves. The next morning by day light *Marcellus* came forth into the field with all his power: neither refuſed *Annibal* the challenge, "having with many words comforted "and encouraged his ſouldiers to remember *Thraſymennus* and *Canna*, to cut the comb and beat "down and tame this fell ſtomack and luſty courage of the enemy: who preſſeth ſtill (quoth he) "and ſeeketh upon us, not ſuffering us to march on quietly in our journey, nor to pitch our tents: "giving us no leave to breath our ſelves, nor time to look about us. There is not a morning, but "ſo ſoon as the ſun is up in the horizon to give light to the world, the Roman army is out in the K "field to give us battel. If we could draw bloud of him once, and ſet him out of the field with "bloud about his ears, he would for ever after fight more quietly, and take better leiſure with him. With theſe and ſuch like comfortable words and effectuall remonſtrances they were well animated; as alſo provoked ſeeing themſelves thus moleſted by the enemy, who day by day never ceaſed to challenge and brave them ſtill: whereupon they began a fierce and cruell battell. They had now continued fight above two hours, and then began the Roman Cavalry from the right wing, and the extraordinary ſouldiers that flanked the main battell, to give ground and diſmarch. Which *Marcel.* perceiving, he brought forward the eighteenth legion in the vanguard. And whiles ſome retreated back fearfully, others come forward but ſlowly, the whole battell was put out of order, and diſarrayed; and ſo at length it was diſcomfited: and for that fear ſurmounted ſhame, L they turned their backs and fled away amain. Slain there were in the conflict and in the rout together ſome 2700 Citizens and Allies one with another: among whom, there were four Roman Centurions, and two Colonels, *Marcus Licinius*, and *Marcus Fulvius*. Of military enſigns, there were four loſt of that right wing which firſt ſhrunk and loſt ground: and two others of that legion which came to ſuccour their fellows that gave back and retreated. *Marcellus* after that he was returned into the Camp, welcomed his ſouldiers with ſuch a bitter and ſharp Oration, that the very words of the Generall in his anger and wrath were more heavy and grievous unto them, than the conflict it ſelf, which they had unfortunately endured all the day long before. "I yield

The Oration of *Marcellus* to his ſouldiers.

"praiſe yet, and render thanks to the immortall gods, (quoth he) as I may in ſuch a caſe, that our "enemies having vanquiſhed & conquered you in the field, and driven you in ſo great fear to run M "headlong within your trenches & gates, came not with all at once to aſſail the camp. For ſurely in "the ſame fearful fright that you forſook battel, you would likewiſe have abandoned your tents & "pavilions. What fearfulneſs is this? Whence cometh this terrour? What means this oblivion of "yours? How cometh it to paſs, that ye ſhould ſo forget all on a ſudden, both your own ſelves and "them with whom ye have to fight? Why ſurely, they are the ſame enemies & no other, whom the "ſummer paſt, you did nothing but either vanquiſh & overcome, or elſe purſue & follow in chace: "whom for theſe certain daies paſt, ye have been ready to tread on their heels as they fled and ran "away before you both by day & night; whom in light skirmiſhes ye have diſcomfited; whom no "longer ago than yeſterday, you ſuffered neither to march forward, nor to pitch their camp. I for- "bear to ſpeak, and I paſs in ſilence thoſe things which in good right ye may ſtand upon & make N "your boaſt. I ſay nothing of that whereof ye ought to be aſhamed & diſpleaſed with your ſelves, "namely, how but even yeſterday ye brake off the fight on even hand, and retired out of the field, "when the enemy had got no advantage? What hath this one night, or what hath one day cut "you off? Are either your forces in this meantime abridged & diminiſhed, or your enemies aug- "mented & encreaſed? Now ſurely, me thinks, I ſpeak not to mine own army, nor to Roman ſoul- "diers. Only ye carry about you the ſame bodies & armour that ye were wont. For if ye had born "the ſame minds and hearts with you, ſhould the enemies ever have ſeen your backs? Should "they have taken either banner from any company, or enſign from cohort and ſquadron? As "yet the enemy never vanted and made boaſt of the defeat of our Roman legions. You are "the very firſt that this day have given him the honour of diſcomfiting and putting to flight our O "army. Then they all cried out, and beſought him to pardon that daies default, and to make trial "once again of his ſouldiers courages when and whereſoever he would. Mary, and that I will "(quoth he) my ſouldiers: I will put you to it: even to morrow I will bring you abroad into the "field, and after ye have got the victory ye ſhall obtain that pardon which ye now crave. So he gave order, that thoſe cohorts which had loſt their enſigns ſhould have the allowance of barly inſtead of wheat: and as for thoſe Centurions of the bands or companies, whoſe banners were

A were loſt, them he degraded in this manner: He cauſed them to be diſarmed, and their skeins to be drawn naked and taken from them, and ſo let them go and ſhake their ears. And withal, he made proclamation, that the next day they ſhould all preſent themſelves in readines, as well footmen as horſemen. Which done, he diſmiſſed the audience, and they all confeſſed and acknowledged, that they were juſtly and worthily thus checked and rebuked: and that there was not that day one man in the Roman army, ſetting aſide the General himſelf only, but he was bound to make amends and ſatisfaction, either with ſpending heart-bloud, or atchieving a noble victory. The morrow after, they all ſhewed themſelves unto him in their armor, and wel appointed, according to his commandment. The General commended them for their forwardnes: and gave them to underſtand, that he would ſet thoſe in the forefront of the vanguard, which the day before be-
B gan to run away, as alſo thoſe cohort likewiſe that loſt their enſigns. And now he gave them warning, and charged them all to fight it out luſtily, to win the field: and to endeavour and ſtrain themſelves, both all and ſome, that the news of yeſterdayes flight came not to *Rome* before, and prevented the fame of this dayes victory. Then he willed them to go to their meat, and to ſtrengthen their bodies: that in caſe the fight ſhould hold long, they might be able to endure to the end. Now when all was ſaid and done, that might encourage and ſtir up the hearts of ſouldiers, they went out & advanced their enſigns into the field. *Annibal* being advertiſed hereof, "Now believe
"me (qd. he) we have to deal with an enemy indeed, who is of that nature, that he can neither
"brook his good fortune, nor away with bad. If he hath won at any time, he purſueth thoſe whom
"he hath vanquiſhed, cruelly. Contrary-wiſe if he have loſt, he beginneth to fight with the con-
C "querors again right freſhly. Then he commanded the trumpets to ſound, and brought forth his power in battel array. A field was fought there on both hands more ſharply a good deal, than the day before. The Carthaginians ſtrived to keep the honor and reputation of yeſterdayes ſervice: the Romans ſtrained to wipe away the ignominy and ſhame of that dayes foil. On the Romans ſide, the Cavalry of the left wing, and thoſe cohorts which had loſt their enſigns, fought in the vanguard, and the twentieth legion was marſhalled and ranged in the right point of the battel. *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *C. Claudius Nero* had the leading of both theſe wings, *M. Marcellus* himſelf commanded the main battel, and withal his perſonal preſence encouraged them, as a witneſs of their valour and courage. Now, when as the fight had continued long, and the victory enclined no way, *Annibal* commanded the Elephants to be put forth upon the very forefront of the bat-
D tel, to ſee if that object might poſſibly work ſome terror and confuſion among the Romans. And at the firſt they diſordered the enſigns, and troubled the ranks: ſo as partly by treading under foot, and partly by ſcattering them for fear, that were all about, they had laid naked and open the battel in one part; and in more places than ſo had the Romans fled, but that *C. Decinius Flavus*, a Colonel, having from the firſt band of the Haſtati, caught up the banner in his hand, commanded the company thereto belonging to follow him; and thither he led them where the foreſaid Elephants were gathered round, and made fouleſt work, and charged them to fling their darts and javelins at them. All this ſhot light ſure, and miſſed them not, yea, and ſome ſtuck in them: and no marvel, for the beaſts were neer at hand, the bodies great and ſtanding thick in a plump together. But as they were not all wounded, ſo they that had the darts ſet faſt in their backs and ſides, were as ready (ſuch is their nature, dangerous to meddle withal) for to hurt their own maſters, as the enemies: and all turned upon their fellows that were unhurt, and drave them back. So as now, not that entire band only, but every ſouldier elſe for his own part, who was able to reach the herd (as it were) of the Elephants as they fled, did his beſt to lance javelins and ſhort darts at them. And ſo much the more furiouſly ran the beaſts upon their own, and made a far greater havock there, than they had done among the enemies; by how much more fiercely fear and fright ſet them agate, and ſent them forward, than the will of their maſters that ſate upon them, was able to rule and reſtrain them. The Roman footmen eſpying this advantage, came forward with their enſigns and banners upon that battaillon, which was put in diſarray by the running to and fro of theſe unruly dumb creatures, and without much ado and farther skirmiſh put them to flight, after
E they were once broken out of their ranks, and ſet in a fright. Then *Marcellus* ſent his Cavalry after them, to purſue them as they fled, and to follow the chaſe, and never gave they over hunting and courſing them, until they had lodged them in great fear within their camp. For beſides all other things, which made them thus ſcared and affrighted, there chanced two Elephants to fall down in the very gate & entrance thereof, ſo that the ſouldiers were forced to ruſh into it over the trench and rampier. In that place was the greateſt ſlaughter made of the enemies. For there were ſlain eight thouſand men, and five Elephants. Neither had the Romans a bloudleſs victory of it: for of the two legions, there died faſt upon 1700, and of the Allies more than 1400. Beſides, many a citizen and confederat ſore wounded. And *Annibal* the next night diſlodged and departed. *Marcellus* although he was deſirous to follow upon him, yet he could not for the multitude of his hurt
F men. The eſpials that were ſent out to purſue him in his march, brought word back the next day, that *Annibal* took his way into the Brutians country.

Neer about the ſame time, the Hirpins, Lucans, and Volſcents, after they had delivered up the garriſons of *Annibal*, which they had in their Cities, yeelded themſelves alſo to *Q. Pulvius* the Conſul, and were received to mercy with great clemency by the ſaid Conſul, after ſome rebuke given them in words only for their treſpaſs and errour paſt. The Brutians alſo had the like hope of pardon, when as *Vibius* & *Pactius*, two brethren, of the nobleſt houſe of that nation, came from

them to ſue for the ſame condition of yeelding and ſurrendring themſelves, which was granted H unto the Lucans.

*Q. Fabius* the Conſul, won by aſſault a Town in the Salentins countrey called *Manduria*. Priſoners were taken there 4000, and ſome good ſtore of other pillage. From thence he went to *Tarentum*, and in the very mouth of the haven, lay againſt the City. Thoſe ſhips which *Livius* had for to waſt the convoy of victuals, he partly charged with engins, and other ordnance to aſſault Towns withal, and partly furniſhed with artillery, with ſtones, and ſhot of all ſorts: the ſhips of burden likewiſe, and not the Gallies only which were guided by oars; to the end, that ſome might bring Engins and Ladders unto the walls, and others aloof from out of the ſhips, wound and hurt thoſe that defended the City. Theſe ſhips were ordained and appointed from the open Sea to aſſault the City. And clear was the Sea of all danger from the Punick navy, which I was ſent unto *Corcyra*, at what time as *Philip* minded to aſſail the Ætolians. In this mean while, the aſſailants of *Caulonia*, a little before the coming of *Annibal*, for fear leſt they ſhould be ſurpriſed, betook themſelves to a little hill: which as it was (for the preſent danger) a place of ſafety, ſo it wanted all things elſe. *Fabius*, as he lay at ſiege about *Tarentum*, was much helped to the atchieving of a matter of great importance, by a trifling thing to ſpeak of, and of ſmall moment in it ſelf. The Tarentins had a garriſon of the Brutians, ſent from *Annibal* to defend the City. The Captain of this garriſon was greatly enamoured and ready to die for the love of a woman, who had a brother that ſerved in the army of *Fabius* the Conſul. He being certified by letters from his ſiſter, of this new acquaintance that ſhe had with that forrainer and ſtranger, ſo wealthy and ſo honorable a perſon among his country-men; conceived ſome hope by means of his ſiſter, that K her lover might be brought to any thing, and wrought as they would: and ſo acquainted the Conſul with his conceited hope. And this ſeemed no vain imagination. Whereupon the young man was ſent to *Tarentum* in habit and quality of a fugitive, and by the mediation of his ſiſter, grew into ſome favour with the Captain aforeſaid: and at firſt practiſed ſecretly to underfeel and found his mind; and afterwards ſeeing the weakneſs and inconſtancy of the man, he prevailed with him ſo much, through the flattering ſpeeches and allurements of the woman, as to betray the keeping and guard of that place whereof he had the charge. After that the manner how, and the time when this plot ſhould be put in execution, was agreed upon, the ſaid ſouldier was let out of the City cloſely by night in a place between the *corps de guard*, and informed the Conſul what was done already, and in what ſort every thing was to be done. *Fabius* at the firſt watch, after he had L given a token and watchword to them in the Caſtle, and to thoſe likewiſe that had the keeping of the haven, himſelf fet a compaſs about the ſaid haven, and lay as cloſely as he could to that part of the City which lieth to the Eaſt. Then all at once the trumpets ſounded from the Caſtle, from the haven and ſhips, which in the open Sea rid neer at hand. Great houting there was, and much ado on ſet purpoſe from all theſe quarters, whereas indeed there was leaſt danger or none at all there. In the mean ſeaſon the Conſul kept his men in. Whereupon *Democrates*, who had before-time been Admiral of the Armado, and whoſe chance it was to have the guarding of that place, againſt which the Conſul lay cloſe, ſeeing all thereabout quiet enough, and no ſtirring at all, and hearing all other parts to ring again and reſound with ſuch alarms as otherwhiles it ſeemed the City was taken and won, and fearing leſt if he ſat ſtill and beſtirred not himſelf, the Conſul would M make ſome Camiſado, and give the aſſay to enter the City with banner diſplaied; withdrew his guard toward the Caſtle, from whence was heard the greateſt and moſt terrible noiſe. *Fabius*, when he perceived once by gueſſing at the time, as alſo by the ſilence it ſelf in that place (for where but a while before they kept much ado, raiſing up one another, and calling to arm, there now all was huſht and not a word) that the guards were had away from thence, he commanded that the ladders ſhould be brought to that ſide of the wall, where the brocher & broker both of the treaſon, had brought word that the cohorts of the Brutians were quartered and kept their guard. Thus on that part was the wall won by the means of the Brutii, who were ready to help and take them up, and ſo they got over into the City. Then was the next gate broken open, that the army might come by companies under their ſeveral colours. Whereupon they ſet up a ſhout, and a little N before break of day, they marched as far as into the market ſtead, and met with none to make head againſt them, and cauſed all them that fought at the Caſtle and the haven, to turn upon them. There, in the very entrance of the market place, began a great skirmiſh, rather fought hotly than maintained thorowly. For the Tarentin ſouldiers were nothing comparable to the Romans, either in courage of heart, or goodneſs of armour; in skill and knowledge of war, or in luſtineſs and ſtrength of body. And therefore when they had only ſhot their darts, even before they came to handſtrokes, they turned back and ſlunk away through the lanes of the City, where with they were well acquainted, ſome to their own home, and ſome to their friends houſes. Two of their Captains, *Nico* and *Democrates*, fought manfully, and were ſlain. *Philomenes*, who was the principal head that wrought the revolt unto *Annibal*, fled out of the skirmiſh as faſt as ever his horſe would O carry him: but a while after his empty horſe was ſeen & known wandering aſtray in the City, but his body could never be found. It was commonly believed, that he flung himſelf headlong from his horſeback, into a certain open pit. As for *Carthalo*, Captain of the Punick garriſon, he caſt away his armour and weapon, and as he was coming to the Conſul with a goodly tale, recounting and remembring his fathers friendſhip and intertainment to the Romans, there hapned a ſouldier to meet him and ſtrike off his head. Then by ſome or other in every place, the Carthaginians and

Tarentins

A Tarentins both went to wrack, and were killed without mercy and regard, as well unarmed as armed. Yea, there were many of the Brutians alſo fell upon the edge of the ſword, were it that they were miſtaken, or for an old grudge and in-bred hatred; or to ſuppreſſe and extinguiſh the bruit and rumor that went of betraying the Town: to the end that *Tarentum* might ſeem the rather won by aſſault and force of arms. Then from murder and ſlaughter, they fell to ſack and ſpoil the City. There were taken priſoners by report thirty thouſand head of ſlaves: a mighty maſs of ſilver tried and coined: of gold 87000 pound weight. Images and painted tables or pictures, ſo many, as very neer amounted to the number of the ornaments of *Syracuſa*. But *Fabius* of a braver mind, abſtained from that kind of prize and pillage, which *Marcellus* forbare not. For when his Scribe or Secretary asked him, what his pleaſure was, ſhould be done with the images (and the
B Statues they were of the Gods, of a mighty bigneſs and proportion, portraied every one in their own habit like warriors:) Mary (qd. he) let the Tarentins have their angry Gods ſtill among them, for me. After this, the wall which divided the City from the Caſtle, was diſmantled, raſed down, and laid even with the ground.

Whiles theſe things hapned at *Tarentum*, *Annibal* (after they had yeelded themſelves unto him that beſieged *Caulonia*) hearing of the ſiege and aſſault of *Tarentum*, went night and day and made all the haſt he could, with a running march, to reſcue & ſuccour the City: but hearing by the way that it was forced and gone, "Ah, I ſee well, qd. he, the Romans alſo are not without their *Anni-*
"*bal*. In good faith, ſo was *Tarentum* won, and ſo loſt again, by treachery and treaſon. But be-
"cauſe he would not be thought to turn back & flie, in the very ſame place where he made ſtay, he
C ſat down, and encamped almoſt five miles from the City: and after he had abode there ſome few daies, he retired himſelf to *Metapontum*. From thence he ſuborned two Metapontins, and ſent them to *Fabius* at *Tarentum*, with letters deviſed from certain principal men of that City, wherein they promiſed to betray *Metapontum* and the Punick garriſon into the Conſul his hands, upon aſſurance made unto them, that all former treſpaſſes & offences ſhould be forgiven and forgotten. *Fabius* ſuppoſing all was truth and plain-dealing, appointed a certain day when he would come to *Metapontum*, and ſent his letters alſo to thoſe principal citizens, which letters were brought unto *Annibal*: whereat he was right glad and took great contentment that his fraud ſped ſo well, and that *Fabius* alſo might be entrapped, caught, and overtaken by his wily fetches as well as others: and thereupon laid an ambuſh for him in the way not far from *Metapontum*. As *Fabius* (before he
D ſhould go out of *Tarentum*) attended to know what the birds ſignified, he obſerved once or twice that they approved not his journey. And when he killed a ſacrifice, thereby to know the will of the Gods, the Soothſayer, or bowel-prier gave him warning, to take heed of the deceit of his enemies, and beware of wait-laying. The Metapontins, ſeeing that he came not at the day appointed, were ſent again to haſten him forward, and to encourage him to come: who were all ſuddainly at once apprehended, and for fear of farther torture, diſcloſed the practiſe of the ambuſh.

In the beginning of that ſummer wherein theſe occurrents hapned, after that *Scipio* had beſtowed the whole winter, in winning and reconciling the hearts of the barbarous people, partly, with gifts and rewards, and partly with enlarging and ſending back their hoſtages, and the priſoners: there came unto him one *Edeſco*, a noble and famous Captain of the Spaniards. His wife and
E children were in cuſtody with the Romans: but beſides that occaſion which brought him to *Scipio*, there was another cauſe, even a general inclination of all their minds, that chanced I wot not how, which withdrew and eſtranged whole *Spain* from the Carthaginian Empire, unto the Roman. The ſame reaſon moved *Indibilis* alſo and *Mandonius*, the greateſt LL. and Princes no doubt of all *Spain*, to leave *Aſdrubal*, and with all the power they could make of their followers and vaſſals, to depart into the mountains ſtanding juſt over his camp, from whence they might from hill to hill continually retire themſelves in ſafety to the Romans. *Aſdrubal* perceiving the puiſſance of his enemies to grow and increaſe ſtill more and more by little and little, and his own to diminiſh; and fore-ſeeing, that unleſs he made ſome hardy adventure and prevailed that way, all would be naught, and fall to the ground, as it was beginning already to reel, determined to put it to a battail with all ſpeed poſſible. *Scipio* alſo was ſharp ſet, and the more deſirous of fight, as well for the good hope, which the ſucceſs of his former affairs confirmed and encreaſed; as alſo becauſe, before the armies of his enemies ſhould joyn together, he was more willing to fight with one General and one army, than with all them joyntly at once: and yet he had well amended and encreaſed his forces politickly of purpoſe, againſt the worſt, in caſe he ſhould be driven to fight with many of them together. For, ſeeing there was no uſe of ſhips, becauſe all the Rivers and Seas along *Spain*, were cleered of the Carthaginian navy, he withdrew his fleet up into the harbor at *Taracon*, and joyned his Sea-ſervitors to his Land-ſouldiers. For armour he had ſtore enough, which was either taken in the pillage of *Carthage*, or newly made after the winning of the Town, by ſo many Artificers and Craftſmen that he kept there hard and cloſe at work. With this pow-
G er, *Scipio* in the beginning of ſpring departed from *Taracon* (for now by this time was *Lelius* returned from *Rome*, without whoſe company he was not willing to enterpriſe any ſervice of great moment and importance) and led forward againſt the enemies. As he journeyed peaceably all over the country, and paſſed through the territories and confines of every City and State, his Allies were ready to entertain and accompany him. *Indibilis* alſo and *Mandonius* among the reſt, with all their power met him. Then *Indibilis* in the name of them both, ſpake, not like a ſottiſh barbarian fooliſhly & inconſiderately, but rather with a modeſt kind of gravity: more like one that

excuſed his revolt and running from the adverſe part upon conſtreint and neceſſity, than made H
boaſt of catching and embracing the vantage thereof upon the firſt opportunity preſented. "I
"knowful well (quoth he) that the very name of a fugitive revolt, as it is odious and deteſtable
"to old Allies, ſo it is ſuſpicious to new. And I cannot greatly blame the manner of men in ſo
"doing, in caſe it be not the bare name, but the double dealing that cauſeth the hatred. Then he
"reckned up his own good turns and deſerts done unto the Carthaginians on the one ſide: and
"recounted their covetouſneſs and pride on the other ſide, together with their injurious dealings
"with himſelf and his people. And therefore, quoth he, this body of mine only hath converſed
"among them until this day, but my heart and affection hath long ſince been with them, where
"I believe verily, that right, juſtice and religion is regarded and maintained: for even ſo do we I
"flie as ſuppliants in humble manner to the Gods alſo, when we can no longer endure the vio-
"lence and wrongful outrages of men; Beſeeching *Scipio* this one thing withal, that this his ſtar-
"ting from the enemy, and ranging with him, he would neither blame and condemn preſently as
"a tranſgreſſion, nor honor and commend as a good deſert of his: but as he ſhould find both him
"and the reſt, by good poof from that day forward, even ſo to make reckoning of them accor-
"dingly, and not otherwiſe. *Scipio* made anſwer again, That in truth he would ſo do: neither
would he take them for fugitives and runawayes, who judged that they were not bound in con-
ſcience to maintain the ſociety and alliance with them as good and lawful, who made no count at
all to obſerve inviolable, any promiſe or duty to God or man. Then were their two wives and
children brought forth into their ſight, and delivered unto them, whom they received, and ſhed
tears abundantly for joy, and ſo for that day they were had to their lodgings. The morrow after K
faith was plight and contracted between them, and the ſame confirmed by covenant; and they
were diſmiſſed to bring their forces, and to ſhew them before him: and ſo they quartered and
lodged in the ſame camp with the Romans, until by their guidance and direction they came unto
the enemy. The army of the Carthaginians next unto them was under the conduct of *Aſdrubal*,
neer unto the City *Batula*. Before his camp, he kept certain ſtanding guards of horſemen. Upon
them the light armed forlorn hope of archers and darters of the Roman hoſt which went before
the battail to skirmiſh, likewiſe they of the forefront and vanguard, charged forcibly with their
ſhot; yet ſo contemptuouſly, and in ſcornful wiſe, even preſently upon their travail in journey, and
before they had choſen a peece of ground to encamp in, that it was ſoon ſeen what heart there
was in both parts. For, the Cavalry of the enemies fearfully fled, and were driven into the camp: L
but the Romans advanced with banners diſplaied, hard to the very gates: and ſo for that day their
ſtomacks were only up and provoked to a fight, and then the Romans pitched their tents. *Aſ-
drubal* in the night retired his army to a mount, which in the top had a broad plain. Behind this
hill there ran a river, the fore-front thereof, and the ſides all about the skirts were compaſſed as it
were with a ſteep bank ſtanding plumb upright. There lay under this hill top another plain *lower*
than the other, which alſo was encloſed round about with the like bank, as difficult for aſcent as
the former. The next day *Aſdrubal*, after he ſaw the enemies ſtanding arranged before their
camp, ſent down his Numidian-horſemen, the light armed Ilanders alſo of the Balears, and like-
wiſe the Africans. "Then *Scipio* rode about all the regiments, enſigns, and ranks of his army, M
"marſhalled as they ſtood in battail wiſe, and ſhewed unto them their enemies, how they de-
"ſpaired afore-hand to fight on equal and even ground, how they taking the vantage of the hills,
"braved and ſhewed themſelves, preſuming and truſting upon the place, and not upon their own
"valour and ſtrength of arms. Howbeit (quoth he) *Carthage* had higher walls, and yet the Ro-
"man ſouldiers were able to ſcale and get over: neither Hills nor Caſtle, no, nor the very Sea,
"ſtood in their way then, nor ſtopped them of their entry. And as for theſe high places which
"the enemies are poſſeſſed of, they haply may ſerve their turns well, when they ſhall take their
"flight, and leap from off the ſteep banks, and run down-hill apace, and ſo get away. But I trow,
"I ſhall debar them there, and lay a block in their way on every ſide. Whereupon he comman-
ded two ſquadrons, the one to keep the ſtreights of the valley, through which the river runneth:
the other to beſet the paſſage that leadeth from the City into the fields, and croſſeth overthwart N
the hill ſide aboveſaid. Himſelf led the light appointed vantcurriers, who the day before had diſ-
comfited the guards and wards of the enemies, to affront the light armed ſouldiers, that were
quartered in the nether brow of the hill. And firſt they paſſed through the roughs, and were not
impeached nor hindred otherwiſe than by the difficult paſſages. But afterward, when they were
come within ſhot, at the very firſt, they were welcomed with a mighty volley of all ſorts, pouring
(as it were) like hail upon them. Himſelf anſwered them again, and recharged upon them, letting
drive and diſcharging the ſtones which lay ſtrewed all over the ground, and were ſuch in manner
all, as might be welded and flung from them with eaſe. And not only the ſouldiers, but lackies
and horſe-boyes, & ſuch as followed the camp, were intermingled amongſt the armed companies.
And albeit the aſcent up the hill was hard, and they were pelted and almoſt overwhelmed with O
darts and ſtones, yet being ſo inured as they were to clime wals; and reſolute withal, they mounted
up firſt to the top: and ſo ſoon as they had got ſome even ground, where they might have ſure
footing, they found the enemy, (who was light and nimble, and able to run to and fro, and to ſave
himſelf, and ſhift well when he was far off, all the time that they skirmiſhed aloof, and plaid upon
one another with light ſhot) now that they came to cloſe fight, and to hand-ſtrokes, not able to
ſtand his ground: and ſo they drave him from his place, and with great ſlaughter chaſed him and

A set him back to the very battel, that stood upon the higher hill. Then *Scipio* having given commandment to these, for to follow on the train of their victory, and to enter up still upon the main battel of the enemies, parted the rest of his forces, together with *Lelius*, willing him to coast along and wheel about on the right hand of the mount, until he found some way of easier ascent himself on the left hand, fetched no long circuit and compass, until he came cross overthwart the flank of the enemies. Hereupon first began their battel to be disordered, whiles they were desirous to turn their wings, and to oppose their ranks and squadrons against the noises and shouts which rang every where about them. In this tumultuous trouble, *Lelius* also was got up; and while the enemies drew backward and gave ground, because they would not be charged behind on their back, the vanguard of their part was displayed and lay open: and so the Romans even of the mid-
B dle battel also, had a lane and spacious room to get up and enter upon them: who never had been able to have gained the ground, and won the plain above, (considering the disadvantage of the steep bank) so long as the ranks had stood unbroken, and the Elephants were opposed against them before the Ensigns, in the forefront. Down went the enemies now on every side, and were piteously killed: and *Scipio*, who with his left wing encountred the right, charged and plaid especially upon the naked sides of the enemies. And so by this means they had no way left them to flie and escape clear. For the Roman guards on both hands, as well on the left as the right, had beset all the passages. And as for the gate of the camp, the General himself, and the other Captains and officers of the Camp, had taken it up as they fled that way: besides the combersome trouble of the Elephants, whom being now affrighted, they feared no less then their ene-
C mies. So there died of them 8000. *Asdrubal*, who before the conflict had made sure work with all the money, and taken it with him, sent the Elephants before, and having rallied as many as he could, of them that fled and escaped out of the camp, he made haste along the river *Tagus*, toward the mountain *Pyrenæus*. *Scipio* being now master of the enemies camp, after he had given to the souldiers all the pillage and spoil, but only the prisoners, such as were freemen: when he came to take the number of the captives, found they were ten thousand footmen, and two thousand horse. Of which number, as many as were Spaniards he set at liberty and sent them home without ransom. But as for all the Africans, he commanded the Treasurer to make money of them. Then the whole multitude of the Spaniards, as well those that before had yeelded themselves, as they that were taken prisoners the day before, saluted him with great consent and general voice,
D by the name and title of King. Whereupon *Scipio*, after silence made by the crier, said, "That he "took the name of *L. General or Commander, to be the greatest of all other names, by which *Imperator.*
"his own souldiers used to call him. As for the title of King, howsoever in other places it was "great and honorable, at *Rome* surely, it was odious and intollerable. For his own part, the mind "indeed he caried of a King, and if they deemed it to be the highest honour that can fall to the "nature of man, let them judge so in their own hearts secretly, and please themselves with that "stile: only he wished them to forbear the word and term thereof. These very Spaniards, as barbarous as they were, perceived by this speech how haughty and magnanimous he was, who in the height of spirit contemned that as a base thing, whereat in admiration only of the very title, all
E mortal men besides are amazed and astonied. After all this, he bestowed upon the Princes and great Potentats of the Spaniards, sundry gifts. And of the horses, whereof he had taken in the field and camp great store, he gave *Indibilis* the choise of three hundred where he would. When the treasurer was selling the Affricans, according to the General his commandment, he hapned upon a young springal and stripling, of rare and singular beauty: and hearing that he was of royal bloud, he sent him to *Scipio*. And when *Scipio* demanded of him who he was, and what country-man, and wherefore at those years he was in camp among rude souldiers; "I am (saith he) a Numidian
"born, (and with that his eyes stood full of water) and in my country they call me *Massiva*. Being
"left and orphan and fatherless, I was brought up with my grand-father by the mother side, *Gala*
"the King of the Numidians. And with my uncle by the mother, *Masanissa*, who was lately come
"with a power of horsemen to aid the Carthaginians, it was my hap to sail over into *Spain*. And
"never to this day, have I been in any battel, by reason that *Masanissa* would not in regard of my
"tender age, suffer me in any hand to go to the wars. Howbeit that very day when the battail
"was fought with the Romans, unwares to my said uncle, I secretly got an horse under me, and
"armour upon my back, and went forth into the field; where my horse chanced to fall, and cast
"me down headlong on the ground: and so it was my fortune to be taken by the Romans. *Scipio*
gave order that this Numidian youth should be kept safe, and so proceeded to finish matters that were brought before him, as he sat upon the Tribunal in marshal court. And after he was come back from thence into his royal pavilion, he called the party again before him, and asked him, whether he were willing to return again to *Masanissa*. Whereat the tears gushing out of his eyes for joy, yea, full fain (qd. he) and with all my heart. Then after he had given the young gentleman a ring
G of gold, a coat embroidered with purple stud-wise, with a Spanish souldiers cape, a golden clasp or button, & a brave courser, with all the furniture & caparison thereto belonging he sent him away, and commanded certain horsmen to safe-conduct and accompany him, so far as he would himself.

Then *Scipio* fell to consult about the war. Some there were that advised him, presently to pursue *Asdrubal*: but he supposing that to be a dangerous course, for fear lest *Mago* and the other *Asdrubal* should joyn their forces to his, he sent only a good guard to keep the passage of the hill *Pyrenæus*, and imploied the rest of the summer, in receiving homage and fealty of other States of *Spain*.

Within few dayes after the battel at *Bœtula*, when as *Scipio* in his return to *Taracon*, was gone H
past the chase or forrest of *Castulo*: *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisgo* and *Mago*, the two Generals, arrived out of the farther province of *Spain* unto *Asdrubal* the son of *Amilcar*. But they came a day after the fair, and too late to help an overthrow past already: yet in very good time, to give counsel for the managing and executing of the war behind. There, as they conferred together, concerning the disposition of the Spaniard, and how they stood affected in the countries of each province, only *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisgo* was of opinion, and perswaded, That the utmost tract and coast of *Spain*, which lieth upon the Ocean and *Gades*, was hitherto unacquainted with the Romans, and therefore fast enough and sure to the Carthaginians. But the other *Asdrubal* and *Mago*, were of another mind, and agreed in this, That *Scipio* with his favours and benefits had possessed the affections and hearts of all men already, both in general, and also in particular, and that I
there would never be an end of sliding from them, and siding to the Romans, before that all the Spanish souldiers were either removed into the fartheſt parts of *Spain*, or conveighed over into *France*. And therefore albeit the Senat of the Carthaginians had not granted out any such act and commission, yet there was no remedy, but that *Asdrubal* must go over into *Italy*, where *Annibal* was the head of the war, and in whom lay the main chance of all: by which means also he might withdraw out of *Spain* all the Spaniards, far enough from the naming and hearing of *Scipio*. For *Asdrubal* his army, as well by daily falling away and revolting to *Scipio*, as also by the late defeat much empaired, was to be replenished again with new souldiers. Moreover, that *Mago* should deliver his army to *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisgo*, and himself in person cross over into the *Balear* K
Islands, with a great sum of money, to wage new aids and succours from thence. And that *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisgo*, with his army should retire farther up into *Portugal*, and not encounter the Romans at all in any hand. And that out of all the Cavalry there should be chosen out the very flower and strength, to the full number of 3000. for *Masanissa*, and that he should range and overrun all the hither Province of *Spain*, partly to help the distressed Allies, and partly to spoil the enemies towns, and forrage their lands. After these orders and directions set down, the Generals departed asunder to the execution of these determined designments. Thus ye see what were the affairs and occurrences of *Spain* for that year.

At *Rome* the fame of *Scipio* grew greater every day then other. *Fabius* for the winning of *Tarentum*, albeit he gat it rather by craft and policy, then by force and vertue, was glorious therefore. L
The name of *Fulvius* began to age and decay. *Marcellus* grew also into an ill name and some obloquy, both for that at first he had a foil, and also because he suffered *Annibal* to range over *Italy* at his pleasure, and himself at mid-summer had retired his souldiers to *Venusia* to take up there (as it were) their winter quarters. He had a sore adversary in the City, one *C. Publius Bibulus*, a Tribun of the Commons: who from the very first time of that discomfiture, with continual speeches and Orations brought *Claudius* into hatred and infamy with the common people, and now was in hand with them to deprive him of his government. Howbeit, the friends and kinsfolk of *Claudius* obtained thus much, That *Marcellus* leaving his Lieutenant at *Venusia*, should repair to *Rome* for to make his purgation, and acquit himself of such crimes as his adversaries objected and laid against him: and that during his absence, they should not treat nor debate about his deprivation. M

It hapned much about one time, that both *Marcellus* came to *Rome* (to meet with the shamefull slander that ran on him, and to save his honour) and also *Q. Fulvius* the Consul, about the new election for the year following. The question touching the government of *Marcellus*, was debated and handled in the lists or *Circus*, called *Flaminius*: and a great assembly there was, and much concourse of the Commons and of people of all degrees and calling. The Tribun accused not *Marcellus* only, but all the nobility: by whose fraudulent practise, and by whose cold and delayful proceedings, it was come to pass, that *Annibal* now these ten years had remained in *Italy* (as it were) in his province continually, where he had had led a greater part of his life, then at *Carthage* in his native country. And now (quoth he) the people of *Rome* taste the fruit, proceeding of proroguing and continuing of government still in one person. For see what is come of it; *Marcellus* his army hath been twice defeated and fallen upon the enemies sword, and now, forsooth, is housed in *Venusia* for sun burning. But *Marcellus* so confuted this accusatory speech of the Tribun, by recounting his own worthy noble acts; that not only the Bill preferred for the deposing him out of his room, was disannulled, and the neck of it broken, but also the next day after, all the Centuries with one general voice created him Consul. There was joined with him companion in government *T. Quintius Crispinus*, who then was Pretor. The morrow after were the Pretors chosen, to wit, *P. Licinius Crassus Dives*, who was at that time the Arch-bishop, *P. Licinius Varus*, *Sex. Iulius Cæsar*, and *Q. Claudius Flamen*. N

During the time of this solemn Parliament or Session for the election of Magistrates, the City was much disquieted for the revolt of *Hetruria*: *C. Calpurnius* who ruled that province as Propretor, had by his letters given notice, that the beginning therof arose from the Aretins: and therfore immediatly *M. Marcellus* the Consul elect, was thither sent with commission to look into the matter, and (if he thought it requisite) to send for his forces, and to translate the war out of *Apulia* into *Tuscany*. For fear whereof, the Tuscans pild in their heads, and were quiet. O

The Tarentine Embassadors made suit for peace, and that together with their freedom they might enjoy their own laws. And this answer was returned by the Senat, That they should come again when *Fabius* the Consul was returned to *Rome*. The Roman Games, and also the playes called

A called *Plebeii*, were exhibited that year, and renued one day apeece more then ordinary. The Ædiles of the chair were *L. Cornelius Caudinus*, and *Servilius Sulpitius Galba*: but those of the Commons were *C. Servilius*, and *Q. Cecilius Metellus*. As for *Servilius*, it was denied, that he had been Tribun of the Commons before, or now Ædile by right and order of law, because it was now for certain known, that his father (of whom the opinion went currant for ten years that he was slain by the Boians about *Mutina*, at what time as he was Triumvir for the division of lands) was now living, and in the hands of the enemies in slavery and bondage.

For none might be Tribun or Ædile, whose Father was living.

In the eleventh year of the Punick war, *M. Marcellus* entred his consulship the fifth time (so you reckon upon that Consulship which he never bare through, because there was an error com-
B mitted in his creation) and with him *T. Quintius Crispinus*. To both Consuls the Province of *Italy* was assigned, and both armies of the Consuls the former year. There was a third army then at *Venusia*, whereof *M. Marcellus* had the conduct. Of these three, they were to chuse two, which they would; and the third remaining, was to be committed unto him, who was by lot to have the government of *Tarentum*, and the Salentins. The rest of the Provinces were thus divided amongst the Pretors. *P. Licinius Varus* had the jurisdiction civil, and *P. Licinius Crassus* (then *Pontifex Max.*) that of the forraigners, and to go whither soever the Senat should think good to send him. Unto *Sex. Julius Cæsar* befell *Sicily*, and to *Q. Claudius Flamen* the City of *Tarentum*. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* had his commission renewed, to continue in government for one year longer: and he was appointed to govern *Capua*, which had been the charge of *T. Quintius* the Pretor, and to have
C under his hand the command of one legion. Likewise *C. Hostilius Tubulus* remained still in office, and that as Pro-pretor he should succeed *C. Calpurnius*, and have the conduct of two legions. Moreover, *L. Veturius Philo* had his authority & government confirmed to him anew, that as Propretor he should sit Lord Deputy in the same province of *France*, and have the same two legions as before, when he was Pretor there. The like decree that was granted for *L. Veturius*, passed also in the Senat for *C. Aurunculeius*, and a bill was propounded unto the people for the proroguing and continuance of his office, who as Pretor ruled the Province of *Sardinia* with the strength of two Legions. And for the defence and guard of the said Province he had an addition of fifty ships of war, which *P. Scipio* had sent out of *Spain*. *P. Scipio* likewise and *M. Syllanus*, held still, by vertue of a decree, their provinces of *Spain*, and commanded the same armies for one year lon-
D ger. As for *Scipio*, he had direction to send over into *Sardinia* fifty ships, out of those eighty which he had under his hand, either taken with him out of *Italy* or won from the enemy at *Carthage*, because there ran a rumor, that there was great preparation at *Carthage* for a navy that year, and that the Carthaginians would take up, and fill all the sea coast of *Italy*, *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, with an Armado of two hundred sail. In *Sicily* the government was divided in this manner, *Sextus Cæsar* had the leading of the Cannian army: *M. Valerius Levinus* (for his government also was confirmed for a year longer) the charge of that fleet of seventy ships, which rid about *Sicily*: with commission to add thereto, those thirty ships which the former year lay before *Tarentum*: and with this Armado consisting of one hundred sail, to put over into *Africk*, if he thought so good, and there to forrage and fetch booties. Over and besides, *P. Sulpitius* was for one year longer to
E continue in office, and to govern the provinces of *Macedony* and *Greece*, with the force of the said Navy which he had before. As touching the two legions which remained about the City of *Rome*, there was no alteration. Only the Consuls were permitted to levy and enrol a new supply, as need should require. Thus the Empire and State of *Rome* for that year was maintained with the power of 21. legions. *P. Licinius Varus* the Pretor of the City, was charged to repair those thirty old ships, which lay at *Hostia*, and to furnish twenty new built, with sailers and marriners, that with this Armado of fifty sail he might be able to defend all the sea coast neer unto the City of *Rome*. *C. Calpurnius* was forbidden to remove his forces from *Arretium*, before a successor came in his place. The same order was given to *Tubulus*, and to have especially a vigilant eye, that no commotion arose from thence. And then the Pretors went into their provinces.

F As for the Consuls they were troubled in mind and made some scruple of conscience to go to their provinces, upon the report of some prodigious and ominous signs, and because also in their sacrifices they found not the gods so propitious and favourable unto them. For out of *Campania* news came, that in *Capua* two Temples, to wit, of *Fortune* and *Mars*, and also some Tombs and Sepulchers, were smitten with lightning: and besides (see how vain and preposterous superstition imputeth even the least triffling things to the hand of God) that certain Mice, forsooth, in a Chappel of *Jupiter* gnawed the gold. Also that in *Casinum*, a great swarm of Bees settled in the very market place. Moreover, that the Wall and one of the Gates at *Hostia* was blasted and stricken with lightning. That in *Cære*, a Gripe fled into the Church of *Jupiter*. That at *Volsinii*, there was a Pool flowed with blood. In regard of these strange and wondrous tokens, there was a devout
G supplication for one day. And for certain days together, greater beasts were killed for sacrifices, without any good token: and for a long time the grace and favour of the gods could not be obtained. But yet the fortune of the Common-weal stood still upright, and all this anger and mischief portended by those wonders light upon the head of the Consuls alone, and their death excused all the rest. The Playes called *Apollinares*, in the year of *Q. Fulvius* and *Ap. Claud.* Consuls, had been by *P. Cornel. Sulla* Pretor of the City, first exhibited: after whom all the Pretors ever after did the like. But they vowed them a year before, and performed them on a day uncertain. The same year hapned a grievous plague both in the City and in the Countries about, which

yet

yet in the end turned rather to long and chronick diſeaſes, then to ſharp and deadly maladies. For H
this peſtilence there was not only ſolemn going in proceſſion, in all the high ſtreets, carreſours,
and croſs ways throughout the City: but alſo *P. Licinius Varus* Pretor of the City, was com-
manded to propound unto the people, that the Playes above ſaid ſhould be vowed for ever againſt
a ſet and determinat day. Himſelf therefore was the firſt that vowed them, and exhibited them up-
on the * third day before the *Nones* of *July*, and the ſame day ever after was obſerved and kept
holiday for that purpoſe.

* 5 day of *July*.

As the rumor of the Aretins revolt encreaſed dayly greater, ſo the LL. of the Senat were care-
ful about it every day more then other. Letters therefore were ſent unto *C. Hoſtilius*, that he ſhould
without delay take pledges of the Arentines: and *C. Terentius Varro* was ſent with commiſſion,
to receive the ſaid hoſtages at his hands, and to bring them to *Rome*. He was no ſooner come, I
bot *Hoſtilius* preſently commanded that one legion, which lay in camp before the town, ſhould
enter the City with banner diſplayed, and there he put ſufficient guards in places convenient.
Then having called and ſummoned the Senators to appear in the market place, he demanded of
them hoſtages. And when the Senat requeſted but two days reſpit to conſider of the matter, he
made proclamation, that either they ſhould deliver them preſently, or elſe the next day he would
ſeize upon all the Senators children every one. Then he commanded the Colonels, the Captains
of the Allies, and the Centurions, to ward the Gates, that none might go forth of the City by
night. But this was ſlackly and negligently executed, for ſeven principal Senators, before the
warders were ſet at the gates, eſcaped forth with their children before night. The morrow mor-
ning by break of day, when the Senat began to be cited into the Common Hall, theſe parties were K
miſſed, and their goods confiſcat, and ſold in port-ſale. Of the reſt of the Senators, their children
were taken hoſtages to the number of 120. and were delivered to *C. Terentius*, for to be conveigh-
ed to *Rome*: who when he was come into the Senat, made ſuch relation of the matter, that the
ſuſpition of their revolt was much more pregnant then before. And therefore, as if ſome inſurre-
ction had like preſently to grow from *Tuſcany*, *C. Terentius* himſelf was commanded to conduct
one of the two legions about the City of *Rome*, unto *Aretium*, and there to lie in garriſon with it
for to keep the town in order. And it was thought meet that *C. Hoſtilius* with the army beſides,
ſhould ſurvey and viſit the whole Province, and to be careful and circumſpect, that no occaſion
nor opportunity might be given unto them, that were minded to ſeek alteration and to rebel. *C.*
*Terentius* ſo ſoon as he was come to *Aretium* with the legion, when he called unto the Magi- L
ſtrates for the keys of the gates, and they made anſwer that they were but miſcaſt aſide and
could not be found; ſuppoſing that they were rather cautelouſly laid out of the way for the
nonce, than loſt by negligence, cauſed other keyes and locks to be made, and ſet upon every gate:
and took as great heed and care as he could, to have all under his own hand. He gave eſpecial war-
ning alſo to *Hoſtilius* as touching the Tuſcans, and told him, that he ſhould never hope to reſt in
ſecurity, that they would not rebel, unleſs he took order with them aforehand, that they poſſibly
could not rebel.

After this, there was much debate and contention in the Senat about the Tarentins, even before
*Fabius*, whiles himſelf excuſed and defended them whom he had conquered and ſubdued by force
and arms: but others were mightily offended with them, yea, and moſt of them gave out plainly M
that they were full as faulty as the Campans, and deſerved no leſs puniſhment. And ſo there was
an act of the Senat granted according to the opinion and advice of *M. Acinius*, that the town
ſhould be held with a garriſon, and all the Tarentins kept from ſtirring out of the City: and that
the matter ſhould further be debated and decided afreſh another time, when the ſtate of *Italy*
ſtood in better tearms of peace and quietneſs. And the like contention and variance was among
the LL. of the Senat touching *M. Livius* Conſtable and Captain of the Caſtle of *Tarentum*, whiles
ſome were of mind to condemn him as in great fault, becauſe through his careleſneſs and ſloth,
*Tarentum* the City was betrayed to the enemy: others again awarded him good conſideration
and reward, for that he kept the fort ſo well by the ſpace of five years, and by his meanes eſpeci-
ly and by none elſe *Tarentum* was recovered. But ſome were of opinion between theſe and ſaid, N
that the diſcuſſing and determination of that matter pertained properly to the Cenſors and not to
the Senat: of which judgement *Fabius* alſo himſelf was. And this moreover he ſaid withal, that he
muſt needs confeſs, that true it was, which *Livius* his friends in the Senat ſtood ſo much upon,
and iterated ſo often, namely, that he was the only means that *Tarentum* was recovered: for in
good faith, quoth he, it never could have been regained if it had not once been loſt before.

*T. Quintius Criſpinus* one of the Conſuls, went to the army which *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* had, with
a new ſupply into the Lucans country. But *Marcellus* ſtill was ſtaid behind, upon occaſion of new
ſcruples of conſcience, and ſundry objects that troubled his mind, and kept a hammering in his
head one after another. Amongſt which, this was one, that having vowed in the Gauls war at
*Claſtidium*, a Temple to *Honor* and *Vertue*: the dedication of the ſaid Church was hindred by the O
Biſhops, who ſaid, that one Chappel, by right and according to their ceremonies, ſerved but for
one Saint, and could not be conſecrated unto more. For in caſe it ſhould be blaſted and ſmitten
by fire from heaven, or otherwiſe ſome prodigious token hap therein, hardly could the right ex-
piation and purging thereof be performed, becauſe it might not be known, to which of the ſaints
or gods the ſacrifice ſhould be done; for by order one ſacrifice could not ſerve twain, unleſs
there were ſome particular and eſpecial gods named. So there was fain to be another Chappel
built

built for *Vertue*: and great haſt there was made for the rearing thereof, and yet it was not his fortune ever to dedicate thoſe chappels. So at length he ſet forward and put himſelf on his journey with a ſupply, unto the army which he had left the year before at *Venuſia*.

When *Criſpinus* minded to aſſault *Locri* in the country of the Brutians, becauſe there went a great name of *Fabius* for the aſſailing and winning of *Tarentum*, he ſent for all kind of artillery and engins out of *Sicily*, and ſhips alſo were brought from thence, for to batter that part of the City that lieth to the Sea ſide. But the enterpriſe went not forward, becauſe *Annibal* had removed, with all his forces to *Lacinium*. And beſides, the news went that his colleague had already brought out his forces from *Venuſia*, with whom he was deſirous to joyn. And therefore he returned out of the Brutians country into *Apulia*: and ſo between *Venuſia* and *Brutia*, the Conſuls encamped ſeverally, within three miles one from the other. *Annibal* likewiſe was retired into
B the ſame country, conſidering that the war was turned from *Locri*. There the Conſuls (hot men of nature both) almoſt every day led forth their men into the field, not doubting but if *Annibal* once met them (having two Conſular armies joyned together) to make a diſpatch of the war once for all. *Annibal* becauſe the year before, he had twice affronted *Marcellus*, and both given and taken the foil: like as he had great reaſon, as well to fear as to hope, if he were to encounter and fight with him alone: ſo he thought verily, that he was never able to make his part good with both the Conſuls together. And therefore laying off his Lyons skin, he took himſelf wholly to his old Foxes coat, and ſought all means and opportunities to lay a train for to entrap them. Howbeit there paſſed ſome light skirmiſhes between both their camps, with variety of fortune and
C interchangeable ſucceſs. By which, the Conſuls thinking that they ſhould hold out and keep the enemies play, during the ſummer ſeaſon, and yet nevertheleſs be able to aſſault *Locri*, wrote unto *L. Cincius*, that he ſhould take the Seas, and croſs over with his fleet out of *Sicily* to the City of *Locri*. And to the end that the Town might be likewiſe aſſailed from the Land ſide, they commanded part of the army which lay in garriſon at *Tarentum*, to be conducted thither. *Annibal* having intelligence afore-hand of theſe things, by certain Thurins, ſent forth certain of his forces to beſet the wayes from *Tarentum*. And there under the ſide of the Petellian mount, he beſtowed ſecretly in ambuſh two thouſand horſe, and three thouſand foot. Upon whom the Romans (marching without their eſpials ſent afore them) chanced to light, and were ſlain to the number of two thouſand, and upon twelve hundred taken alive: the reſt were ſcattered and fled over
D the fields and forreſts back to *Tarentum*. Now there was a little hill between both the camps of the Carthaginians and Romans, and the ſame all overgrown with wood, which at firſt was poſſeſſed and kept, neither by one nor other: becauſe the Romans knew not the ſituation of that ſide which lay toward the enemies camp: and *Annibal* ſuppoſed verily that it was a place fitter for to lay an ambuſh than to encamp in: and therefore he ſent by night for that purpoſe, certain troops of Numidians, and beſtowed them cloſely in the mids of the wood, and not one of them ſtirred all the day long out of their ſtandings, for fear leſt either their armour or themſelves might be eſpied a far off. In the Roman camp, every man generally was of mind, and let not to ſay, that the ſaid hill was to be ſeized and fortified for their uſe, with a good fortreſs built upon it, for fear leſt if it were firſt gained by *Annibal*, they ſhould have the enemy as it were over their heads ready to annoy them. And *Marcellus* himſelf was of the ſame opinion: whereupon, Why go not
E we our ſelves in perſon (quoth he, to his colleague) with ſome few horſemen, to view and conſider the place, where our eyes ſhall be our judges; and ſeeing the ground once, we ſhall reſolve more certainly what courſe to take? *Criſpinus* liked well of the motion: and ſo they went forward accompanied with two hundred and twenty horſemen: of which forty were Fregellans, the reſt all Tuſcans. There followed after them, *M. Marcellus*, the Conſul his ſon, and *Aulus Manlius*, two Colonels: alſo *L. Arennius* and *M. Aulius*, two Captains of the allies. Some Authors have ſet down in writing, that *Marcellus* the Coſ. ſacrificed that day; and when the firſt beaſt was killed, the liver was found without an head: howbeit in the ſecond, all things appeared that were wont to be ſeen. But in the head of that liver there ſhewed I wot not how, a kind of extraordinary
F creſcence: which the Sooth ſayer had no liking to, becauſe after thoſe inwards which ſeemed before ſhort, unperfect, and miſliking; now thoſe again were ſeen too well fed and overgrown. But the Conſul *Marcellus* was ſo hot and deſirous to fight with *Annibal*, that he thought himſelf never encamped neer enough unto him. And even then alſo as he went forth out of the camp, he gave order to his ſouldiers to be ready at a ſhort warning, and have their eye upon the place: that preſently, if he liked the hill, for which they went to view, they ſhould diſlodge, truſs up bag and baggage and follow preſently. Now there was a little flat and plain ground before the camp, from whence the way that led unto the ſaid hill, was on every ſide very open and evident to the eye: where there lay a ſcout or ſpie, ſet of purpoſe to diſcover any of the enemies gone far from the
G camp ſtragling and ranging abroad either for fewel or forage, that they might be intercepted: and not for any hope of ſo great effect as fell out. This fellow gave a ſign unto the Numidians, that all at once they ſhould ariſe out of their lurking & ſtarting holes. And they that from the top & ridge of the hill, were to riſe & ſhew themſelves affront, never appeared & made head, before that they had fet a compaſs about, for to ſhut up the paſſage at the back of the Romans. And then from all parts they began to ſtart up & with a main ſhout charged & ran upon them. The Con. now were in that valley, from whence they neither could poſſibly get up to the pitch of the hill, poſſeſſed aforehand by the enemy: nor had any place of ſafe retreat behind, for that they were invironed & hemmed in

on

on every ſide. Howbeit they might have maintained skirmiſh and held out a good while, but that H
the Tuſcans began to run away, and put all the reſt in a bodily fright. Yet the Fregellans, forſaken
as they were of the Tuſcans, gave not over, but fought manfully, (ſo long as the Conſuls ſtood on
foot unhurt) & received the charge of the enemies, encouraging their people, and fighting them-
ſelves right valiantly. But when they ſaw once both their Conſuls wounded, and *Marcellus* alſo
run through with the puſh of a lance, and falling from his horſe ready to die: then they alſo (and
few of them God wot remained alive) together with the Conſul *Criſpinus* (who was wounded
with two javelins) and young *Marcellus*, who was himſelf alſo ſore hurt, fled away and eſcaped.
There were ſlain in this skirmiſh, A. *Manlius* a Colonel, of the two Captains of allies, M. *Aulus*
was killed out-right, and *L. Arenius* taken priſoner. As for the Lictors belonging the Conſuls, five
of them then fell alive into the hands of the enemies: the reſt were put to the ſword, or eſcaped I
with the Conſul. So there were three and forty horſemen died either in the conflict, or in the
flight, and eighteen taken priſoners. In the camp there was much ado, and crying out for to go
and ſuccour the Conſuls, when they ſaw one of them, and the other his ſon grievouſly hurt, and
the poor remnant of that unfortunat expedition, coming toward the camp. The death of *Marcel-*
*lus* was much pitied and lamented in many other reſpects, but for this eſpecially: that he, a man
of that age (for he was now above threeſcore years old) and who ſhould have had more wit: an
old Captain and Leader (I ſay) that ſhould have had more wiſedom and forecaſt, ſo unadviſedly
had brought both his colleague together with himſelf, and alſo in manner the whole common-
wealth into ſo deſperate a danger. I ſhould make much circumſtance, and fetch many turns and
compaſſes about one point, if I would rehearſe all that writers have diverſly ſet down, as touching K
the death of *Marcellus*. But to let all others go, *L. Calius* delivereth the thing three manner of
waies: the one by hearſay only, and a general report: the other, extant in an Oration of the praiſe
of *Marcellus*, penned by his own ſon that was himſelf preſent at the action: the third, which *Ca-*
*lius* himſelf alledgeth upon his own knowledge, and after diligent enquiry into the matter. But
howſoever the voice and fame varieth in ſome circumſtances, moſt of them jump in the occaſion,
That he went forth of the camp to view the place: and all agree of the event, That he was entrap-
ped and ſo ſlain. *Annibal* ſuppoſing that the enemies were mightily terrified, as well by the death
of the one Conſul, as the hurt of the other: becauſe he would take all advantage, and omit no
good opportunity offered, forthwith removeth his camp, and pitcheth upon the very hill where
he had fought. There he found the corps of *Marcellus*, and cauſed it to be enterred. L

*Criſpinus* affrighted both at the death of his companion in government, and alſo at his own
hurt received, diſlodged in the dead time of the night following, and in the very next mountains
that he could come unto, encamped and fortified himſelf upon an high ground, and ſurely fenced
on every ſide. There the two Generals of both parts, beat their brains, and occupied all their wits
contriving the one to lay trains, and the other to avoid them. *Annibal* together with the body
of *Marcellus*, had gotten his ring or ſign manual. *Criſpinus* fearing that *Annibal* might practiſe
ſome craſty fetch, and beguile ſome body by the means of that ſignet, ſent meſſengers to all the
Cities next adjoyning, giving them notice, that his brother Conſul was ſlain, and that the enemy
had gotten his ſeal ring, and warning them, that they ſhould give no credit to any letters written
in his name, or ſigned with his ſeal. This meſſage was not ſo ſoon brought to *Salapia*, but ſtreight M
after there came letters thither from *Annibal*, framed and indited in the name of *Marcellus* to this
effect, That he would the next night that immediately followed that preſent day, be in perſon at
*Salapia*; willing the garriſon ſouldiers to be in readineſs, for to be emploied in ſome ſervice that
ſhould be thought needful. The Salapians perceived whereabout he went, and ſuppoſing that it
was a perillous plot, whereby *Annibal* ſought ſome opportunity to be revenged of them and to
puniſh them, for anger, not only that they were revolted from him, but becauſe they had killed
his horſemen: they therefore ſending the meſſenger back again, (who was a Roman fugitive and
renegate, and had fled from them to *Annibal*) to the end, that their ſouldiers might effect that
which they were minded to do, without the knowledge of the meſſenger, and not be eſpied by
him; beſtowed all the Townſmen along the walls and in ſundry convenient places of the Town, N
to keep a ſtanding *corps de guard*. The watch and ward they tended the next night very carefully,
and about that gate where they ſuppoſed the enemy would come, they oppoſed the ſtrength and
moſt able men of all the garriſon. *Annibal* neer about the time of the relief of the fourth watch
came to the City. In the vanguard marched certain Roman Rebels and Renegates, with Roman
armor upon them: who when they were come to the gate, called up the watch, and ſpake all in
Latin unto them, willing them to ſet the gates open, for that the Coſ. was come. The watchmen
making ſemblance as if they were rouſed and awaked at their call began to beſtir themſelves, to
make haſt with much ado, as buſy as ever they might be. The Port-cullis which had been let
down, ſtood yet ſhut. Then they began, ſome to heave and to weigh it from the ground with lea-
vers & coleweighs, others to draw it up with ropes unto that height, that men might go upright O
under it. The paſſage was ſcarcely made open & ſet wide enough, when the fugitive traitors came
ruſhing in at the gate apace, ſtriving who might enter firſt. And when there were almoſt 600 of
them got in, the rope was let go, at which the port-cullis hung, & it fel down with a mighty noiſe.
The Salapians then, ſome ran upon the fugitive Romans aboveſaid, carying their armor looſely and
retchleſly hanging upon their ſhoulders, as travellers & wayfaring ſouldiers in a peaceable country
of their friends: others frō the turrets of the gate pelted the enemies with ſtones, & puſhed at them
with

A with punchion poles, or with darts and javelins ſlew them. So *Annibal* caught in his own ſnares, was fain to depart.

He went from thence to levy and raiſe the ſiege before *Locri*, which Town *Cincius* beleaguered ſtreightly, and aſſaulted moſt forcibly, having raiſed fabricks about it, and planted all kind of engines, artillery, and ordnance againſt it, which were brought thither out of *Sicily*. *Mago* who began already to diſtruſt that he ſhould not be able to defend and keep the City, conceived now the firſt hope of better, when he heard once of the death of *Marcellus*. And then there came alſo a meſſenger with news, That *Annibal* having ſent afore him the horſemen of the Numidians, followed after himſelf in perſon, as faſt as he could, with the power of the footmen. And therefore ſoſoon as he perceived, by a ſign given from the hill tops, that the Numidians approached, himB ſelf at once ſet the gate open, and ſuddainly ſallied forth upon the enemy with great violence. At the firſt the skirmiſh was doubtful, more becauſe he came upon them at unawares, than for that he was equal to match them in ſtrength: but afterwards, when the Numidians charged them beſides, the Romans were ſo terrified, that they fled here and there in every place to the ſea and their ſhips, leaving their fabricks and engins wherewith they had ſhaken and battered the walls. So by the coming of *Annibal* the ſiege brake up before *Locri*.

*Criſpinus*, after he was adv rtiſed that *Annibal* was gone into the Brutians countrey, commanded *Marcus Marcellus* a Colonel or knight Marſhal, to lead away unto *Venuſia*, the army which had been commanded by his Colleague new deceaſed. Himſelf went to *Capua* with the legions, ſcarce able to endure the ſhogging and ſhaking of the horſelitter, for pain and grief of his wounds. C From whence he wrote letters to *Rome*, giving notice, That his brother Conſul was dead, and in what danger himſelf was. Signifying alſo, that he could not himſelf come unto *Rome* againſt the election, becauſe he thought he ſhould not be able to endure the travel of the journey: and beſides, he was in great care for *Tarentum*, leſt *Annibal* from out of the Brutians countrey would turn thither with all his power. Moreover, he gave the Senat to underſtand that it was requiſite there ſhould be ſent as Embaſſadors or Agents unto him, men of wiſdom and diſcretion, whom he might confer with, and acquaint with his will and mind, as touching State-matters. The reading of theſe letters, cauſed them much to lament and mourn for the death of the one Conſul, and greatly to fear what would become of the other. Therefore they not only diſpatched *Q. Fabius* the ſon, unto the army in *Venuſia*, but alſo ſent unto the Conſul three commiſſioners, *Sex. Julius* D *Caſar*, *L. Licinius Pollio*, and *L. Cincius Alimentus*, who but a few dayes before was returned out of *Sicily*. Theſe had in commiſſion to ſignify unto the Conſul from the Senat, that in caſe he were not able himſelf to come to *Rome* againſt the Election, he ſhould nominat within the Roman territory a Dictator for to aſſemble the people for the ſaid Election: alſo that their pleaſure was, in caſe the Conſul went to *Tarentum*, that *Q. Claudius* the Pretor ſhould withdraw his legions from thence into thoſe parts, whereas he might defend moſt Cities of the Allies.

In the ſame ſummer *M. Valerius* took the Seas, with a fleet of a hundred ſail, and from *Sicily* paſſed over into *Africk*: and having diſbarked and landed his men neer the City *Clupea*, waſted the countrey all about, and met no armed men, to ſpeak of, to make head and withſtand his inva- ſion. Then theſe rovers and forragers retired in haſt unto their ſhips, becauſe on a ſuddain there E was a rumour blown abroad, That the punick Armado was coming, conſiſting of 83 ſail. The Roman Admiral fought fortunatly with them not far from *Clupea*. And after he had boorded and taken eighteen of their ſhips and put the reſt to flight, he returned to *Lilybæum*, with a rich Land-booty, and much pillage found in the ſhips.

The ſame ſummer *Philip* alſo ſent aid to the *Achæi*, that earneſtly beſought his help: whom not only *Machanidas* the Tyrant of the Lacedemonians, grievouſly afflicted with warring upon their confines, but alſo the Ætolians, who having croſſed the ſtreights or narrow Sea, between *Naupactum* and *Patræ* (which the inhabitants there call *Rhios*) and ſet over a power of armed men, had ſpoiled their territory. Moreover, there went a great rumour and ſpeech that *Attalus* King of F *Aſia* the leſs, would ſail over into *Europe*, becauſe the Ætolians in their laſt Parliament or general Diet had conferred upon him the ſoveraign magiſtracy and rule of their nation. For theſe cauſes *Philip* came down with a power into *Greece*, and at the City *Lamia*, the Ætolians encountred him with their Captain *Phyſias*, who for that year was created Pretor together with King *Attalus* in his abſence. They had in their army certain aids from *Attalus*, and almoſt a thouſand Romans out of the Roman Armado, ſent from *P. Sulpitius*. Againſt this Captain and theſe forces *Philip* fought two battails with proſperous ſucceſs, and in both ſlew very many of his enemies: and when the Ætolians were driven for fear from thence, into the City of *Lamia*, and within the walls thereof ſaved themſelves, *Philip* retired his army into *Phalera*. This is a place ſituate in the gulf of *Ma-* *lea*, ſometimes much peopled and frequented for the paſſing fair haven, and many good harG bors and ſafe rodes for ſhips, beſides other ſpecial commodities as well of Sea as Land. Thither repaired ſundry Embaſſadors from divers parts, to wit, from *Ptolomæus* King of *Ægypt*, from the Rhodians, the Athenians, and inhabitants of *Chios*, and all to treat about a pacification, to take up the war between *Philip* and the Ætolians. And of neighbour-borderers there was in the behalf of the Ætolians as peace-maker, *Aminander* King of the Athamans. All of them were not ſo careful and earneſt for the Ætolians, who were more fierce, ſtout and imperious than the Nation of Grecians naturally is: as they laboured this point, that *Philip* with his Kingly ſoverangnty, to the prejudice of their liberty hereafter, ſhould not be intereſſed, nor meddle

in

in the affairs and ſtate of *Greece*. As concerning a peace, the conſultation was put off and refer- H
red to the general Councel of the *Achæi*: and for the ſaid Diet or Councel, was a place appointed, and a certain day ſet down and publiſhed. And in the mean ſpace, a truce obtained for thirty dayes.

Then the King departed from thence, and through *Theſſaly* and *Fœotia*, came to *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, for to put by *Attalus* (whom he heard ſay to be coming with a navy for *Eubœa*) from arriving in any havens, or landing in any place on the ſea coaſt. Then leaving a guard behind for to withſtand *Attalus*, (if haply in the mean ſeaſon he ſhould chance to paſs over) he marched himſelf forward with ſome few horſemen and light armed footmen, and came to *Argos*. There by the ſuffrages and voices of the people, the honour of exhibiting and celebrating the ſolemn games, I called *Heræi* and *Nemei*, was recommended unto him, becauſe the Macedonian Kings give out & ſay that they are deſcended from that City. After he had performed the ſolemnity of the *Heræi*, preſently he went from the very games and paſtimes to the Councel of his allies long before proclaimed, as is aboveſaid. Much debate there was for a finall end of the Ætolians war, that neither the Romans nor *Attalus* might have any occaſion to come into *Greece*. But the Ætolians marred all this before the time of the truce was well expired: by occaſion that they heard, that *Attalus* both was come to *Ægina*, and the Roman navy anchored at *Naupactum*. For being called into the Councel of the *Achæi*, in which the ſame Embaſſies were, who before at *Phalera* had treated for peace, firſt they complained, that ſome things had been done, during the time of the truce, againſt the faith of the covenant and accord. But at laſt they flatly denied and ſaid, That there could not poſſibly be an end of wars, unleſs the *Achæi* rendred *Pylos* unto the Meſſenians; and peace K were granted and reſtored to the Romans, and likewiſe to the Athamans, to *Scerdiletus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Archides*. Whereat *Philip* was very wroth, and thought it a foul indignity, that conquered perſons ſhould take upon them to article and capitulat with him their conqueror. "But neither "heretofore (quoth he) gave I audience to the treaty of peace, nor yeelded conſent to truce up- "on any hope I had that the Ætolians would ever be quiet: but to this end, that all confederate "friends might bear witneſs that I ſought means of peace, and they ſought occaſions and pickt "quarrels for war. So without concluſion of any peace, he diſſolved the Diet; leaving four thouſand ſouldiers for the defence and guard of the Achæans, and receiving of them five ſhips of war, (which if he had joyned to the armado of the Carthaginians, lately ſent unto him, and alſo to thoſe ſhips which were coming out of *Bithynia* from King *Pruſias*, he determined to aſſail the L Romans with ſhip-fight, who had a long time been mighty maſters of the Seas) himſelf preſently from that Councel departed back to *Argos*: for now the time drew neer of the games *Nemei*, which he was deſirous to celebrate and honor with his preſence. Whiles the King was occupied in the preparation of theſe games and paſtimes, and ſolaced himſelf during theſe feaſtival holydayes, with more liberty of mind and repoſe, than he ſhould in time of war; *P. Sulpitius* having looſed from *Naupactum*, arrived with his fleet between *Sicyone* and *Corinth*, and waſted that goodly territory, moſt renowned of all other for fruitfulneſs of all things. The noiſe and rumor of this occurrence awakened *Philip*, and cauſed him to leave his diſports: and ſo he took his Cavalry with him in haſt, and ſet forward, having given order that the Infantry ſhould follow ſtreight after: where he found the Romans ſtragling here and there all over the countrey, loden with booty and prizes, (as who feared nothing in the World leſs) ſet upon them, and drave them to their M ſhips. Thus the Roman fleet nothing well appaid for the booty they had gotten, returned to *Naupactum*. And *Philip* greatly augmented the ſolemnity and magnificence of the games that were behind, by the fame of a victory over the Romans at that time, how much or little ſoever it was. And with great joy and mirth were thoſe holy-dayes kept: and ſo much the more, becauſe the King for to pleaſe the people withal, laid aſide the diadem of his head, put off his purple robes and other princely and royal habit, and in outward port bare himſelf equal to others, and no better: a thing right acceptable and pleaſing to free States, as nothing can be more. By which deed of his, he had given great and undoubted hope unto all men, of liberty and freedom; but that he ſtained and marred all again with his intolerable luſt and looſeneſs of life. For he uſed to go ram- N ging up and down with one or two of his favourits in company, and did nothing elſe but haunt ſuſpected houſes by the Sea ſide day and night in diſguiſed manner: and thus by debaſing himſelf to the meaneſt ate of a private perſon, the leſs he was ſuſpected and known, the more diſſolute he was: and whiles he pretended unto others a vain ſhew of freedom, he abuſed all to his own licentiouſneſs. Neither paid his purſe for all his pleaſures, nor with flattring perſwaſions and fair ſpeeches obtained he his deſires: but to accompliſh his wickedneſs, he uſed oftentimes forcible violence: and dangerous it was both to husbands and parents, to be any thing ſtreight-laced, and make it goodly by tedious delay and unſeaſonable ſeverity, to ſeem but to ſtay the unbridled luſt and appetite of the King. From one of the Princes alſo of the Achæi named *Aratus*, he took his wife away called *Polycratia*, and upon hope and colour of mariage with the King, drew her away O with him into *Macedony*. Having thus with theſe lewd and wicked pranks paſſed the time of the ſolemnity of the *Nemean* games, and ſome few dayes over and above; he went to *Dyma* for to diſſeiſin the garriſon of the Ætolians, which they had ſent for and received into the City [of *Dymæ*] from the Eleans. *Cycliades* (who was the ſoveraign or chief magiſtrat of that ſtate) and the Achæi met the King at *Dymæ*: who as they hated the Eleans, becauſe they diſſented from the reſt of the Achæans, ſo they were maliciouſly bent againſt the Ætolians, whom they were perſwaded to

A to have stirred the Romans to levy war upon them. So from *Dyma* they departed, and with joint armies passed over the river *Larissus*, which divideth the country of the Eleans from the territory of *Dyma*. The first day after they were entred the confins of their enemies, they spent in foraging. The morrow after, in battail array, they presented themselves before the City, having sent out their Horsemen before them to make bravado's before their gates, and all to provoke the Ætolians; a kind of people full of stomack, and ready enough to sally forth and make excursions. Now were they not ware all this while, that *Sulpitius* with fifteen ships had crossed over from *Naupactum* to *Cyllene*: nor that he had landed four thousand souldiers in the still time of the night (because they might not be seen to march) and entred *Elis*. And therefore, this suddain and unexpected object put them in a terrible fear, when they saw and knew once among the Ætolians and
B the Eleans, the Roman ensigns and their armor. At the first, the King would have had his men to retire: but afterwards seeing the skirmish was begun already between the Ætolians and Triballi, (a kind of Illyrians) and perceiving that his souldiers also were put to it and charged, then the King also himself with his Horsemen assailed the Cohort or Squadron of the Romans. There his Horse was with a dart shot through: and when he had once flung and cast the King forward over his head, there was a cruel and deadly fight on both sides, whiles the Romans laid hard at the King, and the Kings men protected and guarded his person. Himself fought right manfully above the rest, considering he was forced on foot, to maintain skirmish among the Horsemen. But afterwards, by reason of the great disadvantage, and seeing many about him striken down and wounded, he was caught away by his gard, mounted upon another Horse, and so he fled and escaped.
C And the same day he encamped 5 miles from the City of the Eleans. The next morrow he led all his whole power to a Castle of the Eleans situate neer at hand, called *Pyrgos*: into which he had intelligence that a multitude of the country peasants for fear of being spoiled, were with their cattail driven and retired. This confused, disordred, and naked company he took captive at his coming, presently upon the first charge and onset that he gave: and with that booty he licked himself whole again, and salved the shameful defeat that he had received at *Elis*. As he was busy in sharing the prizes, and dealing abroad the prisoners (and there were of men some four thousand, and of cattail of all kinds one with another twenty thousand head) there came a post out of *Macedony* with news, that one *Eropus* had surprised *Lychnidum*, by corrupting for a piece of money the Constable of the Castle, and Captain of the garrison there: and that he held in possession
D certain borrough Towns of the Dassaretians, and still raised the Dardanians to Rebellion. The King therefore gave over the Achæan and the Ætolian wars: yet leaving two thousand five hundred armed souldiers of all sorts, under the leading of *Menippus* and *Polyphantes* for to defend his Allies, he went from *Dyma* through *Achaia*, *Bœotia*, and *Bevœus*; and upon the tenth day came to *Demetrias* in *Thessalia*. Where other messengers also encountred him, bringing tidings of a greater insurrection: namely, that the Dardanians had invaded *Macedony*, and were masters of *Orestis*, and came down into the plains of *Æstræum*: and that the rumor was rife and went currant among the barbarous people that *Philip* was slain. The truth is, in that expedition wherein he fought at *Sicyon* with those that preyed and made spoil in the country, he was carried by his hot and stomack-full Horse under a Tree, and there against a bough or arm thereof that stood
E out, he chanced to break a corner of the crest of his helmet at one end. That piece chanced to be found by a certain Ætolian, and was brought into *Ætolia* unto *Scerdiletus*, who knew by the mark that it was the Kings helmet: whereupon the fame of the Kings death was divulged commonly abroad. After the departure of *Philip* out of *Achaa*, *Sulpitius* who was arrived with his navy at *Ægina*, went forward, and joyned with *Attalus*. The *Achæi*, not far from *Messena* struck a fortunat battail with the Ætolians and the Eleans. *Attalus* the King, and *P. Sulpitius* wintred in *Ægina*.

In the end of this year, *T. Quintius Crispinus* the Consul, when he had nominated for Dictator, *L. Marcellus Torquatus*, for to hold the solemn election of Magistrats, and to set out the games, died of his hurt aforesaid. Some say he left his life at *Tarentum*: others in *Campane*. Thus both
F Coss. being slain without any memorable battail, (a thing never seen afore in any other war) left the Common-wealth desolate, and as it were clean fatherless. *Manlius* the Dictator chose for his General of the Horse, *C. Servilius*, at that time Ædile curule. The Senate upon the very first day that the L L. were assembled, gave order to the Dictator, to exhibit the great Roman games, which *M. Æmilius* the Pretor of the City, whiles *C. Flaminius* and *Cn. Servilius* were Coss. had represented and vowed for 5. years. Then the Dictator, both set them forth and also vowed them for the next five years. But considering there were two Consular armies without their Generals, so neer unto the enemies: the LL. of the Senate and the people set all other matters
G aside, and had a principal care above all things, to creat Consuls as soon as possibly they could: and
" such especially, whose vertue and valour should be thought secured and safe enough, from Punick craftiness and deceitful trains. For whereas during the time of all these wars, the over-
" hasty heads and hot spirits of the Leaders, had been ever dangerous and hurtful to the state: so
" in this very year, the Consuls upon immoderate desire to fight with the enemy, was fallen
" and plunged into a jeopardy and mischief ere they were aware. Howbeit the immortal Gods
" had mercy and pity upon the Roman name, in sparing the guiltless armies, and punishing the
" inconsiderate rashness of the Consuls, with the losse only of their own lives. And when the
LL. of the Senate looked about every way, to see if they could spie out any to make Consuls of:

above all others by many degrees, *C. Claudius Nero* excelled and was the onely Paragon. But a companion with him in the government they were likewise to seek for. As for him, to do it, they deemed him a singular man and a brave Captain: but yet more forward and eager, than the quality and occasions of this war required, or to be matched with such an enemy as *Annibal* was. And therefore they thought good to joyn with him for his colleague, a sober, wise, and prudent man, who might temper and qualifie that fierce nature and disposition of his. Now *M. Livius*, many years ago had been upon his Consulship condemned by the judgement of the people. Which ignominy and reproach he took so grievously to the heart, that he departed into the country, and for many years together, forbare not only the City, but to converse and keep company with men. And almost eight years after his condemnation aforesaid, *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *M. Valerius Lævinus* the Consuls, reduced him again into the City. But he used to go in old and worn apparel, letting the hair of his head and beard grow long, carrying in his very countenance and array, the fresh and notable remembrance of the disgrace before received. But *L. Veturius* and *P. Licinius* the Censors, compelled him to cut his hair, and lay away his vile and unseemly weed, to come into the Senat, and to meddle again in civil matters and affairs of State. And yet in so doing, he would never proceed farther, than to say Amen to other mens opinions, and speak but one word, yea and nay: or else nothing at all, but shew his mind by passing on his feet to one side or other. Until such time as a kinsman of his own, *M. Livius Macatus*, being in trouble, and his name and honour called in question, caused him to stand up in the Counsel-house and deliver his opinion. And when after so long discontinuance, he was seen and heard once to speak, he turned every man his eye upon him, and ministred occasion also of speech in these terms, namely, "That the people had done the man exceeding great wrong, yea, and hurt the common-weal "much, in that during the time of so dangerous a war, there had been no imployment of so worthy a person, either for his travail and pains, or his advice and counsel. But to return again to the Lords of the Senate: they knew well, that neither *Q. Fabius*, nor *M. Valerius Lævinus*, could possibly be joyned as companion in government to *C. Nero*: forasmuch as it was not lawfull that both should be chosen out of the Nobles or Patritii. And the same was *T. Manlius* his case also. Besides that, as he once refused the Consuls room, when it was offered unto him, so no doubt he would not accept thereof the second time if it were tendred unto him. But if they should sort *Marcus Livius* and *C. Claudius* together, there would be an excellent couple of Consuls in deed. Neither stood the people against this overture, thus moved first by the Lords of the Senat. The only man in the whole City, that denied it, was the very party himself, unto whom this dignity and honourable place was presented. Who much blamed the levity and inconstancy of the City: saying, "That they had no pity of him, when it was: namely, whiles he was in que- "stion and accused, and during the time of his trouble wate poor and simple garments: but now "against his will, they offred him a glittering white robe to stand for a Consulship. Thus (quoth "he) they punish and depress, thus they honour and advance the same persons. If they took me "for a good and honest man, why condemned they me as they did, for a wicked one and a guilty? "If they found me naught and faulty, what cause have they to trust me with a second Consulship, "who used the former so badly, which was committed unto me? As he argued and made com- "plaints in this wise, the Lords of the Senat reproved him, and replied again: setting before his "eyes the example of *M. Furius*, who in times past was called home out of exile: and when the "state was decayed and lying along, set it upright again in her former place and pristine glory. "And like as the curstness and rigor of parents, is to be mollified by patience, even so the hard "and shrewd dealings of a mans country, is to be dulced and mitigated by bearing and sufferance. So they all stuck close together, and chose M. *Livius* Consul, with *C. Claudius*. Three dayes after, they went to the election of the Pretors. And there were created Pretors, *L. Porcius Licinus*, *Caius Manlius*, *A. Hostilius*, and *C. Hostilius*, both *Catos*. When the election was finished, and the games celebrated, the Dictator and General of the Cavalry surrendred their places, *C. Terentius Varro* was sent into *Hetruria* as Pro-pretor, to the end that out of that province, *C. Hostilius* should go to *Tarentum*, unto that army which *T. Quintius* the Coss. had. That *L. Manlius* should go beyond Sea as Embassador, to see how the world went there: And withal, considering that in summer, there were to be solemnized the famous games at *Olympia*, which were celebrated with a most frequent resort and meeting of all *Greece*, in case he might safely and without impeachment of the enemy, he should visit that great assembly: to the end that if he could light upon any Sicilians, who were fled and banished their country, or any citizens of *Tarentum*, confined thither and sent away by *Annibal*, they should repair home again into their own countries, and know, that whatsoever they were possessed of, before the wars began, the people of *Rome* would restore the same, and make good again unto them.

Because it was like to be a right dangerous year, and no Consuls were invested fully in the Common-weal, all men depended upon the Consuls elect, and were desirous that they should with all speed, cast lots for their Provinces: and every man was willing to know aforehand, what Province each one should rule, and what enemy he was to deal withal. Moreover, a motion and speech there was in the Senat-house, that the Consuls should be reconciled and made friends, and *Q. Fabius Max.* propounded that first. For there had been notorious enmity and variance between them aforetime: and the calamity of *Livius* made the same more grievous and unsupportable unto himself; in regard that he was perswaded, how in that misery of his, he was

despised

despised of his adversary. Whereupon he grew to be more implacable of the twain, and worse to be intreated. "There needs (quoth he) no reconciliation, neither is it material and to any pur-"pose. For they will do all with more diligence and better spirit, who ever stand in fear that their "adversary and concurrent shall grow great and be advanced by their default. Yet the authority of the Senat bare such a stroke with them, that they laid aside all malice and old grudge, and with one mind consent and counsel, administred the affairs of the common-weal. Their Provinces were not intermingled, nor their government extended into one anothers country, as in former years, but distant asunder and divided by the remote frontiers and fartheſt marches of *Italy*. For unto one of them were assigned the Brutians and Lucans country against *Annibal*: unto the other, *Gallia* against *Asdrubal*; who as the rumour and bruit went, was come forward neer unto the *Alpes*.

Of those two armies which were in *Gallia* and in *Hetruria*, he whose fortune was to go into *Gallia*, was to chuse which army he would, and have besides, that other of the City. And he whose lot should be to go into the Brutians country, besides the new legions enrolled of citizens, was to take unto him, the army of whether Consul he list, of the former year. Also *Quintius Fabius* the Pro-consul, had the charge of that army which the Consul refused: and his authority was renued for one year longer. As for *C. Hostilius*, whose Province *Tarentum* they exchanged for *Hetruria*, they altered his Province again, to wit, *Capua* instead of *Tarentum*. Unto him was allowed that one legion which *Fulvius* the last year commanded.

Now encreased their care every day more than other concerning the coming of *Asdrubal* into *Italy*. And the Embassadors of the Massilians had brought news first, that he was passed over into *Gallia*: and that the minds of the Gauls were mightily cheered up by his coming, because the speech went, that he had brought a huge deal of gold with him, for to hire and wage souldiers for aid in the wars. Then afterwards, *Sex. Antistius*, and M. *Retius*, who were sent Embassadors back with them from *Rome*, for to see whether it were so indeed, had made relation unto the Senate, that they had sent certain of purpose guided by the Massilians, who by means of their especiall friends the Princes and Lords of the Gauls, might learn the truth, and bring word back accordingly. By whose report it was for certain known, that *Asdrubal* having levied already a puissant army, was minded the next spring to passe over the *Alps*: and that there was nothing else staid him, but that it had been done already, saving only the passages of the *Alps* which were closed up with the winter snow.

In the room of *M. Marcellus*, *L. Aquilius Patus* was created Augur, and so consecrated. And likewise *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella* was inaugurat or installed King of the sacrifices, instead of *Marcus Martius*, who died two years before. In this very same year the City was purged, and there was a general survey and numbring of the people, by the Censors taken, *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*. There were reckoned and entred into the Censors books of Citizens, 137108. A smaller number by much ods, than before the war. It is recorded in the Annals, that this year first after that *Annibal* came into *Italy*, the Comitium was built over head and covered. And that the Roman Games were once renued by the Ædiles of the chair, *Q. Metellus*, and *C. Servilius*: and that the other Games called *Plebeii*, were renued two dayes by *Q. Mavlius* and *M. Cæcilius Metellus*, Ædiles of the Commons: who also offered three images and set them up in the Chappel of *Ceres*. And the solemn feastival dinner of *Jupiter* was celebrated by occasion of those Games.

Then *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* the second time, entred their Consulship: who (because whiles they were but Coss. elect, they had cast lots for their Provinces) commanded the Pretors to do the like. And to *C. Hostilius* fell the jurisdiction over the citizens, who had that likewise over strangers and forrainers; to the end, that the other three might go forth into their Provinces. To *A. Hostilius*, was allotted *Sardinia*: to *C. Manlius*, *Sicilia*; and to *L. Porcius France*. In sum, the legions were in number three and twenty, divided into the Provinces in this sort: to wit, the Consuls had two apeece, *Spain* four. The three Pretors for *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *France* each of them twain. *C. Terentius* in *Hetruria* commanded two. *Q. Fulvius* in the Brutians country, other two. *Q. Claudius* about *Tarentum*, and the Salentins conducted twain: and *Caius Hostilius Tubulus* at *Capua*, one. Last of all, two were enrolled for the City. In the four first legions, the people chose all the Colonels or Marshals, but to all the rest the Consuls sent new to make up the defect.

Before the Consuls went forth, there was a Novendial sacrifice celebrated because at *Veii* it had rained stones from heaven. And after one prodigious sight was once minded and spoken of, there were (as it is commonly seen) others also reported: namely, that in *Minturnæ* the temple of *Jupiter*, and the sacred grove of * *Marica* was smitten with lightning: and at *Atella* the wall and gate likewise, was blasted with fire from Heaven. The men of *Minturnæ* spake also of a more fearful and terrible thing than that, to wit, that there ran a river of bloud in their very gate. Last of all, at *Capua* a Wolf entred the gate at night, and worried and dismembred one of the watchmen.

* The same that Circe.

These wonderful signs were expiate with sacrificing of greater beasts, and a supplication was holden for one day, by vertue of a decree from the Prelats. Then was the Novendial sacrifice once again renued, because it was seen, that in *Armilustrum* it rained stones. And mens minds were no sooner freed of one religious scruple, but they were troubled again with another. For word was brought, that at *Frusino* there was an infant born as big as ordinary a child is at four years of age. And the thing was not so strange for the bigness of the body, as for

that it was born doubtful, whether it were male or female, like as two years before, at *Sinneſſa*. H
The wiſards that were ſent for out of *Hetruria*, ſaid, that this of all other was a foul and filthy monſter, and that it ſhould be had forth of the Dominion of *Rome*, and drowned in the deep, ſo as it might touch no ground. Whereupon they put it alive into a coffer, and when they had carried it a good way into the Sea, they flung it in. Moreover the Prelats made a decree, that certain Virgins in three companies, having nine apiece, ſhould go through the City, and ſing certain Canticles. And whiles in the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*, the Maidens were a learning their ſong by heart, deviſed and framed in verſe by *Livius* the Poet, the Temple of Queen *Juno* in the Aventine hill, was ſtriken with lightning from Heaven. And when the Aruſpices had declared that this prodigious token touched the matrons and dames of the City, and that the goddeſs was to be pacified with an oblation; they were (by vertue of an edict granted out by the Ædiles of I
the chair) called all into the Capitol, as many as had any houſe, either in the City of *Rome*, or within ten miles every way. And they among themſelves choſe five and twenty, into whoſe hands all the reſt ſhould put ſome ſmall portion of their dowry. Of which there was made a fair and large golden baſon, for to be preſented unto *Juno*: and it was brought into the Aventine; and withal, the dames offered unto her purely and chaſtly their ſacrifices. And ſtreight after the Decemvirs proclaimed a day for another ſacrifice of the ſame goddeſs, the manner and order whereof was this: There were two white heifers led from the Temple of *Apollo* into the City through the gate *Carmentalis*: after them were carried two Images, repreſenting *Juno*, made of Cypreſs wood: then went there ſeven and twenty Virgins in long ſide garments, chanting hymns and ſongs to the honour of *Juno*. Theſe ſongs in verſe were peradventure commendable, and paſſed K
for good with thoſe rude and groſs wits then living: but if they ſhould be rehearſed now adayes to our fine heads, they would ſeem but ſimple ſtuff, and compoſed without rime or reaſon. After this row of Maidens, followed the Decemvirs deputed for ſacred Ceremonies, with chaplets and garlands of Baies, clothed in veſture and robes embrodered with purple. From the gate above named, they paſſed by the ſtreet *Jugarius* into the Grand-place, and there reſted this ſolemn pomp and train. Then theſe Virgins taking hold of a cord, which went through all their hands, ſung a ſong, and danced the meaſures, footing it artificially according to the note. From thence they went by the Tuſcan-ſtreet and *Velabrum* through the beaſts market, and ſo forward into the *Clivus Publicus*, until they came to the Temple of *Juno*. There the Decemvirs ſacrificed two beaſts, and the Images of Cypreſs wood were offered and ſet up in the Temple. When the Gods and L
Goddeſſes were duly pacified, the Conſuls took muſters more ſtreightly and with greater preciſeneſs, than any man could remember in former years. For both the fear of the war was two-fold, by reaſon of a new-come enemy into *Italy*, and alſo there was leſs ſtore of youth, out of which the ſouldiers ſhould be enrolled. Whereupon they compelled the inhabitants of the Colonies by the Sea ſide, who were ſaid to have an eſpecial immunity of warfare (by a ſacred law) for to find ſouldiers: and when they denied, and ſtood upon their priviledge of exemption, they ſet them down a certain day upon which every man ſhould repair into the Senate, and ſhew what cards they had for their immunity and vacation. Upon the day appointed there preſented themſelves before the Senat theſe Commonalties following, to wit, of *Hoſtia*, *Alſia*, *Antium*, *Auxur*, *Minturnæ Sinueſſa* and *Sena* from the upper Sea. When every one of theſe States exhibited and M
read their charter of immunity, there was none of all them diſpenſed with, but they of *Antium* and *Hoſtia*, in regard the enemy abode in *Italy*: and ſo the young and ſerviceable men of thoſe Colonies, were put to their oath and ſware, that not above forty of them ſhould lie one night forth of the walls of their Colony, ſo long as the enemy continued in *Italy*.

When all the LL. of the Senat were of opinion, that the Conſuls were to go forth to the wars with all ſpeed poſſible (for that both *Aſdrubal* was to be encountred coming down the *Alps*, for fear he ſhould ſollicit the Gauls on this ſide the *Alps*; and the Tuſcans likewiſe who hoped and looked every day for a change and alteration; and alſo *Annibal* was to be kept occupied in his own war, that he might not go forth of the Brutians country, and meet with his brother) only *Livius* made ſome ſtay and drew back, as repoſing but ſmall truſt in the armies belonging to his N
own Provinces. And as for his Colleague, well he wiſt, that he had the choiſe of two notable Conſular armies, and of a third, whereof *Q. Claudius* had the charge at *Tarentum*. Whereupon he had made ſome motion of calling the Volones [or voluntaries] again to their colours, and to ſerve in the wars. The Senat granted the Conſuls a large and free commiſſion, both to make ſupply from whence ſoever they would, by chuſing out of all the armies whom they pleaſed, and to make exchange with whom they would, yea, and to draw out of the Provinces whomſoever, according as they ſhould think it good for the Common-weal. And all this was executed with the exceeding concord and unity of the Conſuls. The Volones were enrolled into the nintereenth and twentieth legions. Some Authors have written, that *Scipio* ſent unto *Livius* from out of *Spain*, a ſtrong power of auxiliaries for that war, to wit, eight thouſand of Spaniards and Frenchmen, two O
thouſand legionary footmen, and eighteen hundred men of arms, partly Numidians, and partly Spaniards: and that *Marcus Lucretius* brought theſe forces by Sea: alſo that *C. Manlius* ſent out of *Sicily* four thouſand archers and ſlingers.

The fear and troubles in *Rome* were much increaſed, by occaſion of letters ſent out of *Gallia* from *L. Porcius* the Pretor: purporting thus much, That *Aſdrubal* was removed out of his wintring harbours, and was paſſing over the *Alps*: that there were eight thouſand Ligurians levied

A levied and ready in arms, to joyn with him so soon as ever he was come into *Italy*, unless some one were sent against the Ligurians, to prevent and keep them otherwise busied with war. As for himself, he would with that weak army that he had, go forward, as far as he thought he might with safety. These letters caused the Consuls to dispatch the musters in great hast, and to go forth into their Provinces, sooner than they had purposed: with this intent, that both of them as well the one as the other, might in his several province keep the enemies occupied, and suffer them not to joyn, and lay their forces together. And verily the thing that helped them most in this their designment, was an opinion and perswasion that *Annibal* had: For albeit he was assured that his brother would that summer pass over into *Italy*, yet when he called to remembrance what a toil he had himself, and how much trouble and travail he endured in the passage, one while of the river *Rhodanus*, ano-
B ther while of the mountains of the *Alps*, and how for the space of five moneths together, he was forced not only to fight with the people, but struggle also with the difficulties of the places; he never looked that *Asdrubal* could so easily and so speedily pass over as he did: which was the cause that he dislodged out of his wintring places so much the later. But *Asdrubal* found better expedition, and all things more easy and speedy than either himself hoped for, or others expected. For the *Arverni*, and other nations (by their example) both of *France* and also about the *Alps*, not only received and entertained him, but also accompanied him to the war. Over and besides, as he conducted his army by those passages which were prepared and made open by his brothers journey, and had been afortime unpassable wilds and craggy rags: so against his coming, the *Alps* were much more easy, by reason of twelve years continual passage to and fro those wayes: and the na-
C ture of the peasants more civil and tractable. For the people before, being not used to any strangers and aliens, nor accustomed to see passengers or travailers coming into those parts, were in manner unsociable, savage and wild, and could not away with the society of men. And at the first not knowing whither *Annibal* intended to go, they supposed that he came for to surprise their holds in caves and rocks, to take their fortresses, and to drive away their people and cattail as booties. But afterwards, the fame that went of the Punick war (wherewith now twelve years *Italy* was plagued and vexed) had taught them sufficiently, that the *Alps* were nothing but the way for the Carthaginians to travail through. And by this time well they knew, that two most puissant Cities and States, divided and removed one from another by a great space of Land and Sea between, strived together and warred for their greatness and Soveraignty. Upon these occasions, I say, the *Alps*
D were open and passable to *Asdrubal* with ease. But look what time he gained by speedy journies, the same he lost again by stay about *Placentia*, whiles he lay there in vain, rather besieging than assailing it. He was carried away with a perswasion, that the Town seated upon a plain and champain country, might soon be forced and won: and the great name that went of that noble Colony, induced him to believe, that by the overthrow and razing of that City, he should strike a terror to all the rest. But in lying against that Town, he not only hindred himself much, but also staid *Annibal*: who having heard that he was passed over the *Alps*, and come down into *Italy*, so much sooner than he looked for, was upon the point to dislodge out of his standing wintring camp. For he considered and cast in his mind, not only what a long and tedious piece of work it is to besiege and assault Cities, but also well remembred how himself after his victory at *Trebia*, assaied to force
E that colony in his return from thence, but might not prevail.

"The Consuls being departed from the City, and gone divers wayes as it were for two sundry "wars at once, distracted mens minds with many cares and troublous imaginations, as well in "remembrance of those losses and overthrows, which they had received at *Annibal* his first co-"ming: as also in thinking, what gods should be so propitious and favourable to the City and "empire of *Rome*, as to prosper the affairs of the State and Common-weal, at one time in both "places. For until then, their success had been variable and alternative; and their prosperity al-"wayes delayed with lemblable adversity: and again, their losses were recompensed with equal "gains. For when in *Italy* the Common-wealth of *Rome* went one way downward headlong to
F "the ground at *Thrasymenus* and *Canna*: the fortune at wars another way in *Spain*, set it upright a-"gain. Afterwards, when in *Spain* one overthrow and defeat hapned in the neck of another, "at what time as two noble Captains were slain, and two valiant armies in part destroyed; the "happy and lucky hand in *Sicily* and *Italy*, made up those breaches, and set the reeling state on "foot again. For why? the very distance of the place so far remote (because one of the wars "was maintained in the farthest part of the World) yeelded time and respite to breath themselves "and gather new strength. But now, two wars at once are entertained within *Italy*, two most "brave warriors and renowned Captains enclose between them the City of *Rome*: all dangers "come huddle together: all the heavy load and whole burden beareth upon one and the self-"same place: and no doubt, but whether of those two Captains first shall get a victory, he
G "will within few dayes after joyn his forces to the other. The fresh and lamentable remem-"brance also of the very last year, wherein two Consuls lost their lives, mightily affrighted the "hearts of the people. So as, in these perplexities and troubles of minde, they accompanied the Consels as they departed and went into their several Provinces. It is more over in some records found, that when *Q. Fabius* advised and warned *M. Livius*, being upon his journey toward the wars, not rashly and hand over head to give battail to the enemy, before he knew his nature and qualities, he full of anger still and discontentments with his fellow citizens, made this answer, That so soon as ever he could have a sight of his enemies army, he would fight: and being asked

asked again, why he would make such hast? Mary (quoth he) either shall I by victory of mine H
enemies win singular honor and renown: or by the overthrow of my fellow Citizens gain some hearts-ease and contentment, if not honest in all respects, yet at least-wise such as they have deserved.

Before that *Claudius* the Consul was come into his Province, *C. Hostilius Tubulus* accompanied with certain cohorts lightly appointed, encountred *Annibal* as he led his army and marched by the utter confines and marches of the territory of *Larinum*, which leadeth to the Salentins: and charging upon his disordred army, put them to great trouble, slew four thousand of his men, and carried away nine Ensigns. *Q. Claudius* who had certain garrisons planted in all the Cities of the Salentins country, hearing of the enemies coming, had removed out of his wintring camp: and therefore *Annibal*, because he would not fight with two armies at once, by night dislodged I
out of the territory of *Tarentum*, and withdrew himself into the Brutians country: and *Claudius* turned with his army to the Salentins again. *Hostilius* in the way to *Capua*, met with the Consul *Claudius* at *Venusia*. There, out of both armies, the Consul picked forth forty thousand choise Footmen, and 2500 Horsemen, for to war with *Annibal*. The rest of the forces *Hostilius* was commanded to lead unto *Capua*, and to deliver them to *Q. Fabius* the Pro-consul.

*Annibal* having assembled his forces from all parts, as well those which he had in camp during winter time, as those that lay in garrison in the Brutians country, came as far as *Grumentum* in the territory of the Lucans, upon hope to recover the Towns, which for fear, had revolted to the Romans. Unto the same place the Roman Coss. making out his espials before to discover and cleer the wayes, marched from *Venusia*, and about a mile and half from the enemy, K
encamped himself. The Carthaginians had fortified themselves, and cast a trench close in a manner to the walls of *Grumentum*: and between the camp and the Romans was some half mile. A plain lay in the midst: and on the left hand of the Carthaginians, and the right hand of the Romans all along between, the hills overlooked them, bare and naked, and of neither part suspected, by reason that they had no wood growing upon them, nor any lurking places to hide an ambush in. Into the plain between they used to put out certain bands and companies from the *Corps de guard* of both sides, and made light skirmishes not worth the talking of. And it seemed that the drift of the Roman Consul was to keep the enemy in, and not to suffer him to go his wayes. But *Annibal* desirous to be gone, entred the field with all his power in order of battail. Then the Consul borrowing a little of his enemies cunning, for that in so open hills there L
was less fear and suspicion of ambush, gave order that five Cohorts and Horsemen, reenforced with as many bands of footmen, should by night get over those hills, and in the Vallies behind, sit down closely: with direction to *T. Claudius Asellus* a Colonel of footmen, and *P. Claudius* a Captain of allies whom he sent to conduct them, at a certain time to arise out of ambush, and to charge the enemy: himself by day light led forth all his whole power as well foot as Horse into the field. Within a while after, *Annibal* likewise put forth the signal of battail: and all the camp over they set up a cry, running all about to their armour and weapons. Then Footmen and Horsemen both rushed apace out of the gates who could be soonest forth; and scattered as they were all over the plain, made hast to the enemies. Whom when the Consul saw thus disordered, he commanded *C. Aurunculeius* a Tribun or Colonel of the third legion, to put out the Ca- M
valry belonging to that legion, for to charge the enemy with all the violence he could: for that like sheep they were so spred over the plain without all form and fashion, and might be surprised, discomfited, and beaten down, before they could be brought into array and set in order of battail. *Annibal* himself was not come forth of the camp, when he might hear the noise of them fighting together and hard at it: and excited with this tumult, he led in great hast all the rest of his forces against the enemy. By this, the vanguard and forefront of his battail was frighted with the Horsemen of the enemies: yea, and the first legion of the Infantry and the Cavalry of the right wing began to charge. The Carthaginians disordered as they were, fought at a venture, as they chanced to meet either with Footmen or Horsemen. The conflict grew hotter, by reason of new supplies and fresh succours, and encreased still by the number of them that N
continually ran out to the fight. And surely *Annibal*, notwithstanding this tumult and troublesome fear, had set and marshalled his men in good order as they were fighting (which had been no easy thing to do, but that the army was of old souldiers, and their Captain well experienced and beaten to it) if it had not been for the shout of the cohorts and bands above-said, which they heard at their backs, as they from the hills behind ran down upon them; and set them in great fear, lest that they would thrust in between them and home, and so shut them out of their camp. Hereupon I say they were affrighted, and began to flie here and there. But the slaughter was the less, because the camp was neer, and far they had not to run thither and save themselves in this their fearful fright. For the Horsemen plaid upon their backs still, and gave not over: the cohorts from the open Mountains ran easily down the hill, and charged cross O
upon their sides and flanks. Howbeit, there were slain more than eight thousand men, and above 200 taken Prisoners: nine Ensigns won and carried away: of Elephants also (whereof there was little or no use) in a suddain and tumultuary skirmish four were killed, and two gotten alive. Of Romans and Allies, there died two hundred. The next day after, *Annibal* stirred not. The Roman Consul having brought his army forth into the field, and seeing none to come abroad and make head against him, commanded the slain enemies to be disarmed and despoiled,

the

A the spoils to be gathered up, and the bodies of his own men to be brought together into a place and buried. For certain dayes after continually, he presſed ſo hard at the camp gates, that he wanted but little of entring thither with banner diſplayed. In ſo much as *Annibal* at the third watch of the night, leaving behind him many fires burning, and divers tents ſtanding, on that ſide eſpecially which looked toward the enemies, and ſome few Numidians, to make a ſhew upon the Rampier and at the gates; diſlodged, and purpoſed to go into *Apulia*. The next morning by day light, the Roman army embattailed, approached the trench and rampier. The Numidians of ſet purpoſe ſhewed themſelves in the gates and upon the rampier: and when they had a good while dallied thus and played with the enemy, they mounted on Horſeback, and ſpared no Horſe-fleſh until they had overtook their fellows. The Conſul perceiving that
B all was quiet within the camp, and ſeeing not ſo much as thoſe few appear any where, who in the morning betimes had walked their ſtations, ſent forth two Horſemen into the camp as eſpials. After he underſtood for certain that all was ſafe, and the coaſts clear, he commanded his enſigns to make an entry. And ſtaying no longer there, than whiles his ſouldiers ran up and down to pill and ſpoil, he ſounded the retreat: and long before night, brought his army back again. The next morrow after, he ſet forward by the dawning of the day, and with long journeis, following his enemies by the voyce of the country, and tracing them by their foottſteps, he overtook them not far from *Venuſia*. There alſo was a ſcufling skirmiſh between them, and not ſo few as two thouſand Carthaginians ſlain. From thence *Annibal* ever marched by night, and journied through the mountains, becauſe he would give his enemy no vantage of fight, un-
C till he came to *Metapontum*. From whence *Hanno* (for he was Captain of the garriſon there) was ſent with ſome few in his train into the Brutians country, to levy a new army. And *Annibal* after he had joyned thoſe forces to his own, returned again to *Venuſia*, by the ſame way that he came from thence; and ſo forward he marched to *Canuſium*. *Nero* never left the enemy, but was ready to tread on his heels, and as he marched himſelf toward *Metapontum*, he had ſent for *Q. Fulvius* to repair into the Lucans country, becauſe thoſe parts ſhould not be diſfurniſhed of defence.

In this mean ſpace, there were four French Horſemen, and two Numidians, ſent to *Annibal* with letters from *Aſdrubal*, after he was removed from the ſiege of *Placentia*: who having travailed in manner all the length of *Italy*, through the mids of the enemies, whiles they follow af-
D ter *Annibal* in his retire unto *Metapontum*, miſſed of their way, and light upon *Tarentum*: where they were encountred by the forragers of the Romans that ranged about the fields, and by them were brought before *Q. Claudius* the Propretor. At the firſt they entertained him with ſlim ſlams, with doubtful and intricate anſwers: but when the fear of the rack and other tortures, had forced them to tell a truth, they confeſſed, that they had letters about them to deliver from *Aſdrubal* to *Annibal*. With thoſe letters ſealed as they were, they were committed unto *L. Virginius* a Colonel, for to be conveied unto *Claudius* the Conſul. And two troops or Cornets beſides of Samnit Horſemen were ſent to guard them. So ſoon as they were come unto the Conſul, and the letters read by an interpreter, and ſome examination taken of theſe captives: then *Clau-
dius* conſidering that the common-weal was not now in that good caſe, nor the occaſion ſuch,
E that each Governor needed no more, but to make war by the ordinary courſe of commiſſion, within the compaſs and limits of his own Province, with the help of his own army alone, and againſt an enemy aſſigned unto him by the Senate: but that ſome unlooked for adventures muſt be enterpriſed, ſome new deſignments and unexpected put in execution, which when they are begun and attempted, might make no leſs wonder and fear among their own friends, that terror among the enemies: and being once performed and done, might turn the former fear into as great joy and gladnes; ſent the letters of *Aſdrubal* to the Senat at *Rome*: and withal, himſelf acquainted the Lords of the Senate what he intended to do. And for aſmuch as *Aſdrubal* wrote unto his brother to meet him in *Umbria*, he adviſed them to ſend for the legion at *Capua* to *Rome*, to take muſters alſo at *Rome*, and to oppoſe that army of the City, againſt the enemy at *Narnia*.
F Thoſe were the contents of his letters to the Senate. He diſpatched likewiſe meſſengers before, through the territories of the Larinats, Marucins, Ferentins, and Pretutians (by whom he meant to lead his army) for to give notice, that all the inhabitants of thoſe parts, ſhould out of their Villages and good Towns, provide and bring forth victuals into the high wayes, for to refreſh his ſouldiers; alſo to come with their Cart-horſes, draught-oxen, and other beaſts for carriage, together with wains and carts, that the wearied ſouldiers might eaſe themſelves thereby. Himſelf out of his whole army, as well of citizens as allies, choſe forth the flour and moſt picked men of all, to the number of ſix thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, and gave it out openly, that he minded to ſurpriſe the firſt City that he came next unto in the Lucans country, and withal, the
G garriſon of Carthaginians that lay there: and therefore commanded them to be ready for the journey and expedition. Thus when he had ſet forward in the night, he turned his way into *Picenum*. And the Conſul made no more ado, but with long journies highed him as faſt as he could, and led his army directly to his colleague, leaving *Q. Catius* his Lieutenant, to guard and command the camp.

At *Rome*, they were no leſſe terrified and troubled, than they were two years before, at what time as the Carthaginians were encamped before the walls and gates of the City. And men wiſt not well, what to make of this adventurous and audacious journey of the Conſul, whether they

ſhould

ſhould praiſe or diſpraiſe it. And it ſeemed that they would meaſure it and report thereof accor- H
ding to the event, than which ſurely, there is nothing more unjuſt and unequal. But thus they
whiſpered, "That the camp was left with an army, and without their General, neer unto the
"enemy *Annibal*, yea, and the ſame guelded of all the ſtrength and fleur thereof: that the Conſul
"pretended an expedition into the Lucans country, when indeed he went toward *Picenum* and
"*Gallia*; leaving the camp by no one thing more ſafe and ſecure, than by the errour and miſtaking
"of the enemy, who is altogether ignorant, that the General is gone from thence, and part of the
"forces with him. But where would they be then, and in what taking ſhould the camp be, in caſe
"that were known abroad; or if *Annibal* would either with his whole army follow after *Nero*,
"being gone with no more than ſix thouſand? or aſſault the camp, left as it were for a prey unto
"him, without forces, without conduct, and without the fortune and good luck of the General to I
"protect it? The old defeats received in this war, the freſh remembrance of two Conſuls ſlain
"but the laſt year, encreaſed mens fear. All which misfortunes hapned, when there was in *Italy*
"but one Captain General, and one ſingle army of the enemies. Now, of one war of the Car-
"thaginians there are made twain: and two *Annibals* (as a man would ſay) be both at once in
"*Italy*, right valorous and renowned warriors. For even *Aſdrubal* alſo, was *Amilcar* his ſon as
"well as *Annibal*, as valiant and redoubted a Captain every way: as who for ſo many years to-
"gether in *Spain*, hath been exerciſed in the Roman wars, and born the name of atchieving a
"twofold victory, and defeating two armies, with two moſt noble and famous commanders: and
"as for expedition and ſpeed in his voyage out of *Spain*, and for raiſing the Nations of *France* up
"in arms, he may make his boaſt much more truly than *Annibal* himſelf. For even in thoſe very K
"places, where *Annibal* had loſt the greater part of his ſouldiers, with hunger and cold, (which
"kind of death of all others is moſt miſerable) this *Aſdrubal* hath levied a power of armed men.
"Moreover, they that knew *Spain* well, and the affairs which had paſſed there, ſaid beſides, That
"he had not to deal with *Nero*, as with a warrior whom he knew not already; for why? he had
"when it was, made a Child of *Nero*, by a good token, That when *Aſdrubal* was by chance in a
"wood, and could not get out, was put to his ſhifts; but whiles he trifled out the time with *Nero*
"in booking deceitful conditions and capitulations of peace, he ſhewed him a couſening Carth-
"ginian caſt, gave him the fair ſlip, and eſcaped out of his hands. And to conclude, in all their
"diſcourſes at *Rome*, they magnified every thing on the enemies part above all truth, and debaſed
"all their own means of help beneath all reaſon: ſuch was their fear, which interpreteth and con- L
"ſtrueth all to the worſt.

The ſpeech of *Nero* to his ſouldiers.

*Nero*, when he had now gained ſo much ground, and was gone ſo far from the enemy, as it had not mattered much if his deſigns had been revealed and made known unto him, for any danger that might enſue thereof; called his ſouldiers before him, and ſpake ſome few words to this or the like effect. "Never was there deſignment (qd. he) of any General in the field, in outward ſhew more
"dangerous, in deed and truth more ſafe and ſecure, than this of mine. I lead you to a certain and
"aſſured victory, even to that war, unto which my colleague would not go before the Senate had
"allowed him to his full contentment, a greater power both of foot and Horſe, and the ſame better
"ſet out and more furniſhed, than if he ſhould have gone againſt *Annibal* himſelf: and therefore
"whatſoever ſmall poiſe and addition of forces you bring thereto, you ſhall ſway thereby the M
"whole, and as it were weigh down the ballance. For when the enemies ready embattailed to
"fight, ſhall hear (and before that time, I will take order I trow, that they ſhall not hear) that ano-
"ther Conſul and another army is come, no doubt the day will be ours, and they ſhall yeeld us the
"victory. For it is a fame & name only, that fighteth the field & determineth battails. And ſmall
"matters many times carry away the game, and cauſe mens minds both to ſtoop for fear, and to
"riſe with hope. And verily, of a well fought field you are they that ſhall reap the fruit & gain the
"glory. For alwayes it is ſeen, that a little help that cometh laſt, is more than all beſides, & ſeemeth
"to effect the whole. And you ſee your ſelves, with what concourſe, with what admiration, with
"what affectionat favour all men do entertain & regard you by the way. And in very truth, as they
marched along in their journey, it was a world to ſee, how both men & women flocked out of all N
the villages of the countrey to ſee them, how they ſorted themſelves into companies & degrees to
welcome them, and how as they paſſed as it were in a lane through them, they made vows in their
name, they poured out their prayers in their behalf, & dealt praiſes among them: calling them the
very guard & defence of the Common-weal, the ſaviours & redeemers of *Rome* & the Roman Em-
pire: acknowledging that the lives and liberties of themſelves and their children, lay in their right
hands, and depended upon the force of their arms: praying to all the gods and goddeſſes, and to all
the holy halows of heaven, to vouchſafe them a lucky journey, a fortunat fight, and a ſpeedy victory
over their enemies: wiſhing heartily, that they might be bound and condemned (as it were) to pay
and perform their vows, which in their name they had undertaken & promiſed: deſiring earneſtly,
that as now they went along, & accompanied them with careful minds for fear of the peril which M
they went unto, ſo after few dayes they might meet with them upon the way with joyful hearts, as
they return with Triumph for their victory. Every man for himſelf in particular invited them
friendly, offered them frankly, entreated and beſought them importunatly, that all things whatſo-
ever they ſtood in need of, either for themſelves or their beaſts, they would receive at his hands
eſpecially, as being ready to afford them all moſt liberally, heapful, and with the better. The
ſouldiers again, for very modeſty ſtrove to take no more than was very needful and neceſſary,

no

A no stay they would make with any, nor one jot depart from their colours. Their meat they took by the way as they went, journeying night and day, and scarce allowing their bodies rest and sleep to content their weak nature that looked for it. Now had *Nero* sent afore-hand to his brother Consul certain Courriers, to give him advertisement of his coming, and to know again from him his mind, whether he should come openly or secretly, by day time or by night, and lodge in one camp with him, or in another apart by himself. *Livius* his advice was, and he thought it the better of the twain, to enter into his camp, closely in the night season, and had given a watch-word, and made it known throughout all the camp, that every Marshal and Colonel should lodge a Marshal or Colonel, every Centurion entertain a Centurion, every knight or man of arms receive a knight or horseman, and every footman take unto him a footman into his pavilion and cabbin.
B For it was not expedient that the camp should be enlarged and set out wider, for fear that the enemy might take knowledge of another Consuls coming: and so much the more easily might many of them be bestowed in the streight room of their pavilions, because the army of *Claudius* had brought in manner nothing with them in this expedition, save their armour only. Moreover, in the very way as they came, the company was well mended and much encreased by many voluntaries that offered themselves willingly of their own accord, as well old souldiers, such as had served out their years, as young and lusty men: whom *Claudius* perceiving so to strive for to have their names entred if he saw them personable and strong of body and like to do good service, had enrolled into the muster book. The other Consul lay encamped before * *Sena*, and * Senagaglia.
*Asdrubal* some half mile from him. And therefore *Nero*, being now approched and come neer,
C sat him down close among the mountains, because he would not put himself within camp before night. And when they were come thither, they were welcomed every man according to his degree, by them of their own place and calling, and brought into their tents and pavilions, and with a general joy of all, friendly entertained as their loving guests. The next day following they assembled together to counsel: at which meeting, *L. Porcius Licinius* the Pretor was present: who was himself encamped close unto the Consuls leaguer. He before their coming, by leading his army over the high places, and one while keeping the narrow streights of the forrest to impeach and stop the passages, another while charging upon the flanks and sides, or else upon the back and tail of the enemy, had by all the devices and policies of war, mocked him and kept him play. This man, I say, was at the foresaid counsel. Many men there were of opinion, that the day of
D battel should be deferred for a time, whiles *Nero* might have some few dayes respite, both to refresh his souldiers, wearied with long travail and much watching, and also to know the quality somewhat better of his enemy. *Nero* not only persisted still to perswade, but also began most earnestly to intreat, "That they would not by long delay make that design of his to seem rash "and dangerous, which speediness in execution had made safe and secure. Considering, that "whiles *Annibal* upon ignorance and error (which is not like to continue long with him) "lay still asleep and benummed, neither once thought upon it, to assail the camp left without a "General, nor put himself upon the way, to make pursuite after me; now before he once stir, "I may (quoth he) defeat the army of *Asdrubal*, and return again into *Apulia*. But he that
E "by deferring still, giveth the enemy time and respite, betraieth as much as lieth in him, the "camp unto *Annibal*, and laieth the way open for him into *Gallia*, to joyn with *Asdrubal* at his "good leasure and pleasure. Nay (quoth he) the signal of battel must be given forthwith, and "we must into the field. We must, I say, take the vantage and make the best of the error and ig-"norance of our enemies, both absent there, and present here: that neither they with *Annibal* "may know that they are to deal with fewer; nor these again beware, that they are to fight with "more in number, and stronger in power. Thus the counsel brake up, and the signal of battel was put forth, and presently they went into the field. The enemies were already advanced in battel array, and stood with displayed ensigns. The only stay of joyning in fight was this, That *Asdrubal* riding out with some few Horsemen before the ensigns, chanced to mark some old targets
F of his enemies which he had not as yet seen, and their Horses more lank and lean, than earst before. And (as he guessed) the number also was greater than ordinary and usual. Suspecting therefore, that which was indeed, he sounded the retreat in all hast; and sent out presently to the river where they used to water, to see if they might either light upon some & catch them prisoners, or at least-wise take good marks by their eye, whether any of them haply were higher coloured, or looked sunburnt, presently upon their late travel. Also he gave them commandment to ride aloof about their camp, and to spie whether the rampier were enlarged or set out farther in any place, and to listen attentively whether the trumpet sounded single or double within the camp. When all other circumstances besides were related in order affirmatively, only the not enlarging of the camp, put them by their hint, and gave the occasion that they were beguiled. Two several camps they were, like as before the coming of the Consul: the one belonging to *M. Livius*,
G the other to *L. Porcius*. And in neither of them were the rampiers and trenches set out any jot, whereby they might put up more tents, and quarter themselves in larger room. But this one thing troubled this old experienced Captain, and acquainted so well as he was with the Roman enemies that his espials brought word, how in the Pretors camp they sounded the trumpet once, and in the Consuls twice. For surely that was an evident argument that two Consuls were there. And in thinking how the other Consul had departed from *Annibal* & given him the slip, he mightily tormented himself. And he could not suspect & imagine that, which was indeed the truth, namely,

that

that *Annib.* I was deluded and mocked in a matter of ſo great moment, as to be ignorant what H
was become of the General, or of the army, to which he lay ſo cloſe and neer encamped. Surely
(thought he) and without all queſtion, he hath received no ſmall foil and overthrow, and in this
fright dareth not make after and follow the enemy. Nay, he feared much, leſt all were loſt and
gone, and that he ſhould not come time enough to help and ſuccour him: and that the Romans
had gotten already the ſame good hand in *Italy*, which they had before in *Spain*. Otherwhiles
he was perſwaded, that his letters never came to *Annibal* his hands, that they were intercepted,
and ſo the Conſul made haſt to prevent him, and give him the foil by the way. Being perplexed
with theſe careful cogitations, he cauſed the fires to be put out, and at the ſignal given at the firſt
watch, to truſs up bag and baggage, and to diſlodge, and be gone. In this fearful haſt, and nightly
tumult, the guides whiles they were ſlenderly looked unto, and ſmall heed was taken of them, I
one of them ſat down and reſted cloſe in a ſecret lurking hole which he had before deſtined in his
mind; the other waded over the river *Metaurus*, through the foords that he was well acquainted
with, and ſo got away and made an eſcape. So the army left at random without their guides, firſt
wandred over the fields, and then diverſe of them being weary and ſleepy with overwatching,
laid them down along here and there, and left their colours with few about them. *Aſdrubal*
commanded them to march along the bank of the River, and to follow it, until the day-light
might direct them the right way: and ſo going a compaſs in and out according to the winding
reaches and cranks of the River, wandred a great while, and gained but a ſmall ground forward.
Now when day light once appeared, he purpoſed to ſpie out the firſt place for convenient paſſage
and there to get over. But finding no foords, by reaſon that the farther it was from the Sea, the K
higher were the banks from the water that kept in the River, he ſpent all the live-long day, and
gave the enemy time to follow after him. And firſt *Claudius Nero* came with all the Horſemen,
then *Porcius* followed hard after with the van courriers, and light armed footmen. Whiles they
made offer to charge their enemies in their march, every way, and plaid ſtill upon them, inſo
much as now *Aſdrubal* leaving to journey forward (wherein he ſeemed rather to flee than
march) was deſirous to take a little hill along the river ſide, and there to encamp and fortifie:
*Livius* was come alſo with all the main power of footmen, ſo armed and ſo orderly appointed
and marſhalled, as they were not only provided to march in journey, but ready alſo preſently to
give battail. But when they were all joyned together, and aranged in battail array, *Claudius* had
the leading of the right wing, *Livius* commanded the left, and the Pretor took the charge and L
conduct of the main battail. *Aſdrubal* ſeeing no other remedy but to fight, never fortified his
camp; but in the fore-front before the vanguard, and in the very mids, placed his Elephants: a-
bout them in the left wing he oppoſeth the French againſt *Claudius*; not ſo much truſting upon
them, as ſuppoſing verily that the enemy was afraid of them: and in proper perſon he took up
the right wing againſt *Livius* for himſelf and the Spaniards, in whom (being old beaten ſoul-
diers) he repoſed his moſt hope. The Ligurians in the mids were beſtowed behind the Elephants.
But the battail was rather drawn out in length than ſtretched forth in breadth. The Frenchmen
were defended with the hill that bare out over them. That front which the Spaniards kept, en-
countred with the left wing of the Romans. And all the battail of the right ſide, which bare out
from the conflict, ſtood ſtill and fought not. The hill that was oppoſite againſt them, was the M
cauſe that neither afront, nor aflank they could charge upon the enemy. But between *Livius* and
*Aſdrubal* there was an hot fight begun already, and cruel bloudſhed on both ſides. There were
both the General Captains: there was the greater part of the Romans, as well foot as Horſe:
there were the Spaniards, old and experienced ſouldiers, skilfull alſo in the Roman manner of
fight: there were the Ligurians, a rough nation, and hardy in fight. Againſt this battailon were
the Elephants turned, who at the firſt ſhock and onſet troubled and diſordered the vanguard,
yea, and began to force the enſigns to give ground. But after upon the noiſe that grew greater,
and the battail that waxed hotter, they began to be unruly, and travers between both battails,
as it were doubtful to whether ſide they belonged, much like to ſhips left hulling and floting
without their pilots and ſteers men. Then *Claudius* cried out eftſoons to his ſouldiers: To what N
end, quoth he, made we ſuch poſt haſt, and took ſo long a journey? But ſeeing that he laboured in
vain to advance his banners and mount up againſt the hill oppoſite unto him, and perceiving that
way how it was impoſſible to come unto the enemy and to enter upon him, he drew forth cer-
tain cohorts out of the right wing where he ſaw they were liker to ſtand ſtill than to fight, and
wheeled about behind the enemies battail, and ſo unwares not only to the enemies, but alſo to his
own men, he charged upon the left flank of the enemies: and he beſtirred himſelf ſo nimbly, that
when he had ſhewed himſelf on the ſides, preſently he plaid upon their backs; in ſuch ſort, that
now on all hands, affront, behind, and on their flanks, down went the Spaniards and Ligurians,
and were hewn in pieces, yea, and the execution reached to the very French. There, with them
was leaſt ado, and ſmalleſt fight of all: for a great many of their fellows had abandoned their co- O
lours and being ſlipt away in the night, lay aſleep all over the fields: and ſuch as were there, weary
with travail and watching (as having bodies that of all things cannot away with labour and pains
taking) were ſcarce able to bear their corſelets on their backs. Beſides, now it was high noon: and
what with drought & heat together, they ſtood gaping for air & yeelded their bodies either to be
maſſacred, or taken captive. As for the Elephants, there were more of them killed by the hands of
the governors and guiders that ſate upon them, than by the enemy that fought againſt them. For

their

A their manner was to have about them a Carpenters chissel and a mallet, and when the beasts began once to rage and to run upon their own fellows, their masters would set the said chissel between their ears, even in the very joynt where the nape of the neck and the head meet together, and with his mallet to drive it as hard as he could: this was found to be the readiest and most speedy way to kill so mighty and huge a beast, when they were past all hope to rule them and keep them in order. And the first inventor and practiser of this feat was *Asdrubal*, a famous and memorable Captain, as in many other respects, so especially for this battail. He it was that held out to the end, exhorting his souldiers to fight, fighting also himself, and adventuring all dangers: he it was, that when his men were weary and drew back (by reason of long toil and labour) incensed them again, one while by fair words and intreaty, another while by sharp checks and re-
B bukes: he reclaimed them again when they were running away; he renewed the fight in divers places when it slaked and gave over. And at the very last, when he saw evidently that the enemy had the honor of the day, because he would not remain alive after so great an army defeated that followed his standard, and were induced by the reputation and name that went of him, he set spurs to his Horse, and rode among the Squadrons of the Roman Horsemen; and there, as beseemed *Amilcars* son, and *Annibals* brother, fighting right manfully, was slain. Never during the time of this war in one field were there so many enemies killed: and it seemed now that for losse of Captain and overthrow of army, they might well cry quittance with them for the defeat at *Canne*. Slain there were 56000 enemies, 6400 taken prisoners: and a rich booty and pil-
C lage gained of all sorts, besides gold and silver. Moreover, there were recovered of Roman citizens above four thousand, who had been taken prisoners, and were among the enemies. That comfort they had to make amends for the souldiers that died in this battail: for they won not the victory without bloudshed in this field, wherein to the number almost of eight thousand Romans and allies together, lost their lives. And the Conquerors themselves had so much their fill of bloud and slaughter, that the next morrow, when word was brought unto *Livius* the Consul, that divers Cisalpine Gauls, and Ligurians, which either were not at the battail, or escaped out of the execution, and were going away in one company all together, without a certain Leader, without Ensigns, without any order or command, and might all be put to the sword and utterly destroyed, if there were but one cornet of Horsemen sent out after them,
D "Nay, quoth he, let some remain alive to tell the news both of our enemies losse and ruin, and of "our own vertue and valour. And *Nero* the very next night after the battail, marched with more speed backward, than he came thither, and within six dayes returned again so far as to his standing leaguer, and the enemies. All the way as he marched, he was not indeed so resorted unto and frequented by so many men, by reason that there went no harbingers or messengers before: but his coming was welcomed, with so great gladness and mirth, that for very joy, the people were welneer besides themselves. As for *Rome*, it cannot be uttered and expressed in words sufficiently, how men were affected the one way or the other: neither how pensive the City was in doubtful expectation of the event, nor how joyous and jocund again, upon the news and tidings of the victory. For never one day (after the rumour once was blown thither, that *Claudius* the Consul was gone forth in his expedition) from the sun-rising unto the setting, de-
E parted either Senators out of the Councel-chamber, from attendance upon the Magistrats, or the people out of the Common-hall. The dames of the City, because other help they could yeeld none, betook themselves to their beads and devotions, and in every Church went up and down, and plied all the Gods with prayers, with vows, and humble supplications. As the City was thus perplexed and in suspence; first there came some flying news, that two Horsemen of *Narnia* were come out of the battail, and returned to the camp which lay to guard and keep the streights and passages of *Umbria*, who had brought word thither, that the enemies were defeated. At the first, they rather lent their ears to hear these tidings, than bent their minds to entertain the same; as being greater than they might in heart conceive, and more joyful than they could assuredly believe: and the exceeding swiftnes of the rumor hindred the credit thereof, because it was
F reported withal, that the battel was fought but two dayes before. Then were letters brought from *L. Manlius Acidinus*, sent out of the camp, which confirmed the arrival of those Horsemen of *Narnia*. Those letters were brought through the common place, unto the Tribunal of the Prætor: whereupon the Lords of the Senat were sent for out of the Councel-house. But the people kept such a thrusting and thronging about the door of the Senat, that the messenger could not passe thither, but was haled and pulled by the people, questioning with him, and calling hard upon him, that the letters should be read at the market cross, and in the *Rostra*, before they were opened in the Senate. But at the last, they were restrained by the Magistrats and caused to void, and hardly could the joy be contained among so unruly people, who had no measure nor rule of their affections. Well, the letters were first read in the Senat, and then in the assembly of the people:
G and there, according to the divers dispositions of men, some took joy and contentment of mind, as upon a certainty: others would give no credit, before they either heard the messengers speak directly from the Consuls, or saw their letters. After this, word came, that there were Embassadors themselves at hand. And then indeed, there ran to meet them, of all sorts, young and old, every one desired to be the first, to see and to hear these so glad tidings. And they went out so far as the bridge *Milvius*, and all the way along, was full of people. These Embassadors or messengers, were *L. Veturius Philo*, *P. Licinius Varus*, *Q. Cecilius Metellus*. Who being accompanied with people

of

of all degrees and qualities, that flocked about them, came as far as to the common place: some H
queſtioned with themſelves, others enquired of their train and retinue, what news, and how the World went. And as any one had caught an end from them, that the army and Captain General of the enemies was ſlain, or the Roman legions ſafe, and the Conſuls alive and well, he would immediatly impart his joy unto others. Much ado had they to come into the *Curia*, and more ado there was, to keep out the multitude, that they were not mingled among the Lords of the Senate. But at laſt the letters were read in the Senat. From thence were the Embaſſadors brought into the general aſſembly of the people. And *L. Veturius* after he had read the letters, explained himſelf from point to point in order, how every thing was done, with great applauſe; and afterwards, with a general ſhout of all the aſſembly, who hardly could conceive in their minds ſo great joy. Then they ran divers wayes, ſome to the Temples of the Gods to render thanks, others to their I
own houſes, to communicate with their wives and children ſo lucky and fortunate tidings. And the Senat decreed a ſolemn proceſſion for three dayes together, forasmuch as *M. Livius* and C. *Claudius* the Conſuls, with the ſafety of the legions had vanquiſhed the enemies, killed their General, and put their army to the ſword. This proceſſion *C. Hoſtilius* the Pretor, publiſhed in the open aſſembly of the people: and it was celebrated and ſolemnized both by men and women. All the Temples for three dayes fully, were likewiſe repleniſhed with the one ſex and the other. For the Matrons and Dames of the City, in their beſt apparrel, together with their children, yeelded praiſe and thanks to the immortal Gods, as if now they had been freed from all fear, and the war come to a final end for ever. This victory altered the very ſtate and courſe of the commonweal, ſo as from that time forward, as in time of ſetled peace, men durſt make contracts, buy and K
ſell, borrow and lend, yea, and pay debts to their creditors.

*C. Claudius* the Conſul, ſo ſoon as he was entred into the camp again, cauſed the head of *Aſdrubal* (which he had preſerved with great care and brought with him) to be thrown out before the *Corps de guard* and ſtations of the enemies, and that the African captives, ſhould be ſhewed bound as they were in chains: and two of them to be ſent looſe unto *Annibal*, to declare and recount in order, how every thing hapned. *Annibal* having at once received this double blow, mourning as well for the publick loſſe of the ſtate, as for the calamity hapned in his own houſe, fetched a deep ſigh (by report) and ſaid: Ah, I ſee well the hard fortune of *Carthage*. And diſlodging from thence, becauſe he would bring together all his forces (which being diſperſed aſunder, he was not able to hold and maintain) into the utmoſt angle of *Italy*, (the Brutians country) L
he brought thither as well the Metapontins, even the whole ſtate of them, who abandoned their own Towns and Cities, as alſo the Lucans, as many as were ſubject unto him, and under his obedience.

# The eight and twentieth Book

## *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome. M

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the eight and twentieth Book.

THE *proſperous affairs in* Spain, *under the conduct of* Syllanus *the Lieutenant of* Scipio, *and* L. Scipio *his brother, atchieved againſt the Carthaginians: as alſo the acts performed by* Sulpitius *the Pro-conſul, and* Attalus *the King of* Aſia [*the leſs*] *in the quarrel and behalf of the Ætolians, againſt* Philip *King of the Macedonians, are reported and ſet down* [*in this book.*] *When there was a triumph decreed and granted unto* M. Livius *and* C. Claudius Nero *the Conſuls:* Livius, *becauſe he* N
*had performed the exploit in his own Province, rode in a chariot drawn with four ſteeds: and* Nero, *becauſe he came into the Province of his colleague, to help forward the victory, rode after him mounted on horſeback: Howbeit even then, in this habit and manner of triumph, he carried the more glory, port, and reverence: for to ſay a truth, in this war he had done more good ſervice than his brother Conſul. The fire went out in the chappel of* Veſta, *by negligence of a Virgin, that had the keeping and tending thereof, and looked no better unto it. The ſaid Virgin was well whipped.* P. Scipio *finiſhed the war in* Spain *againſt the Carthaginians, when it had continued fourteen years: and in the fifteenth year after that he went from the City of* Rome. *And having diſſeized the enemies quite of the poſſeſſion of* Spain, *he recovered it wholly for the Romans. From* Taracon *he looſed, with two barks, and ſailed into* Affrick *unto* Syphax *King of the Numidians, with whom he concluded a league.* Aſdrubal *the ſon of* O
Gisgo, *ſat there with him at one table, and they ſupped together. He exhibited a game and paſtime of ſword-playing at new-*Carthage, *in the honor of his father and uncle: and the ſame was not performed by common fencers and ſword-players hired thereto, but by ſuch as either for the honour of their Captain, or to determine ſome controverſie, gave defiance one to the other, and entred the liſts in combat: Among whom, two great LL. of the country, who were brethren, fought at ſharp for the ſoveraignty of the Kingdom. When the City* Aſtapa *was beſieged and aſſailed by the Romans, the Townſmen*

*cauſed*

A caused a mighty pile of wood to be made, and set on fire, and when they had killed their wives and children, they threw themselves headlong into the fire after them. Scipio himself, whiles he lay grievously sick, and there hapned by occasion thereof a mutiny to arise in one part of his army, when he was amendedonce, made an end thereof: and compelled the States of Spain (that mutined) to come in and yield obedience again. There was likwise an amity and society concluded with Masanissa, King of the Numidians: who also promised him his aide, in case he would come over into Affrick: With the Gaditans also, after the departure of Mago from thence: who had received letters from Carthage, that he should passthe seas into Italy. Scipio, after he was returned to Rome, was created Consul. And when he made suite to have the Province of Affrick, Q. Fabius Maximus withstood him: and so he had the government of Sicily: but with commission to sail over into Affrick, in case he thought it good for the
B Common-weal. Mago the son of Amilcar from the lesser Baleare Iland, where he had wintred, took the seas and sailed over into Italy.

# The eight and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

WHen it seemed that *Spain* was eased as much of war, as *Italy* charged therewith, by the voyage of *Asdrubal* thither: behold, all of a sudden there arose other troubles there, equall to the former. And as for the Provinces of *Spain* at that time, they were possessed between Romans & Carthaginians in this manner. *Asdrubal*
C the son of *Gisgo*, was retired with his power far within the country, even to the Ocean and *Gades*. But the coasts bordering upon our sea, and in manner all *Spain* bending toward the East, was held by *Scipio* and subject to the Roman Empire. *Hanno* the new General, being passed out of *Affrick* with a fresh army, and entred into the room of *Asdrubal* the Barchine, joyned with *Mago*: and when he had put in arms within a short time, a great number of men in *Celtiberia*, which lieth in the midst between the two seas; *Scipio* sent forth against him; *M. Syllanus* made ten thousand foot, and five hundred horsemen. This *Syllanus* made such speed by taking as long journies as possibly he could (considering how much hindred and troubled he was, both by the roughness of the waies, and also by the straights, environed with thick woods, and forrests, as most parts of *Spain* are) that notwithstanding all those difficulties, he prevented not only the messengers, but also
D the very fame and rumour of his coming, and by the guidance of certain fugitive revolts out of *Celtiberia*, he passed forward from thence to the enemy. By the same guides he had intelligence, and was for certain advertised (being now some ten miles from the enemy) that about the very way where he should march there were two camps: namely, on the left hand the new army aboveseid of Celtiberians, to the number of more than nine thousand lay encamped, and the Carthaginians on the right. As for this Leaguer it was wel defended and fortified with *corps de guards*, which watch and ward both night and day, according to the good order and discipline of war. But the other was as much neglected, dissolute, loose, and out of order, like as commonly barbarous people and raw souldiers are, and such as fear the less, by reason they are at home within their own country. *Syllanus* thinking it good policy to set upon them first, gave commandment to
E march under their ensigns and colours, and bear toward their left hand as much as they could, for fear of being discovered in some place or other by the guards and Sentinels of the Carthaginians. And himself in person, having sent before certain vant-courriers and espials, with his army advanced apace directly toward his enemy. Now was he approached within three miles of them unespied, and not descried at all. For why? a mountain country it was, full of roughs and crags, overspread and covered with woods and thickets. There in a hollow valley between, and therefore secret for the purpose, he commanded his souldiers to sit them down and take their refection. In this mean time the espials came back and verified the words of the fugitives aforesaid. Then the Romans, after they had piled their packs, their trusses and baggage in the midst, armed themselves, and in order of battell set forward to fight. When they were come within a mile of
F the enemies, they were discovered by them, who began suddenly to be affraid. *Mago* at the first outcry and alarm, set spurs to his horse, and rode a gallop out of his Camp to succour. Now there were in the army of the Celtiberians, four thousand footmen targettiers, and two hundred horse. This Troop being in manner the flower and very strength of the whole army, and as it were, a full and compleat legion he placed in the vanguard; all the rest, which were lightly armed, he bestowed in the rereward for to succour and rescue. As he led them forth thus ordered and arranged they were not well issued without the trench, but the Romans began to lance their javelins and darts against them. The Spaniards to avoid this volley of shot from the enemies, couched close under their shields, and defended themselves, and afterwards they rose up at once to charge again upon them. But the Romans standing thick, as their manner is, received all their darts in
G their targets, and then they closed man to man, and foot to foot, and began to fight at hand with their swords. Howbeit, the ruggedness of the ground, as it nothing availed the swiftness of the Celtiberians (whose guise is to run to and fro in skirmish and keep no ground) so the same was not hurtfull at all to the Romans who were used to a set battell, and to stand to their fight: only the straight room, and the trees and shrubs growing between, parted their ranks and files asunder, so as they were forced to maintain skirmish either singly one to one, or two to two at the most, as if they had been matched to cope together even. And look what thing hindered the enemies in

their flight, the ſame yielded them, as it were, bound hand and foot unto the Romans, for to be killed. Now when all theſe targettiers wel-near of the Celtiberians were ſlain; their light armed ſouldiers, and the Carthaginians alſo, who from the other camp ran to ſuccour, were likewiſe diſarraied, diſcomfited and hewn in pieces. So there were two thouſand footmen, and not above, and all the horſemen (who ſcarce began battell) fled with *Mago* and eſcaped. As for *Hanno* the other Generall, together with them who came laſt, and to the very end of the fray, was taken alive. But *Mago* fled ſtill: and all the Cavalry, with as many as remained of the old footmen followed after, and by the tenth day arrived in the Province of *Gades*, and came unto *Aſdrubal*. The Celtiberians, that were but new ſouldiers, ſlipt into the next woods out of the way, and ſo from thence fled home.

This fortunate victory hapned in ſo good a time, not ſo much ſtifled the preſent war in the very birth, as it cut off the matter and maintenance of future troubles, in caſe the enemies had been let alone, and ſuffered to ſollicit and ſtir other nations to take armes, like as they raiſed the Celtiberians already. Whereupon, *Scipio* having highly commended *Syllanus*, and conceived great hope withall to diſpatch quite and make an end of the wars, in caſe himſelf lingred not the matter, and made long ſtay; purſued the remnant behind, and ſet forward into the utmoſt Province of *Spain* againſt *Aſdrubal*. But *Aſdrubal*, who hapned then to lye encamped in * *Bætica* for to keep his Allies in obedience and faithfull alleageance, all on a ſudden diſlodged, pluckt up ſtandards, and away; and more like one that fled than marched, led his army farther into the country, even as far as the Ocean, and to *Gades*. But ſuppoſing, that ſo long as he kept his forces all together, himſelf was the only mark which the enemy would ſhoot at, before that he cut over the ſtraights of *Gibraltar* to *Gades*, he brake up his whole army, and ſent them away here and there to their ſeverall Cities, both to ſave themſelves within the walls, and to defend the walls by force of arms. *Scipio*, ſo ſoon as he perceived that the war was thus divided into ſundry parts, and that to lead about his forces from City to City, was rather a long and tedious peece of work, than either difficult or much availeable, retired back. But becauſe he would not leave that country clear in the hands of the enemies, he ſent his brother *L. Scipio* with 10000 foot, and 1000 horſemen, to aſſail the mightieſt and wealthieſt City in thoſe parts, which the barbarous people call *Oringis*. This City is ſeated in the confines of the *Meleſſi* (a nation meer Spaniards) the ſoil fruitfull, and the inhabitants there find ſilver mines. This was the fortreſs of *Aſdrubal*, and his place of ſafe retreat, when he made outroads all abroad into the midland countries of the main and ſpoiled the people. *Lucius Scipio* having pitched his Camp under the ſaid City; before that he entrenched and blocked the town, ſent certain to the gates, who by parling near at hand, might feel and ſound the diſpoſitions of the Citizens, and perſwade with them to make triall of the Romans friendly alliance, rather than their forcible violence. But perceiving by their anſwers no mind at all nor inclination to peace, he caſt a trench, and raiſed a double rampier about the town, and divided his army into three parts, to the end that one of them ſhould ever follow the aſſault, whiles the other twain took reſt and eaſe. And when the firſt troop and regiment of them began to give a camiſado, there followed a fierce, cruell, and doubtfull skirmiſh. For they could not eaſily either come under the walls, or bring ſcaling ladders to ſet to, by reaſon of the ſhot that light upon them. And ſuch as already had reared up ladders to the wall, ſome of them were puſhed off with certain forks provided for that purpoſe, others were caught hold of with iron hooks from above, and were in danger to be hung up in the air, hoiſed aloft, and fetcht over the walls. *Scipio* ſeeing that the conflict was unequall, by reaſon of the ſmall number of aſſailants, and that the enemies had the advantage beſides, in that they fought from the wall top; cauſed that firſt regiment to retire, and with the other twain at once gave a freſh aſſault to the town. This ſtroke ſo great a fear into them who were already wearied with fighting, that not only the townſmen ſuddenly abandoned the walls and fled, but alſo the Carthaginian garriſon ſouldiers, for fear leſt the City was betraied, forſook alſo their ſtations and places of guard, and gathered themſelves into one place. But then the townſmen were affraid, leſt if the enemies put themſelves within the City, they ſhould be maſſacred every where as they came in their way, without reſpect and difference who were Carthaginians, or who were Spaniards. Whereupon they ſet one gate open on a ſudden, and in great numbers ran out of the town, bearing their targets before them againſt the darts that were ſhot afar off, and ſhewing aloft their naked right hands, in token that they had laid aſide their ſwords. But whether the enemy could not well diſcern them ſo far off, or whether they ſuſpected ſome crafty and deceitfull practice, I wot not, but they fell upon theſe that fled and yielded unto them, and ſlew them downright, as well as if they had affronted them in the face of a battell, and at the ſame gate entred the City with bloudy banners. In other parts likewiſe they fell to hewing down the gates with axes, and to break them open with crows of Iron. And as every horſeman got into the City, he rode amain (according to the direction given by the Generall) into the market place, to be poſſeſſed thereof. And to theſe horſemen were aſſigned the *Triarii* for aid and aſſiſtance. The Legionary ſouldiers beſides ran over all the other parts of the City, ſpoiling and killing all that ever they met, ſave ſuch as defended themſelves with their armour. All the Carthaginians were taken priſoners and committed to ward, likewiſe of townſmen about three hundred, ſuch as had ſhut the gates; but unto all the reſt the town was rendred again, and each man had his own goods delivered and reſtored unto him. There were ſlain at the aſſault of that City, of enemies almoſt two thouſand: but of Romans not above

fourſcore

* *Andeluſia.*

A fourſcore and ten. As by the winning of the town, they that were imployed there took great joy and contentment: ſo in their return to their Generall himſelf, and the reſt of the main army, they made a goodly ſhew as they marched with a mighty multitude of priſoners led before them. *Scipio* having praiſed his brother in the moſt honourable terms that he could deviſe, and namely, for this exploit of forcing *Orinx*, making him equall in glory to himſelf for the conqueſt of *Carthage*: becauſe winter drew on, that he could neither give the attempt upon *Gades*, nor yet follow at once upon the army of *Aſdrubal*, ſo diſperſed as it was in ſundry parts over the Province, conducted his forces back again into the Province of *Spain*, that lieth on this ſide *Iberus*: and when he had diſmiſſed his legions into their ſeverall ſtanding camps to winter in, and ſent his brother *L.* Scipio to *Rome*, together with *Hanno* the Generall of the enemies, and other Gentlemen priſoners, he B withdrew himſelf to *Taracon*.

In the ſame year the Roman Armado being ſet out under the conduct of the Admirall *M. Valerius Lævinus* the Pro-Conſul, made a voyage from *Sicily* into *Affrick*, and forraged all over the Territories of *Utica* and *Carthage*, inſomuch as they drave booties out of the very utmoſt Confines of the Carthaginians, and even about the walls of *Utica*. As they ſailed back for *Sicily*, they were encountred by the Carthaginian fleet, conſiſting of ſeventy long ſhips of war, whereof ſeventeen were boorded and taken, four ſunk in the deep ſea, the reſt were put to flight and diſperſed. Thus the Roman Captain *Valerius*, after victories atchieved both by ſea and land, returned with rich prizes of all ſorts to *Lilybæum*: and hereupon by reaſon that the ſeas were open and cleared of the enemies ſhips, great ſtore and abundance of grain was brought to C *Rome*.

In the beginning of that ſummer wherein theſe things hapned, *P. Sulpitius* the Pro-Conſul, and King *Attalus*, after they had wintred in *Ægina*, as is aboveſaid, with a joint navy paſſed over from thence into the Iſland *Lemnos*. The Romans were twenty five Galliaces of five ranks of oars, and the King had thirty five. *Philip* for his part becauſe he would be ready at all aſſaies to meet with the enemy either by land or ſea, went himſelf in perſon down to the ſea-ſide, as far as *Demetrias*, and made proclamation, that all his forces ſhould by a certain day meet together at *Ariſſa*. Upon the fame that went of the Kings coming, there repaired ſundry Embaſſies from the confederate States of all parts unto *Demetrias*. For the Ætolians having taken heart unto them, as well for the ſociety with the Romans, as upon the coming of *Attalus*, waſted and ſpoi-D led their borderers. And not only the Acarnanians and Bœotians, and they that inhabit *Eubœa*, were in great fear, but alſo the Achæans; whom over and beſides the war from the Ætolians, *Machanidas* alſo the Lacedæmonian tyrant terrified, who encamped himſelf not far from the confines of the Argives. All theſe States made report what perils were like to enſue both by ſea and land to their ſeverall Cities, and beſought the King his aid. Moreover there came unto him out of his own Realm no good tidings of peace and quietneſs, for that *Scerdiletus* and *Pleuratus* were gone out and rebelled: and of the nations of *Thrace*, the *Medi* eſpecially were ready to invade the frontiers adjoyning upon *Macedony*, in caſe the King ſhould fortune to be buſied and occupied otherwiſe in any long wars. The Bœotians likewiſe themſelves, and other nations inhabiting the more inland parts of *Greece*, had given intelligence, that the paſſages of the forreſt E *Thermopylæ*, where as the narrow gullet of the ſtreights yieldeth ſmall paſſage, were ſtopped up by the Ætolians with a trench and palliſado, that it might give no acceſs at all unto *Philip*, for to come and defend the Cities of the Allies. Thus many troubles coming faſt and thick one upon another, had been able to have rouzed and awakened even a ſleepy and ſlow Captain, and made him to look about him. Theſe Embaſſadors he diſpatched and ſent away, promiſing every one of them help and ſuccour, as time and occaſion would permit: and willing them each one for the preſent to provide thoſe things that were moſt urgent and important. Then he ſent a garriſon unto that City from whence new came, that *Attalus* having paſſed with a fleet from *Lemnos*, had waſted and forraged all the territory about it. And he ſent *Polyphantes* with a ſmall power into *Bœotia*, and *Menippus* likewiſe, one of his own Captains and Cavaliers, unto *Chal-*F *cis*, with a thouſand targettiers, called *Peltati*, (now the *Peltæ* are certain ſmall bucklers or targets, nothing unlike unto the Spaniſh *Cetræ*) unto whom were joyned five hundred Ænians, that they might be able to guard all the parts of the Iſland: himſelf in perſon went to *Scotuſa*, and there he appointed the *Rendezvous* that all the forces of the Macadonians ſhould be brought thither from * *Lariſſa*. News came unto him there that the Ætolians had ſummoned and proclaimed a generall Diet or Councill at *Heraclea*, and that King *Attalus* would repaire thither to conſult about the managing of the whole war. And with an intent by his ſudden coming to trouble this ſolemn aſſembly and meeting of the States, he took great journeys in his march, and led his army toward *Heraclea*: but the Councill was newly diſſolved when he arrived thither. Howbeit, he deſtroyed all the ſtanding corn, which was near-hand ripe, G ſpecially in the vale along the Gulph of the Ænians, and ſo reduced his army back again to *Scotuſa*: and there leaving his whole power, he retired himſelf to *Demetrias*, attended only with his royall guard. And becauſe he might from thence be ready to meet with all ſudden ſtirs and invaſions of the enemies, he ſent out men of purpoſe into *Phocis*, * *Eulœa*, and * *Peparethus*, to chuſe out certain high places for beacons, from whence the fires might be ſeen afar off. And himſelf ſet up one watch tower upon *Ciſſæus* (a mountain, the top whereof is of an exceeding height) that upon the ſignall of the beacons on fire from afar, he might in the minute

* *Larizza*, or *Larze*.

* *Nigroponte*.
* *Lemene*, *Nigri* or *Saraquinos*, *Caſtaldo*.

of an hour have intelligence, ſo ſoon as the enemies went about any trouble whatſoever. But the Roman Generall, and King *Attalus*, paſſed the ſeas from *Peparethus* to *Nicea*, and from thence ſailed with their Armado to *Eubœa*, unto the City *Oreum*, which as a man beareth his courſe from the gulph of *Demetrias* to *Chalcis* and * *Euripus*, is the firſt City of *Eubœa* that ſheweth it ſelf upon the left hand. And thus it was agreed between *Attalus* and *Sulpitius*, that the Romans ſhould give the aſſault from the ſea ſide, and the King with his forces on the land. Four daies after the fleet was arrived, they preſented themſelves before the City to aſſail it. For, that time between was ſpent in ſecret talk and conference with *Plator*, who was appointed by *Philip* governor and Provoſt of the City. The City had within it two Citadels, the one commanding the ſea, the other ſituate in the very heart and midſt of the town. From thence there is a way under the ground that leadeth to the ſea: at the end whereof there ſtood a fabrick or tower five ſtories high, a ſingular bulwark and place of defence. There at firſt began a moſt ſharp and cruell conflict, by reaſon that the turret was well furniſhed with all kind of ſhot and artillery: and likewiſe from out of the ſhips there was planted much ordnance, and many engins bent to impeach and aſſault the ſame. Now when every mans mind was amuzed, and eye fixed upon this hot and eager fight, *Plator* received and let in the Romans at the gate of the other Citadell that ſtood over the ſea, and ſo in the turning of an hand it was ſurprized and won. The townſmen being expelled and chaſed from thence, retired and betook themſelves into the middle of the City unto the other fortreſs. But certain ſouldiers were ſet of purpoſe there to ſhut the gate upon them: and ſo being excluded, they were killed and taken priſoners in the midſt between. The garriſon of the Macedonians ſtood round together under the Caſtle wall, and neither fled openly amain, nor yet began to fight, as if they meant to ſtick to it unto the end. For whom *Plater* obtained pardon of *Sulpitius*, and having embarked them, brought them to *Demetrium* of *Phthiotis*, and there ſet them aſhore, and himſelf returned to *Attalus*.

* *Stretcho de Negroponte.*

*Sulpitius* bearing himſelf bold for this ſo good and ſpeedy ſucceſs, immediatly ſailed with his victorious Armado againſt *Chalcis*. Where the event in the end anſwered nothing unto his hope and expectation. The ſea lying broad and large on both hands, gathereth in that place to a narrow room, ſo as at the firſt ſight it maketh a ſhew of a double peer or haven, opening upon two divers mouths, but in very truth, there is not lightly to be found a worſe harbour, and a more dangerous rode for ſhips. For not only for the exceeding high hils on both ſides of the main, the winds ariſe ſuddenly and blow bluſterous, but alſo the very ſtraight it ſelf of *Euripus* ebbeth and floweth ſeven times in the day, as the voice goeth, at certain ſet and ordinary hours; but without all order, as the winds drive, the ſea turneth and rolleth hither and thither, working up and down, and like a flowing ſtream runneth forcibly and with great violence, as it were, down a ſteep hill: ſo as neither night nor day the ſhips there riding have any reſt and repoſe. As the Roman Armado was thus engaged within ſo dangerous a rode: ſo the town of the one part was environed with the ſea, and on the land-ſide ſurely fortified; beſides the defence of a ſtrong garriſon there, and the aſſured loyalty of the Captains and principall heads and rulers; whereby it was chiefly guarded, which at *Oreum* was but vain, fickle, and unſtedfaſt: by means whereof it was tenable and impregnable. The Roman Generall in this caſe, conſidering how he had begun a raſh enterpriſe, and ſeeing many difficulties on every hand, wrought wiſely yet in this one point, that he ſoon gave over, becauſe he would ſpend no time in vain, and paſſed over with his fleet from thence to *Cynus* of *Locris* (a town of Merchandiſe belonging to the City of *Opus*, ſituate a mile from the ſea.) *Philip* had warning by the beacons on fire that appeared from *Oreum*: but by the fraud of *Plator*, the other were with the laſteſt ſet a burning from the watch-tower aboveſaid. And foraſmuch as he was not ſtrong enough at ſea, he could not with his navy have eaſe acceſs into the Iſland. So that ſervice was delaied and altogether neglected. But he beſtirred himſelf quickly to the ſuccour of *Chalcis*, ſo ſoon as ever he eſpied the fire from the beacon. For albeit *Chalcis* it ſelf be a City of the ſame Iſland, yet it is divided from the Continent by ſo narrow an arm of the ſea that there is no more but a bridge between it and the land: and on that ſide it hath more eaſie acceſs than by water. *Philip* having diſſeized the garriſon there, caſt down the fort, and diſcomfited the Ætolians who kept the ſtraight paſſage of *Thermopyla*, came from *Demetrias* to *Scotuſa*, from whence he departed at the third watch: and when he had driven and chaſed the enemies in great fear to *Heraclea*, himſelf in one day reached to *Elatia* in *Phocis*, a journey above 60 miles. The very ſame day in manner the City of *Opuntii* was taken by K. *Attalus* and put to the ranſack. The whole pillage thereof, *Sulpitius* had granted to the King, in regard that *Oreum* a few daies before was ſpoiled and rifled by the Roman ſouldiers, and the Kings men had no ſhare with them. Now was the Roman Armado retired to *Oreum*: and *Attalus* not ware of *Philip* his coming, ſpent time in exacting monies from the chief and principall Citizens. But ſo ſudden and unexpected was this accident of his approach, that had not certain Cretenſians by good hap gone forth a forraging far from the City, and deſcried the march of the enemies a great way off, he might have been overtaken and ſurprized. *Attalus* unarmed and out of order as he was, made haſte & ran amain to the ſea-ſide for to recover the ſhips. And even as he and his men were looſing from the land and lanching into the ſea, *Philip* came, and from the very ſhore put the mariners and ſailers in great fear. From thence he returned to *Opus*, crying out upon God and man, and blaming his ill luck, that he had miſſed ſo narrowly the opportunity of ſo great an exploit, and let it go, as it were, ſnatched out of his very eye. In the fit of anger he reproved and rebuked

the

A the Opuntians, for that being able to hold out the ſiege untill his coming, ſo ſoon as they ſaw the enemy they preſently had yielded themſelves in a manner voluntary into his hands. When he had ſet things in order at *Opus* and thereabout, he took his journey to *Torone*. *Attalus* at the firſt retired himſelf to *Oreum*: but upon the news arrived, how *Pruſias* the King of *Bithynia* had invaded the frontiers of his kingdom, he left the Roman affairs and the Ætolian war, and from thence ſailed over directly into *Aſia*. *Sulpitius* alſo retired his navy unto *Ægina*, from whence in the beginning of the ſpring he had departed and taken his voyage. And *Philip* forced and won *Torone*, with as ſmall ado as *Attalus* before had taken *Opus*. That foreſaid City *Torone* was inhabited by certain that were fled and driven out of *Thebes* in *Phthiotis*. For when the City was taken by *Philip*, and they fled for protection unto the Ætolians, (to whom they recommended and com-
B mitted themſelves) the Ætolians gave unto them that place to ſeat themſelves in, being a City waſted and in manner deſolate by the former war of *Philip*. Then *Philip* having recovered *Torone* again, as is aforeſaid, departed from thence, and won *Tritonum* and *Drymas*, two ſmall and baſe towns of no account in *Doris*. From whence he came to *Elatia*, where he had given commandment, that the Embaſſadors of *Ptolomeus* and the Rhodians, ſhould give attendance untill his coming. Where, as they were treating about the making an end of the Ætolian war (foraſmuch as thoſe Embaſſadors to the ſame effect had lately preſented themſelves at *Heraclea*, in the Councill and aſſembly of the Romans and Ætolians) tidings came, that *Machanidas* purpoſed and determined to ſet upon the Eleans, as they were preparing to exhibit the ſolemn Olympian games. *Philip* ſuppoſing it good to prevent that, courteouſly anſwered the Embaſſadors and gave them their
C diſpatch: ſaying that as himſelf was not the cauſe of that war, ſo he would not hinder and ſtay the concluſion of peace upon any equall and reaſonable conditions. And ſo with a power lightly appointed he marched through *Bœotia* to *Megara*, and from thence went down to *Corinth*: where having furniſhed himſelf with victuals, he marched forward to *Phlios* & *Phaneus*. And being now come as far as to *Erea*, and hearing there that *Machanidas* upon the rumour of his coming for fear was fled back to *Lacedæmon*, he returned to *Ægium*, unto the generall Diet and Council of the *Achæi*: ſuppoſing withall, that he ſhould find there the Punick armado, which he had ſent for to come thither, becauſe he might be able to do ſomewhat alſo by ſea. But ſome few daies before the Carthaginians had ſailed over into *Phocæa*, and from thence were gone to the havens of the A-
D carnanians, ſo ſoon as they heard once, that *Attalus* and the Romans were departed from *Oreum*, fearing that they would make out after them, and leſt they ſhould be overtaken and ſurpriſed within *Rhium*, which is the very mouth of the Corinthian gulph. *Philip* verily grieved hereat, and was wonderfully troubled in mind, ſeeing what haſte ſoever he made himſelf in all his empriſes, yet he came too ſhort and effected nothing in due time: as if fortune in taking all things out of his very eye-ſight, had deluded, diſappointed, and mocked all his ſpeedineſs and expedition. Howbeit, in that ſolemn Diet and aſſembly, he diſſembled his grief, bit in his paſſionate affections, and thus with an haughty mind he ſpake and ſaid, "That he called both God and man to witneſs, that he "had forlet no opportunity of time nor vantage of place, but when and whereſoever he heard but "any inckling of the enemy, and the leaſt ruſtling of armour, thither he had made all haſte that
E "poſſibly he might: but he could hardly deviſe and conceive, whether himſelf were more ventu-"rous in ſeeking war, than the enemy nimble and quick in avoiding the ſame. So *Attalus* at *Opus*, "ſo *Sulpitius* at *Chalcis*, and ſo the other day *Machanidas* eſcaped out of his hands and got a-"way. But ſurely (quoth he) his running away will not alwaies proſper and ſpeed well: neither is "that to be counted a dangerous war, wherein a man may be ſure (if he but meet his enemy once) "to have the upper hand. That which is the principall point of all, thus much have I got yet at "the enemies hands, that they confeſs thereby, how they are not able to make their parts good "with us: and I doubt not, but ſhortly I ſhall atchieve the victory of them, and the event and for-"tune of their fighting with me, ſhall be no better than their preſent hope. The Kings allies were glad to hear him ſpeak thus. Then he retired unto the Achæans, *Erea*, and *Triphylia*, and delive-
F red again *Alipheræ* unto the Megalopolitans; for that they proved by good evidence, that it belonged by right to their territory and confines. Thus having received of the Achæans certain ſhips, to wit, three Galliaces or Carvels of four banks of oars, and as many gallies of two ranks, from thence he cut over to *Anticyræ*. And then with ſeven Carvels of five ranks of oars, and more than twenty barks beſides, which he had ſent into the gulph of *Corinth* to joyn with the Carthaginian navy, he made ſail to *Erythræ* in *Ætolia*, near unto *Eupalium*, and there diſbarked and landed his men. But the Ætolians were advertiſed aforehand of his arrival and coming aſhore: for all the people that inhabited either the country towns and villages, or the Caſtles near to *Potidania* and *Apollonia*, were fled into the mountains and woods. As for the cattell, which in that hurry and haſte that they made could not be driven away with them, thoſe they preyed upon and brought them to the ſhips. With theſe and all the reſt of the booty he ſent *Nicias* the Prætor of
G the Achæans to *Ægium*, and ſent forward to *Corinth*: and from thence he commanded that the land forces ſhould be conducted and march by land through *Bœotia*: whiles himſelf ſailing from *Cenchræa* along the coaſt of *Attica*, above the point or cape of *Sunium*, paſſed even through the midſt of his enemies armados, and arrived at *Chalcis*. Then after he had commended the Citizens there for their fidelity and vertue, in that neither fear nor hope was able to change and turn their reſolute minds, and exhorted them for the time to come, to continue ſtedfaſt in their alliance and allegeance, if they made more reckoning of their own fortune, and loved it better than the con-

dition of the Oritans and the *Opuntii*; he sailed from *Chalcis* to *Oreum*. And when he had committed the government of the State, and the guard of the City, unto those principall Citizens, who chose to flie when the City was lost, rather than to yield themselves unto the Romans, himself passed over from *Euboea* unto *Demetrias*, from whence at the first he took his voyage to the aid and succour of his friends and Allies. After all this, having appointed and set out at *Cassandrea* keels for an hundred long ships of war, and taken up a number of shipwrights to finish out the rest of the work: seeing that all *Greece* was now in quiet, both because *Attalus* was departed from thence, and also for that himself had in good time succoured his allies and confederats, who were in some trouble and distress, he returned back again into his own Realm, for to make war upon the Dardanians. H

In the latter end of that summer, wherein these affairs thus passed in *Greece*, when *Q. Fabius Maximus* the father being sent as Embassador from *M. Livius* the Consul unto the Senat at *Rome*, had brought word and made report, That the Consul judged *L. Porcius* with his legions to be sufficient for the Province of *France*, and that himself might well be spared, and depart from thence, and the Consular army withdrawn out of those parts: the Lords of the Senat gave order and determined that not only *M. Livius*, but *C. Claudius* also his Collegue, should return to the City. This difference only between the one and the other appeared in the decree, in that they gave direction, that the army of *M. Livius* should be brought home, but the Legions of *Nero* should remain still in the province, and be opposed against *Annibal*. The Consuls by entercourse of their letters passing between, agreed thus together, That like as they had with one mind and consent made war and managed the affairs, so, albeit they were in divers parts far asunder, yet they should meet in one place, and at one time make repair to the City of *Rome*: and that whether of them twain came first to *Preneste*, he should there attend the coming of his Collegue. And it fortuned so, that they arrived both upon one and the same day at *Preneste*. From whence they sent an edict before, that the third day after the Senat should generally assemble together in the Temple of *Bellona*: and so they were met upon the way with a multitude of people, who accompanied them as they returned into the City. And they were not content all of them in generall to salute them and welcome them home, but every man was desirous particularly to take the Consuls by their victorius right hands: some with congratulations, wishing them joy, others with thanksgiving, acknowledging that by their good means and vertue the Commonweal was preserved and set upright. Now when they had related in the Senat house (as the manner was of all Generals) what acts they had atchieved, and withall demanded, that for their valiant and faithfull service to the Commonweal, first, due honour should be rendred to the almighty gods, and then they themselves allowed to enter the City in triumph: the LL. of the Senat made answer, That they for their parts were ready and willing to consider first and principally of the merits and goodness of the gods, and next and immediatly of the good deserts of the Consuls: and as they decreed divine processions and supplications in the name of them both, so they granted triumph, as well to the one as to the other. But the Consuls, because they would not divide their triumph (since that they had managed the wars with one accord and common consent) thus agreed between themselves, That forasmuch as the battell was fought within the Province of *M. Livius*, and the very day of the field fought it fortuned to be his turn to take the sign of birds, and to have the entire rule; and besides, the army of *Livius* was brought back and came to *Rome* already, but that other of *Nero* could not be removed out of the Province: therefore *M. Livius* should ride in a chariot drawn with four steeds into the City, with his souldiers following after, and *C. Claudius* presently come after mounted on horseback without his souldiers. Thus the triumph was communicate to the one and the other, and encreased the glory of them both; but especially of him, who the more that he exceeded his Collegue in desert, the more he yielded and gave place unto him in honour. "Lo said every man, he there on horseback travelled in six daies space the whole "length of *Italy* from one end to the other, and fought the very same day with banner displaied "against *Asdrubal* in *Gaul*, when as *Annibal* thought verily he lay encamped against him with his "army in *Apulia*. See how one and the same Consul, in the defence of the one part of *Italy* and "the other, against two Captains may, against two noble Generals of two armies, in one place employed his advice and counsell, and in another opposed his body and force of arms. Behold (say "they) the very bare name of *Nero* was sufficient to keep *Annibal* within his camp: and what was "it else, that discomfited and defeated *Asdrubal*, but even his only coming? Let the other Consul therefore be set up on high, and rid in a chariot drawn with as many horses as he will; all "while that the true triumph indeed passeth through the City upon one horse only. Nay, if *Nero* "went but on foot, he would be memorable for ever hereafter, as well for the refusall of glory in "that triumph, as for the winning of honour in that war. With these and such like speeches they entertained *Nero* as they beheld him, and so accompanied him even to the very Capitoll. They brought into the Treasure-house of the City in coin * thirty hundred thousand * *Sestertii*, and 800 00 Asses. Among the souldiers, *M. Livius* divided * six and fifty Asses to them apiece. And *C. Claudius* promised as much to his souldiers that were absent upon his return to the army. This was noted and observed in the triumph, that the souldiers uttered more ditties and rimes full of pleasant conceits and jests (as their manner was) upon *C. Claudius* than their own Consul: and that the gentlemen and horsemen highly extolled and magnified above all the rest *L. Veturius*, and *Q. Cecilius* the two Lieutenants, and exhorted the Commons to create them Consuls against the I K L M N O

next

* 234375 lib. sterl.

* *Sestertius*, A small peece of silver coin among the Romans, the fourth part of *Denarius*; containing two Asses and a half, and is of English money three half peuce farthing cue.

* 3 sh 6 d. sterl.

A next year: likewise, that the Consuls for the time being, confirmed this prerogative choise and election of those gentlemen, with their own assent and authority the morrow after, in a frequent assembly before the people, giving honourable testimony of the valiant and faithfull service of those foresaid Lieutenants in that war.

Now the time drew near of election of new Magistrates: and when it was thought good by the Senat, that a Dictator should call that solemn assembly for the said election; *C. Claudius* the Consul nominated for Dictator his Collegue *M. Livius*. And *Livius* named *Q. Cecilius* General of the horsemen. So there were created Consuls by *M. Livius* the Dictator, *L. Veturius*, and *Q. Cecilius* even he who then was Generall of the Cavalry. After this, they went to the election of the
B Prætors, and chosen there were *C. Servilius*, *M. Cecilius Metellus*, *T. Claudius Asellus*, and *Q. Manlius Thurius*, who then was Ædile of the Commons.

When these elections were finished, the Dictator having resigned up his office and dismissed the army, by vertue of an act of the Senat took his journey into the Province of *Tuscany*, to sit in commission and make enquiry, what States either of the Tuscans or Umbrians intended and plotted to revolt from the Romans, and to turn to *Asdrubal* at his coming into those parts: and who they were that had assisted him either with auxiliary souldiers, or with victuals, or with any aid and help whatsoever. And these were the acts for that year, as well at home as abroad in the wars.

The great Roman Games were wholly renued and set out again three times by the Ædiles of
C the chair *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, and *Serv. Cornelius Lentulus*. Likewise the pastimes and plaies, called *Plebeij*, were once fully renued and exhibited again by *M. Sempronius Matho*, and *Q. Manlius Thurinus* Ædiles of the Commons.

In the thirteenth year of the second Punick war, when *L. Veturius Philo*, and *Q. Cecilius Metellus* were Consuls, both of them were appointed by the Senat to make war upon *Annibal* in the Province of the *Brutij*. Which done, the Prætors cast lots: And to *M. Cecilius Metellus* fell the jurisdiction of the Citizens; to *Q. Manlius*, of the forreiners. *C. Servilius* his lot was to govern *Sicily*, and *T. Claudius Sardinia*. As for the armies, they were divided in this manner: one of the Consuls had the conduct of that which was under *C. Claudius* the Consul of the year before. The other Consul had the leading of that (namely, two full legions) which *C. Claudius* the Pro-Prætor before
D commanded. *M. Livius* as Pro-Consul, whose government was prorogued for another year, received the charge of two legions of voluntaries in *Hetruria*, at the hand of *C. Terentius* the Pro-Prætor. And *Q. Manlius* was appointed by a decree of the Senat to deliver over his jurisdiction to his Collegue, and to take the charge of *Gallia* with the forces there; whereof *L. Porcius* the Pro-Prætor was Captain: and he had in commission to waste the lands of those Gauls who were revolted to the Carthaginians upon the coming of *Asdrubal*. *C. Servilius* was assigned with the power of the two Cannian legions, to defend *Sicily*, like as *P. Manlius* had before. Out of *Sardinia* the old army was withdrawn, which was under the governance of *A. Hostilius*: and the Consuls enrolled one new legion, for *T. Claudius* to sail over with. *Quintus Claudius*, and *C. Hostilius Tubulus*, had both of them their commissions newly sealed for one year longer, the one to govern *Tar-*
E *tum*, and the other to rule *Capua*. *M. Valerius* the Pro-Consul, who also was Admiral for the sea-coast and river along *Sicily*, was commanded to give up thirty of his sail unto *C. Servilius*, and with all the rest of the Navy to return to the City of *Rome*.

As the City was in suspence and stood doubtfull for the variable event of so great a war, attributing the causes of all weal and woe, of prosperity and adversity to the gods; behold many prodigious tokens were reported to have hapned. Namely, That in *Tarracina* the Temple of *Jupiter*, and at *Satricum* the Chappel of the goddess *Matuta*, were blasted with lightning from heaven. And the inhabitants of *Satricum* were no less terrified with two serpents that were crept into the temple of *Jupiter* at the very doors. From *Antium* there was word brought, that the harvest folk as they were reaping spied certain ears of corn bloudy. At *Care* there was a sow that farrowed a pig
F with two heads, and an ewe yeaned a lamb both male and female. It was reported also, that at *Alba* there were two suns seen: and at *Fregellæ* by night the day-light appeared. Also in the territory of *Rome*, by report, an Oxe spake: and the altar of *Neptune* within the Cirke *Flaminia* brake out into much sweat: and the Temples of *Ceres*, *Salus*, and *Quirinus* were blasted and smitten from heaven. The Consuls were commanded to expiate and purge these fearfull sights with sacrificing of greater beasts and to make supplication one day. Which was done according to the decree of the Senat. But above all the wondrous signs, either reported from abroad, or seen at home, the minds of men were put in fear, for the going out of the fire in the Chappell of *Vesta*. For which cause the *Vestall* Virgin who had the charge that night to look unto it, was by the commandment of *P. Licinius* the Bishop well and throughly scourged. And albeit this hapned by humane negligence, and that the gods portended nothing thereby yet it was thought good that an expia-
G tion thereof should be made with greater sacrifices, and a solemn supplication held in the Chappel of *Vesta*.

Before that the Consuls went forth to the wars, they were put in mind by the Senat to take regard and order for the Commons, and to procure their reducing again into the country, and placing them in their lands and farms. For seeing that by Gods goodness the war was removed far from *Rome* and *Latium*, the country towns might be without fear of danger inhabited and frequented again: neither was it a meet thing, that they should have more care to inhabit *Sicily* than

*Italy*.

*Italy*. But the matter was not easily to be compassed and effected by the people, for that many of H
the free-holders were consumed up in the wars: and great scarcity there was of servants and hines
to till the ground: besides, the cattell was driven away in booties, and the manor houses were
either ruinate or burned. Howbeit, a great sort were compelled by the authority of the Consuls
to repaire again into their country habitations. The motion hereof was first occasioned by the
Embassadors of *Placentia* and *Cremona*; who made complaint, that their territories were much
damnified and wasted by the incursions and rodes of the Gauls their next neighbours bordering
upon them: and that many of their own naturall inhabitants were fled and gone away, so as their
Cities were not well peopled, and their country lay waste and desert. Whereupon *Manlius* the
Prætor had commission to defend and guard the Colonies from the enemy. And the Consuls by
vertue of an act of Senat made an Edict and Proclamation, that all Citizens of *Cremona* and *Pla-* I
*centia*, should by a certain day return into their Colonies. And then, they themselves in the begin-
ning of Spring took their journey, and set forward to war.

*Q. Cecilius* the Cos. received the army of *Cl. Nero*: and *L. Veturius* of *Q. Claudius* the Pro-Prætor, and made up the full number of all the companies with those new souldiers whom he himself had enrolled. The Consuls led their army into the territory of *Consentia*, and having forraged and spoiled here and there, and being heavily laden with good booties, they were in a narrow and streight passage much troubled by the *Brutii* and the Numidian archers: insomuch as not only their prizes were in danger to be lost, but they themselves that were armed in some jeopardy. Howbeit, the alarm was greater than the skirmish, and the booty being sent before, the legions escaped safe into places of security. And so from thence they went into the Lucans country. All that K
nation without any fight returned under the obedience of the Roman Empire. With *Annibal* that year was nothing done: for neither he himself made offer of war, upon the fresh hurt and loss received as well in publike as private, nor the Romans provoked him as long as he was quiet. For they were all of this judgment, that there was such metall and valour in that one commander, although all things else about him went to wrack, that they held it no good policy to provoke him, and wake a sleeping dog. And verily I wot not what to make of him; whether he were more to be wondred at in adversity than in prosperity. For why? warring as he did in his enemies land for the space of thirteen years, so far from home, in much variety of fortune, with an army not consisting of naturall Citizens and subjects, but mingled of a confused riff-raff-and medley of all nations, having neither the same laws, nor manners, and customes, nor language; differing in fashions, in habit, in apparell, in armour, in rites, in religion, nor serving, as it were, the same gods: he had so knit and united them in one link and streight band, that they mutined neither among themselves, nor against their Generall, notwithstanding oftentimes there wanted money for pay, and victuals in their enemies country: for default whereof, in the former Punick war, many outrages were committed both among Captains and souldiers. But when *Asdrubal* the Captain together with his army was defeated and overthrown, in whom they reposed all their hopes of victory; and when they were fain to quit, as it were, all *Italy* besides, and to retire themselves into an angle and corner of *Brutium*; who would not think it a marvellous matter, that there was no stir nor commotion in his Camp? considering that over and besides all other difficulties, he had no means nor hope else to maintain his army, but out of the Brutians country; And say, that it were all wholly tilled, sowed, and well husbanded, yet a small thing it was to find and feed so huge an host. Moreover, a great part of their youth was set away from the tillage of the fields and grounds, and wholy employed in warfare: to say nothing of the naturall guise and corrupt usage of that nation, which in time of war was wont to live and maintain the same by robbing and thieving. Neither had he any succour at all sent from home out of *Carthage*: whiles they all were studious and carefull only to keep *Spain*, as if all had gone well with them in *Italy*. L

In *Spain* the fortune was in some respect all one and the same, in other far unlike and different: the same, in regard that the Carthaginians being defeated in a fought field, and having lost their Captain, were driven to the utmost coast of *Spain*, even as far as the Ocean sea: different, in that N
*Spain* is a country more apt and commodious to the reparation of new war, not only than *Italy*, but also than any land in the world, as well for the site of the region, as for the nature of the people. For although it were the first nation of all the main and continent, that the Romans went first in hand withall to reduce into the nature of a Province; yet it was the last of all others that was subdued, and but lately in our daies even under the conduct and happy fortune of *Augustus Cæsar*. There at that time *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisgo*, the greatest and noblest Captain in all these wars (next after the Barchin house) returned from *Gades*, and hoping by the help of *Mago* the son of *Amilcar*, to wage war afresh, took musters throughout the farther part of *Spain*, and armed to the number of fifty thousand foot, and 4500 horse. And as for the Cavalry, all writers in manner do agree: but for the Infantry, some write, there were 70000 brought unto the City *Silpia*. O
There upon the open plains sate these two Carthaginian Captains down, because they would not seem to fall off and refuse battell.

*Scipio*, when news came unto him of so puissant an army levied, supposed that neither with the Roman legions he was sufficient to match such a multitude, unless he opposed the aids of the Barbarous nations, if it were no more but for shew and outward appearance: nor yet was to repose such assured confidence in them, as in the fundamentall strength of his army, that in case they

should

A ſhould give him the ſlip when the time came, (the only occaſion of the overthrow of his father and uncle) they might do much hurt to the main chance and totall ſum of all. And therefore he ſent *Syllanus* before unto *Colcas*, (a Lord over the ſignory of eight and twenty towns) for to receive of him thoſe horſe and foot which he had promiſed to levy in the winter time. Himſelf departed from *Taracon*, and gathered ſome ſmall aids of his allies that inhabit along the way as he marched, and ſo came to *Caſtulo*. Thither *Syllanus* brought alſo certain auxiliaries to the number of three thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe. From thence he went forward to the City *Baſula*, being in all of Citizens and Allies, with footmen & horſemen together, one with another 45000 ſtrong. ſtrong. As they were pitching their tents and encamping, *Mago* and *Maſaniſſe*, with all their Ca-
B valry ſet upon them: and no doubt, had troubled them mightily as they were making their defences, but that certain troops of horſemen hidden behind an hill, whom *Scipio* fitly for the purpoſe had there beſtowed, ſuddenly at unawares ran upon them and recharged them as they were looſely ridden forward without order and array. Theſe had not well begun skirmiſh with them, but they diſcomfited the forwardeſt of them, and ſuch eſpecially as engaged themſelves near to the trench, to impeach and annoy the pioneers and labourers at work: but with the reſt that kept to their colours, and went orderly in their ranks, the fight was longer, and for a good while continued doubtfull. But when the ſquadrons which ſtood ready appointed in their guards and ſtations, were firſt brought forth; and after them, the ſouldiers alſo from their work and fortifications were willed to take arms; and ſtill more and more continually came freſh and in heart, in place
C of thoſe that were wearied, ſo as now from all parts of the Camp there was gathered together a full power and ran to the battel; then the Carthaginians and Numidians turned their backs plain and fled. And at the firſt they went away by troops and companies keeping their order and array ſtill, and not disbanded for haſte or fear. But afterwards, when the Romans began once more eagerly to play upon the hindmoſt of them, ſo as now their furious violence could no longer be reſiſted; then without all regard of ranks or files, they forgot their array, and ran on all hands by heaps, ſeeking every man the next way he could to eſcape. And albeit by this skirmiſh, the Romans were more encouraged a good deal, and the enemies hearts much danted: yet for certain daies enſuing there never ceaſed excurſions and bickerings maintained by the horſemen & thoſe that were lightly armed. Now when by theſe ſmall ſcufflings they had made ſufficient triall on both ſides of
D their ſtrength, *Aſdrubal* firſt led forth his forces into the field, & then the Romans likewiſe came forward ready to receive them. But when both armies ſtood without their Camp, arranged in battel array, & neither of them gave the charge: when the day drew toward ſun-ſetting, *Aſdrubal* firſt retired with his men into the Camp, and after him the Roman General likewiſe. Thus continued they for certain daies together. *Aſdrubal* was evermore the firſt that came abroad, and the firſt again that ſounded the retreat to his ſouldiers, wearied with long ſtanding. But of neither ſide they made out to skirmiſh, or diſcharged any ſhot, or gave alarms, and ſet up a cry. Of the one part the Romans, on the other the Carthaginians, together with the Affricans ſtood in the main battel: and the allies of either ſide kept the wings, and thoſe were Spaniards, as well in the one army as the other. But in the front of the Carthaginian battel were the Elephants placed, who afar off made a
E ſhew as if they had been Caſtles. And throughout both armies this word went for current, that when the time came, they would ſo fight as they ſtood day by day arranged: namely, that the main battels of the Romans and Carthaginians, between whom was the quarrel & occaſion of the war, with like courage of heart and force of arms would encounter and cope together. *Scipio* perceiving this once to go for good, & to be ſtifly ſetled in their opinions, altered all on ſet purpoſe againſt the day that he minded indeed to give battel. And over-night he gave a watch-word and token throughout the camp, that both horſe and man ſhould take their dinner before day, and that the horſemen in arms ready appointed ſhould hold their horſes ſadled and bridled. Now before it was broad day light he ſent out all the Cavalry together with the light armour, to charge upon the *Corps de guard* and ſtanding watch of the enemies. And himſelf ſtraight after advanced
F forward with the whole ſtrength of the legions armed at all pieces. And clean contrary to the conceived opinion and perſwaſion both of his own men, and alſo of his enemies, he ſtrengthened the wings with Romans, and marſhalled the main battell with the allies. *Aſdrubal* raiſed with the clamour and ſhout of the horſemen, leapt forth of his pavilion, and perceiving a tumultuous alarm and fearfull ſtir of his own men before the rampiar and trench, and ſeeing afar off the glittering enſighs of the Legions, and all the plains over-ſpread with enemies, preſently made forth all his Cavalry againſt the foreſaid horſemen. Himſelf with the battell of footmen iſſueth out of the Camp, and made no change nor alteration at all in the marſhalling of the battaillons, otherwiſe than he uſed the daies paſt. The horſemen continued the fight a long time doubtfully: neither could it be determined by it ſelf, becauſe evermore, as any of them were put back (which happned on both parts in manner by turns) they retired ſafely into the battels of footmen.
G Now when as the battels were not paſt half a mile aſunder one from another, *Scipio* ſounded the retreat, and opened his ranks, and received all the horſemen and light armed ſouldiers within the middle ward: and having divided them in two regiments, he beſtowed them for ſuccours and ſupplies behind the wings. Now when the time was come to joyn in skirmiſh, he commanded the Spaniards (and thoſe were the main battell) to take ſure footing and go ſteadily together: fair and ſoftly himſelf out of the right wing (for, that point he commanded) diſpatched a meſſenger to *Syllanus* & *Martius*, willing them to ſtretch out that wing on the left hand, like as they ſaw

him

him to draw it at length on the right: with direction alſo unto them, that they together with the light horſemen and light appointed footmen ſhould encounter and cloſe with the enemy, before that both battels might meet and joyn together. Thus having enlarged out at full their wings, they with three ſquadrons of footmen, and as many cornets of horſemen, together with the light armed skirmiſhers, advanced with full pace directly afront the enemies whiles the reſt followed ſidewaies acroſs. Now there was a void piece of ground in the midſt between, by reaſon that the Spaniards enſigns went but ſlowly forward: and the wings had been in conflict already, when the flower and ſtrength of the enemies battell, conſiſting of old beaten Carthaginians and African ſouldiers, were not yet come within the darts ſhot, neither durſt they put in to ſuccour them that were in fight, for fear they ſhould open the main battell for the enemy that came directly againſt them. Their wings were much diſtreſſed in the fight on every ſide: For the horſemen, the light armed ſouldiers, and the skirmiſhers, having wheeled about and fet a compaſs to environ them ran upon them on their flanks. The cohorts of footmen charged upon them afront, and all to break off their wings from the body of the battell. And as now in every reſpect the fight was unequal, ſo the rabble of camp-followers, Balear Iſlanders, and raw untrained Spaniards, oppoſed againſt the approved Roman and Latine ſouldiers, pulled down aſide. The day went on ſtill, and *Aſdrubal* his army began to faint: and no marvell, for they were ſurpriſed and taken on a ſudden, betimes in the morning, & were forced in haſte to enter into the field & go to battel before they had refreſhed and ſtrengthened their bodies. And to that purpoſe *Scipio* had drawn the day on length, & trifled out the time, that the battel might be late. For it was the ſeventh hour [or one a clock after noon] before the enſign of footmen charged upon the ſide points. And a good deal later it was ere the main battels fought and joyned together: ſo that the heat of the noon ſun, the pain of long ſtanding in armor, and hunger and thirſt came all together to enfeeble and ſpend their bodies, before that they came to hand-ſtrokes and to buckle with their enemies: which was the cauſe that they ſtood leaning and reſting themſelves upon their ſhields. And over and beſides all other troubles, the Elephants alſo affrighted and madded with this tumultuous and diſordered manner of fight of horſemen, skirmiſhers, and light armed ſouldiers together, ran from the wings, upon the main battel. The Captains therefore themſelves, being thus tainted, as well in courage of heart, as in bodily ſtrength, gave ground and retreated. Howbeit they ſtill kept their arraies, as if the whole battel had retired whole and ſound by the commandment of their General. But when the winners and conquerers on the other part were ſo much more forward to charge upon them more hotly on every ſide, becauſe they ſaw them to loſe their ground and ſhrink back, ſo as their violence could not well be endured; then albeit *Aſdrubal* held them ſtill together, and did what he could to ſtay their flight, crying oftentimes aloud unto them, that there were hills behind them, and places of ſafe retreat, if they would retire in good ſort, moderately, and in order; yet when they ſaw their enemies preſs ſo hard upon them, killing and hewing in pieces thoſe that were next unto them, fear was above ſhame, and ſo immediatly they ſhewed their back parts, and ran away all at once as faſt as they could. Yet at firſt, when they came to the root and foot of the hils they began to make a ſtand, and rally the ſouldiers again into order of battel, ſeeing the Romans to make ſome ſtay of advancing their enſigns up the hill. But afterwards, when they perceived them to come luſtily forward, they began again to flie afreſh, and ſo in fear were forced to take their Camp. Neither was *Scipio* himſelf far from their trench and rampier, but in that very brunt had been maſter thereof, but that immediatly upon the hot gleams of the ſun, when he ſhineth in a watery ſky full of black and rainy clouds, there powred down ſuch a ſtore of ſhowers and tempeſts, that hardly could he himſelf after his victory recover his own camp. And ſome there were alſo that made it a ſcruple and matter of conſcience to attempt any more for that day. The Carthaginians, although they had great reaſon to repoſe themſelves, and take their neceſſary reſt, ſo wearied as they were with travell, and ſore wounded, eſpecially ſeeing the night was come, and the ſtormy rain continued: yet, becauſe their fear and preſent danger wherein they ſtood gave them no time to loyter and ſlack their buſineſs, againſt the next morning that the enemies ſhould early aſſail their Camp, they gathered up ſtones from out of the vallies near about them, and piling them one upon another, amended the heighth of their rampier, purpoſing to defend themſelves by the ſtrength of their fence, ſeeing ſmall help and remedy in force of arms. But the falling away of their Confederats was the cauſe that their departure and flight from thence, ſeemed more ſafe than their abode there would have been. This revolt was begun by *Altanes*, a great Lord of the Turdetans: for he with a great power of his followers and retainers fled from the Carthaginians to the adverſe part. Whereupon two ſtrong walled towns, together with their garriſons, were yielded by the Captains unto *Scipio*. *Aſdrubal* therefore, fearing leaſt this miſchief might ſpread further, now that their minds were once ſet upon rebellion, diſlodged about the midnight following, and removed. *Scipio* ſo ſoon as he was advertiſed at the break of the day, by thoſe that kept ſtanding watch in their ſtations, that the enemies were gone; having ſent his horſemen before commanded the ſtandards and enſigns to be advanced, and led ſo ſpeedy a march, that if they had gone ſtraight forward and followed their tracks directly, they had no doubt overtaken them: but believing certain guides, that there was a ſhorter way to the river *Bætis*, they were adviſed to charge upon them as they paſſed over. But *Aſdrubal* ſeeing the paſſage of the river ſtopped againſt him, turned to the Ocean: and even at the firſt they departed in great haſte, as if they fled, which was the cauſe that they got the ſtart of the Roman legionary footmen, and won a good

ſpace

A space of ground before them. But the horſemen, and light appointed footmen plaied one while upon their tails, ſtanked another whiles their ſides, and by this means with charging and recharging they wearied them and ſtaied their march. And when as upon many of theſe troubles by the way, their enſigns were fain to ſtand, and forced to maintain skirmiſh, ſome time with the horſemen; and ſomtimes with the light javelottiers and auxiliary footmen behold the legions alſo came on apace and overtook them. Then there was not ſo much fighting and reſiſtance, as maſſacre and ſlaughter of them: down they went with them and killed them like ſheep, ſo long, untill their Leader himſelf began to flie, and eſcaped into the next mountains, together with 7000 half naked and unarmed. All the reſt were either ſlain or taken priſoners. Then the Carthaginians began to B encamp and fortifie in all haſte and tumultuous ſort upon the higheſt mount they could find: from whence (by reaſon that the enemies had aſſaied in vain to get up the hill, having ſo difficult an aſcent) they had not ſo much ado to defend themſelves. But, the place being bare and naked, and diſfurniſhed of all commodities for their reliefe, they were not able to hold out the ſiege for a few daies. And thereupon the ſouldiers fell apace to forſake their own Captain, and to go to the enemy. So that at the length the General himſelf in the night ſeaſon abandoned his army, and having got ſhipping (for the ſea was not far off) he embarked and fled to *Gades*. *Scipio* being advertized that the Captain of his enemies was fled, left with *Syllanus* ten thouſand footmen, and a thouſand horſemen to continue the ſiege of the Camp. Himſelf in perſon with the reſt of his forces within ſeventy daies returned to *Taracon*, for to examine and hear incontinently upon his C arrivall the cauſes of the Princes and States: that upon the true eſtimate of their deſerts they might be rewarded or chaſtiſed accordingly.

After his departure, *Maſaniſſa* having had ſecret conference with *Syllanus*, about inducing his people alſo to be pliable and to hearken unto a change, paſſed over into *Affrick* with ſome ſmall retinue. At which preſent time verily the occaſion of his ſudden alteration was not ſo evident and apparant, as afterwards his moſt conſtant truth and faſt alleageance obſerved unto his dying day was a good proof and argument, that even then he entred not into this deſignment and action, without good and important cauſe. Then *Mago*, in thoſe ſhips that *Aſdrubal* had ſent back, paſſed over to *Gades*. The remnant, thus forlorn of their Captains, ſome by way of voluntary yielding and ranging themſelves to the adverſe part, others by flight, were ſcattered among the next D Cities, and no troop remained of them behind of any mark and reckoning to ſpeak of, either for number or ſtrength. In this manner, and by theſe means eſpecially were the Carthaginians driven all out of *Spain*, by the conduct and happy fortune of *P. Scipio*, in the thirteenth year of the war, and in the ſixth of *Scipio* his government in that Province and command of the army. And not long after *Syllanus* returned to *Taracon* unto *Scipio*, and brought word that the war in *Spain* was fully ended. And *L. Scipio* was ſent with many noble perſons captives, as a meſſenger to carry tidings to *Rome* of the conqueſt of *Spain*. And when all other took ful contentment and infinite joy at theſe news, and abroad in all places highly magnified the glory of this ſervice, he alone who was the man that did the deed (as one who had an inſatiable deſire of vertue and true honour) made but ſmall reckoning of the recovery and winning of *Spain*, in compariſon of thoſe matters E that he hoped for, and conceived in that high and magnanimous ſpirit of his, which he carried with him. For now he caſt in mind and aimed at the conqueſt of *Affrick* and great *Carthage*: and therewith, to make perfect and conſummate that glorious war to his own immortall honour and renown. And therfore, ſuppoſing it was now a good time to begin the way to thoſe high exploits, and to lay plots, to prepare aforehand, yea, and to win unto him the hearts of the Princes and nations, he determined firſt of all other to ſound and aſſay King *Syphax*. This *Syphax* was King of the *Maſaſyli*, a people bordering upon the Moors, and abutting upon that part of *Spain* eſpecially where new *Carthage* is ſituate. At the ſame time the King was in league with the Carthaginians: which *Scipio* ſuppoſing that he would obſerve no more ſurely and preciſely, than commonly the Barbarians uſe, (whoſe fidelity dependeth upon Fortune) ſent *C. Lælius* with rich F gifts and preſents, as an Orator to treat with him. The barbarous Prince was glad hereof, both becauſe the Romans then proſpered every where; and alſo the Carthaginians in *Italy* lived by the loſs; and in *Spain* went down to the ground, where they had nothing left: and thereupon he condeſcended to entertain the friendſhip of the Romans. But for the confirmation of this amity, he neither would give nor take aſſurance, but only in the perſonall preſence of the Roman Generall himſelf. So *Lælius* having obtained the Kings royall word and warrant that *Scipio* might come unto him with ſafe conduct and ſecurity, returned unto *Scipio*. Now for him that aſpired to the conqueſt of *Affrick*, it was a matter of great conſequence and importance in all reſpects, to make himſelf ſure of *Syphax*, the moſt mighty and puiſſant King of all that Land, who had aforetime made proof what the Carthaginians could do in war, and the confines and marches of whoſe kingdom lay fitly upon *Spain*, and but a ſmall arm of the ſea between. *Scipio* thinking it therefore to G be a matter worth the adventure with great hazard, (for otherwiſe it might not be) leaving for the defence and guard of *Spain* *L. Martius* at *Taracon*, and *M. Syllanus* at new *Carthage*, (whether he had travelled by land from *Taracon*, and taken great journies) himſelf and *Lælius* together looſed from *Carthage* with two great Carvels of five banks of oars, and paſſed over into *Affrick*, through the calm and ſtill ſea, moſt of all rowing, and otherwhile alſo making ſail with a gentle gale of wind.

Haply it ſo fell out that the very ſame time *Aſdrubal*, driven out of *Spain*, was entred the haven

ven with ſeven gallies of three courſe of oars, and rid at anchor near unto the ſhore for to be ſet H
a land. When he had a kenning of the two Carvels aforeſaid, which albeit no man doubted but
they were enemies, and might have been boorded by them being more in number, before they
could gain the rode; yet hereupon enſued nothing elſe but a tumult and hurry among the mari-
ners and ſouldiers together, in vain preparation of their ſhips and their armour. For the wind be-
ing ſomewhat big and high drave the Carvels with full ſail out of the main ſea into the haven, be-
fore that the Carthaginians had any time to weigh anchor: neither durſt any of them proceed to
further dealing within the Kings Rode. So *Aſdrubal* firſt ſet a ſhore, and within a while *Scipio* and
*Lælius* landed, and went all to the Court. *Syphax* took this for a great honour done unto him (as
indeed it was no leſs) that there were come to him at that time, and in one day two Generall
Captains of two moſt mighty and puiſſant States, to ſue for peace and amity with him. He invi- I
ted both of them friendly, and gave them entertainment: and ſince it was their fortune to enter
under one roof and the ſame houſe for to be lodged in, he endeavoured to draw them to a parley,
and to make an end of all quarrels, grudges, and controverſies between them. But *Scipio* denied
flatly, "that either there was any private malice or hatred between him and *Aſdrubal*, that ſhould
"need an end with conference and ſpeech: and as for State-matters, he might not treat with a
"profeſſed enemy as touching them, without expreſs warrant and commiſſion from the Senate.
But when the King laboured greatly with him, that he would find in his heart and not think much
to bear *Aſdrubal* company at meat and meal (becauſe he would not ſeem to exclude either of
them from his boord, he yielded thereunto, and was content. So they ſupped both twain together
with the King, and *Scipio* and *Aſdrubal* ſate both at one table in one meſs, and upon one bed, for K
ſo it was the Kings pleaſure. But ſo courteouſly *Scipio* behaved himſelf (as he was a man that na-
turally knew how to carry himſelf with a grace and dexterity in all things, and in every place
whereſoever he came) that by his fair language and eloquent ſpeech, he won not only the favour
of the barbarous Prince *Syphax* (who before was not acquainted with the Roman faſhions) but
alſo the good will and love of *Aſdrubal*, a moſt malicious and mortall enemy: who ſeemed to
have him in more admiration upon this one meeting and communication in preſence perſonall,
than for all his feats of arms atchieved in war, and made no doubt but reckoned fully that King
*Syphax* and his Realm would preſently be at the devotion of the Empire of *Rome*. Such a regu-
lar gift had that man to win love and favour. And therefore the Carthaginians were not ſo much
to ſeek how *Spain* was loſt, as to conſider and think how they might keep and hold *Affrick*. For L
thus they conceived, That this noble Knight and worthy Roman Captain was not come thither
wandring at a venture, nor as a traveller to ſee countries, and to ſolace himſelf with walking along
the pleaſant and delectable coaſts, leaving the Province which he had newly ſubdued, leaving his
armies which he commanded, ſailing thus with two ſhips only into *Affrick*, and committing him-
ſelf unto an enemy country, and into a Kings hands, of whoſe fidelity and protection he had no
experience: but no doubt upon ſome great hopes to compaſs the conqueſt of *Affrick*. And this
was it that long ſince *Scipio* had in ſecret purpoſe and deſignment, this was it that openly he fretted
and ſtormed at, namely, that he warred not himſelf as well in *Spain*, as *Annibal* in *Italy*. Well, *Scipio*
having concluded a league with *Syphax*, departed out of *Affrick*; and notwithſtanding he was
toſſed upon the ſea with variable winds, and thoſe for the moſt part boiſterous and raging yet up M
on the fourth day he arrived at *New Carthage*.

As *Spain* generally was at peace and reſt for any Carthaginian war, ſo it was well known that
certain particular States, in regard that they were touched with the guilt of treſpaſſes committed,
were quiet for fear, rather than for any loyall alleageance. Of which the moſt notorious, as well
for their own greatneſs and power, as for their fault and tranſgreſſion, were *Illiturgum* and *Ca-
ſtulo*. The Caſtulonians had been Roman Confederates in time of proſperity, were revolted unto
the Carthaginians, upon the defeat of the two *Scipios* and their armies. The Illiturgians beſides
their revolt and rebellion, added this wickedneſs, in that they betraied and murdered the Ro-
mans who fled unto them for ſuccour after that overthrow. Theſe two nations, if *Scipio* at his
firſt coming had proceeded in rigour to revenge (whiles the States of the country ſtood in ſuſ- N
penſe) he ſhould have regarded their deſert more than his own good and commodity. But when
all troubles were compoſed and reduced to quietneſs, he thought it then a convenient time to pu-
niſh and chaſtiſe them accordingly. And therefore he called *L. Martius* from *Taracon*, with a
third part of his forces, and ſent him to aſſail *Ceſtulo*. Himſelf with the reſt of the army marched
toward *Illiturgum*, and within five daies preſented himſelf before it. The gates he found ſhut a-
gainſt him, and all preparation and furniture for defence and to withſtand the aſſault. For their
conſcience bare them witneſs what they had deſerved, and there needed no other defiance or in-
timation of war againſt them than the privity of their wicked fact. Hereupon *Scipio* took occaſi-
on to exhort his ſouldiers, and began in this wiſe. "The very Spaniards themſelves, quoth he, by
Scipio to his ſouldiers. "ſhutting their gates declare plainly what they juſtly are to fear: and therefore ye ought to war O
"with them in more hoſtile malice and deadly hatred than with the Carthaginians. For with
"them the quarrel was maintained, as it were, without anger and rankor, only for ſoveraignty and
"glory: but of theſe men ye are to take vengeance for their diſloyall treachery, for their cruelty
"and wicked villany. And now the time is come, to revenge not only the unworthy death of
"your fellow ſouldiers, but alſo the like falſhood prepared for your ſelves, in caſe your hap had
"been to have fled for refuge thither at any time: yea, and to ſhew exemplary juſtice, to teach all

"poſterity,

A posterity, that no man hereafter be so heady as to wrong any Citizen or souldier of *Rome*, in what poor estate so ever he be, without fear of condign punishment. Upon this exhortation and comfortable words of the Generall, they bestirred themselves and divided the scaling ladders amongst choise men out of every company. And having so parted the army between them, that *Lelius* the Lieutenant had the conduct of the one half, they gave assault with great terrour unto the City in two places at once. But neither any one generall captain, nor many principall Citizens encouraged and heartned the townsmen manfully to defend their City, but only their own fearful & sinfull conscience: for they wist well and remembred, yea, and put one another in mind, that it was their punishment and not victory that the Romans sought for. And as for themselves, since they were to lose their lives, this was the only point that they were to consider upon, namely, where B they were best to die, whether in fight and in the field (where the fortune of battall was common, and oftentimes lifted up the conquered, and put down the conqueror) or after their City burnt and raced, to yeeld up breath in the sight of their wives and children taken captives amid the torments of whipping and hard irons, when they had endured all villanies and indignities. Whereupon not only the serviceable youth for war, not only men I say, but women also and children, even above the bodily strength of that age, or courage of that sex, were ready and presented themselves to defend the wals. Some brought weapons to the defendants, others carried stones up to the wals unto them that were fortifying and repairing the breaches. For why? they stood not upon their liberty alone, which whetteth the stomacks of valiant & magnanimous men only, but they C set before their eies all extremities of torture and punishment, yea, and the shamefullest death that that could be devised: and their hearts were incensed to undergo all pains and peril, by striving avie together, and seeing one another to hazard themselves. In so much as they stood to it, and fought so resolutely, that even that noble army which had subdued all *Spain*, took the repulse often times at the hands of the youth of one City, was driven from the wals, and finally to their honor received some foil in fight and began to fear. *Scipio* seeing that, and doubting lest upon so many bootlesse attempts the enemies might take heart and his own souldiers be tainted, thought good to enter himself personally into the action, and to take part in that dangerous service. Having therefore rebuked his men for their cowardise, he commanded the ladders to be brought and set to, threatning that himself would scale the wals, if the rest made hasting and thus drew back. With D that he made no more ado, but approached under the wals in great peril of his person. Whereupon the souldiers respecting the dangerous state of their Generall, and fearing greatly of his behalf, set up a shout on all hands, and began to rear ladders in many places at once. *Lelius* likwise on the other side plied the assault and gave not over. Then at last the townsmen, for all their resolute resistance, were overcome; the defendants overthrown and beaten from their standing, and the wals possessed by the enemies. The castle also on that side which was thought impregnable, was in that brunt and tumult taken. For there were certain Africans serving then among the Romans (fled before the enemy) who whiles the townsmen were wholy turned to defend those places that seemed to be exposed unto danger, and the Romans climbing and entring where they could, espied one part of the City much higher then the rest; which because it was compassed E about with an exceeding high rock, was neither fortified otherwise with bulwarks, nor manned with any defendants at all: and being men (as they all are) light and agile of body, and nimble by reason of much practise and exercise, they climed up the rock where they could meet with any crag therof to bear out unequally from the rest, and to yeeld them hold and footing: but when they came to a plumb upright steep place, and where the cliff was even and smooth, they fastned certain great iron spikes and nailes, which they caried about with them of purpose, and stuck them a prety distance asunder, like greeces and stairs to climb upon: and ever the formost pluckt him up by the hand that followed next, and the hindmost heaved up those that went before them, untill they were gotten up to the top; and then they ran down with an outcry into the City, which was already won by the Romans. Then it was well seen that they forced this City from very de- F spiteous anger and deep hatred. There was no thought of taking any prisoners alive, there was none that once minded any pillage, notwithstanding all lay open unto them for to be ransacked and rifled. But down they went with the unarmed as well as the armed, killed men and women one with another: nay, their cruell mood was such, as they spared not the sucking babes. Then they set fire on their houses: and what the fire saved they raced and pulled down; so cancred a mind they had, and so bent they were, to leave no monument and token of such a City, and utterly to abolish and root out the memoriall of those enemies.

After this, *Scipio* led his army against *Castulo*. This City was defended not only by Spaniards who thither were repaired out of others parts, but also by the reliques of the Carthaginian army which were scattred abroad in their flight, and thither fled. But ere *Scipio* was come before the G town, they had heard the newes of the woful calamity and destruction of the Illiturgians: by reason whereof they were all terrified and in despaire of themselves: and as it falleth out in such variety of causes and deserts every man sought means to shift for himself the best he could, without regard of his neighbour. And at first they began to have a secret jelousie and suspition one of another, but afterwards they brake out to open dissention: insomuch as the Carthaginians and Spaniards divided themselves, and parted asunder. *Cerdubelus* openly advised the Spaniards, and perswaded with them, to yeeld. *Himilco* was the Captain over the Auxiliary Carthaginians,

whom *Cerdubelus* (upon promiſe ſecretly before made and protection granted) betraied, together with the whole City beſides, into the Romans hands. This victory was purſued with leſs cruelty: for neither was the offence on their behalf committed ſo heinous; and the heat and choler of the Romans was well cooled and allaied, by reaſon of their voluntary ſurrender. From thence was *Martius* ſent againſt others of the barbarous people, to reduce unto ſubjection and obedience, as many as yet were not fully ſubdued. H

*Scipio* returned to new *Carthage* to pay his vowes unto the gods, and to exhibit and ſet out a ſpectacle of ſword-players at ſharp, which he had prepared for the honor of his father and uncle deceaſed. This paſtime and ſolemn ſhew was not performed by thoſe kind of men, out of which maſters of fence ule ordinarily to make choice, namely, ſuch as were picked out of bondſlaves and freed men, that uſe to make ſale of their bloud for mony, but all thoſe that he imploied in combat, were ſuch as offred themſelves and their ſervice voluntary and without hire. For ſome were I ſent unto him from the LL. of the country, to make ſhew & proof of the valour ingraffed naturally in that nation; others of their own accord profeſſed to fight, for the love of the Generall himſelf, and to ſhew him pleaſure: and ſome there were again, who upon emulation of glory were drawn to make challenge, whiles others that were defyed refuſed not, but ſtrove to get the victory. There were alſo divers that determined thoſe controverſies by the ſword, which by arguing & pleading they either were not able or not willing to end: having agreed among themſelves that the matter in ſuit ſhould fall to him that chanced to have the upper hand. And thoſe were no mean perſons of baſe degree and parentage, but of noble deſcent and famous houſes: as namely, *Corbis* and *Orſua*, two *[brethren] couſin germans by the father ſide; who differing and being K
* *Fratres patrueles.* at variance, about a principality of a City and State which they call *Ibes*, made profeſſion to trie the title at the utterance by dint of ſword. *Corbis* was the elder of the twain; but *Orſua* his father had been the laſt Prince before, and received that Seignory after the death of his elder brother. And when *Scipio* was very deſirous to debate and decide the matter with words, and to appeale their anger and mood, they both made anſwer and ſaid, that they had denied to the common kinsfolk of either party, and that they would have no other god nor man to be their judge, but only *Mars*. Both of them were fierce; the elder preſuming of his ſtrength of body, the yonger bearing himſelf upon the flour of his freſh youth: wiſhing rather to die both twain in fight, then the one to be ſubject to the dominion of the other. In concluſion when by no meanes poſſible they could be reclaimed from this furious rage of theirs, they became a goodly ſhew and L pageant to the whole army, and a ſingular example to prove what a miſchievous malady among mortall men, the love of lordſhip is, and the deſire of ſoveraignty. The elder, through practiſe of his weapons and cunning ſlight, ſoon overcame the foolhardineſſe and inconſiderat fiercenes of the yonger. After this paſtime of the ſword-fight, followed the funerall games and plaies which were ſet forth magnificently, according as either the wealth of the province, or the furniture of the army might affoord.

In this mean time, the Lieutenants plied and ſped their buſineſs nevertheleſſe, according to their commiſſions: for *Martius* having paſſed the river *Batis* (which the peaſants of that country called *Certius*) received two moſt rich and worthy Cities, ſurrendred into their hands by compoſition, without any aſſault. Now, there was another City called *Aſtapa*, which ever ſided with M the Carthaginians: and yet it deſerved not ſo much anger and indignation in that regard, as for that, (letting aſide the neceſſities that follow war) it ever bare a ſpiteful hatred againſt the Romans: neither was the town either for naturall ſituation ſo ſtrongly ſeated, or by mans hand ſo ſurely fortified, that the inhabitants therein ſhould take more heart, or preſume the rather to be luſty and bold. But the naturall diſpoſition of the people delighting in robberies, moved them to make rodes and invade the territory of the allies of the people of *Rome* bordering upon them: and to catch and take priſoners any ſouldiers, ſcullions, lackies, and followers of the camp, or merchants of the Romans, whom they could light upon ranging abroad. Yea, and when there happed a great company of them together, to paſſe through their marches and confines, (for in no wiſe might a few travel in ſafety) they were ſurpriſed by an ambuſhment laid for them, and being environed in N a place of diſadvantage, were ſlain every man. When the army was come before this town to aſſault it, the townſmen carrying a guilty conſcience for offences committed, thought it not the ſafeſt courſe for themſelves, to yeeld and give up the place to the enemies whom they had ſo much provoked againſt them: and ſeeing no hope at all to ſave their lives, either by the ſtrength of their wals, or force of arms, they reſolved to execute upon themſelves, and thoſe things that was neereſt and deereſt unto them, a foul, deteſtable, and cruell fact. They ſet out and appointed a compaſs of ground within the market place where they beſtowed and laid on a heap the moſt precious goods that they had. Upon which they commanded their wive and children to ſit, and then they piled about them billets of wood, and laid faggots upon, of ſmall young twigs. And after this "they gave in charge to fifty luſty tall fellows armed that ſo long as the battell continued doubtfull, O "they ſhould defend and guard all their goods, & the bodies of thoſe perſons more dear unto them "then all the goods in the world: but in caſe they perceived their own ſide to goe down and "have the worſe, and the City at the point to be loſt, they ſhould then wot well and be aſſured, "that all they whom they ſaw going forth to battell, would ſurely loſe their lives in that very "fight and skirmiſh. And herewith they beſought them in the name of the gods both ce-"leſtiall and infernall, to be mindfull of their liberty, which that day was to take an end,

either

A "either by honourable death or ſhamefull ſervitude: and to ſuffer nothing to remain, upon which "the enemy in his furious anger might exercíſe his cruelty: & conſidering they had both fire and "ſword in their hands to do the deed, to let thoſe friendly and faithful hands, conſume and diſpatch "the things which were ſure to be loſt and periſh, rather then the proud enemies inſult over them "and make a ſcorn of them. To theſe exhotations they adjoyned a fearfull and horrible curſe, to as many as either for hope of life, or upon timorouſneſs of heart & fear of death, ſhould alter their mind and reſolution. Whereupon all at once they ruſhed out of the gates ſet wide open, and with a mighty tumult and ſhout, made a ſally. Now there was no ſet guard and ſtation of any force oppoſed to reſiſt them, becauſe the enemies feared nothing leſſe, then that they durſt once iſſue forth of the gates. Some few troops of horſe and the light armour, of a ſuddain were ſent out of the B camp to make head, and they encountred them. Between whom there was a skirmiſh hotter and ſharper in regard of courage and violence, then ordered by any skill and good government. And therefore the horſmen were diſcomfited, that firſt preſented themſelves againſt the enemy, yea, & put the light armed footmen alſo in great fear. And ſurely they had proceeded to have fought even under the very rampiar, but that the main ſtrength of the legions, who had but very ſmall time to be marſhalled and arranged, put themſelves in array and came into the field. And yet for all that, they were diſtreſſed for a while about the enſigns, by reaſon that they ran as blind mad men in their furious fit & as bold as witleſſe fools for want of ſence, even upon the ſword and their own deaths. But afterwards, the old experienced ſouldiers, having ſtifly ſtood out againſt the firſt raſh brunt and violent ſhock of the enemies, yea, and killed the formoſt, bridled and ſtaied the rage of thoſe C that ſeconded them: and when they aſſaied with in a while after, to enter forward themſelves & break in upon them, & ſaw none of them to give one foot of ground, but every one reſolute to die in the very place where he ſtood, they opened their battell in the mids (a thing that they might eaſily do, conſidering the multitude of the ſouldiers) compaſſed and environed the wings of their enemies, who fighting round in a ring, unto the laſt man were ſlain every one. Thus were they that were in arms and made reſiſtance manfully dealt withall by their enemies according to the rigor of war, and in the angry mood of ſouldiers; and ſuch was their end. But within the City there was fouler work, and a more cruell butchery and ſlaughter committed, when the feeble unarmed and naked multitude of women and children were murdred by their own neighbours and citizens, who having ſet the foreſaid pile of wood on fire, fell to maſſacre them, and flung their bodies when D they were but half dead, into the light fire under them; ſo as their ſtreams of bloud guſhing out of their veins, were ready to quench the flame beginning to break forth. And in the end, when they themſelves were even wearied with the pittifull ſlaughter of their own friends, they caſt themſelves armour and all into the mids of the ſaid fire. When this maſſacre was done and ended, the Romans entred the City with victory. And at the firſt ſight of this monſtrous object, they wondred for a while and ſtood aſtonied. But afterwards when they ſaw the gold and ſilver glittering within the heap among others goods, they were ready and deſirous (as the nature of man is greedy of ſuch things) to rake and pull the ſame out of the fire: but ſome of them were caught with the flame and burnt; others flaſhed and half ſinged with the hot ſteam of the vapour and breath iſſuing from the light fire, ſuch (I mean) as were formoſt, & could not retire themſelves back, E by reaſon of their exceeding preſſe behind, that thruſt them ſtill forward. Thus *Aſtapa* was deſtroied by fire and ſword, and yeelded no pillage to the enemies. And wen *Martius* had all the reſt of the coountry yeeled unto him for fear of force, he led back his victorious army to *Carthage* unto *Scipio*.

About the very ſame time there came from *Gades* certain fugitive renegates, promiſing to betray the garriſon of the Carthaginians lying there, and likewiſe the captain of the garriſon, together with the navy. Now had *Mago* reſted there after his flight, and having gathered together the ſhips in the Ocean, levied and raiſed certain aids, as well beyond the narrow ſeas along the coaſt of *Africk*, as alſo out of the parts of *Spain* next adjoyning unto him, and all by the means of captain *Hanno*. When as between the Romans and thoſe fugitives, there had paſſed faithfull promiſe and ſecurity to and fro, both *Martius* was ſent thither with certain ſquadrons and compa- F nies lightly appointed; and alſo *Lelius* with 7 Triremes [of three banks of oars] and one great galiace of five, for to war joyntly together by common counſell, as well by ſea as land. *Scipio* himſelf lay ſick of a grievous malady, but much worſe by report then it was, by reaſon that every one (as men commonly have a deſire & delight, to foſter & multiply rumours for the nonce) made ever ſomewhat of his own head, and put into the reſt of the news that he heard: which brought the province out of frame and cauſed great diſorder, eſpecially in the moſt remote parts thereof: whereby it was well ſeen, what a world of troubles would have enſued upon ſome calamity indeed, when a vain rumour only, was able to raiſe ſuch ſtorms and tempeſts. For neither the Allies continued loiall in their alleageance, nor the army dutifull in their wonted obedience. *Mandonius* & *Indibilis*, who made full account of the whole kingdome of *Spain*, now that the Carthaginians G were driven out and expelled, ſeeing nothing anſwerable to their hope and expectation, and themſelves diſappointed of their deſignments, raiſed peaſants and inhabitants of their own countries (and thoſe were the Lacetans) & ſollicited the youth of the Celtiberians: the country alſo of the Sueſſetans and Sedetans, that were confederat States with the people of *Rome*, they waſted in all manner of hoſtility. Beſides, there aroſe a civil mutiny and diſſention within the camp at *Sucro*; where there lay eight thouſand ſouldiers, as a guard and garriſon for all the nation that inhabit on this ſide *Iberus*. Whoſe heads were ſet awork, and began to be buſie not at that time

when doubtful & ſuſpicious rumours were ſpread of their General, how he was in danger of death, H
but long before, upon a licentious courſe of life that they had taken to, and ſo much the rather, for
that now in time of peace they were held in, more ſtreightly and neerly, who before were uſed in
their enemies land, during the wars, to break out in more looſe manner, and to live upon rapine
and robberie. At the firſt they began to mutter and whiſper ſecretly theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches:
If there be war ſtill in the province of *Spain*, what do we here among peaceable people? And
if the war be ended, and the time of the commiſſion come out and expired, why are we not had
again back into *Italy*? Then they proceed to demand their pay very malapertly, and more lauciely
than might ſtand with the duty and modeſty of ſouldiers: yea, and the Sentinels and *corps de guard*
would not ſtick to give reproachfull terms and tanting words to the Tribunes or Marſhals, when
they went the round: and ſome of them made no bones to enter by night into the peaceable ter- I
ritory about them, for to fetch in booties and prizes; untill at length openly at noon day, they de-
parted from their colours without paſport and licence. All things they did as tranſported away
with luſt and ſelf-will of ſouldiers, not guided by the order and diſcipline of warfare, nor direct-
ed by the commandment of their captains and rulers. Nevertheleſſe, there was retained ſtill a
form of Roman camp among them: and that upon this only hope that the ſouldiers had of the
Tribunes aforeſaid: whom they ſuppoſed in time would come to the bent of their bow, enter in-
to the ſame furious courſes, and have their hand in the mutinies, and follow them in their rebel-
lion: and therfore they were well content with them to ſit judicially in Marſhall court, in the u-
ſuall place of *Principai*, to miniſter law and execute juſtice: alſo to call for the watchword and ſig-
nall of them, yea, and orderly to go to their watch and ward in their courſe and due times. And K
whereas in very deed they had caſt off all reverence and obedience of government, yet they
would ſeem to ſhew a kind of loiall and dutiful diligence; in that (forſooth) they would be com-
manders of themſelves, and keep ſome order without conſtraint. But in the end the mutiny broke
out into open ſedition: namely, when they perceived once, that Tribunes miſliked and reproved
their doings and endeavoured to croſſe their deſignes, yea, and denied flatly and openly to tak part
with them in their follies and furious outrages. Whereupon they diſſeized the Tribunes of their
judiciall places in the *Principia*, yea, and diſpoſſeſſed them quite of all room in the camp, and by a
generall conſent conferred the ſoveraign rule on two common ſouldiers, the captains of this
their ſeditious commotion, *Albius Calenus*, and *C. Atrius Umber*. Who not contented with the
* markes and ornaments of the Tribunes, were ſo bold as to handle the rods and axes, even the L
very roiall enſigns of ſoveraign rule; never thinking how thoſe knitches of rods, and axes ſtick-
ing within them, which they cauſed to be born afore them to the fear of others, were ready to light
upon themſelves, to ſcourge their backs and ſides, and to chop off their own heads not long after.
The ſuppoſed death of *Scipio*, whereupon they vainly built, was it that blinded their wits and
minds: upon the rumour whereof, being already noiſed abroad, they had no doubt, but all *Spain*
generally would be up in armes. In which garboil and hurliburly, they made reckoning, that they
might levy monies of the confederat States, and ſpoil and pill the Cities neer unto them. And a-
mid theſe troubles, when all were in an uprore, and every man would venture to do every thing
at his pleaſure, then they ſuppoſed their own deeds and actions would be leſſe eſpied and marked.
Now when as they looked every day ſtill to hear freſh newes, not of his death only, but alſo of his M
funerals; and ſeeing there came none at all, but rather, that the former tidings were checked, and
proved but a flying tale without head or foot, then they began to make ſemblance of enquiring af-
ter, & ſeeking out the firſt authours who raiſed thoſe falſe reports: then they ſeemed to be angry alſo
and offended with them, to the end, that they forſooth might be thought rather to have beleeved
things inconſiderately, than to have deviſed ſuch a matter themſelves purpoſely. Theſe leaders and
captains thus diſappointed and abandoned, began now to dread and ſtand in horror of their own
enſigns of magiſtracy that were carried before them, and in ſtead of that imaginary rule which
they uſurped, they feared greatly, that the very edge indeed of the true and lawfull power of
authoritie would be ſhortly turned upon them. As the ſedition was thus daſhed, by occaſion,
that it was credibly and for certain reported, firſt, that *Scipio* was living; and within a while N
after, that he was recovered and in health: there came ſeven Tribunes or Colonels, ſent from
*Scipio* himſelf. At whoſe firſt arrivall at the camp, the ſouldiers grew more angrie and waſpiſh
then before: but anon upon fair words and ſpeeches, wherewith the Colonels entertained
thoſe of their acquaintance, with whom they had communication, they were well contented
and appeaſed. For firſt they went about to their pavilions from one to another, and afterwards
to the *Principia* and the *Pretorium*, where they hapned to ſpie ſome knots of ſouldiers met to-
gether and talking one with another: and ſo ſpake unto them, as if they rather queſtioned with
them what the cauſe ſhould be of their anger and ſuddain commotion, then blamed them, or
laid any action to their charge. The reaſon commonly pretended, was this, that their wages was
not duly paid at the day. Beſides, they alledged, that whereas at the ſame time, when upon O
"the trecherous fact of the Illiturgitans, there followed the loſſe and death of two Generals, and
"the defeat of their two armies, they by their vertue had defended the Roman name and ho-
"nour, and likewiſe kept the province to their behoof, the Illiturgitans had indeed received con-
"dign puniſhment for their offence and treſpaſſe, but there was none that had requited and re-
"compenced them for their good ſervice accordingly. Beleeve me (ſay they again) your com-
"plaints are juſt and requeſts reaſonable, and we will make relation thereof to the Lord Generall:
"and glad we are in our hearts, that it is no worſe, and that the caſe is no more incurable than it is:

for

* Certain officers or ſergeants going before them with vine rods

A "for God be thanked, *P. Scipio* and the common-weal, are both ſufficient and alſo willing to make
" you amends for all.

But *Scipio*, a man though uſed to the wars, yet altogether unacquainted with ſtorms of ſouldiers mutinies, was much troubled in ſpirit and perplexed, for fear the army might exceed meaſure in tranſgreſſing or himſelf paſs his bounds in puniſhing; for the preſent he thought good to deal gently with them ſtill, as he had begun, and ſent abroad the collectors about the Tributary Cities to gather up the revenues, thereby to put them in good hope of pay, and that with ſpeed. And hereupon there went out an edict and proclamation, that they ſhould repair to *Carthage*, there to call for their wages, either by companies apart one after another, or altogether in general, whether they would themſelves.

B And now by this time, the ſudden pacification of the Spaniards that were about to rebell, ſtilled the ſedition of the ſouldiers quite, which of it ſelf began to cool and ſlake already. For *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, after it was reported that *Scipio* was alive and livelike, gave over their enterprize, and were retired again within their confines. So as now the ſouldiers had neither Citizen nor forreiner, to take part with them in their folly & furious rage. And when they had caſt all about what courſe to take and what ſhift to make, they found no other evaſion, but the moſt common refuge and retreat of all lewd counſels and bad deſignments, even to commit themſelves either to the juſt wrath of their Generall, or elſe to his clemency and mercy, whereof they were not paſt all hope and in utter deſpair. For why? he had not pardoned even the very enemies, with whom he had fought in battell. And as for their mutiny, it was as yet without bloodſhed, and no hurt
C done: and as it ſelf was not cruel and outragious, ſo it had deſerved no extream and rigorous puniſhment: thus reaſoned they and comforted themſelves, as naturally men are too prompt and eloquent, to extenuate, to palliat and cloke their own faults, more I wot, then they ſhould. This was their only doubt, whether they were better to go by cohorts and ſquadrons, or all at once to command their pay. In the end they were of opinion, that the ſafer way was to go all in one train. At the very ſame time, whiles they among themſelves laid their heads thus together in the camp, there was a councel held at new *Carthage* about them, and much diſpute there was, and variety of opinions, whether they ſhould proceed againſt the heads and Captains only of the ſeditious (who were in number not above five and thirty) or by cutting off the greater ſort to puniſh this
D ſo odious example and preſident of a rebellion rather then a mutiny. But the milder ſentence took place, namely, that from whence the offence began, there the puniſhment ſhould reſt. And for the multitude, ſome chaſtiſement and rebuke was ſufficient for their correction. When the Councel was diſmiſſed and broken up, to the end that it might be thought abroad that they ſat about nothing elſe but this which they pretended, they publiſhed an edict throughout all the army in *Carthage*, for an expedition or journey againſt *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*; and gave commandment to make proviſion of victuals for certain daies. And thoſe ſeven Tribunes, who had before gone to *Sucro* for to appeale the mutiny there, were now ſent to meet that army again: and having five names apeece given them of the principal authors of the foreſaid tumult, they had a direction unto certain meet perſons for the purpoſe, to ſhew them good countenance, to ſpeak fair unto them,
E and courteouſly to invite them home to their houſes, and afford them kind and friendly entertainment; and after they had made them good cheer and brought them to bed, to take them being faſt aſleep upon their liberall drinking of wine, and to bind them ſure hand and foot. Now when they were not far off from *Carthage*, they underſtood by thoſe whom they met and encountred upon the way, that all the whole army, was the next day following to ſet forth againſt the Lacetans: which tidings not only rid them of all fear, which ſecretly ſurpriſed and poſſeſſed their minds, but alſo made them exceeding glad and joyous, for that they ſuppoſed their Generall being now left alone with their forces, they might do with him what they would themſelves, rather then be at his commandment and devotion. And about ſun-ſetting they entred the City, and perceived the other army providing and making all ready for the voiage above named. Received they were
F and welcomed with gentle words, deviſed and framed on purpoſe: namely, that the L. Generall took great joy and contentment for their coming, for that they were come ſo juſt before the ſetting out of the other army: and ſo they went to repoſe and make much of themſelves. And without any ſtir and tumult at all, the ringleaders of the ſedition, were by the means of thoſe Tribuns entertained and lodged in the houſes of certain perſons of good behavior and meet for that purpoſe, and there apprehended and impriſoned. At the reliefe of the fourth watch, the cariages of that army, whoſe expedition was pretended, began to ſet forward on the journey: and ſomewhat before day the ſtandards and enſigns advanced, but the whole army was deteined and ſtaied at the gates, and certain warders ſent to keep all the paſſages and wayes, that no man ſhould go forth of the City. Then were thoſe ſouldiers who came the day before ſummoned to an audience: and they ran boldly into the market place to the Tribunall of the General, (as if
G with their outcries and clamours they would have put him in ſome fear and dread of them. And at one time both the Lord Generall himſelf in perſon aſcended up the Tribunall, and with all the armed ſouldiers were brought again from the gate, and enclozed round about at their backs the unarmed multitude gathered together to hear an Oration. Then were they danted, as luſty as they were before, and all their courage cooled: and (as they confeſſed afterwards themſelves) nothing terrified them ſo much, as the healthful ſtrength and freſh colour of the L. Generall beyond all their expectation, whom they thought verily to have found ſick and crazie: yea, and his coun-

tenance and face so vigorous and couragious, as they never remembred to have seen him so H
lusty in any battell before. For a while he sat still and said never a word, untill he was advertised
that the Captains of the mutiny were brought into the place and all things else in readinesse.
Then after silence made by an *Oyez* of the cryer, in this wise he began and said.

" I would never have beleeved that I should have wanted words and proper language unto
" mine own army: not because I have exercised my self at any time rather to make eloquent
" speeches then to manage valiant actions, but for that being alwaies from mine infancy almost
" trained up in the camp, I have been acquainted with the natures and humours of souldiers. But
" in what manner I should speak unto you, neither my wits will give me advice, nor my tongue
" afford me utterance: you, I say, whom I wot not so much as by what name to call. Should I
" term you Citizens, who have revolted from your native country, or souldiers, who have re- I
" nounced your Generall, refused to be under his command, his charge and government, and
" made no conscience to break the oath of your alleageance? Last of all, should I give you the
" name of enemies? Now surely, me thinks I agnise the bodies, the faces, the apparel and habit of
" mine own natural Citizens: but contrariwise, I see plainly the deeds, the words, the intents and
" minds of arrant enemies. For what have ye wished and hoped for else, but the Ilergetes and the
" Lacetanes have done the like? And yet I must needs say, that they had to follow for their cap-
" tains in their outrage, *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, two Princes of royall bloud: whereas you im-
" posed the soveraign command & government upon *Vmber Atrius*, & *Calenus Albinus* two base
" companions. Denie it now hardly if you wil, that you all either were in the action, or willing in
" the intention. Verily I can easily beleeve you in so disavowing, and namely, that all this proceed- K
" ed from the folly of some brainsick fellows among you. For the trespasses committed are of that
" quality and consequence, that if the whole army were therein culpable, the expiation & purging
" therof could not be procured without great sacrifices and exquisite punishment. Full against my
" will I touch these points, as sores and gals that will not abide the rubbing: but unlesse they be
" touched and handled too, they cannot possibly be cured and healed. I assure you, for mine own
" part, I thought verily, that when the Carthaginians were driven out of *Spain*, there was neither
" place nor person throughout the whole province, that had envied my life and health: such hath
" been my carriage, and so have I demeaned my self not only with Allies, but also with enemies. But
" see, how much I have been deceived! even in mine own camp, the news of my death was not on-
" ly received with joy, but expected also with a longing desire. I speak not this, that I would have
" any man to imagin that I conceive, how all in generall are guilty of this fact (for if I were per- L
" swaded in my mind that my whole army wished my death, I would here die presently before
" your eyes; for what good would my life do me, repined of my souldiers and fellow Citizens?)
" But the multitude of every people is like the seas in nature; which of themselves are unmoveable
" and stir not as the winds blow, as the gales go and come, so are they either calm or troublesome
" and unquiet: and even so the cause and source of all this fury and outrage, is in some few heads
" and leaders. As for you, ye have caught the infection from them, and plaied the fools with them
" for company. Surely I am thus perswaded of you this day, that ye know not yet, to what enor-
" mous height of folly ye have proceeded; what mischievous act ye were entred into against mine
" own person; what you attempted against your native country, your wives and children; what
" you enterprised against the gods and witnesses of your loyall oath; what ye have done against M
" the sacred auspices and happy fortune, under which ye have served in warfare; what ye have
" committed against the custome & law of war, against the discipline of your ancestors; & final-
" ly, how prejudiciall and offensive your designes have been against the soveraign majesty of the
" Roman empire. As for my self, I am willing to say nothing: content I am to think, that ye ra-
" ther gave credit to my death rashly and inconsideratly, then hearken therto willingly and gree-
" dily. And it may be, that I have so behaved my self, that no wonder it is, if mine army be wea-
" ry of me and of my government. But what harm hath your country deserved at your hands
" which to betray, ye should complot with *Mandonius* & *Indibilis*? How hath the people of *Rome*
" offended you, that you have deprived the Kn. Marshals and Colonels created by the voices of
" the people, of their lawfull rule and authority, and conferred the same upon privat persons? N
" And being not therewith contented, to have and acknowledge them for your Colonels; you,
" even you the army of the Romans, have taken the knitches of rods belonging only to the Ge-
" neral, and bestowed them upon those that never kept so much as a bondslave of their own to
" command. *Albius* and *Atrius* forsooth, set up their pavilions in that chief place and State in
" the camp, where the soveraign magistrat ought to quarter: with them the trumpet sounded:
" from them the signall and watch-word was demanded: they sat as judges in the Tribunal seat
" of *Scipio* the Pro-consul: upon them the Lictors and Sergeants attended: for them they made
" way & voided the place, against they should go forth & march in their state: and before them
" were the rods born, and the axes withall. When it raineth stones, when thunderbolts are shot,
" when lightnings flash from heaven, when beasts bring forth strange uncouth and monstrous O
" young ones, contrary to the course of nature, you take them for prodigious signs and fearfull
" tokens. Nay this is a monstrous sight and wonder in deed, which by no sacrifices of beasts, by
" no supplications and praiers, can be purged and expiat, without the bloud of them that have
" commited so hainous a fact. And albeit no wicked crime can be founded upon any reason, yet
" would I gladly know of you (as in a case that indeed should not be once named and remembred)

" what

A "what was in your mind? what imagined you? and what was your designment? There was in
"times past a legion sent to *Rhegium*, there to lie in garrison. Traiterously and villanously they
"murdered the principal citizens there, and for ten years space possessed and kept that wealthy
"town to their own behoof. For this notorious and beasty fact the whole legion, even four
"thousand men and no fewer, were in the market place of *Rome* beheaded every one. And
"yet they at the first followed not for their captain * *Atrius Vmber*, one little better then a lan-
"der, skullian, and follower of the camp, a man of an unlucky and unfortunate name, but *Decius*
"*Jubellius* a Tribune or Kn. Marshall; neither joyned they with *Pyrrhus*, nor with the Samnits and
"Lucans, professed enemies of the people of *Rome*. Wheras ye, have plotted in counsell, and meant
"to have banded in arms together with *Mandonius* & *Indibilis*, their purpose was to have seated
B "themselves for ever in *Rhegium*, like as before them the Campanes, who took *Capua* from the
"Tuscans, the old inhabitants: and the Mamertins likewise; who possessed themselves in *Sicily* of
"*Messana*, and never minded to molest and make war either upon the people of *Rome*, or any of
"their allies and confederats. But tell me I pray you, intended ye to have made your continuall re-
"sidence, and to have dwelt at *Sucro* where if I your General at my departure out of the province,
"when my time and commission was expired, should have left you behind me, ye might have
"cried out upon me, and called for vengeance to God and man in regard of hard measure and
"wrong offered unto you, in that ye might not be permitted to return home to your wives and
children. But alas, wife and children were clean excluded out of your mind: & ye thought no more
"upon them, then of me or of your native country. Well, I will follow on still, and discourse upon
C "your plot and designs, wicked and ungracious though they were, yet haply not altogether so foo-
"lish & sottish in the highest degree as may be supposed. Imagined ye being eight thousand men in
"number, (and say that ye were all of better account & reckoning then *Albius* & *Atrius* are, un-
"der whom ye submitted your selves) to have been able for to defeat the people of *Rome* of the
"province of *Spain*? so long as I lived, and the other army stood sound and strong: wherwith in
"one day I forced new *Carthage*; with which I discomfited, put to flight, and chased out *Spain*, four
"brave Generals, and as many puissant armies of the Carthaginians? But let that go by, and to lay
"aside my name, and to speak of no more abuse but this, that ye were very credulous and quick-
"ly beleeved that I was dead. How then? what if I was departed this life and gone indeed? Had
"the common-wealth together with me yeelded up her ghost? Would the main state and empire
D "of *Rome* have fain to the ground with me at once? Forsend (O *Jupiter*, almighty and most gra-
"cious) that ever a City founded first most happily, with the approbation of the gods, built eter-
"nally for ever to endure, should be compared and made but equal with this frail and mortall body
"of mine. *Flaminius*, *Paulus*, *Gracchus*, *Posthumius Albinus*, *M. Marcellus*, *T. Quintius Crispi-*
"*nus*, *Cn. Fulvius*, two *Scipios*, my father and uncle both, so many noble warriors and captains
"have been slain in this one war; and they are dead and gone: yet the people of *Rome* continu-
"eth on foot and overliveth them, yea, and shall still, when a thousand more of them shall die, ei-
"ther upon the edge of the sword, or upon some sickness or other. How should then the state of
"the people of *Rome* be enterred & buried with the dead corps of me, but one man and no more?
"Even you your selves (to go no farther to seek examples) here in *Spain*, when my father and un-
E "cle two Generals, were killed, chose *Septimius Martius* for your captain, to lead against the Car-
"thaginians, being in the ruff and jollity of their fresh and late victory. I speak now, as though if
"I had miscarried, *Spain* had been left destitute and without a Commander and Generall. *M. Syl-*
"*lanus* who was sent with me in the province, joined in the same commission and of equall au-
"thority; *L. Scipio* my brother, and *C. Lalius*, both Lieutenants generall: would these have sit still
"and done nothing? would these have failed to maintain and recover the majesty of our empire?
"What? could ye have compared army for army, captains for captains with them? was either your
"reputation and credit, or your quarrel and cause comparable? and suppose that in all these regards,
"ye have been superiour and gotten the vantage, would ye indeed with the Carthginians, have
"born arms against your native country? against your fellow citizens? would ye in very truth, that *A-*
F "*frick* should have commanded *Italy*; and *Carthage* the City of *Rome*? And for what demerit and
"great trespasse, I pray you, that your country had committed? *Coriolanus* long ago, being wrong-
"fully condemned and unworthily banished, seeing himself to live a miserable exiled man, was mo-
"ved to take armes and to come against his country to assail it. A privat regard of love and natu-
"rall kindnesse, reclaimed them from publick parricide. But what grief of heart, what fit of an-
"ger hath incited and provoked your? Set case your wages was paid later by some daies, whiles
"your General lay sick; was that a sufficient cause for you to give defiance to your country & pro-
"claim open war against it? was that enough to cause you to revolt from the people of *Rome*, and
"turn to the Ilergetes? and to spare no law of God and man, but to break all and make shipwrack
"of conscience and common honesty? now surely, souldiers, ye were out of your wits, and fools
G "ye were in the highest degree. I was not my self farther out of frame and sicker in body, then
"ye were in your mind and understanding. I tremble to think upon it and to reherse, what folk be-
"leeved, what they hoped, what they wished. Let all be forgotten and buried in oblivion, if it be
"possible: if not let us not speak of it yet, howsoever we do, but rake it up in deep silence. I cannot
"deny, but my words have seemed sharp and bitter unto you, and all this my speech very rigorous.
"But how much more cruell think ye are your deeds, then my words tart and sour? And if ye
"deem it reasonable, that I should bear & put up the things that ye have done; wil ye not abide then

and

* *Atrius Vmber*: alluding to *Ater*, black and *Vmbra* a dark shadow.

" and take in good part, and patiently to hear me to tell all that I can say? But these matters I wil H
" lay no more in your dish from henceforth; ye shall be checked no more for them. Would God ye
" could as soon forget them, as I will put them out of my remembrance. And therefore as touching
" you all in generall, if ye repent and be displeased with your selves for your fault and folly, I shall
" be content and think you punished to the ful. But as for *Albius Calenus* and *Atrius Umber*, with
" the rest of the authors of this cursed and detestable mutiny, they shall make amends for their
" trespasse and transgression, even with their heart-bloud; and they shall surely die for it. The
" spectacle of their exemplary punishment ought not to seem unto you grievous and odious, but
" rather a pleasant and delectable sight, if ye have any grace in you, and be come again to your right
" wits. For their intent was to hurt and do mischief to no man alive, more then to your selves.

He had scarce made an end of his speech, when all at once, according to the order given before- I
hand, there was presented to their eies and ears a terrible and fearful object on all sides. For the army which had environed the assembly round about clattered their swords & bucklers together. The common crier was heard to cite by name all those that were condemned there, in the presence of the whole audience. Stripped they were naked, and haled forth in the mids of them all, and every thing brought out at once for to accomplish the execution. Thus were they bound to the stake, whipped with rods, and their heads chopped off. So benumned they were all and astonied for fear, that were present at the sight thereof, that there was not heard amongst them all one shrewd & hard word, in misliking the rigor of the punishment, no, nor so much as one grone or secret sigh. Then their bodies were al drawn at one side, the place was made clean, & purged & al the souldiers were called by name & before the Colonels & Kn. Marshals, sware alleageance, and K to be true souldiers unto *Scipio*. And every one according as he answered to his name, had his wages truly paid. This was the issue and final end of the souldiers mutiny, which began at *Sucro*.

At the same time, Captain *Hanno* sent by *Mago* from *Gades* with a small power of Africans, sollicited the Spaniards about the river *Batis*, for mony, to rebel and put in arms upon a four thousand able men. But afterwards he was forced by *L. Martius* to quit his camp, and having lost the greatest part of his men in the very tumult of taking the camp, yea, and some in the flight, whom the horsmen pursued in chase and slew as they ran straggling, himself with few others escaped away. Whiles these things hapned about the river *Batis*, *Lælius* in the mean time having passed through the streights into the main Ocean, arrived with his navy at *Carteia*. This is a City standing on the sea coast bounding upon the Ocean, even in the mouth of the river, where it first open- L
eth from the streights into the broad sea. Now there was some hope (as hath been aforesaid) to gain the City of *Gades* without any assault, by treason, for as much as there came some into the Roman camp, that of themselves made offer and promise thereof. But the treason brake forth too soon and was revealed before it was ripe, the conspirators were all apprehended, and sent by *Mago* unto *Adherbal* the Pretor, for to be conveied to *Carthage*. And *Adherbal* having embarked those traitors in a Caravel or Gallion of five banks of oars, and sent her afore, because she was slower of sail than those of three banks; himself with eight three-banked gallies, followed a prety way after. The said Caravel of five course of oars, was not so soon entred the straights, but *Scipio* also being embarked in another Caravel of the same sort, made out of the haven of *Carteia* with seven Gallies of three ranks of oars and invested *Adherbal* and the foresaid Gallies: sup- M
posing verily, that the enemies Caravel being taken tardy in the very current, was not able against the tide to reire. *Adherbal* being thus surprised on the suddain, for a while stood in fear and doubt what to do; whether he had best to follow on after his own Caravell, or turn the prows and beaks of his gallies, and make head against the enemy. Thus whiles he stood at a bay lingring, he lost the opportunity of shifting and avoiding a battell: for now they were come within the dart shot, and the enemies on every side were ready to charge. And the current was so strong, that they were not able to rule and manage their ships as they would. But the manner of fight was nothing at all like to a sea-battell, for as much as they could do nothing to their mind, nothing by skil and dexterity, nothing by counsel and advice. The nature onely of the narrow sea, the violence of the current was all in all, and ruled the conflict, driving the ships one against another, as well up- N
on their own fellows as upon their enemies: notwithstanding they rowed and laboured what they could to the contrary. So as one while ye should see a ship that fled and scudded away, whirled about back again with a witnesse by the waves, upon those that had her in chase: and likewise another that seemed to follow and pursue after her enemie, if she hapned once into a contrary course of billowes, to turn top and tail, and seem to flie. And in the very conflict it so fell out, that when as one vessell ran with her beak head full butt upon another, she was forced by waves to turn her side, and receive in her flank the push of her enemies. And contrariwise, when as one lay with her flank opposite to the enemie, suddainly all at once she should wind and whirle again upon her prow. As the gallies fought thus doubtfully together, hap hazard, at the pleasure and will of Fortune; the Roman Caravell (were it because of her weight she was able to stand more O
steady against the surging billows, or by reason that she had more ranks of oars that cut the waves, and so was more easily ruled) chanced to sink two of the smaller gallies of the enemies; and running fast by one with a forcible violence wiped away clean all the oars of one side, and had no doubt spoiled and marred all the rest that she would have invelted and charged upon. but that *Adherbal*, with the other five made sail, and got over into *Africk*. *Lælius* having sailed back to *Carteia* with victory, and heard what had been done at *Gades*, namely, how the complot of betraying

A betraying the Iland was diſcloſed, the conſpirators ſent bound unto *Carthage*, and conſequently all their hope fruſtrate and turned to nothing upon which they came to *Gades*; diſpatched meſſengers to *L. Martius*, giving him to underſtand, that unleſſe they meant ſtill to lie before *Gades*, trifling away the time and doing no good, the beſt way was to return unto *Scipio* the lord Generall: and ſo with the conſent of *Martius* both of them within few daies repaired to *Carthage*. Upon whoſe departure *Mago* had not onely a time to breath himſelf being frighted as he was with a double fear both by land & ſea; but alſo hearing that the Ilergetes were revolted, conceived ſome hope to recover *Spain* again, and addreſſed his courriers to the Senat at *Carthage*: who by relaB ting not only the civil mutiny that aroſe in the Roman camp, but alſo the rebellion of the confederats (and all by way of amplification and enforcing every thing to the higheſt degree) ſhould encourage and exhort them to ſends aids for to regain the dominion of *Spain*, left unto them by deſcent over their anceſtors. *Mandonius* & *Indibilis* who were retired for a time into their confines, untill they knew how the ſedition ſped and what was the iſſue thereof, reſted ſtil in ſuſpence. For if the naturall citizens had their treſpaſſe forgiven, they made no doubt themſelves but they might be pardoned alſo. But when it was publiſhed abroad how ſeverely and ſharply they were puniſhed, they ſuppoſing their own tranſgreſſon to deſerve the like puniſhment, ſollicited their own people again to take arms: and thus having levied and aſſembled the ſame power of aids which they had before, they paſſed into the Sedetants country, where at the beginning they lay in ſtanding C camp, being in all 20000, and 2500 horſe ſtrong.

*Scipio* after he had ſoon reconciled and won again the heart of his ſouldiers, as well by making true paiment of their wages, to the faulty and innocent alike, as alſo by ſhewing a loving countenance, and giving friendly words unto all indifferently; before that he diſlodged and removed from *Carthage*, aſſembled them all together to an audience. "Where he inveighed bitterly and at large againſt the falſhood and trechery of the lords of the country that rebelled: and proteſted be- *Scipio to his ſouldiers.*
"fore them all, that he went not now to be revenged of them for their wickedneſs with the ſame
"mind, wherewith lately before he had cured the folly, and reformed the error of his naturall
"citizens: for then quoth he with grief and grone, yea, and with tears like as one that rent and cut
"his own bowels, I expiated and purged either the inconſiderat folly, or the wilful malice of eight D "thouſand men, with the head of thirty perſons: but now I go with joy and glad heart, yea, and
"with a reſolution to execute and maſſacre the Ilergetes. For neither are they born in the ſame land
"with me, nor linked now in any ſociety at all unto me: the only bond of faith and amity which
"was between us, that they have themſelves firſt impiouſly broken. But in my own army, beſides
"that I ſee they all are either Roman citizens or elſe allies, and thoſe not Aliens but meer Latins:
"this doth me good and moved me much, that there is not among them ſo much as one ſouldier
"to ſpeak of, but was brought out of *Italy* either by mine uncle *Cn. Scipio* (who was the firſt of
"the Roman name that came as L. Deputy into this province) or elſe by my father who was Con-
"ſul, or laſt of all by my mine own ſelf. They are every one of them wel acquainted & inured with
"the name of *Scipios*, and uſed to their fortune and government: whom I gladly would conduct E "home ſafe with me to deſerved triumph, and whom I hope to find ready to aſſiſt me with their
"favour when I ſtand for a Conſulſhip, as if it were a matter that concerned the honor of them
"all in generall, as well as mine particular. And as for the expedition now in hand, whoſoever
"taketh it to be a war, little remembereth the noble acts by me atchieved: for ſurely I make more
"reckoning of *Mago* and his exploits, who is fled with a few ſhips as it were out of the compaſſe
"of the world, in an Iland environed with the Ocean ſea, then I do of the Illergetes. For there
"in that place is not only a Carthaginian captain, but all the Carthaginian forces and ſtength that
"now remain. Here are none but theeves and robbers, and their leader; who peradventure
"may be of ſome power and ſufficiency to forage the fields, to burn the houſes, to drive away ſome
"cattell of their neighbours, but to come to hand-ſtrokes in a ſet fight and ranged battell, they are F "of no valour and worth at all: who no doubt will come into the field, truſting upon their good
"footmanſhip to run away in the rout, more than upon any force of arms to maintain the fight.
"And therefore I have thought good to put down and ſuppreſſe theſe Ilergetes, before I depart out
"of the province; not for any preſent danger at all, or fear of greater war that I ſee may ſpring
"from thence; but firſt and principally, that ſo ungracious and wicked a rebellion ſhould not re-
"main unpuniſhed; and next becauſe it might not be ſaid, that in a province ſo ſubdued, as wel by
"ſingular proweſſe as rare felicity, there was left one enemie behind of the Romans. And therfore
"in the name of the gods follow after me, not ſo much to make juſt war (for ye are not to deal
"with enemies any way comparable unto you) as to take vengeance of wicked men, and to puniſh
"graceleſſe perſons. When he had finiſhed his ſpeech, he diſmiſſed them, with commandment to G be ready the next morrow to put themſelves in the journey: and after that he ſet once forward, by the tenth day he came to the river *Iberus*, and when he had paſſed over, within 4 daies more, he encamped in the ſight of his enemies. Now there was a plain there, environed round about with mountains: into which vale between, he cauſed the cattell (and thoſe were for the moſt part driven out of the enemies countrie) for to be put forth to graſing and all to provoke the anger of the fiere and ſavage enemies: and ſent out withall, the light appointed archers to guard them: he took order beſides, that when theſe were one in skirmiſh with the vancurriers of the enemies, *Lelius* with his Cavalry ſhould cloſely from ſome covert place give a ſuddain charge. And for this purpoſe, there was a hill that bare out handſomely to hide the ambuſh of thoſe horſemen.

And

And presently without any delay, they came to skirmish: for the Spaniards made out to to the H
cattell, so soon as ever they discovered them a far off: the archers again and darters of the Romans
ran upon the Spaniards as they were busie in their booty. And at first they terrified them, and
skirmished with their shot: but afterward, when they had spent their arrows and darts, which
were better to begin a fray, then determine a battell, they drew their naked swords and be-
gan to fight close together foot to foot. And surely the skirmish of the footmen had been doubt-
fully decided, but that the horsemen came upon them: who not only affronted the enemies in their
face, and trampled them all under their horsefeet that came in their way, but also some of them
having wheeled about and set a compasse along the hill-foot, presented themselves at the back of
the enemies, so as they enclosed and shut up the most part of them in the middle between. Inso-
much as there ensued a greater slaughter, then commonly upon light skirmishes by way of such I
rodes and excursions. But the barbarous people by this discomfiture were rather kindled and en-
flamed to anger, then daunted any way or discouraged. And therfore, because they would not
seem to have been dismaied or affrighted, the morrow morning by day-light, they shewed them-
selves in battell array. The streight and narrow valley, as is beforesaid, was not able to receive and
contain all their power: for two third parts welneer of the infantry and all the horse were come
down into the plain field; and the rest of their footmen besides, stood together quartered on the
side of the hill. *Scipio* judged that the scantnesse of the ground made for him both because it seem-
ed that the Roman souldiers were more fitted to fight in a small room then the Spaniards: and
also for that the enemies were engaged within that place, which was not able to contein the
the whole multitude: and therefore he devised a new stratagem besides. For considering that he K
could not in so narrow a space bring his own cavalrie about to compasse and charge the wings and
points of their battell, and that the horsmen which the enemies had arranged together with their
infantry, would serve them in no stead; he gave direction unto *Lælius* to conduct the horse as
closely as he could about the hils, and to keep off the squadrons of the cavalry so far as possibly
might be from the skirmish of the Infantry. Himself directly turned all the ensigns of the foot-
men opposit against the enemies, and marshalled the forefront with four cohorts only, because he
could not stretch out the battell any broader: and then without delay he made hast to begin the
conflict, to the end, that while the enemies were amused and occupied in fight they should be
withdrawn from espying the horsmen as they traversed over the hils. Neither had they an eye of
them at all, whiles they were brought about, before they heard the noise and tumult of themas L
they charged upon their backs. So they fought asunder in two severall places: and battels of foot,
and as many of horse encountred & joyned along the plain, because the streightnesse of the ground
would not admit both horse and foot to fight together in one plot at once. Now when as the infan-
try of the Spaniards could not help the men of armes, and they again were a little succoured by
the Cavalry, but that the footmen trusting upon the Cavalry, were without good direction put
rashly to fight in the plain ground, and so beaten down and slain; and the horsemen being en-
closed round, could neither abide the enemies footmen afront them (for by this time their own
infantry was overthrown and defeated) nor yet endure behind them the hot assault of their hors-
men; they left their horses, cast themselves into a ring, and after they had stood so at defence
long time, were slain every one to the last man: there was not I say one footman or horsman left M
of all those that fought in the valley. As for that third part which stood upon the hill side, rather
to behold the fight in a place of security, than to take part with their fellows in the battell, they
had both time and space to shift for themselves and escape. Among whom, were the Princes al-
so themselves in person, *Madonius* and *Indibilis*: who were slipt away in the first tumult of the
fight, before all the battailons were environed. The same day was the camp also of the Spani-
ards forced, and therein besides other pillage, were taken prisoners almost three thousand men.
Romans and allies there died in that fight upon a 1200, and above three thousand were sore hurt.
The victory no doubt had been obteined with lesse bloudshed, if they had fought in a more open
piece of ground, where there had been better scope to flie away. Then *Indibilis* giving over clean
to think any more of wars, & supposing nothing safer, then to have recourse to the approved good- N
nesse and clemency of *Scipio*, sent his brother *Mandonius* unto him: who fell postrat down at his
feet, blaming much (as the cause of their folly) the fatall rage and fury of the time; wherein not
only the Illergetes and Lacetanes, but also the Roman camp, as it were by some contagious
and pestilent infection, became frantick and besides themselves: and said withall, that the con-
dition of himself, his brother, and their followers and subjects was such, as they were ready if
if were so thought good, either to yeeld up their lively breath unto *Scipio*, at whose very hands
they had once received the same; or if they might now be pardoned and saved, to devote and em-
ploy their lives for ever hereafter wholly in his service, as being now twice due unto him alone,
and no other. Once after they presumed upon confidence in their innocent cause, when as yet
they had no experience of his clemency: but now contrary wise they reposed all their full hope in O
the mercy of the conqueror, and nothing trusting in the goodnesse of the quarrell. Now it was an
old custome among the Romans, not to exercise the absolute authority of the government upon
any (as they did to peaceable subjects) with whom they were neither confedered in equall and re-
ciprocall covenants, nor linked in the bands of amity; before they surrendered up unto them all
rights, as well divine as humane: before I say they had received hostages of them, taken armor
from them, and planted garrisons in their towns and Cities. *Scipio* after he had sharply rebuked
and

A and roundly ſhaken up *Mandonius* there preſent, and likewiſe *Indibilis* that was abſent, ſaid, that for their wicked parts & lewd demeanor, they had worthily deſerved death: but live they ſhould by his goodneſs and the gracious favour of the people of *Rome*. And moreover he promiſed neither to deſpoil them of their armour & weapons (the ſeizing whereof was put a pawn and aſſurance unto ſuch as feared rebellion; for as for him, he left unto them their armour freely to uſe at their pleaſure, and their hearts and minds ſecured from fear) nor proceed in rigor and cruelty againſt the guiltleſſe hoſtages, but againſt their own perſons, if they went out and revolted again: nor yet would be content himſelf to be revenged of diſarmed and naked enemies, but the offenders & tranſgreſſors ſhould in their armes ſuffer for their deſerts. And now ſince they had tried both fortunes, as well the one as the other, he put unto their choiſe, whether they had rather have the Ro-
B mans pacified or diſpleaſed, friends or enemies? So *Mandonius* had a fair delivery; only there was an impoſition and fine laid unto him and *Indibilis*, of a ſum of money for ſouldiers pay. *Scipio* himſelf after he had ſent *Martius* before into the farther part of *Spain* (beyond the river *Iberus*) and *Syllanus* back again to *Tarracon*, ſtaid ſome few daies untill the Illergetes had made payment of the monies that they were charged with: and then with all his ſouldiers lightly appointed without carriages, marched in a running camp to overtake *Martius*, who by that time approached neer unto the Ocean.

The treaty which *Maſaniſſa* began before time, was upon ſundry occaſions put off ſtill and deferred. For the Numidian Prince was very deſirous to parley & commune with *Scipio* himſelf in perſon & in the right hand to aſſure him of fealty: which was the very cauſe then, that *Scipio* took
C ſo long a journey ſo far out of his way. *Maſaniſſa* being now at *Gades*, and advertiſed by *Martius* that *Scipio* was coming and neer at hand, ſhewed falſe ſemblance to *Mago*, made many excuſes, & found much fault, namely, that their boutes being pinned up and peſtred within the Iland, were weineer loſt and ſpoiled: and that by their long abode there, not only they made others feel the want and ſcarcity of all things, but alſo taſted thereof themſelves: and beſides that his men of arms for very eaſe and idleneſſe, became feeble and unluſty. By which ſuggeſtions he perſwaded with *Mago*, and prevailed with him ſo much, as to ſuffer him to croſſe over into the continent, under colour to waſt and ſpoil the land of *Spain* next adjoyning. When he was paſſed over, he
D ſent before him three principall Numidians, gentlemen of mark, to appoint both the time and the place of their meeting and conference, and gave order, that *Scipio* ſhould detein ſome of them with him as pledges: the third was ſent back, to conduct *Maſaniſſa* to the appointed place, according as he was commanded, and ſo with a ſmall company they met for to emparle and commune together.

Now was *Maſaniſſa* the Numidian King poſſeſſed before with a wonderful admiration of *Scipio* and his vertue, by reaſon of the fame that was blazed abroad of his noble acts: and had conceived with all and imagined, that he was a man right perſonable, of a mighty big and goodly ſtature, but when he once ſaw him in place, he grew into a far greater reverence and honor of his perſon.
E For beſides the exceeding majeſty and port that naturally he carried with him, his goodly long buſh of hair well became and graced him; the habit alſo and attire of the body, manly & ſouldier-like, not brave nor tricked up deintily and delicately, much adorned and ſet him out. And for his age he was in the beſt & height of his ſtrength: which ſeemed upon his late ſickneſs, more full, more ſmug and freſh, as if the very prime and flour of his youth had been renewed, and himſelf caſt again in a new mould. The Numidian (at their firſt meeting) almoſt aſtonied, gave him thanks for ſending back his brothers ſon unto him, ſaying: "That ever ſince that time, he ſought to eſpie
F "ſome occaſion and fit opportunity, which now at length by the goodneſs of the immortall gods be-"ing preſented unto him, he had not neglected and let ſlip: Proteſting that he was moſt deſirous "both to do him favour, and to gratifie the people of *Rome* in any kind of ſervice: in ſo much "as there was no one forreiner more earneſt & ready to advance and better the State of the Romans "then himſelf: which (albeit he had been willing unto heretofore) he could not poſſibly ſhew in "effect, ſo long as he was in *Spain*, a ſtrange country, and unknown unto him; but in that wherein
G "he was born & brought up in hope of ſucceſſion in his fathers Kingdom, he would be moſt for-"ward to perform. For, in caſe the Romans would ſend but *Scipio* as L. Generall into *Africk*, he "made no doubt but hoped aſſuredly, that *Carthage* had not long to continue and ſtand, but ſoon "would come to a finall end." *Scipio* for his part was glad both to ſee him, and hear him ſo ſpeak; knowing this full well, that of all the cavalry of the enemies, *Maſſaniſſa* and the Numid-ians went ever away with prick & prize & the young man himſelf in his very countenance carried with him a good ſhew of a brave and hanty mind. So after faithfull promiſe given and received on both parts, *Scipio* retired to *Tarracon*: and *Maſaniſſa* when he had by the permiſſion of the Romans foraged the coaſts next adjoyning, becauſe he might not ſeem to have paſſed over into the main land for nothing, returned into *Gades*.

When *Mago* now being in utter deſpair of *Spain* (whereof he had conceived great hopes, and bare himſelf ſo proudly; firſt upon the mutiny of the ſouldiers, and afterwards upon the revolt & rebellion of *Indibilis*) made preparation to ſail over into *Africk*, there came a meſſage unto him from *Carthage*, that the Senat there had given order and direction, That he ſhould tranſport the armado which he had at *Gades*, and paſſe into *Italy*: and there to take up and wage all the able men that poſſibly he could levy, either of Gauls or of Ligurians; & ſo to joyn with his power unto *Annibal*: and not to ſuffer that war to quail and ſlake now, which was enterpriſed with greateſt

force

force and endeavor, and yet, with greater favour of fortune. For this exploit, both treasure was H
brought from *Carthage* to *Mago*: and himself also raised as great sums as possibly he could of the
Gaditanes, having not only emptied the common treasure of the Iland, but spoiled also the temples,
yea, and forced all privat persons to bring abroad all their gold and silver whatsoever. As he sailed
along the coast of *Spain*, he landed his souldiers not far from new *Carthage*: and after he had
wasted and overrun the territories by the Sea side, he approached neer with his fleet, and rid at
anchor before the City: where all the day long he kept his souldiers within their ships, and by
night set them ashore, and led them toward the part of the wall, whereas *Carthage* was by the
Romans won: supposing that the City was not sufficiently defended with a stronge guard, and
that some of the townsmen, upon hope of a change and alteration, would rise up in armes and re-
bell. But there were come posts out of the country in all hast beforehand, who had brought news, I
as well of the foraging of the country & fearfull flight of the rusticall peasants, as of the coming of
the enemies. Moreover the armado was descried also in the day time, & it was apparant, that they
made not choise to anchor even just in the rode before the City, for nothing. And therefore the
the City souldiers stood ready, well appointed, and in armes, and kept within that gate, which
turned toward the lake and the sea. And when the enemies, souldiers and marriners confusedly
together, were come in great disorder under the walls, with more tumultuous noise then forcible
violence: the Romans at once suddainly set open their gate, and with a great crie and shout, made
a sally upon them, charged the enemies, troubled and disordered them & at the first onset & volly
of shot discomfited and put them to flight, yea, and with much slaughter chased them to the shore:
and but that the vessels stood close to the strand, ready to receive them abroad as they fled so K
fearfully, there had not been one left alive, either in the flight or fight. Nay, they that were in the
very ships were in great affright & peril, whiles to prevent the enemies of breaking in upon them
pell mell with their own company, they pull'd up the ladders, drew in the planks, cut a two the
ropes whereby the ships were fastened to the banks, yea, and the very cables for hast, that they
might have no hinderance by weighing anchor: so that many there were, who in swimming to the
ships, because they knew not in the darke night, which way to go or what to avoid, perished mi-
serably. The next day, when the armado was fled from thence back again into the Ocean from
whence it came, they were found slain eight hundred men: and of armors and corslets between
the City wall and the sea shore, two thousand.

*Mago* being retired to *Gades*, was excluded from thence, and arrived with his fleet at *Cimbis*, L
a place not far from *Gades*. From whence he sent Embassadors, to complain that the gates were
shut against him, being their allie and friend: and when the Gaditanes excused themselves and
said, that it was long of an uprore of the multitude, who were offended & aggrieved for certain rob-
beries committed, and spoil made by the souldiers at their departure, and when they were ready
to be embarked; he trained forth to parly their head magistrats (whom the Carthaginians call
*Suffetes*) together with the chief Treasurer: and after they were scourged and their skin pitteously
torn, he commanded them to be roundly trussed up and crucified. From thence he sailed to *Pity-
usa*, an Iland distant from the main an hundred miles, inhabited at that time by Carthaginians,
where the fleet was friendly and peaceably received: & not only provided for liberally of store of
victuals, but also furnished with lusty men, for marriners to serve at sea, yea, and with armor and M
munition for souldiers. Upon which forces *Mago* bare himself confident and bold, and setting sail
fell within the Balear Ilands, that were fifty miles off. Now there are two of these Ilands called Ba-
leares, the one greater then the other, and more mighty both in men and munition: having an ha-
ven and harbour where *Mago* supposed that he might commodiously winter in. But the Ilanders
withstood his navy with as great hostility, as if they had been Romans that had inhabited the I-
land, they could not have done more. And as now adaies they use for the most part slings, so at
that time they practised no other kind of weapons at all. And in no nation besides, can ye find one
speciall person, so much to excell in that feat, as all the Balears generally do exceed and surpasse
others in the cast and slight thereof. And therefore they discharged and levelled among them, as
the armado approached the shore, such store of stones flying about their ears as thick as hail, that N
they durst not enter the haven, but turned their ships into the main sea again. Then they put over
to the lesser * Iland of the Balears, which as it was fertile in soil, so for men and armor it was no-
thing so strong. Whereupon they disbarked and came a land, and above the haven in a strong and
well fenced place they encamped. And having gotten to be masters both of the City and territo-
ry about it, without any force of armes and conflict, they levied and enrolled there among them
two thousand auxiliary souldiers, whom they sent to *Carthage* for to winter, and then they drew
up their ships aland into the dock. When *Mago* was once departed from the Ocean sea coast, the
Gaditans surrendred themselves to the Romans.

* Minorique, as the greater is called Majorique.

These were the acts atchieved in *Spain*, under the conduct & fortunat government of *P. Scipio*,
who having delivered the charge of the province to *L. Lentulus*, and *Manlius Acidinus*, return- O
ed to *Rome* with a fleet of ten sail. He had audience given him in the Senat, assembled in the
temple of *Bellona*, without the City: where he discoursed before them in order from point to point,
of all the affairs and exploits that he had done in *Spain*: Namely, how often he had fought in
set and ranged battels: what a number of towns he had forced and won from the enemies;
what nations he had subdued and brought in subjection under the state of *Rome*; how at first
he

A he passed into Spain, against four general captains and four victorious armies; and now had not left one Carthaginian in all those parts. Yet for all these noble deeds, he rather assaied what hope he might have of a triumph, than made any hot & earnest sute therefore: because it was never seen to that day, that any one had triumphed who made war, being himself no principal Magistrate. After the Senat was risen and dismissed he entred the City: and caused to be carried before him into the Chamber of *Rome*, of silver in bullion, 14342 pounds weight; and in coin besides, a great quantity. Then *L. Veturius Philo* held the solemn assembly for creation of Coss. and all the Centuries in general, with exceeding favour and affection elected *P. Scipio* Cos. and for to be his companion in government, *P. Licinius Crassus* the Archbishop was joyned unto him. But this assembly (as we find in records) was celebrated with more frequency of people, than ever any had been B known during this war. For they repaired and met from all parts, not only to give their voices, but also to see *Scipio*: nay they ran in great numbers to his house, and into the Capitoll, when he sacrificed and slew an hundred oxen in sacrifice for the honour of *Jupiter*, according to his vow which he had made in *Spain*. And all mens minds gave them, and they were assuredly perswaded in their hearts that as *L. Lutatius* finished the former Punick war, so *P. Cornelius* would make an end of that which was now in hand: and like as he had driven all the Carthaginians forth of *Spain*, so would *Scipio* hunt them out of *Italy*: and every man in his conceit wished and assigned unto him the Province of *Affrick*, as if the war in *Italy* had been fully brought to an end. Then ensued the election of the Prætors. And two were created that were then Ædiles of the Commons, to wit, *Sp. Lucretius*, and *Cn. Octavius*: and of private persons, *Cn. Servilius* Scipio, and *L. Æmylius* C *Pappus*. In the fourteenth year of the Punick war, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *P. Licinius Crassus* entred their Consulship. And unto the Consuls were the Provinces appointed: namely, unto *Scipio* was *Sicily* granted without casting lots, and that with the consent and good liking of his Collegue, because he being the Archbishop, was by vertue of that dignity kept still in *Italy*, for to see to the sacrifices, divine service, and Church matters: and unto *Crassus* the country of *Brutii* was assigned. Then the provinces for the Prætors were put to the lottery: and the civil jurisdiction within *Rome* fell to *Cn. Servilius*: *Ariminum* (for so they called *Gallia*) unto *Sp. Lucretius*: *Sicily* was allotted to *L. Æmylius*: and *Lardinia* to *Cn. Octavius*.

The Senat assembled in the Capitol: where *Publius Scipio* propounded an Act, and it was confirmed by the authority of the house, That out of the money which himself brought into the D common treasure, he might be allowed to defray the charges of those plaies and games that he had vowed in *Spain* during the time of the Souldiers mutiny. Then he called the Embassadors of the Saguntins into the Senat house: and the most ancient man amongst them spake in this wise:

The Oration of the Saguntine Embassadors in the Senat of *Rome*.

"Although right honourable it be not possible to find any more miseries & calamities than we "have endured already in the maintenance of our faithful allegeance unto you even unto the end, "yet such have your deserts been to us ward, & so many favours have we received of your cap- "tain Generals, that we think not much nor repent of any damage or loss, that we have sus- "tained in that behalf. For first ye entred into the quarrel, & began the war for our sake; and ha- "ving once begun it, ye have continued therein for the full space of 14 years; and that with such "resolution, that oftimes, as ye have plunded your selves into extream peril & danger, so ye have E "engaged no less the State of the Carthaginians. For at what time as ye had within *Italy* a cruell "and bloudy war, & *Annibal* your mortall enemy, ye sent forth your Coss. with armies into *Spain*, "as it were to gather up the broken reliques of our shipwrack. *Pub.* and *Cn. Cornelii* the two bre- "thren, from the first time that they came into the Province, never ceased to devise and do what- "soever might either advantage us, or endamage our enemies. For first and formost they restored "unto us our town again: then having made enquiry throughout all *Spain* where any one of our "Citizens were sold as slaves, they delivered and redeemed them out of miserable servitude, and "recovered for them their former freedom. But see: When we were well-near come to this good "pass, that from our poor & pitiful estate we were raised up to a wished for and desirable fortune, "then *Pub.* and *Cn. Cornelii* your Generals suddenly died: whose death hapned in manner more F "lamentable and dolorous unto us than unto you. For then we thought verily thus of our selves, "That we were reduced from remote & distant places unto our ancient habitation for this pur- "pose, that we should perish once again, and see a second overthrow and destruction of our native "country: knowing thus much, that for to work our utter confusion there needed not a Cartha- "ginian captain or army to be the instrument and the means; for even the Turdetans alone, our "most ancient enemies, who were the cause also of our former ruin and undoing, were able with "their own forces to root us out clean, and extinguish our name. But behold, whiles we were in "these perplexities, immediatly beyond all our hope and expectation, ye sent among us this noble "*Scipio* here in place. In whose behalf we count our selves of all Saguntins most happy, because we "have seen him declared Cos. already, and shall be able to report the news unto our neighbours G "and fellow Citizens, that we have beheld with our own eyes, even our whole hope, our help, "our health and safety. Who having forced & won very many Cities and towns of your enemies "in *Spain*, at all times and in all places set the Saguntins apart from out of other prisoners & cap- "tives, and sent them home again into their own country. Finally, as for *Turdetania*, a nation so adverse and so dangerous enemies unto us, that if it should continue still in prosperity, *Saguntum* "could not possibly stand upright; he hath by force of arms so quelled and tamed it, that neither "we our selves, nor (be it spoken without arrogance) any of our posterity hereafter need stand in

" fear of any danger from thence. We ſee before our eyes their City raſed, at whoſe inſtigation & H
" whom for to gratifie *Annibal* before had raſed *Saguntum*: and out of their lands now, we gather
" rents and revenues: which contenteth our hearts, not ſo much for profit & gain, as for quittance
" and revenge. In conſideration and regard of theſe benefits and good turns, which be ſuch, as grea-
" ter we cannot hope nor wiſh for at the hands of the immortal gods: the Senat and people of *Sa-*
" *guntum* hath ſent us ten here in Embaſſie unto you, for to give you thanks in their name: & with-
" all, to rejoyce and congratulate in your behalf for the happy hand ye have made, and the fortu-
" nate exploits ye have atchieved theſe laſt years paſt, as well in *Spain* as in *Italy*; namely, that ye
" have ſubdued, and do hold in poſſeſſion all *Spain*, not only ſo far as to the river *Iberus*, but even
" to the lands end, and the utmoſt point lying upon the Ocean ſea. And as for *Italy*, ye have left no
" more ground in it for *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, than they empale within the compaſs of I
" trench and rampier. Moreover, we have in ſpeciall charge, not only to render thankſgiving there-
" fore to almighty and moſt gracious *Jupiter*, the patron of the fortreſs and Caſtle of the Capitol,
" but alſo to offer & preſent unto him (if it might ſtand with your good grace and liking) this gol-
" den crown; and to ſet it up in the Capitol, in token and memorial of Victory. Which we hum-
" bly beſeech your HH. of your favour to grant unto us: and moreover, (if it pleaſe you) to ratifie
" and confirm for ever by your authority and approbation, all thoſe benefits, franchiſes, and privi-
" ledges, which your Generals have of their goodneſs vouchſafed to endow us with.

The Senat made this anſwer to the Saguntin Embaſſadors. " That both the raſing and alſo the
" rearing again of *Saguntum* ſhould be a memorable example to all nations, of the faithful ſocie-
" ty and alliance, obſerved both of the one part and the other inviolate. And whereas their Gene- K
" rals had re-edified the City of *Saguntum*, and delivered the Citizens thereof from ſervitude and
" bondage, they had therein done well and truly, and by direction according to the will and plea-
" ſure of the Senat. And whatſoever elſe was performed by them to the good and benefit of the
" Saguntins, the Senat ſtood willing and contented therewith, and gave order therefore. As for
" their preſent and oblation, good leave they had to beſtow it ſolemnly in the Temple of the Ca-
" pitol. After this order was given, That the Embaſſadors ſhould have their lodging appointed
them, and preſents ſent unto them, and all other entertainment at the charges of the City, yea, and
by way of a reward, an allowance of no leſs than ten thouſand Aſſes apeece.

Then were the other Embaſſadors admitted into the Senat-houſe, and audience given them.
Alſo the requeſt of the Saguntins was granted to go and ſee *Italy* for their pleaſure, ſo far forth as L
they might with ſecurity of their perſons: and certain guides were aſſigned to conduct and accom-
pany them, with eſpecial letters alſo directed unto all Cities and towns, for to receive the Spani-
ards friendly, and give them courteous entertainment.

Theſe things done, the Senators ſat in conſultation about the ſtate and commonweal, & treated
concerning the levying of new armies, & the diſtribution of the Provinces. Now when as the com-
mon brute went that *P. Scipio* was deſtined & named to a new province of *Affrick*, & all men gave
out with open voice, that he was the man to be ſent thither directly, without caſting lots for the
matter: and himſelf beſides not reſting content now with mean glory, ſaid openly, that he was
declared Coſ. not only for to maintain war but alſo to finiſh and make an end thereof once for all:
which could not be effected by any other means, unleſs himſelf in perſon made a voyage with an M
army into *Affrick*; proteſting moreover, That if the Senat croſſed and gainſaid this deſign of his
he would propound it to the people, and carry it away clear by their voices: whiles the principal
LL. and ancients of the Senat were nothing pleaſed with this reſolution of his, but durſt not ſay a
word and ſpeak their minds, either for fear, or for courting of him, in hope of preferment; only
*Q. Fabius* being demanded his opinion ſpake to the matter in queſtion to this effect.

The Oration of *Q. Fabius*.

" Right honourable and my LL. of the Senat, I know ful well, that many of you here aſſembled
" are of this mind & verily perſwaded, That we are ſet this day to no purpoſe, but even to conſult
" & debate of a matter clearly determined; & that in vain he ſhall ſpend words, who ſhall deliver
" his advice of the Province of *Affrick* as of a point as yet doubtful & not reſolved upon already.
" For mine own part, firſt I cannot conceive neither will it enter into my head, how *Affrick* can N
" poſſibly now be accounted as a Province & aſſigned certainly unto your Coſ. (let him be a man
" right hardy, & of as much valour as may be) conſidering that neither the Senat unto this day hath
" judged it, nor the people ordained & aſſigned it to any perſon in the nature and name of a Pro-
" vince. Furthermore, if it were ſo indeed without all peradventure: then in my judgment the
" Coſ. hath done amiſs, who in making ſembiance to put a matter for to be debated, which is al-
" ready agreed upon, hath deluded and mocked the whole Senat, and not the Senator, who in his
" courſe delivereth his opinion of the thing in queſtion. But I am aſſured, that in gainſaying and
" croſſing this haſty voyage into *Affrick*, I ſhall incur the ſiniſter opinion & ſurmiſe of two things:
" the one is of my uſual lingring and ſlow proceeding in all mine actions (a courſe that naturally I
" am given unto) which young men may term at their pleaſure, timorouſneſs and lazineſs; but ſo O
" long as I have no cauſe to repent therfore, I paſs the leſs. For ſurely hitherto the advices of others
" have ever at the firſt ſight made a goodlier ſhew, and ſeemed more honourable; but by experi-
" ence, mine own waies have ſped better, and been found in the end more effectual. The other is,
" of backbiting, detraction, and envying at the glory and reputation of the Coſ. a man of ſingular
" proweſs (I muſt confeſs) & whom I ſee to grow from day to day in greatneſs and honour. From
" which jealouſie and ſuſpition, if neither my life paſſed and the carriage of my ſelf; if neither my

" Dictator-

A "Dictatorship with five Conſulſhips, nor ſo much glory which I have acquired as well in mana-
"ging the affairs of war abroad, as of civill policy at home (that a man would think I ſhould ra-
"ther be glutted therewith than deſire any more) be able to clear and aſſoil me; yet my years at
"leaſtwiſe may free me very well. For what concurrence and emulation can there be between me
"and him, who is not of equall age with my very ſon? When I was Dictator, in the vigour and
"flower of my ſtrength, in the very courſe and train of my greateſt and braveſt exploits, no man
"either in Senat or in the aſſembly of the people, heard me to refuſe and deny, That my own Ge-
"neral of Cavalry, who could not afford me a good word, but ever railed at me (a thing that was
"never heard before) ſhould be made equall with my ſelf in command and government. And yet
B "by good deeds rather than by fair words, I effected and gained thus much in the end, that he,
"who in the judgment of others was matched with me and made my fellow, confeſſed within a
"while himſelf to be my inferior. Leſs reaſon have I then now, after I have gone through all de-
"grees of honors and dignities, to enter into contention & emulation with a young gentleman,
"of all others at this day moſt flouriſhing in the eyes of the world: unleſs forſooth it be a likely
"matter that I (a man weary not only of managing affairs, but alſo of this world, and of this life)
"ſhould look to have the Province of *Affrick* offered unto me, if it were once denied him. Nay
"verily, I have enough already: in that glory I am content to live and die, and ſeek for no more.
"It was ſufficient for me to hinder *Annibal* from atchieving the victory; to the end that by you,
"who now are gallants in the beſt of your ſtrength, he might be vanquiſhed & overcome. Meet it
C "is then and great reaſon O *P. Cornelius*, that you ſhould bear with me and hold me excuſed, if I,
"who never in regard of mine own ſelf ſet greater ſtore by the fame and opinion of people, than
"of the good of the Common-weal) prefer not now your glory before the weal-publike. And yet
"I will not ſay, but in caſe there were no war at all in *Italy*; or the enemy of that quality as by con-
"quering of whom there were no credit & honour to be gotten: then he that would ſeek to keep
"you ſtill in *Italy*, were it never ſo much for the good of the State, might ſeem to go about to dil-
"appoint and fruſtrate you (in putting you by the charge of the war) of the very means and mat-
"ter of your glory and renown. But ſeeing that *Annibal* is your object, ſeeing he is our enemy,
"who with an entire army ſtill holdeth *Italy* as it were beſieged now theſe fourteen years; will you
"not O *P. Cornel.* hold your ſelf well contented with this honour and reputation. That you being
D "Conſul, ſhould drive that enemy out of *Italy*, who hath been the cauſe of the death of ſo many
"brave men of ours, and of ſo many foils and overthrows that we have received; that, like as *C.*
"*Luctatius* had the name of finiſhing the former Punick war, ſo you may win the title of ending
"this other alſo. Unleſs that a man would ſay that *Amilcar* was a warrior and Captain worthy to
"be preferred before *Annibal*; or that war of more importance than this; or that victory greater
"and more honorable than this is like to be, in caſe it happen that we may be conquerours under
"your conduct and whiles you are Conſul. Whether would you chuſe rather to have drawn A-
"*milcar* away from *Drepanum* & the mountain of *Eryx*, than chaſed and hunted the Carthagini-
"ans and *Annibal* out of *Italy*? Nay ſurely, even your own ſelf (howſoever you embrace glory al-
"ready won than hoped for hereafter) would not take more joy & contentment, and triumph ra-
E "ther for freeing and delivering of *Spain* than *Italy* from the wars. *Annibal*, I wot, as yet is not
"come to that low ebb nor ſo down the wind, but that he which made choice of another war,
"may ſeem well in ſo doing to ſtand as much in fear and dread, as in contempt of him. Why then
"addreſs you not your ſelf to effect this impreſs, and leave building theſe Caſtles in the air, and
"hope by fetching theſe reaches and this compaſs, & going the longeſt way about, that when you
"are paſſed over into *Affrick*, *Annibal* will follow you thither; and not rather go the next way
"to work, and fight with *Annibal* where he is, and make no more ado? Are you willing indeed
"and deſirous to win this honour of diſpatching quite the Punick war? Why, it is the courſe of
"nature to defend and make ſure your own before you go in hand to aſſail the dominions of o-
"thers. Let us have peace firſt in *Italy* before we make war in *Affrick*: and let us firſt rid our ſelves
"of fear ere ever we take occaſion to put others in fear; unleſs we had ſome greater quarrel. And
F "if by your conduct and fortunate government, both theſe may poſſibly be effected; conquer
"*Annibal* here, and then go thither to aſſail *Carthage* a Gods name. But if the one or the other of
"theſe victories muſt needs be left for new Conſuls to atchieve: as the former of the twain will
"be the greater and more memorable, ſo it will open the way, and give the overture unto the o-
"ther enſuing upon it. For at this time, over and beſides that our treaſure and all the revenues and
"finances of our ſtate, are not able to maintain and wage two ſundry armies both in *Italy* and in
"*Affrick*: beſides, I ſay, that we want the means to keep two Armados afloat, and have nothing
"left ſufficient wherewith to furniſh them with victuals and munition: who ſeeth not I pray
"you how far we engage our ſelves in peril and danger by this enterpriſe? *P. Licinius* ſhall war in
"*Italy* and *P. Scipio* in *Affrick*. What will ye ſay if *Annibal*, (which God forbid, & my heart even
"dreadeth to preſage, but that which once hath hapned may happen full wel again) upon the train
G "of ſome new victory, fortune to go forward and aſſault the City of *Rome*? Where are we then?
"Shall we have time then to ſend for you our Coſ. out of *Affrick*, as we did for *Q. Fulv.* from *Ca-*
"*pu*? And what ſay you to this beſides, That the fortune of war is doubtfull & uncertain even in
"*Affrick*, as well as in other places? Call to mind, and learn betimes by the examples of your own
"houſe and family, by your father and uncle; who within 30 daies were ſlain, & their armies de-
"feated: even there, where for certain years ſpace they had performed both by ſea and land moſt

"noble exploits: and highly renowned among forrain nations both the Roman people, and also H
"your own name & family. The time will not serve, if I would do all this day do nothing else but
"reckon and recount unto you, how many Kings, Emperors & General Captains there have been,
"who have entred rashly into their enemies countries, and received many foyls and overthrows
"thereby, as wel in their own persons, as in their whole armies. The Athenians, a most prudent &
"politick State, having left the war at home in their own country, and following the counsel and
*He meaneth *Alcibiades.* "suggestion of one * young man, as hardy & valiant in arms, as noble in birth & parentage as your
"self (none dispraised) sailed into *Sicily* with a brave and puissant navy; and there in one battell
"fought at sea, overturned and ruinated for ever their most flourishing City & Common-weal.
"But why seek I forrain examples of strangers, and stories of times too far past, and over-long ago.
"Let even this same *Affrick*, and *M. Attilius*, serve as a notable example of both fortunes, for our I
"instruction & learning for ever. Now surely, *P. Cornel*, when you shal once discover *Affrick* with-
"in your view from the sea, you wil think then that your Provinces of *Spain* were matters of sport
"in comparison of it. For what semblable proportion is there between them? When you were in
"your voyage for *Spain*, you sailed in the calm sea peaceably along the coast of *Italy* and *France*,
"and arrived at *Emporia*, a friend City and Confederat: and when you had landed your men, you
"led them in security through all places to the friends and allies of the people of *Rome*, even as far
"*Tarracon*. From thence ye journeyed all the waies by Cities and towns, furnished with Roman
"garrisons. About the river *Iberus* you found the armies of your father and uncle, which remained
"upon the loss of their Generals more fierce and fell for the calamity that they had received than
"before. You met there *L. Martius* their Captain and Leader, chosen (I must needs say) I know K
"not how in a hurrey by the souldiers themselves for the time: but otherwise I assure you, if no-
"bility of birth and the titles of dignities which he justly deserved had graced him, he was in all
"feats of arms and martiall knowledge, comparable to the very best warriors & noblest Captains.
"After this you assaulted *Carthage* without any empeachment, and took your time at your own
"pleasure, even when there was not one of the three Carthaginian armies to aid & defend their
"associats. As for all the exploits besides (without offence be it spoken & not to debase any good
"service there) they are in no respect to be compared with the African war: where we shal find
"no haven open to entertain our Armado, no Country peaceable, no City confederate, no King
"friendly, no place at all either to sojourn and rest in, or to march forward and pass through with
"safety. Which way soever you cast your eyes, nothing but hostility threatning danger and perill L
"unto us. Do you indeed trust *Syphax*, or rely upon the Numidians? Well, let it suffice that once
"ye trusted them. Rash adventures speed not alwaies best. And oftentimes we see, that fraud see-
"meth faithfull, and maketh way of credit in small things, that in matters of greatest importance,
"and when the time serveth it may pay home and work a mischief with a witness. The enemies
"overcame not your father and uncle by force of arms before that the Celtiberians our Allies
"over-raught them by falshood and treachery: neither were your self in so much danger from
"*Mago* and *Asdrubal* the chief Captains of your enemies, as from *Indibilis* and *Mandonius*, your
"new friends and confederates. Can you repose any confidence in the Numidians? You, I say that
"have experience of your own souldiers mutiny, and have seen them rise against you: As for *Sy-*
"*phax* and *Masanissa*, as they had rather themselves be the soveraign & most mighty in *Affrick*, M
"than the Carthaginians should; so surely they wish the Carthaginians to be the highest above
"all others besides their own selves. Now at this time there is some emulation and heart-burning
"among them, and all occasions of quarrell whet them on to maintain sides and factions, so long
"as fear of forrain enemy is far enough off. Shew them once the Roman arms and forces, let
"them see an host of strangers once, they will run I warrant you altogether then, as it were to
"quench a common scarefire. You shall find that the very same Carthaginians will far otherwise
"stand to the defence of the wals of their Country, their Cities, the Temples of their gods, their
"Altars and private houses when going to battell they shall have their fearful wives to bear them
"company, their small children to go afore them in their eye; you shall find them, I say, stick bet-
"ter to it than they did in the quarrell and defence of *Spain*. But what and if the Carthaginians, N
"finding themselves strong enough upon the confidence of the generall concord of *Affrick*, of
"the fast fidelity of the confederate Kings, of the strength of their own wals, should fortune
"themselves, when they shall see *Italy* destitute of your help, and disfurnished of their forces, ei-
"ther to make out a fresh army from *Affrick* and send it into *Italy*, or else give order and directi-
"on to *Mago* (who as it is well known for certain, is departed with his navy from the Balear
"Islands, and lyeth floating and riding continually upon the Alpine Ligurians) for to joyn his
"power with *Annibal*: It is a clear case, that we shall be in as great trouble, and as much affrigh-
"ted then as we were of late, when *Asdrubal* monnted over the Alpes, and came down into
"*Italy*. *Asdrubal*, I say, whom you (that will with your army compass not only *Carthage*, but also
"all *Affrick*) let go out of your hands, and suffered to pass over into *Italy*. But you will say, that O
"you have vanquished him. Say you so? I would not for any thing, not only in regard of the love
"I beare to the Common-weal, but also of the affection that I carry toward your self, that a van-
"quished man could find the way by you into *Italy*. Be content & suffer us to attribute all things
"that have gone well with you or the Common-weal, during the time of your government, to
"your wisdom and policy; and contrariwise, whatsoever hath fallen out crosse and adverse, to im-
"pute and assign the same to nothing else, but to the variable events of war, and to fickle fortune.

The

A under their hand: & decreed it was that they two, namely, *L. Veturius* & *Q. Cæcilius*, ſh ould either
" The better and more valiant that you are, the more need hath your native country, yea, and all
" *Italy* beſides, to keep you ſtill at home with them, ſo brave a captain, o rare a Protector. You
" annot your own ſelf diſſemble the matter, but confeſſe, That whereſoever *Annibal* is, there is
" the very head, the fort & ſtrength of all this war; for as much as you pretend, that the only cauſe
" why you would paſſe into *Africk*, is to draw *Annibal* thither after you. Well then, be it here or
" be it there, with *Annibal* you muſt have to deal. Tell me then, whether are you like to be ſtronger
" *Afric*, your ſelf alone, or here where your own forces and the power of your Colleague ſhal be
" joyned together? Is it poſſible that even the late example of *Livius* and *Claudius*, ſo freſh in
" memory, ſhould not inform and teach us, what difference there is between the one and the o-
B " ther? In whither place I pray you, will *Annibal* be more ſtrong in men and munition; here in the
" utmoſt corner & angle of the Brutians country, where this long time he hath waited in vain for
" aid from home; where he hath ſent for ſuccour and gone without; or neer unto *Carthage*, and in
" the mids of *Africk* among his friends and allies? What kind of policy is this of yours, there to de-
" cide the quarell and try the whole matter, where your own forces are leſſe by a halfe moity, and
" the power of your enemies much greater and ſtronger; rather then here, whereas you may
" fight with the power of two armies againſt one, toiled out of heart in ſo many b ttels, and wex-
" ried with long warfare, ſo tedious and grievous withall? Conſider with your ſelfe, what confor-
" mity and reſemblance there is, between your deſignes and your fathers. He, as Conſul having
" made a jorney into *Spain*, to the end that he might encounter *Annibal* as he come down the *Alps*,
" returned out of his own province into *Italy*: and you, when *Annibal* is in *Italy*, purpoſe to a-
C " bandon and leave *Italy*. And why? forſooth not becauſe you judg it good for the common-weal,
" but becauſe you think it an enterpriſe that may import you in great honour and glory: like as
" when you being captain Generall of the people of *Rome*, left your province at random and your
" army at ſix and ſeven, without warrant of law, without order or act of Senat, hazarded in two
" bothoms the whole ſtate and majeſty of the Empire of *Rome*; which at that time together with
" the danger of your life, incurred the perill and jeopardy of the maine chance. To conclude, for
" mine own part (my LL. of the Senat,) am of this mind, and this is my conceit, that *P. Cornelius*
" was not created Coſ. privatly for himſelf and his own behoof, but for the good of the common-
" weal and us all: and then the armies were levied and enrolled, for the guard of the City and de-
" fence of *Italy*; and not for the Coſſ. in their proud ſelf-conceit & overweening of themſelves.
D " after the manner of abſolute KK. to tranſport & lead into what parts of the world they liſt them-
ſelves. When *Fabius* by this oration (premeditate and framed to the time) had through his authori-
ty land the long ſettled and comfirmed opinion that men had of his wiſedome, drawn unto his ſide
a good part of the Senat and eſpecially the ancients; inſomuch as the greater number commended
and the grave counſell of the old man, above the luſty and youthfull courage of the other gallant:
then *Scipio* by way of anſwer made theſe remonſtrances, and ſpake in this wiſe. "My lords of the
" Senat, even *Fabius* himſelf in the beginning of his oration, ſaid very well, that his opinion which
" he was to deliver, might be ſuſpected of detraction and envy. Of which note, verily I dnrſt not
" my ſelf tax and accuſe a man of his quality and reputation ſo much, as me thinks is not ſo well
E " cleered as it ought to be the very ſuſpition it ſelf: and I wot not whether it be by a default of his
" ſpeech & oration, or that the thing it ſelf is ſo pregnant. For in ſuch maner he extolled with good-
" ly words, and magnified his own dignities and renowned deeds, and all to quench the jealouſie
" and crim e of envy: as if my ſelf was to fear the danger of emulation and concurrence of ſome
" companion of the baſeſt degree and condition, and not of him; who becauſe he far ſurpaſſeth other
" men, (which hight and pitch of honor I deny not, but I endeavour my ſelf to reach unto) would
" not in any hand, that I ſhould compare with him. So highly hath he advanced himſelf in regard
" of his old years, c nſidering that he hath gone through all ranks and honour: and ſo low debaſed
" me, and put me down even under the age of his own ſon; as though the deſire and love of glory,
" ſhould paſſe no farther then the length of mans life, and the greateſt part there of extended not
F " to the memory of poſterity and the future time. This I hold for certain, that it is a thing inci-
" dent to the moſt magnanimous men and of greateſt ſpirit and courage, to have a deſire for to
" match themſelves not only with them that live in their daies, but with moſt famous & excellent
" perſonages, that ever were or might be in any age. And ſurely for mine own part, O *Q. Fabius*,
" I will not make it goodly, but frankly be wray my mind that way, namely, that I would full fain
" not only attain unto your praiſe-worthy acts and commendable vertues; but alſo (with your good
" leave be it ſpoken) if poſſible I can, even to excell and ſurmount the ſame. Therfore let us not ca-
" ry this mind, either you towards me, or I to thoſe that are yonger then my ſelf, to be unwilling
" and think much, that any one citizen among us, ſhould prove equall to our ſelves: for in ſo do-
" ing, we ſhould offer wrong and do hurt not only to them whom we have envied and maligned,
but alſo prejudice the common-wealth, & in maner the whole ſtate of all mankind. And thus much
J " to your ſelf. He hath now (my lords) recounted, to what great perils I ſhould enter into by the A-
" *frick* voyage: in ſuch ſort, as he would ſeem not only to have a carefull regard of the common-
" wealth and the army, but alſo to pity me and tender my caſe and fortune. Whence cometh, it that
" you ſhould all on a ſuddain take ſo great c are for me? when my father and uncle both were ſlain,
" when their armies both twain, were utterly almoſt defeated and put all to the ſword; when
" *Spain* was loſt; when 4 armies of Carthaginians, and 4 Generals, held all in fear by force of
" armes; when there was a captain ſought for to undertake that war, and no man durſt be ſeen to

" put himself forward, no man so hardy as to present and offer his service, but my self; and when H
" the people of *Rome* had commited the charge and government of *Spain* to me a young man
"but four and twenty years old: how hapned it that no man then took exception at my age, made
" mention of the enemies force, discoursed of the difficulty and danger of the war, or laid abroad
" the late and fresh defeat and death of my father and uncle? I would demand and glady know
" whether we have susteined now lately, some greater calamity and losse in *Africk* than we re-
" ceived at that time in *Spain*? or if the armies at this present in *Africk* be more puissant, or the
" captains more in number, or better in valour, then they were in *Spain* at that time? or whe-
" ther mine age then, was more ripe and sufficient to manage wars, then now it is? Last of all,
" whether it be better, more commodious & easie, to maintain war with the Carthaginian enemy
"in *Spain*, then in *Africk*? After that I have discomfited and put to flight four hosts of Cartha- I
" ginians; after I have either forced by assault, or reduced under mine obeisance (for fear) so ma-
" ny Cities; after I have vanquished and subdued all, even as far as to the Ocean sea, so many
"princes and potentates, so many fierce and cruel nations; after I have so fully recovered *Spain* as
" there is not remaining to be seen there so much as the footing and bare token of any war: an
" easie matter it is, and all one to elevat and depresse the acts past that I have atchieved: as also
" par-die it will be, when I return with conquest out of *Africk*, to debase and make nothing of
" those very things, which now to keep me back from thence, and to make them appear strange,
" are amplified with great words, & stretched upon the tainters to the full. He holdeth that there
" is no accesse, no entrance into *Africk*, nor havens open to receive an armado. He telleth us and
" alledgeth that *M. Atilius* was taken prisoner in *Africk*: as if M. *Atilius* forsooth at his first atri- K
" vall in *Africk*, had caught that harm and heavy misfortune. But he never remembreth and cal-
" leth to mind, how that even the very same captain, as infortunat as he was, yet found the baies
" open enough into *Affrick*: and the first year bare himself right valiantly and victoriously; & for
" mut from Carthaginian captains, continued invincible to the end. You shall never therefore
" scare me with the example so much, (were it so, that the calamity you speak of, hapned in this
" war, and not in the former; of late, and not forty years ago) that I should give over my intend-
" ed purpose and not sail into *Africk* now, because *Regulus* there was taken prisoner: as well as
" I passed before into *Spain*, whereas the *Scipios* chanced to be killed. Or that I shall suffer that
" *Xanthippus* the Lacedemonian was born into this world more hapy for *Carthage*, then my
" self for *Italy*: but rather that thereby I should think the better of my self, considering that the L
" vertue of one only man can be of such consequence and to great effect. But we ought (you say)
" to consider the example of the Athenians, who leaving the war at home in their own country,
" passed over into *Sicily* unadvisedly. Seeing you are at so good leasure to tell tales and report
" true fabulous stories of *Greece*; why discourse you not rather of *Agathocles* the king of the Syra-
" sians? who seeing that *Sicily* a long time was troubled & vexed with the Punick war, sailed over
" into the self same *Africk* whereof we speak, and withdrew the war thither from whence it
" came? But what need I to instruct and teach you by rehearsing old and forrain examples how
" materiall a thing it is and important to begin with an enemy first and put him in fear; and by
" bringing another in danger, to remove the peril from our selves. Can there be a president found
" more pregnant more present and fresh in memory to prove and enforce this point, then *Anni-* M
" *bal* himself? A great difference there is between the wasting and pilling the lands of others and
" seeing of our own burnt and destroied. And he which giveth the assault to endanger another,
" is ever of more courage then he that standeth upon his own guard ard at defence only to save
" himself. Moreover, the fear and dread is alwaies greater of things unknown unto us: but so
" soon as a man is entred into the confines of a forrain country he may behold and see at hand (as
" well the good as the bad) what may advantage and what may endamage the enemies. *Annibal*
" would never have thought and hoped, that so many States in *Italy* would have revolted unto
" him as they did upon the overthrow at *Canna*. How much lesse account then may the Cartha-
" ginians make of any thing in *Africk*, to remain fast and assured unto them; who are fickle al- N
" lies to strangers without all truth and fidelity; proud lords & intollerable tyrants over their
" own subjects, full of wrath & cruelty? Over and besides, we albeit (we were forsaken and aban-
" doned of all our confederats) stood alwaies upon our own forces, & maintained our selves with
" meer Roman souldiers; whereas in *Carthage* they have no strength of naturall citizens: the
" souldiers that they have, are mercenaries all & waged for money partly Africans and partly Nu-
" midians, the most unconstant nations of all others by nature, and aptest to entertain changes &
" innovations. Let me have no stay and hindrance in this place only; ye shall hear news at one
" time that I am set over in *Africk*, that all the country there is up in a broil: that *Annibal* is rea-
" dy to dislodg and remove out of these parts: & also that *Carthage* it self is besieged. Expect you
" daily out of *Africk* better and luckier tidings, yea and oftner then ye heard out of *Spain*. These O
" hopes of mine, I ground upon the fortune of the people of *Rome*; upon the justice of the gods
" witnesses of the league broken by the enemies upon *Syphax* and *Masanissa*, both Kings, whose
" truth and fidelity I will trust so far forth as I find them, and ever stand in fear and doubt of their
" falshood and trechery. Many things they are now, that by distance of place appear not, which
" war once begun will soon discover. And this is a special point of a man indeed, & of a good cap-
" tain, in no case to be wanting unto fortune when she offereth her self, but to take all vantages
" that she giveth: and those acordents and occurrences which fall by chance to make use of them

yea,

A "yea and by wisdome and counsell to frame them to his own purpose and designes. True
"it is, *O Fabius*, I shall have *Annibal* to beard and to match me; a souldier, I confesse, as
"good every way as my self, but I will rather draw him after me, than he shall keep me back
"at home. Force him I will to fight in his own country, and *Carthage* shall be the price of my vi-
"ctory, rather then the decaied peeces, and half ruinat pety castles of the *Brutii*. Only provide, *O*
"*Q. Fabius*, that in the mean time whiles I am at sea in my voyage, whiles I am landing mine ar-
"my in *Africk*, whiles I approach *Carthage* with a running camp, the Common-weal sustein no
"harm and damage here at home. See to this, I say, and be well advised, that it be not a shame-
"full reproach to say, that *P. Licinius* the Consul, a man of singular valour (who because he is the
"high Priest, and by vertue therof, not to absent himself from the solemn celebration of sacrifices
B "and divine service, was content and willing, that the charge of so distant a province should
"not befall unto him by casting lots) is not able to perform that, now when *Annibal* is half de-
feated, and his heart almost broken, which your self was sufficient to effect when *Annibal* squar-
"red it out, and braved all *Italy* like a conqueror. But set the case, and suppose I say, that by this
"course which I mean to take, the war be never the sooner brought to an end: yet surely it
"were for the honour of the people of *Rome*, and for the reputation and name which they have
"among forrain princes and States abroad, that they may see and know, that our hearts serve us
"not only to defend *Italy*, but also to offend *Africk*. And that it might neither be thought and be-
"leeved, nor spoken and noised abroad in the world, how no Roman captain durst adventure that
"which *Annibal* hath already dared and done: and when as in the former Punick war, when all
C "the quarell was for *Sicily*, our armies and armados so often assailed *Africk*: now that *Italy* is in
"question *Africk* should lie still, and be at rest. Nay, rather let *Italy* be at repose and quier now
"at last, after so long travell and affliction and let *Africk* in her turn be fired and forraged ano-
"ther while. Let the Roman camp be pitched rather under the very wals and gates of *Carthage*,
"then we see once again from our wals the trench and rampier of our enemies, to invest our Ci-
"ty. Let *Africk* be the set place and feat of the war, let fright and flight, forraging and harrying
"of countries, revolt and rebellion of allies, and all other inconveniences and enormities that
"follow war, which have lien heavy upon us these 14 years, turn from us thither. It shall content
"and suffice me to have spoken as touching State-matters & the commonweal of the war present-
"ly in hand; and concerning the provinces and their government now in question and consultra-
tion. For it would require a long and tedious discourse, and the same impertinent altogether un-
D "to you, as if *Q. Fabius* hath defaced and depraved mine acts in *Spain*, so I likewise should dis-
"grace him and diminish his glory, and set out my self and mine own reputation with goodly
"and magnificall words. But my LL. I will do neither one nor the other. And if in nothing else,
"yet at leastwise, yong man as I am, I will in modesty and government of my tongue, go beyond
"him as old and ancient a personage as he is. Thus have I lived, and thus have I carried my self in
"all mine actions, that without blazing of mine own praises, I can soon content my self with
"that good opinion which you of your selves have conceived and entertained of me.

*Scipio* had audience given him, with lesse indifference, and patience because it was commonly voiced abroad, That if the Senat would not grant him to have the province and empresse of *Africk*, he would immediatly propound and put it to question before the people. Whereupon *Q.*
E *Fulvius*, a man that had been four times Consul and Censor besides, required the Consul to speak his mind openly before the Senat, whether he would referr unto the LL. there assembled, to determine of the provinces, and stand to that which they should set down, or prefer the thing unto the people. When *Scipio* had made answer again and said, That he would do that which might be good and expedient for the service of the Common-weal: then *Fulvius* replied upon him and said: I demand not this question of you, as ignorant what either you would answer, or what you meant to do. For I know full well, that ye pretend no less your self, that you do but sound the Senat, and feel rather how they had enclined, then to stand to any advice of theirs in good sadness. And in case we do not presently grant you the province according unto your desire, you have a bill framed already to present unto the body of the people and Commonalty.
F And therfore (qd. he) my masters, ye that are Tribunes, I require your aid and assistance, in that I forbeat to speak unto the point and deliver mine opinion; in this regard, because I know that the Cos. will not approve and ratifie the same, howsoever the whole house will go with me, and allow my sentence. Hereupon arose some braul & debate amoug them, whiles the Cos. urged and enforced this point especially, and said, It was against all reason and equity, that the Tribuns should enterpose their authority, and not permit every Senator being requested to speak in his turn, for to deliver his mind and opinion. Then the Tribuns made a decree in this maner, if the Cos. be content that the Senat shall determine of the Provinces, we will and command, that all men rest in that which the Senat that ordein and judg: neither will we suffer the same to be propounded unto the people: if he be not content nor yeeld therto, then we will assist him who
G shall refuse to speak to the matter. Then the Cos. requested a daies respit to confer with his Collegue, and so the morrow after he condescended to put all to the censure of the Senat. And in this wise were the provinces distributed and appointed: unto one of the Coss. *Sicily* was assigned, and thirty ships of war, with brazen beak heads (even the same that *C. Servilius* the year before had the charge of) with commission also to passe over in *Africk*, if he thought it were for the good of the Common-wealth. The other Consul had the government of the *Brutii* and the managing of the war against *Annibal*, with the power of that army which *L. Veturius* and *Q. Cacilius* had

cast

caſt lots, agree between themſelves who ſhould remain ſtill in the Brutians country to follow H
the wars there with thoſe two legions which the Conſul left; and that whether of them chanced to have that province his government ſhould be prorogued and continued for another yeer. The reſt of the Pretors alſo and Conſuls, who were to govern any province, or have the conduct of armies, had their commiſſion renewed and ſealed again for a longer term. Now it fell to *Q. Cæcilius* his lot, to make war together with the Conſul againſt *Annibal* in the Brutians country.

After this, enſued the games and plaies of *Scipio*; which were exibited and ſet forth, with great concourſe of people and exceeding applauſe and affectionat favour of the beholders. *M. Pomponius Matho*, and *Q. Catulus* were ſent as Embaſſadors unto *Delphos*, to carry thither an offring and ſtately gift of the booty and pillage of *Aſdrubal*: who preſented there a crown of gold weighing two hundred pound: alſo certain counterfets retembling the ſpoils, which were I
made of ſilver, amounting to a thouſand pound weight. *Scipio* when he could not get leave granted to levy ſouldiers and take muſters which he greatly forced not of, obteined thus much yet, that he might have with him in his train voluntary ſouldiers: as alſo receive whatſoever the Allies would contribute and give towards the building of new ſhips, becauſe he had paſſed his word, that the City ſhould not be charged with ſetting out an armado. And firſt and formoſt, the States of *Hetruria* promiſed to help the Conſul, every one according to their ability. The Cærites came off, and granted to purvey corn and all kinds of victuals for the mariners and ſailers, the Populonians to provide iron the Tarquinians to find ſail-cloths, the Volaterrans to ſend all tacklings and furniture belonging to ſhips, and alſo corn: the Aretines to conſer 30 000 targets, as many morions or head-peeces, beſides javellins darts, faulchions, lances, and pikes, to the full K
number of fifty thouſand, as many of the one ſort as of the other. alſo axes, ſpades and mattocks bils, ſithes, and hooks, and ſickles, meal, troughs and quern mils, as many as would ſerve to furniſh forty long ſhips or gallies: of wheat 120000 Modii, and all voyage proviſion for the Decurions, pety captains, Mariners and Ore-men by the way. The Perufines, the Clusines, the Ruſellans offred fir trees for the framing and making of ſhips, and a great quantity of corn. But for this work, he occupied only the fir hewn out of the publick foreſt and waſts. All the States of *Vmbria*, the Nurſines alſo, the Reatines Amiternines and the whole country of the Sabines, made promiſe to help him to ſouldiers: the Marſi, the peligni, and Marricines, in great number came of their own free wils, and were enrolled to ſerve at ſea in the navy. The Camertes, being allies and confederat to the Romans, but not tied to any ſervice, ſent a brave company of L
hundred men well armed. And when as there were ſet out the keels or bottoms of thirty ſhips, twenty Caravels of five courſe of oars, and ten of four; himſelf in perſon plied the carpenters and ſhipwrights ſo, and ſet forward the work that 45 daies after the timber was brought out of the wood, theſhips were finiſhed, rigged, and furniſhed with all things, and ſhot into the water. So to *Sicily* he ſailed with thirty long ſhips of war having embarked therein almoſt ſeven thouſand of voluntary ſervitors. *P. Licinius* alſo for his part, came into the Brutians country unto the two conſultarie armies, of which he took unto him and choſe that which *L. Veturius* the Conſul had commanded, and ſuffered *Metellus* to have the leading ſtill of thoſe legions, which had been under his conduct before: ſuppoſing that he ſhould more eaſily employ them in ſervice becauſe they were acquainted already with his manner of regiment and governance. The Pretors M
likewiſe went into their ſundry provinces. And becauſe mony was wanting for to deſray the charges of the wars, the high Treaſurers were commanded to make ſale of all that tract of the Campane country, which from the Greek Foſſe extendeth towards the ſea. And there was granted out a commiſſion to give notice of thoſe lands: and look what ground ſoever belonged to any citizen of *Capua*, it was confiſcat to the uſe of the people of *Rome*: and for a reward to him that gave notice, there was aſſigned the tenth part of the mony, that the land was rated and prized at. Alſo *C. Servilius* the City Pretor, had given him in charge to take order that the Campanes ſhould dwel where as they were allowed to inhabit by vertue of a decree granted forth by the Senat, and to puniſh thoſe that dwelt elſewhere.

In the ſame ſummer *Mago* the ſon of *Amilcar*, being departed from the leſſe Baleare Iſlands, N
where he abode the winter ſeaſon, and embarked a choſen power of young and luſty men, ſailed over into *Italy* with a fleet of thirty ſhips headed with brazen piked beaks, and many hulks of burden: and there he ſet aland his ſouldiers, to the number of twelve thouſand footmen and welneer two thouſand horſe: and with his ſuddain coming ſurpriſed *Genua*, by reaſon that there lay no garriſons in thoſe parts to guard and defend the ſea coaſts. From thence he ſailed along and arrived in the river of the Alpine Ligurians, to ſee if he could by his coming raiſe ſome commotion and rebellion. The * Ingauni (a people of the Ligurians) fortuned to war at that preſent with certain mountainers the *Epanterii*. Whereupon *Mago* having laid up and beſtowed ſafe of the prizes and pillage that when he won in * *Savo*, (a town upon the *Alpes*) and left ten ſhips all O
war riding in the river, for a ſufficient guard, and ſent away the reſt to *Carthage* for to keep the coaſts at home (becauſe there ran a mighty rumor, that *Scipio* would paſs the ſeas, and over into *Africk* himſelf, after he had concluded a league and amity with the Ingauni (whoſe favour he more affected and eſteemed then the other) ſet in hand to aſſail the mountainers. Beſides, his power increaſed daily: for that the Frenchmen flocked unto him in all parts, upon noiſe and voyce of his name. Intelligence hereof was given to the Senat by the letters of *Sp. Lucretius* who were with theſe news exceedingly troubled and perplexed, for fear leſt they had rejoyced in

Of *Albenga*.

* *Vvada*, or *Savond*.

vain

A vain for the death of *Asdrubal*, and the defeat of his army two years before; in case there should arise from thence another war as great and dangerous as the other, differing in nothing else but the exchange of the General. And therefore they gave order and direction both to *M. Livius* the Pro-Consul, to come forward with his army of Voluntaries out of *Tuscany* into *Ariminum*: and also unto *Cn. Servilius* the City Prætor, (if he thought requisite and expedient for the Commonwealth) to commit the two legions of Citizens attending about *Rome*, to whomsoever he pleased, for to be commanded, and led forth of the City. So *M. Valerius Lævinus* conducted those legions to *Aretium*.

About the same time, certain hulks of the Carthaginians, to the number of fourscore, were
B boorded and taken about *Sardinia*, by *Cn. Octavius*, governor of that province. *Calius* writeth, that they were loaden with corn and victuals sent unto *Annibal*. But *Valerius* reporteth, that as they were carrying the pillage taken in *Hetruria* and certain prisoners of the Ligurian mountainers, into *Carthage*, they were intercepted and surprized by the way. There was no memorable thing that year done in the Brutians country. The pestilence raigned as well amongst the Romans as the Carthaginians, and they died thereof alike on both sides. Many the Carthaginian army, besides the plague, were afflicted also with famine. *Annibal* passed all that summer time near unto the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, where he built and reared an altar, and dedicated it with a glorious title of his worthy acts, engraven in Punick and Greek letters.

C

# The nine and twentieth Book

## *Of the Histories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

### The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the nine and twentieth Book.

D

CAius Lælius *being sent from* Scipio *out of* Sicily *into* Affrick, *brought from thence a huge booty, and declared unto* Scipio *the credence and message that he had from* Masanissa, *who complained of him that he had not as yet passed over with his fleet into* Affrick. *The war in* Spain *which* Indibilis *had raised was dispatched: himself slain in the field: and* Mandonius *was delivered by his own men into the Romans hands that demanded him of them.* Mago, *who was in* France *and* Liguria, *had out of* Affrick *sent unto him both a great power of souldiers, and also money to wage aids: with a commission and precept to join himself unto* Annibal. Scipio *crossed the seas from* Syracuse *into the* Brutil, *and recovered the City* Locri, *after he had discomfited the garrison there, and put to flight* Annibal. *Peace was concluded with* Philip. *The goddess Dame* Idæa *was brought solemnly to* Rome *from* Pessinus, *by occasion of a pro-*
E *phesie found in the books of* Sybilla *to this effect: That then the forrain enemy might be driven out of* Italy, *when Dame* Cybele *of* Ida *was brought to* Rome. *And to the Romans she was delivered by* Attalus *King of* Asia. *A thick stone it was, and nothing else, which the Inhabitants called the mother of the gods.* P. Scipio Nasica, *the son of that* Cneus *who was killed in* Spain, *judged by the Senat a right good man, one that was very young, and had not been yet so much as Questor, was he that received her: for it was by the Oracle imported, that the said goddess should be received by the best man of the City, and so dedicated. The Locrians sent their Embassadors to* Rome, *to complain of the outrage and cruelty of* Q. Pleminius *the Lieutenant: in that he had unjustly taken away the money consecrated to* Proserpina, *and villanously forced their wives and children.* Pleminius *was brought bound with chains to* Rome, *and there died in prison. There ran a false rumour of* Pub. Scipio, (*Pro-Consul in* Sicily) *and spread as far as to the City, That he should spend his time there in riot. Whereupon there were sent certain messengers from the*
F *Senat for to enquire and see whether those reports were true. And* Scipio *being cleared from all infamy, by the permission and good leave of the Senat, sailed over into* Affrick. Syphax *affianced and wedded the daughter of* Asdrubal *the son of* Gisgo: *and thereupon renounced clean the amity which he had contracted with* Scipio. Masanissa *the King of the Massylians, whiles he served in the wars in defence of the Carthaginians quarrel within* Spain, *after he had lost his father* Gala, *was withal dispossessed of his kingdom. And when he had oftentimes fought to recover it again by war, he was in certain battels vanquished by* Syphax *King of the Numidians, and utterly deprived of his royall dignity. So with two hundred horsemen he joyned as a banished person with* Scipio: *and with him, immediatly in the first battell he slew* Hanno *the son of* Amilcar, *together with a great number of men.* Scipio *upon the coming of* Asdrubal *and* Syphax, *who were almost* 100000 *strong, was compelled to break up the siege at* Utica: *and so he for-*
G *tified a standing camp for winter harbour.* Sempronius *the Consul had a fortunate battel against* Annibal *in the territory of* Croton. *The Censors held a solemn review and purging of the City, and numbred the people: In which survey taken there were assessed in their books* 215000 *Citizens. Between the two Censors* M. Livius *and* Claudius Nero, *there fell out a notable discord: for* C. Claudius *took from* Livius (*companion with him in office*) *his horse of service: for that he had been sometimes condemned by the people of* Rome, *and driven into exile. And* Livius *again did the like by him, because he had born false witness against him, and not dealt* bona fide *with him, considering the reconciliation between them,*

*wherein*

*wherein they ſeemed to be made good friends again. The ſame* Livius *left all the tribes but one, diſfranchiſed, and cauſed them to pay tribute as no denizens, for that they had both condemned him being innocent, and alſo made him a Conſul and Cenſor afterwards.* H

# The nine and twentieth book of T. Livius.

SCipio after he was arrived in *Sicily*, diſpoſed his voluntary ſouldiers in order, and entrolled them by Centuries. Over and beſides them he had about him three hundred luſty tall fellows, for the flower of their age and ſtrength of body, the braveſt men of all others: but they wiſt not themſelves for what purpoſe they were reſerved; being neither aſſigned to any colours under a Captain, nor ſo much as armed at all. Then he made choice from out of the whole manhood and youth of *Sicily* three hundred men of arms, ſuch as for birth and wealth were the very principall and beſt in the Iſland, who were to paſs over with him into into *Affrick*: and he appointed them a day, upon which they ſhould all preſent themſelves in readineſs, furniſhed and appointed in the beſt manner with horſe and armor. This warfare ſo far from home was like to be irkſome unto them, and to bring with it much trouble, many difficulties and dangers, as well by ſea as land. The conſideration and fear hereof mightily diſquieted not only the parties themſelves, but alſo their parents and kinsfolk. Now when the day appointed was come, they ſhewed their horſes and armour. Then *Scipio* made a ſpeech unto them, and ſaid, "That he was given to "underſtand, that certain Sicilian horſemen ſtood in great fear and dread of this ſouldiery as I "being a ſore and painfull piece of ſervice: In caſe then (quoth he) there be any of you ſo min- "ded and diſpoſed indeed, I had rather you would now preſently be known thereof unto me, and "confeſs at once, then hereafter to whine and complain, and ſo to prove lazy lubbers and un- "profitable ſouldiers to the Common-wealth. And therefore utter your minds in plain terms, "and I will be content to hear you without offence. Whereupon, when as one of them took a good heart, and ſaid flatly, "That if it lay in his choice freely to do what he would, he was alto- "gether unwilling to ſerve: then *Scipio* anſwered him again in this manner, Forasmuch as (my "youth) thou haſt not diſſembled thy hearts grief, but ſpoken out what thou thinkeſt, I will ſoon "depute one in thy turn unto whom thou maieſt deliver thy armour, thy horſe and other furni- "ture of warfare, and whom thou ſhalt forthwith have home with thee, there to train, teach, & K "exerciſe him after thou haſt given him thy horſe and armor. The young man was glad hereof, and accepted the offer upon that condition: and ſo he aſſigned unto him one of thoſe three hundred aboveſaid, whom he kept about himſelf unarmed. When the reſt ſaw that horſeman in this manner diſcharged of his ſervice, and that with the favour and good will of the L. General: every man then began to ſpeak for himſelf, and to make excuſes, and took others in their ſtead. Thus for the three hundred Sicilians were ſubſtituted as many Roman horſemen, without any expences at all of the State. And the Sicilians themſelves had the charge of inſtructing and training them up. For the Generall had made an Edict and Proclamation, That whoſoever did not ſo, ſhould ſerve himſelf in perſon. This proved by report a brave cornet of horſemen above the reſt; and in many battels performed right good ſervice to the Common-weal. After this, he took a ſurvey of the legi- M gions or footmen: and all thoſe who had born arms longeſt in the wars he ſelected forth, eſpecially ſuch as had been employed under the conduct of *Marcellus*. For thoſe he well wiſt to have been brought under the beſt diſcipline of warfare, and alſo by reaſon of the long ſiege of *Syracuſe*, to be moſt skilfull in aſſaulting of Cities. For now they were no ſmall matters that he had in his head, but he plotted even the very deſtruction and ruin of great *Carthage*. After this, he divided his army and placed ſeverall forces in ſundry towns. The Cities of *Sicily* he enjoyned to provide corns he made ſpare of that which was brought out of *Italy*; the old ſhips he newly repaired and rigged, and with them he ſent *Lelius* into *Affrick* for to prey upon the country and fetch in prizes; the new which rid at *Panormus* he drew up to land, that they might all winter long lie upon dry ground, and be ſeaſoned, becauſe they were made in haſte of green timber. When he had prepa- N red all things neceſſary for war, he came to the City of *Syracuſe*, which as yet was not in good order and well quieted, ſince the great troubles of the late wars. For the Greeks made claim for their goods granted unto them by the Senat of *Rome*, which certain of the Italian nation detained and with-held from them by the ſame violence, wherewith in time of war they had poſſeſſed themſelves thereof. He ſuppoſing it meet and requiſite to maintain above all things, the credit of the State; partly by vertue of an edict and commandment, and partly by a civill courſe and proceſs of law againſt ſuch as were obſtinate and avowed their wrongs done, he forced them to make reſtitution to the Syracuſians. This act of his pleaſed not only them, but alſo all the ſtates of *Sicily*: and therefore they were more willing and forward to help him in the wars.

The ſame ſummer there aroſe in *Spain* great troubles, raiſed by the means of *Indibilis* the Iler- O gete, for no other occaſion or reaſon in the world, but becauſe in regard of the high admiration of *Scipio*, all other Captains beſides whatſoever were but deſpiſed. "Him they ſuppoſed to be the "only General that the Romans had left, now that all the reſt were ſlain by *Annibal*. And here- "upon it was (thought they) that when the two *Scipios* were killed, they had no other to ſend into "*Spain* but him: and afterwards, when the wars grew hot in *Italy*, he was the only man ſent for "over to match with *Annibal*. And over and beſides that, the Romans had now in *Spain* no Cap-

"tains

A "tains at all, but in bare name and ſhew: the old experienced army alſo was from thence with-
"drawn. All things are out of frame, and in great confuſion, & none there, but a diſordered ſort of
"raw freſh water ſouldiers. And never they looked to have again the like occaſion & opportunity
"to recover *Spain* out of their hands. For hitherto they had ever been in ſubjection to that day,
"either to the Carthaginians or the Romans, and not alwaies to the one or the other, by turns,
"but otherwiles to both at once. And like as the Carthaginians have been driven out by the Ro-
"mans, ſo may the Romans be expelled by the Spaniards, if they would hold together. So that in
"the end *Spain* being freed from all forrain war, might be reſtored for ever to the ancient cu-
"ſtomes and rights of the country. With theſe and ſuch like ſuggeſtions and diſcourſes, he ſollici-
ted and raiſed not only his own ſubjects and countrimen, but the Auſetans alſo, a neighbour-na-
B tion yea, and other States and Cities that bordered upon his and their confines; ſo as within few
daies there aſſembled together into the territory of the Sedetans (according to an Edict publiſhed
abroad) thirty thouſand foot, and faſt upon four thouſand horſemen.

The Roman Captains likewiſe for thir part, *L. Lentulus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, left by ne-
gleſted of the firſt beginning, the war might grow to a greater head, joyned their forces together,
and marching through the country of the Auſetans, as peaceably as if they had been friends, (not-
withſtanding they were known enemies) came to the very place where they were encamped and
pitched themſelves within three miles of the enemies. At the firſt they aſſaied by way of Embaſ-
ſage to deal with them, and to perſwade them to lay aſide all arms and hoſtility: but they labou-
red in vain. Afterwards, when as the Spaniſh horſemen gave charge ſuddenly upon certain Ro-
C mans that were forraging, the Romans alſo ſent out from their Stations and *Corps de guard* their
Cavalry to reſcue: ſo the horſemen skirmiſhed, but no memorable act to ſpeak of was effected
on the one ſide or the other. The next morrow by ſun-riſing the enemies all ſhewed themſelves
armed and in order of battel, and braved the Romans within a mile of their Camp. The Auſetans
were marſhalled in the main battel; the Ilergetes in the right point, and certain other Spaniſh
nations of baſe and mean account in the left: between both thoſe wings and the battel of either
hand they left certain wide and void places, whereas when the time ſerved they might put forth
their horſemen. The Romans having embattelled and put themſelves in array after their old and
uſuall manner, yet in this one thing followed the examples of the enemies, in leaving out certain
open waies between the legions for the men of arms to paſs through. But *Lentulus* ſuppoſing that
D the uſe of the horſe-ſervice would be advantagious to that part which firſt ſhould ſend out their
Cavalry into the battell of the enemies, that lay ſo open with ſpaces between, gave command-
ment to *Ser. Cornelius* a Knight Marſhall or Tribune, to will and charge the Cavalry to ſet to with
their horſes, and to enter thoſe open lanes between the enemies battaillons. And himſelf having
ſped but badly in beginning the fight with footmen ſo raſhly, ſtaid no longer, but untill he had
brought the thirteenth legion (which was ſet in the left wing oppoſite to the Ilergetes) out of
the rereward into the vanguard, for to ſuccour and ſtrengthen the tweifth legion, which already
began to ſhrink and give ground. After that once the skirmiſh there was equall and fought on
even hand, he advanced forward to *L. Manlius*, who in the forefront of the battell was buſie in
encouraging his men, and ſending ſupplies and ſuccours into all parts where he ſaw needfull:
E ſhewing unto him, that all was well and whole in the left point, and that he had ſent out *Corneli-
us*, who with his horſemen, would like a tempeſtuous ſtorm come upon them, and ſoon overcaſt
and beſpread the enemies round about. The word was not ſo ſoon ſpoken, but the Roman horſe-
men were ridden within the thickeſt of the enemies, and not only diſordered the arraies and com-
panies of the footmen, but alſo at once ſhut up the waies and paſſages that the Spaniards could
not make out with their horſemen. And therefore the Spaniards leaving to fight on horſe-
back, alight on foot. The Roman Generals ſeeing the ranks and files of the enemies diſarrai-
ed, themſelves in fright and fear, and their enſigns waving up and down every way; fell to ex-
horting, yea, to entreating of their own Infantry to recharge them with all their force, whiles
they were thus troubled and disbanded, and not ſuffer them to come into order, and re-enforce
F the battell again. And ſurely the barbarous people had never been able to abide their violent
impreſſion, but that *Indibilis* himſelf their Prince and Lord, together with the men of arms
that were now diſmounted on foot, made head againſt the enſigns of the footmen in the van-
guard. Whereupon enſued a ſharp and cruell fight for a good while. At length, when as they that
fought about their Prince (who firſt, although he were half dead, yet ſtood their ground and af-
terwards with a javelin was nailed to the earth) were overwhelmed with darts, and ſlain; then
they began to flie on all hands: but the greater number were killed in the place, becauſe both the
horſemen had no time nor ſpace to recover their horſes, and mount upon them again and alſo the
Romans preſſed ſo hotly upon them after they were once diſcomfited, and never gave over un-
till they had ſtript the enemies quite out of their Camp. So there died that day thirteen thou-
G ſand Spaniards, and well near eight hundred were taken priſoners. Of Romans and Allies, not ma-
ny more than two hundred left their lives behind them, and thoſe eſpecially in the left point. The
Spaniards, that either were driven out of their Camp, or eſcaped out of the battell, firſt ran ſcat-
tered and diſperſed over the fields, and afterwards returned every man to his own City where
he dwelt.

Then *Mandonius* ſummoned them to a generall councill: where they all bewailed their calami-
ties & miſeries, greatly blamed the authors of the war, and agreed in the end to ſend their embaſ-
ſadors

ſadors to give up their arms, and to yield their bodies. Theſe having excuſed themſelves and laid H
the whole fault upon *Indibilis* & the reſt of the Princes who were the ſtirrers of the war, & were
for the moſt part ſlain themſelves for their labour in the field, yielded up their armour and them-
ſelves, and received this anſwer from the Romans: That they ſhould be received to mercy, and
their ſubmiſſion accepted, if they would deliver alive into their hands *Mandonius*, and the reſt that
were the breakers of peace. Otherwiſe, they threatned to lead their forces into the territories of
the Ilergetes and Auſetans and ſo forward, of the other nations their complices in that rebellion.
With this anſwer the Orators departed, and related the ſame in the councill aſſembled. Where
*Mandonius* and the reſt of their Lords were apprehended & delivered to the Romans for to be pu-
niſhed and executed accordingly. So the States of *Spain* obtained peace again: and a double tri-
bute for that year was impoſed upon them, and they enjoyned to provide corn to ſerve the army I
ſix months beſides ſouldiers liveries, ſhort coats, and ſide caſſocks: and they received hoſtages wel-
near of thirty Cities. Thus the troubles and rebellions of *Spain* being begun and ended after this
manner, without any great ado within few daies, all the force of the war turned upon *Affrick*.

*C. Lælius* being arrived in the night at *Hippo* Royall, by the break of the day, led forth with ban-
ner diſplaied in order of battel all his ſouldiers and mariners, for to harrey and ſpoil the country.
And finding the inhabitants there retchleſs and careleſs, and living in ſecurity as in time of peace,
they did much hurt and annoied them ſore. Whereupon the news went in poſt to *Carthage*, ſet all
on a hurry & put them in exceeding great fear. For it was reported, that the Roman Armado was
arrived, and that *Scipio* the General was landed (for the rumour ran before, how he was paſſed
over already into *Sicily*.) And becauſe they never deſcried the ſhips, nor diſcovered certainly what K
power of men invaded and ſpoiled the country, they thought the moſt and doubted the worſt, as
fear commonly maketh every thing more than it is. And ſo at firſt they were only affrighted and
terrified; but afterwards they grew melancholly and troubled in ſpirit in theſe tearms, to think,
" That fortune ſhould ſo much be changed, that they, who a little before as noble conquerors had
" lain encamped with an army before the walls of *Rome*, defeated ſo many hoſts of enemies, and
" either by meer force or meer love, held all the States of *Italy* under their Signory, ſhould now
" themſelves ſee the wheel ſo turn about, as they were like ſhortly to behold the waſting and ſpoi-
" ling of *Affrick*, and the City of *Carthage* beſieged: a thing that they were never able to en-
" dure with that valour and reſolution, nor to abide with ſuch ſtrength as the Romans had. For
" the Romans had ever the Commons of *Rome*; they had alwaies the youth of *Latium* ready at L
" hand; who ſtill encreaſed more and more the new fry, and daily grew in number to make ſup-
" ply, and to repair & furniſh out ſo many armies that were defeated. Whereas, their natural peo-
" ple were neither in town nor country fit for ſervice, their aids were waged and hired for money
" from among the Affricans, a nation like to turn upon any accident, & to change with every gale
" and puff of vain hope, and were beſides falſe and unfaithful in their promiſe. For now the Kings
" already, *Syphax* and *Maſaniſſa*, the one upon conference with *Scipio* is ſecretly alienated from us
" in heart, and the other openly revolted in action, and become our moſt deadly enemy: ſo that
" there remaineth neither help nor hope for us at all in any place. For neither *Mago* is able in *Gaul*
" to make any commotions and rebellion, nor yet to joyn with *Annibal*: And as for *Annibal* him-
" ſelf, he weareth apace, and decaieth daily both in fame and reputation, and alſo in ſtrength and M
" forcible means. When their minds being thus diſquieted upon thoſe freſh and preſent tidings,
they were faln to bewail and lament their wofull ſtate, the inſtant danger recalled them again to
conſult by what means they might withſtand the imminent perils. So they thought good to take
muſters in all haſte both in the City and the countries by, to ſend ſome to levy and wage the aids
of the Affricans, to fortifie their City, to bring in ſtore of grain, to provide weapons and armor, to
rig their navy & to ſend it out to *Hippo*, for to encounter the Roman Armado. Whiles they were
deviſing theſe courſes, there came at laſt a poſt with news, that it was *Lælius* and not *Scipio* who
was ſet aſhore; that there was landed no greater power than for to make rodes into the country
for booties only: and as for the main ſtrength of the whole army, it remained ſtill in *Sicily*. So they
had ſome reſpit to breath themſelves, & began to addreſs their Embaſſies to *Syphax* and to other N
Princes, for to eſtabliſh and confirm peace and league between them. They diſpatched others al-
ſo to *Philip*, who ſhould make promiſe unto him of two hundred talents of ſilver, in caſe he would
take the ſeas and paſs over either into *Sicily* or *Italy*. Meſſengers alſo were ſent as far as into *Ita-
ly* unto their own Generals ſerving there, to will them to raiſe what troubles they could poſſibly,
for to keep *Scipio* a work, and hold him back from coming into *Affrick*. And unto *Mago* were ſent
not only thoſe meſſengers aforeſaid, but alſo five and twenty long ſhips of war, ſix thouſand foot-
men, eight hundred horſemen, ſeven Elephants, and great ſtore of treaſure beſides for to hire aids,
whereby he might advance forward with his forces nearer to *Rome*, and joyn with *Annibal*. Theſe
preparations were making, and theſe courſes deviſing at *Carthage*, when as *Maſaniſſa* upon the
bruit that went of the arrivall of the Roman fleet, began to ſtart up and rouze himſelf; and ac- O
companied with ſome few horſemen, came unto *Lælius*, buſie in driving ſtill great booties out
of the country, which he found altogether diſfurniſhed of armour, and unprovided of guards
and garriſons for defence. " He much complained that *Scipio* was ſo ſlack in his affairs, and grie-
" ved that he had not paſſed over ere this time with an army into *Affrick*, whiles the Carthagi-
" nians were thus affrighted, whiles *Syphax* was troubled with the wars of the borderers: of whom
" he was thus much perſwaded, that if he might have reſting time to compoſe his own affairs

" to

A "to his mind, he would not continue faſt unto the Romans, nor deal in any thing faithfully and "ſoundly with them: willing him to ſollicit *Scipio*, yea, and to ſpur him on and importune him not "to ſtand longer at a bay and make delayes. And for his own part, notwithſtanding he were diſ-"ſeized of his fathers Kingdom, yet he would be ready to aſſiſt him with ſuch a power of foot and "horſe as were worth God amercy: adviſing *Lælius* withal not to make any longer ſtay in *Africk*, "for aſmuch as he believed verily, that there was a fleet already ſet out from *Carthage*, with "which in the abſence of *Scipio*, he might not with ſafety enter into conflict and battail. After this communication, *Maſaniſſa* was diſmiſſed, and *Lælius* the next day looſed from *Hippo*, with his ſhips laden with pillage and prizes: and being returned into *Sicily*, declared unto *Scipio* the counſel and credence that he had from *Maſaniſſa*.

B About the very ſame time thoſe ſhips which were ſent from *Carthage* to *Mago*, coaſting along the Albiganians and the Ligurians, arrived at *Genua*. It fortuned that *Mago* at that time lay with his fleet in thoſe parts: who upon the words of the meſſengers, & the commiſſion to raiſe as great forces as poſſibly he could, immediatly held a counſel of the Frenchmen and Ligurians: for of both nations there were great numbers in thoſe coaſts. "Where before them all he declared how he "was ſent unto them for to ſet them at liberty: and how (as they might ſee themſelves) to that "effect he was furniſhed with new aid and ſuccour from home. But what forces, and how great "an army was needful for the managing of the war in hand, it lay in them to determine. As for "himſelf, firſt and formoſt he knew full wel, that there were two Roman armies abroad, the one in "*France*, the other in *Tuſkany*: and that Sp. *Lucretius* would joyn with *M. Livius*: and therefore C "they themſelves were to put many a thouſand in arms, for to make head againſt two Generals, & "two compleat armies of Romans. The Frenchmen made anſwer again, That their will was good "enough, and they had an exceeding deſire to compaſs and effect the deſignment intended: but "for aſmuch as the Romans had one camp within their confins, and another in Tuſcany neer ad-"joyning, and in manner within ſight; if peradventure they ſhould be ſeen in the action to aid the "Carthaginians; incontinently both armies, as well the one as the other would in all manner of "hoſtility invade their territories: and therefore they requeſted him to deſire of the Gauls ſuch "things, wherein they might ſtand him in ſtead ſecretly under hand. As for the Ligurians, becauſe "the Romans lay far enough off encamped from their Lands & Cities, they might diſpoſe well e-"nough of themſelves as they liſt: and therefore it was good reaſon that they ſhould put their D "young & able men in arms, & bear a part in the managing of the war. The Ligurians refuſed not. Only they craved reſpit of two moneths, for to take the muſters. In the mean time *Mago*, having ſent away the Gauls, cloſely took up & preſt ſouldiers throughout their countrey Towns for mo-ney. And from the States of *France*, there was ſent ſecretly proviſion of victuals of al ſorts unto him.

*Marcus Livius* led his army of Voluntaries out of *Tuſcany* into *France*, and having united his forces unto *Lucretius* his power, was ready to receive and welcome *Mago*, if haply he removed out of the Ligurians countrey neerer to the City of *Rome*: but in caſe *Mago* kept himſelf quiet in a corner under the *Alps*, he minded alſo himſelf there to keep his ſtanding leaguer about *Arimi-num*, for the guard and defence of *Italy*.

After the return of C. *Lælius* out of *Affrick*, both *Scipio* was pricked forward by the inſtigations E and perſwaſions of *Maſaniſſa*: and alſo his ſouldiers, ſeeing great prizes brought out of the ene-mies Land, and every ſhip fraight therewith; were mightily incenſed and ſet on fire with a burn-ing deſire to be tranſported over thither with all ſpeed poſſible. But as they were plotting about this enterpriſe of greater importance, they thought alſo upon a leſſer that came between, name-ly, the winning again of the City of *Locri*, which in the general revolt of all *Italy*, had ſided alſo with the Carthaginians. The firſt hope that they conceived both to affect and effect this enter-priſe grew upon a very ſmall matter: by occaſion that in the Brutians countrey, the whole man-ner of ſervice was performed by way of robbing and roving, rather than by any ordinary courſe of war. The Numidians firſt began, and the Brutii ſoon took it up and ſeconded them: not ſo much becauſe they would keep the Carthaginians company, and do as they did; but for that of their own natural inclination they were prone, and ready enough to follow that courſe. At laſt the Roman ſouldiers alſo, infected as it were by their example, took delight in robberies: and ſo far forth as they might have leave of their Captains, would make inrodes into the territories of their enemies. It fortuned ſo, that when ſome of them were gone abroad a plundring, certain Locrians were intercepted, and brought away with them to *Rhegium*. In which number of cap-tives, were ſome carpenters and maſons, who as it chanced, were hired to work for the Car-thaginians in the Caſtle of *Locri*. Theſe were diſcovered and known by certain great men, and the principal citizens of the Locrians, who hapned then to live as baniſhed perſons in *Rhegium*; ſuch as by the contrary faction that banded with *Annibal* and had delivered *Locri* into his hands, were driven out of the City. Theſe men fell to queſtioning with them (as commonly their manner is, who have been long out of their own Country) of many matters, and among the reſt, how all things fared at home: who told them all accordingly; and therewith, put them in ſome good hope, that if they might be ranſomed, ſet at large, and ſent home again, they would betray the Caſtle unto them: for aſmuch as within it they dwelt, and the Carthaginians put them in truſt of all things there. They therefore, as men that were wonderful deſirous to return thither, as well for love of their native country, as for to be revenged of their adverſaries, out of hand paid their ranſome: and after they had given order how to work the feat, and in what ſort; as alſo agreed

upon the ſigns and tokens which they ſhould mark from on high a far off, they were ſent back again. Then the exiled Locrians repaired unto *Scipio* at *Syracuſe*, with whom alſo were others of the baniſhed perſons of *Locri*: and there they related unto him the promiſes of the captives aforeſaid, and put the Conſul in very good hope that the effect would be correſpondent to their deſignment. With them were ſent two Tribuns or Marſhals, to wit, M. *Sergius* and *P. Matienus* with commiſſion to conduct three thouſand ſouldiers from *Rhegium* to *Locri*. Letters alſo were diſpatched unto *Q. Pleminius* the Vice-pretor, for to be aſſiſtant in this action. Who being departed from *Rhegium*, and carrying with them ſcaling ladders, proportioned to the height of the Caſtle wall fore-told unto them, about midnight gave a token by fire to thoſe that were to betray the Caſtle, from that place which they had agreed upon: who being in readineſs alſo, and looking wiſtly for them, put down likewiſe ladders of their own, made for the purpoſe; and in many places at once received them that climbed up: ſo as, before there was any alarm heard, they ſet upon the watch of the Carthaginians, faſt aſleep as they were, and diſtruſting no ſuch matter: who firſt were heard to grone as they lay a dying, but afterwards, to make a noiſe and keep a running and much ado, upon their ſuddain ſtarting from ſleep, all the whiles that they wiſt not what the occaſion was. At length, upon the diſcovery of the matter, one man wakened another, and every one called aloud to arm; crying out, that the enemies were within the Caſtle, and the watchmen ſlain. And without queſtion, the Romans had been put to the worſe and defeated quite, being far fewer in number than the enemies, but that there was an outcry and ſhout ſet up by them that were without the fortreſs; which ſo long as men knew not from whence it came, put them in in geat fear: and the tumult beſides by night made every ſmall and vain thing much greater than it was. By means whereof, the Carthaginians aſtonied (as if all places had been full of enemies) abandoned all fight, and betook themſelves into the other fortreſs (for two there were diſtant not far aſunder.) The Townſmen kept poſſeſſion of the City, as the prize and guerdon in the mids for the winners. But out of the two Caſtles there were light skirmiſhes every day. *Q. Pleminius* was Captain of the fort and garriſon of the Romans, and *Amilcar* over the Carthaginians: and both parts increaſed their ſtrength, by aids that they had coming unto them from the places adjoyning. Until at laſt *Annibal* ſhewed himſelf in perſon: and no doubt the Romans had never been able to hold out, but that the whole multitude of the Locrenſians ſore galled and grieved with the proud government and the covetous polling of the Carthaginians, took part with the Romans. When intelligence came to *Scipio*, that the Romans were diſtreſſed in *Locri*, and that *Annibal* himſelf was advancing thither: for fear leſt the garriſon alſo ſhould be in ſome hazard (as having no ready means to retire from thence) himſelf leaving at *Meſſana* his brother *L. Scipio* for the guard of the place, paſſed over from thence with his veſſels down the water, when he eſpied the current and the tide together to ſerve for a fare. Likewiſe *Annibal* having ſent out a vancurrier from the River *Butrotus* (which is not far from the City *Locri*) to ſignify unto his men, that by day light they ſhould give a hot charge with all their might and main upon the Locrenſians and Romans both, whiles he himſelf made an aſſault upon the Town behind, not looking for him, but wholly turned away and amuſed upon that other tumult. Now when as early in the morning he found the skirmiſh begun, he was not willing to put himſelf within the Caſtle, for fear of peſtering with over great a company the place ſo ſtreight and of ſo ſmall receipt: and for to ſcale the walls they had brought no ladders with them. So cauſing all their carriages and packs to be piled up in one heap together: he preſented all his footmen in battail array before the City, to terrifie his enemies withal: and with the Numidian horſemen he made a bravado under the walls, and rode about the City. Whiles the ladders and other ordinance meet to give an aſſault, were in preparing and making ready, he approached on horſeback neer to the wall, for to view on which part above the reſt, he might give the aſſault: and there he was ſhot with a quarel diſcharged from an engine called a Scorpion, which hapned to be planted next unto him. And being affrighted at this ſo dangerous an occurrent, he commanded to ſound the retreat, and fortified his camp aloof without the peril and ſhot of any dart. Now was the Roman fleet from *Meſſana* arrived at *Locri*, and had the day afore them: ſo as they were all ſet a land, and entred the City before the ſun ſetting. The morrow after, the Carthaginians began to skirmiſh out of the Caſtle: and *Annibal* being now provided of ladders, and having all things elſe in readineſs needful for the aſſault, came under the walls: with that, all upon a ſuddain the Romans ſet open a gate and ſallied out upon him, who feared nothing leſs than any ſuch accident: and thus ſetting upon them at unawares, ſlew two hundred of them. *Annibal* perceiving that the Conſul was there, retired with the reſt into the camp: and after he had ſent a meſſenger to them that were within the Caſtle, willing them to ſhift for themſelves, in the night ſeaſon he diſlodged and departed. They alſo who were in the fort, after they had ſet on fire the houſes which were in their keeping, of purpoſe by that tumult to cauſe the enemy to make ſome ſtay and tarry behind, ran away in manner of a rout and before it was night with good footmanſhip overtook their own company. *Scipio* ſeeing as well this Caſtle quit by the enemy, as their camp alſo empty, called the Locrenſes to a general aſſembly, and gave them a ſharp check, and rebuked them for their revolt. The principal Captains & Authors of that treſpaſs he put to death; and gave away their goods to the chief heads of the other faction, in reward and conſideration of their ſingular fidelity to the Romans. But as concerning the publick ſtate of the Locrians, he ſaid he would neither make nor medle therewith, either in giving to them, or taking ought at all from them. But willed them to ſend their Embaſſadors to

*Rome*,

A *Rome*, and look what the Senat would award in equity, that fortune they ſhould abide. This one thing he was well aſſured of, that how ill ſoever they had deſerved of the people of *Rome*, yet they ſhould live in better condition under the ſignory of the Romans, provoked to anger as they were, than they had already under the government of Carthaginians, pretending love and amity as they did.

Then himſelf in perſon cut over to *Meſſana* with thoſe forces that he brought with him, leaving *Pleminius* his Lieutenant, and that power that won the Caſtle, in garriſon for the defence of the City. The citizens of *Locri* had been ſo proudly miſuſed, and ſo cruelly handled by the Carthaginians, after they were revolted from the Romans, that it ſeemed they could be content to abide any ſmall wrongs, not only patiently but alſo willingly and in manner with a glad heart. But ſo far
B now exceeded *Pleminius*, *Amilcar* the former captain of the garriſon; ſo far went the Roman garriſon ſouldiers, before the Carthaginians in wickedneſs & avarice, that a man would have thought they had ſtrove together who ſhould paſs the other in ſinful vice and ungodlineſs and not in feats of arms and proweſs. For neither Captain nor ſouldier forbare to practiſe upon the poor Townſmen any enormous facts, which are wont to make the great & mighty men odious unto the poor and meaner perſons. They wrought and committed ſhameful villanies upon their very bodies; upon their wives and children. And their greedy avarice ſo far proceeded, that they could not hold their hands from ſpoiling and robbing the very religious and ſacred Temples. Inſomuch, as among other holy Churches which they polluted, they met even with the rich meaſure of *Proſerpina*,
C which had lien ſtill in all ages, and untouched by all others: ſave only it was reported to have been pilled by *Pyrrhus*; who indeed carried away the ſpoil of her, but he deerly bought it, and paid full ſweetly for that ſacriledge. And therefore like as before time the Kings ſhips ſhaken with tempeſts, and torn and ſplit with the rage of the Sea, brought nothing at all in that wreck ſafe to Land, but only that ſacred mony of the goddeſs, which they had ſtoln and carried away; even ſo at this preſent, the very ſame mony (but in another kind of calamity and miſery) brought upon all them that were tainted in that wicked action of robbing the Temple, a ſtrange & frantick madneſs; which cauſed Captain againſt Captain, and ſouldier againſt ſouldier, to fare as if they were ſtark mad, and enraged as mortal enemies one with another. *Pleminius* had the chief rule and
D command of all. As for the ſouldiers, ſome were under him, ſuch as himſelf had brought from *Rhegium*; others were commanded by the Tribuns or Colonels. Now it chanced that one of *Pleminius* his ſouldiers had ſtoln a ſilver cup out of a Townſmans houſe, and ran away when he had done; and the owners after him with hue and cry, and fortuned to come in the way, and to meet with *Sergius* & *Matienus* the two Tribuns or Colonels full in the face. Whereupon the cup was taken from him by the commandment of the Tribuns; and thence aroſe firſt a braul, and ſome hard words were dealt between; and from them conſequently they went to open clamors and loud outcries, until at length there grew a very fray between the ſouldiers of *Pleminius* and of the Tribuns: and according as they came ſtill one or other in time to help their own ſide, both the number and the riot increaſed at once. In the end, *Pleminius* his men went away with the
E blows, and moaned themſelves unto *Pleminius*, running to him with open month and great indignation, ſhewing their bloudy wounds: and reporting beſides, what opprobrious words to his diſgrace had paſſed againſt him without ſpare, in the time of thoſe brawling fits. Hereupon in a great choler and boyling heat of bloud, he gat him forth of doors in all the haſt; convented the Tribuns before him, and commanded them to be ſtripped naked, and the rods to be brought forth ready for to ſcourge them. But whiles there was ſome time ſpent in turning them out of their apparel & uncaſing them (for they ſtrugled & made reſiſtance and called to their ſouldiers for help) al at once they came thick about them (for very luſty they were upon their freſh victory) and ran from all places, as if the alarm bell had been rung againſt the coming of ſome enemies. But when
F they ſaw once the bodies of their Tribunes tewed with rods, then they fell into far more furious rage and a very fit of madneſs: and thus incenſed as they were, without all regard not only of the reverent majeſty of authority, but alſo of common humanity, they fell upon the Lieutenant himſelf, after they had moſt pitiouſly beaten and evil intreated his Lictors and Officers about him. Then having ſingled him out apart from his Miniſters and Sergeants, they cruelly mangled him, cut off his noſe, cropt his ears, and left him for dead. News hereof came to *Meſſana*, and within few dayes *Scipio* highed him apace to *Locri* in a gally directed with ſix banks of oars: who after due examination and hearing of the cauſe between *Pleminius* and the Tribuns, acquit *Pleminius* as innocent, and left him Governour of the garriſon of the place: but he judged the Tribuns guilty, as Malefactors, and cauſed them to be bound in chains for to be ſent to *Rome* unto the Senate: and ſo he returned to *Meſſana*, and from thence to *Syracuſe*. *Pleminius* not able to over-rule his
G anger, and thinking that *Scipio* had dealt but coldly and negligently in the matter, and made too light of the injury which he had received, and not puniſhed the offenders accordingly; and ſuppoſing that there was no man elſe able to make true eſtimate of the cauſe, but he that in his own perſon had felt the indignity and hainouſneſs thereof; commanded the Tribuns to be haled before him, and after he had put them to all the cruel torments, that any mans body is able to abide, he put them to death: and not ſatisfied either with their dolorous torture whiles they were quick, nor with taking their lives from them, caſt their dead bodies forth into the fields, there to lie above ground unburied. The like cruelty he exerciſed upon the principal Burgeſſes of the Locrians, ſuch as he heard ſay went to *Scipio* for to make complaint of his wrongs and injuries. And look

what foul and shameful pranks he had plaid afore with his friends and allies, proceeding of lust H
and covetousnes; the same now in his fell and furious rage he multiplied and wrought in divers
sorts: so as he brought infamy, hatred and obloquy, not only upon himself, but also made the
world to think hardly, and to speak much shame of the General himself.

Now drew the time neer of the solemn election of Magistrats; when as there came letters to
*Rome* from *Pub. Lucinius* the Consul, the tenor whereof was to this effect: That himself and his
army were sore visited with a grievous sicknes: and that he could not possibly have staid there,
but that the violent contagion and influence of the same malady, if not greater & more grievous,
had not assailed the enemies. Seeing that therefore himself was not able to come unto the electi-
on, he was minded, if it might so stand with the good liking of the Lords of the Senat, to nominat
as Dictator *Q. Cecilius Metellus*, for to hold the foresaid election. And as for the army of *Q. Ceci-* I
*lius*, it was for the good of the Common-weal that it should be cassed and discharged, since that
there was no imployment of them at this present; considering that *Annibal* was retired already
with his forces into his standing camp, and taken up his wintring harbor; and again, the pestilence
grew so hot in that leaguer of his, that if they were not discharged betimes, there was not one
of them like to escape and remain alive. In these points, the LL. of the Senat granted out their
commission unto the Consul, for to do according as himself thought to stand either with his
own credit and trust committed unto him, or the benefit of the Common-weal.

At the very same time there was a certain religious opinion that had possessed of a suddain the
whole City, by occasion of a certain Prophesie found in the books of *Sibylla*. When search was
made into them and they diligently perused, about the raining of stones, which hapned so often K
that year. The Prophesie ran in this form: "At what time soever an enemy of a strange and for-
"rain countrey, shall happen to make war upon *Italy*, he may be chased out of *Italy* and vanquish-
"ed, if the goddes dame *Cybele* of *Ida*, were brought to *Rome* from *Pessinus*. This Prophesie found
by the Decemvirs, moved the Senat the more, for that, the Embassadors also who carried the obla-
tion and present aforesaid to *Delphos*, related, That as they themselves sacrificed unto *Pythius A-*
*pollo*, all the inwards of the beast killed for sacrifice, appeared good, and shewed prosperity: and the
Oracle besides gave answer, That there was a far greater victory toward the people of *Rome* than
that was, out of the spoils whereof they brought gifts and offered to the God at this present.
And for to make up and fully accomplish these hopes, they alleaged withal, how *P. Scipio* in de- L
manding the Province of *Affrick*, did presage (as it were) before-hand in his mind the final end
of this war. To the end therefore, that they might with more speed obtain this honorable victory
thus fore-tokened, and offering (as it were) it self, by all lucky presagings of men and Oracles of
the Gods, they thought and devised some mean to transport the said goddesses to *Rome*.

The people of *Rome* in those dayes was confedered with no States of *Asia*: howbeit the LL.
calling to mind, how long ago, upon occasion of a sickness, and to purchase health unto the peo-
ple, *Æsculapius* was sent for likewise out of *Greece*, before it was joyned with the City of *Rome*
in any league or society; and considering withal, that there was some friendship and amity begun
already with King *Attalus* (in regard of the common war against *Philip*) and that he would be
ready to do for the people of *Rome*, whatsoever lay in his power, they resolved to send unto him
an honorable Embassage to wit, *M. Valerius Levinus*, who had been twice Consul, and had warred M
in *Greece*; *M. Cecilius Metellus*, who had been a Pretor, and *Servius Sulpitius Galba*: likewise an
Ædile, and two late Questors, *C. Tremelius Flaccus*, and *M. Valerius Falco*. For these five, they
assigned five Qninquerems or Gallies of five ranks of oars, that according to the credit and dig-
nity of the people of *Rome*, they should make a voyage into those Lands, with whom they were
to win a reputation and Majesty to the Roman name and State. These Embassadors, as they held
on their course toward *Asia*, so soon as they were put on Land at *Delphos*, repaired directly to the
Oracle, for to know what good hope it might afford unto them and the people of *Rome*, of effect-
ing that business and commission, about the which they were sent forth. And this answer by re-
port, was returned to them again, That they should obtain their desire, and effectuate their pur-
pose by the means of *Attalus* the King: advising them moreover, That when they had con- N
veighed the said goddes down to *Rome*, they should take order, that the very best man of all o-
thers in the City, should give her lodging and entertainment. But to proceed, to *Pergamus* they
came unto the King. Who having courteously received and welcomed the Embassadors, con-
ducted them into *Phrygia* to *Pessinus*, and delivered into their hands that sacred and holy stone,
which the inhabitants of the country said, was the Mother of the Gods, and willed them to carry
it to *Rome*. Then *M. Valerius Falco* was sent back from the other Embassadors to advertise them
at *Rome*, that the goddes was coming, and that they should seek out the best man in all the City,
for to receive and lodge her in his house with all devotion that might be.

Now was *Q. Cecilius Metellus* nominated Dictator by the Consul in the Brutians country, a-
gainst the solemn election of the Magistrats. His army was disbanded and cassed, and *L. Veturius* O
*Philo* created master of the horse. Then the Dictator held the Election. In which were chosen
Consuls, *M. Cornelius Cethegus* & *P. Sempronius Tuditanus* in his absence, who at that time had the
government of *Greece*. After them were elected Pretors, *T. Claudius Nero*, *M. Martius Ralla*, *L. Scri-*
*bonius Libo*, & *M. Pomponius Matho*. When the Election was finished, the Dictator resigned up his
place of magistracy. The Roman Games were thrice renued and set forth, & the plaies *Plebei* seven
times exhibited. The Ædiles of the chair were *Cn.* and *L. Cornelius Lentuli* both. This *Lucius* go-
verned

A verned then the Province of *Spain*: created he was in his absence, and absent as he was he bare that dignity. The Ædiles of the Commons were *T. Claudius Asellus*, and *M. Junius Pennus*. That year *M. Marcellus* dedicated the Temple of *Vertue*, neer the gate *Capena*, the seventeenth year after it was vowed by his father at *Clastidium* in *Gallia*, during the time of his first Consulship. There died also this year a Flamine of *Mars*, namely, *M. Æmylius Regillus*.

For the last two years, the affairs in *Greece* had not been well followed. *Philip* therefore taking the vantage, that the Ætolians were forsaken of the Romans (the only aid upon which they trusted) forced them both to sue for peace, and to contract the same under what conditions and capitulations himself pleased: which if he had not made the better half, all that ever he could to accomplish in good time, *P. Sempronius* the Vice-Consul, sent to succeed *Sulpitius* in the govern-
B ment, had utterly defeated him whiles he waged war with the Ætolians: considering that he was ten thousand foot and a thousand horse strong, and had five and thirty tall ships of war, headed with brasen pikes before: a power of no small importance, I assure you, to aid and assist his allies. For the said peace was not so soon concluded, but news came to the King, that the Romans were arrived at *Dyrrhachium*; that the Parthines and other neighbour nations, upon hope of change and a new world, began to rise and rebel; and that *Dimallum* was already besieged and assaulted: for to that City the Romans bent their power (in stead of aiding the Ætolians unto whom they were sent) upon high displeasure and indignation, that without their advise and consent, yea, and
C against the tenor of the accord and covenant they had made a peace with the King. *Philip* upon these advertisements, for fear lest some farther troubles might arise among the nations and states there bordering, took long journeis, & sped him apace toward *Apollonia*. Thither *Sempronius* was retired, after he had sent *Lectorius* his Lieutenant with part of his forces and thirteen ships into *Ætolia* to visit the country, and to see in what terms they stood, yea, and to disturb and break the peace if possibly he could. *Philip* wasted and spoiled the territories and lands of the Apollonians, and approching the City with his whole power, bad battail to *Sempronius* the Roman General. But after he saw once that he kept himself quiet within the City, standing only upon his guard and defence of the walls; distrusting also his own strength, as not able to force the City by assault: & desirous withal to entertain peace with the Romans as well as with the Ætolians, if he could; if not,
D yet at leastwise to have truce with them: without effecting any more (seeing he could but only rub an old sore, & renew cankred malice upon fresh contention & quarrel) he returned into his realm.

About the same time, the Epirots weary of long wars, after they had first sounded the disposition and mind of the Romans that way, sent their Embassadors unto *Philip*, to treat about a general and universal peace: affirming, that they had assured hope of an honorable end and agreement, if his highness would vouchsafe to come to a parly with *P. Sempronius* the Roman General. And soon they obtained thus much of him, as to pass over into *Epirus*, for the King himself was not unwilling thereunto. Now there is a City in *Epirus*, named *Phœnice*: there the King after communication had first with *Eropus*, *Dardas* and *Philippus*, Pretors of the Epirots, entred into an enterview also with *P. Sempronius*. At this solemn meeting and conference, *Aminander* the King of the Athamans was present, and other Magistrates of the Epirots and Acarnans. And first *Philippus*
E the Pretor began to speak and request, as well King *Philip* as the Roman General, to make an end of all wars, and likewise to give the Epirots leave to do the same. *P. Sempronius* propounded and set down the articles and conditions of peace in this wise, That the Parthins, *Dimallum*, *Bargulum* and *Eugenium*, should belong to the Seignory of the Romans, notwithstanding that they had obtained of the Senat by their Orators sent to *Rome*, to be annexed to the dominion of *Philip* King of *Macedony*. When they were agreed for peace upon those capitulations, there were comprised within the league on the Kings behalf, *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, the Achæians, the Bœotians, the Thessalians, the Acarnans, and the Epirots: and on the Romans, the Ilienses, K. *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*,
F *Nabis* the Tyrant of the Lacedemonians, the Eleans, the Messenians, and the Athenians. And hereof were instruments and Indentures ingrossed and sealed, and truce made for two moneths, until such time as Embassadors were sent to *Rome*, that the people might by their suffrages approve of the conditions in that form. So all the tribes in general granted the same, because the war now being intended and bent against *Africk*, they were willing for the present to be discharged of all other troubles.

*P. Sempronius* having concluded peace, departed unto *Rome* for to enter his Consulship. Now when as *M. Cornelius* and *P. Sempronius* were Consuls (which was the 15 year of the Punick war) the Provinces were assigned unto them in this manner, namely, unto *Cornelius*, *Hetruria* with the old army: unto *Sempronius* the *Brutii*, with the new legions that he was to enrol. And to
G the Pretors in this wise were the Provinces allotted, that *M. Martius* should be Lord chief justice of the citizens pleas, and *L. Scribonius Libo* have the jurisdiction of foreiners, together with the government of *Gallia*. *Item*, that *M. Pomponius Matho* should rule *Sicily*, and *T. Claudius Nero* sit as L. Deputy in *Sardinia*. As for *P. Scipio*, his commission was renewed and continued for one year longer, with the command of that army and Armado which he had conducted before. Likewise *P. Licinius* had his commission newly sealed for to have the charge of the Brutians country with the power of two legions, so long as the Consul thought it good for the Common-weal that he should remain in the government of that Province. Also *M. Livius* & *Sp. Lucretius*, with the assistance of those two legions with which they had defended *Gallia* against *Mago*, continued still in their room for another year. Moreover *Cn. Octavius* remained in place, with commission, that

when he had delivered up *Sardina*, & the legion there unto *T. Claudius*, himself should with 40 long ſh gallies ſcour the ſeas, and guard the coaſts along the river, within thoſe limits, for which the Senat had given order. Unto *M. Pomponius* the Pretor in *Sicily* were appointed the two legions of the Cannian army. And *T. Quintius* and *C. H. Tubulus* Vice-pretors, were to govern as they did the former year, the one *Tarentum*, and the other *Capua*; and both of them were allowed the old garriſons. As for the government of *Spain*, it was put to queſtion before the people, what two Vice-pretors their pleaſure was ſhould be ſent into that Province. And all the Tribes with one accord gave their grant, that the ſame Pro-conſuls *L. Cor. Lentulus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, ſhould ſit as Governors in thoſe Provinces as the year before. The Conſuls began now to muſter ſouldiers as well to enrol new legions for to be ſent into the Brutians country, as alſo to ſupply and fulfil the number of the other armies; according as they were directed by the Senate. And albeit *Affrick* was not yet openly declared a Province, but diſſembled by the LL. of the Senate, (of purpoſe I believe, that the Carthaginians ſhould have no inkling and intelligence thereof before hand) yet the whole City was in good hope, and made full reckoning that this year the war would be determined and ſought out in *Africk*, and ſo an end for ever of thoſe troubles. This perſwaſion of theirs had poſſeſſed their hearts with much ſuperſtition: and very forward men were, both to report, and alſo to believe many prodigious and ſtrange wonders, which daily were blown abroad & civulged more and more: To wit that there were two ſuns ſeen; that in the night ſeaſon between whiles it ſeemed day light; that in *Setia* there was a burning torch or blaſing Star reaching from the Eaſt to the Weſt; that in *Tarracina* the gate, and in *Anagnia* as well the gate as the wall in divers parts were blaſted and ſhaken with lightning; laſtly, that in the Temple of *Juno Soſpita* in *Lanuvium*, there was a noiſe and a rumbling heard, with a horrible crack. For the expiation and purging of theſe prodigies, there was a ſupplication holden for one day: and a novendial ſolemn ſacrifice was alſo celebrated, becauſe it had rained ſtones out of the ſky. Beſides all this there was ſome conſulation about the receiving of dame *Idæa*. For over and beſides that *M. Valerius* one of the Embaſſadors was returned & had brought word that ſhe would be very ſhortly in *Italy*, there came a new meſſenger with tidings, that ſhe was now already at *Taracina*. This deliberation (about no ſmall matter, namely, whom they ſhould give judgement to be the beſt man ſimply in the whole City) held the Senat much amuſed: conſidering that every one for his part was more deſirous of true victory, and pre-eminence in this behalf, than of any promotions, honors or dignities whatſoever, awarded unto them by the voices either of Senators or Commoners. In concluſon, they judged *P. Scipio*, the ſon of that *Cn.* who was killed in *Spain*, a very young man, and as yet not of full age to be a Queſtor, the very beſt man without exception in the whole City. Upon what motives of his ſingular vertues they were induced thus to deem of him, as I could willingly have delivered unto poſterity, what had been ſet down in record by the ancient and firſt writers of thoſe times: ſo I will not interpoſe mine own conceits, in gueſſing at a thing which hath lien dead and buried ſo long time. This P. *Cornelius* was commanded to go accompanied with all the dames of the City as far as to *Oſtia*, there to meet the Goddeſs, and then to take her forth of the ſhip, and being once ſet on land, to deliver her unto the foreſaid matrons for to be devoutly caried to the City. Now when the ſhip was arrived at the mouth of the river *Tyberis*, he, according as he was directed, went aboord in a pinnace, & lanched into the ſea: where he took the Goddeſs at the Prieſts hands, and brought her on ſhore. And the dames which were the nobleſt and chief of the City, amongſt whom, C. *Quintia* was the Lady moſt renowned, received her. This *Clandia*, who before time (as it is reported) was of no better name & fame than ſhe ſhould be, now by this religious and devout miniſtry, was for her chaſtity and continency recommended better to poſterity. Theſe women caried this Goddeſs charily & daintily in their hands, and took her by turns one in courſe after another. All the City came forth by heaps to meet her: and along the ſtreets as ſhe was conveighed, they ſtood at the dores with cenſers, making ſweet perfumes, & burning frankincenſe: yea, & praied unto her, that ſhe would willingly enter the City of *Rome*, and continue propitious & gracious unto it. Thus they tranſported her into the Temple of *Victoria* within mount Palatine, the day before the * Ides of *April*, which was alwayes after kept as a feſtival holyday. The N people with great frequency brought gifts unto *Palatium*, which they offred unto the goddeſs & ſolemnized a *Lectiſternium*. And thoſe plaies called *Megaleſia* came up then & were firſt inſtituted.

* 12 *April.*

* The Plaies called *Megaleſia.*

Now when the Councel were buſy and ſat about the ſupply of thoſe legions which were in the Provinces, there were certain of the Senators began to whiſper & blow into their heads. That the "time was now come, no longer to abide thoſe things which during the troubles and dange- "rous daies they made a ſhift to endure; conſidering that now at length by the goddeſs of the "Gods, all fear was paſt, and the dangers overblown. At which words the Lords of the Senat be- "ing in great expectation and attentive to hear out the reſt; they went on and ſaid, That thoſe I: "colonies of the Latins, which whiles *Q. Fabius* and *Q. Fulvius* were Conſuls refuſed to ſet out "ſouldiers, now almoſt for ſix years had intermitted their ſervice in the wars, as exempted from O "warfare altogether, and enjoyed that immunity as an honor and reward for their good deſerts: "whereas in the mean time, other loyal and obedient allies were by muſtering every year conti- "nually, waſted and conſumed, in performance of their faithful allegeance and dutiful ſervice to "the Empire of *Rome*. At this ſpeech, the Lords called not ſo much to mind a thing long ſorlet and almoſt worn out of remembrance as they were provoked to anger and grew very hot; & therefore would not ſuffer the Conſuls to paſs any other matter before, but decreed that they ſhould

peremptorily

A peremptorily convent to *Rome* the Magiſtrats, and ten principal citizens out of every of theſe Colonies, to wit, *Nepet*, *Sutrium*, *Ardea*, *Cales*, *Alba*, *Carſeoli*, *Sora*, *Sueſſa*, *Setia*, *Circeii*, *Narnia*, and *Interamna*, (for theſe were the Colonies touched in that point above-named) and to lay upon them every one a double levy of footmen, to that number and proportion which they were charged with, when they ſet out moſt in the ſervice of the Roman wars, ever ſince that the enemies were come into *Italy*: beſides one hundred and twenty horſemen a peece. And in caſe any one of thoſe colonies were not able to make up that full number of horſemen, then to allow for every man of arms three footmen. Provided alwayes, that for foot and horſe both, ſuch ſhould be choſen and no other, as were moſt ſubſtantial and of the beſt behaviour, and be ſent to what place ſoever there was need of ſupply, even out of *Italy*. And if any of them refuſed thus to do, then the Con-
B ſuls had commiſſion to ſtay the Magiſtrats and deputies aforeſaid, and not to give them audience in the Senat, (although they ſhould require the ſame) before they had performed thoſe impoſitions. Moreover thoſe Colonies were enjoyned to pay every year a tax or tribute, and that there ſhould be raiſed and levied, one As in the thouſand, of their ſubſtance by the month; and be aſſeſſed in thoſe Colonies according to the rate and rule that the Roman Cenſors ſhould ſet down; which they gave order to be the ſame that was laid upon the people of *Rome*: and the information thereof to be exhibited and preſented at *Rome* by the ſworn Cenſors of the foreſaid colonies, before they went out of their office. By vertue of this Act of the Senate, the Magiſtrats and chief men of thoſe Colonies were ſent for, and compelled to repair to *Rome*: and when the Conſuls de-
C manded of them, thoſe ſouldiers and tribute aforeſaid, they began all of them (but ſome more than others) to refuſe and gain ſay it, yea, and flatly to deny, that ſo many ſouldiers could poſſibly be made, nay, hardly were they able, although they ſhould ſtrain themſelves, to furniſh the bare ſingle number, according to the uſual proportion and old preſcript order: requeſting and beſeeching them, to give them leave to have recourſe unto the Senat, and there to make ſure for their releaſe: neither have we (ſay they) ſo much offended as thus hardly to be uſed, nor deſerved worthily to be undone. And ſay, we muſt needs miſcarry and be caſt away; yet neither our offence, nor the wrath of the people of *Rome*, can force us to find more ſouldiers than we have. But the Conſ. reſo-
D lute in their purpoſe, commanded the Delegates and Committees of thoſe Colonies, to ſtay ſtill at *Rome*, and their Magiſtrats only to repair home and take muſters: for aſmuch as (unleſs the full number of ſouldiers which was ſet down unto them were brought to *Rome*) there was no Conſul there would grant them audience in the Senat. Thus when all hope was cut off, to have acceſs into the Senat, and to obtain a releaſe; thoſe twelve Colonies took a levy and enrolled the full number. Which was no hard matter to be done, conſidering how their youth was increaſed in that time of long vacation and intermiſſion of warfare. There was likewiſe another matter (by as long ſilence forlet and well neer quite forgotten) propoſed newly again by *M. Valerius Lævinus*: who ſaid, That it was meet and good reaſon, that thoſe private perſons which had credited forth their monies to the Common-weal, when himſelf and *M. Claudius* were Conſuls, ſhould now at laſt be ſatisfied, contented, and paid: neither ought any man to marvail why he (notwithſtanding the City were bound for the debt) had a ſpecial care and regard to call upon them for to
E have it diſcharged: for, beſides that the Conſul for that year being, when thoſe ſomes of money were granted, was in ſome ſort properly obliged, to ſee that credit were kept; himſelf more over was the very man that made the motion of taking up thoſe monies, in regard that the City chamber was ſo empty of treaſure, and the Commons purſes ſo bare of money, that they were ſcarce able to pay the ordinary tribut. This overture made by the Conſul, was well taken of the Senat, who willed the Conſuls to put up this matter to the houſe: and ſo they entred an Act and decree, that the ſaid debts ſhould be diſcharged at three paiments; whereof the firſt ſhould be made preſently by the Conſuls then in place; the other twain, by the Conſuls that were to ſucceed in the third and fifth years next enſuing.

But there fell out one new object and occurrence, that drowned all other cares beſides, and wholly poſſeſſed the heads of the Senate, by occaſion of the miſeries and calamities of the Locri-
F ans; whereof before that day, they had no knowledge nor intelligence, and now were by the coming of their Embaſſadors declared and divulged. Neither were the people provoked to choler and anger, ſo much at the lewd behavior and wicked pranks of *Q. Pleminius*, as the ſlacknes and negligence, or elſe the partiality and connivency of *Scipio* in dealing between them. Theſe Embaſſadors of the Locrians, ten in number, preſented themſelves before the Conſuls ſitting in the open Hall called *Comitium*; clad they were in homely weeds and courſe apparel, looking pale and poor on the matter; and carrying withal in their hands as tokens of humble ſuppliants, certain branches of the Olive, according to the manner of the *Greeks*, fell down proſtrate upon the ground before the Tribunal, with pitteous weeping and ſorrowful lamentation. The Conſuls demanded who they were: and they made anſwer again, That they were Locrians, who had endured at the
G hands of *Q. Pleminius* the Lieutenant, and the Roman ſouldiers, ſuch indignities, as the people of *Rome* would not find in their hearts, that the very Carthaginians themſelves ſhould ſuffer and ſuſtain: beſeeching them to do them this favour, as to give them leave to have acceſs to the Lords of the Senat, there to make their mone and complain of their woful diſtreſſes. Being admitted into the Senate and audience given them, then the ancienteſt man of the company ſpake in this wiſe. "Right honorable (my LL.) I know full well (quoth he) how important it would be, "and available to the due eſtimate and weight of our complaints and grievance, in caſe ye were informed

The pitiful complaints of the Locrians before the Senat of *Rome*.

"informed ſufficiently and knew the truth, as well in what ſort *Locri* was firſt betraied unto *Han-* H
"*nibal*, as alſo after what order the garriſon of *Annibal* was thence expelled, and the City reſtored
"again under your obeiſance. For, if it may appear that the treſpaſs of our revolt, cannot be im-
"puted any way unto the publick counſel and conſent of our City; but contrary-wiſe, that our re-
"turn under your ſignory and dominion was not only performed with our good will, but alſo
"firſt wrought and compaſſed by the means of our helping hand and valour: ye have the greater
"cauſe to be diſcontented and diſpleaſed with your Lieutenant and ſouldiers, for offring us (your
"good and loyal allies) ſuch abuſes, ſo cruel wrongs and unworthy indignities. As for the cauſe
"of our double revoltment and change, I think it good to defer the ſpeaking thereof to another
"time, and that for two reaſons: the one is, that the matter might be heard in the preſence of *P.* I
"*Scipio*, who recovered *Locri*, & was an eye-witneſs of all that we have done, be it good or bad:
"the other is this, that howſoever we be, yet we ſhould not have abiden thoſe calamities in ſuch
"ſort as we have ſupported them. We cannot diſſemble (my LL.) nor conceal, how all the while
"that we had the Carthaginian garriſon within our Caſtle, we ſuffered many foul outrages and
"ſhameful villanies, both at *Amilcar* his hands (the Captain of the garriſon) as alſo from the Nu-
"midians and Africans: but what are they in compariſon of the abuſes & indignities that we en-
"dure at this day? May it pleaſe you (my LL.) to give us the hearing of thoſe things with pati-
"ence, that I ſhall utter even againſt my will with grievance. All the world at this day is in ſu-
"ſpence, & ſtandeth in great doubt, whether to ſee you or the Carthaginians, the Soveraign Lords
"of the whole earth. But if they were to weigh and counterpoiſe the Roman and Carthaginian
"Empire, by thoſe injuries which have been offred to us of *Locri*, either from them or your gari- K
"ſon; and which at this day, more than ever before, we ſtill endure: there is none but would rather
"make choice of them to be their ſoveraign LL. than the Romans. And yet conſider, I pray you,
"and ſee how well affected the Locrians are towards you: when we were nothing ſo hardly uſed
"nor ſo ill entreated by the Carthaginians, yet we had recourſe unto your Captain General: and
"now that we are miſuſed of your gariſon, and put to more ſorrow than if we were profeſſed ene-
"mies, yet we have run no whither with our complaints but unto your ſelves. Either ſhal you (my
"LL.) vouchſafe to have compaſſion of our miſerable ſtate, or elſe we ſee not what we have left
"wherein we ſhould pray unto the immortal Gods, for to be good and propice unto us. *Q. Ple-*
"*minius* Lieutenant to the General *Scipio*, was ſent with a ſtrong garriſon and power of men to
"recover *Locri* out of the hands of the Carthaginians; and with the very ſame garriſon was he left L
"there: but this Lieutenant of yours (for, the extremity of miſeries and afflictions wherewith we
"are driven, maketh us bold, and putteth courage in us to ſpeak our minds freely finding nothing
"at all in him of a man, my Lords, but the bare ſhape and outward form; nor of a Roman citizen,
"unleſs it be the habit of apparel which he weareth, and the ſound of the Latin tongue which he
"ſpeaketh. A very plague he is & no better, a monſtrous & ugly beaſt, like unto that, which ſome-
"times (if old tales and fables be true) haunted the narrow ſeas between us and *Sicily*, for to de-
"ſtroy all paſſengers that ſailed by. Who, if he could have been content himſelf alone to have pra-
"ctiſed & wrought upon us your allies, all miſchievous acts & pranks, of wickedneſs, of filthy luſt,
"and greedy covetouſneſs, we would peradventure in all patience & long ſufferance, have filled up
"that one gulf and pit were it never ſo deep, & ſatisfied one gorge never ſo unſatiable. But now M
"ſo great a delight & pleaſure hath he taken, that all lewd & licentious parts, all ſhameful acts and
"villanies ſhould be commonly practiſed & in every place committed, that he hath made all your
"Centineirs very *Pleminii*, yea, and your ſouldiers as bad as himſelf. All of them can skill now of
"robbing rifling, ſpoiling, beating, wounding, and killing: they are all good at forcing of dames and
"ladies of honor, at raviſhing and deflouring of young Virgins, at abuſing (againſt kind) of young-
"lings, free born and well deſcended, whom they pull perforce from between the arms, and out of
"the very boſomes of their parents. Daily is our City aſſaulted and taken; daily is it ſacked and
"pilled, night and day, there is no place free, but ringeth again with the piteous ſhrikes and lamen-
"table plaints and cries of women and children, harried and carried away in every place. He that
"were a ſtranger to theſe things, and knew nothing, might wonder well enough, how either we N
"can poſſibly hold out in ſuffering ſuch outrages, or they which are the doers, not yet be ſatisfied
"and full of committing ſo great wrongs and injuries. For neither will my tongue and utterance
"ſerve to deliver, nor needful is it and expedient for you to hear every thing in particular, what
"we have ſuſtained. But in general I will compriſe and knit up altogether. I will abide by it that
"there is not one houſe throughout al *Locri*, I dare avouch there is no perſon either one or other,
"exempt from the wrongs that he hath done. I ſay, & ſtand to it, that there is no kind of wicked-
"neſs, no manner of filthy luſt & uncleanneſs, no unſatiable avarice beſides, that he hath not aſſaied
"to practiſe upon as many as were capable thereof, & fit ſubjects to work upon. Hardly can a man
"deviſe and think, whether of theſe two miſchiefs incident to a City be more deteſtable, either
"when the enemies force it by aſſault in time of war, or when a peſtilent & cruel tyrant oppreſſeth O
"it by force & arms during peace. All calamities we endured before, that Towns won and loſt are
"put unto. And now at this hour, more than ever (my LL.) *Pleminius* hath perpetrated upon us,
"our children & our wives, all thoſe exceſſive villanies that the moſt inhumane, cruel & outrage-
"ous tyrants can deviſe to exerciſe upon thoſe ſubjects, whom they keep down with oppreſſion &
"tread under foot. Yet one thing there is (right honorable) whereof both ſenſe of religion imprin-
"ted & engraffed naturally in our minds, conſtrains us to make particular complaint by ſpecialty:

and

A "and alſo our deſire is, that ye ſhould have the hearing, yea, and to aſſoil and diſcharge your Com-
"mon-weal of the ſcruple of conſcience, in caſe ye think it ſo meet and requiſite. For we have ob-
"ſerved and ſeen with our eyes, with what devotion and ceremonial reverence, you not only ho-
"nor and worſhip the Gods of your own, but alſo receive and entertain thoſe of ſtrangers and
"forrainers. We have in our City a Chappel of *Proſerpina*, concerning the holineſs of which
"houſe, I ſuppoſe verily, that ye have heard ſome report and fame, during the war of King *Pyr-*
"*rhus*: who in his return out of *Sicily*, paſſing along the ſea ſide with his fleet by *Locri*, among o-
"ther ſhameful villanies and outrages which he committed againſt our City in deſpight of us, and
"for our fidelity ſhewed toward you, pilled alſo and robbed the treaſure of this *Proſerpina*, which
"to that day had never been touched by any man whatſoever. And when he had ſo done, he em-
B "barked the mony, & ſent it away by water, but journeied himſelf by Land. But ſee what hapned
"my LL. hereupon! His whole navy the morrow after, was all even toſſed, ſplit, & torn a pieces in
"a moſt hideous guſt and horrible tempeſt, ſave only thoſe ſhips wherein that ſacred treaſure was
"beſtowed, which were caſt upon our coaſt, & driven aſhore. Whereupon this King, as proud &
"fierce a Prince as he was, being taught by ſo great harms and loſſes, to believe that there were
"Gods in heaven that ruled all: made diligent ſearch for all the ſaid monies, and cauſed the ſame
"to be brought back again, and laid up in the treaſury of *Proſerpina*. And yet for all that, never ſped
"he well in any thing that he went about, from that day forward. Hunted he was and chaſed clean
"out of *Italy*: and coming by chance one night, & entering unadviſedly the City of *Argos*, he died
"an obſcure, baſe, and diſhonorable death. And notwithſtanding your Lieutenant, your Colonels
C "and knight Marſhals heard of this and a thouſand more ſuch inſtances & examples which were
"recounted unto them (not for to amplify and ſet out with the higheſt the great religion and
"holineſs of the place; but as we and our anceſtors have had right evident proof, and that full
"oftentimes, to ſhew the manifeſt power and puiſſance of that goddeſs) yet were they ſo hardy as
"to lay their theeviſh and ſacrilegious hands upon thoſe treaſures, that were inviolat and not to
"be touched; and ſo by that curſed prize and booty have polluted themſelves, their houſes, and
"your ſouldiers. Whoſe ſervice take heed my LL. as ye tender your ſelves and your credit, how
"ye employ either in *Italy* or in *Africk*, in any of your affairs and wars there: before ye purge and
"expiat this foul and heinous fact: for fear leſt they make amends, and pay for this deteſtable for-
"feit not only which their own bloud, but alſo with ſome publick loſs & calamity of the whole
D "State. And even already my LL. the ire and diſpleaſure of the goddeſs hath been well ſeen upon
"your Captains and ſouldiers both, & at this preſent day continueth ſtill. Sundry times they have
"been together by the ears, and ſcuffled one againſt another with banners diſplaied. *Pleminius* the
"Captain bare up one ſide, and two Marſhals or military Tribuns another. Never fought they
"more fiercely & ſharply with the Carthaginians in the field, than amongſt themſelves in fraies at
"the ſword point. And through their furious rage they had given *Annibal* good opportunity and
"vantage to regain *Locri* into his own hands; but that *Scipio*, whom we ſent for, came in the mean
"time upon him. But peradventure (ſome will ſay) this madneſs and fury hanteth and rormenteth
"the ſouldiers only, who are tainted with the foreſaid ſacriledge, and no power at all of the god-
"deſs hath been ſhewed in puniſhing the leaders and captains themſelves. Nay I wot, in them it
E "hath moſt evidently appeared. The Tribuns have been beaten with rods by the Lieutenant & the
"Lieutenant again, being laid for by the ſaid Tribuns, and caught in a train, hath not only been
"mangled all his body over, but when they had cut off his noſe, and cropt his ears, was left for
"dead in the place. And afterwards, when the Lieutenant was recovered and cured of his hurts, he
"firſt impriſoned the Tribuns; then he ſcourged them, & after he had martyred them, & put them
"to all exquiſite tortures that might be deviſed againſt bondſlaves, he put them to death: & when
"they were dead, would not ſuffer them to be enterred. Thus ye ſee how the goddeſs hath puni-
"ſhed and taken vengeance of them that have pilled and robbed her Temple: & never wil ſhe give
"over to torment and harry them with all manner of furies and helliſh fiends, before the ſacred
"money be again beſtowed in the cheſts & cofers of her treaſury. Our anceſtors long ago in time
F "of grievous and cruel war between them and the Crotoniats, becauſe the Temple ſtandeth
"without the City, were deſirous to remove that treaſure and money from thence, into the City.
"But in the night there was a voice heard from out of the ſhrine, that they ſhould hold their
"hands off: for that the goddeſs her ſelf knew well enough how to defend her own Temple. And
"becauſe upon this warning they made it a matter of conſcience, & were afraid to ſtir the treaſure
"from thence, they would needs caſt a ſtrong wall about the ſaid Temple: & when it was brought
"up to a good height from the ground, behold, ſuddainly at once all the work came tumbling
"down. But both now, and oftentimes beſides, hath this goddeſs either guarded her ſeat & chap-
"pel, or elſe if it hath been any way violated, ſhe hath been grievouſly revenged by ſome fearful
"example of them that have ſeemed to offer violence to the ſame. Now for the wrongs that we a-
G "bide ſhe is not able; neither is there any other but your ſelves (my Lords) to right us, and revenge
"our quarrel. You are they whom we flie unto; unto your protection only in all humble manner,
"we have recourſe. And all one it is to us, whether ye ſuffer *Locri* to be under that Lieutenant and
"that garriſon or yeeld us unto *Annibal* in his anger, and to the Carthaginians, for to wreak their
"teen upon us & our throats. Neither require we that you ſhould credit and believe our com-
"plaint of him that is not now in place, without liberty of his anſwer & pleading for himſelf. Let
"him come hardly; let him be at the hearing himſelf, and ſpare not, let him in Gods name clear

"and

" and acquit himself, if he can. If when all is done and said, it can be proved, that he hath left un- H
" done any mischief against us, that one man can devise to do unto another; we will be content to
" abide and endure all those miseries once again (if it were possible) which we have suffered al-
" ready, yea & to hold and declare him guiltless of all offences done both to God and man.

When the Embassadors had laid abroad those matters, and *Q. Fabius* demanded of them, whether they had complained unto *P. Scipio*, and uttered these their griefs before him, they made answer and said, " That they had sent Embassadors unto him, but he was busied in making prepa-
" tion for the wars, and was either passed already over into *Affrick*, or upon his voyage ready to
" take the Seas within few dayes: and they had seen by good experience, in how great favour the
" Lieutenant *Pleminius* stood with his general: and namely, they were not ignorant how *Scipio*
" after he had heard the matter between the Tribuns and him, committed them to prison: but as I
" for the Lieutenant, who was as faulty as the other, if not more, him he left there still in his full
" authority. Now after that the Embassadors were willed to go forth of the Temple where the
" Senat sate, the chief LL. of the Senat began with biting words to inveigh bitterly against *Scipio*
" as well as *Pleminius*. But above all others, *Q. Fabius* girded at him, and said, That he was born
" even to corrupt and mar all military discipline. Thus (quoth he) in *Spain* also we have lost more
" by mutinies of our own souldiers, than by the wars with our enemies: for why? after a strange
" and forrain manner, and according to the guise of Kings, one while he cockered his souldiers
" and suffered them to have their will and head too much; otherwhiles he would be oversharp
" and cruel to them. After which rough words, he came upon them both thus with as heavy and
" sharp a sentence, namely, That *Pleminius* the Lieutenant by his consent should be had away K
" bound in chains to *Rome*, and there clapt up in prison, until his cause were heard, and judicially
" determined: and in case those challenges were true, that the Locrians have commenced against
" him, he should be put to death in prison, and his goods be confiscate and forfeited to the cham-
" ber of the City. As for *P. Scipio*, in that he presumed to depart out of his province without com-
" mission and direction from the Senat, he should be called home: and the Tribuns of the Com-
" mons dealt withal, to prefer a bill unto the people for his deprivation, and to put him besides
" his place of government. As touching the Locrians, his opinion was, That the Senat should
" give them their dispatch, and return them this answer: First, as touching the wrongs that they
" complained of, it was not the will and pleasure neither of the Senat nor of the people of *Rome*
" that they were done; who wished with all their hearts they had been undone: *Item*, that they L
" acknowledged them to be good men, to be their friends and allies, and so would accept of them
" and call them. As to their children, their wives, and other goods taken from them whatsoever,
" their mind was that they should be restored again: *Item*, that enquiry should be made what
" sums of money were taken out of the treasury of *Proserpina*, and that two-fold restitution
" should be made and laid up there in stead of it: *Item*, that there should be a solemn purgatory sa-
" crifice celebrated for amends and expiation of that sin; but so, as the colledge first of the Priests
" and Bishops should be consulted with, and their advice taken in that behalf, (considering the
" sacred treasure was disquieted, laid open and violated) namely, what manner of expiations and
" clensings were to be used, to what Gods, and with what beasts they should sacrifice: Finally,
" that all the souldiers which were at *Locri* should be transported over into *Sicily*; and in their M
" room four cohorts of allies from out of the Latin Nation should be brought to lye in garrison
" there. But every Senator could not be asked his opinion and sentence that day, by reason of
their difference and disagreement of minds so hotly incensed, some in favour, other in disavour of
*Scipio*. For besides the lewd part of *Pleminius*, and the calamity & oppression of the Locrians, they
began to speak against the apparel of the General himself, " How he went not like a souldier and
" a warrior, no, nor so much as like a Roman: walking up and down, and squaring it out in the
" schools and open places of exercise with his mantle and cloke, and in his slippers and pantofles,
" after the Greek fashion: And that he was over bookish, and set his mind too much upon read-
" ing; and took delight to be in the fencing school and wrestling-place: and all his men and guard
" about him, as idly and wantonly given as he, took joy in the pleasures & delightful seat of *Syra-* N
" *cusa*. As for *Carthage* and *Annibal*, they were quite forgotten: and his whole army through loos-
" nes and liberty was spilled and clean lost, like to that of late at *Sucro* in *Spain*, and all one with
" them at this time in *Locri*, more to be feared of their friends than their enemies. And albeit
these matters thus reported, were either true, or mingled with some truths, and therefore sounded
all very probable; yet the opinion of *Q. Metellus* prevailed: who in all other things gave his assent
unto *Maximus*, only as touching *Scipio*, he varied from him. " For I can not see any reason (quoth
" he) how this can stand, that whom erewhile the whole City chose at those young years of his,
" to be the only Captain for to recover *Spain*; of whom they made special choice to be their
" Consul, after that he had gotten *Spain* from the enemies, to end at once the Punick war; and
" in whom they reposed great hope, that he was the man to draw *Annibal* out of *Italy*, and to O
" subdue all *Affrick*: he now should all of a suddain be called for home out of his Province,
" as a person almost condemned, without pleading and hearing of his cause, as if he were ano-
" ther *Pleminius*: considering that even those lewd and cruel parts which the Locrians complained
" of, were by their own words and confession not committed whiles he was present in place nei-
" ther could he be charged and accused directly for ought else but only for his sufferance and con-
" nivency, in that upon a tender and respective indulgence of his Lieutenant, he was too remiss,

" and

A "and forbare to punish him with rigor. His advice therefore and opinion was, that *M. Pomponi-*
"*us* the Pretor, unto whose lot the government of *Sicily* was fallen, should within three dayes
"next and immediatly ensuing, take his journey into his province: and that the Consuls, should
"elect x. Commissioners or Delegates out of the Senate, such as they thought good of, and send
"them with the Pretor; likewise two Tribuns of the Commons and one Ædile: that the Pretor
"with with the assistance of these personages, should sit upon a commission to enquire and know
"the truth: and in case they could find that those things wherewith the Locrians found them-
"selves so much grieved, were done either by commandment and direction from *Scipio*, or with
"his will and consent; then to charge him to depart out of the province. But in case that *P. Sci-*
"*pio* were already passed over into *Affrick*; then the foresaid Tribuns of the Commons, and the
B "Ædile, joyning unto them two of the Delegates abovesaid (such as the Pretor deemed most
"meet) should sail into *Affrick*: and the Tribuns and Ædile bring with them *Scipio* from thence:
"and the two Commissioners have the charge and government of the army, until such time as a
"new L. General succeeded and came in place. But if *M. Pomponius* and the ten Delegates above-
"said, found that neither by the direction, nor with the will of *P. Scipio* these enormities were
"committed, then *P. Scipio* should remain still with the army, and go forward with the war as he
"intended. When this decree of the Senat was once passed, and an act made thereof they were in
hand with the Tribuns either to agree between themselves, or else to cast lots, which two of
them should go with the Pretor and the Delegates. And then the colledge of the Bishops were
consulted with, about the expiation and making satisfaction for those things which in the Temple
C of *Proserpina* at *Locri* were either handled polluted, or carried forth from thence. The Tribuns of
the commons that went the journey with the Pretor and the Commissioners, were *M. Claudius*
*Marcellus*, & *M. Cincius Alimentius*: who also had an Ædile of the Commons to assist them, whom
they might command, if *Scipio* would not obey the Pretor, whether he were in *Sicily*, or gone over
into *Affrick*, to apprehend and attach his body; and by vertue of their sacrosanct and inviolable
authority to bring him home with them. And first they resolved to go to *Locri* before they went
to *Messana*. But concerning *Pleminius*, the report goeth two wayes. Some say, that when he was
advertised what was intended and devised against him at *Rome*, he purposed to go to *Naples* into
banishment, and chanced by the way to light upon one of the Delegates abovesaid, and so by him
was perforce brought back to *Rhegium*. Others affirm, that *Scipio* himself sent out one of his
D Lieutenants, accompanied with 30 of the most noble Knights or Gentlemen that he had about
him, with a warrant to commit *Q. Fleminius*, and with him the principal Authors of the sedition,
and to lay them fast in irons. But certain it is that they all, were it by the commandment of *Scipio*
before, or then by warrant from the Pretor, were put in ward and safe-custody with the Rhegins.
The Pretor and the Delegats being come to *Locri*, first and formost, according to their commissi-
on, had a principal care of Religion. For all the holy money which they found by diligent search
in the custody either of *Pleminius*, or of the souldiers together with that which they themselves
had brought with them from *Rome*, they bestowed again in the privy vestries where the treasure
was kept: and besides, they made a solemn purgatory sacrifice for the Sacriledge. After this, the
Pretor assembled the souldiers together, and commanded them to carry their Ensigns out of the
E City: where himself encamped upon the plain; and proclaimed that no souldier, as he would an-
swer at his uttermost peril, should either tarry behind, or bring forth any thing with him but his
own. Then he gave the Locrians leave, that every man should lay hold upon that which he knew
to be his own: and if ought were not forth-coming and to be seen, to challenge and put in his
claim for it. And above all things, his pleasure was, that all bodies of free persons whatsoever,
should without delay be restored unto them, and if any made default of restitution, he should a-
bide the smart and be grievously punished. Then he assembled the Locrians to an audience, and
pronounced before them all, That the people and Senat of *Rome* granted unto them their ancient
liberty, and their own laws: giving notice unto them, that whosoever had any thing to say against
*Pleminius*, or any other person by way of accusation, he should follow him to *Rhegium*, and there
F give attendance. Also if they were desirous to make a publick and open complaint of *Scipio*, na-
mely, That the facts committed at *Locri* most impiously and wickedly, against both God & man,
passed either under his warrant, or with his leave and liking, then they should send Embassadors
to *Messana*, where he together with his Councel and assistants would give them audience of al
matters, and determine accordingly. The Locrians yeelded great thanks to the Pretors and to the
Delegats or Commissioners: as also to the Senat and people of *Rome*: and said, "They would go
"to accuse *Pleminius*. As for *Scipio*, although he set little to heart the injuries and wrongs
"done unto their City, yet he was a man whose friendship they desired rather to embrace, than to
"entertain his enmity. And this they knew assuredly, that so many lewd pranks, and so horrible
G "parts there plaid, were neither by the direction nor yet with the connivency and toleration of
"*P. Scipio*: but his only fault was that either he trusted *Pleminius* overmuch, or credited them too
"little. And some men (say they) be of this nature, that they will have a careful regard for to pre-
"vent sin, and an earnest desire that no offence be committed, rather than courage and heart to
"punish and correct faults when they are once done and past. Hereupon both the Pretors & also
the Commissioners with him, thought themselves well eased of no small burden and charge of ma-
king farther inquisition and sitting upon the cause of *Scipio*. But *Pleminius* and two and thirty per-
sons more with him, they condemned and sent bound in chains to *Rome*. They themselves went

also

alſo in perſon to *Scipio*, to be eye-witneſſes and to make report at *Rome* of their own knowledge, H
as touching the manner of apparel, the idle life of the General, and the looſe, diſſolute, and cor-
rupt military diſcipline of his ſouldiers; ſo riſe and common in many mens mouths. Againſt their
coming to *Syracuſe*, *Scipio* was provided of deeds to approve his innocency, and not of words to
excuſe his folly. He gave order for all his forces there to meet, and for his armado to be in readi-
neſs, as if he were that day to give battail both by Land and Sea to the Carthaginians. The very
ſame day that they arrived thither, they were friendly received and courteouſly entertained by
*Scipio*. The morrow after he ſhewed them all his forces, as well for Land as Sea ſervice, not only
furniſhed, well appointed, and in readines; but the one ſort, namely the land ſouldiers, running and
charging one another at turney; and the Sea ſervitors likewiſe within the haven, repreſenting a na-
val combat with their ſhips. Then he led the Pretor and the other commiſſioners all about, to ſee I
the arſenal and armory, the ſtore-houſes, the garners of corn, and all other proviſion and furniture
for the war. At the view and ſight whereof, they were ſtriken with ſuch exceeding admiration,
both of every thing in particular, and of all in general, that they were fully perſwaded, that either
by the conduct of that Captain and valour of that army, the Carthaginians might be overcome
and conquered, or by none other in the world: yea, and they willed him in the name of God,
without more ado to paſs over into *Affrick*, and with all ſpeed poſſible to make the people of
*Rome* to enjoy the effect of that hope which they conceived that very day, on which all the Cen-
turies nominated and declared him with one voice the former Conſul of the twain: and with ſo
joyous hearts they took their leave and departed from thence, as if they were to bring tidings to
*Rome* of a glorious victory; and not to make relation and report of a magnifical and ſtately prepa- K
ration for war. *Pleminius* and all they that were likewiſe attaint and guilty, after they came to
*Rome*, were immediately clapt up and laid faſt in priſon. At the firſt time when they were brought
out before the people by the Tribuns, they could find no grace, no favour nor mercy amongſt
them, their minds were ſo forſtalled and poſſeſſed aforehand, with the conſideration of the woful
miſeries and calamities of the poor Locrians. But afterwards, being produced oftner unto them as
the hatred conceived againſt him, began to wear and decay, ſo mens anger grew to aſſwage and
ſoften: beſides the pitious plight and deformed hew of *Pleminius* there preſent, and the remem-
brance withal, of *Scipio* now abſent, gat him ſome favour with the people. Yet he died in priſon,
before his cauſe was judicially tried, and definitive ſentence of him paſſed. *Clodius Licinius* repor-
teth in this third book of the Roman ſtories, that this *Pleminius* in the time of the games which L
*Affricanus* ſecond time Conſul, exhibited at *Rome*, according to a vow by him made, went about
(by the help of ſome whom he had corrupted and waged for money) to ſet the City on fire in di-
vers places, thereby to have opportunity to break priſon and make an eſcape: but when his wicked
purpoſe was once diſcloſed and brought to light, he was condemned and awarded by an act of
Senat to the dungeon *Tullianum*. But as for *Scipio*, there were no words made of him, neither
come he in queſtion any where elſe but in the Senat: where all with one accord, both commiſſi-
oners and Tribuns, by extolling and magnifying with glorious words, the navy, the army and the
Captain, brought it ſo about, that the Senat thought good and were agreed, that with all conve-
nient ſpeed *Scipio* ſhould over into *Affrick*, and have liberty granted out of thoſe armies which
were in *Sicily*, to make choice of thoſe whom he would himſelf tranſport over with him into M
*Affrick*, and whom he would leave behind for the guard and defence of the Province.

Whiles theſe things paſſed thus amongſt the Romans; the Carthaginians alſo having ſpent all
the winter time in much ſuſpition and continual fear, hearkning to all news, and enquiring fear-
fully of every meſſenger, and keeping watch upon all their promontories and high hills by the Sea
ſide, beſtirred themſelves likewiſe, and procured the ſociety and alliance of K. *Syphax*, a matter of
no ſmall importance for the ſafeguard and defence of *Africk*, in hope and confidence of whoſe a-
mity and friendſhip eſpecially, they were perſwaded, that *Scipio* intended to ſail over into *Africk*.
Now there had been already between *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſgo* and the King, not only familiar
acquaintance by way of kind welcoming and reciprocal hoſpitality, ſince the time (as hath been
ſaid before) that *Scipio* and *Aſdrubal* fortuned to meet at one time together in the Kings houſe, N
when they came out of *Spain*; but alſo ſome treaty was already begun of alliance and affinity, and
a motion made, that the King ſhould eſpouſe and wed the daughter of *Aſdrubal*. For the aſſu-
rance of this matter, and the appointment of a certain day for the ſolemniſing of the marriage (for
now the Damoſel was ready for an husband, and mariageable) *Aſdrubal* took a journey, and ſee-
ing the King burning in love (as theſe Numidians of all other barbarous nations are moſt given
that way, and exceeding amorous) he ſent for the maiden from *Carthage*, and haſtened the wed-
ding. And among other congratulations that paſſed between, to the end, that beſides the private
affirnity there ſhould be alſo a publick league, there was an alliance concluded between the peo-
ple of *Carthage* and the King, by giving and taking their faithful promiſe interchangeably and ob-
liging themſelves by a ſolemn oath one to the other to obſerve it as well offenſive as defenſive O
and to have the ſame enemies, and the ſame friends for ever. But *Aſdrubal* remembring both the
friendſhip begun between *Scipio* and the King, and alſo how fickle and variable the natures of the
Barbarians are; and fearing if *Scipio* ſhould paſs over into *Africk* that this bond of wedlock would
not be ſtrong enough to hold the King in; took the time whiles this Numidian Prince was en-
flamed with his freſh love, induced him what with reaſons, and what with the fair words and al-
lurements of his young ſpouſe, to ſend Embaſſadors into *Sicily* to *Scipio*, for to adviſe him not to

paſs

A pass over into *Africk*, nor to relie upon any confidence of him, nor yet to build upon his former promises. For himself was not only linked in matrimony with a Citizen of *Carthage*, the daugher "of that *Asdrubal* whom he saw entertained as a guest in his court, but also joyned in a publick "league with the people of *Carthage*. And first he exhorted him that the Romans would war "with the Carthaginians far from *Africk*, as hitherto they had done; for fear lest he should of "necessity be forced to have an hand, and intermeddle in their quarels; and so while he desired to avoid the danger and hostility of one part or other, be driven at length to side all one way: giv- "ing him more plainly to understand, that if *Scipio* would not forbear *Africk*, but needs come with "an army against *Carthage*, then must he necessarily fight in defence of the land of *Africk*, wherein himself was born, and for the native country, for the father and house of his own wife. With this B commission and direction were certain Orators sent unto *Scipio*, who met with him at *Syracuse*, and there delivered their message. *Scipio*, albeit he was disappointed greatly of his ground-work that he had laid for his wars in *Africk*, and put besides his good hopes; gave the Embassadours letters into *Africk* unto the King, and sent them back again in all hast, before the thing were published and come abroad. In which letters he requested him earnestly to be advised and bethink himself that he brake not the rights either of friendship & hospitality begun with him, or of the league and society entred with the people of *Rome*: nor violated justice and faithfull promise made by giving right hands: nor yet beguile and abuse the gods, the witnesses and judges of all covenants and agreements made. But for as much as the coming of those Numidians could not be concealed (for they went all about the City, and were daily conversant in the Generall his lodging: and if it C should have been kept secret wherabout they came, it was to be doubted lest the truth the more it was smothered and dissembled, the more it would breake forth and come to light: and so the army was to stand in fear, that they were to war at once both with the king and Carthaginians. *Scipio* therefore buzzed aforehand into mens heads, false devised matters, and so withdrew them from the understanding of the truth indeed. He assembled all his souldiers together, and said unto them; "that now it was no longer staying and trifling out the time: bearing them in hand, that the "Kings, his allies and conferats, importuned him to set over into *Africk* with all convenient speed; "that *Masanissa* beforetime himself in person came to *Lælius*, grieving and complaining that the "time ran thus on in delaies and doing nothing: & *Syphax* now sent his Embassadors, musing much "and wondring what the cause should be of so long temporising: and requiring that either the ar- D "my without more ado, should be sent over at once: or else if their minds and purposes were chan- "ged, to certifie him so much, that he likewise might provide for himself and his kingdome. And "therefore he did them to wit and understand, that he intended (now that he was sufficiently pro- "vided and furnished of all things; and considering that the impresse might abide no farther stay,) "to conduct his armado to *Lilybæum*, to wait the first good day of wind and weather, to take the "seas for a bon-voiage, and with Gods grace and favour to set sail for *Africk*. His letters he dis- patched to *Marcus Pomponius* to this effect, that if he thought so good, he should repair to *Lily- bæum*, to the end they might commune and consult together, what legions especially, and what number of souldiers he should transport over with him into *Africk*. In like manner, he sent a la- bout the maritime and sea coasts, to stay all the carricks and ships of burden, and to bring them a- E way at once to *Lilybæum*. Now when all the ships and serviceable men in *Sicily* were assembled to *Lilybæum*, so as neither the City was able to receive the multitude of souldiers, nor the haven contein the number of the vessels; so earnestly minded they were all, and so hotly set upon their voiage into *Africk*, that they seemed as if they were conducted not to fight a war, but to enjoy the assured rewards of a victory. But especially above all others, the souldiers remaining of the Cannian army, were verily perswaded, that under this captain, or else none, by valiantly quitting themselves in the service of the Common-weal, they should be able to end and finish their ignominous and shamefull souldiery. And *Scipio* himself made no base account of those kind of souldiers, as knowing full well that the defeat received at *Cannæ*, was not occasioned by their cowardise: neither were there throughout the Roman army any souldiers so ancient and of so long con- F tinuance, or so well experienced not only in many and sundry foughten fields, but also in the assaulting of towns and Cities. And these Legions of *Cannæ* were the fift and sixt in order. Now when he had once resolved and given out, that he would transport them over with him into *Africk*, then he took a particular view of them, man by man. And having culled out those, and left them behind, whom he supposed unmeet and unsufficient, he substituted in their place those whom he had brought with him out of *Italy*: and so fully he supplied and made up his number of those Legions, that either of them had six thousand and two hundred foot, and three hundred men of armes. He chose also out of the same army of *Cannæ*, both horsemen and footmen, of the allies and confederats of the Latine nation. What power of souldiers in the whole were set over into *Africk*, writers differ not a little in the number. In some authours I find, that they G were ten thousand foot, and two thousand and two hundred horse: in others, fifteen thousand footmen, and fifteen hundred horsemen. In some records again, they were more by one halfe and better, namely, that of horse and foot there were embarked five and thirty thousand. And others there be that have set down no number at all, amongst whom, as in a matter so doubtfull and uncertain, I would my self be counted for one. But *Cælius* for his part, as he forbeareth to put down any number at all, so he seemed for to imply an infinite multitude of them, in that he saith that with a cry and shout that the souldiers set up, the very fouls of the air fell down to the ground:

and he that had ſeen the multitude of them when they went a ſhipboard, would have ſaid there H had not been a man left behindeither in *Italy* or in *Sicily*. Well how many or how few ſoever they were, *Scipio* himſelf took the charge to ſee the ſouldiers embarked in good order, and without any tumult. As for the ſailers and mariners, who were forced before to ſhipboord, *C. Lælius* the Admirall of the navy, kept them ſtill and quiet within their ſhips. *M. Pomponius* the Pretor had commiſſion for to furniſh the armado with corn and victuals; who made proviſion of food and ſuſtenance for 45 daies: of which there was of baked meats and other viands already dreſſed, as much as would ſuffice for 15 daies. Now when they were all embarked, he ſent about to all the ſhips, certain pinnaces or cock-boats, and commanded all the pilots and maſters of every ſhip, with two ſouldiers apeece, to come into market place, there to receive their charge. When they were all met and aſſembled together, firſt he enquired of them whether they had provided and taken into I their veſſels freſh water ſufficient both for man and beaſt, to hold out ſo many daies as their corn would ſerve? and when anſwer was made that they had water in their ſhips to laſt five and forty daies: then he charged and commanded the ſouldiers to keep ſilence and be quiet during their navigation, and without any ſtrife and contention to be obedient unto the mariners, and willing to help in any miniſtery and ſervice whatſoever, ſaying, that himſelf and *L. Scipio* would keep on the right wing with twenty ſtrong ſhips with braſen beak heads, and *C. Lælius* the Admirall with *M. Porcius* the Treaſurer on the left, with as many of the ſame ſort, to waſt over and guard the hulks and ſhips of burden: willing and requiring that there ſhould be light in all their veſſels, namely, that every braſen headed ſhip ſhould have one; each Carrick twain; and the Admirall ſhip, wherein the Generall was, three lights, for a ſpeciall mark, to be diſcerned from the reſt in K the night. And ſo he commanded the Pilots to ſteer and direct their courſe for *Emporia*. [The territory hereabout is moſt fertile and fruitfull, whereby the whole country aboundeth in plenty of all things: the barbarous peaſants (as commonly it falleth out in battell and plentifull lands) are cowards, and unapt for war, and it was thonght they might be ſurpriſed and ſubdued before any ſuccour could come from *Carthage*.] When theſe directions were given, they were commanded to retire to their ſhips, and the next morrow at the ſignall, with the help of the gods to weigh anchor, hoiſe up ſails and away. Many Roman Armadoes had aforetime ſet out of *Sicily*, and the very ſame port: but never any voiage all the time of that war, no, nor during the former, made ſo goodly a ſhew, and was ſo much looked on. And no marvell, for moſt of their other fleets were ſent out only to rob and to fetch in booties and prizes. And yet if a man would eſteem na- L vies by the number and greatneſſe of ſhips, there had been aforetime two Conſuls together, who went over with a power of two complete armies: & in every of thoſe fleets therewere welnett as many war ſhips with braſen beak heads, as hulks & carricks in thoſe that *Scipio* tranſported over. For beſides fifty long ſhips of war, he had not all out four hundred ſhips of burden and paſſage to tranſport over his army with. But if we would compare both wars together, the ſecond ſeemed unto the Romans more ſharp and cruel then the former; both becauſe it was fought within *Italy*, and alſo by reaſon of ſo great overthrows of ſo many armies, together with the loſſe and death of their Generall captains. Moreover great expectation there was of *Scipio* the Commander and Generall of this voiage, a man much renowned and talked of, both in regard of his own noble acts of cavalry, and alſo of a ſpeciall and ſingular fortune that followed him in all his exploits; where- M by he grew every day more glorious then other: which cauſed all mens hearts to be ſet upon him; beſide his very reſolution and mind that he carried, to paſs in *Africk*, which all the while of that war entred not into the head of any Captaine before him: in that he gave it out abroad, That he meant to go over, with intent to draw and fetch *Annibal* out of *Italy*, and to divert and tranſlate the war into *Africk*, and there to finiſh and make an end of it. There came running unto the haven to ſee the ſetting out of his Armado, the whole multitude, not only of the inhabitants of *Lilybæum*, but alſo the train of all the Embaſſages out of *Sicily*, which were come together for to accompany *Scipio*, and to do him honour, and alſo attended upon the Pretor of the province *M. Pomponius*. Over and beſides, thoſe legions alſo which were left behind in *Sicily*, went forward to bear their fellow ſouldiers company. So that not only the navy N was a goodly proſpect unto the beholders upon the land, but alſo the ſtrand ſo overſpread all about with numbers of people, made a brave and pleaſant ſhew unto theſe paſſengers, that were in the ſhips. When day light once appeared, *Scipio* from out of the Admirall (after ſilence commanded by voice of the crier) praied in this wiſe "O ye gods and goddeſſes all, that haunt and inhabit "ſeas and lands both, I beſeech and pray you to vouchſafe, that all that ever hath been done alrea- "dy, is now intended, or ſhall hereafter be enterpriſed, during my conduct and government, "may ſpeed well, and turn to the good of my ſelf, the people and commonalty of *Rome*, our "allies, and eſpecially thoſe of the Latine nation; who by land, by ſea, by rivers, follow the di- "rection, command, government, and fortune of my ſelf, and of the people of *Rome*, and that "in all our actions ye would be good, gracious, favourable, and helpfull unto us, and advance O "all our proceedings: that ye would grant us the victory over our enemies: and after we have "ſubdued them, to continue ſafe and ſound: and adorned with their goodly ſpoils, laden with their "rich pillage, to return home all together with glorious triumph: & give us the hand and oppor- "tunity to be revenged of our foes and mortall enemies: and deign me and the people of *Rome* "that power and ſtrength, to execute upon the City of the Carthaginians thoſe fearfull exam- "ples of cruelty, which the people of *Carthage* intended to practiſe and bring upon our City

The praier of *Scipio*

and

A and ſtate. After theſe prayers thus pronounced, he took the raw inwards and purtenance of the beaſt killed for ſacrifice (as the maner is) and flung them into the ſea: and with that by ſound of trumpet, gave the ſignall of departure.

Now were they under ſail: having a good great gale of a forewind, they ſoon loſt the ſight of land. In the afternoon, there began to fall a thick miſt; by reaſon whereof the ſhips could hardly avoid running one upon another. But when they were once in the main and deep ſea, the wind became more mild: and all the night following, the ſame dark miſt continued ſtill. After the ſun was once up it brake and diſperſed, and then the wind again grew big and high, by which time they might diſcover land. And not long after, the pilot ſaid unto *Scipio*, that they were not B full too leagues from *Africk*; and that he ſaw well and diſcerned the cape or point of *Mercurius*: and if his will and pleaſure were thither to direct their courſe, preſently the whole armado ſhould be in the rode. *Scipio* ſo ſoon as he was within view of land, after he had made his prayers unto the gods, to bleſſe this firſt diſcovery of *Africk* to his own good and the benefit of the common-weal: gave commandment to ſail ſtill, and to put with the ſhore and ride at anchor in ſome bay beneath. So they made way with the ſame wind. But about that very time as the day before, they were miſted again, and loſt the ſight of land. And as the fog increaſed, the wind fell: the night alſo that came upon them beſides, made all things more doubtfull. Whereupon they caſt anchor, for fear that the ſhips ſhould hit one againſt another, or run aground. When day light aroſe, the ſame wind was up again, but the foggy miſt ſcattred; and then they might ſee plainly all the coaſt of *Africk*. *Scipio* then demanded what promontory it was that he ſaw next; and hearing that the name of it C was *The head Pulchrum*, [or *The fair Cape*] the name (quoth he) pleaſeth me, and the preſage thereof I like full well; even thither put the ſhips aland, and ſo the armado entred the bay, and all the hoſt was ſet aſhore. Thus have I reported that they had a proſperous voyage without any fearfull danger, or much trouble; giving credit herein to very manny writers, as well Greeks as Latines. Only *Cælius* (ſetting aſide that the ſhips were not caſt away and drowned amid the ſurging waves) writeth how other dangers both of water and weather encountred them: in ſo much as at the laſt the Armado was driven by tempeſt from the coaſts of *Africk*, and fell upon the Iland * *Ægimurus*, from whence they had much ado to recover their direct courſe again; and finally when the ſhips were at hand to ſink under the water, then the ſouldiers faring like men at point to ſuffer ſhipwrack, without lience and commandment of their Generall and without their armor, D in great fear made ſhift with boats to recover the ſhore. * *Gaiette*

The Romans thus being landed, pitched their tents among the hils next adjoyning. By which time the terror and fearfull fright of this their arrivall was not entred only into the Maritime coaſts and territories bounding upon the ſea, firſt upon the diſcovery of the fleet, and afterwards by reaſon of the rumor and tumult of the army, as it came aſhore; but alſo ſpred forward as far as to the good towns and very Cities. For not only the high waies were all filled and overſpred with multitudes of men, women and children, who went by heaps together one with another; but alſo the country peaſants drave before them whole herds of cattel: as a man would have ſaid that had ſeen it, how all *Africk* was like to be abandoned at once on a ſuddain: in ſuch ſort, as they put the Cities indeed in greater fear & perplexity then they were themſelves, and eſpecially *Carthage* above E all others: where there was no leſſe trouble and hurliburly, then if it had been ſurpriſed and forced by the enemie. For ſince that time that *M. Attilius Regulus*, and *L. Manlius* were Coſſ. for the ſpace almoſt of fifty yeers, they had not once ſo much as ſeen an army of Romans, but only certain fleets of rovers and men of war, who had landed at times, and made ſome rodes into the lands lying upon the ſea ſide: and when they had harried ſome prizes, ſuch as came next hand, they ever were retired again to the ſhips, before the alarme could be given to raiſe the country. The greater therefore now was both the flight and fright within the City. And to ſpeak a truth, good cauſe they had; by reaſon that there was neither at home in readineſs an army of puiſſance to encounter the enemy, nor a captain of valour to conduct and lead an army. *Aſdrubal* was the ſon of *Giſgo*, for nobility and high parentage, for honour and renown, for wealth and riches, and beſides for the new affinity then contracted with King, was of all others the perſonage by many degrees, yea, and the only man of the whole State. And him they remembred very well to have been foiled, diſcomfited and beaten out of the field in *Spain*, by the ſelf-ſame *Scipio* in divers and ſundry battels. Alſo they made accompt, they were no more able to match the Captains man for man, than to compare and ſet their tumultuary power raiſed in haſt, with the ſtaid and experienced army of the Romans. Therefore they gave the alarm preſently, as if *Scipio* were ready to aſſault *Carthage* out of hand: the gates with all ſpeed were ſhut and made ſure: the wals manned with ſouldiers: the *corps de guard* ſet: watch and ward kept: and all the night following the Sentinels duly relieved and mainteined. The next day, 500 light horſe were ſent out as eſpials and vancurriers to diſcover and ſcour the quarters to the ſea ſide; and withall to impeach them G that were a diſbarking and coming land: who chanced to light on the Romans *corps de guard*. For *Scipio* had ſent away the fleet already to *Vtica*, and before he was gone up into the land far from the ſea, had encamped upon the next hils thereby, placed guards of horſemen in convenient places, and put out certain forragers into the fields and villages for to raiſe booties. Theſe having entred skirmiſh with the Carthaginian cornet and horſemen, ſlew a few of them in the very conflict, but moſt of them as they fled and were followed in chaſe, amongſt whom was *Hanno* alſo the provoſt marſhall, a noble young gentleman. *Scipio* not only waſted the country all about, but alſo

also wan a City of the Affricans that stood neerest, and was of sufficient wealth: where besides other pillage which was presently imbarked in the ships of burden and sent into *Sicily*, there were taken prisoners eight thousand polles of free and bond one with another. But the greatest joy and contentment that the Romans took in this new entrance and beginning of their warlike affairs, was for the coming of *Masanissa*; whom some report to have presented himself with 200 horse and no more: but the most do write that he came with 2000. But for as much as this *Masanissa* was of all other Kings for his time the greatest Prince and most puissant, and withall he that stood the Romans in best stead and helped their state, none like unto him: me thinks it were worth their labor, and would quit for all the paines, to digresse a litile out of the way, for to shew and declare in what variety of alternative fortune he was tossed, both in the losse and also in the recovery of the inheritance of his fathers kingdome.

This *Masanissa*, whiles he was employed during the wars of *Spain*, in the defence and quarrell of the Carthaginians; his father, whose name was *Gala*, hapned to die: and then the kingdome fell by descent, according to the custome and manner of the Numidians unto *Desalces* the late Kings brother, a man of great years and very aged. And not long after, when *Desalces* also was departed his life, *Capusa* the elder of his two sons, (for the other was a very child) succeeded in his fathers Kingdome. But for as much as he the foresaid *Capusa* maintained his royall state and throne, more by reason of the authority and reputation that he carried among his friends and favorits, than by power and strength: there arose up in arms one named *Mezetulus* (who also was descended of royall bloud, but of an house that was ever of the adverse and contrarie side) and contended in much variety of fortune about the crown, with those who then swayed the sceptet. This *Mezetulus* having gathered a power of his tenants, followers, and peasants of the country (with whom he carried a great stroke and was highly esteemed, by reason of the hatred that they bare unto the Kings race) encamped openly and shewed himself in action, yea, and forced the King to come into the field, and to trie the title of the crown in a set battell by dint of sword. In which conflict, *Capusa*, together with many of his peers and nobles were slain, and the whole nation and seignory of the Massilians, was reduced under the rule and obedience of *Mezetulus*. Howbeit he forbare to be called King; and contenting himself with the mean name of Tutor or Protector, gave the Kings stile to the child *Lacumax*, who only remained alive of the Kings issue and line. He took to wife a noble dame and lady of *Carthage*, *Annibal* his neece by his sister who had been lately wedded unto King *Desalces*; hoping thereby to enter into league and alliance with the Carthaginians: and besides, for to renew the ancient familiarity and amity with *Syphax*, he sent Embassadors unto him of purpose. Thus made he himself strong aforehand against *Masanissa*.

*Masanissa* likewise for his part, being advertised of his uncles death, and also how his cousin german was deceased, crossed the seas out of *Spain* over to *Mauritania*, at what time as *Bocchar* was King of the Moors. At whose hands by humble suite and importunat praiers in most lowly manner, he obteined a power of 4500 Moores to accompany him in the journey, for otherwise to employ them in war he might not. And after he had dispatched a messenger afore-hand to those that were his fathers friends and wel-willers to himself, by that time that he was come with them to the confines of his realm, there met him almost 500 Numidans. Having therefore sent back again the Moores from thence unto the King, according to covenant, albeit there was assembled together a smaller number of people then he hoped and looked for, and not so sufficient that he durst adventure upon so great an enterprise; and supposing withall, that by entring into some action, and by travell and endeavour, he should gather strength still to perform some great exploit, he encountred at *Thapsus* the yong king *Lacumax*, as he journied unto *Syphax*. And when the Kings company in great fear fled into the town, *Masanissa* both at the first assault won the said town, and also of the Kings train received some that yeelded themselves, and slew othersome that made resistance in their own defence. But the greatest part with the child himself the young Prince, got away in that tumult and escaped unto *Syphax*, unto whom at first they intended their journey. The fame of this small thing, so happily atchieved in the first beginning and entrance of his affairs, caused all the Numidians to revolt and side with *Masanissa*. So as there flocked unto him from all parts of the country, and out of the villages, the old souldiers of King *Gala*, and incited the yong Prince and set him on to recover his fathers kingdome. Now in number of souldiers, *Mezetulus* was a good deal superior: for both himself and the same army still entire, with which he had vanquished *Capusa*, besides had some others that after the slaughter of the King, he had received upon their yeelding: and also young *Lacumax* the infant, had brought great aids from *Syphax*: so that *Mezetulus* was fifteen thousand foot, and ten thousand horse strong. With whom *Masanissa*, albeit he were nothing so puissant either in foot or horse, fought a battell; yet atchieved he the victory through the approved valour of the old souldiers, and his own politick wisedome, being a captain well experienced and exercised both in the Roman and Punick wars. The young Prince together with his tutour and protectour, and some small number of Massilians, fled and escaped into the territories of the Carthaginians. Thus *Masanissa* having recovered his fathers Kingdome, and foreseeing that there remained still behind a far greater bickerment and encounter with *Syphax*, & taking it to be the best course and policy for him, to be reconciled and made friends with his cousin german: addressed certain messengers both unto the child, for to put him in good hope and assurance, that if he would submit and yeeld himselfe under the protection of

A of *Maſaniſſa*, he ſhould live in as honourable place and degree with him, as *Deſalces* ſometime had done with his father *Gala*: and alſo to *Mezetulus* to give their word and promiſe unto him, not only for impunity of all treſpaſſes, but alſo for faithfull reſtitution of all things that were his. By which means he perſwaded both of them to take part with him: who made choice of a mean eſtate at home in their own country, rather than to live in exile: notwithſtanding the Carthaginians laboured all that ever they could to the contrary.

*Aſdrubal* hapned at that time when theſe occurrences fell out, to make his abode with *Syphax*: who finding the Numidian King *Syphax* reſolved upon this point, and fully perſwaded, That it mattered not, nor imported himſelf much, whether *Lacumax* or *Maſaniſſa* were King of the Maſſilians, replied unto him and ſaid, that he was fouly deceived if he thought that *Maſaniſſa* B would keep himſelf within thoſe terms, that either his father *Gala* or his uncle *Deſalces*, held them contented with: No, no, (quoth he) there is much more towardneſſe in him and far greater ſignes of hauty mind and forward wit and ſpirit apear in him, then ever ſhewed in any of his houſe and line before him. Full often hath he in *Spain* made good proof of rare valour and ſingular proweſſe, as well unto his friends as his enemies. And let both *Syphax* and the Charthaginians look as well about them as they can, for unleſſe they put out this ſparkle of fire betimes, and even at the firſt beginning, it will be their chance to be caught therewith, when it ſhall burn forth; and able they ſhall not be to help the matter and quench the rage thereof. Mary, as yet his ſtrength is ſmall and ſlender, his forces frail, tender, and feeble, and not well united together to maintain his ſtate, unſelted as he is in his Kingdome. Thus he importuned him ſtill by reaſons and perC ſwaſions, until at length he reduced him to lead forth an army into the confines of the Maſſilians and there in that territory, about the title whereof he had oftentimes not only contended by plea and words with *Gala*, but alſo by arms and dint of ſword, to encamp himſelf as in his rightfull and undoubted inheritance: with this direction, that if any came againſt him to warn him off the ground, then to trie his intereſt by ſword: which was the only way to be taken and moſt for the purpoſe: but in caſe for fear of him they quit the poſſeſſion quietly, then to advance forward into the heart of the kingdome; for either the Maſſilians would without battell render themſelves under ſubjection, or elſe in a pitched field not be able to ſtand out againſt him. Upon theſe ſuggeſtions *Syphax* was incited and pricked on; inſomuch as he made war upon *Maſaniſſa*, and in the firſt battell diſcomfited and put to flight the Maſſilians. And *Maſaniſſa* with ſome few horſmen D fled out the field and eſcaped unto a mountain which the inhabitants call *Balbus*. Certain whole families and houſholds with their ſheds and tents, together with their cattell (which is all their riches) went after and followed the King. But all the multitude of the Maſſilians beſides, did homage unto *Syphax* and came under his obedience. This mountain aforeſaid, which theſe exiles that fled their country were poſſeſſed of, was plentifull of graſſe well watered; and being ſo good for paſture to feed their cattell, it yeelded ſufficient maintenance and food abundant, for the people that uſed to live upon fleſh and milk. From hence they began at firſt to ſteal out by night and make rodes: but afterwards in open day light to rob and ſpoil all the country about: but above all others to fire and burn the teritory of the Carthaginians: both becauſe there were more prizes to be had from thence, than from the Numidians; & alſo for that it was more ſafe robbing and harrying there E without danger. This they practiſed ſo long, ſo licentiouſly, and in ſuch ſcornfull manner, that now they would carrie their booties to the ſea ſide, and make markets & ſale therof to the merchants: and for this purpoſe divers ſhips arrived thither to traffick: yea, and otherwhiles there were many of the Carthaginians cut off and came ſhort home, and more of them were either ſlain or taken priſoners then oftentimes in open war and ſet battels. The Carthaginians bewailed and complained of theſe matters unto *Syphax*, and ſpurred him forward (diſpoſed well enough as he was of himſelf to revenge) for to purſue the reliques of the war, in his own perſon. But foraſmuch as it was not thought to ſtand with the royall Majeſtie of a King, to chaſe and hunt a rabble of vagF rant theeves about the mountains; therefore *Bocchar* one of the Kings Captains, a right hardy and valorous man, was choſen to do the feat, and to perform that ſervice. Who had the conduct of four thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe: and was promiſed beſides, great gifts and mighty rewards, in caſe he brought away the head of *Maſaniſſa*: but if he could take him priſoner alive, that were alone indeed, and a peerleſſe peece of work, of ineſtimable joy beyond all meaſure. He waiting his time when the enemies were ſtragling retcheleſſely abroad, came upon them at unawares and charged them, and having ſingled from the guard of the armed ſouldiers, a huge number both of people and cattel, he forced *Maſaniſſa* himſelf with ſome few horſmen to take the top of the mountain. From whence after he had ſent away unto the King (as if the war had now been at point of an end) not only a great booty of people and cattell, the which he had taken, but alſo part of his forces, as being much greater in proportion, then for to diſpatch the remnants of a war, accompanyed with no more then five hundred foot, and two hundred G horſe, he purſued *Maſaniſſa* being come down from the hill tops, and there having beſet and ſtopped the paſſages at both ends, encloſed him within the ſtreight and narrow vally. Where there was committed a great exceution and ſlaughter of the Maſſilians, but *Maſaniſſa* with fifty horſemen and not above, got away through the unknown and hidden cranks of the mountain, and eſcaped the hands of the purſuers. Howbeit, *Bocchar* traced him ſtill, and followed him at heels ſo narrowly, that neer to the City *Clupea* he overtook him in the plains, where he ſo ſtreightly environed him about, that he killed all his company every one, ſave onely four horſemen.

With whom in that tumult he let ſlip as it were out of his hands *Maſaniſſa* alſo himſelf ſore H
wounded and loſt him clean. As he fled, he had ſtill in his eie certain cornets of horſmen diſperſed
all over the plain, and ſome of them croſſing the waies overthwart to meet the enemy at every
turn, and to intercept him. But he and the four horſmen with him fled forwards ſtill, and took the
great river before them: for their fear and fright was greater then to make any ſtay at the bank
ſide, but to put their horſes to it, and plunge in: where they were carried with the current of the
ſtream and born to a ſide: two of them in the ſight of the enemies were ſwallowed up of the deep
burlpits; himſelf alſo was ſuppoſed to have periſhed with them, but he and the other two horſmen
beſides caught hold of certain twigs of oiſiers that grew under the banks on the farther ſide. So
*Bocchar* made an end of farther purſuit, as neither daring to take the river, nor beleeving that he
had any enemy for to chaſe. And thus returned he to the King with falſe news, that *Maſaniſſa* I
was drowned. And divers poſts and curriers were ſent out to *Carthage*, to report theſe exceeding
joyfull tidings. This rumour and fame of *Maſaniſſa* his death being noiſed all over *Africk*
wrought diverſly in the minds of men. But *Maſaniſſa* keeping himſelf cloſe in a ſecret cave,
whiles he cured his hurt with certain herbes, lived for ſome daies by the foraging and robbery of
the other two horſmen. So ſoon as the wound was once healed up and skinned over, and that he
thought himſelf able to abide the ſitting and ſhaking of his horſe, with exceeding courage & bold-
neſſe he ſet forward again to claim and recover his kingdome. And having in the way as he paſſed
gotten together unto him not above forty horſe, by that time he was come among the Maſſilians,
and gave out openly who he was, he prevailed ſo much with them, that as well in regard of their
ancient favour and love toward him, as alſo for the unexpected joy that they ſaw him alive and K
found, whom they verily beleeved to have been dead; within few daies there were gathered and
aſſembled unto him 6000 foot, and 4000 horſe. So as not only he was reſtored again, and put in
full poſſeſſion of his fathers Kingdome, but alſo waſted and ſpoiled the confederat nations of the
Carthaginians, yea, and the frontiers and confines of the Maſæſyli, which belongeth to the King-
dome and dominion of *Syphax*. Having thus provoked *Syphax* to war, he ſet him down and en-
camped between the Cities of *Cirtha* and *Hippo*, upon the ridge of certain hils, places of advantage
and commodious in all reſpects. Then *Syphax* ſuppoſing it a greater peece of work, and of more
importance then to be managed by his captains, ſent part of his forces under the conduct of his
ſon, the young Prince named *Vermina*, and gave order unto him to wheel about with his power,
and whiles the enemy was amuſed upon himſelf one way, to charge upon him behind another L
way. So *Vermina* ſet forth, and took his way by night, becauſe he was to give the charge cloſely,
and in ſecret. But *Syphax*, who was to ſhew himſelf with banner diſplaied, and to bid the enemy
battell, marched openly by day light, and advanced forward. And when the time (as he thought)
was come, wherein they that were ſent about to fetch a compaſs, might reach to the place ap-
pointed, himſelf alſo truſting as well in the multitude of his men, as in the ambuſh laid before at
the enemies back, ſet his battell in array; directly upon the ſide of the hill, which with gentle and
eaſie aſcent ariſeth, and leadeth towards the enemy. *Maſaniſſa* likewiſe arranged his men, pre-
ſuming moſt of all in the plot of ground, which ſerved much better for his advantage to fight. The
battell was ſharp and cruell, and for a long time doubtfull. Whiles the ſite of the place, and
valour of the ſouldiers much helped *Maſaniſſa*; and the number again on the other ſide, which M
exceeded beyond all meaſure, and made too great odds, availed *Syphax*. This multitude divided
into two battaillons, whiles the one was oppoſed affront the enemy, and the other compaſſed a-
bout their tail and back part, gave the victory cleer unto *Syphax*: inſomuch, as the enemy thus en-
cloſed both before and behind, had no way in the world to eſcape. Whereupon all the footmen
and horſmen both were either killed or taken priſoners. Only two hundred horſmen or very neer
ſo many, which were gathered in a ring together about *Maſaniſſa*, he commanded to caſt them-
ſelves by troops and ſquadrons into three ſeveral companies, and ſo to pierce and break through: but
firſt he appointed them a certain place before, where they ſhould rally and meet together again
after their ſcattered flight. Himſelf in perſon, at one ſide which he had propoſed to himſelf before,
made means to paſs through the very pikes and darts of the enemies, and eſcaped. Two of thoſe N
quadrons tarried ſtill behind, the one for fear yeelded to the enemy, the other ſticking to it, and
making more reſiſtance, was overcharged with ſhot of arrows and darts. But *Maſaniſſa* winding
in and out, to and fro, deluded *Vermina*, who preſſed hard upon him, and followed him faſt at
heels: and after he had wearied him out at length in tedious travail and deſperate purſute, cauſed
him perforce to gave over the chaſe. Whiles he himſelf with ſeventy horſe gat away as far as to
the leſs * *Syrtes*, where he ſet up his reſt, and quieted his conſcience, in that he had ſo often right
valiantly fought to recover the inheritance of his fathers Kingdome: and led his life between the
* *Punick Emporia* and the nation of the Garamants, untill the arrivall of the Roman navy, and C.
*Lælius* into *Africk*. Theſe preſumptions induce me to think and beleeve, that *Maſaniſſa* came
afterwards alſo unto *Scipio* with a ſmall power of horſmen, rather then with any great aid. For O
that multitude was befitting the ſtate of a Prince, eſtabliſhed in his Kingdome, but this ſmall num-
ber beſeemed the mean condition and fortune of a poor exile and baniſhed man.

Now to return again unto our ſtory. The Carthaginians having loſt the cornet of horſmen a-
foreſaid, together with their captain, and raiſed another power of horſe, by taking new muſters,
made *Hanno* the ſon of *Amilca* commander over them. And firſt by meſſengers and letters
miſſive

* *Golfo di Caps.* Theſe Syrtes, as well the greater as the leſſe, are in the Mediteranean ſea neer *Africk* full of ſhelves and bars; and are called *Secche* or *Baxos de Barbaria.*

* The ſea coaſts neer the Syrtes, ſo called for their fertility, as *Ortelius* hath noted out of *Polybius.*

A missive they sent for *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* one after another, and at last also even by Embassadors and Orators. As for *Asdrubal*, they required him to succour his native country, beset in manner round about: *Syphax* they besought and requested to provide for the safety and fence of *Carthage* and all *Africk*.

At that time *Scipio* was encamped neer *Vtica*, within a mile of the City: for he was removed from the sea side, where some few daies, he kept a standing camp close to the fleet. *Hanno* having received a power of Cavalry, nothing sufficient and strong enough to charge upon the enemie, nor so much as to guard and defend the country from wasting and spoiling, first before all other things
B cast about and devised, how he might augment his number of horsemen by a new levy and enrolment. And albeit he rejected none of other nations, yet he levied and waged the Numidians especially, the best horsemen simply in all *Africk*. Now had he gathered together upon four thousand horse, when he surprised a City named *Salera*, almost fifteen miles from the Roman camp. And when word was brought to *Scipio*, that so great a Cavalry took up their summer standing harbour within a town; Tush (quoth he) I passe not, if they were more then they are, so long as they have such a one to be their leader. And thinking with himself that the more slowly the enemies
C went to work, the lesse he was to slack his business, he sent *Masanissa* before with the horsemen, and gave commandment to ride up and down before the gates, to brave the enemy, and to train him forth to fight: with this direction, that when their whole multitude was issued forth, and the skirmish grown so hot, that he might not well endure the charge, he should give ground and retreat by little and little, for he would himself come in due time to the battell. And staying no longer behind, then whiles he thought *Masanissa* who was gone before, had time enough to train the enemies forth, he followed after in person with the Roman horsmen, & marched closely under the hils (which stood fitly for the purpose, opposit between him and the enemy) about every turning of the way. *Masanissa* for the purpose according to the direction given him, one while right
D courageously gallopped before the gates, as one that would brave and terrifie the enemy, another while as if he had been affraid himself, gave back; and by this counterfeit shew of fearfulnesse, he made the enemies more bold and venturous, and drew them on to pursue him rashly. But as yet they were not all gone forth, and their captain was diversly troubled, and had much ado with them, while he was fain to force and compell some that had taken their load of wine, and were heavy-headed and sleepy withall, to arm themselves and to bridle their horses, and to stay others from running out of the gates at once confusedly, without order or array, and without their colours. *Masanissa* caught up those, and cut them short, that a part from their company at the first setting out, rode venturously forward, and took no heed to themselves: but anon when more of them rushed forth at once out of the gate, the skirmish was maintained with equall valour on both sides
E and at last, when the horsmen were abroad and joyned in battell, *Masanissa* was not possibly able to hold out any longer. Howbeit he fled not outright, but as he gave back leisurely, he received them as they violently charged upon him: so long, untill he had trained them to those hils, under which the Roman Cavalry lay hidden. Then rose the horsemen from out of their ambush, themselves in heart, and their horses fresh; and environed *Hanno* and the Africans, who with fighting and following were tired out and overwearied: *Masanissa* likewise turned his horses suddainly, and made head again, and returned to battel afresh: so there were environed, intercepted, and killed in the place together with *Hanno* himself the Generall, fast upon a thousand, even as many as were in the vanguard, and could not well retire themselves backward. The rest affrighted with the death of their leader, fled with bridle on horse neck: whom for the space of three miles the conquerors followed in chase upon the spur, and either slew and took prisoners two thousand horsemen of them besides. Amongst whom there were, as it is for certain known, no fewer than two hundred naturall Carthaginians, men of armes, and divers of them of good mark, both in regard of wealth and riches, as also of birth and noble parentage.

It fortuned that the very same day when this hapned, the ships which had transported over the booty in to *Sicily*, returned back charged with provision of victuals, as if they had presaged & foretokened by their arrivall, that they were come for a new pillage and fresh prizes. But all writers do not accord, that two Carthaginian captains of one name were slain in two battels, of the Cavalry: for fear (as I verily take it) lest by telling one thing twice, they might seem to deceive and abuse the reader. Certes *Cælius* and *Valerius* report that *Hanno* was taken prisoner. Then *Scipio* bestowed rich gifts upon the captains and horsemen according to their good service, and as they every one deserved: but above all the rest, he highly rewarded *Masanissa*. And when he had placed a strong garrison in *Salera* himself with the rest of his army made rodes; and not only wasted and spoiled the lands and villages all the way as he went, but also forced and won certain Cities and borough towns: and so having filled all places far and neer with the terror of war & hostility, he returned to the camp, the seventh day after he set forth, bringing with him great numbers of people, much store of cattell and prizes of all sorts; and so dispatched away the ships a second time straight and laden with spoils of the enemies. After this he set aside all light expeditions, small rodes and pillage of the country towns, and bent his whole power and all his forces against *Vtica*, intending if he had once won it, to settle himself there, and to make it his seat from thence forward, and a sure place of defence in all his other exploits that he meant to perform. Thither at one time were the sea-servitors brought from the armado, to that part of the City where the sea beateth upon the wals: likewise the land souldiers advanced from the hill that overlooketh

the

the town, and joyneth in manner hard to the very wals. As for artillery and engines of battery and assault, some they had brought with them, and others were sent out of *Sicily* with the victuals: and daily new were made in the common Armory and Arcenall, where there were of purpose artificers continually kept at work for the framing of such fabricks and peeces of battery. The men of *Vtica* beset thus round about on every side with so great preparation and ordinance of war, reposed their whole hope and confidence in the Carthaginians; and the Carthaginians relied themselves upon *Asdrubal*, in case he should sollicite *Syphax* for to set to his helping hand. But all things went but slowly forward, and they bestirred themselves not so quickly, as they should have done, who wanted so much aid as they did. And *Asdrubal* when he had with all the means and the best shift that he could make, gathered together thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse, yet durst he not approach the enemy, before the coming of *Syphax* to joyn with him. At length came *Syphax* with fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse: and immediately departing from *Carthage*, encamped not far from *Vtica* and the Roman camp. Whose arrivall yet was so important, and wrought this effect; that *Scipio* after forty dayes welneer (during which time he had invested *Vtica* and tried all mastries but in vain) was compelled to remove his siege & dislodge, without doing any good at all. For now the winter approached, and he fortified his standing leaguer for winter harbour upon a promontory, which joyning to the continent by a thin and narrow ridg of a bank, lieth out a good way and beareth into the sea. And with one and the self-same trench and rampier, he empaled both his army, and also the ships that lay up in the dock. The legions were quartred and lodged in the mids of the said cape: the ships that were drawn up to land, and likewise the sailers and mariners, kept the strand on the north side of the hill; the horsemen took up the vail towards the south, upon the hanging and side therof, shooting to the other shore. And these were the acts atchieved in *Africk* untill the end of Autumn.

Besides the provision of corn garthered from all parts out of the countries pilled and wasted round about, and other store of victuals brought out of *Sicily* and *Italy*, *Cn. Octavius* the Vice-pretor arrived with a mighty deal of grain out of *Sardinia*, sent from *T. Claudius* the Pretor, who had the government of that Iland: so as not only the old garners already made were replenished, but also those that were newly built. Only there wanted apparell for the army. Whereupon *Octavius* had in commission to break with the Pretor about that matter, namely, what liveries might be provided out of that province, and sent for the supply of that defect. Which busines was not slackly followed, but with all diligence performed, in such sort, as in short space there were sent over 1200 side horsmens coats, and 12000 short cassocks and jackets.

During the time of that summer wherein those occurences passed in *Africk*, *P. Sempronius* the Consul who governed the Province of the *Bruttii*, skirmished suddainly in a disordred manner with *Annibal* upon the very way, within the territory of *Croton*: where the fight was mainteined rather by squadrons and companies one to one, then by any set body of a ranged battell. The Romans were discomfited; and having lost in this conflict (which might more truly be called a tumultuous scuffling than a full fight) upon 1200 of the Consuls army, they retired in great hast and fear into their camp. Yet durst not the enemies make an assault upon them within their hold. But the Consul dislodged from thence in the dead time of the next night, and having dispatched a courier before unto *P. Licinius* the Vice-consul, for to come forward with his legions, he joyned his power unto them. So they returned again unto *Annibal*, being now two Generals, and two entire armies. And without any stay, to battell they went: whiles the Consul on the one side stood upon this his power redoubled and reenforced, & *Annibal* on the other side took heart for his fresh victory aforesaid. *Sempronius* advanced with his legions into the vanguard; *P. Licinius* with his, kept the rerewards. The Consul at the very first shock and beginning of the conflict, vowed a chappell to *Fortune* under the name of *Primigenia*, in case he might have the honour of that day, and vanquish his enemies. And surely his vow was heard, and he obteined his desire: for the Carthaginians was discomfited and put to flight, and more than four thousand armed men slaine, three hundred or somewhat under taken prisoners, forty horse of service got alive, and 11 ensigns won and carried away. *Annibal* dismayed and daunted at this adverse and unlucky battell, withdrew his forces to *Croton*.

At the same time *M. Cornelius* the Consul, in another side of *Italy* held in awe *Hetruria* not so much by force of armes, as by rigorous processe of law and severe justice: for all that country in maner was turned to *Mago*, and by his means and favor hoped for a change, and were altogether set upon novelties & an alteration of the state. The examinations and judicial trials of these matters the Consul followed by vertue of commission from the Senat, and not upon his own motive and seeking: and went through therewith, setting aside all partiality, nothing respective of favour or displeasure. In such sort, that many of the nobility of *Tyscane* (such as either had repaired themselves in person, or had sent their agents unto *Mago*, for to treat with him about the revolt and rebellion of the States wherein they lived) were at first, as many as made personall apparance, condemned: but afterwards, such as had guilty consciences, went into voluntary exile: and being condemned in their absence, in stead of their bodies which were gone out of the way, they yeelded and left behind them their goods only, which might be forfeit and confiscat a pawns to pay for the punishment of their persons.

Whiles the Cons. was thus employed in divers places one from the other, the Censors in the mean

A mean time at *Rome*, *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius* held a new choice and review of Senators: and *Q. Fabius* was once again chosen the principall Senator and President of the Senat. Seven in number of them were noted with ignominy and disgrace, but not one of all those had sitten in the ivory chair and born office of state. They looked narrowly and most faithfully to the Publicans, that had the charge of the City-buildings to see them kept wind-tight and water-tight, and in sufficient reparations. They publickly gave order for a paved causie to be made, from the beasts market unto the temple of *Venus*, and all about the shops and scaffolds in the shew-places. Also the church * *Magna Mater* [the great mother of the gods] they caused to be built in the mount Palatine. They instituted also a new tax and impost out of the provision of salt. And whereas both at *Rome* and throughout all *Italy*, salt was sold at a * Sextant by the Modius, they set and fermed this commo-
B dity, to be served out of the same price still in *Rome*; but in the market towns and fairs, they enhanced the price higher, and in sundry places they rated it at divers prices. This tax was devised as all men verily beleeved, by the one of the Censors, for anger, and an old grudg that he bare unto the people; because he had been in times past unjustly judged and condemned by them, and therefore in the pension and price of salt they supposed that those tribes were most pinched and charged who were the means of the hard doom that passed against him. Hereupon it came that this *Livius* was surnamed *Salinator*. The cense and numbring of the Citizens was finished the later, because the Censors had sent about into all provinces, that the full number should be taken of
C all Roman Citizens, who were without in the armies, and presentment made accordingly. So there were registred in all, with those abroad two hundred and seven & fifty thousand persons. And *C. Claudius Nero* was he that performed and accomplished this numbring and assessment. After this there was a Cense or taxation taken of the twelve Colonies, a thing then brought up and never before. And according to the relation of the Censors they were entred into the subsidy book at *Rome*: that it might appear upon record in the publick instruments and writings, what number of able men for war they could make, and what every man was worth in money and goods. Then they began to take a survey of the gentlemen and knights at *Rome*. And it fortuned so, that both Censors had horses of the City provision and charges. And when the crier came to cite those of the tribe *Pollia* wherein the name of *M. Livius* was enrolled, & made some stay to call the Cen-
D sor himself by name: Call hardly (quoth *Nero*) for *M. Livius*. And whether it were upon the reliques of an old canckred malice, or that he took a fooliſh pride and vain delight to seem forsooth to be severe and precise, he commanded *M. Livius* to sell his horse of service, because he had been sometimes a man condemned by the doom of the people. Semblaly *M. Livius* when the crier was come unto the tribe *Narniensis*, and to the name of his collegue, awarded *C. Claudius* to sell and make away his great horse likewise; and that for two causes, the one for that he had born false witness and deposed wrongfully against him: the other, because he was not soundly and in truth of
E heart reconciled unto him, when they were made friends. Whereupon there grew a foul jar and contention between them, whiles they passed not to impeach and stein the credit one of the other even with the touch and hazard of their own good name and reputation. At the end of the Censorship, when *C. Claudius* had sworn to keep and observe the lawes, and was ascended up into the chamber of the Cities treasure; among the other names of those that he left as disfranchised and tributaries, he declared his collegue for one, and gave up his name in the roll. Afterwards came *M. Livius* into the chamber aforesaid, and setting aside the tribe *Metia* only (which neither had condemned himself, nor elected him a condemned person for Consul or Censor) he declared the
F whole people of *Rome* likewise suspended, even four and thirty tribes; and left them all no better then meer strangers and aliens, in regard of taxes and tributes: and why? because they had both condemned him, an innocent and guiltles man: and being thus condemned, had created him Coss. and Censor notwithstanding: neither could they deny but that they had ered and done amisse in their judgement, and twice in their elections. And among those four and thirty tribes, he pronounced that *C. Claudius* also should be reckoned for one: protesting moreover, that if he could have found any one precedent, to have led him to the disfranchising one man twice, he would have left *C. Claudius* by name, as a noted person by himself, in the checkroll of the City cham-
G ber.

Surely that reciprocall debate between the two Censors, in depraving and defaming one another was but a lewd and naughty part by them plaid: but this chastisement of the peoples levity and inconstancy, was a worthy thing, and beseeming the Censors gravity of that time. While the Censors stood thus in exceeding disgrace and hatred with the people, *Cn. Bebius* a Tribune of the Commons taking his time and occasion hereby to rise and become great, endited them both and commenced an action against them before the body of the people. But this designment of his was soon dasht and came to nothing, though the generall accord and content of the LL. of the councell; to the end that in time to come, no such example might be extant upon record, that the Censors dignity should be exposed to the variable and inconstant pleasure of the people.

The same summer in the Brutians country, *Petilia* had been already forced and won by the Cos. when as *Consentia* and *Pandosia*, with other mean and base peeces, willingly yeelded themselves to his devotion. Now when the time drew neer of the election of new magistrats, it was thought good that *Cornelius* shoud be sent for to *Rome* out of *Tuscany*, where there was no war at all, rather then the other Consul out of his province: who being come, created for Consuls *Cneus Servilius Capio*, and *Cn. Servilius Geminus*. After this, the court was assembled for the chusing of Pretours, where-

* *Cybele*, or *Idæa* At this time it appeareth by *Festus* and other that that *Asses* were *Sextentarii* and not *Librales*, at *Rome* so that *Sextans* which before was the sixth part of an *Asse*, a cue or half farthing english now was raised to the worth of the whole and valued at three farthings, the price of a Modius of salt in *Rome*, set down by *Livius Salinator*.

wherin were elected *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, *P. Quintilius Varus*, *P. Ælius Paetus*, and *P. Villius Tappulus*. These two last were Ædiles of the Commons when they were chosen Pretors. The Consul after these elections were finished and past, returned unto his army again in *Hetruria*. Certain Priests and Prelats that year died, and new were chosen in their rooms. *P. Veturius Philo*, Flamin of *Mars* was created, installed and inaugurated, instead of *M. Æmylius Regillus*, who deceased the year before. And in place of *M. Pomponius Matho*, who was both Augur and Decemvir, there was advanced into dignity of Decemvir, *M. Aurelius Cotta*: and into the office of Augur, *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very yong man: a rare thing to be seen in those daies, in the bestowing of sacerdotall and church-promotions. In that year was set up in the capitol a chariot drawn with 4 steeds, all of beaten gold, by *C. Livius* and *M. Servilius Geminus*, Ædiles of the chair for the time being. The Romã games also were exhibited & renewed again for 2 daies: likewise the plaies & pastimes called *Plebeii*, for other 2 daies by the Ædiles of the Commons, *P. Ælius* & *P. Villius*. And for the great honor of those games, the feast of *Jupiter* was solemnly kept and celebrated.

# The thirtieth Book

## *Of the Histories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the thirtieth Book.

IN Africk, Scipio *by the help of* Masanissa *in sundry battels vanquished the Carthaginians, together with the afore-said* Syphax *King of the Numidians, and* Asdrubal. *He won and sacked two campes of the enemies, wherein there perished by fire and sword, to the number of* 40000 *men. By the means of* C. Lælius *he took* Syphax *alive.* Masanissa *when he had taken prisoner queen* Sophonisba, *the wife of* Syphax *and daughter of* Asdrubal, *by and by fell in love with her, and by way of marriage took her to wife: but being chastised and rebuked therefore by* Scipio, *he sent unto her a cup of poison: which she drank, & therof died. By manifold victories of* Scipio *it came to pass, that the Carthaginians driven to despair, were fain to call for* Annibal *out of* Italy, *to save the main chance, and defend their whole state: Who, in the 16 year of the wars, departed out of* Italy, *sailed over into* Africk, *& assisted by means of conference, to make peace with* Scipio. *And when they could not agree about the conditions & capitulations thereof, he fought, & was overthrown in the plain field. The Carthaginians at their suit & request had peace granted. And when* Gisgo *disswaded that peace,* Annibal *plucked him back with his hand, & so after some excuse made of his rudenesse in that behalf, himself spake for peace.* Mago *who had fought with the Romans in the country of the Insubrians, was grievously wounded, & being sent for home into* Africk *by certain embassadors, in the way died of his hurt.* Masanissa *was fully restored to his kingdome.* Scipio *being returned to the City of* Rome, *had the glory of a most honourable and noble triumph: whom,* Q. Terentius Culleo, *a Senator, followed with a cap* [*of freedome*] *upon his head.* Scipio *was surnamed* Affricanus: *but doubtfull it is, whether he came by that title through the favour of his souldiers before, or the general applause and affection of the people. But this is certain, that he was the first general that ever was intitled in his stile, with the surname of a nation by himself conquered.*

## *The thirtieth Book of* T. Livius.

WHen *Cn. Servilius Cepio*, and *C. Servilius Geminus* (Coss. in that year, which by computation was the 16 of the 2 Punick war) proposed unto the Senat, concerning the affairs of the State, the managing of the wars, and the government of the provinces: the LL. ordained and gave order, that the Coss. should either agree beween themselves, or else cast lots whether of them should go into the Brutian land against *Annibal*: and whether should take upon him the charge of the province of *Hetruria* and the Ligurians: with commission for him, whose hap it was to rule the province of *Brutii*, to receive the army from *P. Sempronius* the Consul; and the said *P. Sempronius* (for he also as Vice-consul was to continue in place of government one year longer) to succeed in the room of *P. Licinius*, who was to return home to *Rome*. This *P. Sempronius* among other commendable parts (wherein no Citizen in his time was counted more sufficiently furnished than himself) was taken also for a brave warrior and man at arms. For being richly endued with all those good blessings that either nature or fortune can afford unto a man, he was both noble in birth, and wealthy in substance. In beautifull personage he excelled, for strength of body he far surpassed. Of tongue and speech he was thought most eloquent, whether he were to plead a cause at the bar, or occasion offered either in Senat house or before the assembly of the people to perswade or disswade, to give counsel one way or other. In the Pontificiall canons and laws, he was singularly well learned and skilfull. Besides all these praise-worthy qualities (I say) his Consulship had given him exeperience also in military affairs, and made him a worthy souldier. The same order that was taken for the Brutians province

A vince, was also decreed for *Hetruria* and the Ligurians. *M. Cornelius* was commanded to put over and deliver up his army to the new Consul: and himself to continue still in government, and to rule the province of *France* with the strength of those legions which *L. Scribonius* the Pretor had under his charge the year before. After this, the Consuls cast lots for their provinces. Unto *Cæpio* fell the *Bruttii*, unto *Servilius Geminus*, *Hetruria*. Then the Pretors provinces also were put to the choice of lottery. And *P. Ælius* his lot was to have the jurisdiction of the City of *Rome*: *P. Lentulus* to rule *Sardinia*: *P. Villius* to govern *Sicily*: and *Quintilius Varus* to have the charge of *Ariminum* with two legions, which were commanded by *Sp. Lucretius*. And *Lucretius* had his commission revived again for a longer time, to the end, that he might reedifie the town *Gentia*, which by *Mago* the Carthaginian had been rased and destroied. As for *P. Scipio* his commission
B and government was not limited by any expresse time, but only with the end of the wars, and to continue untill those wars in *Africk* were fully determined. A decree also passed, that there should be a solemn procession and supplication holden to this effect, and in these terms, that wheras he had sailed over into the province of *Africk*, this voiage and expedition of his might turn to the safety and good of the people of *Rome*, of himself, and his army. In *Sicily* were enrolled three thousand souldiers. And for as much as the whole strength and manhood of that province had been shiped over into *Africk*: for fear lest some Armado should cut over out of *Africk*, it was thought expedient to guard all the sea coasts of *Sicily*, with a fleet of 40 sail. And *Villius* had with
C him into *Sicily* 13 ships, newly built; the rest of the old ships in *Sicily* were repaired. For Admirall of this armado was apointed *M. Pomponius* the Pretor of the former year, whose government was prorogued, and he embarked the new souldiers brought out of *Italy*. The like number of ships the LL. of the Senat assigned unto *Cn. Octavius* the Pretor of the former year, with the same commission of government, for to defend the coasts of *Sardinia*. And *Lentulus* was commanded to allow unto the Pretor 2000 souldiers for to man and furnish those ships. Moreover, the sea coasts of *Italy*, because it was uncertain to what parts the Carthaginians would make out their navy (and like it was, that where they should espy any place weak and disfurnished of sufficient strength and garrison, thither they would direct and bend their forces) were committed to *M. Martius* the Pretor of the former year, that he should scour the seas, and keep that side, with as many ships
D as the other. And for to furnish that fleet of his, the Consuls by order from the Senat enrolled three thousand souldiers, and reserved two legions besides, against all doubtfull chances of war whatsoever. *As* for the two provinces of *Spain*, together with the armies there, and the whole government, they were appointed to the old Generals, *L. Lentulus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*. So the Roman wars for that year were mainteined with 20 legions in all, & with a hundred and sixty ships of war. Then the Pretors were commanded to take their journey into their several provinces. But the Consuls were charged before they departed from the City, to exhibite those great Games, which *T. Manlius Torquatus* the Dictator had vowed against the 5 years end, if so be the Commonweal remained in the same good and fortunat estate, during that time.

Now there entred into mens minds new doubts and strange scruples of conscience, by reason divers prodigious sights and tokens reported out of many places. For beleeved it was that certaine
E ravens not only pecked and rased with their bils, but also eat and devoured the gold in the Capitoll. At *Antium* the mice and rats gnawed a crown of gold. About *Capua*, a huge number of locusts (but from whence they came, no man knew for certain) overspred all the grounds, and filled the fields. At *Reate* there was a horse-colt foled with five feet. At *Anagnia* were seen in the element, at the first divers fire-lights shooting and flashing here and there; and afterwards a mighty blasing comet burning. At *Frusino* a certain arch compassed the sun with a thin course like a line: and afterwards a greater circle of the sun enclosed the said rundle from without-forth. In the territory of *Arpi*, the earth in a plain champain field setled and sunk down and made an exceeding great chink. As one of the Consuls killed the first beast for sacrifice, the liver thereof was found headless. These monstrous tokens were expiat and purged with sacrifices of the
F bigger sort: and the colledg of the Priests and bishops shewed unto what gods the sacrifice should be made. These things once done and performed, the Consuls and Pretors went forth into their provinces: yet so, as all of them had a speciall regard of *Africk*, as if it had been their own province fallen unto every one of them by lot; either because they saw that therein rested and consisted the whole importance of all affairs, and the main state of the war: or else because they would gratifie and currie favour with *Scipio*, whom now the whole City made court to, and chiefly respected. And therefore not only out of *Sardinia* as is beforesaid, but also out of *Sicily* and *Spain* there was transported thither raiment and corn: yea, and armour also out of *Sicily*, and all kind of victuals, for the maintenance of the army. And albeit it was winter season, yet *Scipo* slaked no affairs and works of war: which being many, amused his mind at once on every
G side, and kept him continually occupied. For *Utica* he besieged and encamped he lay opposit to *Annibal*, and even within his sight; the Carthaginians were with their ships aflote, and put to sea, and a navy they had rigged, furnished and trimmed, for to intercept all victuals that came. Amid these cares he forgat not to win again the love of *Syphax*, if haply now he had his fill of love-delights with his fresh wife, since he had the plentifull fruition thereof, as much as heart could desire. But *Syphax* rather tendred conditions of peace between the Romans and the Carthaginians, to wit, that the Romans should depart out of *Africk*, and the Carthaginians out of *Italy*, than seemed to give any hope, that he would revolt from the Carthaginians, in case the war con-

continued ſtill. And for mine own part, I would rather beleeve that theſe matters were treated upon by entercourſe of meſſengers, as moſt writers do report, than that *Syphax* himſelf in perſon, as *Antias Valerius* recordeth, came into the Roman camp to aparle and conference thereabout. At the firſt the Roman Generall, would ſcarcely lend his ear to hear thoſe overtures: but afterwards, to the end that there might be ſome colourable and probable cauſe for his people to reſort unto the camp of the enemies, he ſeemed not ſo ſtreight-laced, nor to deny the ſame articles ſo ſtiffly, but pretended ſome hope, that by often debating thereof to and fro between them, they ſhould at length grow to ſome good point and finall agreement. The wintering harbours of the Carthaginians were in a manner all of wood, but built of ſlender ſtuff gathered out of the fields at a venture hand over head, where they could meet withall. The Numidians for the moſt part lay in cabbins and ſheds, watled and wound with reeds eſpecially, and covered and thatched with mats of ledge and ſuch like, here and there ſcattering without all order: in ſuch ſort, as ſome of them taking up their lodging at their own pleaſure, without direction and commandment of any officer, quartered without the trench and rampier. *Scipio* advertiſed hereof, conceived good hope to find ſome opportunity one time or other to fire the camp of the enemies. Upon a certain day therefore, he ſent in train of thoſe Commiſſioners whom he addreſſed unto *Syphax*, in ſtead of pages and drudges, and diſguiſed in ſlaves and bondmens weeds, the braveſt ſouldiers of a band, (men of approved valor, wiſdome and diſcretion) who whiles the commiſſioners were buſie in conference, ſhould range about the camp, ſome one way, ſome another; to eſpie and mark all the paſſages and waies in and out; the ſite and form generally of the whole leaguer, and particularly of every part; where the Carthaginians quartered; where the Numidians lodged; what diſtance there was between *Aſdrubal* his tents, and the Kings pavilions; to obſerve alſo and learn withal, the order & the manner of their ſentinels, their ward and watches, whether by night or by day they lay at more vantage to be ſurpriſed by an ambuſh. And according as there were divers meetings & conferences, and ſo of purpoſe ſome were ſent one time, ſome at another: to the end that more & more ſtill ſhould have the ſpiall and full knowledge of all things in the enemies camp. Now when as often that this matter was treated of, the greater hope of peace both *Syphax* had and the Carthaginians likewiſe by his means; the Delegates or Commiſſioners aforeſaid of the Romans, ſaid that they were expreſly forbidden by their Generall to return without a full and reſolute anſwer. And therefore they willed him to make ſhort work at once, and to bethink himſelf what to do, either to ſtand upon his own determinat purpoſe (if he were reſolved) or elſe to conſult with *Aſdrubal* and the Carthaginians, and determine accordingly. For now high time it is, ſay they either to conclude peace, or to proſecute war freſhly, and to go through with it luſtily. Thus while *Syphax* conſulted with *Aſdrubal*, and *Aſdrubal* with the Carthagians, both the eſpials had ſufficient time to view and ſee all, and *Scipio* alſo good leaſure to provide neceſſaries for his purpoſe. Moreover, by this motive and hope of peace, as well the Carthaginians as the Numidians, began (as commonly in ſuch caſes it falleth out) to be negligent and ſlack in forecaſt, and to provide that in the mean while they came by no harme and detriment from the enemie. At length an anſwer was returned and ſome clauſes put in, without all reaſon, and ſounding to much inconvenience, by occaſion that the Romans ſeemed too too fain and deſirous of a peace. Which fell out very fitly for *Scipio* whoſe only deſire was to pick ſome juſt quarrell for to break the truce and abſtinence of war: and ſo the next day (for in the mean time he ſaid he would confer with his Counſel) he anſwered the Kings meſſenger in this wiſe, that beſides himſelf alone, who labored all in vain and could do no good, there was none liked of the peace: and therefore he willed him to report unto the King his maſter, that there was no other hope for *Syphax* to have peace with the Romans, unleſſe he renounced and caſt off quite the friendſhip of the Carthaginians. And thus he ended the truce, that with free conſcience being diſcharged of his promiſe in that behalf, he might go forward in his deſignements, and bring his enterpriſe to his deſired iſſue. So having put his ſhips to ſea (for now the prime of ſpring was come) he embarked in them his artillery, his ordnance and engins of battery, as if he meant to aſſault *Vtica* on the ſea ſide. And ſent out two thouſand ſouldiers, to poſſeſſe themſelves of the hill that overlooked *Vtica*, which he had held and kept before, both to withdraw the minds of the enemies from that which he ſecretly deſigned and intended, & amuſe them upon the care and regard of another thing; and alſo to prevent a miſchief, that whiles himſelf ſhould go againſt *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal*, they might not ſally forth of the City, and aſſail his camp, left with a ſmall guard to defend it. Having made this way, and laid this ground aforehand, he aſſembled his councell, where he commanded as well the foreſaid ſpies to lay forth and utter what they had ſeen and found, as alſo *Maſaniſſa*, who was acquainted with all the maner and faſhions of the enemies: and then at laſt he declared and ſhewed unto them, what himſelf intended to execute the next night. Then he gave commandment to the Tribunes or Ku. Marſhals, that ſo ſoon as the councell was riſen, and the court diſmiſſed in the Generals pavilion, at the firſt ſound of trumpets immediately they ſhould bring their legions out of the camp. Thus according to his edict, the enſigns began a little before ſun-ſetting to ſet forth. About the firſt watch they put the ſouldiers in array ready for to march, and by midnight (for they were to journey ſeven miles) they going a fair and ſoft pace, approached the enemies camp. There *Scipio* gave unto *Lelius* a part of the forces together with *Maſaniſſa* and his band of Numidians, with direction to invade the camp of *Syphax*, and to ſet fire thereupon Then calling them by themſelves both apart one from the other, *Lelius* I mean and *Maſaniſſa*, he earneſtly beſought them of all love to make up and recom-

A recompence by carefull induſtrie and devoir that providence and forecaſt, which the darkneſs of the night diſappointed them of. As for himſelf, he meant to ſet upon *Aſdrubal* and the Carthaginian camp: but begin he would not, before he ſaw the fire amongſt the kings tents. And it was not long firſt ere it began: for as ſoon as the fire caught hold of the next pavilions whereupon it was caſt, by and by it took all that were neereſt, and ſo forward to thoſe that joyned unto them, it ſpred into all places of the camp. And verily into a great fright they were all put, as they could not chooſe, but needs muſt in a night ſcarefire, which was ran all over in ſo ſhort a time. Howbeit they thought it ſome fire by miſchance only, and not the hand of the enemy, by occaſion and means of war: and therefore unarmed as they were, and lightly appointed without weapons they ran forth by heaps to quench the fire, and light full upon their armed enemies, the Numidians e-
B ſpecially; who by *Maſaniſſa* that was well acquainted with the maner of the Kings camp, were beſtowed in convenient places, at the ends of every avenue and paſſage. Many in their very beds and couches, between ſleeping and waking, were conſumed with the fire: many running headlong in this their haſty flight, one upon an other, were in the ſtreights of the gates troden under foot, or elſe thruſt and cruſht to death. The Sentinels and watch of the Carthaginians, eſpied at firſt the fire ſhining and flaming out; after whom others awakened and raiſed out of their neſts by this nightly tumult and alarm, might behold and plainly ſee the ſame: but they likewiſe were deceived as well as the other, and beleeved verily that the fire began of it ſelf by ſome misfortune, no man wiſt how. The confuſed noiſe and cry alſo, which was heard whiles they were a killing, ſl ying and wounding, would not ſuffer them to know the truth indeed, whether the ſame aroſe
C upon their affright and ſuddain fear by night, or otherwiſe. And therefore every man naked as he was, and ſuſpecting no practiſe at of all the enemy, at all the gates as they ſtood next, did what he could to bring with him ſuch inſtruments and means as were to put out the fire: and happed unawares upon the army of the Romans. Now after they were all maſſacred and put to the ſword to to the laſt man, not only upon an ordinary hatred between enemies, but alſo becauſe there might not eſcape ſo much as one to carry newes unto the reſt: *Scipio* immediatly entred the gates, being not warded, but altogether neglected, as in ſuch a fearfull garboil and hurlyburly it was no marvell. They fell a flinging of fire upon the lodgings and ſheds that ſtood next, ſo as the flame brake out and ſhewed at firſt as if it had been diſperſed in many places: but afterwards catching and ſpreding from one tent to another as they joyned cloſe together, they were all at once on a
D light fire, and burnt every ſtick down to the ground. Men and cattell both, ſinged and ſcorched at the firſt, as they ran in piteous and fearfull ſort away: but afterwards as they tumbled one upon another by heaps, ſtopped and choked up all the waies and avenues of the gates. And look who eſcaped the fire, fell upon the edge of the ſword. Thus in one day were 2 camps clean conſumed. Howbeit, both the Generals, and of ſo many thouſands of armed men, only 2000 foot and 500 horſe armed by halfs, and many of them either wounded or elſe ſinged and half roſted with the fire, got away and eſcaped. There either were ſlain or burnt to aſhes upon 40000 men: taken priſoners there were above 6000: among whom there happed to be many gentlemen of the Carthaginians, and 11 Senators. Of enſigns were taken 178. Of Numidian horſes for ſervice more than 2700. Six Elephants got alive, eight periſhed either with fire or ſword: and a mighty deal of armor
E came to their hands: all which the L. General *Scipio* conſecrated to *Vulcan*, and ſet on fire. *Aſdrubal* with ſome few Africans that fled with him, rid away upon the ſpur to the next City: and thither got all reſt, who remained alive, following the tracks of their captain, and there ſaved themſelves. But afterwards leſt that City ſhould be yielded to *Scipio*, he quit the place and departed. Anon the Romans were received within the ſame at the gates ſtanding open for them: and becauſe willingly of themſelves they rendred the town, there was no kind of hoſtility or violence offered unto them. But two other Cities one after another were forced and put to the ranſack. All that pillage, as alſo whatſoever was ſaved out of the fire in the two camps, was freely given to the ſouldiers. *Syphax* encamped and fortified himſelf in a ſtrong hold, almoſt eight miles off.
But *Aſdrubal* made haſt to *Carthage*, for fear leſt upon the ſuddain fright occaſioned by this freſh
F and late overthow, things ſhould go backward, and the Senat reſolve upon ſome unmanly and unworthy courſe. Thither at the firſt arrived ſuch fearfull news, that all men thought verily that *Scipio* would give over *Utica* and forthwith lay ſiege unto *Carthage*: whereupon there Suffetes (who are the Conſuls as it were, of the City) called the Senat: where three opinions were delivered amongſt them. The firſt adviſed to diſpatch Embaſſadors to *Scipio* to treat for peace: the ſecond, to ſend for *Annibal* home to the defence of his own country, againſt ſo dangerous and deadly a war: the third gave counſell, by example of the Romans conſtancy and reſolution in their adverſity, to repair the army and gather new forces, and to requeſt *Syphax* not to abandon and give over the quarrell. This opinion, becauſe *Aſdrubal* was in place (and all thoſe that ſided with the Barchine houſe and faction, evermore inclined to war) prevailed and took effect. Here-
G upon they began to take muſters in town and country: Orators were addreſſed to *Syphax*, who of himſelf with all his might and main, was buſied to levy freſh forces, and preparing for new war. For his wife now, not as aforetime, by inticing words, flattering ſpeeches, and pleaſant allurements, that might ſerve the turn to win and move the heart of an amorous lover, but by way of prayer and pititull compaſſion had prevailed ſo much with him already: yea, and with plenteous tears beſought him, not to betray her naturall father and native countrey, nor ſuffer *Carthage* to be burnt with flaming fire, like as the camps were conſumed already.

"The Embaſſadors alſo brought with them new hopes beſides, which were preſented unto them H
in as happy a time as might be; who reported, that they fortuned to meet with 4000 Celtiberians
brave and luſty young men, about the City named *Olba*, which had been levyed and hired in
*Spain* by their Commiſſioners, of purpoſe ſent to take up new ſouldiers: and that *Aſdrubal* him-
ſelf in perſon would be preſent with a power of no ſmall importance. *Syphax* not only entertained
theſe Oratours with gracious ſpeeches and courteous anſwers, but alſo ſhewed them a great
number of Numidians, gathered out of the country towns; which ſome few daies before
he had furniſhed with armour and horſes; promiſing beſides, that he would aſſemble all the
young and able men for ſervice throughout his whole realm. For well he wiſt, that the late loſſe
and defeat hapned by occaſion of fire, and not by fight: and never in war is a man to be repu-
ted inferiour, before he be vanquiſhed by mere forces in ranged battell. In this wiſe anſwered he I
the Embaſſadours. And after ſome few daies *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* once again joyned their
forces together: ſo as in all, their hoſt amounted to the number well neer of 30000 armed
men.

Now when *Scipio* was wholly ſet upon the aſſault of *Vtica*, and at the point to bend his ord-
nance and artillery againſt the wals, as thinking verily that the war was already done with *Sy-
phax* and the Carthaginians; the fame of the war renewed by them afreſh, averted him from his
purpoſe, and cauſed him to give over that enterpriſe for a time. So leaving behind him certain
ſmall guards, as well by water as land, only for a ſign and ſhew of ſiege; himſelf with all the
ſtrength of his army, ſet forwards to meet the enemy. At the firſt he ſate him down and encamp- K
ed upon an hill, four miles (or very neer) diſtant from the Kings camp. The next day after, he de-
ſcended with his cavalry down into the great Plains or Downs (for ſo they call them) lying neer
the ſame hill; and ſpent that whole day in braving the ſtanding *corps de guard* of the enemies be-
fore their camp, and playing upon them with skirmiſhes. And ſo for two daies together next
enſuing, they paſſed the time in divers tumultuous excurſions between the one part and the other,
without doing any great exploit worth the remembrance. On the fourth day, thy entred on
both ſides into the field, and embattailed themſelves. *Scipio* marſhalled his men in this wiſe: Be-
hind the Principes in a vanguard, he placed the formoſt enſigns of his Haſtati, or Spears; and the
Triarii he beſtowed in the rereward, for to ſecond them. The Italian horſemen he ſet in the right
point: the Numidian horſe and *Maſaniſſa* be ranged in the left. *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal* put their L
Numidians horſe oppoſit to the Italians, and the Carthaginians to affront *Maſaniſſa*. In their
main battell were planted the Celtiberians, to make head againſt the enſigns of the Roman le-
gions. Thus ordered and arranged, they encountred one nother, and joyned battell. At the firſt
onſet, both wings at once, as well the Numidians as the Carthaginians, were put back and for-
ced to give ground: for neither the Numidians (being for the moſt part country people and
ruſtic ll) were able to receive the Roman horſemen; nor the Carthaginians (raw and untrained
ſouldiers) ſufficient to hold out with *Maſaniſſa*; who (beſides all other things) for his late
and freſh victory, was ſo terrible, as there was no dealing with him. So the battell of the Celtibe-
rians, (naked and diſfurniſhed of both her points) ſtood ſtill; for neither ſaw they any likelyhood
to eſcape and ſave themſelves by flight, conſidering they knew not the coaſt of the country; nor M
hope to obtain pardon at *Scipio* his hand, againſt whom, (deſerving ſo well of them and their
nation) they were come into *Africk* with a power of waged mercenary ſouldiers. So being en-
vironed on every ſide with the enemies, they fell one upon another, and obſtinatly dyed to the laſt
man. But whiles all the enemies were wholly employed about them, *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal* gained
themſelves ſome time to get away & eſcape. The victors (wearied rather with continual killing than
long fighting) were overtaken with the night. The morrow after, *Scipio* ſent unto *Lelius* and
*Maſaniſſa*, with all the Roman and Numidian horſe, and the nimbleſt and appointed footmen,
after *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal* for to follow the chaſe. Himſelf with the ſtrength and body of that
army, ſubdued all the Cities thereabout that were within the ſeignory of the Carthaginians: whom
he partly forced by aſſault, and partly took by ſurrender for fear. Great was the fright ye may N
be ſure at *Carthage*: and they thought no other but that *Scipio* being now in the train of conqueſt,
would make haſt to overrun the countrey; and when he had once brought under his ſubjection
(and that with ſpeed) all the other States there bordring, then at once he would come to aſſault
*Carthage*. Therefore they fell to repair and make up the breaches of their wals, and to fortifie
them with ſtrong bulwarks: and every man did his beſt to bring out of the country all kind of
proviſion, againſt the time they ſhould abide a long and tedious ſiege. Few words or none at
all of peace, but much talk of ſending Embaſſadors to call home *Annibal*. The greateſt part were
of mind & gave advice, to make out the armado which ſtood ready rigged, for to intercept the Ro-
mans victuals, and to ſurpriſe and aſſault the Romans fleet, riding before *Vtica* retchleſly without
fear, and diſtruſting nothing: for peradventure they might alſo force the navall camp, left with
ſmall guard for the defence thereof. And to this counſell the moſt enclined: yet they thought O
it good to ſend Embaſſadors to *Annibal*. For ſuppoſe that their navy ſhould ſpeed full well, and
have the happieſt ſucceſs that they could wiſh, this only good would come thereof, that *Vtica*
thereby might be in ſome ſort eaſed of the ſtreight ſiege wherewith it was inveſted: as for the
defence of *Carthage* it ſelf, they neither had any other Generall beſides *Annibal*, nor army left
but only his. Whereupon the next day after, the ſhips were ſhot into the water, and ſet afloat:
and withall the Embaſſadors took their way towards *Italy*. All things were hudled up and done
in

A in haſt; ſuch was their fortune that pricked them forward, and gave them no further time. And look if any one man ſlacked his buſineſs never ſo little, he was reputed to betray the whole ſtate, and the ſafety of all.

*Scipio* now marching with an army, loden with the ſpoil and pillage of many Cities; ſent the priſoners away, and all the prizes beſides, unto the old camp before *Vtica*. And wholly ſet upon the conqueſt of *Carthage*, he ſurpriſed *Tunes* (a City abandoned of her guard left for defence) ſituat from *Carthage* almoſt twelve miles. The place, both by mans hand was ſtrongly fenced, and by nature ſurely ſeated: and as it might be eaſily ſeen from *Carthage*, ſo it yeelded a goodly proſpect to *Carthage*, and alſo to the ſea all about *Carthage*. From thence the Romans (as they were hard at work in fortifying themſelves with a trench and rampier) diſcovered the enemies fleet, ſailing from *Carthage* towards *Vtica*. Laying therefore their work aſide, they ſounded the remove, and
B preſently in all haſt advanced their enſigns, to prevent that their own ſhips which ſtood cloſe to the ſhore, bent wholly to the ſiege, and nothing fitted and furniſhed for a ſea-fight, might not be ſurpriſed and boorded. For how poſſibly could ſhips heavily charged, carrying artillery, ordnance and engins of battery, be ever able to withſtand an Armado nimbly appointed, rigged and trimmed for the purpoſe with all ſhip furniture meet for battell, and manned beſides with armed ſouldiers? How might our ſhips (I ſay) withſtand the enemy, which either are converted to the uſe of merchant-ſhips of burden; or elſe ſo neer ſet to the wals, that they ſerve in ſtead of a platform and bank, or elſe of bridges to enter upon the City? *Scipio* therefore, after he was thither
C come, and had beſtowed his wars ſhips with braſen beaks behinds in the rereward near to land, which (as the manner is in fight at ſea) might guard and defend the reſt: oppoſed the Hulks and Caricks in a four-fold rank and courſe, in ſtead of a wall afront the enemie. And becauſe that in the tumult of the fight, thoſe ranges might not be broken and diſordered, he laid the maſts and ſail-yards over-croſſe, reaching from ſhip to ſhip; and with ſtrong cables he linked and faſtned them all in one together, and laid boords and planks over them, that men might paſſe every way from one ſhip to another. But under thoſe very bridges, he left certain ſpaces between, from whence the light pinnaces and frigots might make out to charge and recharge the enemy, and retire themſelves thither again in ſafety. Having thus in haſt (according as the time would give him leave) ſet theſe matters in order; there were to the number almoſt of a thouſand elect and choice ſouldiers put aboord into thoſe ſhips of burden, to make head in the forefront, & withſtand the vio-
D lence of the enemies, and furniſhed they were with offenſive weapons, but miſſive eſpecially, to ſhoot and fling from them: and ſuch ſtore thereof they had together, as might ſerve for the aſſault were it never ſo long. Thus appointed and prepared, they waited the coming of the enemies. The Carthaginians, who if they had made good ſpeed, might have ſurpriſed them unawares, and found all peil-mell and out of order whiles they were troubled, frighted, and to ſeek what to do upon that ſudden occurence) fearing ſtill as men out of heart and diſmayed with ſo many foils by land, and thereupon diſtruſting themſelves even at the ſea alſo; where (no doubt) they were the better and more puiſſant: and having trifled out all the live-long day, and ſailed but ſlowly; about the ſun-ſet arrived in the haven, which the Affricans call *Ruſcinon*. And the next morning by ſun-riſing, they put forth into the open ſea, and ranged their ſhips in order, as againſt a ſet navall battell; ſuppo-
E ſing that the Romans would make out and receive them. When they had ſtood thus a long time, and perceived the enemies not to ſtir or once to ſet forward, then at laſt they charged upon the foreſaid hulks and ſhips of burden. The ſervice was nothing like a ſea-fight, but reſembling for all the world the ſhips that are to aſſaile the wals of ſome Town. For the hulks were a good deal taller and ſtood a loft over the enemies. And the Carthaginians out of their war ſhips armed and breſted with braſen beaks let flie many a dart in vain, as lancing them from beneath faintly againſt the higher place; whereas the ſhot from above out of the Caricks, was levelled with more ſtrength and by reaſon of their own poiſe light alſo with greater force. The light pinnaces for ſpial, and the o-ther ſmal barks, which made ſallies from under the bridges aforeſaid, framed of planks upon maſts and ſail-yards, at the firſt were encountred, overcharged and hidden only with the violence and
F greatneſs of thoſe war-ſhips: but afterwards they were ſome trouble to the defendants of their own ſide; for that being intermingled amongſt the enemies ſhips, their own fellows were forced oftentimes to ſtay their hands, and neither ſhoot arrow, nor lance dart, for fear of miſſing their enemies, and lighting amongſt their own part. At the laſt, the enemies from out of the Carthaginian ſhips, began to caſt out certain loggets, with iron hooks at the end (which the ſouldiers uſe to call *Harpagones*) [Grapples] for to take hold upon the Roman ſhips. Which when the Romans were not able to cut in ſunder, no more then the very chains whereto they hung, and whereby they were ſlung, then ye might have ſeen (as any one of their enemies war-ſhips and gallies rowed back, and towed after it a Roman Carick hanging by the grapple end) the boords and ropes cut aſunder, by which it was tied and faſtned unto others, or elſe another range
G and courſe of more ſhips together, to follow after the tail of the other. By this device eſpecially were all the bridges torn and rent in peeces, and ſcarcely had the defendants any time and ſpace to retire and paſſe into the ſecond rank of ſhips behind. Thus there were about ſix Carricks of the Romans drawn away to *Carthage*, hanging at the poops of their gallies. Their gladneſſe and rejoycing hereat was much greater than the thing it ſelf came to, and the more

acce ptable in that amidſt ſo many continuall loſſes and plenteous tears of theirs, one only joy as H
ſmall as it was, ſhining upon them beyond their expectation, eaſed and lightned their hearts: conſidering withall how neer by all likelyhood and appearance the Roman armado was to a miſchief andfinall deſtruction, had not the captains of their own gallies foreſlowed ſo much, and *Scipio* come in time to help.

It fortuned about the ſame time, that *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa* were come within 15 daies into *Numidia*; the Maſæſylians rendered *Maſaniſſa* the ancient realm belonging to him by inheritance from his father, and received him with joy, as their King whom they had long time deſired. *Syphax* ſeeing his captains and garriſons diſſeized and diſplaced, kept himſelfe within the ancient limits of his own Kingdome, but was not like to be long at reſt and quiet. For his wives father on the one ſide, and his wife again on the other, ſet him on, and pricked him forward continu- I
ally to make arms againſt the Romans: and ſo doted he on her in exceſſive love, that needs he muſt yeeld to her, there was no remedy. Beſides, ſo mighty he was in numbers of men and horſe, that the puiſſance of a Kingdome flouriſhing ſo many years together, offering and preſenting it ſelf daily to the eie, had been enough to have made a Prince proud, that was not ſo barbarous and uncivill as he, and had ſome better rule and maſtry of his affections then himſelf had. When he had aſſembled together as many as were able for ſervice, he furniſhed them with horſes, and with armour, as well offenſive as defenſive. The Cavalry he ſorted and divided into ſmall troops and cornets, the infantry into the cohorts and ſquadrons, according as he had learned long ſince of the Roman centurions. And thus having raiſed an army equall for number to the former, but ſtanding altogether in manner, of new and untrained ſouldiers, he put himſelf on his journey againſt K
the enemies. And after he had encamped neer unto them, at the beginning ſome few light horſemen advanced forward from the *corps de guard*, in eſpiall, ſo neer as they might with ſafety, but being ſet back from thence with arrows & javelins, they retired unto their companies. After this they began on both ſides to make out one againſt another, and to maintain light skirmiſhes; and when of any part they had taken the foil, they would again for anger return in greater number which is the wonted manner to kindle a battell between horſemen: for whiles the winners hope ſtill of better, and the looſer chafes for having the worſe, the company ever encreaſeth on both ſides. And thus now, after ſome few had ſcuffled and blowed the coals, at length the whole armie of either part, came forth into the field eager of fight, and to ſtrike a ſet battell. So long as the horſe ſervice, the Maſæſylians were ſo many, as there were hardly any dealing with them, *Syphax* L
ſent them out in ſuch great troops: but after that the Roman footmen once had ſuddainly entred between the cornets of their horſemen, which gave way as they came, and had gotten ſure footing and made head, and ſo frighted the enemy charging ſo free upon the ſpur as he did then, the Barbarians began to ride their horſes more eaſily, and within a while gently to ſtand ſtill; and in the end, not only to give ground to the footmen, but alſo to retreat from the horſemen, who now were the more bold and hardy, being flanked with a guard of footmen.

And now by this time the ſtandards of the legions advanced forward, and approached neer hand. But when the Maſæſyli were ſo far from receiving and enduring their firſt charge, that they might not abide the very ſight ſo much, as of their enſigns and armour, ſo mightily wrought with them either the remembrance of former overthrows already paſſed, or the preſent fear of immi- M
nent danger. Where *Syphax*, whiles he rode bravely in the face of the enemies troops and ſquadrons, if happily for very ſhame, or for the perill of his own perſon, he might ſtay his men from running away, had his horſe under him ſore wounded, and being caſt off his back to the earth, as overpreſſed with the number, taken priſoner, and brought alive unto *Lælius*, for to repreſent unto *Maſaniſſa* above all others a goodly ſhew and joyfull ſight to behold. Now was *Cirtha*, the head City of all the Kingdome of *Syphax*; and thither after the flight, betook themſelves a mighty multitude of people. The ſlaughter in this battell was leſs in proportion, then the victory, becauſe the horſemen only maintained the conflict. Not above five thouſand were ſlain, and not halfe ſo many taken priſoners. And when they had made an aſſault upon the camp whither the frighted multitude after the loſſe of their King, had retired, *Maſaniſſa* came unto *Lælius* and ſaid, that for the preſent N
there could be nothing more pleaſing and honourable unto him, then upon his victory to viſit and ſee his fathers Kingdome, which he had recovered and won again after ſo long a time. But as in adverſity, ſo likewiſe in proſperity (qd. he) tract of time and delaies are never good. In caſe therefore *Lælius* would permit him and his horſemen, together with conquered *Syphax* to go before unto the City *Cirtha*, he would ſurpriſe them on a ſuddain, finding all out of frame and to ſeek by reaſon of this ſo ſuddain and unexpected fear: and *Lælius* with his footmen might travell fair and ſoftly, and come after with eaſie journies. *Lælius* yeelded hereunto. Whereupon, being gone afore unto *Cirtha*, he commanded the principall Citizens of *Cirtha* to be called forth unto a parle. But all the whiles that they were ignorant of the Kings unhappy fall, and ſo long as *Maſaniſſa* uttered nothing of that which was hapned, he might not prevail either with threats or faire O
words and perſwaſions untill he preſented the King before them a bound priſoner. Then at ſo heavy an object and miſerable ſpectacle, they lift up a pitifull cry, and made great lamentation. And partly for fear they abandoned the defence of the wals, and partly by a generall conſent to court the Conqueror, and to ſeek for grace and favour at his hands, they ſet the gates open. Then *Maſaniſſa*, after he had beſtowed about the gates, and in convenient places of the wals, certain ſtrong guards, to keep that no man ſhould ſtir and make an eſcape, he rode a gallop to the

royall

A roiall pallace, for to be poſſeſſed of it. As he entred within the fore-gates thereof, even in the very entrance of the porch, *Sophonisba* the wife of *Syphax*, and daughter of *Aſdrubal* the Carthaginian, met him on the way: and eſpying in the mids of the armed train *Maſaniſſa* full gorgeouſly dight, as well in his brave armor, as in other goodly array and ornaments, imagining him to be the King (as he was indeed) ſhe fell down proſtrat at his feet, and ſpake in this wiſe: "True it "it is (quoth ſhe) O *Maſaniſſa*, that the Gods above, together with your own vertue and fidelity "have given you full power and puiſſance, to doe with us according to your pleaſure: but if it be "lawfull for me a poor priſoner and captive woman, to open my mouth and make an humble "ſpeech unto my Lord, and in whoſe only hands lieth my life and death; if I may be ſo bold to "touch your knees, and that victorious right hand of yours; I would beſeech and pray you for B, "the honour of the roiall majeſty of a Prince, wherein we alſo our ſelves erewhile were intereſ- "ſed; in the love and name of the Numidian nation, which now is common to you and *Syphax*, "by the domeſticall gods, protectors of this regall houſe and princely palace, who vouchſafe to "receive you into it at this preſent with better preſages and more fortunat tokens, then lately they "ſent *Syphax* out of it; to deign me a lowly ſuppliant this favour, and grant me this petition, as to "determin your ſelf of me your captive whatſoever pleaſeth you, & not to ſuffer me to fall into the "proud hands and inhumane diſpoſition of any Roman. If there were nothing elſe but this, that I "was ſometime wife and Queen to *Syphax*, yet would I rather trie the courteſie and humanity of "a Numidian, and one born in *Africk* as well as my ſelf then of a ſtranger and alien. But C "what hard meaſure a Carthaginian lady, and the daughter of *Aſdrubal*, may fear at a Ro- "mans hand, you ſee and know full well. Wherefore once again I requeſt and intreat your high- neſſe upon my knees, to regard my ſuit: and if there be no way elſe to ſave and keep me from the will and appetite of the Romans, to put me to death out of hand. For beauty ſhe ſurpaſſed and was incomparable: for years luſty, and in the very beſt of her age. And therefore when as now ſhe held him faſt by the hand, and requeſted his protection and honourable word, only for this, that ſhe might not be delivered and betrayed to a Roman, placing & letting her words ſo well, and couching them ſo cunningly, that they ſounded neerer to ſpeeches for to win love, then prayers to crave pity: ſee the fanſie and affection of this victorious Prince! he enclined preſently not only to mercy and compaſſion, but alſo (as all the kind of theſe Numidians are ful of love, and have no ſtay of their wan- ton luſt) a conqueror otherewiſe though he were, yeelded himſelf priſoner to the love of his captive: D and after he had given her his right hand for aſſurance to perform her requeſt, he went into the pa- lace. This done, he began to caſt about with himſelf how he might make good his promiſe unto *Sophonisba*: but finding no meanes elſe to compaſs and bring it about, he borrowed fooliſh, raſh, and ſhameleſs counſell of blind love. He made no more ado, but commanded in all haſt to pre- pare that very day for the ſolemnization and marriage with *Sophonisba*, becauſe he would give nei- ther *Lælius*, nor *Scipio* himſelf, any liberty at all to proceed againſt her as a priſoner, after ſhe were once the wedded wife of *Maſaniſſa*. The wedding was no ſooner done, but behold *Lælius* came, a gueſt unſent for and nothing welcome: who ſo little diſſembled how much he miſliked the thing, that he was once about to have plucked her forth of the bride-bed, and ſent her away even with *Sy- phax* and other priſoners to *Scipio*. But overcome with the earneſt prayers of *Maſaniſſa*, who E beſought and importuned him to refer the matter over to *Scipio*, for to arbitrat and decide unto whi- ther of the two Kings *Sophonisba* ſhould be awarded, for to mend their ſtate, and better their for- tune; he ſent away *Syphax* alone with the reſt of the priſoners, and by the help of *Maſaniſſa*, wan and recovered the other Cities in *Numidia*, which were held by the garriſons of the King. When news came into the camp that they were bringing *Syphax* thither, all the multitude went forth as it were to behold a triumph. Himſelf went bound before all the reſt, and a number of Numidi- an noblmen and gentlemen followed after. Then every man to ſet forth and amplifie this victo- rie, magnified what he could the greatneſs of King *Syphax*, and the glorious renown of the nation, in theſe termes: That he was the King, unto whoſe majeſty the two moſt mighty and puiſſant ſtates of the world, to wit, the Romans and the Carthaginians attributed ſo much, that F *Scipio* the Generall of the one, for to ſeek his amity, left the province of *Spain* and the army there, and with two Caravals of Gallies ruled with five banks of oars, ſailed over into *Affrick*: and *Aſdrubal* the great commander of the Carthaginians, not only repaired himſelf in per- ſon unto him into his Kingdome, but alſo gave him his daughter in marriage: ſo as at one time he had in his power the two grand-captains, of Carthaginians and Romans both. And like as both theſe nations killed ſacrifices unto the immortall gods, and craved thereby their grace and favour, ſo of both parties at one time was his friendſhip ſought for, and deſired. And as for his power and puiſſance, it was ſo great, that he expelled *Maſaniſſa* out of his own Realm, and drave him to this narrow point, that the beſt meanes he had to preſerve his life, was either the running rumour of his death, in the lurking holes of the wild woods, wherein he was glad to live G by rapine and ſtealth, after the guiſe of ſavage beaſts. The King thus talked of in every mans mouth that ſtood about him, was brought at length into the Prætorium or Generals pavilion, and there preſented unto *Scipio*. And *Scipio* verily was much moved in mind to conſider the former ſtate and fortune of the man, compared now with his preſent condition: and to remember withall and call to mind the hoſpitall interteinment, the giving interchangeably of the right hand, and the covenant between them made both in publick and private. In theſe regards likewiſe *Syphax* took heart, and ſpake more frankly unto the conquerour. For when *Scipio* demanded of him

" What he meant, and for what intent he not only renounced alliance with the Romans, but also H
" began himself first to make war upon them: he made answer again and confessed, That he had
" indeed done amiss, and plaid the fool. As for his taking armes against the people of *Rome*,
" that was not the beginning of his folly, but rather the very end of his frantick sottishness. Then it
" was, and never else but then, that he went besides himselfe and was bereft of his wits; then he
" abandoned out of his mind and clean forgat, as well private enmity by a hospitall entertainment,
" as all publick alliance by solemn covenants; when as he received into his house a Carthaginis-
" an lady for his wife: then his royall court and palace was set on fire & burned with those nuptiall
" torches. That furious fiend it was (quoth he) and pestilent dame, that by all kind of pleasant al-
" luring baits, and flattering enticements possessed my mind, drew away and alienated my heart; and
" never rested she, untill with her own hands she laid upon my body impious and ungodly armour I
" against my owne guest and loving friend. And yet as desperate and as wofull as my case is, in all
" my miseries and calamities, this one thing doth me good and enjoyeth my heart, that I see the
" same pestiferous fury, that fiend of hell, and lim of the Devill, gotten into the house and family of
" him who is the most deadly and mortall enemy that I have in all world. Neither surely will *Ma-*
" *sanissa* demean himself more wisely, soberly and constantly then *Syphax*: nay, considering his
" youthfull years, he wil be as apt to be mis-led by love, and more subject to the temptations of a
" woman. Certainly in this action of espousing her, he hath shewed more folly a great deal, and
" want of government. When he had uttered these words not only upon a spitefull hatred against
" an enemy, but also upon some new pricks of jealousie rising in his heart, seeing her whom he lov-
ed, in the possession of his concurrent, *Scipio* was driven into no small dumps, and wist not well K
what to make of it. And as he began to be suspicious of *Masanissa* for this marriage, so, to speak
a truth, the circumstances thereof hammered in his head, and made him conceive hardly of him;
for fear that another day by the suggestions of the same woman, he would play false, and tres-
passe as well as *Syphax*. The marriage was so hudled up as it were in the mids of war and hostility,
without the advise, without the privity, and without the expectation of *Lælius* his company. Such
hast he made all on the head, & without advisement, the very same day that he set eye first upon the
queen his prisoner, he must needs espouse and marry her out of hand, and in the very house of his
greatest enemy consummate and solemnise the complements of sacred wed-lock. Moreover to ag-
gravate these matters and make them seem more foul and shamefull, *Scipio* knew full well, that
*Masanissa* during the time that he remained in *Spain* a lusty young gentleman, it was never knowen L
that he was enamoured upon the lovely beauty of any captive woman. As he tossed and revolved
these things in his mind, *Lælius* and *Masanissa* chanced to come in place. And after he
had welcomed them both alike, and shewed them a loving and gracious countenance, yea and
honoured them with singular praise and commendations openly in a frequent audience and court,
he within his lodging took *Masanissa* into a secret place apart, and began to speak unto him in this
manner: I suppose *Masanissa*, that you saw in me some good part, for love whereof both at the first
" you were induced to come into *Spain* and contract amity with me; and afterwards also in *A-*
" *frick*, you reposed dy our self and all your hopes in my fidelity and protection. But of all those ver-
" tues, for which I have seemed worthy of your affectionat love, there is is not one wherein I may
" so much glory and take joy and take comfort, as in temperance, continency, and the bridling of M
" carnall delights, and fleshly pleasures. This vertue *Masanissa*, I wish that you also would have
" joyned unto the rest that are in you so rare and and excellent. For our ages (trust we truly) stand-
" eth not so much in danger of armed enemies, as of those earthly pleasures that compasse us on
" every side. And he that by his sobriety and governance hath been able to rule and tame the same,
" hath won himself more honour, and gottten a greater victory, then we have done by the con-
" quest and subduing of *Syphax*. What valiant exploits and worthy acts you have atchived in mine
" absence I have willingly reported, and still remember. For the rest I had rather you would con-
" sider of them by your self, then change colour and blush at my rehearsall of them. *Syphax* through
" the good fortune, and by the forces of the people of *Rome*, is vanquished and taken prisoner.
" And therefore himself, his wife, his realm, his lands, his towns, the inhabitants thereof, and N
" finally all things else whatsoever that belongeth unto *Syphax*, are become a bootie to the people
" of *Rome*. The King himself, and the Queen his wife, in case she had not been a citizen born of
" *Carthage*, in case we had not seen her Father to be at the grand Captain of our enemies, ought
" by right to have been sent to *Rome*; that the Senat and people of *Rome* might passe their cen-
" sure, award and judgement of her, who is reported to have alienated a confederat King from us,
" and to have caused him rashly and inconsideratly to take armes against us. Strive then to rule
" and master your lusts and affections, take heed you stain not many good vertues with one bad
" vice. Marre not the grace, deface not I say, the thank of many worthy deserts, by one fault and
" trespas greater indeed, then the subject cause and occasion thereof. *Masanissa*, whiles he heard
these words, not only blushed as red as fire, but also began to water his plants. And when he had O
promised for his part to be overruled and set down by the Generall, and requested him withall,
so far forth as possibly the case would permit, to tender and regard his promise, wherein rashly
and inconsideratly he had entangled himself, (for given his faithfull word he had, that he would
not deliver and betray her into the hands and power of any other) he departed out of the Preto-
rium or Generall his court, all dismaied and exceedingly troubled in spirit and betook himself to
his own pavillion. Where all solitary and alone by himself, after he had passed over some time,

with

A with fetching many deep ſighs and ſobs, ſo as he might eaſily be overheard by them that ſtood about his tent, at the laſt he gave one grievous grone above the reſt, and with that called for one of his truſty grooms, who had under his hand the keeping (as the maner was of Kings and Princes) of a ſpeciall poyſon, againſt all doubtfull chances that might happen. Which he commanded him to temper in a goblet of wine, and to carry it to *Sophonisba*, and withall to tell her thus much from him. "That *Maſaniſſa* would have been moſt willing to perform his plighted troth and firſt pro-"miſe, which an husband ought unto his wedded wife. But ſince that the ſuperiour powers, and "thoſe that were mightier than himſelf, had bereft him of that puiſſance and liberty, he was ready "and able yet to accompliſh a ſecond beheſt, namely, that ſhe ſhould not come alive into the "hands of the Romans: and therefore he adviſed her, that in remembrance of her father a noble
B "warrior and Commander, of her native country, of two Kings to whom ſhe had been married, "ſhe would provide for her ſelf, and ſave her own honour. This credence and meſſage, together "with the poyſon, the ſervant when he was come unto *Sophonisba*, delivered unto her. Whereat, I "accept (quoth ſhe) this marraige preſent, and welcome be it to me, if this be the beſt token that "a husband could find to ſend unto his wife. Yet thus much ſignifie unto him from me again, that "better content I would have been to die, if my marraige bed had not ſtood ſo neer to my grave. "She ſpake not the word ſo ſtoutly, but ſhe did the deed as reſolutely: for ſhe took the cup in hand,
C "and ſhewed no ſign at all of fear, ſhe roundly drank it off. When tidings hereof came unto *Scipio*, for fear leſt the hot, humorous, and paſſionat young Prince, might do himſelf ſome miſchief, he preſently ſent for him. One while he gave him good & comfortable words; another while he gently rebuked him, in that he would ſeem to make amends for one folly with another, and to play a more cruell and tragicall part then there was need. The next day after, to the end that he might withdraw his mind away from this preſent fit of troubleſome fancies, he mounted up into his Tribunall ſeat, and aſſembled an audience. There firſt, he openly ſtyled *Maſaniſſa* by the name of King, and honored him with ſingular praiſes and commendations: which done, he gave him a golden crown, a fair cup likewiſe of gold, a chair of eſtate and a ſcepter, both of ivory, a
D * rich long robe imbrodered of divers colours, and a coat wrought with needle work, repreſenting the Date tree. Theſe honourable preſents wanted no words to ſet them out. For as (quoth he) there is nothing among the Romans more ſtately and magnifical than triumph, ſo they that ride in triumph, have no ornaments more rich and ſumptuous then this, which the people of *Rome* eſteemeth *Maſaniſſa* only of all ſtrangers and aliens to be worthy of. After this he gave *Lælius* alſo his due and deſerved praiſes, and beſtowed upon him a coronet of gold. Other martial men likewiſe according to the ſervice which they had done, were rewarded with ſundry gifts. The King having theſe honours done unto him, was quieted and contented in mind, and conceived ſome aſſured hope, now that *Syphax* was diſplaced & rid out of the way, ſhortly to compaſſe and enjoy the whole kingdome of *Numidia*. Then *Scipio* having ſent *C. Lælius* with *Syphax* and other captives unto *Rome*, accompanied alſo with the Embaſſadors of *Maſaniſſa*, returned himſelf with his power again to *Tunes*. And there what fortifications and works he had begun afore, now he finiſhed perfectly and brought to an end.

* *Vt tunica reſta togæ puræ, clavata prætextæ, ſic palmata, togæ pictæ reſpondet. Carolus Sig. De Iudic. lib* 3. *cap.* 19.

The Carthaginians who were filled with a kind of joy that was not only ſhort, but alſo in maner
E vain and fooliſh, grounded upon their late aſſault of the Armado, which (conſidering their preſent ſtate) was fortunat enough; after they heard that *Syphax* was taken priſoner, in whom they had repoſed more hope (well neer) then in *Aſdrubal* and their own army, were mightily affrighted and daunted; and would give no more ear to any that perſwaded war, but ſent as orators to ſue for peace, thirty of their principall ancients: and they amongſt them were (as one would ſay) their privy councell of ſtate, and had the greateſt power and authority to ſway and overrule the whole body of the Senat. Who being entred into the Roman camp and the Generall his lodging and pavillion, fell down proſtrat (after the manner and guiſe as I take it, of the countrey * from whence they were firſt deſcended) like thoſe that worſhip & adore the gods. And to this their humble reverence, their language was ſutable and correſpondent; not excuſing themſelves and
F their fault, but transferring the beginning and occaſion thereof, upon *Annibal* and his favorites about him and ſoothed him and bare him up in his wilfull pride and inſolent ambition: craving pardon for their City of *Carthage*, which twice already had been ſubverted and overthrown by the inconſiderat folly of her own citizens: yet once again you would gladly be ſaved and ſtand upright by the meanes and goodneſſe of their enemies: for as much as they knew full well, that the "people of *Rome* ſought not the utter extermination and deſtruction of thoſe whom they had van-"quiſhed by force of arms, but only the ſoveraignty and rule over them: promiſing fealty and ho-"mage to them ready to ſerve in all loyalty, and to perform whatſoever it ſhould pleaſe them to im-"poſe and lay upon them. *Scipio* made them this anſwer again, and ſaid, that as he came into *Africk*
"upon hope to return home with conqueſt and not with peace; ſo that hope of his by the proſpe-
G "rous and happy ſucceſſe of his wars hitherto, was much bettered and augmented. How-"beit although he aſſured himſelf of the abſolute victory, as if he had it faſt enough in his hand, "yet a good accord he would not refuſe: that all nations of the world might know, that the peo-"ple of *Rome* can both begin wars rightfully, and alſo end the ſame as juſtly. My will therefore "(quoth he) and pleaſure is, that the conditions of peace ſhall be theſe. *Inprimis*, that the Car-"thaginians ſhall reſtore and diliver back all the priſoners that they have taken in the wars: with "all the renegates and fugitives that have fled to their ſide from us. *Item*, that they remove their

* *Tyrus in Thœnicia.* Where, like as in other countries of *Aſia*, the people are moſt ſervile and very Idolatrous to their Princes.

forces

"forces out of *Italy* and *France*, Item, that they forbear to meddle in *Spain*. Item that they abandon H
" and quit all the Ilands between *Italy* and *Africk*. Item, to yeeld up all their ships of war saving
" only twenty. Item, that they deliver unto the Romans, of wheat 500000 Modii, and of bar-
"ley 300000. [Now what was the sum of money that he required or demanded of them, it is
" not certainly agreed upon. In some writers I find 5000 talents: in others, five thousand pound
" weight only of silver: and there be that have set down, that they laid upon them a double pay
of all the souldiers.] Upon these conditions (saith he) whether ye will like of peace or no, ye
" shall have three daies respit and liberty to consult and consider. If you will accept thereof in these
" termes, make a truce with me for the present, and sent your Embassadors unto *Rome* to the Senat
" there. Thus the Carthaginians, when they had agreed together, and concluded to refuse no ar-
ticles and conditions of peace whatsoever, were dismissed. But in truth they sought for nothing I
else but delaies and tract of time untill *Annibal* were sailed over into *Africk*. So they
addressed certain Embassadors unto *Scipio* to enter a truce: others they dispatched to *Rome* to treat
for a peace: who brought with them for a shew some few captives, renegates and fugitives, to the
end they might obtain their sute more easily. But *Lælius* with *Syphax* and other captives (the
principall nobles and gentlement of the Numidians) was many daies before arrived at *Rome*, and
had declared unto the LL. of the Senat all things in order as touching their good speed and successe
in *Africk*, to the great contentment and joy of all men for the present, and with exceeding hope
for the time to come. Then the LL. after consultation had, gave order that the King should be sent to
*Alba*, there to lie in ward and safe custodie, and that *Lælius* should be kept still at *Rome*, untill the
Carthaginian Embassadors came. A solemn procession for four daies was decreed. And P. *Aelius* K
the Pretor, after he had dismissed the Senat, called presently an assembly of the people, and to-
gether with *C. Lælius* went into the Rostra (or pulpit for publick orations.) Where the people hear-
ing that the Carthaginian army was defeated, that the King of great name and renown was o-
vercome and taken prisoner; that all *Numidia* was overrun from one end to the other with a
noble and singular conquest; they could no longer contein their joy in silence, but in shouts and
acclamations and other tokens (usuall in the assembly of a multitude) expresse and signifie their
exceeding gladness and contentment of heart. Whereupon the Pretor immediately made procla-
mation, that the Church-wardens and sextons should set open all the holy temples and chappels
throughout the City, and give the people liberty and leave all the day long, devoutly to go about
the gods, reverently to salute them, and heartily to render thanksgiving for this atchieved victory. L
The next day following, he admitted the Embassadors of *Masanissa* into the Senat house, and gave
" them audience. Who first and formost rejoyced in the behalf of the Senat, for the prosperous
" wars and happy successe of *P. Scipio* in *Africk*: than they gave thanks, that he not only had en-
tituled *Masanissa* their lord and master by the bare name of King, but also invested him a King in-
" deed by restoring him to his fathers Kingdome. Wherein if it pleaseth the LL. of the Senat, he
" might reign, now that *Syphax* was removed and gone, without fear and trouble at all. Also for
"that he solemnly in the open assembly praised him in most honourable terms, and adorned him
" richly with right stately and precious gifts. For to deserve which favors and honours done unto
" him, as he had indeavoured already, so would he henceforth not fail to do his best. Then they
made a petition that the Senat would confirm and ratifie by their act and decree, his royall style M
and title of a King, with other benefits and favours received of *Scipio*. And this moreover particular-
ly *Masanissa* would request (if he might be so bold, and that it stood with the pleasure of the Senat)
that they would enlarge and set at liberty all the Numidian captives that lay in prison in *Rome*: for
this would be a thing whereby he should acquire much honour and reputation, and gain great
love and favour amongst his people and countreymen at home. To these points the Embassador
received this answer. Concerning the prosperous affairs of the wars in *Africk*, they
congratulated likewise, and rejoyced reciprocally with the King. As for *Scipio*, they liked well, and
confirmed his act in giving *Masanissa* the name of King: and therein he had done well and justly
and according to good reason. And whatsoever he had passed else to the honour of *Masanissa*, the
LL. approved and commended the same. Then they decreed certain presents that the Embassa- N
dors should carry unto the King: to wit, two purple souldiers cassocks, each of them with a clasp
of gold; and as many rich coats embrodered and bestudded with purple. Also two coursers bar-
bed and trapped, with their rich caparisons: two complete armours for horses, with their cuira-
ces: likewise pavillions, with all their military furniture, in as full and ample manner as a Con-
sul is allowed. These presents (I say) had the Pretor direction to send unto the King. As for the Em-
bassadors themselves, there was bestowed upon them no less then 5000 Asses a peece; and upon
their followers in the train, each of them 1000 Asses. Also a double suit of apparell for either of
the Embassadors, and one single sute to every one throughout their train; as also to those Numidi-
ans, who being set at large out of prison, were to be delivered again to the King. Over and be-
sides, there was appointed for the Embassdors, lodging of free-cost; gardenage and walking O
places of pleasure; allowance for their table, and all provision else whatsoever, at the Cities ex-
pences.

In that summer when these decrees passed at *Rome*, and those affairs were atchieved in *A-
frick*, *P. Quintilius Varus* Pretor, and *M. Cornelius* Vice-consul, fought a set battell with *Ma-
go* the Carthaginian, in the territory of the Insubrians, within the province of *France*. In the
vanguard

vanguard were placed the legions of the Pretor. *Cornelius* kept the legions in the rereward, and
A himſelf in perſon rode to the ſtandards in the forefront. And before both wings, the Pretor and Vice-conſull encouraged all that ever they could, the ſouldiers for to advance the enſigns, and give a charge upon the enemy. But ſeeing he could not prevail nor do any good, then quoth *Quintilius* to *Cornelius*: you ſee how the fight ſlaketh and waxeth cooler, and the enemies that were timorous, are hardned and heartned by this reſiſtance beyond their hope and expectation; yea, and it is to be feared, that they will turn to be hardy alſo, and make head againſt us. We muſt needs raiſe up a ſtorm of Cavalry, if we would diſorder them, and put them out of array. And therefore either do you maintain fight either in the front, whiles I bring the men of arms into the battell, or elſe will I fight here in the vangaurd, whiles you ſend out the horſemen of four legi-
ons upon the enemies. And when the Vice-conſull was willing to accept of whether ſervice the
B Pretor would, then *Quintilius* the Pretor, with his ſon aforenamed *Marcus*, a luſty young gallant, went to the horſemen, commanded them to mount on horſeback, and ſuddainly all at once ſent them againſt the enemy. The tumult and noiſe which the horſemen made, was anſwered & redoubled by the ſhout that the footmen ſet up. And verily the enemies battell had not been able to have kept their ground, but that *Mago* at the firſt ſtirring of the Cavalry, made out the Elephants forthwith into the battell, whom he had in readineſſe for ſuch purpoſe. At the uncouth braying, the ſtrong ſmell, and hideous ſight of which beaſts, the horſes were affrighted: and ſo the aid of horſe-fight proved vain. And as the Roman Cavalry interlaced among the Infantry was more ſtrong and forcible, where they had the uſe both of lance point aloof, and of ſwords edge cloſe at hand: ſo when they were tranſported and carried far off with their panting and fearfull horſes,
C the Numidians horſemen had the more room to ſhoot their darts againſt them with better advantage. Beſides this diſorder, the twelfth legion of footmen (whereof a great part was beaten down and ſlain, more for ſhame then upon any ſtrength and valour, kept their place ſtill; but never had been able to have held out any longer, but that the thirteenth legion drawn forth of the rereward into the vanguard, reenforced the battell that was in hazard and lay a bleeding: and *Mago* withall for his part, came in with the Frenchmen out of the rereward, and oppoſed them againſt this freſh legion; but when they were once diſcomfited and put back (which required no great ado nor long fight) the Haſtati or Iaveliniers of the eleventh legion gathered round together and charged upon the Elephants, which now alſo began to break the ranks of the footmen. But when they had lanced their javelins againſt them ſtanding thick together in multitudes (and lightly
D there was not one of them hit amiſſe but did his errand) they forced them all to turn back upon their own battell: ſo four of them were ſore wounded and fell down dead. Then the vanguard of the enemies began ſomewhat to give ground; and withall, the whole ſtrength of the Roman footmen ſeeing the Elephants turn tail, came forward at once for to encreaſe the diſordered tumult, and put them in greater fear. But ſo long as *Mago* ſtood ſtoutly to it, and ſtanding in the forefront of the enſigns, the ranks and files as they went back ſoftly, and retired by little and little, ſtill maintained fight as before in good order: but after that they ſaw him ſhot through the thigh and fallen, and therewith carried forth of the battell for dead, incontinently they were all defeated and put to flight. There were ſlain of enemies about five thouſand, and of military enſigns eighteen won and carried away. The Romans likewiſe bought not this victory without loſſe of blood. For of the
E Pretors army were loſt two thouſand and three hundred, and the greater part of them by far were of the twelfth legion. Whereof two Tribunes Military or Colonels alſo loſt their lives, *M. Ceſconius* and *M. Manius*. Likewiſe of the thirteenth legion, which came laſt to the conflict, *Cn. Helvius* a Colonell, in renuing the fight was ſlain, and eighteen men of arms beſides, moſt brave and excellent horſemen, with Centurions who were by the Elephants troden down, trampled under foot, and ſo periſhed. And no doubt the battell had continued longer, but that by occaſion of the Generall his hurt, the victory was given away and yeelded. *Mago* in the dead time of the next night diſlodged and departed; and ſtretching out his journey ſo far as poſſibly for his wound he might, he marched away untill he was come to the ſea ſide, unto the Ingauni in *Liguria*: where the Embaſſadors ſent from *Carthage* (who a few daies before were arived in the French gulf) re-
F paired unto him: commanding him with all ſpeed poſſible to ſail unto *Africk*, for as much as his brother *Annibal* likewiſe (unto whom alſo there were Embaſſadors gone with the like meſſage and commiſſion) would do the ſame. For the State of *Carthage* now was not in caſe, nor upon terms to defend and keep in obedience by force of armes *France* and *Italy*, but to ſee to home. *Mago* not only moved with the commandment of the Senat, and the danger of his countrey, but fearing alſo leſt the enemy following the train of his victory, would purſue and ſet upon him, if he made long ſtay; and doubting leſt the Ligurians likewiſe, ſeeing *Italy* abandoned by the Carthaginians, would revolt and turn unto thoſe, under whoſe obedience they were like ſhortly to be reduced: albeit he had no hope that his hurt ſhould have leſſe ſhaking at ſea by ſailing, then on land by travelling, or to find things there more handſome and ready for the cure, embarked
G his army and departed. But before he was well gotten beyond the point and lands end of *Sardinia*, he died of his wound beforeſaid. Certain ſhips alſo of the Carthaginians, being ſcattered aſunder in the deep ſea, were by the Roman Armado, that kept about the coaſt of *Sardinia* ſurpriſed and boorded. Theſe were the Acts performed both by ſea and land, on the ſide of *Italy* which lieth along the *Alps*.

*Cn. Servilius*

*Cn. Servilius* the Conſul having performed no worthy and memorable exploit, either in his province *Hetruria*, or in *France* (for thither he went alſo in the end) but only that he redeemed his father *Cn. Servilius* and his uncle *C. Luſtatius*, from ſervitude and bondage, now ſixteen years after they had been taken priſoners by the Boii before the village *Tanetum*, returned to *Rome*, with with his father going on the one ſide, and his uncle on the other: a man famous rather for his privat deeds, then renowned for any publick and honourable act worthy of remembrance. And a bill was preferred unto the people, that it ſhould not be imputed for a treſpaſſe unto *Cn. Servilius*, that whiles his own father (who had ſitten upon the ivory chair of eſtate) was living (and that unknown to him) he had been both Tribune and Ædile alſo of the Commons againſt the laws in that behalf provided. This act being paſſed and granted, he returned again into his province. Unto *Cn. Servilius* the Conſul who was in the Brutians countrey, there revolted *Conſentia*, *Uſfugum*, *Vergæ*, *Beſidiæ*, *Hetriculum*, *Sypheum*, *Argentanum*, *Dampetia*, and many other peeces of ſmall accompt, upon occaſion that they ſaw the Carthaginians war to wax cold and feeble. The ſame Conſul fought a battell with *Annibal* in the teritory of *Croton*: the maner of which fight is darkly and obſcurely reported. For *Valerius Antias* ſaith, there were ſlain five thouſand of the enemies: a thing of ſuch conſequence, that either it was meer impudency to forge it, or great negligence to overſlip it. But the turth is, from that time forward nothing was done by *Annibal* in *Italy*: for to him alſo there came from *Carthage* Embaſſadors to cal him home into *Africk*, even about the ſame time that the others did unto *Mago*. And as it is reported of him, all the whiles that he gave audience to the Embaſſadors, he gnaſhed and grinded his teeth, he kept a ſighing and groning, yea, and hardly could forbear to ſhed tears. After they had delivered their Meſſage according to their commiſſion, Yea, mary, qd. he, now they go no more about the buſh with me "by covert means and under-hand to ſend for me home, but openly are ſeen in the action: who all "this while in ſuffering no ſupplies either of men or money to be tranſported over unto me, fought "to draw and hale me from hence. Well then, It is not the people of *Rome* ſo often by me defeated and put to flight, that hath by armes overcome *Annibal*, but it is the Senat of *Carthage*, with "their backbiting and malicious envy. Neither will *P. Scipio* rejoyce ſo much, and beare himſelf "proud upon this diſgrace of my return, as *Hanno* will; who with the ruine and ſubverſion of *Car*"*thage*, hath overthrown our houſe and family, when by no other means he could effect it. Now *Annibal*, whoſe mind fore-gave him that ſuch a thing would fall out, had prepared ſhipping afore-hand. And therefore after he had ſent away the multitude of ſouldiers that were of ſmall or no ſervice, into the towns of the Brutians countrey, under a colour and ſhew of garriſons for defence, which towns were but few, and the ſame rather held in by awe and fear, then abiding in obedience for love and loyalty, he took with him the whole ſtrength and flour of his army, and croſſed over into *Africk*. But before he went to ſea, many of the Italian nation, who refuſing to follow him into *Africk*, had taken for ſanctuary the chappell of *Iuno Lacinia*, which never to that day had been violated and broken; notwithſtanding the liberty of the place, he cruelly maſſacred in the very temple. Seldome by report had ever any man been known to leave his native ſoil and countrey, and depart into exile with more heavy heart, then *Annibal* did when he went out of his enemies land. Oftentimes he looked back to the coaſts of *Italy*, blaming both God and man, yea, curſing himſelf and his own life, for that he led not ſtraightwaies upon his freſh victory at *Canna*, his ſoul"diers embrued as they were with blood directly even to *Rome*. *Scipio* (quoth he) had the heart "to go to *Carthage*, who when he was Conſul, had never ſeen in *Italy* the Carthaginian' enemie: "and my ſelf, having ſlain at *Thraſymenus* and *Cannæ* 100000 armed men, have ſitten ſtill about "*Caſilinum*, *Cumes*, and *Nola*, wearing and decaying in ſtrength every day more then other. In this "manner he blamed himſelf, and complained of his hard hap and curſed fortune: and ſo he was pulled out of the poſſeſſion of *Italy* that he held ſo long.

News came to *Rome* about one and the ſame time, that both *Mago* and *Annibal* were departed and onward on their journey: The joy of which twofold gratulation was the leſſe in two regards, both for that their own captains ſeemed to have either little courage or ſmall force to ſtay them behind, and impeach them for going, conſidering they had expreſſe order from the Senat ſo to do: as alſo becauſe they at *Rome* were penſive and douſotfull, what would be the iſſue and end of all, ſeeing the whole weight of the war to bear and reſt upon the ſhoulders of one only Captain and army.

And much about this time came the Saguntine Embaſſadors, bringing with them certain Carthaginians priſoners, who were taken with ſums of money upon them, and had ſailed into *Spain* for to levy and wage men for aid. The mony they laid down in the very port-hall or entrie of the Senat-houſe, amounting to 250 pound weight of gold, and 800 pound weight of ſilver. The men they received and clapt them up faſt in priſon, the ſilver and gold both, they delivered again to the Embaſſadors, with many thanks, over and beſides they gave them rewards and ſhips to return again into *Spain*. Then the grave and ancient Senators began to reaſon and diſcourſe in this wiſe "That men naturally have leſſe ſenſe of good things then of bad: and feel not ſo ſoon "their own weal as their woe. We remember ſay they, what fear, what fright and terrour we "were put in, when *Annibal* paſſed over into *Italy*. Lord, what loſſes, what lamentable miſfor"tunes hapned thereupon! The enemies camp was diſcovered and ſeen from the wals of the City; "what vowing, what praying was there then, both of all and ſome! How often in aſſemblies and "councels were men ſeen to ſtretch out their hands to heaven, & to utter theſe words & cry aloud;

When

A When will that day come ? and will it never be, that we ſhall ſee *Italy* again cleer of enemies, obtein repoſe, and flouriſh once more in joying happy peace? Now at length, even at 16 yeers end "and not before, the gods have vouchſafed us this bleſſing; and no man ſaith a word, nor maketh "a motion of thankſgiving to their divine majeſty therefore. And ſurely, if men know not how to accept with joy and thankfulneſſe a benefit when it firſt cometh, they will be far ſhort, and fail "much more to remember the ſame when once it is paſt. Hereupon they cryed out and called aloud with one voice from all parts of the Senat-houſe to *P. Ælius* the Pretor, for to propoſe the matter to the court there aſſembled: and a decree was granted, that for five daies there ſhould be ſolemn proceſſions and ſupplications in every church and chappell before the ſhrines of the gods and goddeſſes: and greater beaſts killed for ſacrifice to the number of 120.

B Now when *Lælius* and the Embaſſadors of *Maſaniſſa* had their diſpatch and were diſmiſſed, tidings were brought of the Carthaginian Embaſſadours coming to the Senat to ſue for peace, were ſeen at *Puteoli*, and that from thence they would travail by land unto *Rome*. Whereupon it was thought good unto the Senat, that *Lælius* ſhould be ſent for again and called back, that he might be preſent, and at the hearing of the treating of peace. *Q. Fulvius Gillo* a Lieutenant of *Scipio* had the conducting of the Carthaginian Embaſſadors to *Rome*: who being forbidden to ſet foot within the City, were lodged without the in great hall named *Villa Publica*, and had audience given them of the Senat, aſſembled in the temple of *Bellona*. Who made in manner the very ſame ſpeech that they had before unto *Scipio*, cleering the whole State and their publick councell, and laying all the fault and blame upon *Annibal* for making war: ſaying, that he had no warrant, com-

C miſſion, and commandment from the Senat to paſſe over the *Alps*, no, nor ſo much as over *Iberus*: and that of his own head he took arms; and warred not upon the Romans only, but alſo upon the Saguntins. In conſideration whereof, he that would eſteem all things aright, and weigh the truth indeed, muſt needs judg, that for any thing done by the Senat and people of *Carthage*, the ancient league made with the people of *Rome*, hath continued to that day ſound and entire. And therefore nothing elſe had they in commiſſion to ſue for and requeſt, but that they might maintain and and remain ſtill in that accord & league which was laſt concluded and contracted with *Luctatius* the Conſul. Now when the Pretor, according to an ancient cuſtome of their forefathers, had given liberty to whomſoever that would for to put interrogatories unto the Embaſſadors; and the elder ſort, ſuch as had been preſent at the making of the capitulations and covenants concerning the ſaid

D peace, and demanded of them, ſome one thing, and ſome another; and the Embaſſadors anſwered again, that by occaſion of their yong age (for they were all in manner but yong men) they remembred no ſuch thing: the whole court from all parts thereof cryed out and ſaid, that this was but a fraudulent and traiterous Carthaginian trick, to chuſe and ſend ſuch for to ſue for the old peace which they themſelves could not not remember. And when the Embaſſadors were voided out of the Senat houſe, and the opinions of the LL demanded, *M. Livius* was of this mind, that *Cn. Servilius* the Conſul, who was the neerer of the twain, ſhould be ſent for, that the treaty of peace might in his preſence be conſulted upon. For ſince that there could not lightly a weightier matter then it was, come afore them to be determined of, he thought it ſtood not with the honor and reputation of the people of *Rome*, that ſuch a matter ſhonld be debated of without the perſonall

E preſence of both, or at the leaſtwiſe one of the Conſuls. *Qu. Metellus* (who three years before had been Conſul and Dictator) ſpake to the cauſe in this manner. For as much as *P. Scipio* by defeating and putting to the ſword whole armies, by waſting and ſpoiling the territories of the enemies, had driven them to this exigent, that in humble ſort they came to crave peace: and conſidering that no man living was better able to judge with what mind and intent they ſued for this peace then himſelf, who warred ever before the gates of *Carthage*; therefore no mans advice was to be heard, but only his, either to accept of the ſaid peace in queſtion, or to reject it. *M. Valerius Lævinus*, who had been twice Conſul, argued, that they were ſpies and not Embaſſadors, who now were come; and that it were a good deed to command them to avant and be packing out of the confines of *Italy*; & to ſend with them certain men of purpoſe to guard them to their ſhips;

F yea, & to write unto *Scipio* to go forward with his wars & not to ſlack one jot. *Lælius* & *Fulvius* added moreover and ſaid, that *Scipio* laid this eſpecially for his ground, to hope there might be peace, in caſe *Annibal* and *Mago* were not called out of *Italy*: As for the Carthaginians, they would make ſemblant of any thing whatſoever, ſo long as they expected thoſe leaders and thoſe armies: but afterwards without remembrance of covenants, were they never ſo freſh and new, yea, and without reſpect of all the gods, they would (no doubt) maintain and continue the wars. In theſe regards they enclined the rather to *Lævius*, and approved his opinion. So the Embaſſadors were ſent away without any peace obtained, or certain anſwer returned unto them.

Much about that time, *Cn. Servilius* the Conſul, who made full reckoning that he ſhould have the honour of bringing *Italy* into quietneſs, made purſuite after *Annibal*, as if he had been courted &

G driven out by him; and firſt ſailed over into *Scily*, and then into *Africk*. Which being commonly noiſed and bruited abroad at *Rome*, at the firſt the LL. of the Senat thought good, that the Pretor ſhould write unto the Conſuls to this effect, that the Senat judged it meet and reaſon for him to return into *Italy*. But afterwards upon the Pretor his words, ſaying that the Conſul would ſet nought by his letters, *P. Sulpitius* was created of purpoſe Dictator, who by vertue of that more ſoveraigne rule and authority, called the Conſull peremptorily home into *Italy*. And the

reſt

reſt that year, be together with *M. Servilius* the Generall of the horſe, ſpent in progreſſe and viſiting all the Cities of *Italy* which in time of war had ſhaken off their alleageance, and in taking due knowledge of all their cauſes and reaſons ſeverally. H

During the time of the truce, there ſet forth alſo out of *Sardinia* from *Lentulus* the Pretor, an hundred hulks laden with victuals, together with a convoy and guard of twenty gallies of war, and paſſed over into *Africk* ſafe, both from the danger of the enemy, and alſo from the perill of tempeſts by ſea. But *Cn. Octavius* as he was in his voyage from *Sicily*, with a fleet of two hundred hulks and thirty ſtrong gallies, had not the like good ſpeed. For as he ſailed (well near) within the kenning of *Africk*, firſt he was calmed; then the wind turning South, troubled and diſordered his ſhips, yea, and ſcattered them over the ſea one from another. Himſelf with his gallies of war wrought againſt the wind and the current, and with exceeding toil and labour of the oare-men, I doul led the point of the cape of *Apollo*, & there in the bay rode at anchor: but the hulks for the moſt part fell with the Iland *Ægimurus* (which ſhutteth upon the foreland, and lieth in the very mouth of that creek from the ſea wherein *Carthage* ſtandeth) almoſt ten leagues from the City: and ſome were driven by wind to a place called the *Hotwaters*, over againſt the City. All this hapned within the ſight of *Carthage*. And therefore out of all parts of the City, was great running to the market place. The magiſtrats aſſembled the Senat; the people at the entry and porch of the Councell houſe, called upon the Senators and cryed out, that they ſhould not let ſlip ſo great a booty out of their eies and hands. Some alledged againſt them, the fidelity of treating of peace: others alſo objected the faithfull promiſe of truce (the terme whereof was not yet expired.) But at laſt when both Senat and people were intermingled all in manner together, agreed it was by a general K conſent, that *Aſdrubal* with a fleet of fifty ſail, ſhould cut over to *Ægimurus*; and ſo from thence rally and gather together the Roman ſhips diſperſed along the coaſts and the havens. And the hulks (abandoned of their marriners that were fled, firſt from the Iland *Ægimurus*, and afterwards from the *Hotwaters* aforeſaid) were drawn and towed as it were at the tails of their own ſhips to *Carthage*. As yet the Embaſſadours were not returned from *Rome*, neither knew they what the reſolution of the Roman Senat was concerning war or peace, nor the day of the truce determined. *Scipio* taking the wrong and indignity to be more hainous, in that the hope of peace and the aſſurance of truce ſhould be violat by them firſt, who ſought both for the one and the other; preſently diſpatched an embaſſage to *Carthage M. Bebius*, *L. Servilius*, and *L. Fabius*; who being by the concourſe and running together of the people, neer to a ſhrewd turn and miſchief; and L foreſeeing their return like to be a dangerous, craved of the magiſtrats (who ſaved them from violence) to ſend certain ſhips to waft them. So they were allowed two gallies called Triremes, which having conducted them until they were arived at the river *Bagrada*, where they were within ſight of the Roman camp, returned back again to *Carthage*. Now the Carthaginian Armado lay in the rode before *Vtica*. From thence there made out three gallies of four ranks of oars; whether it were upon ſome ſecret direction from *Carthage* ſo to do, or that *Aſdrubal* the Admirall of the fleet, upon his own head adventured ſo foul an action (the ſtate having no hand therein, and therefore not to be blamed) and eſpying the Roman Galley of five banks of oars paſt the point of the cape, ſuddainly aſſailed her from the main ſea. But neither could they inveſt and ſtrike her with their beak heads, making ſo good way, and ſhifting ſo well by reaſon of her ſwiftneſs; neither M could the armed ſouldiers from out of their lower veſſels boord her being ſo tall a ſhip over them. And right valiantly ſhe defended her ſelf as long as ſhot laſted; which when it once failed, and that ſhe had no other means to help her ſelf, but only the nearneſs of the land and a number of ſouldiers who from the camp were run to the ſhore, with the loſſe only of the ſhip all the paſſengers eſcaped ſafe to land.

Thus the truce being doubtleſs broken with one wickedneſs coming in the neck of another, *Lælius* and *Fulvius* came in the very nick from *Rome*, together with the Carthaginian Embaſſadors; unto whom Scipio, having given his word, that though the Carthaginians had not only broken the faith and aſſurance given of the truce, but alſo the law of arms, in abuſing and evill intreating the perſons of the Embaſſadors, yet himſelf would do nothing to them unworthy either the order of N the people of *Rome*, or unfiting his own maner and cuſtome, diſmiſſed the Embaſſadors, and made preparation for war.

When *Annibal* now approached the land of *Africk*, one of the mariners was commanded to climb up to the top of the maſt to diſcover the coaſt, and to ſee what part they were directed to: and when he made anſwer and ſaid, that the prow made head upon a place called, the *Ruinat ſepulchre*; he miſliked the omen and preſage of that place, and commanded the pilot to paſſe by, and leave it: and ſo he put his fleet within the bay of *Leptis*, and there ſet his army a ſhore. And theſe were the affairs of *Africk* for that year. The acts enſuing, reach to that year, wherein M. *Servilius Geminus*, who then was Generall of the horſe; and *T. Claudius Nero* were made Conſuls. But in the end of that former year, when the Embaſſadors of the confederat Cities of *Greece* O made complaints, that their territories were waſted by the Kings garriſons: and when they ſent their Embaſſadors into *Macedonia*, for to demand ſatisfaction and reſtitution, they could not be admitted unto the King, nor have audience: and moreover, they gave intelligence, that there were four thouſand armed ſouldiers tranſported over into *Spain*, under the conduct of *Sopater* to aid the Carthaginians: and certain ſummes of money likewiſe ſent with them: the Senat gave order that Embaſſadours ſhould be addreſſed unto the King; to give him to underſtand,

A that the LL. of the Senat took all this to be done againſt the tenure and form of the league. So there were ſent *C. Terentius Varro*, *Cn. Manlius*, and *M. Aurelius*. And three gallies of five courſe of oars they were allowed.

This was a year of ſpecial note, for a great ſcare-fire, whereby the publick cliff was burnt to aſhes down to the ground: alſo for much abundance of rain and many flouds, and exceeding cheapneſs of victual. For beſides that all *Italy* was open by reaſon of a general peace throughout, *M. Valerius Falto*, and *M. Fabius Buteo*, Ædiles of the chair, divided the great ſtore of corn that was ſent out of *Spain*, among the people, ſtreet by ſtreet, and ſet the price at *four Aſſes the Modius. The ſame year *Q. Fabius Maximus* departed this life, a man of great years and exceeding old, if that be true which ſome writers report, that he was Augur 42 years. But certain it is that he was a man worthy of ſo great and honourable a ſurname, yea, and if it had begun firſt in him-

B ſelf. He ſurpaſſed the dignities of his father, he was equal in honor to his grand-father: *Rullus* his grand-father, I muſt needs ſay, had more titles of victories, and of greater battails; but one enemy of his, *Annibal*, may countervail them all, as many as they were. Howbeit, this man was counted more wary and adviſed, than hardy and forward: and as a man may well doubt whether by natural diſpoſition he loved to take leiſure in all his actions, or that it was a policy of his agreeable to the wars properly then in hand; ſo verily nothing is more certain than this, that as the Poet *Ennius* ſaith:

*This only man by wiſe delay,*
*Reſtor'd our ſtate fall'n to decay.*

C His ſon *Q. Fabius Maximus* was inveſted or inſtalled Augur in his place, and for Biſhop in his room (for two ſacerdotal dignities he had) *Ser. Sulpitius Galba* was choſen. The Roman plaies were exhibited one day, and the Plebeian Games thrice wholly renued by the Ædiles *M. Sextus Sabinus*, and *Cn. Tremellius Flaccus*. They both, were made Pretors; and with them *C. Livius Salinator*, and *C. Aurelius Cotta*. The ſolemn election of the Magiſtrats for that year, whether *Cn. Servilius* the Conſul held, or (becauſe of important buſineſs in *Tuſcany*, about the examinations of the conſpiracies there of certain great men, by commiſſion from the Senate, which might keep him there) *P. Sulpitius* the Dictator by him nominated; it is uncertain, by reaſon of the variety and difference of writers in that behalf.

In the beginning of the year next following, *M. Servilius* and *T. Claudius*, after they had aſſem-

D bled the Senat in the Capitol, moved concerning the Provinces. And for aſmuch as both of them deſired *Affrick*, they were willing that *Affrick* and *Italy*, ſhould be put to the choice of a Lottery. But by the eſpecial travail of *Q. Metellus*, the Province of *Affrick* was neither granted nor denied to either of them. And the Conſuls were commanded to deal with the Tribuns of the Commons, that if they thought ſo good, they would prefer a bill unto the people, to know whom they would have to war in *Affrick*. So all the tribes in general gave their voices with *P. Scipio*. Nevertheleſs, the Conſuls (for ſo the Senat had decreed before) caſt lots for the Province of *Affrick*. Thus *Affrick* befell unto *T. Claudius*, namely, that he ſhould ſail over thither with an armado of fifty ſhips, all gallies of five ranks of oars, and be joyned in equal commiſſion with *Scipio*. And *M. Servilius* had *Hetruria* allotted unto him. In the ſame Province *Cn. Servilius* alſo was to continue in government, in caſe it pleaſed the Senat to ſtay the Conſul in the City. Of Pre-

E tors, *M. Seſtius* by lot had the rule of *Gallia*, with order, that *P. Quintilius Varus* ſhould make over unto him the Province and two legions. And *C. Livius* took the charge of the Brutii with the two legions, which the year before were commanded by *P. Sempronius* the Vice-conſul. *Cn. Tremelius* was appointed to govern *Sicily*, and to receive of *P. Villus Tappulus* the Pretor of the former year, that Province and two legions. And ordered it was, that *Villus* as Propretor, ſhould keep in obedience and defend the coaſt of *Sicily* with twenty ſhips of war, and a thouſand ſouldiers; and that from thence *M. Pomponius* ſhould in the twenty ſhips behind embark one thouſand and five hundred ſouldiers, and tranſport them over to *Rome*. Unto *C. Aurelius Cotta* was the civil juriſdiction of the City aſſigned. All the reſt continued ſtill in their government, and had

F their commiſſions newly ſigned, according as they had either provinces or armies under their hand. And with ſixteen legions and no more, was the State of *Rome* that year maintained. Now to the end they might begin all enterpriſes in the name of the Gods and proceed therein with their grace and favour, order was given, that the Conſuls before they went out to war, ſhould ſet forth thoſe games and plaies, and ſacrifice thoſe greater beaſts which *T. Manlius* Dictator, in the year that *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *T. Quintius* were Conſuls, promiſed by ſolemn vow, in caſe the Common-weal continued for five years following, in the ſame good eſtate as then it was. So the games were exhibited in the great Cirque or ſhew-place four daies together, and the ſacrifices ſlain accordingly, as they were vowed to the Gods.

"But all this while, as mens hope, ſo their fear alſo encreaſed daily more and more, whiles they

G "could not certainly reſolve with themſelves, whether they had more cauſe to rejoyce, that *An-*
"*nibal* after ſixteen years had abandoned *Italy*, and left the poſſeſſion thereof free unto the peo-
"ple of *Rome*; or to be afraid, for that he had paſſed over into *Affrick* with the ſafety of his ar-
"my. For why? the place was only changed, and the danger all one. And ſurely *Q. Fabius* late
"deceaſed, no vain Prophet of ſo great a peril and hazard, was wont to foretel, and this was ever
"his ſong, That *Annibal* would be a more dangerous enemy at home in his own country, than
"he had been abroad in a forrain Land. And *Scipio* ſhould find, that he had to deal neither with



* Three pence Engliſh.

" *Syphax* (King of a rude, untaught, and barbarous country, who was wont to lead armies of ſtale H
" grooms, and little better than water-bearers and camp-ſlaves to keep one place, and not re-
" move) nor with *Aſdrubal* his father in law, a Captain of all others moſt light of foot, and rea-
" dieſt to run away; nor yet with tumultuary armies taken up in haſt and raiſed ſuddainly, conſiſt-
" ing of a rable of ruſtical clowns and peaſants armed by the halfs; but with *Annibal*, born in man-
" ner within the camp, yea, and in the royal pavillion of his father; a moſt valiant Captain, bred
" and brought up amongſt armed men: who long ago was no ſooner a child, but he was a ſouldier,
" and before he came to the prime and flower of youth, became a General: who growing to be
" old in a continual courſe and train of victories, hath filled *Spain* and *France* from the one ſide
" to the other, and *Italy* from the *Alpes* to the narrow ſeas, with the marks and memorable monu-
" ments of worthy and noble exploits; and leadeth ſtill an army of as long ſtanding and continu- I
" ance in warfare as himſelf, hardened and beaten to endure all thoſe things which hardly one
would believe, men could abide and ſuffer, embrued and bathed a thouſand times in the blood of
Romans, and carrying with him the ſpoils not of common ſouldiers only, but alſo of moſt brave
Generals themſelves. *Scipio* ſhould be ſure to encounter and meet in battail thoſe who with their
own hands had ſlain Pretors, and killed Conſuls of *Rome*; all bedight and goodly to be ſeen in
mural and vallare coronets, for their good ſervice in ſcaling of walls, and mounting over rampiers;
thoſe I ſay who at their pleaſure have ranged through the won camps and forced Cities of the
Romans. Neither at this day have the Magiſtrats of the people of *Rome* ſo many bundels of rods,
with axes born before them, as *Annibal* hath taken from the Roman Generals whom he hath ſlain,
& can if he liſt ſhew and carry before him. Caſting and toſſing theſe doubts and fears in their mind, K
they themſelves encreaſed their own care, and doubled their dread in this point alſo, that whereas
they were wont for certain years to make war in ſight of home, in diverſe and ſundry places of
*Italy*, with a lingring kind of hope, without regarding any iſſue thereof like preſently to enſue; now
*Scipio* and *Annibal*, Captains matched together (as one would ſay) to make a final end & tryal of al,
had ſet all mens minds awork to expect the event now or never. And even they alſo who had re-
poſed exceeding confidence, and grounded no ſmall hope of victory in *Scipio*, the more their ſpi-
rits were amuſed upon it, and deſirous to ſee a ſpeedy effect, the greater was their care and doubt
of the ſequel. The Carthaginians for all the world were likewiſe affected and diſquieted in mind.
One whiles, beholding *Annibal*, and conſidering his noble and worthy acts, they repented that
they ſued for peace. Another while again, when they looked back and remembred, how twice L
they had been defeated in battail, *Syphax* ſlain, themſelves driven out of *Spain*, chaſed and hunted
out of *Italy*, and all this by the valor and policy of one man *Scipio*; they trembled for fear of him,
as if he were the fatal Captain born for their ruin and utter deſtruction.

Now by this time was *Annibal* come as far as *Adrumetum*; from whence, after he had beſtow-
ed ſome few dayes in refreſhing his ſea-ſick ſouldiers, he was rouſed with fearful poſts that
brought news, how all about *Carthage* was full of enemies and hoſtility: whereupon he made
long journies till he came to *Zama*. This *Zama* is a Town diſtant from *Carthage* five dayes jour-
ney. From thence he ſent out eſpials, who being taken by the Roman warders, were brought be-
fore *Scipio*, and he cauſed them to be delivered unto the Tribuns or Marſhals, with command-
ment, that they ſhould be led throughout the camp: and ſuffered without all fear, to ſee whatſo- M
ever they deſired. And when he had asked of them whether they had peruſed and conſidered
every thing to their content, and enough to ſerve their turn; he ſent them back again to *Annibal*,
with a ſafeconduct to accompany them. *Annibal* took no pleaſure at all in hearing of any thing
that they reported: for (among other particulars) they brought news that *Maſaniſſa* chanced
that very day to come thither with ſix thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. But moſt of all,
he was troubled and caſt down with the reſolut confidence and aſſurance of the enemy; which
no doubt (he thought) aroſe not of nothing. And therefore albeit himſelf was the only cauſe of
that war, and by his arrival had diſturbed the truce concluded, and the hope of peaceable cove-
nants; yet ſuppoſing, that a more indifferent accord might be obtained, in caſe he ſued therefore
while he was entire and unfoiled, rather than after he were vanquiſhed and overcome; he addreſ- N
ſed a meſſenger or purſivant unto *Scipio* requeſting that he might confer and commune with him.
Whether he did this of his own accord, or by direction from the publick Councel of the State, I
have no reaſon to ſet down or avouch for certain, either the one or the other. *Valerius Antias*
writeth, That he was by *Scipio* defeated in the firſt battel, wherein were ſlain in field 12000 armed
men, and 1700 taken priſoners, whereupon himſelf in perſon came as Embaſſador, with other ten
Orators into the camp unto *Scipio*. But howſoever it was, *Scipio* refuſed not to emparle; and ſo,
both Generals of purpoſe advanced forward and approached with their camps, to the end they
might be neerer one to the other when they ſhould meet in conference. *Scipio* made choice of a
plot of ground not far from the City *Nadagara*: which as it was handſome and meet in
other reſpects, ſo eſpecially in this, that it had a watering place within an arrow ſhot. *Annibal* O
took an hill four miles from thence, ſure enough and commodious otherwiſe, but only that they
were far from water. In the mid way between they choſe a plain, open on every ſide, where they
might diſcover and ſee all about them, that no ambuſh there were laid: and after they had cauſed
their armed ſouldiers to retire a like diſtance from either party, then came together with one
truch-man or interpreter apeece, not only the greateſt and braveſt Captains of their time, but al-
ſo equal to the mightieſt Kings or Emperors of realm or nation that ever had been afore them
in

The enter-view of *Scipio* and *Annibal*.

A in any age and remembrance of man. For awhile they ſtood one beholding the other, and ſaid never a word, raviſhed and aſtonied with a mutual admiration: and at laſt *Annibal* began and ſpake in this wiſe. "If the Gods by deſtinies have ſo appointed, that I who firſt levied war againſt "the Romans, and who ſo often have had the victory as it were in mine own hands, muſt needs "of my ſelf and mine own motion, come now firſt likewiſe to ſue for peace: glad I am and well "pleaſed, that it is my good hap to meet with you above all other men, at whoſe hands I ſhould "ſeek the ſame. And certainly, you alſo for your part among many your ſingular and excellent "praiſes, may ſcore up this for none of the leaſt, namely, That *Annibal* (unto whom the Gods "have vouchſafed the upper-hand over ſo many noble Captains of the Romans) hath yeelded the "bucklers, and given place unto your ſelf; now that you have had the honor to end this war, "more notable and renowned at the firſt for your loſſes and overthrows than ours: and that B "fortune (as it is fallen out) hath made this pretty ſport with me, who at the beginning took "arms when your father was Conſul, gave him battail firſt of all other Roman Generals, and am "now come unarmed unto his ſon to crave peace. Verily much better it had been and ſimply the "very beſt, that the Gods had inſpired into our fore-fathers this mind, That both you might "have contented your ſelves with the Dominion of *Italy*, and we likewiſe of *Africk*. For ſurely, "*Sicily* and *Sardinia* both, are nothing ſufficient to make amends and ſatisfaction, and it were but "only of your part, in recompenſe of ſo many brave fleets, ſo many puiſſant armies, and ſo many "noble Captains that ye have loſt. But faults done and paſt may well be blamed and reproved, "when they can not be corrected and reformed. So greedy were we on both ſides to conquer C "the Lands of others, that in the mean time we have hazarded our own. Neither had ye war in "*Italy* only, or we again in *Affrick* alone: but both ye have ſeen the enſigns and armies of ene- "mies hard at your gates, and in manner under your own walls: and we likewiſe from *Carthage* "have heard the noiſe and bruit of the Roman camp. Now then, that which we have cauſe moſt "to deteſt and abhor, and you to wiſh above all other things in the world; the treaty of peace is "fallen out in time of your better proſperity, and more favourable aſpect of fortune unto you. "We again are the agents therein, whom it moſt ſtandeth upon and importeth that there ſhould "be peace: and who are aſſured, whatſoever we conclude, that the States and cities from whence "we come, will approve and ratifie the ſame. There needs no more but a willing mind, well "affected and enclined to thoſe courſes which tend to repoſe and quietnes. For mine own part, "one while age hath taught me, who am returned an old man into my countrey, from whence D "I came a child: another while proſperity and adverſity both, hath ſo ſchooled me, that I would "now rather be ruled by reaſon, than ſwayed by fortune. But I fear me greatly, that you as well in "regard of youth, as alſo of your continual felicity and fortunat train of ſucceſs, are over-hauty "and ſtout, for to yeeld unto any peaceable wayes. For commonly he fore-caſteth no variable "chances, who never taſted of adverſe fortune. And the ſame are you at this day, that ſometimes "I was at *Thraſymenus* and at *Cannæ*. You being hardly come to that age which is meet for war- "ſervice, had the charge and command of an army: and look what enterpriſes you took in hand "moſt venturouſly, the ſame you ever exploited as happily. You purſued the vengeance of fathers "and uncles death, and wan by the calamity of your houſe and family a notable name and reputa- "tion of ſingular vertue and piety. *Spain* full and wholy you have recovered and conquered a- E "gain: four armies of Carthaginians you have chaſed from thence: no ſooner were you created "Conſul, but when all other mens hearts failed them to defend and keep *Italy*, you ſailed never- "theleſs hither over into *Affrick*: and after you had defeated here two armies, forced and burnt "in one hour two camps of your enemies, taken *Syphax* priſoner, a moſt mighty and puiſſant "Prince; wan ſo many cities both of his Kingdom and of our dominion; you pulled me maugre "my head out of *Italy*, whereof I had been now ſixteen years poſſeſſed. Well may your hauty "mind affect victory rather than incline to peace. Full well I know of what ſpirit and ſtomack "you are, more reſpective to grandeur and honor, than to your good and profit. And the time "hath been, when I alſo had the lightſome countenance of fortune lovingly ſmiling and ſhining F "upon me. And were we ſo bleſſed of God as to have our right wits and perfect ſenſes in time of "proſperity, we would conſider and think not of things only which have hapned, but of thoſe "alſo that might happen. But if you ſhould forget all other, I alone might ſerve as a ſufficient "example & mirror of accidents of fortune whatſoever. For, whom not long ſince you either ſaw "or might have ſeen encamped between the river *Anio* and your City, and ready in manner to "ſcale the walls of *Rome*; you ſee me now after the loſs of my brethren, two right valiant war- iors "and moſt renowned Generals, even here before the walls of my countrey little better than be- "ſieged, making means in humble manner to avert and avoid thoſe dangers from mine own City, "with which erewhiles I terrified yours. Well, the greateſt and happieſt fortune is leaſt to be "truſted, and never is it worſe relying on her, than when ſhe is ſo free & bountiful. Now that you G "flouriſh and we fade, whiles you are aflote and we ſink: a peace, unto you that giveth it, is a glo- "rious and goodly matter: to us that crave it, more neceſſary than honorable. Better it is yet and "ſafer of the twain, to enjoy a certain peace, than hope for a doubtful victory. The one lieth in "your hand to effect, the other as it pleaſeth the Gods to diſpoſe. Beware therefore, how in one "hour you hazard the felicity of ſo many years. And as you conſider your own ſtrength & forces; "ſo think withal upon the power of fortune: ſet before your eyes the alternative courſe of *Mars* "in war. You ſhall ſee armor and the edge of the ſword; you ſhall ſee the bodies of men as well of

The Oration of *Annibal* to *Scipio*.

"one ſide as the other: and no where leſs than in war do events anſwer to our hope and expecta- H
"tion. And make full accompt of this, that you ſhall not gain ſo much overplus of honor, (if
"haply you ſhould win a field) above that which by granting a peace you may preſently have in
"hand and be poſſeſſed of: as you ſhall forgo and loſe of the principal, in caſe you ſhould do amiſs
"and take the foil. One hours misfortune is able to overturn all the honors and triumphant tro-
"phees as well paſt & gotten already, as in future hope to be obtained. In knitting and concluding
"a peace, O *P. Cornelius*, all lieth in your power. Refuſe that once and come to the tryal of a bat-
"tail, you muſt take your hap as God ſhall appoint. If *M. Attilius* in times paſt being conqueror,
"would have granted peace unto our fore-fathers at their ſuit and earneſt petition; a rare and ſin-
"gular example had he afforded of vertue and felicity, and few comparable unto him: but not ha-
"ving the grace to ſee when he was well; not able to ſet a gage to his proſperity in ſome meaſure I
"and in due time; not willing to reſtrain and ſtop the pride and hautineſs of his good fortune,
"the higher he was heaved, the fouler was his fall; and the more he mounted, the greater was his
"overthrow. It is for him (I confeſs) that giveth peace, to capitulat and ſet down the covenants
"and conditions, and not for him that craveth the ſame. And yet peradventure we might not be
"thought unworthy, to ſet upon our own heads a fine and forfeiture. We refuſe not therefore
"but are content, That all ſhall be yours, for which the quarrel and war firſt began: *Sicily*, *Sardi-*
"*nia*, *Spain*, all the Ilands whatſoever lying in the Sea between *Affrick* and *Italy*. And we Cartha-
"ginians holding our ſelves encloſed within the bounds and coaſts of *Affrick* (ſince the will and
"pleaſure of God is ſo) can abide to ſee you to rule and govern in forein lands and ſtrange ſeas. I
"cannot deny, but that you have good cauſe to ſuſpect the Carthaginians for their faith & truth, K
"whoſe late deſire of peace and attendance about the ſame, was not ſo plain and ſimple as it
"ſhould have been: Yet *Scipio*, take this withal; That it importeth much to the aſſurance of keep-
"ing and obſerving peace once intertained, to conſider who the perſons be that ſeek and crave
"the ſame. And even your own Senators and LL. of the Councel, as I hear ſay, were moved not
"a little to deny and reject the motion of peace, for this cauſe, that our embaſſie ſeemed unto
"them not ſo honorable as it ought to have been. But now I, even I, no worſe a man than *Anni-*
"*bal*, do ſue for peace; which as I would not ſeek, unleſs I thought it profitable; ſo I will intertain
"it in regard of that profit for which I ſought it. And like as when I had once begun the war, ſo
"long as the Gods impeached and envied me not, I maintained it ſo, as no man of ours had cauſe
"to be weary thereof: ſo will I endeavour that none ſhall repent of the peace obtained by my L
"means. When *Annibal* had thus ſaid, the Roman General made anſwer again in this ſort. "I
"knew ful well, O *Annibal*, that the Carthaginians upon the hope of your coming, have both di-
"ſturbed the aſſurance of the preſent truce, and alſo troubled the hope of the future peace. Nei-
"ther do you your ſelf diſſemble ſo much, in defalking all out of the former conditions and capitu-
"lations of peace, ſave only thoſe things which long ſince have been in our power and poſſeſſi-
"on. But as you have a great care, that your fellow citizens ſhould know & perceive, what heavy
"burdens they are by your means diſcharged and eaſed of; even ſo muſt I endeavour and labour;
"that the points which then they covenanted and agreed upon, they deduct not this day out of
"the articles and conditions of peace, for the hire and reward of their falſhood and treachery.
"For unworthy you are to have the overture and poſſibility of any peace at all, ye ſeek alſo, that M
"fraud and deceit may turn to your profit and commodity. Neither began our predeceſſors firſt
"to make war for *Sicily*, nor we ſince for *Spain*. But as then the danger wherein our allies the
"Mamertins ſtood; ſo now the ruin and deſtruction of *Saguntum*, moved us to take arms moſt
"juſtly, even for pity and compaſſion. That you began the quarrel and provoked us firſt, your ſelf
"confeſs, and the Gods do witneſs who, as in the former war, they granted and gave the iſſue, ac-
"cording to right, equity, and juſtice: ſo they do in this, and ſo they ever will. For mine one part,
"I remember well, and think upon the frailty of mankind, and the tickliſhnes of this world: I con-
"ſider alſo the power of fortune and what ſhe is able to do: I know likewiſe, that all our actions
"whatſoever, are ſubject to a thouſand hazards and inconveniences. But as I would acknowledge
"my ſelf to have dealt proudly and outragiouſly, if before I paſſed over into *Affrick*, when of N
"your ſelf well nigh you abandoned *Italy*, when you had imbarked your army, and came of your
"own accord to ſeek peace, I had then rejected you and caſt you off: even ſo at this time, when I
"have haled and drawn you into *Affrick* by ſtrong arm, as it were to trie an iſſue in law (all the
"hafting, all the ſhifting and reſiſtance you could make to the contrary notwithſtanding) I am not
"bound to have any reſpective regard at all of you. Wherefore, if beſides thoſe points and capitu-
"lations under which the peace at that time was like to be concluded (and what thoſe were you
"know as well as I can tell you) you bring with you any recompence and amends for our ſhips,
"which being charged with victual and munition, you took perforce from us in time of the ceſſa-
"tion of arms; as alſo for the outrage and violence committed upon the perſons of our Embaſſa-
"dors; there is ſome reaſon that I ſhould conſider thereupon, and be adviſed by my Councel. But O
"if you think hardly thereof alſo, as being thereby too ſore preſſed; look for battel, you that could
"not like of repoſe; provide for war, ſince you would abide no peace. Thus without any concluſi-
on of accord they left parling; & being returned to their own companies, they related unto them,
how their conference came to nothing, and all their words were but wind, and did no good: and
therefore the matter was to be determined and tried by dint of ſword, and they to truſt to that for-
tune which the Gods had appointed for them. So ſoon as they were come into their camps, both

The anſwer of *Scipio* to *Anni-bal*.

of

A "of them made proclamation, that the ſouldiers ſhould buckle themſelves, make ready their ar-
"mour, pluck up their ſpirits, and addreſs themſelves to a final tryal of the quarrel; where, if they
"ſped well, they were to be victours not for one day, but for ever and aye. For before the mor-
"row next at night they ſhould know, whether *Rome* or *Carthage* ſhould give laws unto all nati-
"ons of the earth. And as neither *Affrick* nor *Italy*, but the whole world ſhall be the prize and
"guerdon of the conquerors; ſo they, whoſe hap were to loſe the field, muſt make account of dan-
"ger and damage equal to the winnings and gain of the other. For as the Romans had no way
to eſcape nor place of ſafe retreat, being in a ſtrange and unknown land; ſo *Carthage* (having laid
all upon this one caſt) if they now miſſed, made accompt that all was gone, and preſent deſtruction
at hand. So the next day there advanced forward to this doubtful and dangerous tryal, two moſt
B noble and renowned Captains, of two right mighty and puiſſant ſtates: two moſt valiant and
hardy armies came forth into the field, reſolute that day either to win the ſpurs or loſe the ſaddle;
to gain more glory to their former honour, or elſe to loſe all that ever they had gotten. Thus
therefore between hope and fear their minds were perplexed and diſtracted; and beholding one
while their own forces, and another while their enemies power; meaſuring rather by their eye,
than weighing by reaſon their ſtrength they had at once preſented unto them, objects of joy and
content as well as of ſorrow and heavineſs. And look what the ſouldiers themſelves could not
think upon, tho e things their leaders put them in mind of; ſuggeſting unto them by way of admo-
nition and exhortation, whatſoever was thought expedient and good. *Annibal* rehearſed his no-
ble acts atchieved in *Italy* for the ſpace of ſixteen years, he reckoned up how many Roman Cap-
C tains he had ſlain, how many armies he had defeated and put to the ſword: and ever as he met with
any ſouldiers of note and mark for ſome worthy and memorable battail, he put them in remem-
br nce of their honourable ſervice and good deſerts: *Scipio* related the conqueſt of *Spain*, recoun-
ted the freſh fought ten fields in *Affrick*, alledged the very confeſſion of the enemies; who neither
for fear could do other but ſeek for peace, nor yet upon an inbred falſhood imprinted in their
hearts, continue long in the ſame. Beſides, he inferred the communication and ſpeech of *Annibal*
had with him in ſecret and apart from others: which according as he was diſpoſed to deviſe, he
might turn at his pleaſure to fit his purpoſe. And foraſmuch as the Gods had ſhewed unto them as
they went out into the field the ſame ſigns and tokens of birds, by direction whereof their fathers
before them fought in times paſt before the Iſlands *Ægates*; he offed and preſaged that the war
D was come to an end, all dangers and troubles overblown, that the ſpoil and pillage of *Carthage* was
at their devotion, and they at the point to return home unto their countrey, their parents, wives,
children, and domeſtical Gods. And this he ſpake with ſuch a lofty geſture of his body, with ſo
pleaſant and lovely a countenance withal, that a man who had ſeen him, would have thought
verily he had atchieved the victory already. Then he embattailed firſt his Haſtati (or ſpears) in the
vanguard behind them the Principes; and the rereward he guarded and fortified with the Triarii.
Neither marſhalled he whole cohorts thruſt thick and cloſe together, in the head of the battail
before their enſigns, but divided them into Squadrons, diſtant a prety way aſunder one from the
other: to the end there might be room and ſpace to receive the Elephants of the enemies, that
they ſhould not break the arraies and ranks. As for *Lælius* (whom he had emploied before as
E Lieutenant, but that year in quality of a Queſtor by a ſpecial order and direction from the Senat,
and not by choice of lot) him with the Italian Cavalry he put in the left point: and *Maſaniſſa* with
the Numidian horſemen in the right. The open waies and void ſpaces between the Squadrons
aforeſaid, placed in the front before the enſigns, he filled with the Velites or Iavelotiers, who at
that time were light armed ſouldiers; with this commandment, that preſently upon the violent
charge given by the Elephants, they ſhould either retire behind the files, or elſe run to a ſide, both
on the right hand and the left, and joyn cloſe to the formoſt ranks, and make the Elephants way to
run upon their ſhot from the one ſide and the other. *Annibal* to ſtrike a terrour into the enemies,
firſt arranged the Elephants in the front, who were in number four-ſcore, and more than ever he
had before in any battail. Then he embattailed the aid-ſouldiers of the Ligurians and Frenchmen,
F with the Baleare ſlingers and the Mores intermingled amongſt them. In the main battail he placed
the Carthaginians and Africans, with the legion of the Macedonians: behind whom (leaving a
little ſpace between) he ſet in array the battailon of the Italian ſouldiers in the rereward for ſuc-
cour: and thoſe were moſt part of them Brutii; who followed him more perforce and by con-
ſtraint, than of any good will, when he departed out of *Italy*. The Cavalry alſo he diſplaied and
ſped round like wings about the two points: whereof the Carthaginians kept the right, and the
Numidians the left. Sundry and divers were the exhortations throughout the army, amongſt ſo
many men; whoſe language was diſſonant, whoſe complexions far unlike, whoſe manners and
conditions were divers, who differed in laws and cuſtoms whoſe armours were not al one, whoſe
raiment and apparel not ſutable, and finally, whoſe quarrel and cauſe of war was not one and the
G ſame. The auxiliaries and aid-ſouldiers fed themſelves with the hope of ready and preſent pay-
ment and wages for the time paſt, yea and with a duple and triple augmentation thereof to boot,
out of the ſpoil and pillage. The Frenchmen upon a ſpecial hatred of their own, and the ſame
deeply ſetled, were ſoon kindled and enflamed againſt the Romans. The Ligurians, who were
brought out of the rough and craggy mountains, and whoſe teeth watered at the fruitful and plen-
teous fields of *Italy*, were quickly by him moved to hope after victory. The Mores and Numidians
he frighted with the proud and tyrannical rule of *Maſaniſſa*, under which they ſhould ever after
live.

live. Before the Carthaginians he preſented the walls of their native City, their houſes and houſe H
Gods, the ſepulchres and tombs of their anceſtors, their children and parents, yea, and their timorous and fearful wives: he ſet before their eyes either final deſtruction of all thoſe things and ſlavery of their perſons, or elſe the empire and ſoveraign dominions of the whole world: and no mean between theſe extremities either of fear or hope.

When as the General was moſt buſie thus in exhorting the Carthaginians and the Captains of the ſtrangers, amongſt the ſouldiers of their own Nations, and that for the moſt part by means of interpreters, intermingled for the ſame purpoſe with them; the Trumpets ſounded, and the horns blew from the Roman hoſt. And ſuch a wonderful ſhout aroſe from thence, that the Elephants turned upon the Mores and Numidians of their own ſide, eſpecially in the left point of the battail. Whom *M. Janiſſa* ſeeing once affrighted, he ſoon redoubled their fear; and riding upon I
them with a hot charge, laid naked the battaillon of footmen on that ſide, and clean without the aid of their Cavalry. Howbeit, ſome few of the Elephants driven without fear full upon the enemy, made foul work among the ranks of the light armed Velites, and overthrew a number of them, not without many a wound and much hurt done to themſelves. For the Velites leaping again nimbly to the Squadrons, after they had made way for the beaſts, fearing they ſhould be troden underfoot by them, let flie their javelins at them from both ſides, lying open as they did like buts to the ſhot on either hand. Neither loſt they any time who were in the vanguard before the Enſigns, nor gave over flinging their darts at them, until they were driven by a volley of ſhot lighting upon them from all parts, clean out of the Roman battail: and then they turned head alſo upon the very Horſemen of the Carthaginians in their own right point, and forK
ced them to run away. *Lælius* for his part, ſeeing the enemies in diſarray and ſore troubled, charged upon them with his Horſes, and encreaſed their fright. So as now the Carthaginian battaillon was diſfurniſhed and ſtript of their Horſemen on both wings. By which time the Cavalry joyned battail, whoſe hope was now quailed and ſtrength abated, and therefore not able to make their parts good. Beſides another thing there was, a ſmall matter to ſpeak of, but yet in fighting-time and in the very conflict, of great conſequence and importance, The ſhout and cry from the Romans was ever alike and conſonant in all parts, and therefore the greater and more terrible; but the enemies made diſſonant noiſes, according as they differed in language, being as they were, of many and ſundry Nations. The manner of the Romans fight was ſure L
and ſtedfaſt, by reaſon of the peiſe of their own bodies, and the weight of their armour, bearing ſtill and preſſing hard upon the enemies: but they on the other ſide, ſhewed more ſwiftneſs and agility, than force and violence. And therefore at the very firſt ſhock the Romans incontinently enforced their battaillon to retire and loſe their ground. Afterward they fell to ſhouldering and knocking them with the pikes and boſſes of their bucklers: which done, they ſet foot forward a good round pace, and gained ſome ground of them, marching on ſtill, and no man ſeemed to make head againſt them; whiles they that were hindmoſt in the files, perceiving one that battaillon to go on and win ground, ſtill put forward the formoſt, which was the very thing that availed much, and was of great efficacy to put the enemies to flight. But the ſecond battaillon which conſiſted of Africans, and Carthaginians, were ſo far from ſeconding and upholding the auxiliary ſtrangers thus diſmarching; that contrary-wiſe, for fear leſt the Roman by M
killing them in the forefront (who ſtood to it luſtily and made reſiſtance) ſhould come as far as to them behind, they likewiſe retired and gave backward. Whereupon the aid-ſouldiers alſo ſuddainly ſhewed their hin-parts and turning their face upon their own fellows: ſome of them retired for refuge into the ſecond battaillon; others fell to killing of them that would not receive them within their ranks: and good reaſon they had, for as a while before they had no help at all of them, ſo then they were altogether excluded and ſhut out from them. So as now the Carthagini-ans had to deal at once in two skirmiſhes ſhuffled together whiles they were compelled to cloſe and come to handfight, both with their enemies, and alſo with their own fellows. Yet notwithſtanding for all they were either ſo affrighted, or ſo angry with them receive them they would not in no hand into their battaillon: but keeping their ranks and files cloſe together, they caſt them to N
ſide to the wings and the void ground without the place of conflict, and all becauſe they would not intermingle any ſouldiers thus ſcared upon running away and many wounds, with that battaillon which ſtood ſtill ſure enough, and as yet unfoiled. But the place where a little before the auxiliaries were ranged, was ſo full of ſlain bodies, and weapons and armour thrumbled one upon another that the Romans had well neer more ado to paſs that way now, than they ſhould have had through the preſs of the enemies ſtanding thick together. And therefore the formoſt of the Haſtati following after the enemies, every one as well as he could over the heaps of bodies and armour on the earth, and through the ſlippery filth of the bloud, made a pell-mell of their own enſigns, and confuſion of their ranks. Whereupon the enſigns alſo of the Principes began to wave, when they ſaw the battail afore them ſo wandering and inconſtant. Which *Scipio* when he O
once perceived, commanded in all haſt to ſound the retreat unto the Haſtati: and when he had withdrawn as many of them as were wounded and hurt, and beſtowed them in the rereward, he brought the Principes and the Triarii to the out-wings and flanks thereof; to the end, that the middle battaillon of the Haſtati ſhould be more ſure and ſtrong. By this means there began a new skirmiſh. For now were they come to their very enemies indeed; ſuch as for armour and weapons of all ſorts, for practiſe and experience of warfare, for fame and renown of

worthy

A worthy exploits, and laſt of all for greatneſs either of hope or peril, were equal and comparable unto them. But both in number and alſo in courage, the Romans were ſuperiour, for that already they had diſcomfited the Cavalry, put to flight the Elephants, beaten back the vanguard, and were ready now to encounter with the main battail. Now *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa* having had the horſemen in chaſe a good way, whom they had compelled to flie as is beforeſaid, returned in good time, and charged hotly upon the tail of the enemies battail. And this aſſault of theirs it was, that ſtruck the ſtroke, this did the deed and amazed the enemies. Many of them were environed and killed in the place, many fled and were ſcattered over the plains and open fields, and by the horſemen who had taken up all the avenues, and ranged all about, were caught up here and there, and ſo ſlain. Of Carthaginians and their Allies, were killed that day above twenty thouſand, and B welneer as many taken priſoners: of military enſigns there were gotten a hundred thirty three, and eleven Elephants beſides, alive. Of the conquerors there died about two thouſand. *Annibal* with ſome few horſemen made ſhift to eſcape out of the tumult and heat of the execution, and fled to * *Adrumentum*, having aſſaied and tried all means poſſible, both in the very conflict, and alſo before the battail, ere he departed and left the fight. And this praiſe and commendation he won even by the confeſſion of *Scipio* himſelf, and all others that were expert warriors, that with ſingular skill that day he ordered the battel, and marſhalled the field. For the Elephants he had placed in the forefront, whoſe adventurous force and intollerable violence in giving the onſet, might empeach the Romans from following their colours, and keeping their arraies; the only thing wherein they repoſed their greateſt hope and confidence. Then, before the main battail of the C Carthaginians, he ſet the auxiliaries and aid-ſouldiers, of purpoſe, that being a confuſed rable and medley of all ſorts of nations, ſuch as were not bound by alleageance, but tied only by gain and wages, ſhould have no liberty to retire themſelves, and eſcape by running away: who alſo, as the forlorn hope, bearing the furious heat of the firſt brunt, might weary the enemies with charging upon them, and if they did no other good, yet with receiving many a wound in their bodies dull and turn the edge of the enemies ſword. After this, in the battel, where all his hope was, he placed the Carthaginian and African ſouldiers; that being otherwiſe in all things elſe equal to the enemies, they might in this regard have the ods, in that they were to fight with them wearied and wounded, when they themſelves were in heart and luſty. As for the Italians, who alſo were divided from the reſt by a good ſpace between, he removed far off into the rereward, as doubtful whether they were friends or enemies. *Annibal* having done this doughty deed and work, as it were D for the laſt proof of his vertue and valour, fled to *Adrumetum*, and was from thence ſent for to *Carthage*: whither he returned in the 36 year, after that he firſt departed thence a very child. Where in the Councel houſe he confeſſed and ſaid, "That overcome he was not only in a battel "once, but alſo in the main war for ever hereafter: proteſting in plain terms, that now there was "no other way but one to ſave themſelves, and that was peace, if they could obtain it.

*Annibal* deſeated by *Scipio*.

* Or *Adrumetum*, now *Machometta*, according to *Mercator*.

*Scipio* immediatly after this battail, having forced by aſſault and rifled the enemies camp, returned with a huge booty to the Sea and his ſhips, being advertiſed afore by a meſſenger that *P. Lentulus* was arrived at *Utica* with five ſhips of war, and a hundred Hulks laden with proviſion of all kinds of victual. And ſuppoſing it good policy now that *Carthage* was troubled and E throughly affrighted, to come upon them with all terrour on every ſide: ſo ſoon as he had diſpatched *Lælius* away to *Rome*, with tidings of this victory, he commanded *Cn. Octavius* to lead the legions by Land againſt *Carthage*. Himſelf in proper perſon, after he had joined this new fleet of *Lentulus*, unto the old Armado of his own, weighed anchor and departed from *Utica*, and ſailed directly to the Haven of *Carthage*. He was not far from thence, when there met him a ſhip of the Carthaginians, garniſhed with infules, ribbands, and white flags of peace, and beſet with branches of Olive; wherein were ten Orators embarked, the beſt men of the City, ſent by the advice and motion of *Annibal* to crave peace. Who as they approached the hin-deck and poop of the Admiral ſhip, put forth the vails and tokens of ſuppliants, praying and beſeeching the protection and mercy of *Scipio*. Who had no other anſwer made them, but that they ſhould repair F to *Tunes*, whither he intended to remove. Then himſelf after he had well viewed the ſituation of *Carthage*, not ſo much to have the full knowledge thereof at this preſent, as to terrifie the enemies, returned to *Utica*, whither he had called back *Octavius* alſo. As he marched forward from thence toward *Tunes*, he had intelligence given him, that *Vermina* the ſon of *Syphax* was coming to aid the Carthaginians with a power of more Horſemen than Footmen: whereupon, part of the army together with the whole Cavalry was ſent: whereof the light horſe and van-curriers charging the vanguard in their march, after a light skirmiſh diſcomfited the Numidians: and having ſtopped all paſſages every way with the Horſemen, ſo as they could not get out and flie, there were upon a fifteen thouſand men of them ſlain, 1200 taken priſoners, 1500 Numidian Horſes alſo were gotten from them alive, and 72 military enſigns. The young Prince himſelf in the G mids of the tumult and conflict, with ſome few eſcaped. Then encamped *Scipio* neer *Tunes*, in the ſame place where he lay before: and thither repaired unto him thirty Embaſſadors from *Carthage*. And they verily, as they were in harder caſe and greater diſtreſs, made much more pitiful entreating than before: but in their audience found leſs favour and mercy by a great deal for their late treachery and falſhood ſo freſh in remembrance. Now albeit when they were ſet in counſel, all of them had juſt cauſe to be angry, and thereupon were provoked to deſtroy & raſe *Carthage*: yet upon better adviſement and conſideration, how great and difficult and enterpriſe, and what a

long

long peece of ſervice it was to beſiege a City ſo ſtrong and ſo well fortified: and for that *Scipio* himſelf was troubled in mind with the expectation of a ſucceſſour, who ſhould come to win the credit and honor of finiſhing the war, which indeed was gotten by the travail and hazard of another, all their hearts were turned and enclined to peace. The morrow after the Orators were called again before them; and after they had been well checked, rebuked, and plainly told of their treachery, and warned withal, that after ſo many loſſes and overthrows which they had received, they ſhould now learn to be wiſe, and at length believe that there were Gods in Heaven, and that an oath was to be regarded, theſe conditions of peace were tendered and offered unto them. *Imprimis*, it was capitulated, That they might live free, according to the form of their own Laws: *Item*, What Cities, what territories (and within what bounds and limits) they held and were poſſeſſed of before the war began, the ſame they might keep ſtill. *Item*, That *Scipio* and the Romans I from that day forward ſhould not waſt and ſpoil the countrey. *Item*, That the Carthaginians ſhould deliver all renegate traitors, all fugitive perſons, all captives and priſoners, yea, and yeeld unto them all ſhips of war with braſen heads, above ten triremes or gallies of three ranks of oars. *Item*, That they ſhould put into their hands all thoſe Elephants which they had already tamed and manned, and ſhould break and tame no more of them. *Item*, They ſhould make war neither in *Affrick*, nor without *Affrick*, but by order and warrant from the people of *Rome*. That they ſhould make reſtitution and amends to *Maſaniſſa* for all harms, and enter into league with him. *Item*, That they ſhould find corn and money for the maintenance of the aid-ſouldiers, until their Embaſſadors were returned from *Rome*: yea, and tender payment of ten thouſand talents of ſilver by even portions in fifty years. *Item*, That they ſhould put in a hundred hoſtages at the K pleaſure of *Scipio* and none of them to be either under fourteen years of age, or above thirty. Laſt of all, they would grant a truce upon this condition, That the ſhips which were taken during the time of the former ceſſation of arms, ſhould be reſtored back again, with all things elſe that were therein: otherwiſe no truce for the preſent, nor hope of peace hereafter. Theſe articles and conditions the Embaſſadors were willed to return home withal. Which after they had related in the general aſſembly of the people, *Giſgo* mounted up the pulpit to diſſwade peace, and had audience given him with great applauſe of the multitude; who as they were heartleſs and unmeet for war, ſo they were as peeviſh and unruly, and could not long continue in repoſe. Herear, *Annibal* took great indignation, and was highly diſpleaſed, that in ſuch a time, thoſe things ſhou'd either be delivered or heard: and he made no more ado, but ſtepped to *Giſgo*, laid hand upon him, and pulled him down from the pue out of which he ſpake: whereat the people were moved and grumbled in great diſcontent to ſee ſo ſtrange a ſight and unuſual, in a free City. Then *Annibal*, as he was a meer martial man and could not skill of civil affairs, nor well away with theſe citizens liberty. "I went, quoth he, from you when I was but nine years old, and now after 36 years I am "come again. All military skill and knowledge which fortune ſometime in my private matters, "and otherwhiles in publick affairs, hath taught me from my childhood, me thinks I have learn-"ed ſuffi iently: mary, for the rights and priviledges for the laws cuſtomes and faſhions of the "City and the common Hall I muſt be informed and inſtructed by you. Thus having pleaded ignorance for his excuſe, he diſcourſed at large of peace, arguing how reaſonable and equal, yea and how neceſſary it was. The greateſt point of difficulty in all the capitulations miniſtred unto them M was this, That touching the things aboveſaid which were taken during the abſtinence of arms, there was nothing now forth-coming and to be ſeen but the bare veſſels; and no eaſy matter was it to ſeek up the reſt. Now when as they that gainſaid the peace were convinced and put down by reaſon, agreed it was, that the ſhips ſhould be redelivered, and the men likewiſe be ſought out and found: as for all the reſt that was wanting, there ſhould an eſtimate be made according to the value, at the diſcretion of *Scipio*, and ſo the Carthaginians to make all good in money. Writers there be that have delivered, how *Annibal* preſently from the field ſped him to Sea and there finding a ſhip ready prepared for him, ſtreight-wayes embarked and went directly to King *Antiochus*: Alſo, when *Scipio* demanded above all other things that *Annibal* ſhou'd be yeelded into his hands, anſwer was made, that *Annibal* was not in *Affrick*. After that the Embaſſa- N dors were returned to *Scipio* the Queſtors or Treaſurers were commanded to draw an extract according to their books upon record, of all ſuch things as were in the ſhips, and appertained to the City: and look what belonged to private perſons, the owners thereof were willed to declare and teſtify. In conſideration and recompenſe whereof, there was a ſum of money ſet down, amounting to 25000 pound weight of ſilver, and the ſame to be paid preſently out of hand by the Carthaginians. Thus a truce was granted to them for three moneths: with this clauſe annexed over and beſides, That during the ſaid term they ſhould ſend their Embaſſadors to no other place but only to *Rome*: and what Embaſſadors ſoever came to *Carthage*, they ſhou'd not let them depart before they had certified the Roman General both who they were, and what their meſſage and errand was. Then with the Carthaginian Embaſſadors were ſent to *Rome*, *L. Veturius Philo*, O *M. Martius Rallus* and *L. Scipio*, brother to the General. At that time there came ſuch ſtore of grain and victuals out of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, and thereby corn was ſo cheap, that the Merchant was fain to leave corn behind him to ſatisfie the ſhipmen and marriners for the portage and carriage thereof.

Now there had been much trouble and fear at *Rome* upon the firſt newes and alarm, that the Carthaginians had taken arms again: and *T. Claudius* had commiſſion to conduct a fleet with all ſpeed

A speed into *Sicily*, and from thence to paſs over into *Affrick*: likewiſe the other Conſul was commanded to ſtay ſtill at *Rome*, until it were certainly known in what terms all matters ſtood in *Affrick*. But *T. Claudius* went but ſlowly to work either in preparing and rigging an armado, or in putting it to ſea; becauſe the LL. of the Senat were of opinion, that as touching the peace and the conditions thereof, it was rather at the diſpoſition of *Scipio* than of the Conſul. Moreover, there were certain prodigious ſigns reported even preſently before the very rumour of the foreſaid riſing and inſurrection, which cauſed men to fear greatly. At *Cumes*, the circle and compaſs of the ſun appeared leſs: and it rained a good ſhower of ſtones. Alſo in the territory of *Velitre*, the earth ſetled and ſunk, and made huge hollow chinks, in ſo much as trees were quite ſwallowed up under the ground. At *Aricia* the market-place and the ſhops all about, likewiſe at *Fruſino* the
B wall of the City in divers places, yea, and the gate, were ſmitten with lightning from heaven: and in mount Palatine it rained ſtones. This wondrous ſight laſt rehearſed, was expiate after the ancient cuſtome, by keeping a Novendial ſacrifice and feaſt for nine dayes; the reſt by killing of greater ſacrifices. Among all, there were unuſual deluges and inundations of waters, which troubled the minds and conſciences of men: for the *Tyber* ſo ſwelled and roſe ſo high, that by reaſon that the ſhew-place of the *Circus* was overflown, preparation was made for the ſetting forth of the games *Apollinares*, without the gate *Collina*, neer the chappel of *Venus Erycina*. But upon the very day when the plaies ſhould be exhibited, it grew to be ſo fair weather of a ſuddain, that the pageant and pompous train of the ſhew, which was a going to the gate *Collina*, was called back and conveied into the *Circus*; and word brought, that the water was fallen and gone clean out from
C thence: ſo the people were more joyous, and the paſtimes celebrated with greater reſort, for that the uſual and ordinary place ſerved again for the ſolemnity to be performed.

*Claudius* the Conſul at laſt departed from the City of *Rome*, and went to ſea; where between the havens of *Coſſa* and *Lauretum*, he was overtaken with a terrible and fearful tempeſt that aroſe and put him in exceeding fear. From thence he came to the *Populonii*, and there ſtaied until the tempeſt was overblown and gone. Then he fell with the Ile * *Ilua*, and from *Ilua* he ſailed to *Corſica*, and from *Corſica* he paſſed over to *Sardinia*; where, as he doubled the point and was paſſing the race of the mountains called * *Inſani*, there aroſe a far more cruel guſt, and in places of more peril and hazard, which ſcattered the fleet. Many of the ſhips were weather beaten and ſore ſhaken, many loſt their tackling quite, yea, and ſome were crackt and ſplit. Thus the Armado be-
D ing much toſſed and torn, arrived at length at *Carales*; where, whiles the ſhips were drawn up into the dock to drie Land, and there a repairing, the winter came upon them, and the year turned about. And ſo *T. Claudius* (as a private perſon, by reaſon that no man renewed his commiſſion for a farther time) brought the Armado back to *Rome*. But *M. Servilius*, becauſe he ſhould not be called home to the City for the ſolemn election of Magiſtrats, after he had declared Dictator, *Cn. Servilius Geminus*, departed into his Province. And the Dictator choſe *P. Ælius Paetus* General of the Horſemen. Oftentimes went the writs out for publiſhing of the election, but by reaſon of tempeſts it held not, nor was performed. And therefore when the old Magiſtrats left their office after the Ides of *March*, and no new ſubſtituted in their room, the City was clean without any Magiſtrats of ſtate to ſit in the ivory chair. *L. Manlius Torquatus* a Biſhop, that year
E died. In his place was inveſted *C. Sulpitius Galba*. The Roman games were thrice exhibited anew by *L. Licinius Lucullus* and *Q. Fulvius*, Ædiles of the chair. The Clarks and Scribes belonging to the Ædiles, together with their beadles and ſummoners, were detected for carrying forth certain money out of the treaſure and chamber of the City: and being thereof convicted, were therefore condemned, not without ſome touch and diſcredit of *Lucullus* himſelf the Ædile. *P. Ælius Tubero* and *L. Lectorius* Ædiles of the commons, for that there was ſome error and default in their election, reſigned up their places, after they had repreſented the playes, and in regard thereof ſolemnized the feaſt of *Jupiter*, and ſet up beſides in the Capitol three images made of the ſilver that was forfeited and raiſed upon the fines of the perſons condemned aforeſaid. The Dictator and General over the Horſemen, by order from the Senat exhibited the games called *Ce-*
F *reales*, to the honour of *Ceres*.

When the Roman Embaſſadors and Carthaginians together, were come out of *Affrick* to *Rome*, the Senat aſſembled to give them audience in the Temple of *Bellona*: where *L. Veturius Philo* after he had declared (to the exceeding joy of the LL. of the Senat) that they had fought a battail with *Annibal*, (the laſt that ever the Carthaginians were like to fight) and that this grievous and lamentable war was now come to an end, he went on ſtill and related, that *Vermina* the ſon of *Syphax* was vanquiſhed and ſubdued; which was no ſmall increaſe of the other exploits ſo happily atchieved. Then he was commanded to go forth from thence directly to the aſſembly of the people, there to impart theſe gladſome news unto the multitude. Whereupon (for exceeding joy and in token of thankſgiving) all the Temples in the City were ſet open, and ſolemn proceſſions
G decreed for three dayes. Now when as the Embaſſadors of the Carthaginians and King *Philip* (for they alſo were arrived) required to have a day of audience in the Senat; the Dictator by direction from the Senat, returned them this anſwer, That the new Conſuls ſhould ſatisfie their requeſt. After this, was the ſolemn aſſembly holden for the election of Magiſtrats; and Conſuls were created *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Ælius Paetus*: for Pretors, firſt *M. Junius Pennus*, who was allotted to have the civil juriſdiction in the City: then *M. Valerius Falto*, unto whom the Brutians countrey fell by lot to govern: next, *M. Fabius Buteo*, whoſe hap was to rule *Sardinia*,

and

* Elba.

* Mainomena, *Ptolom. Cantelli, Modernus.*

and *P. Ælius Tubero*, to be L. deputy of *Sardinia*. Concerning the Provinces wherein the Consuls were to be employed, it was not thought good to determine any thing, before the Embassadors of King *Philip* and likewise of the Carthaginians, had delivered their embassages: for as they saw the end of one war, so they foresaw the beginning of another. *Cn. Lentulus* the Consul was inflamed with an ardent desire of the Province of *Affrick*: for if the war continued, he aimed at an easy victory: and if it were at the point of an end, he gaped at the honor of finishing the same, and hoped to have the name, That determined it was whiles he was Consul. And therefore he protested plainly, that he would suffer nothing to pass before that the Province of *Affrick* were assigned to him. His colleague (a sober, temperate, and discreet man) gave his consent; for he saw full well, that as the contending for that glory with *Scipio*, was unjust and unreasonable, so in it he would be overmatched, and never able to import and carry it away from him. *Q. Minutius Thermus* and *M. Acilius Glabrio*, two Tribuns of the commons, gave out and said, That *Cn. Cornelius* went about to compass that, which was commenced and assaied in vain the year before by *T. Claudius* the Consul. For when by warrant from the Senat a bill was proposed unto the people, whom their pleasure was to nominate for government of *Affrick*, all the 35 Tribes gave their voices and awarded that Province to *P. Scipio*. Much contention there passed and many bickerments both in Senat-house and before the people, in the debating of this question: but in the end they grew to this point, to refer all to the judgment of the Senat. So the LL. of the Senat having taken their oath (for so it was agreed upon) thus concluded and gave this order. First, that the two Consuls should either agree together between themselves, or else cast lots for their Provinces; namely, which of them should have the rule of *Italy*, and who the charge of a fleet of fifty sail. *Item*, to whether of them twain befel the navy, he should sail over into *Sicily*: and if peace might not be fully concluded with the Carthaginians, then to cross over into *Affrick*; where the Consul should war by Sea, and *Scipio* by Land, by vertue of the same commission and authority that he had already. Moreover, if the conditions of peace were accepted of both parts, that then the Tribuns of the Commons should propound unto the people, as touching their will and pleasure, whether the Consul or *P. Scipio* should conclude the peace; and which of them (if the victorious army after conquest obtained, were to be brought back out of *Affrick*) should have the conduct thereof home again. Also, if they nominated *Scipio* for to make the peace, and bring away the army likewise, then the Consul should not cut over from *Sicily* to *Affrick*. As for the other Consul who had the government of *Italy*, he should receive of *M. Sestius* the Pretor, two legions. So *P. Scipio* had his commission sealed again for to remain in the Province of *Sicily*, with the same forces which he there had. *M. Valerius Falco* the Pretor in the Brutians country was allowed those legions whereof *C. Livius* had the command the year before. It was further-more agreed, that *P. Ælius* the Pretor should take the two legions in *Sicily* of *Cn. Tremellius*: and that one legion which *P. Lentulus* the Propretor had under his conduct, was appointed to *M. Fabius* for *Sardinia*. And *M. Servilius* the Consul of the former year, continued also in his government with his own two legions for *Hetruria*. As concerning the provinces of *Spain*, sith *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Manlius Acidinus* had been there for certain years, the said Consuls were to deal with the Tribuns, that if they thought it good, they should propound unto the Commons, for to know their minds whom they would appoint to govern *Spain*: and that he whosoever it was, should out of two armies enrol one entire legion of Roman souldiers, and of the allies of the Latin nation make up fifteen cohorts or regiments, and with the strength of them joyntly, keep in obedience and defend the province. *Item*, that *L. Cornelius* and *L. Manlius* should bring over the old souldiers into *Italy*. Unto *Cornelius* the Consul was assigned a fleet of fifty ships, to be deducted and drawn out of two other Armadoes; the one of *Cn. Octavius* which was in *Africk*, the other of *P. Villius* which guarded the coasts of *Sicily*; and to choose thereout what ships he would: and that *P. Scipio* should keep those fifty ships of war which he had already. And in case his pleasure was that *Cn. Octavius* should be Admiral over them still, like as heretofore; then *Octavius* was to continue in government for that year as Vice-pretor: but if he made *Lælius* the Admiral, then *Octavius* should depart and come home to *Rome*, and bring back with him those ships that the Vice-consul had no use or need of. *M. Fabius* likewise had ten gallies of service allowed him into *Sardinia*. And the Consuls were appointed to muster and enrol two legions of citizens, that with the power of fourteen legions, and an hundred ships of war, the affairs of *Rome* that year might be managed.

These things thus ordered, they began to debate in counsel about the Embassadors of *Philip* and the Carthaginians: and thought good it was to admit the Macedonians into place for to have audience. Divers and sundry speeches they made, whiles they laboured partly to cleer that point as touching the complaints that the Embassadors sent from *Rome* made before the King, for the forraging and spoiling of their confederats: and partly complained themselves of the allies of the people of *Rome*, laying much to their charge: but far more bitterly accusing *M. Aurelius*, for that he being one of the three Embassadors sent unto them, staid behind and took musters of souldiers; yea, and against the covenant comprised in the league, made war upon them, and oftentimes gave battel unto their Captains and Governors in open field: partly also they demanded, that the Macedonians and their Captain *Sopater*, who had served in the wars of *Annibal* for wages, and were taken prisoners and kept bound in prison, might be enlarged and set at liberty,

To

To theſe points *M. Furius*, ſent of purpoſe from *Aurelius* out of *Macedonia*, made anſwer briefly in this wiſe, That *Aurelius* who was left behind, for fear that the aſſociats of the people of *Rome*, wearied with rodes and incurſions into their territories and other injurious oppreſſions, might revolt unto the King; never departed out of the confins of the aſſociats aforeſaid, and endeavoured only, that thoſe robbers and forragers of the country ſhould not invade and over-run their lands, and go clear away without any harm. As for *Sopater*, he was a ſtate and peer of the *realm*, and one neerly allied unto the King, who lately was ſent into *Affrick* with four thouſand Macedonians and with money, to aid and aſſiſt *Annibal* and the Carthaginians. When as the Macedonians being required what they could ſay to theſe challenges framed but a doubtful and intricate defence, before they had well made an end they received this for their anſwer: That ſince the King ſought war if he proceeded and went on ſtill, he ſhould ſhortly have his hands full: but forasmuch as he had broken the league in two points, firſt in offering wrong to the allies of the people of *Rome*, and moleſting them by way of war and hoſtility; and ſecondly, in helping their enemies with men and money, they deemed thus much of it that not only *P. Scipio* both did & doth well and juſtly, in keeping them ſtill in priſon as enemies, who bare arms againſt the people of *Rome*, and were taken captive; but alſo *M. Aurelius* performed good ſervice to the State, and a great pleaſure to the Senat, in defending the Allies of the people of *Rome* by force of arms, when by right of league he could not. When the Macedonians had their diſpatch, and were ſent away with this heavy anſwer, then the Carthaginian Embaſſadors were called in.

When they beheld their reverent age, and the dignity of their perſonage (for they were the beſt and principal men ſimply of their City) then every man was fully perſwaded for his own part and ſaid, That now they dallied no longer, but meant in deed and good earneſt to crave & have peace. But the chief and moſt portly perſon of them all was one *Aſdrubal*, in his countrey and among his citizens ſurnamed *Hædus*, a man that ever perſwaded peace, & oppoſed himſelf againſt the Barchine faction. And therefore he had the more credit and authority, when he derived "the blame from the Common-weal, and laid all the fault upon the wilfulneſs and greedy ava- "rice of ſome few. Who after he had uſed diverſe and ſundry ſpeeches, one while excuſing and "clearing the crimes, another while confeſſing ſome things objected, leſt if they had denied cer- "tain truths, they ſhould with more difficulty have obtained pardon and peace: now and then "alſo giving the LL. of the Senat an admonition and warning by the way, to uſe their proſperity "and good fortune modeſtly and with moderation, he added moreover and ſaid, That if the Car- "thaginians would have been ruled by him & *Hanno*, and had been ſo wiſe as to have taken their "time and the opportunity when it was, they ſhould themſelves have given thoſe conditions of "peace, which now they are conſtrained to crave. But for men to be fortunate and wiſe both at "once, it is a rare and ſpecial gift, and ſeldome ſeen. And here it is that the people of *Rome* (quoth "he) is invincible, becauſe in proſperity they can remember to be wiſe, and to take the beſt way "for themſelves. And certainly, a wonder it were, if ever they ſhould do otherwiſe. For thoſe "commonly who happen to meet with ſome new good ſucceſs, and have not been uſed thereto "before, overſhoot and paſs themſelves too much in exceſſive joy; which they have not the grace "to govern with ſobriety and diſcretion: whereas the people of *Rome* have ever been accuſto- "med to the continual felicity of joyous victories, inſomuch as they are grown into a diſuſe of "taking pleaſure and delight in them (ſo common they are) and have encreaſed their dominion "and Empire, more (in manner) by ſparing and pardoning thoſe whom they have conquered, "than by the very conqueſt of them indeed.

The Oration of *Aſdrubal Hædus* in the Senat of *Rome*.

"The ſpeech that the other Embaſſadors made, was more pitiful and lamentable, whiles they "recounted before the Senat from what high eſtate, and to how baſe condition they were fallen: "who but a while ſince held by force of arms, as it were the whole world, & had nothing left them "now but the bare walls of the City of *Carthage*, within which they were ſhut up, and could ſee "nothing either by land or ſea, which they might rightfully claim as their own. Nay, the very "City it ſelf and their houſes, they were to enjoy no longer than the people of *Rome* is willing, "and forbeareth to proceed by rigour and extremity againſt the ſame, ſince there is nothing elſe "behind to work upon. Now when as the LL. of the Senat ſeemed to encline to mercy and com- paſſion one Senator there was amongſt them (by report) who upon a deep and inveterate hatred of the Carthaginians trechery, ſpake out aloud and ſaid, "What Gods will they regard and ſwear "by in making of a new league, who have broken their oath, and taken their name in vain whom "they called to witneſs in the former? Mary (qd. *Aſdrubal*) even thoſe and no other that are ſo ſharp revengers and heavy enemies to the breakers of league and covenant. So when all their minds were enclined to peace, *Cn. Lentulus* the Conſul, who had the government of the navy, oppoſed himſelf againſt the decree of the Senat for to croſs the ſame. Then *M. Attilius*, and *Q. Minutius*, Tribuns of the Commons, preferred a ſolemn bill unto the people, in this form: Pleaſeth it you, and will you grant, That the Senat ſhall reſolve and determine, that peace may be concluded with the Carthaginians? Pleaſeth it you to chuſe and appoint who ſhall be the man to make that peace, and who ſhall bring the army out of *Africk*? As concerning peace, the tribes every one as they were demanded their voices, granted affirmatively (*Uti rogatis*) that *Scipio* ſhould conclude it, and alſo bring away the army. By vertue of this Act paſſed by the people, the Senat made a decree, that *P. Scipio* by the advice and counſel of ten Commiſſioners, ſhould contract an accord with the people of *Carthage*, under what conditions he thought good. After this

the

the Carthaginians rendred thanks to the LL. of the Senate, and requeſted that they might enter H
into the City, and talk with their fellow citizens and country-men, who had been taken captives
aforetime, and lay in the common goal and priſon. For there were amongſt them ſome of their
kinsfolk and friends, noblemen of birth and of good quality; others alſo, unto whom they were
to deliver ſome meſſage and credence from their kinſmen. When they had ſpoken and communed
with them, they came with a new petition and made earneſt ſuit, to give them leave to ranſome
and redeem as many of them as they would: whereupon they were willed to give them their
names; and when they had named faſt upon two hundred, an order was granted out of the Senat,
that the Roman Commiſſioners ſhould take over with them into *Affrick* unto *Scipio* two hun-
dred of thoſe captives whom the Carthaginians would make choice of; and declare unto him
from the Senate, that in caſe the peace were fully agreed upon and finiſhed, he ſhould deliver I
thoſe two hundred to the Carthaginians, freely without paying any ranſome. Now when the
heralds of arms were appointed to go into *Affrick*, for to confirm and eſtabliſh the peace accor-
ding to the ſolemn order, at their own requeſt there paſſed an act of the Senat framed in this form
and tenor. *Imprimis*, That they ſhould carry with them every one by himſelf, certain flint ſtones
of their own, and likewiſe Verven. *Item*, That the Roman Pretors ſhould command them ſo-
lemnly to pronounce the league, and then they to ask of the Pretor ſacred herbs or Verven. A
kind of graſs or herb this is, which was wont to be gathered from off the Capitol hill, and given
to the Heralds.

Thus were the Carthaginians diſmiſſed and ſent from *Rome*: who being come into *Affrick* to
*Scipio*, concluded peace with the ſame capitulations as is aboveſaid. And ſo they delivered up K
their gallies and ſhips of war, their Elephants, the renegate traitors, the vagrant fugitives, and four
thouſand priſoners. Among whom was *Q. Terentius Cuello*, a Senator by his calling. As for the
ſhips, ſo ſoon as they were lanched forth into the deep, *Scipio* cauſed them to be ſet on fire and
burnt. Some report that they were five hundred in number, one with another, of every ſort, and
all directed and guided by oars. Preſently were they ſet a burning: a dolorous ſight and heavy
ſpectacle (no doubt) to the Carthaginians for to behold, as if *Carthage* it ſelf had been on a light
fire. The renegat traitors and rebels were puniſhed more grievouſly than the fugitives. As many
of them as were of the Latin Nation loſt their heads: all that were natural Romans, were cruci-
fied and roundly truſſed up on the gallows. Forty years before was the peace laſt made with the
Carthaginians, when *Q. Luctatius* and *A. Manlius* were Conſuls. The war began three and L
twenty years after, whiles *P. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* were Conſuls. And the ſame ended in
the eighteenth year after, *P. Cornelius*, and *P. Ælius Pætus* being Conſuls. Many a time after,
*Scipio* by report, would ſay, that the willful and covetous deſire of *T. Claudius* firſt, and afterwards
of *Cn. Cornelius*, was the only ſtay and let, that this war ended not with the final ruin and utter
deſtruction of *Carthage*.

When as the Carthaginians, who by long and continual wars were grown bare & poor, thought
the levy and contribution of money for to furniſh out the firſt payment, lay heavy and ſore upon
them, inſomuch as in their Senat-houſe, there was great ſorrow and heavineſs, yea, and piteous
weeping; it is ſaid, that *Annibal* was ſeen to laugh a good while. And when *A. Hedus* rebuked him
for laughing in that publick lamentation of the City, conſidering that himſelf was the cauſe of M
thoſe tears, "If (qd. *Annibal*) as we ſee by our eye the outward diſpoſition of the face and coun-
"tenance, ſo we could look within & behold the affection of the mind, ye might ſoon perceive,
"that this laughter of mine, which ye ſo much blame, proceedeth not from an heart that is glad
"and joyful, but rather ſenſeleſs, ſtupified, and aſtonied with the exceeding griefs and calamities
"that have hapned. Yet is not it ſo unſeaſonable and impertinent to our preſent condition, as
"theſe tears of yours, and weeping that you make, is abſurd and nothing to the purpoſe. Then
"ſhould ye have wept and ſhed tears, when our armor and weapons were taken from us, when
"our ſhips were ſet on fire, when we were interdicted and forbidden to make war with forrain
"nations: for then had we our deadly blow, then our backs and hearts were broken. And never
"think that the Romans have proceeded hardly againſt you, in compariſon of the hatred that ye N
"bare one to another. No great City and mighty State can long continue and reſt in quiet. If it
"have no enemies abroad, it findeth ſome at home: much like unto ſtrong and luſty bodies, which
"ſeeming ſure enough againſt all outward accidents and cauſes of ſickneſs, are overcharged with
"their own ſtrength and fulneſs of humours, and thereby ſubject to moſt deadly maladies. So
"much, forſooth, and no more we feel of the publick miſeries & common calamities, as toucheth
"and concerneth our ſelves in particular: wherein nothing pincheth us more, nor goeth neerer
"to the quick, than to forgo our mony, and part with our pence. And therefore when *Carthage*
"was conquered and deſpoiled of all her ancient honors, when ye ſaw her diſarmed and ſtripped
"naked, when ye ſaw her forlorn of all the armed nations of *Affrick*; no man then ſighed, no man
"groned thereat: but now when the tribute impoſed, is to be paid out of your privat purſes, ye O
"keep a weeping and wailing, as in ſome publick funeral and mortuary carried forth. But alas, I
"fear me greatly that ere it be long, ye ſhall find and feel, That your weeping this day hath been
"for the leaſt loſs of all the reſt. Thus ſpake *Annibal* to the Carthaginians.

*Scipio* having aſſembled his whole army together before them all, reſtored *Maſaniſſa* to his fa-
thers Kingdom: and over and beſides, endued him with the poſſeſſion of the City *Cirtha*, and
other Towns and territories which belonged to the realm of *Syphax*, and were now in ſubjection

to

A to the people of *Rome*. Unto *Cn. Octavius* he gave order to conduct the fleet into *Sicily*, and there to make it over to *Cn. Cornelius* the Conſul. The Carthaginian Embaſſadors he willed to go to *Rome*, that thoſe acts and capitulations which were concluded by him with the advice of the ten Commiſſioners, might likewiſe paſs under the approbation of the Senat, and the conſent of the people, and ſo be ratified and confirmed for ever.

Thus *Scipio* having obtained peace both by ſea and land, and embarked his army, ſailed toward *Sicily*, & arrived at *Lilybæum*. From whence he ſent away a great part of his army by ſea, and himſelf paſſed by land through *Italy*, which now was joyfull as well for the peace concluded, as the victory atchieved. Where all the way as he went, not only the people came forth in multitudes out of the Cities to do him honour, but numbers alſo of the country peaſants out of the Villages, filled
B all the high-waies along untill he came to *Rome*: where he entred the City, riding in the moſt ſtately and magnificent triumph that ever had been. He brought into the City Chamber 100033 pound weight of ſilver. He divided among his ſouldiers out of the ſpoil * four hundred Aſſes a peece. *Syphax* by his death rather diſappointed the people of a goodly ſhew and pageant in the triumph, than diminiſhed any whit the glory of the triumpher: he died at *Tybur* not long afore, to which place he had been removed from *Alba*: howbeit his death was not obſcure, by reaſon that he was ſolemnly carried to his buriall, with the pomp of a publike funerall at the charges of the City. But *Polybius* a writer of good account, reporteth, That this King was led in the very triumph. As *Scipio* rode triumphant *Q. Terentius Culleo* followed after with a cap of liberty ſet upon his head; and ever after, ſo long as he lived, he honoured him (as beſeeming it was) and acknowledged
C him the author of his freedom. But as concerning his ſurname *Africanus*, I cannot for certain learn, whether it were the favour of his ſouldiers firſt, or the affectionate love of the people afterwards that brought it up, or rather began upon ſome of his own houſe and linage that courted and flattered him therewith: like as in our fathers daies *Sulla* was ſurnamed * *Fœlix*, and *Pompeius*, * *Magnus*. This is certain that he was the firſt General that ever took his name of the country and nation by himſelf ſubdued, and thereby was renowned. But by his example afterwards, others nothing comparable to him in victory and conqueſt won goodly titles and glorious inſcriptions to their Images, and honoured their houſes with noble ſtiles and additions.

* Or, as ſome think 40. which cometh to 2 ſh. 6 d. Engliſh.

* *Happy.* * *Great.*

D

# The one and thirtieth Book

## *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the one and thirtieth Book.

E *THe cauſes of the war begun again with* Philip *King of* Macedony, *which had diſcontinued, are ſet down to be theſe; In the time of the holy feaſt of* Ceres, *two young men of* Acarnania, *who had not been profeſſed in thoſe ſacred myſteries, came to* Athens, *& chanced among other of their countrimen to go into the Chappel of* Ceres. *For which, as if they had committed ſome hainous fact in the higheſt degree, they were by the Athenians executed. The Acarnanians moved with indignation for the death of their neighbours, required aid of* Philip *to be revenged for them: Some few months after peace granted to the Carthaginians, in the five hundred and fifty year from the foundation of the City of* Rome, *when the Embaſſadors of the Athenians, who now were beſieged by* Philip, *craved aid of the Senat, and they were of advice and reſolved to help them, notwithſtanding the Commons gainſaid it (by reaſon that they thought the continual troubles of ſo many wars were grievous and heavy unto them) yet ſo far prevailed the authority of the Nobles, that the people alſo gave their conſent to ſuccour their confederate*
F *City. This war was committed to the managing of* P. Sulpitius *the Conſul: who led an army into* Macedony, *and fought certain battels fortunatly againſt* Philip, *which were performed by horſe-ſervice. The Abydens being inveſted and beleaguered round about by* Philip, *following the example of the Saguntins, ſlew their wives and children, and their own ſelves after them.* L. Furius *the Prætor overthrew in a pitcht field the Gauls, called* Inſubres, *that rebelled, and likewiſe* Amilcar *the Carthaginian, who began to make war in thoſe parts, where* Amilcar *was ſlain, & with him five and thirty thouſand men. Moreover, this book containeth the expeditions and voyages of King* Philip *and* Sulpitius *the Conſul. and the winning of certain Cities by them both.* Sulpitius *the Conſul warred with the help of King* Attalus *and the Rhodians,* L. Furius *the Prætor triumphed over the Gauls.*

G

# *The one and thirtieth Book of* T. Livius.

FUll well apaid am I likewiſe, that I am now come to an end once of the Punick war, as if my ſelf had been in perſon there, and born my part in the toil and danger thereof. For albeit unfitting it is for me (who have undertaken and profeſſed ſo boldly to write a compleat and full ſtory of the Romans) to be wearied in the ſeverall parts of ſo great a work: yet when I

think and conſider, how threeſcore years and three (for ſo many are reckoned from the firſt Punick war, to the end of the ſecond) have taken up no fewer books of mine than four hundred eighty eight years before, even from the foundation of *Rome* unto the Conſulſhip of that *Appius Claudius*, who was the firſt that warred upon the Carthaginians; methinks I foreſee already, that like as they who being once entred into the ſhallows near the ſhore, are trained on ſtill, and venture to wade into the ſea, even ſo I, the farther I go forward, the deeper I ſtep, and am carried away in a vaſt Ocean, and bottomleſs gulph (as it were) which cannot be ſounded; and that my work groweth ſtill upon me in my hands, which as I went away apace, and rid matters at the firſt, I would have thought by this time ſhould have decreaſed. H

The Carthaginian peace was no ſooner concluded, but the Macedonian war ſtraightwaies enſued: nothing comparable to the Punick, if ye regard the hazard and danger, the vertue of the Captains for direction, or proweſs of the ſouldiers: but if a man conſider the Nobility and reputation of the ancient Kings, the fame and antiquity of the nation, the greatneſs of their ſeignory and dominion, who in times paſt had conquered and held by the ſword much in *Europe*, and the better part of *Aſia*, I dare well ſay, as noble and renowned, if not more. But the war commenced againſt *Philip* ten years almoſt before, had ere three years end been laid down and diſcontinued by means of the Ætolians: who as they gave occaſion to enter into arms, ſo they wrought a compoſition of peace. But afterwards in proceſs of time, when the Romans by reaſon of peace with the Carthaginians, had nothing to do, and were at leiſure; and yet bearing an inward grudge, and owing a diſpleaſure to *Philip*, as well for his faithleſs peace with the Ætolians and other allies and confederates of that country, as alſo for aid both of men and money lately ſent into *Affrick* to *Annibal* and the Carthaginians: behold, the Athenians, whoſe territories he had clean waſted and ſpoiled, and whom he had driven within their City walls, importuned them with their prayers, and perſwaded them to take arms and renew the war aforeſaid. And much about the ſame time there arrived Embaſſadors from King *Attalus*, as alſo from the Rhodians, giving notice that divers Cities and States of *Aſia* were ſollicited likewiſe by *Philip* to band againſt the Romans. Theſe Embaſſadors had their diſpatch, and received this anſwer, That the Senat would have a careſull eye to the affairs of *Aſia*. But the entire treaty and conſultation concerning the Macedonian war was wholly reſerved and referred unto the Conſuls, who then were employed in the war with the *Boii*. In the mean ſeaſon three Embaſſadors were addreſſed unto *Ptolomeus* the King of Ægypt, to I wit, *C. Claudius Nero*, *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, and *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, with this commiſſion: Firſt, to ſignifie and let him underſtand, that *Annibal* & the Carthaginians were ſubdued: ſecondly, to give thanks unto the King for continuing ſo faſt and faithfull unto the Romans in their diſtreſs and adverſity, when other of their allies, and even their next neighbours forſook and abandoned them: laſt of all, to requeſt him, that in caſe they ſhould be forced by wrongs and injuries offered, to wage war againſt *Philip*, he would vouchſafe the ſame mind ſtill and his wonted affectionate favour toward the people of *Rome*.

Near about this time, *P. Ælius* the Conſul being in *France*, advertiſed that the Boians before his coming had made rodes into the lands of the friends and allies of the Romans, preſently in all haſte levied and enrolled two legions upon the rumour of this tumult and trouble; and joyning M thereunto four cohorts of footmen out of his own army, ſent *C. Appius* a Colonell or Captain of the Confederates, with this power ſo ſuddenly raiſed, and with commandment to march through that part of *Umbria*, which is called, the Tribe *Sappinia*, and to invade the territories of the *Boii*, whiles himſelf in perſon led his forces the open way traverſing through the mountains, and came thither. *Appius* being entred into the confines of the enemies, at the firſt had a good hand, and ſped well in forraging the country with ſafety of himſelf. But afterwards, having made choice of a meet place near unto a Caſtle called * *Mutilum*, for to cut down and reap the corn, (for now the fields were ready for harveſt) but yet, without eſpials ſent out to diſcover the coaſts about, without ſetting ſtrong and ſufficient guards, which being well appointed and armed, might defend the unarmed that were buſie in their harveſt work; he chanced himſelf and all his forragers and N reapers to be ſurpriſed at unawares by the Frenchmen, and aſſailed on every ſide. Whereupon they alſo that were armed fled in great fright; and 7000 men ſtragling here and there over the corn fields were ſlain; and among them *C. Appius* himſelf their leader. The reſt for fear were driven to put themſelves within their Camp: from whence without direction and guidance of any certain Captain and only upon a generall conſent of the ſouldiers, the night next following they abandoned their hold, left much of their baggage behind them, and through blind forreſts, chaſes, and wild mountains (in manner unpaſſable) they came in the end to the Conſul: who, after he had performed in his Province no memorable act, ſave only that he waſted the borders and frontiers of the *Boii*, and made a league with the *Ingauni* (a nation of the Ligurians) returned to *Rome*. So ſoon as he had aſſembled the Senat, all the whole houſe with one voice called upon him to treat O and conſult upon no other matter before they had determined of King *Philip*, and the complaints made by their allies: ſo he propoſed that out of hand to be debated in Councill. And the Senate in a frequent number there met, paſſed a decree, that *P. Ælius* the Conſul ſhould ſend whom he thought good with commiſſion and authority for to receive the Armado which *Cn. Octavius* was to bring out of *Sicily*, and therewith to croſs over into *Macedonia*. So *M. Valerius Lævinus* the Vice-Prætor was ſent; and when he had taken the charge of the fleet, conſiſting

* *Medina, Leandro.*

A sting of eight and thirty sail, at the hands of *Cn. Octavius* about *Vibo*, he passed the seas to *Macedonia*. Now when *M. Aurelius* the Lieutenant was come, and had enformed and advertised him, what puissant armies, what numbers of ships the King had prepared and got together; how partly himself in person by going about not only to all the Cities of the Continent, but also the Islands in the sea; and partly by sending his Embassadors every way, had sollicited unto war, and raised much people to take arms: shewing moreover, that the Romans were not to enterprise that war without preparation of greater forces: and that more speedily, for fear left if they made slow haste and lingred, *Philip* might enterprise that adventure, which *Pyrrhus* (a Potentate and Prince of a far lesser Dominion) had done before: it was thought meet that *Aurelius* should dispatch his letters to the same effect unto the Consuls and
B the Senat.

In the end of this year, when a motion was propounded in the Senat-house as concerning the setting out of lands unto the old souldiers for recompence of their good service, who, under conduct and fortunate government of *Scipio* the Pro Consul, had brought the war in *Affrick* to an end: the LL. enacted a decree, that *M. Junius* the Prætor of the City, if he thought so good, should create ten Decemvirs as surveyors, for to measure out and divide among them the lands in *Samnium* and *Apulia*, so much as had been forfeit and confiscate to the people of *Rome*. And these were they: namely, *P. Servilius*, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, *Cneus* and *Marcus*, named *Servilii* and both surnamed *Gemini*, *Lucius* and *Aulus* both *Hostilii*, and surnamed *Catoes* likewise, *P. Villius Tappulus*, *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, *P. Ælius Pætus*, and *Q. Flaminius*.

C At the same time *P. Ælius* the Cos. called the assembly and high Court of Parliament for election of Magistrates: and for Cos. were created *P. Sulpitius Galba*, and *C. Aurelius Cotta*. After them were the Prætors chosen, to wit, *Q. Minutius Rufus*, *L. Furius Purpureo*, *Q. Fulvius Gillo*, and *C. Sergius Plancus*. The Roman stage-plaies were that year exhibited with great state and magnificence most sumptuously, by *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *T. Quintius Flaminius*, Ædiles of the Chair, and for two daies together were represented anew. These Ædiles distributed and divided most faithfully among the people a mighty deal of corn, which *Scipio* the Pro-Consul had sent out of *Affrick*, at four Asses the Modius: whereby they won great love and favour of all men. Also the Plebeian plaies were thrice set forth all whole again by the Ædiles of the Commons, *L. Apustius Fullo*, and *Q. Minutius Rufus*. This man from his Ædileship stepped to the Prætors place. And by occasion
D of those plaies there was a solemn feast celebrated in the honour of *Jupiter*.

In the 544 year from the foundation of the City, when *P. Sulpitius Galba*, and *C. Aurelius* were Coss. the war with King *Philip* began, within four months after peace granted to the Carthaginians. And before all other matters this affair was propounded in the Senate by *P. Sulpitius* the Cos. upon the Ides of *March*, the very day on which at that time they used to enter upon the Consulship. Where by the Senate it was decreed, *Imprimis*, That the Consuls should sacrifice with greater beasts to what gods themselves thought good, with a solemn prayer in this form: That whatsoever the Senate and people of *Rome* minded and intended to do, either concerning the affairs of the Common-wealth, or the undertaking and enterprise of this new war, the same might speed well and happily in the end, to the behoof of the people of *Rome*, their allies, and
E namely, the nation of the Latines. *Item*, That after sacrifice and divine prayer they should consult with the Senat about the state of the City, and the government of the Provinces. At the same time it fell out very fitly to provoke and stir up their minds unto war, that not only letters were brought from *M. Aurelius* the Lieutenant, and from *M. Valerius Lævinus* the Vice-Prætor: but also a new Embassie of the Athenians arrived; the one importing, and the other reporting, that the King drew near and approached their confines, and within a while would be not only Lord of their lands and territories, but also Master of their City, unless the Romans set too their helping hand. After that the Consuls had openly pronounced and declared, that the sacrifices were performed rightly and according to order, and that the Gods gave ear unto their prayer, and accepted thereof: and the southsayers and bowell-priers likewise out of their learn-
F ing made answer and shewed, that the inwards of the beasts were as they should be, and signified happiness, namely, the enlarging of their confines and frontiers, with the atchieving of victory and triumph. Then were the letters aboveſaid of *Valerius* and *Aurelius* read, and the Athenian Ambassadors had a day of audience After this, there passed an Act of the Senate, That thanks should be rendred unto their allies, for that they being long tempted and sollicited for to revolt, yet notwithstanding had not failed in their allegeance, nor forsaken their fealty, no, not for fear of a present siege. As touching sending aid unto them, it was thought good to give answer, when the Consuls had their Provinces allotted unto them; and when that Consul whose hap it should be for to go into *Macedony*, had proposed unto the people, That defiance should be given to *Philip* King of *Macedony*, and open war proclaimed against him. Now it fell by lot unto *P. Sulpitius* to take that charge in *Macedony*, who preferred and presented a bill unto the peo-
G ple in this manner: Pleaseth it you, and is it your will, that war be proclaimed and denounced against King *Philip* and the Macedonians within his Realm and Dominion for the wrongs offered and the war levied by them upon the friends and allies of the people of *Rome*? Unto the other Consul *Aurelius* befell the Province of *Italy*. Then upon this the Prætors cast lots for their Provinces. *Cn. Sergius Plancus* had the jurisdiction of the City; *Q. Fulvius Gillo* was to govern the Province of *Sicily*, *Q. Minutius Rufus* of the *Brutii*, and *L. Furius Purpurio* of *France*.

The foresaid bill as concerning the Macedonian war, in the first Parliament assembled about it, H was in manner by all the centuries in the formost scrutinies nipped & flatled denied. Which thing, partly men of themselves were forward enough to do, as being over-wearied with long and sore wars, and worn out for very irksomness of tedious travel, and painfull perils: and partly *Q. Fabius* a Tribune of the Commons, failed not to set them on: who taking the old course and way of blaming and accusing the nobles, had laid to their charge, that they sowed the seeds of war still, and ceased not to raise war upon war, to the end, that the commons might never be at rest, and enjoy the repose of peace. The LL. of the Senat took this to the heart, in such sort, that the Tribune was shaken up and much reviled in the Senat-house with most opprobrious and reproachfull terms; and every man did his part to encourage the Consul to publish a new assembly and scrutiny, for the proposing of the same bill; to chastise and rebuke the sloath and idleness of the people; yea, I and to open and shew unto them what great damage and loss, how much shame and dishonour they should incur by these delaies before the war began. Then the Consul having assembled the people for this purpose in *Mars* field, before that he cited the Centuries to give their voices, called them all together and made a speech unto them in this wise: "It seemeth (quoth he) that you are "ignorant, my Masters and Citizens of *Rome*, that the matter put to question is not, whether ye "would have war or peace, (for *Philip* will not permit that to be at your disposition and pleasure, "who already prepareth mortall war both by sea and land,) but whether ye would rather choose "to transport the legions into *Macedony*, or receive your enemy here within *Italy*. And what dif- "ference there is between the one and the other, you have had sufficient proof and experience "(if ever at any time before) even in this last war, especially with the Carthaginians. For who is he K "that maketh doubt, but if we had with speed relieved the Saguntins besieged, who fled unto us "for help, and earnestly craved for our protection, like as our ancestors and progenitors in due "time assisted the Mamertins; we should have turned the whole violence and force of the war "into *Spain*, which by our long driving off & lingring delaies we entertained in *Italy*, to our great "loss and grievous calamity. Neither need we to doubt of this, but that we have hitherto staid "*Philip* in *Macedony*, (who without question had combined with *Annibal* by means of letters "and entercourse of Embassadors, for to have passed over into *Italy* before this time) only by "sending of *Lævinus* with a fleet, to begin with him at home, and to make war in his own king- "dom. Defer we then to do that now, when *Annibal* is chased out of *Italy* and the Carthagini- "ans defeated; which then we did, when we had the same *Annibal* our enemy within *Italy*? Go L "we on still and suffer the King by winning the City of *Athens* (like as we permitted *Annibal* by "forcing of *Saguntum*) to try and see our slackness and cowardise: we shall have him I warrant "you arrived in *Italy*, not at five months end, as *Annibal* was after his departure from *Saguntum*; "but within five daies, after he is disanchored once & under sail from *Corinth*. Set case ye will not "compare *Philip* with *Annibal*, no, nor the Macedonians with the Carthaginians; yet I am sure "ye will make them matches, and equall with King *Pyrrhus*: so far forth I say, as one man excelleth "another in valour, and one nation surpasseth another in power. *Epirus* hath never been accoun- "ted, nor is at this day, but the smallest appendant to the kingdom of *Macedony*, and of least im- "portance. But as for *Philip*, the whole and entire seignory of *Peloponnesus* is under him, and Lord "he is of *Argos* it self, a City nobled as well by the death of *Pyrrhus*, as the ancient name and re- M "nown that goeth of it. Compare now again the times of our state. How much flourished *Italy* in "those daies more than now? Our affairs were then much more sound and unfoiled: our Cap- "tains safe, our armies all, so many as they were, untainted; whom the Carthaginian wars after- "ward consumed: yet as puissant and great as we were, *Pyrrhus* assaied us, he put us to trouble and "sorrow enough, yea, and came in train of victory to shake our free hold, even wel-near to the Ci- "ty of *Rome*. So as not only the Tarentins, and all that tract of *Italy*, which they call the greater "*Greece*, banded with him in such sort, as a man would have thought they had followed the very "language and those of their name: but the Lucans also and the Brutians, yea, and the Samnits re- "volted from us, and rebelled. And are ye of beliefe that these will be quiet and remain in loyalty "and obedience, if *Philip* once were passed over into *Italy*? yes mary will they, there is no questi- N "on: for they stood fast afterwards, and continued true in the Punick war. Nay, nay, never make "reckoning that these States will not revolt from us so long as they know any one unto whom "they may turn and range themselves. If ye had thought much of it, and been loath to pass over "into *Affrick*; in truth at this day ye should have had *Annibal* and the Carthaginians your enemies "still in *Italy*. Let *Macedony* therefore be the seat of war rather than *Italy*: let our enemies Cities "and lands be destroyed with fire and sword. We have found well by good experience, that our "fortune is better, and our forces wore puissant abroad in forrain parts, than at home in our own "Country. Go to therefore in the name of God to the Scrutiny and give your voyces; and those "things that the LL. of the Senat have devised to do, grant ye the same, and yield your assent. Ye "have not only the Consul author of this advice and counsel, but also the immortal gods (who as O "I offered sacrifice and prayed devoutly unto them, that this war might redound to the good and "benefit of my self, of the Senat, of you, of our allies, of the Latine nation, and finally of our armies "and armadoes) have vouchsafed me all the signs and tokens of comfort and joy, and assured me "that all shall be well, and according to our hearts desire. This Oration of his once ended, they

The Oration of *P. Sulpitius* to the people of *Rome*.

* *Vti rogasti.*

went presently to deliver up their voices and gave* affirmatively for the war, & suffered it to pass according as he had propounded. Then by an order from the Senat there was a solemn supplication

for

A for three daies proclaimed: and in all Churches and Chappels, and before every ſhrine & altar the gods were praied unto, that the war (which the people had allowed of) againſt K. *Philip* might be wel atchieved, and have an happy end. Moreover, the Conſul *Sulpitius* conferred with the heralds, and asked their advice, Whether they would ordain, that the war to be denounced againſt King *Philip* ſhould be intimated to himſelf in perſon: or thought it ſufficient to be proclaimed within the confines of his dominion, at the next frontier town of all, where he kept a garriſon and guard: they pronounced again, That it mattered not, but the Conſul ſhould pleaſe himſelf, and do full wellin the one and the other. Then the Conſul was permitted by the LL. of the Senat to chuſe whom he would, ſo he were not a Senator, for to ſend as a meſſenger or purſevant of arms, to give the King defiance, and to publiſh war. After this it was debated in Council how the armies ſhould B be diſpoſed as well of Conſuls as Prætors. The Conſuls were commanded to enroll two legions, and to diſcharge and caſſe the old armies. *Sulpitius*, who by a decree was to manage this new war of ſo great name and conſequence, was allowed to take with him out of that army which *Scipio* the Vice-Conſul had brought out of *Affrick*, as many voluntaries as he could procure: but in no caſe to urge any old ſouldier againſt his will. Alſo it was decreed, that the Conſul ſhould allow unto the Prætors *L. Furius Purpureo*, and *Quintus Minutius Rufus* 5000 men apeece of the aſſociats of the Latine nation: whom they ſhould employ, the one in the Province of *Gallia*, and the other in the Brutians country to defend thoſe parts and keep them in obedience. *Q. Fulvius Gillo* was himſelf likewiſe commanded to chuſe out of that army which *P. Ælius* the Conſul commanded, as many as had ſerved feweſt years, untill he made up the number of 5000 alſo of the allies & C Latines; which ſhould be a garriſon to keep in order and ſafety the Province of *Sicily*. *M. Valerius Falto*, Prætor the year before, and L. deputy of the Province of *Campan*, had his Commiſſion ſigned anew, to continue for the term of one year longer, and as Vice-Prætor to paſs over into *Sardinia*, with direction to chuſe out of the army there 5000 of the allies and Latines, ſuch as had ſerved leaſt time. And the Conſuls were commanded to take up two legions of Citizens, which might be ſent to any place, as need ſhould require, conſidering that many nations in *Italy* tainted and infected with the fellowſhip and company of the Carthaginians during the wars and ever ſince, were ſwelled with anger and deſpite againſt the Romans. Thus the Common-weal for that year was to uſe the employment of ſix Roman Legions.

Amidſt theſe preparations for war, there arrived Embaſſadors from K. *Ptolomeus*, giving intelli- D gence, that the Athenians had craved aid of their King and Maſter, againſt *Philip*. And although they were confederate as well with him as the Romans, yet the King would ſend into *Greece* neither a fleet of ſhips, nor an army of men, defenſive, or offenſive to any, but by authority and conſent of the people of *Rome*. In caſe therefore the Romans were reſolved, and ſufficient withall of themſelves to defend their allies, he would be willing to ſit ſtill and take his repoſe at home. Otherwiſe, if the Romans were rather diſpoſed to reſt and take their eaſe, he would himſelf be well content to ſend ſuch forces to the aid of the Athenians, as ſhould defend them eaſily againſt all the power of *Philip*. The Senat returned great thanks unto the King, with this anſwer, That the people of *Rome* were purpoſed to protect their own allies: but if during this war they ſtood in need, upon any occurrence that might happen, they would give knowledge thereof to the King: as E being aſſured and making full account, that all the puiſſance and wealth of his kingdom was a ſure prop and truſty pillar of their State and Common-wealth. This done, by order from the Senat the Embaſſadors had given them for a reward * five thouſand Aſſes apiece. Now whiles the Conſuls were buſie in taking muſters, and providing all things meet for the war; the City very devout and given much to religion, in the beginnings eſpecially of all new wars, after they had performed their ſupplications aforeſaid, and done their devotions at every altar and ſhrine: becauſe nothing might be for-let and left out, that at any time heretofore had been done; ordained that the Coſ. unto whom the Province of *Macedony* fell, ſhould vow ſolemnly to exhibit to the honour of *Jupiter*, the great games and plaies, and a rich preſent beſide. But *Licinius* the High Prieſt ſtaid this publike vow for the time that it went not forward, alledging that it was not lawful to make a vow F of an uncertain ſum of money not determined: & if ſuch money might not ſerve for the uſe of war, it ought preſently to be ſet by and laid up ſafe, and not be mingled and ſhuffled with other monies: and unleſs that were duly done, the vow could not be paid and performed according to the order of holy rites. Albeit the thing it ſelf and the perſon of the man that moved this ſcruple, touched and troubled them much, yet they would needs that the Conſul ſhould propound the matter to the colledge of the Prieſts and Biſhops, to know their reſolution, whether a vow might not directly be made of an uncertain peece of money. The Biſhops ſet down their opinion and judgment, that it might be well enough, yea, and better than otherwiſe. Whereupon the Conſul pronounced the vow, according to the very ſame form of words (as the High Prieſt endited and ſpake before him) which aforetime they were wont to uſe, in making the quinquennal vows from five G years to five: ſave only thus much, that he vowed and promiſed to repreſent the plaies, and to preſent oblations unto *Jupiter*, amounting to ſuch a ſum of money, as the Senat ſhould ſet down when the vow was to be performed. So many times before had the great games been vowed, and a determinate ſum of money ever aſſigned: but theſe were the firſt that were not limited within any certain ſtint and compaſs.

Now when all mens minds were wholly bent upon the Macedonian war, behold on a ſud- den, when they feared nothing leſs than ſuch a thing, there aroſe a rumour of French troubles and

* 15 li. 12 ſh. 6 d. ſterl.

tumults: for the Insubrians, the Cenomans and *Boii*, having sollicited and raised up by way of insurrection the *Sallii*, the Ilvations, and other states of *Liguria*, under the conduct of *Amilcar* the Carthaginian, who in those parts staid behind with the remnant of *Asdrubal* his army, were seized of *Placentia*: and after they had sacked the City, and for very dispiteous anger burnt a great part of it, leaving hardly two thousand persons of all sorts, which amidst the fire and ruins thereof chanced to save themselves, crossed the river *Po*, and advanced forward to the spoil and pillage of *Cremona*. But the inhabitants of that Colony, having heard of the misery and calamity befaln upon their neighbour-City, had some respit and time to shut their gates, and to bestow their guards upon the walls: so as, they should at least wise be first besieged or ever they were forced, and might be able to dispatch messengers unto the people of *Rome*. *L. Furius Purpureo* was governor of that Province for the time; who having by order from the Senat discharged all the rest of the army but only five thousand of allies and those Latines, abode with that power in the next country to that Province, about *Ariminum*. He then addressed his letters unto the Senat, signifying in how bad terms the province stood, namely, that of those two Colonies, which all the time of the Punick war had escaped those great storms and tempests of troubles, the one was won by the enemies and put to the saccage, the other now besieged, and at hand to be lost: neither would his forces be sufficient and able to help the distressed Cremonians, unless he should wilfully cast away five thousand allies, and expose them as a prey unto forty thousand of the enemies (for so many they were strong) to have their throats cut, and to be hewn in peeces; and by so great a loss and overthrow of his, to give more heart and courage to the enemies, who are now in their ruff, and puffed up with pride for the ruin of one Roman Colony already. Upon the reading of these letters, there went forth a decree from the LL. of the Senat, that *C. Aurelius* the Consul should send out precepts for the army to be ready at *Ariminum* that very day, on which he appointed them to the *Rendezvouz* in *Hetruria*: and that either himself in his own person, if it might stand with the good of the State, would go with a power to suppress these French commotions, or else write to *L. Furius* the Prætor, that when the Roman Legions presented themselves unto him out of *Hetruria*, he should send in their stead his own five thousand allies for the guard of *Hetruria* in the mean time, and make a journey himself in person to raise the siege before *Cremona*, and to set the Colony free that now was beleaguered. They thought good besides to dispatch Embassadors into *Affrick*, who should go to *Carthage*, and afterwards to *Masanissa* in *Numidia*. To *Carthage*, for to intimate unto them, That *Amilcar*, a Citizen of theirs, left behind in *France*, (and L whether he were of the army of *Asdrubal* before or afterwards of *Mago*, they knew not for certain) waged war there against the covenants in the League contained: that he had assembled certain forces of French and Ligurians, to enter into arms against the people of *Rome*: and therefore, if they had any love to entertain peace, they should call him home, and deliver him to the people of *Rome*. Over and besides, they had in commission to give them to understand, that delivery was not yet made of all the runnagate rebels, but many of them, by report, were retired to *Carthage*, and there went up and down, and converted openly; which persons were, after diligent search made, to be attached and apprehended, that they might, according to the tenor of the accord, be sent home again, and delivered into the hands of the Romans. And thus much concerning their message to the Carthaginians. Now they had in charge besides to congratulate with *Masanissa*, M and to declare what joy they took in his behalf namely for that he had not only recovered the inheritance of his fathers kingdom, but also enlarged his dominion, by conquest of the most flourishing part of the Realm of *Syphax*. Moreover, commanded they were to signifie unto him, that they had undertaken to war upon King *Philip* because he had befriended and aided the Carthaginians; and by offering and doing wrong to the friends of the people of *Rome*, even at what time as all *Italy* was full of troubles and wars, enforced and put them to it, for to send their armies and their armadoes into *Greece*, and so by dismembring and dividing their forces into sundry places, was the principall cause that they were so late ere they passed over into *Affrick*: requesting him for the maintenance of this war, to send over certain aids of Numidian horsemen. These Orators had great gifts and honourable presents given them for to carry unto the King, to wit, divers peeces of plate both of gold and silver, a purple robe of State, with a rich cassock or coat wrought in palm-tree work, with a royall Scepter of Ivory, also a robe embroydered before with purple, with an Ivory chair of state. Last of all, they are willed to make promise unto the King, that if he could think upon any thing needfull and expedient either to establish his kingdom, or to advance his royall estate, the people of *Rome* would endeavour respectively for his good demerits to compass the same to the uttermost of their power.

There arrived also about that time Embassadors from *Vermina* the son of *Syphax*, and presented themselves unto the Senat, excusing the errour, and pretending the youth of the Prince, cleering him of all fault, and laying the whole blame upon the fraud and treachery of the Carthaginians, promising for their King and Master in this wise, That like as *Masanissa* of a professed enemy O was become a sworn friend to the Romans, even so would *Vermina* do his best, and strain himself, that in all offices of friendship toward the people of *Rome*, neither *Masanissa*, nor any other should surpass and go beyond him; and making petition in his name, that the Senat would vouchsafe to give him the titles of King, of Ally, and Friend unto the Romans. These Orators had this for their answer, That not only *Syphax*, his father before him, of a confederate friend suddenly without any cause at all proved an enemy to the people of *Rome*; but also himself had practised already in his young

A young years, and laid the first ground of his warfare in annoying and troubling the Romans by war; and therefore he was to seek pardon and crave peace at their hands, before he might be invested by them with the terms of King, of Ally, and Friend: for the honour of that stile the people of *Rome* were wont to vouchsafe to none, but those Kings only who had deserved singularly well of them. Mary there should be certain Roman Legats in *Affrick*, unto whom the Senate would give order to minister and tender unto *Vermina* certain conditions of peace according to a large and absolute commission that they had from the people of *Rome*, To do what they thought
B good. And in case the King misliked ought in those capitulations, and were desirous to have any article added, put out, or altered, he must recourse again to the Senat, and demand the same. So there were Legats or Commissioners sent into *Affrick* with such a Commission aboresaid namely, *C. Terentius Varro*, *Sp. Lucretius*, and *Cn. Octavius*, and each of them had a galleace directed with five rows of oars.

After this were the letters read of *Q. Minutius* Prætor in the Province of the *Brutii*, importing thus much, That the consecrated money of *Proserpina* at *Locri* was by night stoln out of her treasury; but to say who should do the deed, they had no presumptions to give light and lead them
C directly. The Senat took the matter in very ill part, and grieved exceedingly, That sacrilegious men fell still to Church-robbing, and would not give over: and that the late and fresh example of *Pleminius* (so notorius as well for the hainous fact as the fearful punishment) was not able to terrifie them and give them warning. So *C. Aurelius* the Cos. was enjoyned to write unto the Prætor into the Brutians country, to this effect: That it was the Senats pleasure, that due enquiry and examination should be had of the Treasury thus robbed, after the same precedent and course that *M. Pomponius* the Prætor took three years before. And look what money could be found, it should be laid up duly in the place; and what was not forth-coming, it should be supplied and made good again. Also (if he thought meet) that there should be certain purgatory sacrifices, according as the Bishops before ordained in the like case, for the expiation and satisfaction of the violating and defiling of the Temple. Moreover, there chanced about the same time divers prodi-
D gious tokens from many places to be reported. In the Lucans country the rumor and voice went, that the welkin was on fire; and at *Privernum*, while the sky was bright and fair, the sun appeared red all day long. At *Lanuvium*, in the Temple of *Juno Sospita*, there was heard in the night-season a mighty great noise. Nay, and more than this, in sundry places (as men say) were many monstrous and strange births seen. In the Sabins country one child was born, and no man knew what to make of it, male or female: and another likewise was found of sixteen years of age,
E a very Hermaphrodite of doubtfull sex between both. At *Frusino* there was a lamb yeaned with a swines head: and at *Sinuessa* a sow farrowed a pig with the head of a man. In the Lucans country there was foled upon the common ground a colt with five feet. All these monsters were ugly to see and abominable, and holden for great defects and errors of nature working strangely out of kind. But above all others, those births both male and female, (or rather neuter) were most abhorred and detested, and order was given presently, that they should be cast into the sea; even as of late daies when *C. Claudius* and *M. Livius* were Consuls the like deformed monster was thither had away and drowned. Nevertheless the Decemvirs were commanded to turn over and peruse
F the books of *Sibylla*, to know what such prodigious monsters might portend: who by their learning and out of those books, gave direction to make the same sacrifices which last of all for the like uncouth sights were made. Moreover, they gave commandment, that certain hymns and songs should be chanted throughout the City by three severall quires, of nine virgins in every one; and an oblation to be offered by them with all devotion to queen *Juno*. *C. Aurelius* the Consul caused all this to be performed according to the order and direction of the Decemvirs. And as in our fathers daies *Livius* composed the ditty of the hymn, so at that time *P. Licinius Tegula* framed and set down a form of song which they could sing. Thus when all things were expiate, and satisfaction made accordingly for the appeasing of the wrath of the gods, (for even at *Locri* also the sacriledge was found out by *Q. Minutius*, and the money missing was raised out of
G the goods of the offenders and guilty persons, and bestowed there again in the treasury) as the Consuls were minded to take their journey into their Provinces, there repaired many private Citizens unto the Senat, unto whom the third payment was due that year for the loan of money, which in the time of *M. Valerius* and *M. Claudius* Consuls they had lent out and disbursed, because that the Consuls had made them answer, That the stock of the City Chamber was hardly able to defray the charges of a new war, which required maintenance of a mighty Navy and of puissant armies, and therefore flatly denied them, and said, That they had not wherewith to satisfie and make present payment. The Senat could not endure that they should have this occasion to make complaint; considering, that if the Common-wealth would still employ the money upon the Macedonian war also, which was granted in loan for the Punick war, this would be the end of it, that (one war following thus in the neck of another) their own money which was lent upon a curtesie and benevolence out of their private purses, should be little better than confiscate for some forfeiture, and fall to the Exchequer and common Chest of the City. These private persons demanding nothing but reason and right, and the City withall not able to discharge her debt, the Lords set down a middle and indifferent course between honesty and profit; and that was this: That forasmuch as many of these men said, that the City had much land upon sale, and they were to buy and make purchase, therefore the common

grounds

grounds lying and being within fifty miles of *Rome* every way, ſhould be granted unto them in fee H farm, and the Conſuls to ſet down an eſtimate of their value and worth, and charge them with a chief rent or tribute of three farthings an acre by the year, to teſtifie only that they were the Cities lands; to the end that if any man hereafter (when the City ſhould be aforehand and in caſe to repay the former debt) were deſirous to have money rather than land, he ſhould reſtore the lands and poſſeſſions again into the Cities hands and receive his money. Theſe private Citizens (who were the foreſaid creditors) accepted gladly of this offer and condition. And hereupon this land was called by the name of *Trientius* and *Tributus*, becauſe it was ſet out and granted in lieu of a third part of the lone mony. Then *P. Sulpitius* after he had pronounced his vows aboveſaid in the Capitoll, and departed out of the City in his coat of arms, with the Lictors and Uſhers afore him, arrived at *Brunduſium*; and ſo with the old voluntary ſouldiers drawn out of I the army that was returned from *Affrick*, (whom he had enrolled into legions) and ſhips choſen out of the fleet of *Cornelius* the Conſul; he looſed from *Brunduſium*, and the next day after landed in *Macedonia*: where attended him the Embaſſadors of the Athenians; who humbly beſought him to deliver them from the ſiege that inveſted their City. So *C. Claud. Cento* was incontinently ſent to *Athens*, furniſhed with twenty long ſhips of war, and a ſtrength of men: for the King himſelf in perſon beſieged not *Athens*, but even then made hot aſſault upon the town *Abydus*, as having already given proof of his forces in ſea-fight, both with the Rhodians and King *Attalus*, and in neither battell had good ſucceſs. But beſides the ordinary ſtoutneſs and pride engraffed in him by nature, he was aloft now and looked high, by reaſon of the alliance made between him and *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, with whom he had parted the riches and Realm of *Ægypt*, unto K which they both aſpired, upon the news they heard of the death of *Ptolomeus*. Now the Athenians had drawn upon themſelves the war againſt King *Philip*, upon a ſmall occaſion and of no importance; who of all their ancient eſtate and glory, retain nothing elſe but great heart and hauty ſpirit. It fortuned that two young men of *Acarnania*, who had taken no orders and were not conſecrate, entred among the other multitude into the Temple of *Ceres*, in the time of the feaſtivall daies, and celebration of ſacrifices to that goddeſs belonging: and being altogether ignorant in the cuſtome of that ſolemnity and religion, and asking ſome fooliſh abſurd queſtions, nothing fit for that time or place, were ſoon bewrayed by their ſpeech and language: who being convented before the Prelates of the ſaid Temple, notwithſtanding it was evidently proved and known, that upon an errour only & overſight, and not for any ill intent they were come into the L Church, yet were they put to death as fellons, and guilty of ſome hainous fact in the higheſt degree. The people of *Acarnania* complained unto King *Philip*, and informed him of this villanous part and hoſtile act by them committed; and obtained a grant from him, that they might be permitted with the aid of the Macedonians, to make war upon the Athenians. This army at firſt invaded the territories of *Athens*, and with fire and ſword made waſte & havock of all, and ſo with a rich booty of all ſorts returned into *Acarnania*. Theſe were the firſt quarrels on both ſides, that ſtirred coals and kindled fire between them. Afterwards was defiance given, and open war proclaimed, by the generall decrees of both States. For when King *Attalus* and the Rhodians purſued after *Philip*, as he retired into *Macedony*, and were come as far as *Ægina*, then the ſaid King paſſed over to *Pyræum*, for to renew and confirm the league with the Athenians. Againſt his coming M the whole City went forth with their wives and children to meet him on the way: the Clergy with their rich veſtments and goodly ornaments were ready to receive him as he entred the City: the very gods themſelves in a manner abandoned their ſhrines to give him entertainment. Immediatly was the people ſummoned to a generall aſſembly, that the King might deliver his mind before them all: but afterwards, upon more ſage advice, it was thought to ſtand better with the honour and Majeſty of a Prince, that he ſhould ſet down in writing what he thought good, rather than in open place either to bluſh himſelf in recounting his favors and good turns done unto the City, or in hearing the acclamations of the multitude in token of joy, to be abaſhed and aſhamed of their groſs and unmeaſurable flattery. But in his letters which he ſent unto the aſſembly, and were there openly read and publiſhed, firſt he made a rehearſall of the benefits that this con- N federate City had received at his hands. Secondly, he diſcourſed of the worthy exploits which he had performed againſt *Philip*. And finally he knit up all with an exhortation, that whiles they had himſelf, the Rhodians, and eſpecially the Romans to friend them, they ſhould put themſelves in arms and begin war; as who if they now forſlowed the enterpriſe, and let ſlip the preſent opportunity, ſhould hereafter ſeek in vain to find it, which once they had ſo retchleſly loſt. Then had the Rhodian Embaſſadors audience given them, who lately had done the Athenians a great pleaſure, in recovering and ſending home unto *Athens* four long ſoiſts, which newly had been boorded and taken by the Macedonians. Hereupon with generall accord they decreed to denounce and wage war againſt King *Philip*. But firſt they did King *Attalus* incredible honour beyond all meaſure and then likewiſe to the Rhodians. Then and never before there was ſome ſpeech mo- O ved of adjoyning unto the ten ancient tribes, one other tribe, which of the Kings name ſhould be called *Attalis*. Unto the City of the Rhodians they gave in token of vertue, a Crown of beaten gold. And like as beforetime the men of *Rhodes* had granted free Burgeoſie of their City to the Athenians, ſo they of *Athens* now endured the Rhodians with their liberties and franchiſes. This done, K. *Attalus* returned to his fleet in the rode of *Ægina*. The Rhodians then weighed anchor, and from *Ægina* ſailed to * *Cea*. From whence along the * Iſlands, they paſſed to the *Rhodes*:

* Zia.
* Called *Cyclades* in the Ægean ſea, or *Archipelago*.

and

A and in their voyage confedered themſelves with them all, excepting * *Andros*, * *Paros*, and * *Cythnus*, which were guarded by garriſons of the Macedonians. In *Ægina* King *Attalus* made his abode a certain time, and entred into no action, by occaſion of meſſengers whom he had ſent into *Ætolia*, and Embaſſadors that were expected from thence. But as he could not prevail with the Ætolians, & perſwade them to take arms, contenting themſelves with the peace that in ſome ſort they had concluded with *Philip*: ſo himſelf, and the Rhodians (who no doubt, if they had preſſed and followed hard upon *Philip* might have gained and enjoyed this glorious title, That they alone of themſelves had delivered *Greece* from ſervitude) by ſuffering him once again to croſs the ſeas as far as * *Helleſpontus*, and to poſſeſs himſelf of the commodious and important towns of *Greece*, thereby to re-enforce his power and gather more ſtrength, gave food and nouriſhment to the war, B and in the end let the Romans go away with the honour, both of managing and alſo of finiſhing the ſame. *Philip* carried with him yet a more princely mind and Kingly courage: who, although he was not able to match and make his part good ſo much as with *Attalus* and the Rhodians his enemies, yet was he nothing at all danted with the thundring threats of the Roman war; but ſent *Philocles*, a Captain of his, with a power of two thouſand foot and two hundred horſe, to invade and ſpoil the territory of the Athenians, commited his Armado to the charge of *Heraclides*, to ſet ſail for * *Maronea*, and himſelf in perſon marched by land thither with another regiment of two thouſand footmen lightly appointed, and two hundred men of arms. *Maronea* he forced at the firſt aſſault. But as for *Ænus*, after he had with much labour and travell laid ſiege thereto a long time, in the end he was Maſter thereof, through the treaſon of *Ganymedes*, deputed C L. Governor there for King *Ptolomæus*. After this he ſurpriſed and won other Caſtles, as *Cypſela*, *Doriſcon*, and *Serrheum*. From thence he advanced forward to *Cherſoneſus*, where he gained *Elæus* and *Alopeconneſus*, which willingly ſurrendred: *Callipolis* alſo and *Madytos*, with ſome other peeces of baſe account and reckoning. But the Abydens ſhut their gates againſt the King, and would not ſuffer ſo much as his Embaſſadors to ſet foot within their Cities. There lay *Philip* a long time before the town and beleaguered it: and ſurely had not *Attalus* and the Rhodians foreſlacked the time, it might have been ſaved and the ſiege raiſed. *Attalus* ſent thither three hundred ſouldiers and no more to lie in garriſon, and the Rhodians one galley only with four banks of oars out of the navy when it rode at *Tenedos*. And afterwards when as *Attalus* himſelf was thither come, at what time as the townſmen could hardly hold out any longer againſt the ſiege, he made D them a ſhew only near at hand of ſome help: other relief would he afford none to his allies either by land or ſea. The Abydens at firſt planted their engins and artillery along the walls, and with ſhot from thence not only diſtreſſed their enemies, and kept them from approach and entrance, but alſo annoyed them as they lay in harbour with their ſhips: but afterwards, ſeeing part of their walls ruinate and laid open; and perceiving beſides that the enemies had undermined and were come under the ground as far as the inner countermure, which the inhabitants in great haſte had raiſed within, forthwith they ſent Embaſſadors to the King to treat and article about ſome conditions for delivering up the City. The townſmen capitulated and demanded, that the Rhodian Galley aforeſaid, with all her mariners, and the garriſon alſo of King *Attalus*, might be ſent away in ſafety, and themſelves permitted to depart the town every one with a ſin- E gle ſuit only of apparel. But *Philip* made anſwer again, that they had no peace for them at all, unleſs they would quit the place, and ſimply commit themſelves unto his mercy. This Embaſſage related unto them, ſet them in ſuch an heat and choler, that partly for ſpight and indignation, and partly upon deſpair, they fell into the like rage that the Saguntins did in times paſt. All the dames and wives of the City they commanded to be ſhut up within the Temple of *Diana*: their young boies and maidens that were free-born, the ſucking babes, together with their nurſes, they cauſed to be beſtowed within the common place of publike exerciſe: their gold and ſilver they took order to be brought into the market place: their rich attire, their coſtly apparell and furniture, to be caſt into the two Galleys, the one of *Rhodes*, and the other of *Cyzicum*, which rid in the haven: and laſt of all, that their Prieſts ſhould be brought forth with their beaſts for ſacri- F fice, and altars erected in the midſt of the place. There firſt were certain men choſen of purpoſe: who ſo ſoon as they perceived the battaillon of their countrimen defeated and ſlain, fighting before the breaches of the wall, immediatly ſhould run upon their wives and children, and kill them without mercy, caſt away into the ſea their gold and ſilver, and all the furniture aboveſaid that was in the Galleys, and ſet the edifices and houſes afire, as well publike as private, in as many places as poſſibly they could. For the performing and execution of theſe premiſes, they were bound by an oath miniſtred unto them; the form whereof, with a curſed malediction thereto annexed, they pronounced word for word from the Prieſts mouth. Then, as many as were of lawfull age to bear arms, ſware likewiſe, That not one of them would depart out of the battell alive, but with victory. Thus remembring the oath they had taken, and how they called the gods to G witneſs, they fought ſo reſolutely, that whereas the night would have parted the combate, the King terrified with their furious rage, firſt gave over the conflict. The chief and principall men of the City, whoſe charge was to play the more cruell and horrible part in this tragicall act, ſeeing there remained but few alive after this skirmiſh, and thoſe grievouſly wounded and tired out of heart for wearineſs; the next morning early by day-break ſent their Prieſts with their infules and veiles of peace, to render the City unto *Philip*. Before the town was fully yielded, *M. Æmylius* the youngeſt of thoſe three Roman Embaſſadors which were ſent to *Alexandria*, hearing of the

* *Andro.*
* *Pario.*
* *Cythno*, or *Cauro.*

* *Stretto de Callipoli. Brachium S Georgii.* *S. Georges arm.*

* *Marogna*, vel *Marolia.*

the ſtraight ſiege of the Abydens came by the conſent of the other two unto *Philip*. Where he laid open their grievances, and made complaint, That he had warred upon *Attalus* and the Rhodians, and namely even then beſieged and aſſailed *Abydus* moſt forcibly. And when the King anſwered that *Attalus* and the Rhodians without juſt cauſe on his part offered, began firſt to moleſt and trouble him. What! (quoth *Æmylius* again) were you moleſted and troubled firſt by the Abydens too? *Philip* who was not wont to be told the truth ſo plainly, thinking this rejoynder of his more bold and malapert than to be offered to a King, "Your youthfull age, quoth he, & fair face, "and above all the Roman name maketh you hardy and audacious. But I would adviſe you all, "firſt to remember your covenants, and to entertain peace with me. For in caſe ye once begin "with me, and put me to it: I do you underſtand, that I alſo am fully reſolved to make you feel "the ſmart, and know, that the realm and nation of the Macedonians is no leſs renowned for feats I "of arms than the Romans. *Philip* having diſmiſſed the embaſſador, and ſeized upon all the gold and ſilver that lay on an heap together, loſt all the booty of men of quality that might have yielded him a round ranſom. For the multitude of common people fell into ſuch a fit of rage and madneſs, that all of a ſudden they imagined thoſe who let their lives in the conflict were betrayed: and ſo caſting one in anothers teeth their perjury, and charging the Prieſts eſpecially that they were forſworn in delivering them alive unto the enemy whom they had devoted and appointed to death; they ran at once from all parts to the pitifull maſſacre of their own wives and children: and when they had ſo done, they made no more ado, but by fire, by ſword, by drowning, hanging, and one way or other, they wrought a quick diſpatch and clean riddance of themſelves alſo. The King aſtonied to ſee them thus horn-mad, ſtaid the bloudy his own ſouldiers, ſaying, that he would allow the Abydens three daies to dye in. During which term of time, the conquered Abydens exerciſed more fearful cruelty upon their own perſons than ever the conquerors would have put in practice in the height of their heat and cholerick fury. Inſomuch as there was not one of them came alive into the enemies hands; but ſuch as either faſt tied with bonds, or otherwiſe by ſome forcible means were ſtaid from being their own hangmen, and the butchers of their proper bodies. *Philip* after he had placed a garriſon at * *Abydus* returned into his own Realm. Now when this miſerable calamity of the Abydens had fleſhed *Philip* to enterpriſe war againſt the Romans, like as *Annibal* afore him took heart by the woſull deſtruction of *Saguntum* to do the ſemblable: behold, he was encountred with poſts that brought news, how the Conſul was in *Epirus* already, and had withdrawn his land-forces to *Apollonia*, and beſtowed his ſervitors at ſea in *Corcyra*, there to winter.

* *Abydos.*

In this while the Embaſſadors who were ſent into *Affrica* had their diſpatch and this anſwer from the Carthaginian. Firſt, as touching *Amilcar* the Generall of the army and forces in *France*, they could do no more but baniſh his perſon, and confiſcat his goods. Then concerning the fugitive traitors and rebels which were run from the Romans, they had ſent home again unto them as many as they could ſearch out and come by: and to that purpoſe they would addreſs Embaſſadors themſelves unto the Romans, to ſatisfie the Senat in that behalf. And preſently they ſent to *Rome* two hundred thouſand Modii of wheat, and other two hundred thouſand into *Macedony* to the army there. From thence the Roman Embaſſadors went forward to the King in *Numidia*. To King *Maſaniſſa* they delivered the preſents which the Romans ſent, and declared unto him their commiſſion; at whoſe hands they received a thouſand Numidian horſe, whereas he offered them two thouſand: himſelf took order for their embarking, and ſo diſpatched them into *Macedony*, with proviſion of two hundred thouſand * meaſures of wheat, and as many of barley. A third Embaſſage they had to *Vermina*, who met the Embaſſadors as far as the utmoſt marches of his Realm, and to their diſpoſition and diſcretion referred the drawing and penning of all conditions of peace as they would themſelves: ſaying withall, that he held any peace whatſoever, that he ſhould have with the people of *Rome* for good and juſt. So there were preſented unto him certain articles and conditions of peace, and for the ratifying thereof he was enjoyned to ſend his Embaſſadors to *Rome*.

* *Modii.*

Much about the very ſame time *L. Cornelius Lentulus* the Vice-Prætor returned out of *Spain*: who having declared in the Senat his valiant and fortunate exploits, that for many years together he had atchieved in *Spain*; and in conſideration thereof, demanded that it might be lawfull for him to enter the City in triumph: the Senat judged that his noble acts deſerved no leſs than he ſued for: but they had no ſuch precedent from their anceſtors, that he ſhould be allowed to triumph, who had warred, neither as Dictator, nor Conſul, nor Prætor: and as for *Lentulus*, in quality of Vice-Prætor only, and not of Conſul or Prætor he took upon him the charge of the Province of *Spain*. Howbeit, in the end they came down to this point, that he ſhould ride into the City on horſeback as Ovant. But *T. Sempronius Longus* a Tribune of the Com. interpoſed his negative, alledging that they had as little example to ſhew for that; and no practiſe or cuſtome at all of their ancient predeceſſors. But in fine the Tribune gave place to the generall accord of the LL. and was content to be over-ruled. So after the order ſet down by the Senat, *L. Lentulus* entred *Rome* in that ſolemnity and pomp before-named. He preſented in ſhew of the pillage that he had got, * 44000 pound weight of ſilver, * 2450 pound weight of gold. To his ſouldiers he diſtributed out of the ſpoil * 120 Aſſes apeece.

* 137500 li. ſterl. after 5. ſhe ounce.
* 88000 li. ſterl. at 3 li. an ounce.
* 7 ſt. 6 d. Engliſh.

Now was the army of the Conſul tranſlated already from *Aretium* to *Ariminum*, and five thouſand Latine allies were paſſed out of *France* into *Etruria*. Therefore *L. Furius* departed from

*Ariminum*

A Ariminum, made haſte by taking great journeyes to come againſt the Gauls, who then laid ſiege to *Cremona*, and encamped within a mile and an half from the enemy. Means and opportunity he had to do a notable exploit, and win a good hand of the enemies, if immediatly upon his firſt coming he might have aſſailed their Camp: for they wandred to and fro in ſcattering wiſe up and down the country a forraging, and had left no ſufficient guard for the defence of their Camp. But he feared greatly that his ſouldiers were weary and tired: becauſe the companies marched apace thither in exceeding great haſte. Howbeit the Gauls being called back by the hooping and hollowing of their fellows, let go their booty which they had in manner as good as in their hands, and returned to the Camp, and the morrow after ranged themſelves in battel array. The Romans were not behind for their parts, albeit they had hardly time enough to ſet themſelves in order, B the enemies ran ſo ſuddenly, and made ſuch haſte to fight. The right wing (for the army of the allies was divided into wings) was placed in the vanguard: the two Roman legions in the rereward; *M. Furius* led the right wing, *M. Cecilius* had the conduct of the legions; and *L. Valerius Flaccus* (all three Lieutenants) commanded the Cavalry. The Prætor kept with him two Lieutenants, *Cn. Lectorius*, and *P. Titinius*, by whoſe means he might look about from every part, and be ready to oppoſe himſelf againſt al ſudden attempts whatſoever of the enemies. At the firſt, the Gauls hoped that with their numbers they ſhould be able to tread down and trample under their feet that right wing of allies which was in the forefront: and to that effect they reduced their multitudes into one place, and charged upon it with all their might and main together. But ſeeing that enterpriſe ſped not well, they endeavoured to environ the corners and ſides, and to compaſs C the enemies round about: which they thought they might ſoon do, being ſo many as they were in compariſon of ſo few: which when the Prætor perceived, to the end that he alſo might ſpread out his battelions at large, he diſplaied the two legions in the rereward, ſo as he compaſſed on both hands that wing which fought in the vanguard: and therewith vowed two Chappels to *Jupiter*, if that day he might be ſo fortunate as to vanquiſh his enemies. To *L. Valerius* he gave direction, that of one ſide he ſhould with the Cavalry of the two legions, and on the other ſide with the horſe belonging to the allies charge upon the wings of the enemies, and not ſuffer them in any caſe to encloſe the battell about. Herewithall himſelf alſo, eſpying the midle battaillon of the Gauls to be but thin, by reaſon they were ſtretched out from thence to the corners and points of each hand, commanded his ſouldiers to keep cloſe together, to advance forward and break D through their ranks. So were the wings of the Gauls by the horſemen diſcomfited, and they in the midſt repulſed back & chaſed by the footmen: and when the enemies thus at once on every hand were beaten down and killed, they ſhewed their backs, and fled as faſt as they could to the camp. The horſe purſued them in the rout and chaſe; and anon the legionary footmen made after alſo, and gave an aſſault upon their Camp. There eſcaped from thence not all out ſix thouſand: ſlain there were and taken priſoners above 35000, with ſeventy banners and enſigns, and more than two hundred French wagons, charged and laden with much pillage. In this conflict, *Amilcar* the Generall of the Carthaginians loſt his life, and three Noblemen of the French, Leaders of mark and name. The Placentine captives, to the number of two thouſand men of free condition, were delivered again to them of their own Colony. This was a goodly victory; and upon the letters E which came with tidings thereof to *Rome*, received there with great joy; and ordained it was, that a ſolemn proceſſion ſhould be held for the ſpace of three daies. Of Romans and allies one with another, there died in this battell two thouſand: moſt of them were of that right wing, upon which the enemies in the beginning of the conflict moſt of all diſcharged their fury.

Albeit the Prætor had brought the war to a good paſs, and in manner finiſhed it, yet the Conſul alſo *C. Aurelius*, having accompliſhed his neceſſary affairs at *Rome*, made no ſtay but took his journey into *France*, and received the victorious army of of the Prætor. The other Conſul who came into his Province but a little before the end of Autumn, wintered about *Apollonia*. The Roman gallies which from the Armado that lay in dock at **Corcyra*, were ſent as is afore- * *Corphu.*
ſaid to *Athens* with *C. Claudius*, were no ſooner arrived at *Pyreæum*, but they mightily comforted F the allies, whoſe hearts were well-nigh done: for neither were there any more inrodes now by land as there were wont to be from *Corinth* ſide by the way of *Megara* along into their territories: and the men of war and Pyrats ſhips which from *Chalcis* had made not only the ſeas dangerous to the Athenians, but alſo the maritime & ſea coaſts, durſt not now approach nearer than to the cape of *Sunium*, no, nor venture into the open main ſea from out of the ſtraights of *Euripus*. Over and beſides, there came in to them three Rhodian gallies with four banks of oars: there were alſo three open ſhips of *Athens* well rigged and appointed, for to keep the quarters that lay along the river. *Claudius* was well appaied, and thought he had got enough for the preſent, in caſe the City and Territory of *Athens* might be ſufficiently guarded by this fleet. But ſee, there preſented unto him an occurrent beſides of far greater importance and conſequence. Cer- G tain baniſhed perſons of *Chalcis*, expelled from thence by the wrongs and violence of thoſe that ſided with King *Philip*, advertiſed him, that the City of *Chalcis* might be eaſily ſurpriſed without any conflict or reſiſtance at all: for, not only the Macedonians ranged abroad every where up and down, becauſe there were no enemies near at hand to fear; but alſo the townſmen preſuming upon the garriſon of the Macedonians, neglected the guard of the City. Upon the aſſurance of their words, he ſet forward: and although he was arrived at *Sunium* with ſo good ſpeed, that he might with eaſe have ſailed to the entrance of the ſtreights of *Eubœa*, yet for fear of being

being diſcovered (when he was once got paſt the cape) he kept his fleet within the bay ſtill untill H
night: and at the ſhutting in of the evening he weighed anchor and lanched forth, and having a
calm ſea, he arrived before *Chalcis* a little before the break of day, and preſented his forces againſt
thoſe parts of the City that were leaſt peopled: and with the help of ſome few ſouldiers he ſca-
led and got the Tower that ſtood next, with the wall about it, whiles in ſome places the warders
were found aſleep; and in others not at all to be found. Then they advanced forward unto thoſe
parts that were more inhabited, and ſtood thicker with houſes; where, after they had killed the
guard and broke open a gate, they received into the town all the reſt of their ſouldiers. Whereup-
on, there was running now on every hand into all parts of the City, and much hurry and confuſi-
on; which was the greater, becauſe the enemies had ſet fire on the houſes about the market place.
The Kings garners alſo were of a light fire, together with the arſenall and armory, where there I
was exceeding ſtore of proviſion, of engins, of artillery and other ordnance and inſtruments for
war. After this they fell to execution and to maſſacre in every place, as well thoſe that fled as thoſe
that made head; ſo as they miſſed not one that was of age meet to bear arms, but either he was
killed or put to flight. *Sopater* likewiſe the Acarnanian Captain of the garriſon was there ſlain. All
the pillage was firſt brought and piled up together in the common place of the City, and after-
wards embarked. The common Goal beſides was broke open by the Rhodians, and the priſoners
and captives let out, whom *Philip* had there lodged as in a place of ſureſt guard and cuſtody.
Then they overthrew the Images and ſtatues of the King, and brake their necks: which done, they
ſounded the retreat, went a ſhipboord, and returned to *Pyræum*, from whence they came. But if
the number of Roman ſouldiers had been ſuch, that they might have kept *Chalcis* ſtill with a gar- K
riſon, without quitting and abandoning the defence of *Athens*, a great matter had been got in the
very beginning of the war: to wit, the City of *Chalcis* and the paſſage of *Euripus*, had been taken
from the King. For as the narrow paſs of *Thermopyle* ſtoppeth the waies into *Greece* by land, ſo the
ſtreights of *Euripus* maketh all ſure by ſea. *Philip* at that time lay in the City *Demetrias*; where,
after he heard the news of the calamity befain upon a confederate City, albeit now it was too
late to help when all was loſt; yet becauſe he would be revenged (which is a thing that cometh
near to the nature of aid and ſuccour) he went forth immediatly with five thouſand footmen
lightly appointed and nimble, and three thouſand horſemen, with all the ſpeed and haſt he could
to reach near unto *Chalcis*; making full reckoning that the Romans might be ſurpriſed on a ſud-
den: but being diſappointed of this hope, and thither come where he could ſee nothing elſe but I
a pitious ſpectacle of a friend-City half ruinate and ſtill ſmoaking and ſo few people left alive, that
they hardly were able to bury their dead, he returned as haſtily as he came; and having paſſed o-
ver *Euripus* at a bridge, he lead ſtreight to *Athens* by the way of *Bœotia*, with a deep perſwaſion
and hope, that a like enterpriſe unto the Romans ſhould have the like iſſue. And verily he had not
miſſed of the ſemblable effect, correſpondent to his deſigns, but that a certain watchman (one of
thoſe whom the Greeks call *Hemerodromos*, that is, poſts and carriers that in one daies ſpace will
run and rid a mighty deal of ground) deſcried from a watch-tower the Kings troops marching:
whereupon he ran out afore, and came to *Athens* ere midnight. There were they all aſleep too,
and as retchleſs as they of *Chalcis* were a few daies paſt, which was the loſs of their town. The
Prætor of the Athenians, and *Dioxippus* the Captain of a regiment of hired ſtrangers and aid- M
ſouldiers, awoke at this ſo fearfull and ſudden tidings and got up, aſſembled the ſouldiers into
the market-ſtead, and commanded to ſound alarm from the higheſt place of the City, that all men
might take knowledge that the enemies were near at hand. By which means they ran every man
from all parts to the gates and up the walls. Within few hours after, and ſomewhat before day-
light, he approached the City: and ſeeing many lights every where, hearing alſo a noiſe of peo-
ple running to and fro (as in time of ſuch a tumult) he ſtaid his march, and commanded his ſoul-
diers to ſit them down and reſt themſelves, intending to proceed by overt and open forces, ſince
covert and crafty courſes ſped no better: and ſo at length he came before *Dipylos*. This *Dipy-
los* is a gate, ſtanding in the very front of the City, greater and wider a great deal than the reſt.
Both within and without that gate are large and broad ſtreets, ſo that both the inhabitants N
within may marſhall an army, and lead in battell array from the common place directly to the
gate, and alſo the enemies without have room at will to conduct a power as well of horſe as foot,
by means of a ſpacious cauſey or high-way, which reacheth out almoſt a mile in length from
the foreſaid gate, and leadeth to the place of exerciſe or ſchool called *Academia*. At this quarter
of the City the Athenians, together with the garriſon of *Attalus*, and the regiment of *Dioxippus*,
iſſued forth, and entred the cauſey abovenamed, having firſt within the gate ſet their men in or-
der of battell. Which when *Philip* ſaw, he made full account, That he had his enemies as he would
himſelf to do his pleaſure with them, and that now he ſhould have his fill of a maſſacre and
ſlaughter that he had wiſhed for ſo long (for there was not a State or City in all *Greece* that he
maliced more than this of *Athens*.) And therefore he exhorted and encouraged his ſouldiers, that O
they ſhould have their eye upon him ever as they fought, and know well this, that where the King
was, there ſhould the banners and cornets be diſplaied, there ſhould the ſtrength and force of the
battell be: and ſo he-ſet ſpurs to his horſe, and ran with full carreer to charge the enemies. Thus
was he not only carried away with heat of choler, but raviſhed alſo with a deſire of glory, e-
ſteeming it a goodly thing, and a matter tending to his great honour, for to be ſeen fighting in
the view of a great multitude of people that had taken up and filled the battlements of the walls

(as

A (as it were) to behold a ſolemn ſpectacle. Thus being advanced a good way before the main battail, accompanied with ſome few men of arms, he rode among the mids of the enemies, where he bare himſelf ſo valiantly, that as he mightily heartned his own men, ſo he affrighted no leſs his enemies. Many a one he wounded with his own hand, reaching at them that were neer, levelling at thoſe that were farther off, and drave them afore him like ſheep and followed hard upon them in perſon to the very gate; where he made ſoul work among them, thronged and crouded as they were together in the ſtreight of the paſſage, for haſt they made to eſcape, and committed a grievous ſlaughter. And albeit this was but an unwiſe and raſh adventure of his, yet he retired himſelf in ſafety, without farther danger of his perſon, by reaſon that they who were placed in the turrets of the gate, forbare to ſhoot and lance their darts, becauſe they would not hurt their own
B ſide, intermingled among the enemies. But after this, when the Athenians kept their ſouldiers within the walls, *Philip* ſounded the retreat and pitched his tents at *Cynoſarges*, where there was a Temple of *Hercules*, and a ſchool of learning and a grove ſtanding about it. As for *Cynoſarges*, and the ſchool *Lyceum*, and whatſoever was either religious, or pleaſant and delectable about the City, was burned. And not only the edifices, but the ſepulchres alſo and monuments of the dead were defaced and caſt down: in which furious heat of anger, nothing was ſpared, were it ſacred or prophane, without regard of God and man. The next morrow, when the gates were firſt kept ſhut, and afterwards ſet open again upon a ſuddain, becauſe the garriſon of *Attalus* entred into the City from *Ægina* and the Roman from *Pyræum* ſide; *Philip* diſlodged and removed back from the City almoſt three miles. From whence he went to *Eleuſine*, hoping to ſurpriſe the Temple at
C unawares, together with the Town and Caſtle, which both environeth the Temple, and alſo commandeth the ſame. But when he perceived that the *corps de guard* was not neglected, and that a fleet beſides was coming from *Pyræum* to ſuccour them, he gave over this deſign and led his army to *Megara*, and ſo ſtreight forward immediately to *Corinth*; and having intelligence, that the Achæi held a general Diet and counſel at *Argos*, thither he came unlooked for of the Achæans, and put himſelf amongſt them at the very ſeſſion and aſſembly. Conſultation there was, about waging war with *Nabis* the tyrant of the Lacedemonians: Who ſeeing, that the Seignory of *Achaia* was taken from *Philopœmenes* and conferred upon *Cycliades*, a Captain not to be named and compared with him, and perceiving alſo that the aids which the Achæans had, were fallen from them and gone, took their vantage, renued the old quarrel, and made freſh war upon them,
D waſting the villages and territories of the borderers, yea, and threatning the good Towns and Cities alſo. Now whiles they ſat deviſing and conferring together what number of ſouldiers ſhould be levied and enrolled out of every ſeveral ſtate and City, for to withſtand this common enemy, *Philip* franckly promiſed to eaſe them all of that care as touching *Nabis* and the Lacedemonians; and not only to impeach them for ſpoiling the lands of their Allies, but alſo to lead his army out of hand into the very territory of *Laconica* and *Sparta*, and thither to turn the whole terror of this war. This kind ſpeech and friendly offer of his, being with a general applauſe of them all accepted. "Mary, this you muſt (quoth he) take withal, that good reaſon it is, whiles
"I my ſelf am content to defend and maintain your country by my forces, mine own territories
"in the mean time be not diſfurniſhed of their garriſons and left naked: and therefore, if ye think
E "good, provide me as many ſouldiers as may ſuffice for the guard of *Oreum*, *Chalcis* and *Corinth*,
"that thus making all ſure behind me, I may be ſecured from danger that way, and with more re-
"ſolution proſecute the war againſt *Nabis* and the Lacedemonians. The Achæans ſmelled him
"quickly & knew full well, to what end this gracious promiſe of his and frank offer of aid againſt the Lacedemonians tended. His only driſt was to draw forth of *Peloponneſus* the youth and flour of the Achæans as a pledge and ſure hoſtage for to engage the whole nation ſo far as they ſhould be intereſſed in the war that he had with the Romans. *Cycliades* the Prætor of the Achæans thinking it bootleſs, and no good policy, to diſcover ſo much and to enforce that point againſt him, inferred only this ſpeech and ſaid, That it was not lawful by the cuſtomes and ordinances of the Achæans, to propoſe other matters to parle of, than thoſe for which they were aſſembled toge-
F ther: and ſo after the order enacted for levying and waging an army againſt *Nabis*, he diſſolved and brake up the aſſembly, which he now had held right ſtoutly and with the liberty of the place, who otherwiſe before that time was taken ever for no better than one of the Kings flatterers and favorits. Thus *Philip* put beſides the great hopes that he had conceived, levied ſome ſmall number of voluntary ſouldiers, and returned to *Corinth* and the land of *Attica*.

During the time that *Philip* was in *Achaia*, *Philocles* a Captain under the King, departed out of *Eubœa* with two thouſand Thracians and Macedonians, for to waſt and ſpoil the confines of the Athenians; and overagainſt *Eleuſina* paſſed over the forreſt and hill *Cytheron*, from whence having ſent out the one half of his forces every way to prey upon the plain country, he ſat himſelf down cloſe with the other half in a convenient place for an ambuſh, to the end, that if per-
G adventure they ſhould make out from the Fort at *Eleuſine*, and ſet upon his ſouldiers as they drave booties, he might ſuddainly ariſe and charge upon the enemies at unawares, ſpred and ſcattered all abroad. But this ambuſhment was diſcovered. And therefore after he had called the ſouldiers back who were run all abroad a foraging, he put them in order well armed & appointed to beſiege and aſſault the Fort of *Eleuſine*, againſt which he led all his forces: but after much hurt and many a wound received from them, he retired, and joyned with *Philip* as he returned out of *Achaia*. The King alſo himſelf in perſon, aſſaied to force and batter the ſaid hold: but the Roman

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ſhips coming from *Pyreæum*, and a freſh garriſon received into the place, cauſed him perforce to give over the enterprize. After this the King divided his power, and ſent one part thereof againſt *Athens*, under the conduct of *Philocles*, and himſelf with the other marched to *Pyreæum*: that whiles *Philocles* kept the Athenians within the City, by approaching their walls, and threatning to beſiege and aſſault it, he might himſelf with facility win and gain *Pyreæum*, wherein there was leſt but a ſmall and ſlight guard. But he found as hot a peece of ſervice about the aſſailing of *Pyreæum*, as before at *Eleuſine*, by reaſon of the ſame ſouldiers in manner that defended as well the one as the other. So on a ſuddain he departed from *Pyreæum* & marched directly toward *Athens*. From whence he was repulſed and chaſed by a ſuddain ſally both of horſe and foot, made from the ſtreights of the wall half ruinat; which wall ſtretching out, as it were, two arms, joyneth the port *Pyreæum* to *Athens*. So he left battering and aſſaulting the City, and parting again his army with *Philocles*, he went out to forrage and ſpoil the country: and as in his former ſaccage he exerciſed himſelf in demoliſhing the tombs all about the City, ſo becauſe he would leave nothing entire and ſafe, he commanded the chappels of the Gods, which were conſecrate in every village and hamlet, to be pulled down, raſed, and burnt.

The countrey of *Attica* was marvailouſly beautified and embeliſhed (as it were) with goodly peeces of work in that kind, (by reaſon as well of the ſtore they had of native marble, as alſo of their induſtrious and excellent workmen) which miniſtred matter and occaſion unto him of this outrage and madneſs. For not contented and ſatisfied with the ruin of the Temples, and caſting down of images, he commanded that the very ſtones ſhould be broken and batter'd in peeces, that leſt being whole and ſound they might ſerve to make up and ſtop the breaches of the ruins. And after that his fell mood and anger was not ſo much ſatisfied and ſatiate, as it wanted matter to work upon in that place, he departed out of his enemies countrey into *Bœotia*, and performed no other deed in *Greece* worthy of remembrance.

* Siſſopoli, Pineto, Pirgo, Nigro.
* Durazzo.
* Vrco, Nigro.

*Sulpitius* the Conſul at that time lay in camp between * *Apollonia* and * *Dyrrachium*, neer the river *Apſus*: and having cauſed *T. Apuſtius* the Lieutenant to come thither, he ſent him with part of his forces to waſt the borders of his enemies. *Apuſtius* after he had forraged the frontiers of *Macedony*, and forced at the firſt aſſault certain holds, as *Corrhagum*, *Gerrhenium*, and *Orgeſſum*, came with his army before *Antipatria*, a City ſeated in the narrow ſtreights of a certain paſſage. And firſt he called forth the principal and chief citizens to a parly, and aſſaied to perſwade and induce them for to commit themſelves under the protection and ſafeguard of the Romans: but afterwards, ſeeing they truſted upon their greatnes, the ſtrong walls and ſituation of the Town, and therefore made no reckning of his motives, but rejected them, he aſſailed it by force of arms, and wan it in the end. All that were above fourteen years of age he put to the ſword; the whole pillage he dealt amongſt the ſouldiers; the walls he raſed, and ſet fire on the Town. The fear of like miſery was the cauſe that *Codrio*, a Town of good ſtrength and well fortified, was yeelded to the Romans without aſſault, or any ſword drawn. There he left a garriſon: and after that, he forced *Ilium*, a Town better known for the name that it carieth of the other famous *Ilium* in *Aſia*, than for any thing elſe. As the Lieutenant returned with a great booty to the Conſul, one *Athenagoras* a Captain under the King, charged upon the tail of the arreergard, diſordred the hindmoſt, and impeached their paſſage over the river: but the Lieutenant, at their cry and ſuddain affright rode in all haſt back, cauſed them to turn again and make head, ſet them in battail ray, and beſtowed all their bag and baggage in the mids upon a heap. The Kings ſouldiers not able to abide the violence of the Romans, were many of them ſlain, and more taken priſoners. So the Lieutenant having retired his army in ſafety, was immediatly ſent back unto the Conſul to the Armado.

The war being thus begun, and the exploit of this firſt expedition happily performed, the Princes, Potentates, and LL. that bordered upon the Macedonians, repaired into the Roman camp, to wit, *Pleuratus* the ſon of *Scerdiletus*, *Aminander* King of the Athamans: and from *Dardania*, *Bato* the ſon of *Longarus*. This *Longarus* had waged war aforetime in his own name and quarel, with *Demetrius* the father of this *Philip*. Theſe States offring and promiſing their aids unto the Conſul, had this anſwer from him, That for the Dardanians and *Pleuratus*, he would uſe them, when he entred with an hoſt into *Macedony*. As for *Aminander*, he gave him in charge the while to ſollicit the Ætolians to war. The Embaſſadors of *Attalus* (for they alſo were come at the ſame time) he diſpatched with this order, That their King ſhould attend the coming of the Roman fleet at *Ægina*, where he wintered; with which and his own jointly together, he ſhould aſſail *Philip* at ſea like as he had done beforetime. Embaſſadors alſo were addreſſed to the Rhodians, that they likewiſe ſhould have their hand and be ſeen in this war. *Philip* for his part foreſlowed not to make preparation (for now by this time was he come into *Macedony*) and ſent with part of his forces for to keep the ſtreights of the paſſage of *Pelagonia*, his ſon *Perſeus*, a very child of young years, having choſen certain of his truſty friends, to direct and govern his tender age. As for * *Sciathus* and * *Peparethus*, two Towns of no ſmall importance he deſtroied, for fear the enemies fleet ſhould ſeize upon them, and with their pillage content and pay themſelves. He ſent likewiſe Embaſſadors to the Ætolians (a nation inconſtant and unquiet by nature) that they ſhould not upon the arrival of the Romans, change their alleageance. Now the Diet or general councel of all the ſtates of *Ætolia*, which they call *Panætolium*, was to be held at a certain day appointed. And therefore to prevent and meet with all dangers, both the Kings Embaſſadors made haſt to be preſent thereat; and alſo *L. Furius Purpurio* preſented himſelf there, as ſent Embaſſador from the Conſul.

* Sciato.
* Lemno.

A Conſul. The Athenian Embaſſadors likewiſe were at this aſſembly. And firſt the Macedonians (with whom a league was but lately concluded, and therefore freſheſt in remembrance) had audience, who ſaid, "They had no new matter to ſpeak of, ſeeing there was no new occurrent and "buſineſs fallen out: only this, that upon what motives and conſiderations they were entred into "an accord and peace with King *Philip*, (as having experience that the alliance with the Romans "never did them good) for the very ſame they ſhould maintain it ſtill, being once concluded & "confirmed. Or, love ye rather (quoth one above the reſt of the Embaſſadors) to imitate the "Romans licentiouſnes or their levity, I know not whether? who, as they gave order and com- "mandment, that your Embaſſadors being at *Rome*, ſhould receive their diſpatch and anſwer in "theſe terms: Come ye now to us indeed my maſters of *Ætolia*, when without our conſent and B "warrant ye have made peace with *Philip*? ſo likewiſe at this preſent are ready to require that ye "ſhould band with them, and war upon *Philip*. They pretended aforetime that they took arms a- "gainſt him, by occaſion of you, in your quarel and defence; & now they forbid you to be in peace "with *Philip*. At firſt, they entred into *Sicily* for to aid and ſuccour *Meſſana*. A ſecond time they "went thither to ſet free and deliver *Syracuſa* out of the oppreſſion of the Carthaginians. And "now at this time they hold in poſſeſſion both *Meſſana* and *Syracuſa*: and all *Sicily* entire they "have made it tributary, yea, and reduced it into the form of a Province, to be ruled under their "ſword, and the juriſdiction of their Deputies and Magiſtrates. In good faith, I aſſure you, that as "ye according to your laws & cuſtomes hold your Diets & Councels at *Naupactum*, by your own "Magiſtrats elected and created among your ſelves, wherein ye have liberty to make choice both C "of friends and enemies whom ye will; and to entertain either peace or war at your pleaſure: ſo, "writs are ſent out to the States of *Sicily* for their knights and burgeſſes, to aſſemble in Parlia- "ment at *Syracuſe*, at *Meſſana*, or *Lilybæum*. And the Roman Pretor it is and no other that ſum- "moneth them thither, as alſo to their Aſſiſes and Seſſions: at his commandment & not otherwiſe "they are cited to general Councels. Him they ſee ſitting on high in his tribunal ſeat, guarded "with Lictors, attended upon with Uſhers, there to hear and determine cauſes, and from aloft to "pronounce hard ſentences and proud awards. His rods threaten their backs and ſides, his axes are "ready to chop their heads from their ſhoulders: & from year to year new Lords ſtill they chooſe "and ſend among them. And this dealing, none of them either can or ought to marvail at: for "why? they ſee Cities of *Italy*, by name *Rhegium*, *Tarentum*, and *Capua*, (to ſpeak nothing of their D "neighbour Towns, by whoſe fall they aroſe, by whoſe ruins *Rome* grew mighty) ſubject likewiſe "to the ſame rule and government. As for *Capua*, the very ſepulcher and tomb of the Campan na- "tion (now that the natural people thereof are either dead and buried, or driven out as exiled "perſons) remaineth at this day as a monſter and wonder in nature, reſembling a headleſs and "limleſs diſmembred trunk of a body: a Town (I ſay) without Senat, without Commonalty, with- "out Magiſtrats: where more cruelty was ſhewed, in leaving it to it ſelf thus abandoned, and in "this manner to be inhabited, than if it had been clean raſed and laid even with the ground. Meer "folly it is and without all ſenſe and reaſon, to believe or hope, that if theſe ſtrangers and aliens "born (who differ more from us in language, in cuſtomes and laws, than they are diſtant and diſ- "joyned by ſpace between of land and ſea) be once ſeized and poſſeſſed of theſe places, that any E "thing will continue long entire in the preſent ſtate. The Kingdom of *Philip* (ye will ſay) is a block "in your way, and ſeemeth to prejudice your freedom & liberties: yet he being made your heavy "friend, and that through your own fault and deſert, required no other thing at your hands for a- "mends, but peace: and even now deſireth nought elſe but your alleageance, and the faithful ob- "ſervance of the ſame. Acquaint forein legions once with this your countrey; you take the yoke "of ſervitude upon your necks for ever. Accept the Romans once for your Lords: too late it will "be then and in vain for you, to ſeek *Philip* again, and wiſh him your ally. Small matters and mo- "mentany occaſions may well cauſe the Ætolians, Acarnanians and Macedonians, (men of one "language) to fall out, and as ſlender motives, will ſoon make them friends again: a little thing "ſetteth them at a jar, and as little bringeth them in tune. But all Grecians both are and ever will F "be at war with Barbarians: enemies they are by nature, which is perpetual and immutable; and "not by occaſions which alter every day. But where I began my ſpeech, there will I leave & make "an end. In this very place you the ſame men, agreed three years paſt to have peace with *Philip*: "and the ſelf-ſame Romans as they miſliked then & diſavowed that peace, ſo now they wil needs "diſquiet and trouble it after it is once paſſed and accorded. And ſince the caſe ſtill is all one, and "fortune hath made no alteration, I ſee no reaſon why ye ſhould vary and change your minds.

The Oration of the Macedonian Embaſſadors.

After the Macedonians, the Athenians entred in place, for the Romans were well contented therewith, and would needs have it ſo: "Theſe Athenians having ſuffred many wrongs and in- "dignities at the Kings hands, had juſter cauſe of complaint, and more reaſon to inveigh and ag- "gravate matter againſt his cruelty and outragious dealings. Firſt, they bewailed the piteous G "ſpoil & miſerable ſaccage of their territories: neither complained they ſo much and found them- "ſelves grieved, in that they had ſuſtained harms and ſuffred hoſtility from an enemy, (for there be "certain laws and rights belonging unto war, by vertue whereof, to give and take, to ſuffer harm "and to do harm interchangeably, is an ordinary matter and allowable: As for example, the burn- "ing of ſtanding corn in the field, raſing and pulling down of houſes, harrying and driving of boo- "ties both of men and cattail, rather pitiful calamities, than ſhameful indignities to endure.) "But this is the point ſay they, and hereof we complain, That he who termed the Romans,

The Oration of the Athenian Embaſſadors.

"strangers born, and barbarous, hath so polluted and violated at once all laws of God and man: H
"so as in his former rode and expedition he seemed to make most impious war with the infernal
"Gods and Spirits beneath: and in the second with the heavenly powers and Gods above. All
"the monuments and tombs within their confines are defaced and destroyed: the dead in their
"graves are all laid bare, not so much as the bones of any one lye covered with mould. Temples
"we had and Chappels, which, as in times past when our ancestors inhabited those small holds,
"hamlets and villages, they consecrated and hallowed: so when they were reduced into one City,
"and enrolled into wards and parishes, they forsook not nor abandoned altogether. Round a-
"bout these sacred Churches hath *Philippe* secture, and consumed all: the holy images of the Gods,
"lie some scorched and half burnt: others headless and dismembred, among the pillars and posts
"of the Temples thrown along on the ground. And look what foul work he hath made in the I
"country of *Attica*, so rich and so beautifully adorned in times past, the like havock if he might
"be let alone, would he make in *Ætolia* and in all *Greece* throughout. For had not the Romans
"come in time to succour, our very City also had been so served and piteously disfigured. For
"with like mischievous intent came he to the City which worshipped those Gods, not sparing
"the goddess *Minerva*, the patroness and protectress of our Town and Castle: the same wicked
"mind he caried against the Temple of *Ceres Eleusina*: and no better affected was he to *Jupiter*
"and *Minerva* in *Pyræum*. But being repulsed by force and arms not only from our Temples,
"but also from the walls of our City he wreaked his anger and raged against those Chappels and
"religious houses, which had nothing for their defence but only the reverent regard of the Gods,
"whereof he had none. Hereupon, they prayed and humbly besought the Ætolians, to have com- K
"passion of the Athenians, and to enterprise the war, under the conduct first of the immortal
"Gods, and then of the Romans, who next to the Gods are most powerful and mighty. Then
"the Roman Embassadour spake in this wise. "The Macedonians first, and after them the Athe-
The Oration of the Roman Embassadors. "nians, have altered the whole course and form of my speech. For, whereas my coming hither
"was to complain of the injuries done by *Philip* to so many Cities of our allies and associats: the
"Macedonians by accusing the Romans first, have put me so hardly to my shifts, that I need ra-
"ther to employ my wits in making a defence of our selves, than in framing an accusation against
"others. The Athenians again in reckoning up and recounting the impious, abhominable, and in-
"human parts of King *Philip* committed against the Gods, both above and beneath, what have
"they left behind for me or any man else to object against him besides? What they have said, I
"you may well think, and truly suppose, that the men of *Chios*, *Abydus*, *Ænus*, *Maronea*, *Thasos*,
"*Paros*, *Samos*, *Larissa* and *Messene*; those also here of *Achaia*, complain of the same, yea, and
"of more grievous and cruel enormities: as whom he had greater means to annoy and hurt. As
"for such things as he hath laid to our charge, if they deserve not honor and glory, I confess they
"cannot be answered and defended. Reproched us he hath with *Rhegium*, with *Capua*, and *Sy-*
"*racuse*. I cannot deny, but during the war of *Pyrrhus* we sent a legion to *Rhegium*, there to lie
"in garrison at the instant prayer of the Rhegins themselves, who requested us to send them.
"This legion I confess, most wickedly and treacherously seized upon the City, and possessed it
"to their own use. for the guard and defence whereof they were first sent. A vowed we (I pray
"you) that act of theirs? Nay, pursued we not by arms that lewd legion and ungratious? and M
"when we had them in our power and at our devotion forced not we them to make amends and
"satisfaction to our allies, with the smart of their back and sides, and with the loss of their heads
"in the end? And when we had so done, restored we not unto the *Rhegins* their City, their
"Lands, all their goods whatsoever together with their liberties, franchises, and laws? As for
"the Syracusians, when they were oppressed by strange and forrain tyrants, we judging it to be a
"great indignity, relieved and succoured them: and after we had been (for three years space al-
"most) wearied and toiled out with continual siege and uncessant assault both by land and sea of
"their City, so exceeding strong and so well fortified; we seeing that the Syracusians themselves
"made choice rather to be in servitude under those tyrants, than to be taken by us, gave them
"their City again both forced and freed by the same armies. Neither deny we that *Sicily* is our N
"Province; and that the Cities which took part and sided with the Carthaginians, & joyntly with
"them accorded to wage war against us, are tributaries unto us, and pay us yearly rents and pen-
"sions: nay, we are so far from not taking this upon us that contrary-wise we would, that both
"you and all nations besides well knew, that every one received at our hands that measure of for-
"tune that he duly deserved. And now as touching the Capuans, should we repent that we have
"chastised them in such sort, whereof they themselves verily can not complain? These men, after
"we had maintained war against the Samnits in their quarrel and defence, for the space well near
"of seventy years, to no small dispence of ours, and with many a loss and overthrow after we had
"linked them unto us, first by league and alliance, then by marriage and affinity, and last of all, by
"freedom and burgeosie of our City: these men I say, in our adversity, were the first of all other O
"nations of *Italy*, that villanously massacred our garrison there, and revolted unto *Annibal*: and
"then for very spight and indignation that they were by us besieged, sent *Annibal* to assail the City
"of *Rome*. And if we had proceeded in that rigour against them, that we had left neither City
"standing nor any one person of them living, who could take offence thereat, and justly say, That
"they had been more hardly entreated and dealt withal than they deserved? There were more of
"them, that upon touch and prick of guilty conscience for their lewd and wicked deeds, made
"them-

A "themſelves away and ſo periſhed, than were by us executed and put to death. As for the reſt, we "took from them indeed their Town, we deprived them of their poſſeſſions and livings, yet ſo, as "we left them both lands to occupy, and place to dwell in: the guiltleſs Town it ſelf we ſuffered "to ſtand ſtill ſafe and ſound, that whoſoever at this day ſeeth it, can not find the leaſt token or "ſhew of a City either forced or won. But what ſpeak I of *Capua*? ſeeing we have afforded unto "*Carthage* (a City conquered and ſubdued) both peace and alſo liberty? Inſomuch as we have "cauſe rather to be afraid, leſt by remiſſeneſs and over-willingnes to pardon thoſe whom we have "vanquiſhed, we give occaſion to many more to be ſo bold as to trie the hazard and fortune of "war againſt us. And thus I had to ſay in defence of our ſelves. Now ſomewhat I have to ſpeak "againſt King *Philip*; whoſe horrible murders committed upon thoſe of his own houſe, even his
B "neereſt kinſfolk and friends; whoſe looſe life and unbridled luſt (more unkind and inhumane in "manner than his cruelty) ye know better that are neerer unto *Macedony*. As for you, my ma- "ſters of *Ætolia*, we have for your ſakes begun war with *Philip*, and you again without us have "concluded peace with him. It may be you will alledge, that whiles we were occupied in the "Punick war, ye were forced and compelled for fear to take ſuch conditions of peace at his hands, "who was the ſtronger: we likewiſe (preſſed with greater affairs and troubles) forbare to proſe- "cute and follow that war, which by you firſt was laid down & given over. At this preſent, ſeeing "by the grace and goodneſs of the Gods the Punick war is come to an end, both we have em- "ploied and bent all our forces againſt *Macedony*, and ye alſo have good occaſion and opportuni-
C "ty offered to reenter into amity and alliance with us, unleſs ye had rather periſh with *Philip*, "than vanquiſh with the Romans.

When the Roman Embaſſador had ended this Oration, the Ætolians generally were enclined and affected to the Romans; but *Damocritus* their Pretor (corrupted as the ſpeech went with a ſum of money received from King *Philip*, and made for him) gave aſſent neither to the one party nor the other, but ſaid, "That in counſels of great weight and importance, there was nothing "more hurtful and prejudicial, than haſt: for repentance (qd. he) follow it never ſo ſoon, when a "thing is once done, yet it cometh too late and booteth not: conſidering, that raſh counſels can "not be revoked, haſty and headlong courſes cannot poſſibly be recalled, nor matters once paſt be "reduced again to their former ſtate. As for the proper time of that reſolution now in hand,
D "whereof my ſelf am of advice, that the due maturity & full ripeneſs ſhould be expected, it might "now at this preſent be ſet down and concluded upon. For ſeeing that by our laws & ordinances "provided it is that we may not treat of any affairs concerning peace or war, but in the general "councels called *Panætolaik* or *Pylaik*: therefore for the preſent I would have you to ordain and "decree, that your Pretor without fraud or covin might call and hold a Diet or court of Parlia- "ment, whenſoever he is minded to treat of war or peace; and whatſoever then and there ſhall be "propoſed and determined, it may ſtand in as good force, ſtrength, & vertue, as if it had paſſed in "a full * *Panætolaik* or * *Pylaik* councel. Thus the Embaſſadors being diſmiſſed and ſent away in "ſuſpence, and nothing decided and concluded, he ſaid, That he had performed a ſingular peece of "ſervice to his nation and countrey. For now they would ſide and take part with thoſe, whoſe "fortune it were to ſpeed better in the field. Thus went matters in the aſſembly of the Ætolians.

E Now *Philip* with all diligence prepared for war both by ſea and land. His ſea forces he aſſem- bled together unto *Demetrias* a port in *Theſſaly*; making account, that *Attalus* and the Roman fleet would in the beginning of the next ſpring depart from *Ægina*. Over his navy and all the ſea coaſts he appointed *Heraclides* Admiral, like as he had done aforetime. Himſelf levied and gathered his land-forces, ſuppoſing verily that he had debarred and bereft the Romans of two great means of aid, to wit, the Ætolians of the one ſide, and the Dardanians of the other; in that the narrow ſtreights and paſſage of *Pelagonia*, was ſtopped and made ſure againſt them by his ſon *Perſeus*. The Conſul on the other ſide made not preparations for war, but was on foot and in action already, conducting his army through the confines of the Daſſaretians, and tranſporting with him out of his wintering harbor all the proviſion of grain, whereof the country yeelded him ſufficient to the
F maintenance of his ſouldiers. The great Towns and Villages were ſurrended unto him, partly for love and partly for fear: ſome were forced by aſſault, others abandoned by the inhabitants, and were found deſolat, by reaſon that the barbarous people were retired into the mountains near by, to ſave themſelves: and at *Lingum* near the river *Bevus* he encamped; from whence he ſent to pur- vey for corn out of the garners and barns of the Daſſaretians. *Philip* ſaw well enough that the country all about was in an hurry, and the people in great fear and fright; but being uncertain to what place the Conſul intended to march, he ſent out a cornet of light horſemen as eſpials to diſ- cover what way the enemies took, and whither they pretended to go. The Conſul likewiſe for his part was as doubtful: well he wiſt that *Philip* was diſlodged from the places where he had win- tered, but in what quarter he journied, he knew not: and therefore he alſo had ſet forth certain
G horſe in eſpial to ſcour the coaſts. Theſe two bands or troops from divers and contrary parts, en- countred in the end in one way, after they had a long time wandered at adventure through the countrey of the Daſſaretians. Both parts knew well by the noiſe they heard a far off, as well of men as horſe, that enemies approched; and therefore they had both horſe & armour in readines, before they were in ſight one of another: for ſo ſoon as ever they were within their enterview, they made no ſtay, but charged immediatly and joyned iſſue. It fortuned, that for number and valour both, they were equally matched, as being choice and elect men of either ſide: whereupon they fought

* *Panætolium.* A general councel, where the States of *Ætolia* were aſſembled.

* *Pylaicum concilium*: Another Diet holden at *Thermopylæ*, where the States of *Greece* or *Amphictyones* met, and ſent each one their deputy or agent, called *Pylagoras*.

for certain hours alike, until ſuch time as their own wearines and the faintneſs of their horſes par- H
ted the battail in doubtful victory. Of the Macedonians there died 40 horſemen: and of the Ro-
mans, five and thirty. And for all this, neither brought the Macedonians any better intelligence to
their King, nor the Romans to their Conſul, of the place where the enemies were incamped. But
certain fugitive traitors gave advertiſement thereof: who commonly in all wars, upon a running
head and light humour that naturally they have, are given to hearken after news, and to enquire
in what terms enemies ſtand. *Philip* imagining that it would availſomewhat both to purchaſe
the affectionat love of his ſouldiers, and alſo to induce them more cheerfully and readily to un-
dertake all hazards for his ſake, in caſe he ſeemed to have a careful regard to bury thoſe horſemen
which were ſlain in the journey and expedition aforeſaid; commanded their bodies to be brought
into the camp, to the end that all men might ſee what honour he did them in their funerals. But I
ſee how nothing is more uncertain, nor whereof a man may make leſs reckoning than the minds
and affections of the multitude. That which was thought would have made them more willing
and forward to enter into any danger and jeopardy whatſoever, even that, wrought a contrary
effect and cauſed them to be moſt fearful and backward. For they who were uſed to fight with
Greeks and Illyrians, and to ſee mens bodies wounded with puſh of pike galled with arrows, and
pierced with lance here and there in this or that part; after they beheld once their fellows ſo bu-
cherly mangled with the Spaniſh curtelaxes and arming ſwords, the arms cut away from the bo-
dy, the heads either ſmitten clean off by the neck, or cloven down right, and lying on the ſhoul-
ders; their panches ript with the bowels open and guts drawing after; with other deep wounds
and broad ſlaſhes, moſt hideous and fearful to behold; then they ſaw all full well (fearful creatures K
as they were) what manner of weapons, and what kind of men they were to deal againſt. Nay, the
King himſelf was terribly afraid, who had not as yet encountred with the Romans in any ſet field.
Whereupon he ſent for his ſon to come back with the garriſon that he had in the ſtreights of *Pe-*
*lagonia*, thereby to increaſe and ſtrengthen his own forces: and ſo laid open the way into *Mace-*
*donia*, for *Pleuratus* and the Dardanians. Himſelf in perſon with a power of 20000 foot, and 4000
horſe, guided by the fugitives above ſaid, marched toward the enemy, and about a quarter of a
mile or ſomewhat leſs from the Roman camp, poſſeſſed himſelf of a little hill neer to *Athacum*,
which he fortified with trench and rampier. From whence, when he beheld the Romans encam-
ped hard under him he wondered (by report) to ſee not only the whole body of the camp, with
the form and order thereof in general, but alſo how every part was ranged and ſet out in ſeveral, L
both in the manner of quartering and pitching their pavilions, and alſo in the proportion of the
wayes for breadth and length between. And having viewed and conſidered every thing accordingly: "Believe me (qd. he) there is no man who ſeeth this, that can either think or ſay, it is the camp
"of a barbarous nation. For two daies ſpace the Conſul and the King (expecting one anothers at-
tempts and enterpriſes) kept their ſouldiers cloſe within their holds. When the third day was
come, the Roman General brought forth his whole power into the field. But the King fearing to
hazard all ſo ſoon upon a caſt, drew forth 400 Triballians (which were, as we have ſaid elſewhere,
of the Illyrian nation) and 200 Cretenſians, all footmen, accompanied with the like number of
horſemen; and ſent them under the conduct of *Athenagoras*, one of his courtiers and gallants,
for to brave the Cavalry of the enemies, and to challenge them to fight. The Romans, whoſe M
main battail was little above half a mile off, put out againſt them their light armed van-curriers,
and as it were, two companies or cornets of horſemen: to the end, that they might be equal
with the enemy in number both of foot and horſe. They of the Kings part ſupported verily, that
they ſhould fight after their old and accuſtomed manner: namely, that the horſemen ſhould by
turns ſore while ride forward in the face of the enemy, other while retire again; ſometime follow
in chaſe and have uſe of their darts and weapons, and ſometimes turn and ſhew their back parts;
that the nimbleneſs and activity of the Illyrians would ſtand in good ſtead to make excurſions
and ſuddain skirmiſhes; alſo that the Cretenſian archers ſhould be emploied in ſhooting arrows
aloof at the enemies, as they advanced and came forward, or flung out all abroad on every ſide:
but the violent charge of the Romans, no leſs continual and obſtinat, than fierce and eager, put N
them quite out of this manner of ſervice, and diſordered all. For no otherwiſe than if it had been
a ſet battail between two entire armies, their footmen lightly armed, ſo ſoon as they had lanced
and let go their javelins from them, took them to their ſwords, and came to hand fight: the
horſemen likewiſe, no ſooner affronted the enemies, but either ſtaying their horſes they fought
on horſeback, or elſe alighted on foot, and among the footmen maintained the skirmiſh. By this
means neither the Kings Cavalry could match the Romans, becauſe they had not been uſed to a
ſteady battel; nor his footmen who were wont to traverſe their ground, and skirmiſh, never
ſtanding ſtill, and withal in manner half naked for any harneſs they had, was able to make their
parts good with the Roman light appointed footmen, who had their ſwords and bucklers, and
were furniſhed with armour, as well defenſive as offenſive. So they could not endure long to C
maintain fight, but were forced to retire into their camp, and by nothing elſe ſaved themſelves but
by good footmanſhip and riding apace. There paſſed one day between, when the King minding to
trie a conflict with all his forces of Cavalry, and footmen lightly appointed, had laid in await by
night certain targatiers, whom they call *Peltaſtæ*, in a covenient place between both camps, and
given direction and charge unto *Athenagoras* and his men of arms, That if they ſped well in open
battel and plain fight, they ſhould on ſtill and follow their good fortune: but if they went by the
worſe,

A worſe, and were too weak, they ſhould give ground by little and little, and train the enemy to the place of ambuſh. Well, it fell out ſo, that the horſemen indeed retired accordingly, but the leaders of that cohort aforeſaid of targatiers, not attending the ſignal long enough, but raiſing their men out of ambuſh before time, loſt the opportunity of playing their part & performing a good ſervice.

The Roman Conſul having both obtained victory in open battel, and eſcaped the danger of a covert train, rerired himſelf into his camp. The morrow after, he came down into the plain field with all his forces, and put them in battel array, having arranged his Elephants in the forefront of the vangard. And this was the firſt time that ever the Romans had uſe in their wars, of this beaſt; by occaſion, that in the late Punick war they had taken ſome of them alive from their enemies. But perceiving that *Philip* kept himſelf cloſe within his camp, he approched under the very
B rampier, yea, and reproched him for his cowardiſe. And ſeeing for all that, he could not even then be drawn to a battel: conſidering alſo, that if he kept there a ſtanding camp long, ſo neer unto the enemy, his proviſion of corn ſhould be expoſed to dangers; for no ſooner ſhould the purveyors and forragers be gone abroad into the countrey, and ſpread over the fields, but the enemies light horſemen would be ready at their heels to fetch them in, and cauſe them to come ſhort home: therefore he removed his camp to a place almoſt eight miles off, called *Octolophum*, where he might make his proviſion with leſs danger. Now when the Romans purveied for corn and victuals in the territory thereabout, and were come upon a time ſomewhat neer and within danger of *Philip* at firſt the King let them alone, and kept his men within their camp, to the end, that they might be more bold and venturous, and withal, leſs wary and circumſpect: but eſpying
C them once ſtragling aſunder here and there out of order, he ſet forward with all his Cavalry, and the auxiliaries of the Candiots, and marched ſo faſt, as the ſwifteſt of his footmen by running might keep pace with the horſemen: thus having gotten between them and home, he pitched down his enſigns betwixt the Roman camp and the forragers. Then divided he his forces in two companies, the one he ſent forth to courſe and chaſe them, ſo diſperſed as they were; giving ſpecial charge and direction, not to leave any of them alive that they could reach: with the other he ſtaied himſelf behind, and beſet all the waies, and ſtopped the paſſages by which the enemies were like to retire and have recourſe unto their camp. Soon were they killed or put to flight in every place, and as yet not one eſcaped to the Roman camp, for to bring news of this diſcomfiture: for, as many as fled back chanced upon the guard that the King had ſet: and more were ſlain by them
D that beſet the waies, than thoſe that were ſent out to the purſuit and execution. At length ſome hapned to eſcape through the midſt of the Kings *corps de guard*, and in great haſt and fearful manner came into the camp with a troubleſome noiſe and tumult, rather than any certain tidings. The Conſul, after order given to the horſemen, that every man ſhould ſuccour and reſcue what way ſoever he could, their diſtreſſed fellows in this extremity, himſelf led forth the legions out of the camp, and marching in a fourſquare battaillon advanced toward the enemies. The Horſemen being ſped over the fields in divers places, ſome loſt their right way, being deceived by other outcryes heard from a contrary part: otherſome met with their enemies, and at one inſtant, the skirmiſh began in many and ſundry places. The band that guarded about the King, fought moſt fiercely and cruelly: for both they were for their own number as
E well of horſe as foot a full army welneer; and alſo moſt of the Romans light upon them, becauſe they kept the very port and rodeway in the mids. In this regard alſo were the Macedonians the better and had the vantage, becauſe the King himſelf was preſent in perſon to encourage and exhort them: and withal the auxiliary Candiots wounded many of the Romans ere they were aware of them: for why, they were well prepared aforehand, ranged thick and cloſe together, and ſo fought againſt them that rode ſcattering abroad one from another, and without array. And verily, if they could have kept any mean and meaſure in their chaſe, they had mightily advanced themſelves, not only in winning the honor of that day, but alſo, in the main point of the whole war. But purſuing them beyond all reaſon, and without diſcretion, upon a bloudthirſty deſire that they had of maſſacre, they chanced upon the Roman Squadrons which were
F gone before with the Tribuns and Colonels: inſomuch as the Horſemen aforeſaid, who before fled, when they once ſaw the enſigns of their own infantery, reined their horſe heads, and turned again upon the enemy that ran with bridle in horſe neck: and ſo in the turning of an hand, the fortune of the battail changed and came about, and they that erewhile made purſute, now ſhewed their backs and fled amain. Many of them were ſlain that came to cloſe handfight, many likewiſe of thoſe that ran away. Neither fell they all upon the edge of the ſword, for ſome there were who plunged into bogs and mariſhes where both horſe and man ſunk in the deep mud and mire, and ſo were ſwallowed up and periſhed. The King himſelf alſo was in great danger: for his horſe being wounded under him and fallen, he alſo came headlong down to the ground, and hardly eſcaped but he had been troden under foot and miſchieved as he lay along. One horſeman
G above the reſt ſaved his life, who haſtily lept himſelf from horſeback, and withal mounted the King (ſo ſcared as he was) upon his own horſe: who being now on foot, and not able to run as faſt as the horſemen that fled away, was with many a ſtab and thruſt ſoon diſpatched by the enemies that came running together to the King when he was ſeen to fall. And the King after he had ridden in fearful flight about the fenny meers, one while where there was ſome way, and otherwhiles where there was none at all to be ſeen, chanced at length to come to his camp, when moſt men were in deſpair that he could poſſibly eſcape in ſafety. In this skirmiſh there were 200

Mace-

Macedonians ſlain, a hundred almoſt taken priſoners: fourſcore brave and goodly courſers, with H
rich capariſons and other furniture, together with the ſpoil of fair armours caried away.

There were that blamed the King for being too raſh that day, and the Conſul for his ſlackneſs. For *Philip*, ſay they, ſhould have kept him quiet in reſt and repoſe, knowing, as he did, that the enemies within few dayes would have been brought to extream want and penury, now that the territory all about was clean ſpoiled and waſted. And the Conſul for his part, when he had foiled the Cavalry and light armed ſouldiers of the enemies, and as good as taken the King priſoner, ought preſently to have advanced againſt the Kings camp: for never would the enemies ſo diſcomfited have ſtood to it: and ſo in the minute of an hour, they had been vanquiſhed for ever. This is ſoon ſaid, but (as moſt things elſe) not ſo ſoon done. For in caſe that the King had likewiſe brought forth into the field all his Infantery, peradventure in that tumult, when all his men were I
diſcomfited and driven to flie out of the field to their camp, yea, and to keep within the rampier, for fear of the enemy, ready upon his victory to get over the counterſcarp and other fortifications, the King might have been diſſeized of his hold, and loſt all. Again conſidering, that the whole power of *Philip* his footmen remained ſtill intire within the camp, the *corps de guard* before the gates warding; the ſentinels and watch ſet in convenient places of the rampier attending: what other good ſhould the Conſul have done in advancing thither, but imitated the raſh fool-hardineſs of the King, who a little before ſo hotly followed the chaſe of the horſmen diſcomfited? Neither was the Kings firſt deſignment to be reproved and found fault with, when he charged upon the foragers, ſcattered as they were over all the fields: if he could have ſeen when he was well, and have uſed his good hand in meaſure and moderation. Leſs marvail it is beſides, that K
he was willing to trye the fortune of a battail; becauſe there ran a rumor, that *Pleuratus* and the Dardanians were departed from home, and with a puiſſant power entred already into *Macedony*: And if he thus were beſet round about with theſe armies, there was no doubt but the Romans might have vanquiſhed and ſubdued him, and never ſtirred foot for the matter. *Philip* therefore ſuppoſing that upon theſe two late received foils of the horſemen, he ſhould have but unquiet and dangerous ſitting in the ſame ſtanding camp ſtill: and minding to diſlodge from thence, and in his remove to beguil the enemy and not be ſeen, diſpatched a Purſevant at arms or herald unto the Conſul a little before ſun ſetting, to crave ſurceaſe of arms, until he had buried his horſemen that were ſlain: and at the relief of the ſecond watch he deceived the enemy; for leaving many fires through all his camp, he marched without any noiſe and departed. The Conſul had newly ſup- L
ped, and was going to reſt, when he was advertiſed that a Purſevant was come, and what his errand was. And for the preſent, he made the meſſenger no other anſwer but this, that the next morning he would talk with him, and give him audience. But *Philip* by this means got the advantage of that whole night, and part of the next day, to gain riddance of way in his journey, which was the only thing he ſought for. And toward the mountains he took his flight, for that way he wiſt well the Romans would not follow after, with an army ſo heavy and charged as it was. The Conſul by day break, granted the Purſevant a ceſſation of arms, and gave him his diſpatch: but it was not long after that he was advertiſed how the enemy was gone: and not knowing which way to follow after, he paſſed ſome few dayes in foraging and purveying proviſion all about the place where he lay encamped.

After this he marched to *Stubera*, and gathered together all the grain that was to be had a- M
bout *Pellagonia*. From thence he went forward as far as to *Pluvina*, and all this while knew not for certain into what quarter of the countrey the enemies were retired. *Philip* having firſt ſet him down and encamped before *Bruana*, and departed from thence by croſs and crooked wayes, ſtruck a ſuddain ſtear into the enemy, whereupon the Romans diſlodged from *Pluvina*, and neer unto the River *Oſphagus* pitched their pavilions. The King likewiſe reſted himſelf not far from thence, and had caſt a trench and raiſed a rampier along the banks of the River, which the inhabitants call *Erigonus*. And after he was for certain advertiſed, that the Romans intended to go to *Erduæa*, he marched afore to ſeize upon the ſtreights, and to empeach the enemies, that they ſhould not gain the paſſage that lyeth as it were in a narrow gullet, barred and encloſed on N
each ſide. There he raiſed in one place a rampier, and caſt a trench in another; made barricadoes here and there, partly by piling ſtones up on heaps in ſtead of a wall, partly by felling of trees acroſs, according as either the ground would give leave, or the place afford matter: And thus ſtopping up all the wayes by ſundry devices and means, he made the place (to his thinking) both unpaſſable and impregnable, which of it ſelf by nature was hard enough and troubleſome. The countrey all about was for the moſt part forreſts, and full of wood, very incommodious, eſpecially for that manner of battailons and ordnance of array, which the Macedonians call *Phalanx*: which ſerveth them in ſmall or no ſtead at all, unleſs with their long pikes they may make a palliſade, or ſtay (as it were) and oppoſe them before their ſhields: which they cannot well do, unleſs they have free ſcope and liberty of plain and open ground. The Thra- O
cians alſo were fouly troubled and cumbred with their ſpears named *Rhomphæa*, which were likewiſe of a mighty length, and by reaſon thereof (catching as they did, and ſnarling within the boughs and branches of Trees that grew in their way every where about) hindred them very much. There remained the Cohort or band of the Candiots, that ſeemed of ſome uſe for to be employed. And yet the ſame alſo as it was able to diſcharge arrows againſt both Horſe and man, and to annoy them ſo long as they lay open and expoſed to ſhot, if haply they

offered

A offered to charge; ſo they were not of ſtrength ſufficient to drive their ſhafts level, and to pierce thorough the Roman targets: for otherwiſe there was no part of the body offered it ſelf unarmed and naked for to aim at. And therefore ſo ſoon as they perceived that kind of ſhot to ſerve them to little or no purpoſe, they caught up ſtones which lay all over the valley, and let them flie at the enemy. Which ſtones, as they light and beat upon their bucklers, kept a great clattering, and with the ſound they made (rather than with any hurt beſides) kept the Romans for a time from mounting up the bank. But the Romans making no reckoning of theſe ſtones neither, partly by pavoiſes and target-fences over their heads, made way directly through the thickeſt of their enemies; and partly by wheeling a little and fetching ſome compaſs about, gained the pitch of the hill, and were got up to the very top: from whence they drave the Macedonians (all affrighted as they were)
B down the hill, and chaſed them from their holds and guards: and by reaſon they had much ado to flie (the ground was ſo rough and uneven) moſt of them were killed and cut in pieces. Thus the difficulty of the ſtreights was overcome, and they were poſſeſſed thereof, with far leſs trouble and conflict than they looked for and made account of. Then they marched on forward as far as to *Erdurt*, where the Conſul after he had put the fields all over to the waſt, retired himſelf to *Elimæa*. From thence he forced *Oreſtides*, and aſſailed the Town *Celetrum*, ſituate as it were, in a demy Iland: there is a lake that environeth the walls, and but one way by land that leadeth to the Town from the main, and the ſame very ſtreight and narrow, in form of a gullet. At the firſt when the Town was ſummoned the inhabitants truſting to the natural ſtrength of the place, kept their gates ſhut againſt the Conſul, and refuſed his ſummons. But after they ſaw once the enſigns diſ-
C played and marching againſt them, when they perceived the enemies defended under a pavoiſe to approch cloſe to the gate, and the narrow ſtreight and avenue aforeſaid, beſet with a band of them; before they would encounter and fight, they yeelded themſelves for very fear. From *Celetrum* he marched on towards the Daſſaretians, and wan by aſſault the City *Pelium*. From thence he caried away the bondſlaves, with the reſt of the pillage; but all perſons whatſoever free born, he let go at liberty without paying ranſom. The Town he gave them again after he had planted in it a ſtrong garriſon: for it ſtood well, and in a very good place, for to make rodes and incurſions into *Macedony*. Thus the Conſul having ranged over the countrey of the enemies, brought his army back through the peaceable parts into *Apollonia*, where he began firſt to make war.

Now the Ætolians, the Athamans, and Dardanians, and many other wars riſing ſuddainly at
D once, ſome from one place and ſome from another, had diverted and turned *Philip* a contrary way. Againſt the Dardanians (as they returned out of *Macedony*) he ſent *Athenagoras* with the footmen lighty armed and appointed, and the greater part alſo of the horſe giving him in charge and direction to follow them hard at their heels as they departed, and to play upon their backs, and cut off the tail of their rereward: to teach them againſt another time, not to be ſo haſty to come abroad with an army again. *Democritus* the Prætor of the Ætolians (who in the Diet aforeſaid held at *Naupactum* perſwaded to take a longer time for to conſult about this war) had in the next Councel or Parliament following, moved the Ætolians to enter into arms; namely, upon the fame that was ſpread abroad of the horſemens fight before *Octolophus*; and alſo upon the coming of the Dardanians, and *Pleuratus* with the Illyrians into *Macedony*: beſides the arrival of
E the Roman fleet at *Oreum*, and the general voice and bruit that went, how *Macedony* ſhould ſhortly be aſſailed alſo by ſea, over & above ſo many nations that from all parts about were come already by land. Theſe motives regained *Democritus* and the Ætolians to friend the Romans again. Who joyning unto them *Aminander* the King of the Athamans, went forth together for to beſiege *Cercinium*. They within the Town had ſhut their gates, whether by conſtraint or willingly of themſelves, it was not known for they had the Kings garriſon within among them. However it was, within few dayes *Cercinium* was taken and burnt. As many as remained alive after that great defeat, as well bond as free one with another, were with the reſt of the pillage carried away. This fearful example cauſed all the people inhabiting about the mariſh of *Bœbe*, to abandon their cities, and to retire themſelves for ſecurity into the mountains. The Ætolians for want of
F rich prey and booty (which they could not find there) turned from them and marched toward *Perrhæbia*. In that quarter they won by force the City *Cyretia*, and cruelly put it to the ranſack. The inhabitants of *Mallœa* ſurrendred of themſelves without compulſion, and were received into protection as allies. Out of *Perrhebæa Aminander* was of advice and deſirous to march againſt *Gomphos*, by reaſon that the countrey of *Athamania* bordered ſo neer upon that City, and it ſeemed eaſy to be forced without much trouble. But the Ætolians fingers tickled and itched again to be doing with the rich and fertile fields of *Theſſalie*, and thither went they to raiſe booties and ſeek pillage. *Athamander* followed ſtill for company, albeit he liked well neither of theſe faſhions of the Ætolians thus outragiouſly to make rodes and to ſpoil every where; nor of their manner of encamping at adventure, in what places ſoever they chanced to come, without all
G diſcretion, regard, and care of fortifying and guarding the army. Fearing therefore leſt their inconſiderate raſhnes and ſupine negligence, might be an occaſion that he or his ſhould come to a ſhrewd turn, and incur ſome damage, ſpyed his time; and ſeeing them to incamp in a plain neer to the City *Phacadum*, he took a little Hill little above half a mile off, where both he and his, might with the help of any ſmall guard, lie in ſecurity. Now when as the Ætolians ſeemed in manner to have forgotten that they were in the enemies country, but that they drave ſome booties: whiles they were ſome of them wandring and ſtragling, diſbanded and half armed,

others

others within their camp without any *corps du guard*, ſwilling and ſleeping all night and day long, H
and made no difference of the times, *Philip* came upon them before they looked for him. And it being once known by the report of ſome that fled out of the fields in great affright, that he approched: then *Damocritus* and the reſt of the Captains began to quake for fear. Now was it about noonetide of the day, at what time as moſt of them having taken their full lode of wine and viands, lay along faſt aſleep. Then they fell to awake and raiſe one another, and to give the alarm: anon they ſent out every way to call in thoſe that were ſpreading abroad in the fields. So much they were aſtonied, that for haſt many of the horſemen went forth without their ſwords, and moſt of them forgat to put on their cuiraces. Thus being led out in poſt haſt, and hardly in all (foot and horſe together) able to make up the number of ſix hundred, they light upon the Kings Cavalry, for number, armour, and courage much better than themſelves; And therefore at the firſt I
puſh were diſcomfited: for before they were well entred into skirmiſh, they fled ſhamefully away toward their camp. Some of them came ſhort thither, and were either ſlain or taken priſoners, even as many as the Kings horſemen overtook, and gat between them and their other companies. *Philip*, when he ſaw his men approch neer unto their camp, commanded to ſound the retreat: for both horſe and man was weary, not ſo much with fight as with their long journey and the exceeding ſpeed that they made. Whereupon he gave commandment, that the Horſemen by troops, and the light armed Footmen by their companies and Squadrons ſhould water their horſes one after another, and go to their dinner and repaſt. Others he kept ſtill in armour for a guard attending the Regiment of the footmen, that came but ſlowly forward, by reaſon they were heavily armed at all pieces; who being come, they alſo were enjoyned to pitch down K
their enſigns, and lay their weapons before them, and to take a ſhort bait and haſty pittance, ſending two or three at the moſt out of every band for to water the horſes. All this while the horſemen, together with the light armed ſouldiers, ſtood well appointed and in readineſs, if haply the enemy would have given any attempt. The Ætolians beſtowed armed men all about the gates and the rampier, intending to guard and defend their ſtrength and fortifications, for now by this time they alſo that were ſcattered over the fields, had retired themſelves into the camp. And ſo long as they beheld the enemies to keep quiet, and not ſtir, and were themſelves in a ſure hold, they made their bravadoes, and were very luſty: but after that the enſigns of the Macedonians began to advance forward, and march in order of battel well appointed, cloſe unto their trench; all at once they abandoned their guards and quarters, and ran out at the back part of their camp, L
and fled to the foreſaid hill, where the Athamanians were encamped. Many of the Ætolians were likewiſe in this haſty flight killed or taken priſoners. *Philip* made no doubt, but that the Athamanians alſo might have been driven from their hold, if there had been day enough behind: but the day being ſpent already firſt in the skirmiſh, and afterward in the ranſacking of their camp, he ſet him down upon the next plain, hard at the foot of the hill aforeſaid, intending very early the next morning to aſſail the enemy. The Ætolians ſcared as much now, as they were before when they quit their own camp, fled ſcattering away the night following. Here *Aminander* ſtood them in very good ſtead, by whoſe good guidance and direction, the Athamanians being skilful in the coaſts of the country, conducted them into *Ætolia*, over the high mountains, whereas the enemies followed after them in blind and unknown by-wayes. Some few of them M
hapned in this confuſed and ſcattered flight to loſe their way, and ſtumble upon the Macedonian horſemen, whom *Philip* by day light, had ſent to cut off the tail of the enemies, ſo ſoon as he perceived the hill abandoned. About the very ſame time, *Athenagoras* a Captain under the King, overtook the Dardanians as they returned into their country, and at the firſt put their reerward in diſarray. But afterward the Dardanians turned head again, and embattelled themſelves: ſo they fought on even hand, and nothing was won nor loſt on any ſide. The Dardanians began not ſo ſoon to advance forward and march on again, but the Kings power, with their horſemen and light armed ſouldiers came upon them afreſh, and put them to great trouble. For they had no ſuch means of help, and were beſides ſurcharged with heavy armour, and withal, the place gave great advantage to thoſe of the Kings part. Very few were ſlain, more wounded, none at all taken pri- N
ſoners: for the manner of the Dardanians, is not to break out of their ranks and arraies for a little, and upon ſmall occaſions; but as they fight cloſe, ſo they retire together, and part not. Thus *Philip* having reſtrained theſe two nations, by two brave exploits, which were as happily performed as bravely enterpriſed, recovered the loſſes again, by him received in the Roman war. There hapned beſides, another occurrent, which diminiſhed the number of his enemies the Ætolians. For *Scopas*, one of the chief noblemen of that nation, being ſent from *Alexandria* by King *Ptolomæus*, with a mighty maſs of gold, caried away with him into *Ægypt* ſix thouſand footmen, and certain horſemen, waged for mony to ſerve. Neither had he left behind him any of the flour and youth of *Ætolia*, if *Damocritus* had not chaſtiſed and rebuked them, and ſo by that means kept ſome of them at home; making remonſtrances unto them, one while of the war that was toward, and another O
while of the deſolation which was like to enſue thereupon. But whether he did this upon a good zeal and care that he had of his countrey, or only to croſs *Scopas* becauſe he had not fed him well with rich rewards and fat preſents, it is not known. And thus much concerning the affairs paſſed between *Philip* and the Romans for that ſummer.

The Roman fleet having in the beginning of the ſame ſummer committed to Sea from *Corcyra*, together with the Lieutenant *Au. Apuſtius* paſſed beyond the point of the cape *Malea*, and joyned

A joined with King *Attalus*, neer *Scyllæum* in the territory of *Hermione*. Then the whole City and State of *Athens*, upon hope of preſent aid and ſuccour, brake out and poured forth at once all the hatred and malice which they had conceived againſt *Philip*, and which a long time for very fear they had held in, and therefore kept themſelves in good and reaſonable terms with him. Now in this City there never want prompt and ready tongues to ſtir up and provoke the common people to a commotion. And as in all free States generally ſuch kind of men are entertained and born out by the favour of the multitude, ſo in *Athens* eſpecially, where eloquence is in moſt requeſt, and beareth greateſt ſway. Preſently therefore an Act was put up and propoſed unto the common people, and by them granted and confirmed, That all the Statues and Images of King *Philip*, together with their titles and ſtiles, likewiſe of all his progenitors and predeceſſors, as B well men as women, ſhould be defaced, pulled down, and deſtroied. *Item*, That all the feſtival daies, the ſacrifices and ſacrificers, which had been inſtituted and ordained for the honor of him, ſhould be profaned and unhallowed again. *Item*, That the very places, wherein ought had been erected, or inſcriptions graven to his honour, ſhould be held as deteſtable and accurſed: and that from thence forward, it might not be lawful to ſet up there any of thoſe things that ought to ſtand, and be dedicated in a pure and clean place. *Item*, That the publick Prieſts of the City, in all their praiers, and ſo often as they praied for the good eſtate of the people of *Athens* and their allies, for the preſervation of their armies and armadoes; ſhould deteſt and curſe by name King *Philip*, his children and realm, his forces both by land and ſea, with all the race and name of the Macedonian nation. Moreover, it ran on in the decree, That if any man from that time forward, C would prefer and propound any thing that might tend to the diſgrace and infamie of *Philip*, the whole people of *Athens* ſhould approve and allow the ſame whatſoever, and make an act thereof. Contrary-wiſe, if any perſon ſay or do any thing for honour, or to impeach and check his diſhonour, whoſoever ſhould happen to kill the ſaid party, he ſhould be deemed and reputed, that he had killed him juſtly and lawfully. Finally, this branch was compriſed within the decree, That all things ordained in times paſt againſt *Piſiſtratus* his line and progeny, ſhould be obſerved and ſtand in force againſt *Philip*. Thus verily warred the Athenians againſt *Philip* with letters and words: wherein they are right valiant, and to ſay truth, good at nothing elſe. But *Attalus* and the Romans, having from *Hermiona* ſhaped their courſe for *Pyræum*, arrived there. And after they had ſojourned ſome few daies in *Athens*, and were loden with a number of decrees, where- D in the Athenians recounted the praiſes and commendations of their allies beyond all meaſure, like as they had before exceeded in ſhewing their malice againſt their enemies; they ſet ſail from *Pyræum* to *Andros*. Where, riding at anchor in the bay called *Gaureleon*, they ſent certain men to ſound the minds of the inhabitants, Whether they would chuſe to yeeld the Town willingly, or rather abide the hazard of a forcible aſſault. Who anſwered again, that the Kings garriſon being poſſeſſed of the Caſtle, and keeping it for *Philip*, they were not their own maſters. Whereupon the King and the Roman Lieutenant ſet their forces on land, and with all preparation of engines and artillery fit for an aſſault, approached the City divers waies. The Roman ſtandards and their arms, not ſeen before in thoſe parts, the reſolute courage alſo of the ſouldiers, who ſo luſtily and nimbly came neer to ſcale the walls, terrified and amaſed the Greeks, much more than any thing E elſe. Therefore immediatly they fled into the Caſtle, and the enemies were LL. of the City. Now, after they had for two daies ſpace held out in the fortreſs, preſuming more upon the ſtrength of the place than the force of their armour and weapons: they and the garriſon together, compounded upon the third day to quit the place, ſo they might be brought with a convoy to *Delium*, a Town in *Bœotia*, and every man to have one ſingle ſuit of apparel. Then the Romans leaving the bare City unto King *Attalus*, ranſacked it themſelves, and took away with them all the pillage and ornaments that beautified the ſame. And to the end, that the Iſle ſhould not lie waſt and deſart, *Attalus* perſwaded the Macedonians in manner all, and certain alſo of the Andrians, there to remain. Afterwards, they alſo who by compoſition were tranſported to *Delium*, were by the fair promiſes of the King drawn away from thence: which they gave ear and credit unto the ſooner, for the love of their native country the miſs whereof they might hardly brook. From *Andros* they croſſed to *Cythnus*. There they ſpent certain daies in aſſaulting the City, to no purpoſe: and ſeeing the gains would hardly quit their pains, they departed from thence. Neer unto *Praſiæ* (which is a place of *Attica* within the main) there joined unto the Roman fleet twenty pinnaſſes of the Iſſæans, who were ſent to rob and ſpoil the territory of the Caryſtians: the reſt of the fleet remained at *Gereſtum*, a noble rode and port of *Eubœa*, until ſuch time as the Iſſæi were returned from *Caryſtum*. Then all together they made ſail, and paſſing the mids of the main ſea, they fell with the Iſle of *Icus*, neer unto *Scyrus*. There they were ſtaied for certain daies, by reaſon of the raging Northwind: which being once laid and the ſea calm again, they paſſed to *Scyathos* a City lately pilled and ranſacked by K. *Philip*. The ſouldiers ranged over the country, and brought corn with them to their ſhips, & whatſoever elſe was fit for mans food. Other booty neither was there any, nor deſerved had the Greeks to be ſpoiled at their hands. Thence they bent their courſe for *Caſandrea*; & firſt they rode at anchor neer unto *Mendis*, a village ſituat by the ſea ſide, and belonging to that State. From whence having ſailed beyond the cape, & deſirous to come about with their veſſels for to approach the very walls of the City, there aroſe a tempeſt & ſuddain guſt: wherin they had like to have been caſt away: but ſcattered they were aſunder: & having for the moſt part loſt the tackling of their ſhips, they eſcaped with much ado to land. This tempeſt at ſea was alſo

a ſore-token preſaging unto them, that they were to follow the war by Land, and to give over ſea H
ſervice. For when they had brought all their ſhips together and ſet their men a ſhore, they aſſailed
the Town: but they had the repulſe with many a bloudy blow beſides (for there was within a
ſtrong garriſon of the Kings) whereupon they gave over their enterpriſe, returned back and ſailed
over to *Canaſtæum* a City of *Pallene*. And having doubled the point of *Torona*, they ſet their courſe
for *Acanthus*. There at firſt they forraged the territory, then forced the Town, and ranſacked it.
And for that their ſhips had their full fraught and charge of pillage, they ſailed no farther forward,
but returned from whence they came to *Scyathus*, and from thence to *Eubœa*: where leaving be-
hind them their main navy, they put in with ten ſhips lightly appointed, to the Bay or gulf of
*Malea*, for to parley with the Ætolians about the whole courſe and managing of the wars. The I
chief of this embaſſage ſent from the State, was one *Stpyrrhicas* an Ætolian, who came to *Hera-*
*clea* for to treat and confer about theſe affairs together with the King and the Roman Lieutenant.
They demanded of *Attalus* by vertue of the accord and agreement before made, to furniſh them
with a thouſand ſouldiers: for ſo many ought he by right to ſet out and maintain, whenſoever
they were to wage war againſt *Philip*. But this demand was denied to the Ætolians; in regard
that aforetime they likewiſe thought much to make a rode to ſpoil *Macedony*, at what time as *Phi-*
*lip* kept foul work about *Pergamus*, burning all edifices before him, as well ſacred as prophane,
when they might have drawn him perforce from thence into his own realm to look unto his pro-
per affairs there. Thus the Ætolians were diſmiſſed with more hope than help: for the Romans
fed them only with fair words, and large promiſes of all things. Then *Apuſtius* with King *Atta-*
*lus* returned to the fleet. K

After this they laid their heads together, and began to conſult about the ſiege and aſſault of
*Oreum*. A ſtrong City this was both in regard of the walls, and alſo of a good garriſon, by reaſon
that heretofore it had been once aſſailed. Now there were 20 ſail of Rhodian ſhips all cloſe co-
vered with hatches and decks, which under the conduct of Captain *Ageſimbrotus*, had joyned
with the fleet of *Attalus* and the Romans, after the winning and conqueſt of *Andros*. Theſe ſhips
they ſent to lie in the Bay of *Zelaſium*, (a promontory or cape above the City *Demetrias*, lying
very conveniently over againſt *Iſthmia*) for this intent, that if the Macedonian ſhips ſhould come
abroad from thence, they might be ready in gard to make ſail againſt them. *Heraclides* an Admi-
ral for King *Philip*, lay there at rode with the navy, attending rather ſome enterpriſe by oppor-
tunity and vantage of the enemies negligence, than by plain and open force. The Romans and L
*Attalus* in the mean time planted their ordnance againſt *Oreum* at divers parts. The Romans at
the Caſtle ſide that ſtandeth upon the Sea: The King from the vale that lieth between two ſorts,
where as the City is encloſed alſo with a wall. And as they aſſailed in ſundry places; ſo their man-
ner of aſſailing was much different, and their engins divers. The Romans aſſayed to approach
the wall with tortoiſes, pavoiſes and mantilets, and to ſhake it with the Ram: They of the Kings
part uſed Croſsbows, Baliſts, Catapults, and all manner of enſigns to ſhoot forth quarels and
darts, yea, and to level and weigh mighty ſtones of exceeding great weight. They undermined al-
ſo: and in ſum, they practiſed all means which they ſaw by experience did good during the for-
mer aſſault and ſiege. But the Macedonians were not only more in number than the time before
to defend the City, but alſo of better courage and reſolution; by reaſon that the King had rebuked M
them ſharply for their fault paſſed: and they remembred well both his menaces, and alſo his pro-
miſes for the time to come: in ſo much as the aſſailants had ſmall hope to win the Town in
haſt. Mean while the Roman Lieutenant, ſuppoſing that ſome other exploit might be performed,
leaving a ſufficient number (as he thought) for the finiſhing of the Fabricks begun, and other en-
gins of aſſault, put over to the next places of the continent: where he ſurpriſed on a ſudden
*Lariſſa* (not that noble and renowned City in *Theſſaly*, but another, which they call *Cremaſte*)
and won it, all but the fortreſs. *Attalus* in like ſort took *Ægeleon*, fearing nothing leſs than ſuch
an accident from them that were buſie in beſieging another Town. By this time, as the en-
gins and other Fabricks without *Oreum* were at the point of finiſhing, and ready to perform the
battery for which they were made: ſo the garriſon within was overtoiled with continual pain
and travail, ſpent with watching night and day, and faint with many a grievous wound. More-
over, part of the wall, ſhaken underneath with a butt and puſh of the Ram, was already fallen
down in ſundry places, in ſo much as the Romans entred by night at the open breaches, and all
the way above the Key, and ſo were poſſeſſed of the Caſtle. *Attalus* likewiſe by the break of day,
after he ſaw the banner reared upon the fortreſs, and the ſignal which the Romans put forth, en-
tred the City; for now the walls in many places lay along. The garriſon and the Townſmen fled
to a ſecond citadel that they had, from whence after two dayes they yeelded. The City was the
Kings lot: the bodies of the priſoners were the Romans ſhare. Now drew the ſun neer unto
the Æquinoctial line in Autumn, at what time the Euboean gulf called *Cœla* is dangerous, and
not well truſted of mariners. Therefore being deſirous to be gone into a place of ſafe retreat, be-
fore the troubleſome winter weather overtook them, they turned their courſe and made head to
*Pyræum*, from whence they came: where *Apuſtius* leaving behind him thirty ſhips, fet a com-
paſs about the cape of *Malea*, and ſailed to *Corcyra*. But the King ſtayed ſtill ſo long as the feſti-
val dayes of *Ceres* continued, becauſe he would be preſent at the celebration of thoſe ſolemnities.
After the feaſt ended, himſelf likewiſe retired into *Aſia*: but firſt he ſent *Ageſimbrotus* and the
Rhodians home again. Theſe were the affairs and exploits performed this ſummer by ſea and land.

A by the Roman Conſul and the Lieutenant Generall, with the aid of King *Attalus* and the Rhodians, againſt King *Philip* and his allies.

The other Conſul C. *Aurelius* being come into his Province when the war was brought to an end, could not ſmother and conceale his anger conceived againſt the Prætor for fighting in his abſence. When he had taken order therefore to ſend him into *Etruria*, himſelf with the legions invaded the country of the enemies: where by way of robbing and ſpoiling he warred ſo as he got more prey than praiſe. But L. *Furius*, ſeeing there was little to do in *Etruria*, and withall deſirous rather than his life of a triumph over the Gauls (which he ſuppoſed to obtain with more eaſe, whiles the Conſul was abſent, who was both angry with him, and alſo envied at him) arrived at *Rome* before any man looked for him, and aſſembled the Senat in the Temple of *Bellona*. Where,
B after he had declared what acts he had atchieved, he requeſted that he might be permitted to ride into the City with triumph. In great credit and account he was with many of the Senators, both for his noble and worthy deeds, in which regard they honoured him: and alſo for a ſpeciall favour and love, in which reſpect they affected him. But the more ancient and elder Senators denied him triumph, as well for that he had warred with the army of another, as alſo becauſe he had abandoned his own Province and government, upon a greedy deſire to catch a triumph, by waiting his opportunity, and taking advantage: a thing not warrantable by any former precedent or example. And as many of them as had been Conſuls ſaid moreover, That above all things he ought to attend upon the Conſul his return. "For well might he (ſay they) being encamped near unto "the City, have defended and guarded the Colony only, and ſo have drawn the time out untill
C "his coming, and never needed to have fought a ſet battell for the matter. And although the Præ- "tor have omitted ſo to do, yet ought not the Senat to follow his example, but expect the Con- "ſul. When as therefore they have heard the Conſul and Prætor diſcourſing and arguing the "matter both together face to face, then they ſhould be able to judge better and more ſoundly "of the cauſe. A great part of the houſe was of opinion that they ought to look unto nothing elſe but the good ſervice done, and whether he were lawfully called thereunto, as a Magiſtrate of himſelf, to manage his affairs by his proper conduct and the guidance of his own fortune. "For, "of the two Colonies (ſay they) which were oppoſed as two forts and bulwarks to reſtrain the "ſudden impreſſions and tumults of the French; when the one was ſacked and burnt, and the "ſame fire like to leap from it to the other ſo near, (as from houſe to houſe, that joyn together)
D "what could the Prætor have done otherwiſe in that caſe? For if there might be nothing attempt- "ted without the Conſul, it muſt needs follow that either the Senat did amiſs in giving the Præ- "tor the charge of an army (for if their will was that the war ſhould be managed not by the Præ- "tors army, but by the Conſuls, they might have limited it in the Commiſſion by eſpecial words, "expreſly forbidding the ſervice to be done by the Prætor, but only by the Conſul) or elſe the "Conſul hath committed a fault, who having commanded the army to go out of *Tuſcany* into "*France*, came not himſelf in perſon to *Ariminum* to encounter the enemy, and be preſent in that
E "war, which without him might not be lawfully fought. Over and beſides, the occaſions and ſea- "ſons of war attend no ſtaies, and tarry for no politick delaies of Generals. And otherwhiles, fight "a man muſt, not becauſe a man is willing thereto, but becauſe his enemy puts him to it. To con- "clude, the very battell it ſelf, and the happy iſſue thereof, ought only to be conſidered and regar- "ded. The enemies are defeated and ſlain; their Camp taken and ranſacked; the ſiege raiſed "from the one Colony, and it preſerved; the captives of the other recovered and reſtored to "their friends; and to be brief, in one battell the quarrell is decided, and the war finiſhed. And "not only men have rejoyced for this victory, but alſo there have been proceſſions for three daies "ſpace to the honour of the immortall gods: [*For that* L. Furius *hath managed the Common-* "*weal well and happily and not ill and reſtly.*] Finally, theſe Erench wars fall by a fatall deſtiny to the "houſe and race of the *Furii*. By theſe and ſuch like remonſtrances alledged by himſelf and his friends, the majeſty of the Conſul abſent was over-weighed with the favour born to the Prætor preſent. And ſo in a frequent aſſembly of Senators a decree was granted, That L. *Furius* ſhould
F ride in triumph. Thus triumphed over the Gauls L. *Furius* Prætor, whiles he was in office. He brought into the common treaſury 320000 Aſſes, 170000 pound weight of ſilver. But neither were there any priſoners led captives in ſhew, nor ſpoils carried in pomp before his chariot, nor yet his ſouldiers followed after. So as it appeared that all other things beſides victory alone, pertained properly to the Conſul.

After this were the plaies exhibited with great magnificence by *P. Cornelius Scipio*, which he had vowed in *Affrick*, during his Conſulſhip. Alſo there paſſed an order for the lands of his ſouldiers; That for ſo long as each one had ſerved in *Spain* or *Affrick*, he ſhould have two acres for every year: and that theſe lands ſhould be ſet out and aſſigned unto them by ten Decemvirs for the purpoſe deputed. Then were certain Triumvirs created for to ſupply and make
G up the number of the Roman Inhabitants in *Venuſia*, by reaſon that during the time of *Annibal* his war, the ſtrength of that Colony was much enfeebled and impaired. *C. Terentius Varro*, *T. Quintius Flaminius*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio* the ſon of *Cneus*, enrolled new Coloners to inhabit *Venuſia*.

The ſame year *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, who governed *Spain* as Pro-Conſul, diſcomfited a great hoſt of the enemies in the country of the Sedetans. In which battell, by report, were ſlain 15000 Spaniards, and 78 military enſigns taken. *C. Aurelius* the Conſul, when he was returned

out of his Province to *Rome* againſt the ſolemn election of Magiſtrates, complained, not as men made reckoning he would have done, (That the Senat expected not for his coming, nor that the Conſul was not permitted to debate the matter with the Prætor) but found himſelf grieved, "That the Senat had decreed a triumph ſo, as the party only was ſuffered to ſpeak who was to triumph, and none of them might be heard who were preſent at the battell. And whereas our fore-fathers ordained, that Lieutenants, Colonels, Marſhals, and Centurions, yea, and in one word, "the ſouldiers ſhould be at a triumph; for this end and purpoſe, that the truth might appear to "the world, of al things atchieved by him unto whom ſo great honour was to be done: Was there "any one (quoth he) of all that army which fought with the Gauls, I ſay not a ſouldier, but ſo "much as a lackey or horſe-boy following the Camp, of whom the Senat might enquire, whe-"ther the Prætor ſpake true or falſe? This done and ſaid, he publiſhed the day of aſſembly for the election aboveſaid: wherein were created Conſuls *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Villius Tappulus*. After them were Prætors choſen *L. Quintius Flaminius*, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *L. Villius Tappulus*, and *C. Bebius Pamphilus*. Grain and other victuals that year were cheap. Great ſtore of corn was brought out of *Affrick*, which the Ædiles of the chair diſtributed to the people, at * two Aſſes a Modius. They alſo ſet forth the Roman games and paſtimes right ſumptuouſly; yea, and repreſented them one day more than ordinary. Moreover of the ſilver raiſed by fines and forfeitures, they made ſeven brazen ſtatues, which they ſet up in the treaſure-houſe of the City. The Plebeian plaies likewiſe were thrice renued all over by the Ædiles of the Commons *L. Terentius Maſſaliota*, and *C. Bebius Pamphilus* Prætor elect. Finally, the funerall games that year were four daies together exhibited in the common place of the City, occaſioned by the death of *M. Valerius Lævinus*: and celebrated they were by his two ſons *P.* and *M.* who alſo ſhewed unto the people a brave ſpectacle of fencers at the ſharp: wherein there were five and twenty couples that entred the liſts and performed combat. *M. Aurelius Cotta*, one of the Decemvirs, that year departed this life; and in his place *M. Acilius Glabrio* was ſubordained. In the ſolemn aſſembly for electing Ædiles of the chair, it chanced that thoſe two which were choſen might not immediately enter into office: for *C. Cornelius Cethegus* was created in his abſence, whiles he governed the Province of *Spain*. And *C. Valerius Flaccus* who was preſent at his own election, might not be ſworn to maintain the laws, becauſe he was the Flamin or Prieſt of *Jupiter*. For lawfull it was not for any Magiſtrate to exerciſe his place above five daies, unleſs he were ſworn to the laws. Then *Flaccus* preferred a petition that he might be diſpenſed with: whereupon the Senat ordained, That if the Ædile would find one to ſwear in his name at the good pleaſure and diſcretion of the Conſuls, then the Conſuls (if they thought it meet) ſhould deal with the Tribunes of the Commons, to propound it unto the people that it might paſs under their grant. So *L. Valerius Flaccus* (the Prætor elect for the year following) was preſented to take the oath for his brother. Then the Tribunes put it to a canvaſe before the people, and they enacted, That the oath of his brother ſhould be of the ſame validity as if the Ædile himſelf had taken it in his own perſon. Concerning the other Ædiles alſo there paſſed an act of the Commons. For when the Tribunes propoſed unto the people, Which two they would have to go into *Spain* as LL. deputies with command over the armies; the people ordained, that *C. Cornelius* the Ædile of the chair might come home to bear his office, and *L. Manlius* alſo after ſo many years, depart out of his Province: the people ordained that *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Stertinius* ſhould have the conduct and government in *Spain*, in quality and title of Pro-Conſuls.

* 1 d. ob. ſterl.

# The two and thirtieth Book

## *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the two and thirtieth Book.

*MAny ſtrange and prodigious ſights (as they were reported from divers countries) are here related and ſet down: among which, this is one, that in* Macedony *there was a bay tree ſprung up of it ſelf in the poop of a galley.* T. Quintius Flaminius *the Conſul fought fortunately againſt* Philip *in the ſtreights of* Epirus: *and having put him to flight, he compelled him to return into his own kingdom. Himſelf, with the aſſiſtance of the Ætolians and Athamans, infeſted ſore and plagued* Theſſaly, *which bordereth upon* Macedony. L. Quintius Flamininus *the Conſul his brother, by the aid of King* Attalus *and the Rhodians, made conqueſt by war at ſea, of* Eubœa *and all the ſea-coaſt. The* Achæi *were received into amity. The conſpiracy of ſlaves, that complotted to deliver and ſet at large the hoſtages of the Carthaginians, was detected and took no effect. The number of Prætors was encreaſed to ſix. The Conſul* Cornelius Cethegus *defeated the French Inſubrians in battell. League and amity was concluded between the Romans and the Lacedæmonians, with their tyrant* Nabis. *Over and beſides, there is contained in this book the winning of many Cities in* Macedony.

The

# The two and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

WHen the Consul and Prætors were entred into office upon the * Ides of *March*, they cast lots for the government of the Provinces. To *L. Lentulus*, fell *Italy*; and to *P. Villius*, *Macedony*. As for the Prætors, *L. Quintius* had the jurisdiction of the City of *Rome*, and *C. Babius* the government of *Ariminum*; *L. Valerius* ruled *Sicily*, and *L. Villius* his lot was to command *Sardinia*. *Lentulus* the Consul had order given him to levy new legions, and *Villius* to receive the army of *P. Sulpitius*, with commission and licence to take up as many souldiers as he thought good himself to furnish the same with a fresh supply. Those legions which *C. Aurelius* Consul had in charge, were assigned over to *Babius* the Prætor, with condition to keep them with him, untill the Consul were arrived in *France* with a new army; and so soon as he came, to discharge and dismisse all the souldiers home to their houses except 5000 allies: forasmuch as this number was thought sufficient to govern the Province about *Ariminum*. * 15 of March.

The Prætors of the former year continued still Commanders of their armies. *Cn. Sergius* was enjoyned to see and take order, that certain lands should be set out for those souldiers who had served many years together in *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Sardinia*. And *Q. Minutius* had in charge to go through with that inquisition of certain conspirators and traitors in the Brutians country, upon which he had sitten already as Prætor with great fidelity and diligence: and also to send unto *Locri* for to receive due punishment of those prisoners, whom being attainted and convicted of sacriledge, he had sent bound to *Rome*. And finally, to cause all the treasure taken out of the Temple of *Proserpina*, to be restored thither again, with an over-encrease, to make satisfaction and to raze out the wicked part committed. The Latine feasts and holy-daies were solemnized again by vertue of an ordinance of the Bishops, upon this occasion, That certain Embassadors from *Ardea* complained in the Senat, how they had not their ordinary allowance of flesh at the Latine feasts aforesaid in the mount *Alba*, according to the old custome. News came from *Suessa*, that two of their City gates, and all the wall between, was smitten with lightning. Messengers also from *Formiæ* reported that their Temple of *Jupiter* was likewise blasted. Moreover, they of *Ostia* brought word of the like mischance with them in the Church of *Jupiter*. And from *Velitræ* tidings came of the like mishap, fallen upon the Temples of *Apollo* and *Sangus*. And that in the Temple of *Hercules* there sprung up a bush of hair. Letters came also from *Q. Minutius* the Pro-Prætor out of the Brutians country, that there was a colt foled with five feet, and three chickens hatched with three feet apeece. After all this, *P. Sulpitius* the Pro-Prætor sent letters from out of *Macedony*, containing among other matters this news, that there was a Laurell tree grew of it self in the poop of a galley.

The Senat in regard of all the former prodigious sights, ordained, that the Consul should sacrifice greater beasts unto what gods he thought good: but about this last rehearsed, the Soothsaiers that pry into beasts inwards, were sent into the Senat-house; and by direction of their answer, an Edict went forth, That the people should go in procession, and make supplications one day, and in all Temples and Altars of the gods there were sacrifices celebrated with great devotion.

The Carthaginians this year came to *Rome* with the first payment of the tribute imposed upon them: and forasmuch as the treasurers and receivers of the City made report, that the silver was not good and lawful, and being brought to the trial, was found too light by one fourth part washed away those Carthaginians were constrained to take up money of the bankers of *Rome*, and to make good the defect and loss of the silver aboveſaid. They put up a petition besides unto the Senat that it might stand with their good pleasure to re-deliver now their hostages. Whereupon an hundred of them were rendred back, and good hope there was of the rest, if so be they continued loyall and fast in their allegeance. And when they made a farther request in behalf of those hostages which were not delivered that they might be transported from *Norba* (where they were not to their good liking and ease) to some other place, granted it was, that they might remove to *Signia* and *Ferentinum*. In like sort, the Gaditans made humble suit, and obtained this liberty, that there should not be sent from the Romans a captain to govern *Gades*, any thing to the contrary in their covenant (concluded with *L. Martius Septimius*, when they yielded themselves under the subjection of the Romans) notwithstanding. Moreover, forasmuch as the Embassadors of *Narnia* made complaint, that they had not their full number of inhabitants, and that there were certain strangers enterming'ed among them, not of their own nation, who bare themselves as Coloners; therefore *L. Cornelius* the Consul was commanded to create three Deputies or Commissioners, called Trimvirs for to reform this disorder. And chosen there were for this purpose, *Publius* and *Sextius Ælius*, who had both of them the surname of *Paetus*, and *C. Cornelius Lentulus*. This that was granted to them of *Narnia*, was denied to the Embassadors of *Cossa*, who likewise requested that the number of their inhabitants might be encreased.

The affairs thus finished at *Rome* that there were to be done, the Consuls went into their several Provinces. *P. Villius* so soon as he was arrived in *Macedony*, was welcomed at his first coming with a dangerous mutiny of the souldiers, which long afore being kindled, was not well quenched

at the first beginning. These were those two thousand, which after the defeat of *Annibal*, were H sent out of *Affrick* into *Sicily*; and from thence, a year after almost, transported into *Macedony* for voluntary souldiers: but they themselves stood stoutly to it, that it was no voluntary act of theirs, but that they were shipped by their Colonels and Tribunes full against their wills. And howsoever it was, whether they served willingly or unwillingly, it was but meet and good reason, that the time of their souldiery should run out, and their service have an end at length. Alledging, that for these many years they had not seen *Italy*; that they waxed old men under their harnes, having born arms in *Sicily*, in *Affrick*, and in *Macedony*; that with toil and travel so tedious, they were weak and feeble; and after so many wounds and hurts received, they had no more bloud to lose. The Consul made them answer, that their cause was good and reasonable, but marred in the handling; and meet he thought it, that they should be dismissed, if they could have requested it I in modest terms: but neither it, nor any cause else whatsoever was warrantable to make a mutiny and sedition. Therefore, if they could be content to keep to their colours, and be at command as loyall souldiers, he would in their behalf write his letters unto the Senat, as touching their conge and dismission: for be they well assured, that they shall get more by sober and gentle behaviour, than by any such stubborn, froward, and wilfull demeanor.

At the same time *Philip* assailed the City of *Thaumaci* with terraces & mantelets in all forcible manner, so that he was now at the point to batter & shake the wall with the ram. But the sudden arrival of the Ætolians enforced him to surcease his enterprise; who by the conduct of *Archidamus* having passed through the midst of the Macedonian guards, & entred the town, never ceased day nor night to make sallies forth, one while upon their standing watch, other whiles upon their K fabricks & engins. The natural situation of the place yielded them good help and vantage: for the town of *Thaumaci* is seated on high to a mans thinking as he goeth from *Pyla* & the gulph of *Malea* by the way of *Lamia* & sheweth it self aloft, seeming to overlook & command the streight passage of the torrests called *Cale*. Again, when one travelleth over the craggy places, and the crooked waies entangled with so many windings in the vallies of *Thessaly*, and is approached once near to the City, all on a sudden he may discover before him a mighty large and open plain, as it were a wide and vast sea, so as a man shall have much ado to reach with his eye so far as these downs lye out every way under him, and see all over them. And herupon by reason of this strange and marvellous prospect, the City is called * *Thaumaci*. Over and besides that the high grounds affordeth it security, it standeth also upon a huge rock, divided into divers crags and broken cliffs. These L difficulties forced *Philip* to give over his attempt, and namely, when he considered and weighed withall, that the town it self when it was won, would not quit the painful labour, and pay for the danger about it. Besides, the winter was now at hand, when he departed from thence, and retired his forces into *Macedony*, there to harbor. Where, when all others, during the time that they could catch any repose and rest, refreshed their spirits and bodies with some recreations and disports; *Philip* only, how much respit soever he had, either of intermission or remission from continual labour of marching in journey, and fighting in battell; so much more trouble he had in his mind whiles he coursed and discoursed with himself, what the total and finall issue might be of this war: whiles he stood not only in fear of the enemies, which persecuted him by sea and land, but also in doubt, as well of the hearts of his allies, as of the affections of his own inbjects: lest the one in hope M of the Romans friendship should revolt, and the other (even the Macedonians themselves) desire novelties, and long for a change. Therefore he addressed his Embassadors into *Achæa*, both to exact an oath of the Achæans for their alleageance (for they had capitulated in the accord and agreement made, yearly to swear fealty unto *Philip*) and also to deliver into their hands, *Orchomenus*, *Herea*, and *Triphylia*. And when they demanded also *Aliphera*, the Embassadors answered, that the City never pertained to *Triphylia*, but that of right it ought to be restored unto *Philip*: as being one of them, which in the generall councill and assembly of the Arcadians, were assigned and set out for the building of *Megalopolis*. And thus verily he entertained firm alliance with the Achæans. As for the Macedonians he gained their hearts unto him, by occasion of *Heraclides*: for seeing that by means of him he incurred their exceeding ill will and hard conceit, and that he was N charged with many grievous crimes, he cast him in prison to gratifie his own subjects: whereat the people took great joy and hearts content. Then made he preparation for war, with an earnest endeavor, as at any time before: he exercised as well the Macedonians as mercenary souldiers in pay, namely, to wear their armor and handle their weapons; & in the very prime of spring, he sent all his forrain aids and light armed souldiers, under the leading of *Athenagoras* into *Chaonia* by the way of *Epirus*, to seize upon the straight passage near to *Antigonia*, which the Greeks call *Stena*. Himself a few daies after followed with his main army more heavily appointed. And when he had well viewed & considered the situation of the country, and how it lay, he judged that the quarter coasting upon the river *Aous* was the meetest place to fortifie and encamp in. This river between two hills, the one by the peasants of the country called *Æropus* the other *Asnaus*, runneth within O a narrow vale, and yieldeth but a small passage upon the bank side. He commanded *Athenagoras* to gain and fortifie *Asnaus* with his light armed souldiers: himself encamped upon *Æropus*. And look what way as the hill was fenced with broken and cragged rocks, there he kept a small guard of some few souldiers: but whereas there was more danger, and easier acces for the enemy he fortified with trenches, rampiers, and bulwarks. He planted also and disposed in convenient places a great number of engins to send out quarrels and other shot, for to keep the enemies aloof,

The sight of the City *Thaumaci*.

* Admirable, or wonderfull.

A aloof. The royal pavillion of the King himself was pitcht before the rampier upon a bank in a most conspicuous place of open sight, for to terrifie the enemy, and also to encourage and hearten his own men, when they should see him so confident and resolute. The Consul advertized by *Charopus* the Epirot, what passages the King with his army was possessed of, after he had passed the winter in *Corcyra*, himself likewise in the beginning of Spring, went up into the main land, and held on his march toward the enemy. And being advanced almost within five miles of the Kings camp, he left his legions in a strong fenced place, and went himself in person forward with certain lightly appointed in espiall to discover the quarters, and the morrow after held a consultation, Whether he might do better to assay to pass through the place which the enemy kept (notwithstanding he saw evidently before his eyes great trouble and hazard in that adventure) or to bring his
B army about and fetch a compass the same way, whereas the year before *Sulpitius* entred into *Macedony*. This deliberation held him for certain daies in even balance and suspence, untill news came unto him that *T. Quintius* was created Consul; and having the Province of *Macedony* allotted unto him made haste thither, and was already passed to *Corcyra*.

*Valerius Antias* writeth how *Villius* was entred the pass aforesaid & because he could not take the straight and direct way (by reason that the King and his forces had beset all places) followed the valley along through the middle whereof the river *Aous runneth: and having made a bridge over it, in great haste passed over to the bank, whereas the King was encamped, and there fought a battell: wherein the King was discomfited and put to flight, and driven out of his camp: that
C 11600 enemies were slain in that conflict, 2200 taken prisoners, 132 ensigns won and carried away besides 256 horse. Also that during the combat there was a Temple vowed unto *Jupiter*, in case the Consul sped well in the battell. But all other writers both Greek and Latine, at least wise whose Annals I have read, report that *Villius* performed no memorable act, and that the Consul *T. Quintius* who next succeeded, took in hand the whole and entire war himself.

* Æm. Plin. Ovid & Mela. Pirro Nigro. varijs aliis.

Whiles things thus passed in *Macedony*, the other Consul *L. Lentulus* who staid behind at *Rome*, held a general assembly for the election of Censors: And among many famous and noble personages who sued for that dignity, *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus*, and *P. Ælius Paetus* were created Censors. These two agreeing together in great concord, both elected a Senat without defaming any person: and also farmed out the toll for portage of all things that were sold at *Capua*: *Item*, they set & to farm let the custome for passage that way whereas the camp stood, and where now
D there is a town built: and enrolled three hundred Colonels (for that number was limited by the Senat) there to inhabit. They sold also the lands of *Capua* lying under the hill *Tifata*.

About the same time *L. Manlius Acidinus* departed out of *Spain*, and was prohibited by *M. Porcius Lecca* a Tribune of the Commons, to enter at his return into the City with the solemn pomp of an Ovation, notwithstanding he had that honour granted by the Senat. So he came into *Rome* as a private person and brought into the Chamber of the City 1200 pound weight of silver, and thirty pound weight well-near of gold. The same year *Cn. Babius Tamphilus*, who had received the Province of *France* from *C. Aurelius* the Consul of the former year, engaged himself rashly within the marches of the French Insubrians, and was environed and enclosed round about, both he and in manner his whole army. He lost above 6600 men. See what an overthrow was
E received in a war, whereof there was no reckoning made, and from whence no danger was feared any more. This caused *L. Lentulus* the Consul to come out of the City of *Rome*, who being arrived into a Province full of trouble and tumult after he had received the charge of affrighted and dismaied army, gave the Prætor a great check and rebuke, & took him up roundly with reproachfull terms, yea, and commanded him to get him gone out of the Province, and to repair to *Rome*. Neither performed the Consul himself any exploit worthy of remembrance by reason that he was called home to *Rome* for to hold the solemn election of Magistrates: which also was staid by *M. Fulvius*, and *M. Curius* Tribunes of the Commons: who likewise would not suffer *T. Quintius Flamininus*, having been but Quæstor, for to stand for a Consulship. "Now adaies, say they,
"the dignities of Ædiles and Prætors are nought set by, and not worth the seeking for: and these
F "noblemen will needs mount into the Consuls place, not by steps and degrees of other offices,
"wherein they should make proof and give good testimony what their carriage is, but leaping o-
"ver those in the midst, joyned the lowest and highest together. This debate which began in *Mars* field in the assembly of the people, came at length to be decided before the Senat. And the Ll. ordained, That forasmuch as he which sued for that dignity was by law capable thereof it was reason that the people should have plenary and absolute power to create him, or whomsoever else they pleased. So the Tribunes submitted themselves under the authority of the Senator. And for Coss. were elected *Sex. Ælius Paetus*, and *T. Quintius Flamininus*. Then ensued the election of the Prætors. In which were created *L. Cornelius Merula*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, *M. Porcius Cato*, and *C. Helvius*, who had been Ædiles of the Commons. By whom the Plebeian plaies were re-
G newed; and a solemn feast made in the honour of *Jupiter* in regard of those plaies. The Curule Ædiles likewise *C. Valerius Flaccus*, who also was the Flamine Dialis or Priest of *Jupiter*, and *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, exhibited the Roman games with great magnificence. The great Pontifices or Bishops *Servius Sulpitius*, and *L. Galba* died that year: In whose places were enstalled *M. Æmylius Lepidus* and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*. Now when *Sex. Ælius Paetus* and *Titus Quintius Flamininus* the Coss. were entred into their Magistracy, they assembled the Senat in the Capitoll: where the Ll. gave order, that concerning the two Provinces of *Macedony* and *Italy*, the Consuls should

either agree between themſelves, or elſe caſt lots whether of them ſhould govern the one or the other: And that he, whoſe hap was to have the charge of *Macedony*, ſhould enroll of Romans three thouſand footmen, and three hundred horſemen: Alſo of Latine allies five thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, for to ſupply and furniſh out the legions. And for the other Conſul it was decreed, that he ſhould have an army all entire and new. *L. Lentulus* the Conſul of the former year, continued ſtill Governour in the Province with expreſs commandment, that neither himſelf ſhould leave the government, nor withdraw his forces from thence, before the Conſul were come with the new legions. So the Conſuls referred themſelves to the direction of the lots. To *Ælius* fell *Italy*: and *Macedony* to *Quintius*. As for the Prætors, who all were guided by lots, *L. Cornelius Merula* had the juriſdiction of the City of *Rome*. *M. Claudius* governed *Sicily*. To *M. Porcius* was allotted *Sardinia*, and *C. Helvius* his lot was to be L. Deputy in *Gaul*. After this they began to take muſters. For over and beſides the Conſular armies, the Prætors alſo were charged to levy ſouldiers. To *Marcellus* were aſſigned four thouſand footmen of Latine allies, and three hundred horſemen to go into *Sicily*. And for *Cato* three thouſand foot of the ſame kind of ſouldiers with two hundred horſe to ſerve in *Sardinia*: upon condition, that when both theſe Prætors were come into their Provinces, they ſhould diſcharge all the old ſouldiers there, as well footmen as horſemen.

Then the Conſuls granted the Embaſſadors of King *Attalus* leave to come into the Senat-houſe: where having audience given them, "after they had declared how their King and Maſter "had aſſiſted the State of *Rome* with his forces as well by ſea as land, and ſhewed himſelf chear- "full, ready, and obedient to this preſent day for to execute and perform whatſoever the Roman "Conſuls had enjoyned him to do; they ſaid now, that they much feared leſt from henceforward "he would not be able to do the ſame, by reaſon he was impeached by *Antiochus*. For *Antiochus* "taking his vantage, and finding the realm of *Attalus* diſfurniſhed of garriſons, and unprovided "of forces both by ſea and land had invaded the ſame. For which occaſion *Attalus* beſought the "LL. of the Senat there aſſembled, that if they minded to uſe his navy, and employ the means "that he could make in the ſervice of the Macedonian war, they would then ſend him a ſuffici- "ent garriſon to defend his kingdom: but if they thought not well thereof, his requeſt was to "permit himſelf to return with his fleet and other forces, to the defence of his own. The Senat gave order to return this anſwer unto the Embaſſadors: "Whereas King *Attalus* had ſuccoured "the Roman Captains with his Armado and other means of war, the Senat accepted thereof in- "the beſt part. But as touching *Antiochus* the King, an ally and friend of the people of *Rome*, they "neither would ſend any aid againſt him: nor yet detain the aids of King *Attalus* in any ſervice "of theirs, longer than the King himſelf ſhould think it ſtood with his own commodity. For, the "manner of the people of *Rome* hath alwaies been to ſerve their own turn with the help and aſſi- "ſtance of others, but yet at the good pleaſure & diſcretion of others. And whoſoever were wil- "ling to relieve the Romans, they were at their own liberty to begin and end when they would "themſelves. Howbeit they purpoſed to addreſs their Embaſſadors unto *Antiochus*, to adverti ſe "him and let him underſtand that the people of *Rome* employed the help of *Attalus* his ſhips and "ſouldiers againſt *Philip*, a common enemy: and the Senat would take it kindly at his hands, if "for their ſakes he forbare the Realm of *Attalus*, and abſtained from war. For meet and reaſon "it was, that the Kings who were friends and allies to the people of *Rome*, ſhould likewiſe enter- "tain peace and amity among themſelves.

*T. Quintius* the Conſul made haſte to be gone into his Province: and when he had levied and muſtered his ſouldiers ſo, as that he had enrolled thoſe old experienced ſervitors for the moſt part, who had given good proof of their valour in the ſervice of *Spain* and *Affrick*, he was detained ſo long at *Rome* by occaſion of certain prodigious ſigns reported, untill he had taken order for the appeaſing of the gods, and expiation of them. The lightning ſcorched and blaſted the great port way from *Veii*: the Common Hall likewiſe of publike aſſemblies, and the Temple of *Jupiter* in *Lanuvium*: alſo the Temple of *Hercules* in *Ardea*: the walls beſides and turrets of *Capua*, and the Temple there which is called *Alba*. At *Aretium* the ſky appeared to be on a light fire. At *Velitræ* the earth ſetled and ſunk down, leaving a great gaping chink for the compaſs of three acres of ground. Word moreover was brought, that in *Sueſſa Aurunca* a lamb was yeaned with two heads; and in *Sinueſſa* a porket with a mans head. In regard of theſe prodigies, there was a proceſſion and ſupplication one whole day, and the Conſuls intended devoutly to their ſacrifices: and after they had pacified the gods, they took their journey into their Provinces. *Ælius*, together with *C. Helvius* the Prætor went into *France* and gave unto the ſaid Prætor the army which he received of *L. Lentulus*, and ſhould have diſmiſſed and diſcharged of their ſervice; becauſe he purpoſed himſelf to employ in his own wars the freſh and new legions which he brought with him: but he performed no action worth the report. The other Conſul *T. Quintius* having taken the ſea and departed from *Brundiſium* ſooner than other Conſuls were wont, arrived at *Corcyra* with eight thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe. From thence he croſſed the ſeas with a galleace of five ranks of oars, directing his courſe for the neareſt coaſts of *Epirus*, and by great journeys made haſte until he was come to the Roman camp: from whence after he had licenſed *Villius* to depart, and ſtaid there ſome few daies, until his forces which were at *Corcyra* could overtake him, he called his Councill together to reſolve, Whether he ſhould keep on his journey directly, and make way through the midſt of his enemies where they lay encamped, or rather without any

ſuch

A such attempt (which could not but carry with it great pain and perill) fetch a compass about with safety, and to enter into *Macedony* by the way of the Dassaretians country and *Lyncus*. And verily, this latter course of the twain had taken place, but that he feared, when he were retired once far from the sea, and had let the enemy slip out of his hands, if the King haply were minded (as he had done before) to defend himself within the deserts and forrests, that he should spend all the long summer and do no good. Therefore come what would of it, he resolved to assail the enemy in that very place as difficult as it was, with all the disadvantage whatsoever. But as they determined in their intention thus to do, so they were not so ready in the means to execute and effect the same. Thus they sate still and spent forty daies within the eye of the enemy, and made no attempt. Then *Philip* conceived some hope to assay a peace, by the means and intercession of the Epirot
B nation. And after consultation had there were certain agents chosen for that purpose to wit, *Pausanias* the Prætor, and *Alexander* Generall of the horse; who brought the Consul and the King together for to parl, unto a place whereas the river *Aous* is narrowest, and the banks neerest together. The demands of the Consul in sum were these: That *Philip* should remove his garrisons out of the Cities *Item*, That whose territories or towns he had pilled and spoiled, he should make restitution again unto them all those things that were extant and to be found: as for the rest, they should be prized and valued indifferently to their worth. *Philip* made answer again, "That all "those peeces were not of like quality and condition. As for such as he had taken himself, he "would be content to let them at liberty: but for those that were left unto him by his progenitors "and predecessors, he would not forgo the possession thereof, since he held them lawfully in right
C "of inheritance. Finally, if those Cities wherewith he had warred made complaint, that they were "ever endamaged by him, he would report himself to what Cities and States they would them-"selves, and stand to their award, so they were neuters, or in peace as well with the one side as "the other. The Consul hereunto replied and said, That for this matter it was needless to refer "themselves to the arbitrement or doom of any. For who seeth not evidently (quoth he) that "he hath done the wrong who first took arms? And that *Philip* before ever that he was molested "and troubled by any war from others, offered violence first unto all? After, when it was debated "what Cities should be set free, the Consul named first of all *Thessalonica*: at which word the King was in such a heat of choler that he cried out aloud, "What harder condition O *Quintius* would
D "you impose upon him that you had vanquished? and withall, he flung away in a chafe from off the place of meeting and enterview, and would no longer parl. And much ado they had on both sides to hold their hands from shooting one at another, for the river ran in the midst between them that they could not try it out by the ears. The morrow after there passed many light skirmishes between the *corps de guard* on both parts by way of excursions, first in a plain that lay out broad enough for that purpose: but afterwards as the Kings men retired themselves into the narrow straights and rough rugged places, the Romans of an ardent desire to be fighting, entred thither soon after. The Romans had on their side the benefit of good order and military discipline and were furnished with such kind of weapons as were fit for to maintain a skirmish in a set battell. The enemies again for their parts had the vantage of the ground, and the help of sundry engins to cast forth shot afar off (as balists and catapults) planted and ranged almost upon every
E cliff and rock as it had been upon the walls of a City. After they had on both sides given and taken many a wound, so as divers of them were left slain on the earth, as if they had fought in a full battell the night at length parted them asunder.

Things thus standing in these terms, there hapned a certain herdman sent from *Charopus* a Prince of the Epirots to be brought before the Consul: who gave him to understand that he kept cattell a grazing in that forrest (which then was overspread with the Kings pavillion) and knew all the cranks, all the windings, turnings, and blind waies of those mountains: promising, that if he would send out a band of souldiers with him, he would conduct them thorow a place that was neither dangerous, nor yet difficult and hard of ascent: which if they had once gained, they
F should be over their enemies heads and able to command them. And these things (quoth he) you may surely trust upon: for *Charopus* willed me to make declaration, That he could wish you the Consul were Master of all rather than any other. The Consul was desirous to beleeve all, but durst not credit him. And thus being troubled in spirit, whiles he entertained in his heart both joy and fear together, at length the authority of *Charopus* induced him to resolve and give the adventure of this hope thus offered and presented unto him. And to the end that the enemy might distrust and suspect nothing, for two daies following he never ceased to assail and provoke him, setting companies of armed souldiers in every place, to charge upon him, and ever seconding them with fresh men to succeed in the place of the wearied. After this, he delivered to a Tribune or Colonell four thousand chosen footmen, and three hundred horsemen; with this direction, to lead forward the Cavalry, as far as the ground would give leave: and when they were come
G once to a place where the horsemen could not pass nor march farther, then to plant them in some plain and even ground: willing the footmen to march on as the guide should lead them and point out their way: but after they were mounted above the enemies heads, according as he undertook and made promise, then to give a sign by smok, and not to shout and to set up a cry untill one might guesse that upon signall of battell by him given, the battell was begun. And the Consul gave commandment to march by night (for as good hap was, the Moon was at full, and shone all night long) and take their refection and sleep in the day time. As for the guide aforesaid,

he

he made unto him many fair and large promises, if it might appear, that he meant truth, and dealt faithfully: howbeit in the mean time he delivered him bound to the custody of the said Colonel. When these companies were thus sent away, the Roman Generall travelled and endeavoured so much the more to gain vantage of the enemies guards. All this while, the Romans that were sent out with the Colonel, marched forward; and upon the third day, when they had given token by smoak, that they had won the pitch of the hill as they intended, and held it still: then the Consul divided his forces into three squadrons, and entred the midst of the valley with the main strength of his army, but he led forth the wings of his battell, both the right and the left, against the very camp of the enemies. Who also for their parts were not behind to re-encounter and receive him. And all the whiles that they advanced without their fortifications of defence upon a hot desire of conflict, it fell out, that the Roman souldier had the better a good deal, as being more valourous, more skilful, and better appointed with weapons for that kind of service. But after that the Kings souldiers, whereof many were wounded or killed outright, retired themselves to places of safety, either by natural situation or by art of man the danger returned upon the Romans heads, who inconsideratly were engaged into places of disadvantage, and into narrow streights, from whence they could no retire with ease. And surely they had not returned back again unpunished for their rashness, but that the Kings men hearing first an outcry behind their backs, and seeing also a skirmish begun, were astonied at the sudden terror, and put besides themselves. Some fled here and there away; others that made a stand and tarried still, for that they rather wanted ground to flie than had heart enough to fight it out, were environed by their enemies both before and behind. The whole army might have been utterly defeated, if the winners had lustily followed the chase. K But the straights and the roughness of the waies hindred the horse, and the weight of armor cumbred the footmen. At first the King rode amain with bridle in horse neck, without regard of any thing, or looking behind him: but after he was got five miles before & guessing (as it was indeed) that by reason of the disadvantage of the place the enemy could not possible make way after; he rested upon a certain mount and sent his people all abroad over hils and dales, to rally his souldiers together that were dispersed. Thus with the loss not all out of two thousand men, the rest of the multitude met together, as if they had repaired to a *Rendezvouz* upon some signal given, & so marched with a great train into *Thessaly*. The Romans pursued them as far as they might with safety, killing them, and rifling the dead; yea and ransacked the Kings camp, which though it were naked without defendants, yet for the difficult access unto it, they had much trouble to win: & that night they lodged in their own camp. The next day the Consul made pursuit after the enemy along the straight, whereas the river runneth amoung the vallies. The K. came the first day unto the hold or camp of *Pyrrhus* (a place so called) in *Triphilia*, belonging to the territory of *Meloti*. From whence the morrow after he marched a mighty journey with his whole army (for needs he must go that fear drives) & approached the mountain *Lingos*. These mountains are in *Epirus*, situate between *Macedony* and *Thessaly*. The side that lieth to *Thessaly* regardeth the East: that which butteth upon *Macedony* hath the North directly before it. Covered they are and overspred with abundance of woods; yet so as the very tops do afford open plains and running waters. The King keeping his camp there for certain daies, was much troubled and perplexed in his mind, casting and revolving, whether it were expedient for him to return immediatly into his own kingdom, or possible M to retire himself into *Thessaly*. In sum, his resolution was to bring down his army into *Thessaly*. And so to *Tricca* he marched the next way he possibly could. From thence he passed in great haste through all the Cities that were in his way. As many men as were able to follow, he forced to quit their habitations and dwelling houses. The towns he set on fire: yet he permitted every one to carry away with him as much as he could of his own goods; all the rest fell to the souldiers share. No manner of cruelty there was, that the very enemy could exercise, but he practised among his own allies. And *Philip* himself in the execution thereof, grieved not a little, and was vexed at the heart; but alas he could do no other: yet his desire was, in that country which within a while should be possessed by the enemy to save the bodies at least wise of his associats. In this manner were ransacked & spoiled these towns following, *Phacium*, *Iresia*, *Euhydrium*, *Eretria*, & *Palæphatus*. Against N his coming to *Phera* the gates were shut upon him. And because it would ask some time to win that town by assault and no leisure he had thereto, he gave over that enterprise, & passed into *Macedony*: for the bruit went that the Ætolians also approached. Who having heard of the issue of the battell fought by the river *Aous*, first wasted and ransacked all the country near unto *Sperchia* and *Macra Come* (as they call it) and having from thence passed over into *Thessaly*, won *Cymines* and *Angeas* with the first assault. Howbeit, a repulse they took at *Metropolis*, whiles they harried the fields about it by reason that the townsmen ran together to the defence of their wals. After this they gave the attempt upon *Callithera*, where they found the like resistance and violence of the enemies: but there they persisted longer, and gave not over, nay, they drave the enemies that issued forth within their walls, and contenting themselves with that victory, they departed thence seeing no great hope to force the town. Then they won and pilled two villages, *Theumi* and *Calathana*. As for *Acharya*, it was surrendred by composition. And upon the like fear *Xynia* also was abandoned of her own inhabitants. These Citizens thus driven out of their own houses, stumbled at a venture upon a garrison which was a leading into *Athamania*, for the better guard of the forragers that were to purvey corn. This multitude, I say, marching disorderly without armour, pell mell together, with a sort that were unmeet for war, was hewn in peeces by

A by the armed ſouldiers, and *Xynia* was ſacked, thus left and forſaken as it was. After this the Ætolians won *Cyphara*, a fort and town of ſtrength, well ſeated for to empeach and command * *Dolopia*. Theſe exploits performed the Ætolians haſtily, all in few daies. * Oneblatbo.

Neither reſted *Aminander* nor the Athamans quiet and ſtill, after they heard the news of the proſperous battell which the Romans had fought. But *Aminander* repoſing ſmall truſt in his own ſouldiers, craved of the Conſul a ſmall ſupply of other forces: and as he marched toward *Gomphi*, he ſurprized forthwith and forced a town named *Pheca*, ſituat between *Gomphi* and the ſtraights that divide *Theſſaly* from *Athamania*. From thence he advanced before *Gomphi*, and aſſailed the town, which was detended right valiantly for certain daies: but after that he had erected ſcaling ladders againſt it, he forced the townſmen within, for very fear to yield and render all into his B hands. The ſurrender of this City terrified the Theſſalians exceedingly: in ſuch ſort, that the Citizens of *Argenta*, *Pherinum*, *Thimarum*, *Liſinas*, *Stimon*, and *Lampſum*, one after another ſubmitted themſelves, with other peeces thereby of ſmall importance.

Whiles the Athamanians and Ætolians (ſecured from all danger of the Macedonians) made ſpoil and raiſed again to themſelves by the victory of others: whiles *Theſſaly* was pilled and ſacked by three armies at once, and knew not their friends from their foes, nor whom to truſt: the Conſul paſſed over into the country of * *Epirus*, by the way of the ſtraights which he had opened and made clear by reaſon that the enemies were fled. And albeit he knew full well which way all the Epirots in generall went, and with whom they had ſided, excepting only Prince *Charopus*, yet becauſe he ſaw them not only carefull to make amends and ſatisfaction, but alſo willing and C forward to do whatſoever he commanded, he eſteemed and regarded them by their preſent ſtate, more than by their demeanor paſt, and ſo by ſhewing himſelf inclined to mercy and eaſie to pardon a fault, he won their hearts, and gained them unto him for the time to come. After this he diſpatched meſſengers to *Corcyra*, to will that the kulks and ſhips of burden ſhould put into the gulph of * *Ambrasia*, whiles himſelf travelled by eaſie journies; and the fourth day after pitched his tents upon the hill * *Cercetius*: and thither he ſent for *Aminander* to repair with his aids, not for any need he had of his forces, ſo as much as of his guidance to direct him in his journeys for *Theſſaly*. Moſt of the Epirots alſo, for the ſame intent were received, who voluntarily offered their help and aſſiſtance. The firſt City that he aſſaulted in *Theſſaly*, was *Phaleria*, wherein there lay a garriſon of two thouſand Macedonians. Who at firſt held out and reſiſted moſt manfully, D and as much as either armor or the walls were able to do, defended themſelves. But the aſſault & battery continuing unceſſantly both night and day, overcame at length the conſtant and reſolute valour of the Macedonians. For the Conſul made this reckoning, That upon this point depended the hearts and diſpoſitions of all the other Theſſalians, if the firſt ſhould not be able to abide the violence and force of the Romans. *Phaleria* was no ſooner won, but there came Embaſſadors from * *Metropolis* and *Piera* to render up their Cities into his hands, who craved pardon and obtained it. *Phaleria* was burnt and ſacked. From thence he ſet forward to *Æginium*, but ſeeing the place defenſible with any ſmall garriſon, and in manner impregnable, he beſtowed ſome mull ſhot of darts upon the next *corps de guard*, and turned his army toward the country againſt *Gomphi*, and from thence he marched down into the Plains of *Theſſaly*. And becauſe his army was diſtur- E niſhed of all neceſſaries (for that he had forborn to make ſpoil in the territories of the Epirots) after he had ſent out eſpials afore, to diſcover whether the hulks aboue-laid were arrived at * *Leucas* or *Ambracia*, he ſent out his companies one after another to *Ambracia*, for to purvey corn and victuals. The way between *Gomphi* and *Ambracia*, as it is cumberous and hard for paſſage, ſo again, it is but ſhort and very compendious. So that within few daies he had tranſported certain convoies of victuals from the port of *Ambracia*, whereby the camp was ſtored with plenty of all proviſion. From thence he paſſed to *Rhages*, a town almoſt ten miles diſtant from *Lariſſa*. The Citizens thereof are deſcended from *Perrhæbia*, and the City it ſelf ſeated upon the river * *Peneus*. The Theſſalians were nothing affraid at the firſt coming of the Romans. As for *Philip*, like as he durſt not himſelf in perſon march forward into *Theſſaly*, ſo having taken a place within * *Tempe*, F which he held with a ſtanding camp, he eſpied into what quarters the enemies intended to go, and ever as he could find opportunity and advantage, ſent underhand ſuccour and reliefe thither accordingly.

* Albania.

* Golfo del' Arta.

* Strabo ſaith, it is a part of the mountain Ampelos.

* A City in Theſſaly or rather Macedony, of which name a ſeven more, according to Ptolem.

* S. Maura.

* Salampria, or Peneus.

* The pleaſant meadows and fields along the river Peneus.

Much about the ſame time that the Conſul firſt encamped againſt *Philip* in the ſtraights of *Epirus* *L. Quintius* alſo, the Conſul his brother, who by commiſſion from the Senat had the charge of the fleet and the government of all ſea-coaſts, ſailed beyond *Corcyra* with two Galleaces of five banks of oars: and hearing that the navy was departed from thence ſeeing alſo there was no ſtaying there, he made ſail after apace, and having overtaken them at the Iſle *Zamma* he diſmiſſed *Apuſtius*, in whoſe place he ſucceeded: from thence he went fair & ſoftly haling after him the moſt part of the ſhips which followed with the proviſion of victuals, untill he came to *Malea*. From G whence, when he had given order, that the reſt ſhould make as good ſpeed as poſſibly they could after him, he went with three Quinqueremes lightly appointed, and arrived before at *Pyræum*, where he received the other ſhips that *L. Apuſtius* the Lieutenant had left there for the guard and defence of *Athens*.

At the ſame time there were two Armadoes ſet out of *Aſia*, the one conducted by King *Attalus*, conſiſting of four and twenty ſail of Quinqueremes: the other were of Rhodians, and ſtood of twenty covert ſhips with decks and hatches, commanded by *Ageſimbrotus* the Admirall.

Theſe

These fleets joyning together about the Iſland *Andros*, croſſed the narrow ſeas from thence to H
*Eubœea*. And firſt they forraged the territory of the Caryſtians: afterwards ſeeing *Caryſtus* ſtrong enough againſt them by reaſon of a garriſon ſent to them in all haſte from *Chalcis*, they approached to *Eretria*. *L. Quintius* having intelligence that King *Attalus* was come, repaired thither alſo with thoſe veſſels which had been at *Pyræum*, & gave commandment, that as many ſhips as arrived thither belonging to his fleet, ſhould bend their courſe for *Eubœa*. Now was *Eretria* by all forcible means aſſaulted, for not only the veſſels of three joynt navies had brought thither all ſorts of engins and artillery deviſed for to ſhake and batter the walls of Cities, but alſo the fields and country hard by, yielded them plenty of timber, and other matter to make new. The townsmen from the very firſt day ſhewed no valour and courage in defending their walls: and afterwards when they were wearied, and ſome of them hurt, and ſaw withall a part of their wall over- I
thrown by the ordnance and engins of the enemy, enclined to yield: but they had amongſt them a garriſon of Macedonians, whom they feared no leſs than the Romans. Moreover, *Philocles* a Captain under the King ſent meſſengers unto them from *Chalcis*, aſſuring them, that if they could hold out ſtill and endure the ſiege, he would in good time be with them, and bring relief. Thus hope and fear together conſtrained them to drive off longer than either they were willing or well able to do. But when they heard once that *Philocles* had a repulſe by the way, and in great haſte and fear was retired and fled to *Chalcis* again, then immediatly they ſent their Embaſſadors unto *Attalus*, to crave pardon and protection. Whiles they were wholly bent to ſeek peace (whereof they had ſome hope) and foreſlacked the affairs of war-ſervice, oppoſing their *corps de guard* on that ſide only of the wall where the breaches were, and neglecting all beſides, behold, *Quintius* in the K
night-ſeaſon gave a camiſſado in that quarter which was leaſt ſuſpected, and with ſcaling ladders won the town. The whole multitude of the inhabitants fled with their wives and children into the Caſtle, which alſo afterwards was rendred up. As for money, gold, and ſilver, there was no great ſtore to ſpeak of: but Images, and painted tables of antique work, artificially wrought and ſuch like ornaments, there were more found than for the proportion of the bigneſs, or other wealth beſides, of ſuch a City as that was. From thence they ſet ſail once again for *Caryſtus*, where the whole multitude, before the enemies were put on land, having abandoned the City, were fled into their fortreſs: from whence they ſent their Orators unto the Roman Generall, humbly craving their merciſull protection. The townſmen preſently had their lives and libertie granted them. L
But the Macedonians were put to their ranſom and they compounded to pay * three hundred ſil-
ver ſeſterces apeece, and to give up their armour and weapons, and ſo to depart: With this ſum of money having redeemed themſelves they were ſet out diſarmed into *Bœotia*. Theſe forces at ſea having in few daies gained two noble and renowned Cities in *Eubœa*, coaſted about *Sunium*, a promontory or cape within the territory of *Attica*, and arrived before *Cenchreæ*, a town of merchandiſe and traffick belonging to the Corinthians.

* 39 ſh. 7 d. engl ſh, reckoning a ſeſterce (which is two ane a d

The Conſul all this while had a longer and more dangerous piece of ſervice in the ſiege (of *Rhages*) than all men looked for. And the enemies within made reſiſtance, where he would have leaſt of all ſuſpected. For he ſuppoſed verily that all the trouble and difficulty would be in battering down the wall, & making ſome breach. For thus he thought that if he had once opened way for his armed ſouldiers to enter into the town, the enemies afterwards would either flee or be M
ſlain, as it falleth out commonly in Cities when they are forced. Howbeit, when part of the wall by the battery of the Ram lay flat along, and the enemies were got over at the breaches & ruins thereof; then began their labour and pains anew, as if they had had no trouble nor toil afore. For the Macedonians in garriſon, who were many in number, and thoſe approved and ſelect ſouldiers, thinking how honourable a ſervice it would be to defend the City by valour and dint of ſword, rather than by the ſtrength of walls, had ranged themſelves in a battell within, ſtrongly marſhalled into many ranks and files cloſe together: and when they perceived the Romans were mounting over the breaches to enter the City, they repelled and beat them back in that place of great diſadvantage, where they had much ado to recover and retire themſelves. The Conſ. hereat was much diſpleaſed, and vexed in himſelf: and making this account, that ſuch a foul foil and diſgrace was not N
only an occaſion of a longer tract of time, before he could force that one City; but alſo materiall and important for the main progreſs and proceeding of the whole war, which commonly dependeth upon the occurrences of light matters and of ſmall moment in the beginning: after he had rid and cleanſed the place which was choaked up with the ruins of the half-broken wall lying there upon heaps, he reared a tower or frame of timber of a huge height to overtop the walls, conſiſting of many ſtories and floors one over another, which contained and carried a mighty number of armed men, and drave the ſame upon wheels and rollers cloſe to the wall. Moreover he ſent out certain enſigns one after another by turns, to break through by force (if it were poſſible) that ſtrong and cloſe battaillon of the Macedonians (which they themſelves call *Phalanx*.) But the place being ſo ſtreight (for that the breach of the wall was nothing broad) O
the enemies had the vantage both in regard of the weapons which they uſed, and of the form of battell wherein they were ranged. For when the Macedonians ſtanding cloſe one to another with a continued roof or fence of targets over their heads, oppoſed their pikes before them which were of an exceeding length: the Romans neither with their darts could hurt them afar off, nor with their ſwords drawn come near them to fight cloſe at hand, or cut their pikes in two: and if it chanced that they whipt off or ſnapt any aſunder, yet the ſteel and truncheon

thereof

A thereof being ſharp ſtill at the point (headleſs though it were) among the other pikes that were headed, ſerved to make a fence as it were an hay or pallaiſade. Over and beſides that part of the wal that ſtood whole and ſound ſtill, was a ſure defence unto both flanks of the enemies: neither had the Romans any room at length to return, and from thence to fetch their beir, and ſo give a violent charge, which is the thing that uſually breaketh and diſordereth ranks. Moreover, there chanced one thing by meer fortune that encouraged them within: for as the tower aforeſaid was in driving over a terraſs or bank whereof the floor was not faſt and ſoundly hardned with the rammer, one of the wheels hapned to ſink in and make a deep rout in the ground, whereby the whole frame nodded ſo forward that the enemies without thought verily it was ready to fall, and the armed ſouldiers ſtanding upon it within, quaked for fear, and were put well-near beſides their wits.
B Thus when nothing that was provided might avail and come to any great effect, the Conſul was vexed at the heart, to ſee himſelf ſo over-matched in ſouldiers, in armour, and in manner of ſervice; and withall he conſidered, that he had no help to force the City and to win it in any ſhort time, nor could make means to paſs the winter in thoſe parts ſo far from ſea, and left naked already and waſte by thoſe calamities that follow wars. Whereupon he raiſed the ſiege: and becauſe there was no haven in all the tract and coaſt of *Acarnania* and *Ætolia*, which was able both to receive and harbour all his hulks that brought victuals for his army, and alſo to yield winter lodging for his legions; he thought upon the Iſle *Anticyra* within the country of *Phocis*; which lying toward the gulph of *Corinth*, ſeemed to him moſt fit and commodious for his purpoſe; becauſe they ſhould not remove far from *Theſſaly*, and the territories belonging to the enemies ha-
C ving beſides *Peloponneſus* affront even over againſt them, divided but by a ſmall arm of the ſea: at their back *Ætolia* and *Acarnania*: and of each ſide *Locris* and *Bœotia*. At the firſt aſſault, the Conſul without any reſiſtance won *Panopea* in *Phocis*. *Anticyra* likewiſe long endured not the ſiege. Then *Ambryſus* and *Hyampolis* were received by compoſition. *Daulis* by reaſon that it was ſituate upon an high hill could neither be ſcaled nor forced by inſtruments and engins of battery. But the Romans by lancing their darts and ſhooting arrows againſt them that were in guard, trained them forth to skirmiſh; and after ſome light ſcufflings to no effect, whiles one while they ſeemed to flie, and other whiles to purſue, they brought them to be ſo careleſs, ſo negligent and ſo little reſpective, that when the enemies fled back within the gate, they entred pell-mell with them, and ſo were Maſters of the town. Other ſmall forts likewiſe of *Phocis* yielded rather
D for fear than any force offered unto them. *Elatia* kept their gates ſhut, and made a countenance, that unleſs they were driven thereunto, they would receive within their walls neither Roman captain nor army.

¶ Whiles the Conſul lay at the ſiege before *Elatia*, there was preſented unto him the hope of a greater matter, namely, of withdrawing the nation of the *Achæ* from the Kings alliance to the amity of the Romans. For they had expelled and baniſhed *Cycliadas* the chief of that faction that ſided with *Philip*: and *Ariſthenus* who friended the Romans and ſought to be confedered with them, was Prætor for the time.

Now the Roman Armado, together with *Attalus* and the Rhodians, rode at anchor in the haven of *Cenchreæ*, and they all were agreed in common to aſſail *Corinth*. But the Conſul thought
E good, before that they ſhould put that deſignment in action, to ſend Embaſſadors to the State of *Achaia*, promiſing, if they would revold from the King and turn to them, to deliver *Corinth* into their hands, for to be incorporate into the ancient league and councill of their nation. And ſo by the advice of the Conſul, there were Embaſſadors addreſſed to the Achæans from his brother *L. Quintius*, from *Attalus*, the Rhodians and the Athenians. And at **Sicyone* was there a Councill and Diet held, for to give them audience. Now the Achæans were not all of one mind and alike affected. The Athenians (a dangerous, an ordinary, and continuall enemy of theirs) put them in fear of one ſide: the Romans they had in dread and horrour of another. To the Macedonians they were obliged and bound by many good turns and favours, as well old as new. The K. himſelf they held in jealouſie for his cruelty and treachery: and caſting a proof and conjecture by thoſe
F courſes which he then took, and by his practices for the time, they foreſaw well that after the war ended he would be intollerable and a very tyrant over them. They were beſides not only ignorant, what every man had ſaid in the ſeverall councels of every particular State, and in the generall Diets of the whole nation, when they were required to deliver their opinions; but alſo uncertain and unreſolute among themſelves in their own minds what to will or wiſh. Unto men thus doubtfully diſpoſed and unſetled, the Embaſſadors aboveſaid were admitted, and licenſe was given them to deliver their meſſage. Firſt, the Roman Embaſſador *L. Calphurnius*; after him, thoſe that were for King *Attalus*: and in the third place, the Rhodians ſpake and made diſcourſe: and conſequently, the Embaſſadors of *Philip* were permitted to parl. The Athenians had audience given them laſt of all, and were reſerved of purpoſe to confute whatſoever ſhould be ſpoken
G and alledged by the Macedonians. And theſe Athenians inveighed moſt ſharply and bitterly againſt the King, for none had received either more wrongs, or ſuffered the like indignities at his hands as they had. So this aſſembly verily for that time (by reaſon that the day was ſpent in hearing the continued orations of ſo many Embaſſadors) brake up about ſun-ſetting. The morrow after they aſſembled again: where the Magiſtrates by the voice of the Beadle or publike crier (after the cuſtome of the Greeks) gave liberty to every perſon to deliver his mind, and no man ſtepped forth. Great ſilence there was, and not a word among them for a long time, looking wiſtly

* *Baſilica.*

with ly one upon another who ſhould begin firſt. And no marvell if they whoſe ſpirits were aſto- H
nied in ſome ſort within them, when they of their own accord caſt and toſſed in their minds
things ſo different and contrary, were now more troubled and perplexed by thoſe orations beſides
that had laſted all the long day, broaching, uttering, & adviſing many matters ſo harſh, ſo difficult,
and unpleaſant unto them. At length, becauſe the Councill ſhould not be diſſolved without ſome
The Oration of *Ariſthenus*. ſpeech and parl, *Ariſthenus* the Prætor of the Achæans began to ſpeak, and ſaid: "What is be-
"come (my Maſters of *Achæa*) of thoſe hearts of yours and couragious ſtomacks, whereby at all
"your feaſts and in your private meetings (when talk is miniſtred of *Philip* and the Romans) you
"can hardly hold your hands, but are ready to fly one in anothers face? And now, when as this
"honourable Court of Parliament is publiſhed & holden for the ſame purpoſe only; when ye have
"heard the reaſons & allegations of the Embaſſadors of all parts; when the Magiſtrats propound I
"the matter to be debated in council; when the publike crier calleth you to give your opinions, ye
"are mum and mute? If the regard of the common good and welfare of us all, will not cauſe you
"to open your lips; cannot the private reſpects and affections neither (which have enclined and
"carried your minds to the one ſide or the other) fetch out a word from any of your mouths?
"Conſidering eſpecially, that no man is ſo groſs and blockiſh, who can be ignorant that now is
"the very time or never for each one to ſay and deliver his mind as he will himſelf, and as he thin-
"keth beſt, before we reſolve and determine of any courſe: and when a decree or act is once paſ-
"ſed, that all men are bound (even they themſelves that before miſliked it) to defend and main-
"tain the ſame, as a good and profitable accord. This admonition of the Prætor was ſo far ſhort
of drawing any one of them to utter his opinion, that it cauſed not ſo much as the leaſt noiſe or K
humming in ſo frequent an auditory and congregation of ſo many States together. Then *Ariſthe-
nus* the Prætor began again and followed his ſpeech in this manner. "It ſeemeth (my Maſters
"and friends of *Achæa* here aſſembled) that ye are not ſo much to ſeek for counſell and advice,
"but ye are as ſhort of your tongues and loath to ſpeak. And every one here is unwilling to pro-
"vide for their generall good for fear leaſt he ſhould incur ſome particular perill. My ſelf likewiſe
"peradventure would be ſilent and hold my peace if I were a private perſon: But now being Præ-
"tor, I ſee thus much, That either there ſhould have no audience at all been given unto the Em-
"baſſadors, or elſe, that they ought not to be ſent away from hence without an anſwer: and an-
"ſwer them how can I without your ordinance? now ſeeing that there is none of you all, who
"have been ſummoned hither to this Councill, that either will or dare ſay a word to the cauſe: L
"let us examine throughly and conſider well in lieu of your opinions, thoſe ſpeeches which ye-
"ſterday were pronounced by the Embaſſadors: let us (I ſay) reviſe them ſo, as if they had not de-
"manded thoſe things which concerned their own good and commodity, but as though they pro-
"poſed ſuch points they eſteemed profitable and expedient for us all. The Romans, the Rhodi-
"ans, and King *Attalus* require our alliance and amity: and in that war which they wage againſt
"*Philip* they think it reaſon to be aided from us. *Philip* again putteth us in mind of our ſociety
"with him and of our oath. One while he requireth us to ſtand and band with him: otherwhiles,
"he ſaith he will be content that we ſhould ſit ſtill, and meddle neither one way nor other. Is
"there no man here knoweth the reaſon, why they that are not yet our allies demand and crave
"more than he that is our ally already? It is neither the modeſty of *Philip*, nor the impudency of M
"the Romans that is the cauſe hereof. The ports and haven-towns they be of *Achæa*, which mi-
"niſter confidence and aſſurance to thoſe demanders, and take away the ſame from them again.
"From *Philip* we ſee nothing but only an Embaſſador. The ſea-forces of the Romans and their
"fleet, ride in the harbor of *Cenchreæ*: they carry afore them in ſhew the ſpoiles of the Cities in
"* *Eubœa*. The Conſul himſelf with his land-army of the legions we ſee diſjoyned from us by a
* Negropont. "ſmall arm only of the ſea, ranging at their pleaſure all over *Phocis* and *Locris*. Marvell now lon-
"ger if you can, why *Cleomedon* the Embaſſador of *Philip* demanded erewhile ſo coldly and diffi-
"dently, that we ſhould take arms for the King againſt the Romans: who, if we by vertue of the
"ſame league and oath, wherewith he ſeemed to charge us in conſcience, required of him again,
"that *Philip* ſhould defend us both from *Nabis* and the Lacedæmonians, and alſo from the Ro- N
"mans; would be to ſeek not only of a garriſon and power of armed men to ſhield us, but like-
"wiſe of a very anſwer to ſhape us. And verily he would be no more ready to ſatisfie us, than
"*Philip* was himſelf the laſt year: who notwithſtanding he frankly promiſed to levy war againſt
"*Nabis* & thereby aſſaied to train and draw the flower of our youth from hence into *Eubœa*; af-
"ter that he ſaw once that we neither agreed to ſend him that power, nor yet were willing to en-
"tangle our ſelves & be intereſſed in the Roman war, forgot ſoon that ſociety that now he ſtan-
"deth and vanteth ſo much of, and left us to the mercy and devotion of *Nabis* and the Lacedæ-
"monians, to be ſpoiled pilled, & waſted at their pleaſures. And ſurely ſo much as I can conceive
"of *Cleomedon* his Oration me thinks it hangeth not well together, and one peece thereof ſorteth
"not well with another. He ſeemeth to ſpeak of the Roman war contemptuouſly, as if it were a O
"matter of nothing; ſaying the event & iſſue thereof would be like the former, which they main-
"tained with *Philip*. How is it then, that he keepeth himſelf away, and in his abſence demandeth
"our help rather than with his perſonall preſence protecteth us both from *Nabis* & the Romans?
"Us, I ſay, his ancient allies? But what ſpeak I of us? Why hath he ſuffered them ſo to force and
"win *Eretria* and *Caryſtum*? Why endured he, that ſo many Cities of *Theſſaly* ſhould be loſt?
"How could he abide *Locris* and *Phocis* to be over-run ſo as they are? And *Elatia* now at this

day

A "day ſo ſtreightly beſieged, and hotly aſſaulted? Why quit he the ſtreights of *Epirus*, and aban-
"doned thoſe impregnable holds upon the River *Aous*, by force, for fear, of his own accord, or
"howſoever? and when he had forgone and diſſeiſed himſelf of that paſs which he held, why re-
"tired he into the inland parts of his realm for his ſafety? If willingly and of his own accord he
"abandoned ſo many of his allies, and left them to be ſpoiled and ranſacked by the enemy, what
"can he alledge or ſay for himſelf, why thoſe allies aforeſaid may not provide for themſelves the
"beſt they can? If for fear, let him pardon us likewiſe, if we be afraid. But if he were vanquiſhed
"by force of arms, and therefore retired back, ſhall we, good *Cleomenes*, ſuſtain and endure the
"Roman puiſſance and their mighty armies, againſt which ye Macedonians were not able to
"ſtand? Or, would you have us to believe you, that bear us in hand, how the Roman war not at
B "this preſent, either with greater numbers or ſtronger forces than they have done heretofore,
"rather than truſt our own eyes, and that which daily we ſee before our faces? In thoſe daies
"they ſuccoured the Ætolians with their navy, and warred neither under the conduct, nor with
"the army of a Conſul. The maritime Cities of the confederats of *Philip*, were then in trouble
"and tumult: but all the mediteranean parts within the continent, were ſo ſecure and fortified
"from the Roman forces, that *Philip* ſpoiled and forraged the Ætolians, imploring and ſeeking
"for help of the Romans, but all in vain. But now at this day the Romans having finiſhed the
"Carthaginian war, which for ſixteen years ſpace they ſupported in the very heart and bowels of
"*Italy*, have not ſent a garriſon to ſuccour and maintain the Ætolians in their wars, but are come
"themſelves, as leaders and commanders General, and by Land and Sea at once have warred up-
C "on *Macedony*. And this is the third Conſul of theirs, who at this preſent maintaineth mortal
"war upon it, to the uttermoſt of his power. *Sulpitius* hath encountred the King in the midſt
"of *Macedony*, bidden him battel, diſcomfited and put him to flight, after he had laid waſt and de-
"ſolat the wealthieſt quarter of all his Kingdom. *Quintius* lately hath driven him out of camp
"and field, notwithſtanding he were poſſeſſed of the ſtreight avenues of *Epirus*, and bare himſelf
"boldly and confidently upon the natural ſituation of the ground, of his ſtrong defences, and force
"of a complete army: and having purſued him as he fled into *Theſſaly*, hath taken the garriſon
"Towns of the King, and in manner within his own ſight, won by mere force his confederate Ci-
"ties. Suppoſe and ſay, that all thoſe things which the Athenians erewhile have alledged con-
"cerning the cruelty, the avarice, and unbridled luſt of the King, be not true, but ſuppoſed ſlan-
D "ders; admit that thoſe enormities and wicked parts committed within the Attick land, againſt
"the Gods of Heaven above, of the infernal ſpirits beneath, touch not us at all, and are much leſs
"pertinent, than thoſe outrages which the Elæuntii and the Abydens, ſo far remote from us, have
"endured. Forget we our ſelves, if ye will, the hurts, the wounds, and loſſes that we have recei-
"ved, the murders, the pilling and rifling of the goods of *Meſſena* in the midſt of * *Peloponneſus*. *Morta.
"Likewiſe, how his friend and hoſt *Garitenes* at *Cyparifſia*, was killed againſt all Law of God and
"man, even in a manner ſitting at the board with meat in his mouth. Say we nothing alſo of
"*Attalus* the father and ſon, both Sicyonians, who were cruelly maſſacred, and yet he was wont to
E "call the ſilly and wretched old man, Father. Alſo forbear we to ſpeak of the ſons wife, who was
"carried away into *Macedony*, to make her his harlot and concubine, and to abuſe her at his plea-
"ſure. Let other rapes of virgins, forcings of honorable dames be forgotten: let us imagine that
"we have nothing to do, nor to meddle with *Philip*, for fear of whoſe cruelty ye were all ſo mute,
"and could not open your mouth. For what other cauſe of ſilence had ye, being called hither to
"this counſel? Let us put the caſe, that we were to debate the matter with *Antigonus*, that moſt
"mild and juſt Prince, at whoſe gracious hands we have received ſo many favours and pleaſures
"above all other Kings: would he demand, think ye, that we ſhould do that which poſſibly then
"could not be done? *Peloponneſus* is a demy Iſland, joined to the firm continent and main land, by
"the narrow ſtreight or bank of *Iſthmus*, lying open and expoſed to nothing more than to Sea-
"forces. If one hundred covert and decked ſhips with hatches, and fifty lighter veſſels which are
"open, together with thirty Brigantins or foiſts of *Iſſa*, ſhould come to pill and ſpoil our ſea coaſts,
F "and begin to aſſail our Towns and Cities that lie open upon the River, even on the very ſtrand
"and Seabanks; ſhould we retire our ſelves, think ye, into our Cities within the Land? Why?
"what elſe? As though we were not already afflicted and plagued with inteſtine war, which ſtic-
"keth even within our ribs and bowels? When *Nabis* and the Lacedemonians by land, the Ro-
"man navy by Sea ſhall lie upon us, to do us all annoy, how ſhould I call upon the Kings ſociety,
"or for the help of the Macedonians? Or ſhall we of our ſelves, by our own ſtrength and means
"ſave our Cities which ſhall be aſſaulted againſt the puiſſance and power of the Romans? For in
"the former war we bravely defended (did we not?) the City of *Dyma*. We have examples e-
"nough of the fearful calamities and loſſes of others, that we need not to make our ſelves examples
"unto others. Take heed (I beſeech you) how you ſet light and diſdain, that the Romans have
G "of their own motive offered their friendſhip and alliance, which indeed ye were to wiſh for,
"and ſeek all that ever ye could. It is for very fear (no doubt) that they are driven, being in a
"ſtrange land to flie unto you for your alliance, becauſe they would gladly ſhroud themſelves un-
"der the ſhadow of your wings, be harboured within your havens, and ſuſtained by your victual
"and proviſion. No, no, Lords they are firſt of the ſeas who can deny it? there is not a land they
"ſet foot into, but immediatly it is their own, and in ſubjection unto them: whatſoever they ſeem
"to requeſt, they can command if they liſt. And becauſe they are willing to ſpare and forbear you,

with y one upon another who ſhould begin firſt. And no marvell if they whoſe ſpirits were aſtonied in ſome ſort within them, when they of their own accord caſt and toſſed in their minds things ſo different and contrary, were now more troubled and perplexed by thoſe orations beſides that had laſted all the long day, broaching, uttering, & adviſing many matters ſo harſh, ſo difficule, and unpleaſant unto them. At length, becauſe the Councill ſhould not be diſſolved without ſome ſpeech and parl, *Ariſthenus* the Prætor of the Achæans began to ſpeak, and ſaid: "What is become (my Maſters of *Achæa*) of thoſe hearts of yours and couragious ſtomacks, whereby at all "your feaſts and in your private meetings (when talk is miniſtred of *Philip* and the Romans) you "can hardly hold your hands, but are ready to fly one in anothers face? And now, when as this "honourable Cour of Parliament is publiſhed & holden for the ſame purpoſe only; when ye have "heard the reaſons & allegations of the Embaſſadors of all parts; when the Magiſtrats propound I "the matter to be debated in council; when the publike crier calleth you to give your opinions, ye "are mum and mute? If the regard of the common good and welfare of us all, will not cauſe you "to open your lips; cannot the private reſpects and affections neither (which have enclined and "carried your minds to the one ſide or the other) fetch out a word from any of your mouths? "Conſidering eſpecially, that no man is ſo groſs and blockiſh, who can be ignorant that now is "the very time or never for each one to ſay and deliver his mind as he will himſelf, and as he thin- "keth beſt, before we reſolve and determine of any courſe: and when a decree or act is once paſ- "ſed, that all men are bound (even they themſelves that before miſliked it) to defend and main- "tain the ſame, as a good and profitable accord. This admonition of the Prætor was ſo far ſhort of drawing any one of them to utter his opinion, that it cauſed not ſo much as the leaſt noiſe or humming in ſo frequent an auditory and congregation of ſo many States together. Then *Ariſthenus* the Prætor began again and followed his ſpeech in this manner. "It ſeemeth (my Maſters "and friends of *Achæa* here aſſembled) that ye are not ſo much to ſeek for counſell and advice, "but ye are as ſhort of your tongues and loath to ſpeak. And every one here is unwilling to pro- "vide for their generall good for fear leaſt he ſhould incur ſome particular perill. My ſelf likewiſe "peradventure would be ſilent and hold my peace if I were a private perſon: But now being Præ- "tor, I ſee thus much, That either there ſhould have no audience at all been given unto the Em- "baſſadors, or elſe, that they ought not to be ſent away from hence without an anſwer: and an- "ſwer them how can I without your ordinance? now ſeeing that there is none of you all, who "have been ſummoned hither to this Councill, that either will or dare ſay a word to the cauſe: "let us examine throughly and conſider well in lieu of your opinions, thoſe ſpeeches which ye- "ſterday were pronounced by the Embaſſadors: let us (I ſay) reviſe them ſo, as if they had not de- "manded thoſe things which concerned their own good and commodity, but as though they pro- "poſed ſuch points they eſteemed profitable and expedient for us all. The Romans, the Rhodi- "ans, and King *Attalus* require our alliance and amity: and in that war which they wage againſt "*Philip* they think it reaſon to be aided from us. *Philip* again putteth us in mind of our ſociety "with him and of our oath. One while he requireth us to ſtand and band with him: otherwhiles, "he ſaith he will be content that we ſhould ſit ſtill, and meddle neither one way nor other. Is "there no man here knoweth the reaſon, why they that are not yet our allies demand and crave "more than he that is our ally already? It is neither the modeſty of *Philip*, nor the impudency of "the Romans that is the cauſe hereof. The ports and haven-towns they be of *Achæa*, which mi- "niſter confidence and aſſurance to thoſe demanders, and take away the ſame from them again. "From *Philip* we ſee nothing but only an Embaſſador. The ſea-forces of the Romans and their "fleet, ride in the harbor of *Cenchreæ*: they carry afore them in ſhew the ſpoiles of the Cities in "* *Eubœa*. The Conſul himſelf with his land-army of the legions we ſee diſjoyned from us by a "ſmall arm only of the ſea, ranging at their pleaſure all over *Phocis* and *Locris*. Marvell now lon- "ger if you can, why *Cleomedon* the Embaſſador of *Philip* demanded erewhile ſo coldly and diffi- "dently, that we ſhould take arms for the King againſt the Romans: who, if we by vertue of the "ſame league and oath, wherewith he ſeemed to charge us in conſcience, required of him again, "that *Philip* ſhould defend us both from *Nabis* and the Lacedæmonians, and alſo from the Ro- "mans; would be to ſeek not only of a garriſon and power of armed men to ſhield us, but like- "wiſe of a very anſwer to ſhape us. And verily he would be no more ready to ſatisfie us, than "*Philip* was himſelf the laſt year; who notwithſtanding he frankly promiſed to levy war againſt "*Nabis* & thereby aſſaied to train and draw the flower of our youth from hence into *Eubœa*; af- "ter that he ſaw once that we neither agreed to ſend him that power, nor yet were willing to en- "tangle our ſelves & be intereſſed in the Roman war, forgot ſoon that ſociety that now he ſtan- "deth and vanteth ſo much of, and left us to the mercy and devotion of *Nabis* and the Lacedæ- "monians, to be ſpoiled pilled, & waſted at their pleaſures. And ſurely ſo much as I can conceive "of *Cleomedon* his Oration me thinks it hangeth not well together, and one peece thereof ſorteth "not well with another. He ſeemeth to ſpeak of the Roman war contemptuouſly, as if it were a "matter of nothing; ſaying the event & iſſue thereof would be like the former, which they main- "tained with *Philip*. How is it then, that he keepeth himſelf away, and in his abſence demandeth "our help rather than with his perſonall preſence protecteth us both from *Nabis* & the Romans? "Us, I ſay, his ancient allies? But what ſpeak I of us? Why hath he ſuffered them ſo to force and "win *Eretria* and *Caryſtum*? Why endured he, that ſo many Cities of *Theſſaly* ſhould be loſt? "How could he abide *Locris* and *Phocis* to be over-run ſo as they are? And *Elatia* now at this day

The Oration of *Ariſthenus*.

* *Negropont.*

A "day ſo ſtreightly beſieged, and hotly aſſaulted? Why quit he the ſtreights of *Epirus*, and aban-
"doned thoſe impregnable holds upon the River *Aous*, by force, for fear, of his own accord, or
"howſoever? and when he had forgone and diſſeiſed himſelf of that paſs which he held, why re-
"tired he into the inland parts of his realm for his ſafety? If willingly and of his own accord he
"abandoned ſo many of his allies, and left them to be ſpoiled and ranſacked by the enemy, what
"can he alledge or ſay for himſelf, why thoſe allies aforelaid may not provide for themſelves the
"beſt they can? If for fear, let him pardon us likewiſe, if we be afraid. But if he were vanquiſhed
"by force of arms, and therefore retired back, ſhall we, good *Cleomenes*, ſuſtain and endure the
"Roman puiſſance and their mighty armies, againſt which ye Macedonians were not able to
"ſtand? Or, would you have us to believe you, that bear us in hand, how the Roman war now at
B "this preſent, either with greater numbers or ſtronger forces than they have done heretofore,
"rather than truſt our own eyes, and that which daily we ſee before our faces? In thoſe daies
"they ſuccoured the Ætolians with their navy, and warred neither under the conduct, nor with
"the army of a Conſul. The maritime Cities of the confederats of *Philip*, were then in trouble
"and tumult: but all the mediteranean parts within the continent, were ſo ſecure and fortified
"from the Roman forces, that *Philip* ſpoiled and forraged the Ætolians, imploring and ſeeking
"for help of the Romans, but all in vain. But now at this day the Romans having finiſhed the
"Carthaginian war, which for ſixteen years ſpace they ſupported in the very heart and bowels of
"*Italy*, have not ſent a garriſon to ſuccour and maintain the Ætolians in their wars, but are come
"themſelves, as leaders and commanders General, and by Land and Sea at once have warred up-
C "on *Macedony*. And this is the third Conſul of theirs, who at this preſent maintaineth mortal
"war upon it, to the uttermoſt of his power. *Sulpitius* hath encountred the King in the midſt
"of *Macedony*, bidden him battel, diſcomfited and put him to flight, after he had laid waſt and de-
"ſolat the wealthieſt quarter of all his Kingdom. *Quintius* lately hath driven him out of camp
"and field, notwithſtanding he were poſſeſſed of the ſtreight avenues of *Epirus*, and bare himſelf
"boldly and confidently upon the natural ſituation of the ground, of his ſtrong defences, and force
"of a complete army: and having purſued him as he fled into *Theſſaly*, hath taken the garriſon
"Towns of the King, and in manner within his own ſight, won by mere force his confederate Ci-
"ties. Suppoſe and ſay, that all thoſe things which the Athenians erewhile have alledged con-
"cerning the cruelty, the avarice, and unbridled luſt of the King, be not true, but ſuppoſed ſlan-
D "ders; admit that thoſe enormities and wicked parts committed within the Attick land, againſt
"the Gods of Heaven above, of the infernal ſpirits beneath, touch not us at all, and are much leſs
"pertinent, than thoſe outrages which the Elæuntii and the Abydens, ſo far remote from us, have
"endured. Forget we our ſelves, if ye will, the hurts, the wounds, and loſſes that we have recei-
"ved, the murders, the pilling and rifling of the goods of *Meſſena* in the midſt of * *Peloponneſus*. * *Morta.*
"Likewiſe, how his friend and hoſt *Garitenes* at *Cypariſſia*, was killed againſt all Law of God and
"man, even in a manner ſitting at the board with meat in his mouth. Say we nothing alſo of
"*Attalus* the father and ſon, both Sicyonians, who were cruelly maſſacred, and yet he was wont to
"call the ſilly and wretched old man, Father. Alſo forbear we to ſpeak of the ſons wife, who was
"carried away into *Macedony*, to make her his harlot and concubine, and to abuſe her at his plea-
E "ſure. Let other rapes of virgins, forcings of honorable dames be forgotten: let us imagine that
"we have nothing to do, nor to meddle with *Philip*, for fear of whoſe cruelty ye were all ſo mute,
"and could not open your mouth. For what other cauſe of ſilence had ye, being called hither to
"this counſel? Let us put the caſe, that we were to debate the matter with *Antigonus*, that moſt
"mild and juſt Prince, at whoſe gracious hands we have received ſo many favours and pleaſures
"above all other Kings: would he demand, think ye, that we ſhould do that which poſſibly then
"could not be done? *Peloponneſus* is a demy Iſland, joined to the firm continent and main land, by
"the narrow ſtreight or bank of *Iſthmus*, lying open and expoſed to nothing more than to Sea-
"forces. If one hundred covert and decked ſhips with hatches, and fifty lighter veſſels which are
"open, together with thirty Brigantins or foiſts of *Iſſa*, ſhould come to pill and ſpoil our ſea coaſts,
F "and begin to aſſail our Towns and Cities that lie open upon the River, even on the very ſtrand
"and Sea banks; ſhould we retire our ſelves, think ye, into our Cities within the Land? Why?
"what elſe? As though we were not already afflicted and plagued with inteſtine war, which ſtic-
"keth even within our ribs and bowels? When *Nabis* and the Lacedemonians by land, the Ro-
"man navy by Sea ſhall lie upon us, to do us all annoy, how ſhould I call upon the Kings ſociety,
"or for the help of the Macedonians? Or ſhall we of our ſelves, by our own ſtrength and means
"ſave our Cities which ſhall be aſſaulted againſt the puiſſance and power of the Romans? For in
"the former war we bravely defended (did we not?) the City of *Dyma*. We have examples e-
"nough of the fearful calamities and loſſes of others, that we need not to make our ſelves examples
"unto others. Take heed (I beſeech you) how you ſet light and diſdain that the Romans have
G "of their own motive offered their friendſhip and alliance, which indeed ye were to wiſh for,
"and ſeek all that ever ye could. It is for very fear (no doubt) that they are driven, being in a
"ſtrange land to flie unto you for your alliance, becauſe they would gladly ſhroud themſelves un-
"der the ſhadow of your wings, be harboured within your havens, and ſuſtained by your victual
"and proviſion. No, no, Lords they are firſt of the ſeas who can deny it? there is not a land they
"ſet foot into, but immediatly it is their own, and in ſubjection unto them: whatſoever they ſeem
"to requeſt, they can command if they liſt. And becauſe they are willing to ſpare and forbear you,

" therefore it is that they ſuffer you not to enter into any action that might be cauſe of your ruin H
" and overthrow. For whereas *Cleomedon* erewhile ſeemed to ſhew and lay before you a mean and
" indifferent courſe, and that forſooth, which ſhould be the ſafeſt way that you could take, name-
" ly, to enter into no arms at all, to ſit ſtil and ſleep in a whole skin; that, I ſay, is no middle way, no,
" nor (to ſpeak truth) any way at all. For beſides this, that ye muſt either accept or refuſe the alli-
" ance with the Romans, what elſe wil become of us, but to be a prey unto the conqueror, having
" loſt the grace and favour both of the one and the other? as men that like neuters, expecting the
" iſſue of the war, frame our deſignments and counſels to the blind direction of fortune. Wel, once
" again I ſay, take heed you think not ſcorn of that which with all your heart you ſhould wiſh &
" pray for, only for that it is tendered and preſented unto you. And never think, that becauſe to
" day you have the choiſe of both in your own hands, therefore ye ſhall ever have the ſame liber- I
" ty hereafter. Occaſions & opportunities are not alwaies the ſame, neither do they continue long.
" All this whiles have ye had a deſire to ſave and free your ſelves from *Philip*, but evermore by
" wiſhes & praiers in ſecret heart, rather than by taking arms in open hand. Now there are thoſe
" which with great armies & armadoes have paſſed the ſeas, who without your pain and peril are
" ready to deliver you from his hands. Theſe men, if ye reject and refuſe for your allies, ye are not
" well in your wits, & have them you muſt either your allies or your enemies, there is no remedy.

After this Oration of the Pretor, there aroſe a muttering and noiſe in the aſſembly, whiles ſome approved and gave aſſent unto that which he ſaid, others rebuked in churliſh wiſe thoſe that accorded. Inſomuch, as they jangled not one with another in particular, but the very States there aſſembled were at variance, yea, and this debate between the Magiſtrates of the whole nation K (whom they call *Demiurgi*, and ten they are in number) was as hotly maintained, as among the multitude. Five of them ſaid, they would propound unto the people, and debate with them in counſel about accepting the alliance of the people of *Rome*, and put it to voices. The other five proteſted, that this was directly againſt a law, in that caſe provided, forbidding expreſly that no Magiſtrats ſhould either propound or determine ought in any Diet, prejudicial to the ſociety and league with *Philip*. Thus was this day alſo ſpent in debating and wrangling, and nothing done. There remained one day yet of a full Diet and Councel, for by law they were to conclude and decree ſomewhat within three dayes at the fartheſt. Againſt that time, the parties were ſo hotly bent one againſt the other, that the fathers could hardly forbear to offer violence to their very children. There was one *Rhiſiaſus* of *Pellenæ*, who had a ſon named *Memnon*, and he was a *Demi-* L
*urgus*, who took part and ſided with them that would not permit the matter to be put to queſtion, and determined by a ſcrutiny of voices. This *Rhiſiaſus* having inſtantly a long time importuned his ſon, and beſought him to ſuffer the Acheans to provide for their weal publick, and not by his peeviſh frowardnes undo the ſtate of the whole nation: when he ſaw once that all his prayers prevailed nothing, he ſware a great oath that he would kill him with his own hands, and not take him for his ſon, but for an errant enemy. By which his menaces, he gained thus much in the end, that content he was the next day to joyn with them that put the matter to queſtion: who now being more in number than the other, made a report and propoſed the cauſe to the aſſembly: and when all the States in manner there met enclined thereto, and approved thereof, ſo as they avowed openly what they would ordain; the Dymæans, Megapolitans, and certain Argives, before M
the decree was enacted, roſe up all at once, and departed out of the aſſembly, and no man either wondred at it, or blamed them for it. As for the Megapolitans, no longer ago than in their grandfires dayes, at what time as they were expelled out of their country by the Lacedemonians, K. *Antigonus* had reſtored them again. The Dymeans being but lately taken priſoners, and ranſacked by the Roman army, *Philip* having given order that they ſhould be redeemed whereſoever they were in ſlavery and bondage, he not only ſet free, but alſo replanted in their own country. The Argives laſt of all, beſides that they are of a ſettled opinion and belief that the Macedonian Kings are deſcended from them, were for the moſt part linked unto *Philip* in the right and regard of privat hoſpitality, and familiar friendſhip. In theſe reſpects, they went out of that aſſembly which inclined to the contract of alliance with the Romans, and were held excuſed for this departure: being thus N
obliged unto *Philip* the adverſe part by great favours and benefits, yea, and thoſe newly received at his hands. All the other States of the Achæans, when they were demanded their opinions, without delay confirmed by their immediat decree, the ſociety with *Attalus* and the Rhodians: but the league with the people of *Rome*, becauſe it could not be ratified and eſtabliſhed without the Act of the people, was referred and put off until the time that Embaſſadors might be ſent unto *Rome*. But for the preſent it was thought good that three Embaſſadors ſhould be addreſſed unto *L. Quintius*, and that all the forces of the Achæans ſhould march toward *Corinth* for that *Quintius* having won the port of *Cenchreæ*, was already at the ſiege and aſſault of that City.

Theſe Achæans encamped themſelves over againſt that gate that openeth toward *Sicyone*: the Romans lay againſt that part of the City which looketh toward *Cenchreæ* and *Attalus* having led O
his army through the narrow ſtreight of *Iſthmus*, aſſailed them of *Lechæus* ſide, which is an haven of the other Sea. At the firſt they made no hot aſſault, hoping that there would be ſome mutiny between the Towns-men and the Kings garriſon. But perceiving they were all of one mind and reſolution, and that both the Macedonians defended the City, as their own native country: and alſo the Corinthians were content to be at the full command and direction of *Androſthenes* the Captain of the garriſon, as well as if he had been their fellow-citizen, and lawfully choſen by

their

A their own election and ſuffrages: then the aſſailants had no other hope but in the violent force of arms and engins. And of all ſides they had raiſed banks and mures, and were come cloſe to the walls, although with hard acceſs thereto. Now had the Ram, from that quarter where the Romans lay, beaten down a good part of the wall. To which breach, becauſe it lay naked without defence, all the Macedonians ran to guard and defend it by ſtrength of arms: where there was a cruel fight between them and the Romans. At the firſt the Romans were ſoon repulſed by means of the great numbers of defendants: but after the ſuccours of the Achæi and *Attalus* came unto them, they received them with equal valour: neither doubted they but to be able with eaſe to drive the Macedonians and the Greeks from their ſtandings, and force them to retreat. But there were within the Town a multitude of Italian fugitives revolted and fled from the Romans: part
B of them, a reſidue left of *Annibal* his army; who having tranſgreſſed the laws, for fear of puniſhment were fled from the Romans, and took part with *Philip*: part alſo were marriners and ſeafaring men, who for hope of more honorable intertainment and ſervice, had abandoned their ſhips, and were gotten into the City of *Corinth*. Theſe fellows paſt all hope of life, if the Romans haply ſhould have the better hand, fared more like mad men than hardy and audacious ſouldiers. Now there is over-againſt *Sicyone* a promontory of *Ionio*, which they call the Cape of *Acræa*, and it runneth into the Sea: from whence the paſſage over to *Corinth* is a cut almoſt of ſeven miles. Thither *Philocles*, a Captain alſo under King *Philip*, had conducted through *Bœotia* 1500 ſouldiers: and certain Brigantins of *Corinth* were there ready to embark that ſupply of aid, and to tranſport them to *Lechæum*. By this time *Attalus* adviſed to ſet on fire the engins and fabricks that they had
C made, and preſently to give over the ſiege. *Quintius* perſiſted yet more obſtinatly in his enterpriſe begun. But he alſo ſeeing the Kings guards ranged and quartered at every gate, and that if they ſhould hap to ſally out, their violence would hardly be ſuſtrained, was of the ſame mind with *Attalus*. So without effecting any thing, the Achæans were diſmiſſed, and the reſt returned to their ſhips, *Attalus* to *Piræum*, the Romans to *Corcyra*.

During this ſervice by Sea forces, the (other) Conſul who lay in camp before *Elatea* in *Phocis*, firſt aſſaied to gain the City by conference and parly with the principal citizens thereof: but after anſwer made, that it lay not in their hands, and that they who were for the King, outwent the Towns-men both in number and ſtrength: then at once from all parts he gave an aſſault unto the City both by force of arms, and alſo by engins of artillery. The Ram was bent againſt the walls,
D and as much thereof beaten down with a mighty craſh and fearful noiſe, as ſtood between the Towers: whereupon the Town was diſmantelled and laid naked, and withal a cohort of Roman ſouldiers entred at the open breach; ſo as from all parts the defendants abandoned their guards, and ran to that place that thus was diſtreſſed by the enemies. And at one inſtant the Romans advanced themſelves over the breach, and ſet up ſcaling ladders againſt the wall which was ſtanding: and whiles the enemies were amuſed wholly, and had their eye only upon that one place where the conflict was, the wall in many parts was ſcaled, and armed ſouldiers mounted into the City. At which ſuddain tumult and alarm, the armed men having quit the place which they guarded with a thick troop fled all into the caſtle for fear; and the unarmed and naked multitude followed after. Thus the Conſul was maſter of the City: which being ranſacked, he ſent unto the Caſtle
E certain meſſengers, promiſing life to as many of the Kings garriſon as would depart away without arms, and offering liberty to the Elatians: and after ſecurity given hereof, within few dayes the Caſtle alſo was rendred into his hands. Moreover, by the arrival of *Philocles* (a commander for the King) in *Achaia*, not *Corinth* only was delivered from ſiege, but the City alſo of the Argives, was by certain of the principal rulers betrayed unto *Philocles*, who before had ſounded and ſollicited the minds and affections of the common people. There was a cuſtome in this City that upon the firſt day of their general aſſemblies, the Pretor ſhould in token of good luck pronounce the names of *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and *Hercules*: and afterwards ordained it was beſides by a law, that the name of *Philip* ſhould make up the fourth. Now after the alliance accorded between them and the Romans it hapned that the beadle or publick cryer left out the name of *Philip*: whereat the mul-
F titude firſt began to mutter and grumble: then aroſe a loud cry of thoſe that put him in mind to name the King, willing him to give him his honor due by law: until at laſt his name was alſo pronounced with great applauſe and conſent. Upon the confidence and aſſurance of this favour *Philocles* was ſent for, who by night ſeiſed upon an hill that commandeth the City, which commonly is called the fort of *Lariſſa*: and having put a garriſon there, the next morning betimes he advanced forward with banner diſplaid, and came down toward the common place lying under the fortreſs aforeſaid: where there encountred him a band of armed men well appointed in order of battail. Theſe were the garriſon of the Achæi lately there placed, to the number of 500 elect men choſen forth of all the States of *Achæa*: and one *Æneſidemus* a Dymean was their commander. Unto him *Philocles* (one of the Kings Captains aforeſaid) addreſſed a ſpecial meſſenger to per-
G ſwade and exhort him to quit the City; giving him to underſtand, That he and his Company were not able to match the Town-men alone, who caried the ſame mind that the Macedonians had done: much leſs then ſhould they ſtand out when the Macedonians were joined unto them; the Macedonians (I ſay) whom the very Romans themſelves could not ſuſtain at *Corinth*. At firſt he did no good either with leader or ſouldier: yea, and when within a while they beheld the Argives alſo marching armed againſt them with a great troop from another part, and ſaw preſent death before their eyes, yet it ſeemed they would have put it to the hazard of a conflict,

and fought to the laſt man, in caſe their Captain would have ſtuck to it, and not relented. But Æneſidemus for fear leſt together with the City, the flour of all the youth of Achæa ſhould periſh, capitulated with Philocles, that they might be permitted to depart and go their way: but himſelf kept his ground ſtill in his armour, with ſome few of his followers and vaſſals, and removed not a foot. Then Philocles ſent out unto him, to demand, What he meant thereby? Unto whom he gave no other words, but holding forth his ſhield before him made anſwer, That armed as he was he would live and die in the guard and defence of that City which was committed to his charge. Then by the commandment of the Captains, the Thracians lanced their darts and ſhot at him, and ſo both he and the company about him were ſlain every one. Thus after the accord of alliance between the Achæans and Romans, two moſt noble and famous Cities (*Argi* and *Corinth*) came under the ſubjection of the King. Theſe were the acts atchieved by the Romans as well by Land as Sea this ſummer.

In *France* there was no exploit performed worth remembrance by *Sext. Ælius* the Conſul, notwithſtanding he had under his government two entire armies: the one that he retained ſtill with him, which by order he ſhould have diſcharged, and was the ſame that had before been commanded by *L. Cornelius* the Pro-conſul, and now by him was committed to the charge of *C. Ælius*: the other, that he brought himſelf with him into the Province. So that he imployed the whole year almoſt in compelling the men of *Cremona* and *Placentia* to return into their Colonies, from whence by ſundry caſualties of war they were chaſed and diſperſed. As *France* that year was in quiet beyond all hope and expectation, ſo about the City of *Rome* there had like to have been a commotion and tumult of bondſlaves. The Carthaginian hoſtages were in guard and kept at *Setia*, where they had attending about them (as meet was for the children of the chief Nobles and Princes of *Carthage*) a mighty train and retinue of ſervants. The number of them was the greater by occaſion of the late African war; during which time and preſently after, the Setins alſo themſelves had bought up many of that nation which were taken captives, and came in port-ſale with the reſt of the prizes. Theſe having conſpired together, ſent out certain of their own company to ſollicite alſo the other ſlaves that were in the territory of *Setia*, and ſo forth, as many as they could find about *Norba* and *Circeii*. Their plot was, that when all things were provided aforehand, they ſhould upon the very day of the ſolemn games and plaies (which ſhortly were to be exhibited and ſet forth in *Setia*) take the opportunity of the time, when as the people were buſy in beholding the ſpectacle and ſhew repreſented unto their eye, and to run upon them: and when they had by maſſacre in this ſuddain hurly-burly poſſeſſed themſelves of *Setia*, then to go forward and ſurpriſe *Norba* and *Circeii*. This horrible complot and conſpiracy was detected, and information given at *Rome* to *L. Cornelius Merula* Pretor at that time of the City. For two bondſlaves early in a morning before day, preſented themſelves unto him, and opened from point to point in order, namely, what had been contrived and done, and what remained yet to do. The Pretor having taken order for their ſafe cuſtody at home within his own houſe, called the Senate together; where, after he had recounted and declared unto them what theſe informers had revealed, he was commanded to go abroad to ſearch out and repreſs this conſpiracy. Forth he marched with five Lieutenants of the camp, and look how many he could meet with in his way all over the fields, villages, and hamlets, he tendred unto them a military oath, and conſtrained them to arm and follow him. Thus in this haſty manner of levy, he armed well neer 2000, and with them all together (who knew not whither he meant to go, nor to what peece of ſervice he led them) to *Setia* he came. At his firſt entrance, he ſuddainly in great haſt apprehended the principal heads of the conſpiracy; whereupon the ſlaves fled out of the Town. Then were ſent out certain into the fields, to trace and to find them out by their tracks. In this buſineſs there were two bondſlaves and one free man that performed ſingular good ſervice. Unto him the LL. of the Senat gave order, that there ſhould be paid 100000 Aſſes in braſs coin: but unto the ſlaves 25000 and their freedom. For the redemption of whom, their maſters were contented their full price out of the Chamber of the City. Not long after, it was reported that the remnant of this conſpiracy purpoſed to ſurpriſe *Preneſte*. Thither marched *L. Cornelius* the Pretor of the City, where he executed about 500 perſons who were found guilty. The City was in great fear to ſee how the hoſtages and captives of the Carthaginians practiſed ſuch troubles. Therefore in *Rome* a ſtanding watch was kept in every ſtreet: and the inferior Magiſtrats were charged to ſee to it and to walk the round, and the Triumvirs likewiſe (or three Sheriffs) to have a better eye and look to the Quarry-priſon. The Pretor alſo directed his letters into all quarters of the Latin nation to this effect, That all the hoſtages ſhould be kept within doors, and not ſuffered to go abroad into the ſtreets: that all captives and priſoners ſhould have gyves about their heels often pound weight at leaſt, and be kept in no other ward but in the common goal.

See the account of the firſt Claſſis, *l.* 1.

The ſame year came Embaſſadors from King *Attalus*, who preſented in the Capitol a golden Crown of 246 pound weight, with great thankſgiving unto the Senate, that King *Antiochus* in regard of the authority and countenance of the Roman Embaſſadors, had withdrawn his forces out of the confines of *Attalus*. The ſame ſummer two hundred men of arms, ten Elephants, and 200000 Modii of wheat ſent from King *Maſaniſſa*, arrived at the camp in *Greece*. Likewiſe out of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, there was ſent great ſtore of victual and liveries for the army. In *Sicily* *M. Marcellus* was L. Governour, and in *Sardinia* *M. Porcius Cato*, an upright man and living without touch and reproach, ſave only he was thought ſomewhat too ſevere in reſtraining of uſury.

88-6 *lib.* Engliſh in angel gold, or thereabout.

A usury. He banished out of that Iland all usurers: he abridged also and cut off clean, the charges which the allies were wont to defray for the entertainment of the Pretor.

*Sex. Ælius* the Consul being returned to *Rome* out of *France* in regard of the general assembly for election of Magistrats, created Consuls *Cn. Cornelius Cethegus* and *Q. Minutius Rufus*. And two daies after, the election was held for Pretors. This year first were chosen six Pretors, by reason that the number of Provinces encreased, and the Roman Empire and Seignory extended farther. And these were they, to wit, *L. Manlius Volso*, *Cn. Sempronius Tuditanus*, *M. Sergius Silus*, *M. Helvius*, *M. Minutius Rufus*, and *L. Acilius*. Of these, *Sempronius* and *Helvius* were Æ- Six Pretors first created.
diles of the Commons: *Q. Minutius Thermus* and *T. Sempronius Longus* Ædiles of the chair. The Roman games this year were four times renewed. *Cn. Cornelius* and *Q. Minutius* being Consuls,
B above all things went in hand with the Provinces of Consuls and Pretors: and first they dispatched those that concerned the Pretors (a matter that might be decided by casting lots.) To *Sergius* fell the jurisdiction of the City, and to *Minutius* the forein, over strangers. *Acilius* was appointed to *Sardinia*, *Manlius* to *Sicily*, *Sempronius* to that part of *Spain* between *Italy* and *Iberus*; and *Helvius* unto the other beyond the River.

When the Consuls were upon the point to cast lots likewise for their provinces; namely, *Italy* and *Macedony*, *L. Oppius*, and *Q. Fulvius* Tribuns of the Commons, interposed themselves and staied them alledging, "That *Macedony* was a province lying far off, and there was no one thing "that had more empeached and hindred the proceeding of wars to that day than this, That in so "remote parts, the Consul ever of the former year was called home before he were setled in his
C "affairs, and when he should be employed most in wars. Now have there four years already "gone over our heads, since we decreed and concluded to follow the Macedonian war; during "which time, *Sulpitius* spent the greater part of his year in seeking after the King and his army; "*Villius*, when he should encounter the enemy, was called away before he had effected any ex- "ploit; as for *Quintius*, he was kept at *Rome* still for the most part of the year, in attendance a- "bout Church-matters and sacrifices: howbeit the affairs of wars under his conduct were ma- "naged so well, that if either he had gone sooner into his province, or the winter had been later, "he might have dispatched the wars there: and now, that he is ready to retire into his standing "camp and wintring harbors, the report is, that he hath brought the war to that good pass and "forwardness, that unless he be not hindred by a new successor, in all likely-hood and apparence,
D "he will make a final end thereof the next summer.

With these speeches they prevailed so much, that the Consuls for their part promised to be ordered and set down by the Senat in this behalf upon condition, that the Tribuns would be content to do the like. Now when of both sides they had referred themselves to a free and absolute consultation the LL. of the Senat assigned to both the Consuls the government of *Italy*, and continued the command of the army still with *T. Quintius*, until there came another to succeed him. Two legions were appointed for the Consul, with commission to war upon the Gauls between *Rome* and the *Alps* who had revolted from the people of *Rome*. And for *Quintius* ordained it was, that there should be sent into *Macedony* unto him, a new supply of 5000 foot, 300 horse, and 3000 sea-servitors and mariners. And likewise, that the same *L. Quintius Flaminius* should be
E Admiral of the navy, as before. For the Pretors who were to go into *Spain*, there was an allowance of 8000 footmen out of the allies of the Latin nation, and 400 horsemen, so that they dismissed the old souldiers out of *Spain*: and enjoined they were to limit and set out the bounds of their several provinces, whereas the higher *Spain* and the lower should part. And for *Macedony* there were two Lieutenants more for the army appointed, to wit, *P. Sulpitius* and *P. Villius*, who had been Consuls both, and in that province.

Before that either Consuls or Pretors went out into their provinces, it was thought good to take order for the prodigious tokens which hapned. For at *Rome* the Temple of *Vulcan* and *Summanus* at *Fregellæ* the wall and a gate of the City, were striken with lightning. At *Frusino* it appeared light (as it had been clear day) in the night season. At *Asculum* a Lamb was yeaned ha-
F ving two heads and five feet. Also at *Formiæ* two wolves entred into the Town, and worried some that were in their way. Last of all, at *Rome* there was a wolf, that not only came into the City, but went forward as far as to the Capitol.

*C. Acilius* a Tribun of the Commons proposed a law, that there should be five Colonies conducted to the Sea side and there planted: two at the mouth of the Rivers *Vulturnus* and *Liternus*, one at * *Puteoli*, another in the Burrough Town of *Salernum*, and to make the fift * *Buxentum* was adjoined to the rest. Into every Colony order was taken, that there should be thirty hou- * Pozzole. * Pisciotta Vi- ce, or Ferolla, Legorio.
sholds sent. The three Commissaries, called Triumvirs, for the conducting of these Colonies were created; namely, *M. Servilius Geminus*, *Q. Minutius Thermus*, and *T. Sempronius Longus*.
These three had commission to continue in the charge of this office three years. After the muster,
G and all other matters accomplished, pertaining to God and man, that were by the Consuls to be performed, then they set forward both, into their provinces. *Cornelius* took his way directly against the Insubrians, who accompanied with the Cenomans, were entred at that time into arms: *Q. Minutius* in his journey bare on the left hand of *Italy* toward the nether sea; and conducting his army to *Genua*, began with the Ligurians to make war. *Clastidium* and *Litubium*, Towns both of the Ligurians, likewise two States of the same nation, the Celelats and the Cerdiciats surrendred unto him; insomuch as all the country on this side the *Po*, were in subjection to the

Romans, except the Boians among the Gauls, and the Illuats among the Ligurians. By report H
there were fifteen Towns containing twenty thousand men, which yeelded unto them. From
thence he led the legions into the territory of the Boians. The army of the Boians had passed over
the *Po* a little before, and joined with the Insubrians and Cænomans: for hearing that the Consuls
would war jointly with both their forces, they intended likewise to make themselves more
strong, by uniting and bringing their power together. But the bruit being blown abroad, that once
of the Consuls invaded and fired the country of the Boians, presently there arose a tumult. For the
Boians demanded, that they all in general would help them in their distress. The Insubrians refu-
sed and said, That they would not abandon their own confines: by which occasion they distan-
ded. The Boians went to the defence of their own country, and the Insubrians with the Cænomans,
sat them down upon the banks of the River *Mincius*. Five miles beneath that place, the Consul I
*Cornelius* also encamped himself neer the said River: from whence he sent certain messengers all
about the villages, and to *Brixia*, the head City of that nation: and being advertised sufficiently
that the youth was up in arms, without the warrant and consent of their ancients; and that the
Cænomans joined not with the Insubrians in their rebellion by vertue of publick counsel and autho-
rity; he sent for the principal persons among them, and began to labour and deal with them, that
the Cænomans would forsake the Insubrians, and openly with their ensigns advanced, either to re-
turn into their own country, or turn to the Romans. This they could not bring them to: howbeit
they assured the Consul, that in the field they would either sit still and do nothing, or else, if any good
opportunity was presented unto them, they would aid the Romans. The Insubrians knew nothing
of this complot: and yet, some doubt and suspition they had, that their allies halted, and were not K
sound of all four: and therefore when there was occasion to lead forth to fight a field, they durst not
trust them with either of the two wings and points of the battel, for fear if they retreated like false
brethren, they should hazard the main chance: but placed them behind the ensigns in the reergard.
The Consul in the beginning of the battel vowed a Temple to *Juno Sospita*, in case he discomfited
the enemies that day, and put them to the rout. The souldiers set up a shout, and cried aloud that
they would bring it to pass that the Consul should have his desire, and therewith charged the ene-
my right fiercely. The Insubrians could not abide the first shock. Some write, that in the very
conflict the Cænomans also suddainly set upon their back, whereby they were distressed and in
danger both before and behind; and that there were slain enclosed in the mids five and thirty thou-
sand of the enemies, and seven hundred taken prisoners, and among them *Amilcar* the General of L
the Carthaginians, who was the cause of this war: also that there were a hundred and thirty en-
signs carried away, and of chariots above two hundred. All the Towns that followed this revolt,
yeelded to the Romans.

*Minutius* the Consul, at the beginning made excursions into the country of the Boians, wasting
and spoiling it all over: but afterwards when they had forsaken the Insubrians, and were retired
home to defend and save their own, he kept himself within camp, making full account to trie a set
battel with the enemy. Neither would the Boians for their part have been behind, but ready to
have answered them, had not the rumor of the Insubrians overthrow, daunted and broken their
hearts. Whereupon they forsook their leader, quit the camp, and bestowed themselves in the
Towns and Villages to guard every man his own, and quite altered the course of their enemy his M
war, and put him besides his account. For the Consul past all hope now to determine the quarrel
in one ranged battel, began again to forrage the fields, burn all buildings, and force Towns by
assault. Much about the same time *Clastidium* was set on fire. And from thence the legions were
conducted against the Illuats among the Ligurians, who only stood out and would not come in, and
yeeld obedience. Which nation likewise hearing that the Insubrians were defeated in a battel, and
that the Boians were so feared, that they durst not venture the fortune of a field, submitted them-
selves. At the same time the letters of the Consuls, containing their happy affairs in *France*, were
brought to *Rome*. *M. Sergius* the Pretor of the City first read them in the Senat, and afterwards
by the advice of the Senate, rehearsed them in a full audience and assembly of the people. And a
procession was decreed for the space of foer dayes. N

Now was winter come, and whiles *T. Quintius* after the winning of *Elatia*, wintred his armies
in divers harbors within *Phocis* and *Locris*, there arose a mutiny in *Opus*. The one faction sent for
the Ætolians their neer neighbours to side with them: and the other for the Romans. The Æto-
lians came first, but the mightier faction would not suffer them to enter in: for having dispatched
a messenger to the Roman General, they held the Town until his coming. The Kings garrison
kept the fortress, neither could they be brought to abandon it either with the menaces of the O-
puntians, or the authority and countenance of the Roman commander. The only let and stay why
it was not immediatly assaulted was this; Because there was come an herald from the King, re-
questing time and place of a parle, which with much ado was granted to the King: not because
*Quintius* of himself was not desirous and wished that he might be thought to have ended this war, O
either by force of arms or conditions of peace; for as yet he knew not whether one of the new
Consuls should be sent to succeed him, or his government continued still unto him (according as
he had given his friends and kinsfolks in charge to bring that about by all the endeavour and means
that he could make:) but he supposed verily, that this parling would be to good purpose for him,
if it might be in his liberty to drive matters unto war if he stayed still, or draw to a peace if he de-
parted home. So upon the strand and shore of the gulf *Malea*, they chose a place neer unto *Nicea*.

Thither

A Thither came the King by water from *Demetrias* with five brigantins or pinnaces, and one ſhip of war with a braſs beak-head. There accompanied him the chief LL. of *Macedony*, and *Cycliadas* a noble perſonage of great mark among the Achæans, and one that was from thence baniſhed. With the Roman General were King *Aminander*, *Dionyſidorus* an Embaſſador of King *Attalus*, and *Ageſimbrotus* Admiral of the Rhodian fleet, *Phaneas* the chief and principal Magiſtrat of the Ætolians, and two Achæans *Ariſthenus* and *Xenophon*. The Roman General in the mids of the c, advanced himſelf forward to the edge of the very ſhore, even to the bank ſide, whiles the King came forward to the foredeck of his ſhip ſtanding at anchor: and thus he began and ſaid unto the King; "Sir, you may do better to come aſhore that we may commune and confer together cloſe, "and both ſpeak and hear one another more eaſily. The King refuſed ſo to do: and why ſo? quoth B "*Quintius*, who is it that you fear, if a man may know? Then with an hauty ſpirit and kinglike: I "fear none (quoth he) but the immortal Gods; but I truſt not the fidelity of all that I ſee here a- "bout you, and namely, the Ætolians leaſt of all other. Why (ſaith *Quintius* again) this is the "common caſe of all them that come to parly with enemies; namely, to be in danger one of ano- "ther. Yea mary, quoth the King, but by your leave *Quintius*, the price and recompence of trea- "chery and falſhood (if it ſhould come to that) is not all one for killing *Philip* and *Phaneas*: for "the Ætolians ſhould not find it ſo hard a matter to ſubſtitute another Pretor, as the Macedonians "to create another King in my room. This ſaid, there was not a word more to the point: while the Roman General thought it reaſon that he ſhould begin who ſought for a parle; and the King ſuppoſed it meet that it was his part to ſpeak firſt who ſhould give conditions, and not for him C that ſtood at receipt, and was to accept thereof. Then *Quintius* began and ſaid, that his ſpeech ſhould be plain and ſimple: for he would ſay no more, but propoſe only thoſe points, which if they might not be performed, there would be no peace upon any condition at all. Firſt, that the King muſt withdraw his garriſons out of all the Cities of *Greece*. *Item*, That he is to deliver up all the priſoners and fugitive revolts that he hath, unto the allies of the people of *Rome*. *Item*, That he reſtore again to the Romans all thoſe pieces in *Illyricum*, which after the peace concluded in *Epirus*, he had ſeized upon. Laſt of all, that he ſurrender unto *Ptolomeus* King of Ægypt, all thoſe Cities which he poſſeſſed himſelf of, after the death of *Ptolome Philopator*. Theſe (ſaith he) are the conditions, that I and the people of *Rome* do demand: but meet it is beſides, that you hear the de- D mands alſo of the allies. Then the Embaſſador or agent for King *Attalus* required, that the ſhips and captives which had been taken in the Sea-fight before *Chius*, ſhould be rendered, and that *Nicephorium* and the Temple of *Venus*, which he had pilled and ſpoiled, ſhould be reſtored as good and entire, as they were before. After him, the Rhodians made claim to *Peræa* (a country in the continent right over-againſt their Iſle, and an ancient appurtenance of their Seignory) and demanded withal, that the garriſons ſhould quit *Iaſſus*, *Bargylla*, and the City of the Euromenſians, and about *Helleſpontus*, likewiſe the Cities of *Seſtos* and *Abydos*. *Item*, that *Panopolis* ſhould be reſtored unto the Bizantins, with the ancient charter of their franchiſes and liberties. Finally, that all the Merchant Towns and Ports in *Aſia* might be freed from paying cuſtome. Then came upon him the Achæi, and challenged *Corinth* and *Argi* as their own. After them, when as *Phaneas* (the Pretor of the Ætolians) had demanded in a manner the ſame that the Romans had before; E namely, that the Kings forces ſhould depart out of *Greece*, adding moreover, that thoſe Cities ſhould be rendred unto the Ætolians which in times paſt belonged to their dominion and juriſdiction: then one of the heads of the Ætolians named *Alexander* an eloquent man among them, as any other, preſently inferred and ſaid; "That he had a long time ſitten ſtill, and opened not his "mouth, not becauſe he thought that in all this conference they would grow to any point or con- "cluſion, but for that he would not interrupt any of his allies in their ſpeech. And as for *Philip*, "quoth he, he dealeth not ſoundly and *bona fide* in treaties of peace, no more than ever heretofore "he hath managed his wars with vertue and true valour. For in all theſe parles and conferences "he layeth trains, and lieth to catch advantages: in war he never ſtriketh a battail in plain field, "nor cometh to cloſe fight hand to hand; but in his retreats and fights, burneth and ſacketh Ci- F "ties: and thus being himſelf vanquiſhed, ſpoileth and maketh havock of that which by right is "the due reward and recompence of conquerors. But the noble Macedonian Kings in old-time, "took no ſuch courſes. Their manner was to fight it out in open field, and to ſpare Cities and "Towns, all that ever poſſibly they could; to the end that their dominion might be more wealthy "and puiſſant. For what kind of policy is it, for him to ruinate and deſtroy utterly that, about the "poſſeſſion whereof he is in queſtion, and reſerve nothing for himſelf but only war? This *Philip* "the year paſt hath laid deſolate in *Theſſalie* more Cities of his allies there, than all the enemies "have done that ever *Theſſalie* had: and hath taken more from the Ætolians themſelves, while "he was a confederate friend with them, than all the time that he was their profeſsed enemy. He "hath ſeized upon *Lyſimachia*, expelled their Pretor, and chaſed out the garriſon of the Ætolians. G *Chios* alſo, a City under his own ſubjection he hath raſed, ſubverted and quite deſtroyed. By ſem- blable falſhood and deceit he is poſſeſſed of * *Thebes* in *Phthia*, *Echinum*, *Larriſſa*, and *Pharſalus*. *Philip* netled and galled at theſe words of *Alexander*, commanded that his ſhip ſhould approach neerer to the bank, to the end that himſelf might be better heard. And as he began to frame bitter invectives againſt the Ætolians principally, *Phaneas* cut him off, ſaying, That the quarrel was not to be decided by word, but with the ſword: and either he muſt win it by mere force, or yeeld obedience to the mightier. That is true, quoth *Philip*, and ſo evident, that a blind man may ſee it; jeſting

* For diſtinction of *Thebes* in Ægypt and other places.

jesting merily at *Phaneas*, who was troubled with a pair of bad eies. And given he was by nature H
to be pleasantly conceited, yea, and fuller of his frumps, I wot than beseemed the Majesty of a
King: so as many times even in treaty of serious matters and of great consequence, he could not
forbear but make himself mery and laugh a good while. " Afterwards he fell to a fit of choler and
" indignation, that the Ætolians should take upon them like Romans to command him out of
" *Greece*, who if they were put to it, were not able upon their knowledge to set down the bounds
" of *Greece* & limit how far it reached. For asmuch as the Agrei, the Apodeotes and Amphilochi,
" which take up a great part of *Ætolia*, are not within *Greece*. And what just cause (quoth he) of
" complaint have they, in that I have not spared some of their allies? Why? even they themselves
" hold this old custome for a law, namely, to permit their youth to take arms and serve against
" their own allies. so they do it without the publick order and warrant from the State: and very I
" often a man may see Ætolians in contrary armies, & come to aid as well the one side as the other.
" As for *Chius* it was not I that forced it; I did no more but aid *Prusias* my friend and ally, in the
" siege and assault thereof. And as touching *Lysimachia*, I defended it against the Thracians: but
" for asmuch as of necessity I was called away from the guard thereof unto this war, the Thraci-
" ans now hold it. Thus much by way of answer to the Ætolians. Now concerning *Attalus* and
" the Rhodians, by right I owe them nothing: for it was not I but they, that began the war.
" Howbeit, for the honor that I bear to the Romans, I will make restitution to the Rhodians of
" *Peræa*, and restore I will to *Attalus* the ships and the captives as many as are forth coming and
" may be found. As for the restitution and making good again of *Nicephorium* and the Temple of
" *Venus*, what answer should I return to them that demand it, but this, that I will endeavour and K
" be at charge of planting new trees (which is the only way and means whereby groves and
" woods that are cut down and fallen, may be recovered again) seeing that ye will needs have it,
" that Kings (forsooth) must commune and reason to and fro about such matters as these. In
" the last place, he framed his speech to answer the Achæans: wherein, first he began with the
" benefits and pleasures that *Antigonus* had done unto that nation; then, of the favours and good
" turns they had received from his own self; and with all he commanded their decrees and edicts
" to be read, containing all kind of honors as well divine as human: adding moreover the late
" and fresh revolt of their army from him: and albeit he inveighed sharply against their disloy-
" alty and treachery, yet he promised to render *Argos* unto them. As for *Corinth*, he would con-
" fer and consult with the Roman General, and demand of him, whether he thought it reason L
" that he should depart from those cities which he wan by arms, and held by right of conquest or
" dispossels himself of those also, which he received from his progenitors as his lawful inheri-
" tance? The Acheans and Ætolians addressed themselves to answer those points; but the sun
was welneer down: whereupon the conference was adjourned until the morrow. *Philip* retired
to the harbor from whence he came, and the Romans with their allies to their camp. The day fol-
lowing, *Quintius* at the time appointed was ready before the City of *Nicea* (for that was thought
a convenient place.) But *Philip* appeared not nor for the space of certain hours came there any
at all from him, not so much as a messenger. Now when they were out of all hope of his repair
thither, behold of a suddain his ships were descried. For himself he said by way of excuse, that
considering how hard, how grievous and intolerable indignities were imposed upon him he had M
employed all that day time until then in consultation, and could not resolve. But it was generally
thought among them all that he had of purpose prolonged the time, and made it so late even to-
ward evening, because the Achæans and Ætolians should have no leisure to answer unto him.
And this opinion of theirs himself confirmed, in that he requested that he alone might parly
with the Roman General himself, and that all others should go aside and absent themselves; to
the end they two might spend and lose no more time in debate and wrangling, but go briefly to
the point, and make an end one way or other. This petition of his would not at first be accepted
by *Quintius*, pretending that he would not have it seen that the allies were excluded out of the
conference. But afterwards upon his importunat suit, by the advise of them all the Roman Ge-
neral together with *Ap. Claudius* a Colonel, when the rest were voided away, advanced forward N
to the bank side: the King with the other two whom he had with him the day before came aland.
There after they had parled in secret together a certain time, they parted. What *Philip* related
unto his company is not certainly known: but *Quintius* made report unto his allies of their con-
ference in this wise: namely, that *Philip* was content to quit the whole coast and tract of *Illyri-
cum*, for the Romans to enter upon. Item, to send back all the traitorous renegats, and as many
captives as were to be found. *Item*, to redeliver unto *Attalus* the ships and the mariners taken
prisoners therein. *Item* to render unto the Rhodians the country of *Peræa*: but in no wise to be
disseised of *Iassus* and *Bargylia*. *Item*, to deliver unto the Ætolians *Pharsalus* and *Larissa* but not
*Thebes* in any case. Last of all, to part not only with *Argos* but with *Corinth* also, for the behoof of
the Achæans. There was not one of them all well pleased a this limitation and setting out of par-
ticular parts, which he would deliver, and which he would not. For in this reckoning & account O
they should be more losers than winners. For unless (say they) he remove his forces and garrisons
out of all *Greece* throughout, he will never cease to give or take occasions of quarrel. As they all
cried out from the whole assembly to this effect, their high voyce was heard of *Philip*, albeit he
stood aloof. Wherupon he requested *Quintius* to refer the whole matter once more unto the next
day; and then certainly without fail, he would either perswade him and his allies and bring them

to

A to his mind, or elſe would come off and ſuffer himſelf to be perſwaded and over-ruled by them. The place of meeting was appointed upon the ſtrand near *Thronium*: and thither they repaired on both parts betimes. There *Philip* firſt and foremoſt, beſought both *Quintius* and all thoſe that were preſent, not to diſturb the hope of peace, but that it might come to ſome effect: and in concluſion, craved time wherein he might ſend his Embaſſadours unto the Senat of *Rome*; aſſuring them, that if he could not obtain peace under thoſe articles abovesaid, he would accept of any other conditions, which it ſhould pleaſe the Senat to put upon him. All the reſt miſliked hereof, ſuppoſing that he ſought for nothing elſe but delayes and tract of time, whiles he might gather his forces together. But *Quintius* inferred again, That well it might ſo be and a truth indeed that they alledged, if it were ſummer time and a ſeaſon fit for war and martial exploits: but now, conſider-
B ing winter was at hand, they could loſe nothing by granting him reſpite to addreſs an embaſſage. For neither (qd. he) will any capitulation and compoſition which we ſhould make with *Philip* ſtand good and firm without the approbation of the Senat: and in this one winter (when of neceſſity we muſt surceaſe from war) it may be known what the Senate by their authority will approve. To this advice the chief of the confederats accorded, and therein reſted. So there was a ceſſation of arms for two moneths granted: in which mean time it was thought good, that each of them likewiſe ſhould diſpatch one Embaſſador to advertiſe the Senate, to take heed they were not over-raught by the ſubtilty and fraud of the King. But provided it was in the covenant of the truce aforeſaid, That incontinently the Kings garriſons ſhould void the territories of *Phocis* and *Locris*. *Quintius* alſo himſelf ſent (together with the Embaſſadors of the allies) *Amynander* King
C of the Athamans; and to make the embaſſage more honourable, *Q. Fabius* (his own wives ſiſters ſon) *Q. Fulvius* and *P. Claudius* accompanied the King.

When they were arrived at *Rome*, the Embaſſadours of the allies had audience given them before thoſe that were ſent from King *Philip*. Moſt of their ſpeeches were ſpent in raiſing againſt the King: but in this one point they moſt of all moved the Senat to give ear unto them, namely, when they deſcribed by demonſtration (as in a map) the ſituation of thoſe countries as well by Land as Sea, that all men might plainly ſee, that if the King might hold in his hands the City *Demetrias* in *Theſſalie*, *Chalcis* in *Euboea*, and *Corinth* in *Achaia*, *Greece* could not poſſibly be at liberty, conſidering that *Philip* himſelf was wont to term them (no leſs truly than tauntingly) The ſhackles and fetters of *Greece*. After them were the Kings Embaſſadors permitted to enter into the Se nat-
D houſe: and having begun to make a long Oration, their ſpeech was cut off with this one brief and ſhort interrogatory, Whether *Philip* would quit thoſe three Cities aforeſaid, or no? Whereunto they made this anſwer, That they had no expreſs warrant in their commiſſion touching that matter by name. So the Kings Embaſſadors were ſent away without concluſion of any peace: and *Quintius* had full authority to determine of war or peace at his pleaſure. Who ſeeing plainly by this, that the Senat was not weary of war, and being himſelf more deſirous of victory than peace, he would never after grant *Philip* any more parlies, but gave him to underſtand, that he would admit no other embaſſage from him, but that which ſhould bring him news of his departure quite out of *Greece*.

*Philip* ſeeing no other way now but that he muſt needs fight and trie the iſſue by a main bat-
E tail, and that he was to gather his forces together from all parts: being perplexed moſt of all for the Cities of *Achaia* (a countrey far remote from him) and yet more careful in regard of *Argi* than *Corinth*; he thought it beſt policy to make it over (as it were upon truſt) into the hands of *Nabis* the tyrant of the Lacedemonians, upon condition, That if he obtained the victory, *Nabis* ſhould deliver it up unto him again; but if ought ſhould come to him but well, then *Nabis* himſelf to have and hold it as his own. Unto *Philocles*, Governor of *Corinth* and *Argi* he diſpatcheth his letters, That he ſhould himſelf in perſon commune with the tyrant above-named about it. *Philocles*, beſides that he came now with a preſent, added moreover of his own head (for the better aſſurance and pawn of amity between the tyrant and the King) That *Philip* would give his daughters in marriage to *Nabis* his ſons. The tyrant refuſed at the firſt to accept of that City,
F unleſs he were ſent for, by a decree of the Argives themſelves to come for to aid the City. But afterwards when he heard ſay, That in a frequent aſſembly there, they not only rejected him, but alſo deteſted and abhorred the very name of a tyrant, as an execrable abhomination; ſuppoſing now that he had a good occaſion and quarrel offered to make a ſpoil of them, he willed *Philocles* to deliver the City unto him when he would. So the tyrant was received into the Town in the night ſeaſon, without the privity and knowledge of any perſon: and by break of day he ſeiſed upon all the higher places. The gates were ſhut, and few of the principal heads in the beginning of the tumult made ſhift to eſcape. Thoſe that were abſent had their houſes ranſacked and their goods pilled: as many as were preſent, had all their gold and ſilver taken from them; beſides, great ſums of money were impoſed upon them to be paid. They that made ſpeed and
G were not long about it, but tendred ready coin, were let go without any outrage or hurt done unto their bodies: but ſuch as were ſuſpected either to hide or keep ought back, were mangled and tortured like bondſlaves. After this, he aſſembled the people together and publiſhed two Laws; the one, for croſſing all debt-books and cancelling obligations: the other, for diviſion of Lands among the people by the poll: two fire-brands to ſerve their turn that ſeek for change and alteration in a State; enough to ſet on fire the Commons againſt the Nobles and chief of a City.

When

When the City of *Argos* was thus brought in ſubjection under *Nabis*, the tyrant never remembring at whoſe hands, nor upon what condition he had received it, ſent Embaſſadors to *Elatia* unto *Quintius*, likewiſe to *Attalus* wintring then in *Ægina*, certifying them, That *Argos* was in his hands and at his devotion; and if *Quintius* would repair thither to parle with him, he doubted not but they two ſhould agree well enough in every point. *Quintius* granted to come thither, to the end, that by this means he might diſfurniſh *Philip* of that garriſon: and he ſent likewiſe to *Attalus*, willing him, that he would depart from *Ægina* and meet him at *Sicyone*: himſelf looſed from *Anticyra*, and with ten Galeaces called Quinqueremes; which (as hap was) *L. Quintius* his brother ſome dayes before had put to ſea out of the wintring harbor of *Corcyra*, croſſed over to *Sicyone*. Now was *Attalus* there already, who making remonſtrance unto *Quintius*, That it became a tyrant to come unto a Roman General, and not a Roman General to go unto a tyrant, induced *Quintius* to condeſcend unto his opinion, and not to enter the City of *Argos*. Not far from the City is a place called *Mycenica*, where they agreed to meet and commune together. *Quintius* came to the place, accompanied with his brother and certain Colonels. *Attalus* was guarded with his Princely and Royal train. *Nicoſtratus* the Prætor of the Achæans repaired thither, attended with ſome few auxiliary ſouldiers: and there they found the tyrant expecting their coming with all his forces. And armed as he was, with his guard likewiſe armed he advanced himſelf into the midſt (well neer) of the plain that lay between. *Quintius* unarmed came forward with his brother and two Colonels. King *Attalus* likewiſe between the Prætor of the Achæans of the one hand and a courtiour of his on the other, both unarmed. The tyrant began the ſpeech with an excuſe, That being in arms and attended with a guard of armed men, he preſented himſelf to a parle ſeeing the General of the Romans and King *Attalus* unarmed: and ſaid that he ſtood not in fear of them but of certain exiled perſons of the Argives. After this, when they came to treat as touching the conditions and covenants for the contract of an amity, *Quintius* the General demanded two things: the one, That *Nabis* would make an end of warring with the Achæi: the other, That he would ſend with him certain aids againſt *Philip*. And verily to ſend ſuccour he granted: and in lieu of peace he was content there ſhould be a truce, until the war with *Philip* was diſpatched. Alſo about *Argos* King *Attalus* began to enter into ſome queſtion ſaying: That having the City treacherouſly betrayed unto him by *Philocles*, he now held it by force of arms: but he anſwered again, That he was ſent for by the Argives themſelves, for to protect them. Then the King required that the Argives might be aſſembled together, that he might know the truth. The tyrant made no denial thereof. The King replied again, that the aſſembly ſhould be free, and at their liberty to ſpeak, and to that effect the garriſons were to be removed out of the City, and no Lacedemonians intermingled among them; to the end that the Argives might frankly ſpeak their mind. But the tyrant flatly denied to withdraw from thence the guards. So this arguing came to no concluſion, and the conference brake up, after that the tyrant had given the Roman General 600 Candiots, and a truce made for the term of four moneths, between *Nicoſtratus* Prætor of the Achæans, and *Nabis* the tyrant of the Lacedemonians. From thence *Quintius* departed to Corinth, and approached the gate with a Regiment of Cretenſians, that it might appear to *Philocles* the Kings Captain there that the tyrant was revolted from *Philip*. *Philocles* alſo entred into a parle with the Roman General and when he was exhorted by him to depart out of hand and yeeld the City, he returned ſuch an anſwer unto him, that he ſeemed rather to defer, than to deny the thing. From *Corinth* *Quintius* croſſed the Sea to *Anticyra*, from whence he ſent his brother to ſound the nation of the Acarnanians. And *Attalus* departed directly from *Argos* to *Sicyone*. Where the City not only encreaſed the ancient honours of the King, with the addition of new: but alſo the King over and beſides that he had purchaſed for them in time paſt the ſacred land of *Apollo*, with a great ſum of money, becauſe he would not ſeem now alſo to paſs by this friend City allied unto him, without ſome royal bounty and munificence, he gave freely unto them ſix talents of ſilver, and 10000 Medimns of corn: and ſo returned to his ſhips at *Cenchreæ*. *Nabis* alſo having ſtrengthened the garriſon in *Argos* returned to *Lacedæmon*: and after himſelf had robbed the men of their mony and goods, he ſent his wife thither to do the like by the women. Who ſending for the honourable & worſhipful dames of the City inviting them one by one to her houſe, and otherwhiles many together at once ſuch as were of kin one to another, by flattering and by threatning gat from them not only all the gold that they had, but in the end ſtript off their apparel alſo, and all the jewels and ornaments that they wore.

# The three and thirtieth Book *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the three and thirtieth Book.

TItus Quintius Flamininus *the Pro-conſul ended the war with* Philip, *after he had vanquiſhed him in a pight field neer* Cynocephalæ *in* Theſſalie. L. Quintius Flamininus, *brother to the ſaid Pro-conſul,*

A *conſul, having forced* Leucas *the head City of* Acarnania, *received the Acarnanians upon their ſubmiſſion and ſurrender.* C. Sempronius Tuditanus *the Pretor was ſlain, and his army defeated by the Celtiberians.* Attalus *being fallen ſuddainly ſick, was removed from* Thebes *to* Pergamus, *and there departed this life. Peace was granted to* Philip *upon his ſuit, and liberty reſtored to* Greece. L. Furius *and* C. Claudius Marcellus, *the two Conſuls, ſubdued the Boians and Inſubrians in* Gaul, Marcellus *triumphed.* Annibal *having practiſed in* Affrick *to raiſe war, but to no effect, was thereupon accuſed unto the Romans, by letters ſent from the principal of the adverſe faction: but for fear of the Romans, who had diſpatched their Embaſſadors to the Carthaginian Senat about him, he fled unto* Antiochus *King of* Syria, *who alſo prepared then to make war upon the Romans.*

B *The beginning is not extant in the Latine.*

adjoyning in thoſe quarters to *Acarnania*. There was a ſtreight paſs or gullet there, half a mile almoſt in length, but not half a mile in breadth: at the end of this ſtreight ſtandeth the City *Leucas* planted againſt an hill that turneth to the Eaſt, and looketh toward *Acarnania*. The baſe Town is built upon a plain, reaching along the ſea that divideth *Leucadia* from *Acarnania*. Whereupon the City as well on the land ſide, as by ſea, is eaſie to be forced. For the foords of the water reſemble a ſtanding lake rather than a Sea, and the whole ſoil is a light earth, minable and eaſy to be wrought into, ſo that in many places at once the walls either undermined or ſhaken with the ram, came tumbling down. But as the Town it ſelf was aſſaultable, ſo the hearts of the Townſmen were in-
C vincible. For night and day they gave not over, to repair the cracks of the ſhaken wal, to fill up the open breaches and ruins, to make head luſtily, and skirmiſh with the enemy, and rather to defend the walls by force of arms, than to ſave themſelves by ſtrength of their walls. And ſurely a longer ſiege they would have made of it than the Romans hoped, but that certain baniſhed perſons, Italians born, dwelling in *Leucas* let in and received armed ſouldiers on the Caſtle ſide. Howbeit, the Leucadians embattelling themſelves in their market place, encountred them as they ran down from the higher ground with a great cry and noiſe, and maintained battel with them for a long time. In this mean while, the walls in diverſe places were ſcaled with ladders, and the enemies mounting over the heaps of ſtones that lay at the breaches, entred the Town. And now by this time the Lieu-
D tenant in perſon, with many companies environed them as they fought: ſome ſlain in the midſt, others flung away their weapons, and yeelded to the conquerour. After few dayes, upon the news of the field fought at *Cynocephalæ*, all the States of *Acarcania* came in, and ſubmitted themſelves to the Lientenant.

At the ſame time, whiles fortune turned thus about, and bare down a ſide all at once; the Rhodians alſo ſent out *Panſiſtratus* their Pretor, with 800 footmen of *Achæa* & about 1900 ſouldiers well armed, gathered out of all ſorts of auxiliaries, to regain and reconquer from *Philip* the country of *Perea*, lying in the main and firm land, which had been held ſometime, and poſſeſſed by their anceſtours. And theſe aids were compounded and mixed of French, Niſuets, Piſuets, Tanians, and Areans of *Affrick*, and Laodiceans of *Aſia*. With theſe forces *Panſiſtratus* encamped in the ter-
E ritory of *Stratonicea*, and there he ſeized of a commodious place, and very good for his purpoſe, unwares to the Kings company that had holden the ſame. Thither came alſo to aid them in very good time, a Regiment of a 1000 foot and a 100 horſe of Achæans, levied for that purpoſe, and were commanded by *Theoxenus*. *Dinocrates* a Captain under the King, willing to recover the ſaid hold again, firſt pitched his tents, hard againſt the enemies camp. But afterwards he removed to another fort in the territory likewiſe of *Stratonicea*, which they call *Aſtragon*: and having rallied together all the garriſons diſperſed aſunder in divers places, and ſent for the auxiliary bands alſo of Theſſalians, even from *Stratonicea*, he took his way and marched toward *Alabanda*, where the enemies were. The Rhodians likewiſe for their part were ready for battel, and after they were encamped of both ſides neer together, immediatly they entred into the field to fight it out. *Dinocrates* placed in the right point 500 Macedonians, and the Agrians he put in the left, in the main bat-
F tel he beſtowed all thoſe that he had gathered together out of the garriſons belonging to the forts aboveſaid, who for the moſt part were Carians, the points he flanked round about with his corners of Horſe. The Rhodian cohort was marſhalled in this manner: The auxiliaries of the Candiots and Thracians kept the right point, the hired ſouldiers (and they were a power of elect footmen) ſtood in the left, in the midſt were the aids (a mixture of many nations:) the Cavalry and all the light armed ſouldiers that were, compaſſed the corners like wings. All that day the two armies ſtood only upon the bank of a brook which ran between them with a ſmall and ſhallow water: and after ſome looſe ſhot diſcharged, they retired into their tents. The next day they were ranged in like order, and ſtruck a battail exceeding the proportion of their number; for on each ſide there were not above three thouſand foot, and upon a hundred horſe: but they were even
G matched not in number only and armour, but alſo in equal courage and hope alike. The Achæi firſt paſſed over the ſaid brook, and charged upon the Agrians: afterwards the whole army ran as one would ſay, over the River. The fight continued long doubtful. The Achæi being of themſelves in number a thouſand, diſordred ſome four hundred of the other, and forced them to retreat, and afterwards the entire right point of the battail began to ſhrink and give ground. As for the Macedonians, ſo long as their battaillon called Phalanx, kept their array and ſtood cloſe together, could not poſſibly be ſtirred or removed; but after their left ſide was laid naked, and they

began to reach out on an all hands their long pikes against the enemy, charging them across upon H the flank, they were presently troubled: and first they put themselves in disarray, afterwards they turned their backs, and last of all flung their weapons from them, and ran away for life, until they were come to *Bargilia*. Thither also was *Dinocrates* fled. The Rhodians having followed the chase as long as they had any day to see, retired into their camp. And for certain it is known, if in this train of victory they had presently made speed to *Stratonicea*, they might have been masters of the Town, and never drawn sword for it: but whiles they spent time in recovering the burrough Towns and forts of *Perœa*, they let this opportunity slip out of their hands, and lost it for ever. For in the mean space, they that lay in garrison and held *Stratonicea*, were encouraged, and took better heart. *Dinocrates* also anon with those forces of his that remained, put himself within the walls. Then was the Tower besieged and assailed, all in vain, neither could it be forced and won I but by *Antiochus*, a certain time after. Thus went the affairs in *Thessalie*, in *Achæa*, and in *Asia*, much about one and the self-same time.

*Philip* being advertised that the Dardanians were entred within the confines of his realm, and wasted the high country of *Macedony*, albeit he saw that almost in all parts of the world unhappy fortune still followed and coursed both him and his whereseever they were: yet esteeming it more grievous and heavy than death it self to be disseized of the possession of *Macedony* also, he made a levy in great hast out of all his cities of six thousand foot, and 500 horse; with which power of Macedonians, he suddainly surprised the enemy (unprovided and not aware of his coming) about *Stobi* in * *Pelagonia*. Great numbers of men were slain in conflict, but more in the fields, such as were disbanded, and ranged abroad for greedines of booty and pillage. But as many as could K make means to flie more readily and easily away, never stood out the tryal of a battail, but returned home into their own countrey. Having thus put life as it were again into his men by this one expedition and exploit (a matter of no consequence to the total adventure of his whole estate) he retired himself to *Thessalonica*.

* Otherwise called *Tribolitis*, of three cities therein.

The Punick war was not atchieved and brought to an end so happily and in so good a time for the Romans (who otherwise should have warred at once both against the Carthaginians and *Philip*) but it fell out as well and in as fit a season, that *Philip* was now vanquished; just against the time that *Antiochus* in *Syria* prepared to levy war against them. For besides that the service was much more easily managed against them single and apart, than it would have been if they had banded both at once, and brought their forces together, it chanced also that *Spain* about the very L same instant brake out to a tumultuous insurrection.

*Antiochus* being returned to *Antioch* there to winter, after he had the summer before brought under his subjection all the Cities belonging to *Ptolomæus*, within the country of * *Cœle-Syria*, was yet never the more at quiet, and mindful of peace afterwards. For when he had assembled a puissant power both of Land and also of Sea-forces, and purposed to employ the whole strength of his realm, he sent afore by Land in the beginning of the spring, his two sons *Ardues* and *Mithridates* with a mighty army, commanding them to attend him at *Sardis*: himself in person set forth a Voyage by Sea, with a fleet of a hundred sail of covert ships with decks and hatches, besides two hundred lighter Vessels, as Galions and Brigantins, purposing at one time to assay all the Cities in * *Cilicia* and *Caria*, coasting along the Sea side, which were within the Dominion of M *Ptolomæus*: and withal to aid *Philip* as well with shipping as souldiers, for as yet *Philip* was not utterly subdued, nor the war with him brought to a final end. Many brave and worthy exploits enterprised the Rhodians both by Sea and Land, in their loyalty and faithfulnes to the Romans, and for the safeguard and defence of all the Greekish Nation. But no one thing shewed their magnificence more than this, that being nothing terrified at that time with such a World of wars threatned against them, they sent Embassadors to the King, to let him understand, that if he sailed forward and stayed not his Armado, they would encounter him at the Bay of *Nephelis* (which is a promontory or Cape of *Cilicia*, renowned for the ancient league of the Athenians.) And this they did, not upon any hatred they bare to his person, but to impeach him only for coming to join with *Philip*, thereby to hinder the Romans in their good course of setting *Greece* at liberty. N At the same time *Antiochus* was busied in the siege and assault of *Coracesium*, against which he had placed all ordnance and engins of battery: for he was already master of the Cities of * *Zephyrium*, *Soli*, * *Aphrodisias* and * *Corycus*, and having doubled the point of * *Anemurium* (a Cape or forland also of *Cilicia*) he had won likewise the City of * *Selinus*. All these, and many other forts of that coast being yeelded unto him by composition, either for fear or willingly, without any assault. only *Coracesium* shut their gates against him, and staid his progres beyond his expectation. There the Embassadors of the Rhodians had audience. And albeit that embassie was such as might have set a King into a fit of choler and chafed his bloud, yet he tempred his anger, and made answer that he would send his Embassadors to *Rhodes*, and give them in charge to renew the ancient rights and privileges as well of his own as of his ancestours with that City and State, O and to will them not to stand in fear of the Kings coming, for that neither they nor any allies of theirs should sustain harm or damage by him. For it was no part of his meaning to infringe and break the amity which he had with the Romans, as it may appear as well by his late embassie sent unto them, as also by the honorable decrees and answers made by the Senat and sent unto him. For it fortuned that even then the Embassadors of King *Antiochus* were returned from *Rome*, having had a friendly audience there, and a gracious dispatch, according as the time required:

* *Bocca*, or *Bocalbalbec*.

* *Turcomania*, and *Finichia*.

* *Scendelovo*.
* *S. Theodoro*.
*Curcu*, or *Chavachisar*.
* *Stalemura*.
* *Iſlenos*.

A quired: for as yet the iſſue of the war againſt *Philip* was uncertain. Whiles the Kings Embaſſadors delivered theſe points in the aſſemby of the Rhodians, there arrived a poſt with news, that the war was ended by means of a victory atchieved by the Romans againſt *Philip* at *Cynoſcephale*. Theſe tidings being once heard, the Rhodians paſt all fear now of *Philip* were of advice to meet *Antiochus* at ſea with their navy. For they had a ſecond care beſides which they neglected not, to maintain the liberty of thoſe allied Cities pertaining to King *Ptolomy*, againſt which war was menaced from *Antiochus*. Some they ſuccoured with ſending aide unto them, and others by forecaſt and giving them warning of the deſignments and enterpriſes of their enemies: whereby they were a cauſe, that the *Caunii*, *Myndii*, they of *Halicarnaſſus* and *Samos* enjoyed ſtill their
B entire freedom. But needleſs it is for me, to proſecute all the occurrents and affairs that paſſed in theſe parts, conſidering how I ſhall have enough to do, and hardly be able to ſet down and go through with thoſe that properly concern the Roman war. At the ſame time alſo King *Attalus* was brought ſick from *Thebes* to *Pergamus*, and there departed this world in the ſeventeenth year of his age, when he had reigned forty four. This man was beholden to fortune for nothing elſe but riches, that might commend him to the hope of a kingdom. He employed the ſame with ſuch wiſdome and magnificence, that firſt in his own conceit, and afterwards in the judgment of others, he was not thought unworthy to be a King. Afterwards when he had vanquiſhed in one battell the Gauls (a nation at that time newly arrived in *Aſia*, and therefore the more dread and terrible) he took upon him to be ſtiled King, and ever after carried a mind anſwerable to the grandeur and Majeſty of that name. His own ſubjects he governed with ſingular
C juſtice. To his allies he ſhewed himſelf moſt faſt and faithfull. His friends he uſed with all kindneſs and bounty. A wife and four children he had living when himſelf died: and left his kingdom ſo ſure and well ſetled, that the poſſeſſion thereof continued firm to the third diſcent and generation after him.

The commendation of King *Attalus*.

Whiles things ſtood thus in *Aſia*, *Greece*, and *Macedony*, and the war with *Philip* ſcarcely ended, or at leaſtwiſe peace not fully concluded, there aroſe a mighty war in the Province of *Spain* beyond the river *Iberus*. *M. Helvius* at that time was governor there, who by his letters adverti-
D ſed the Senat, That *Colcas* and *Luſcinus*, two Princes in thoſe parts, were gone out, and had taken arms; that with *Colcas* there banded ſeventeen towns, and with *Luſcinus* the ſtrong and puiſſant Cities *Cardo* and *Bardo*; that the whole ſea coaſt, which hitherto by open revolt ſhewed not their rebellious heart, would doubtleſs upon the commotion of thoſe their neighbours, make likewiſe an inſurrection together with them. After theſe letters were read by *M. Sergius* the Prætor, who had the juriſdiction between Citizens and aliens, the LL. of the Senat ordained, that after the election of new Prætors was paſt, he to whoſe lot the government of *Spain* fell, ſhould propoſe unto the Senat in all convenient ſpeed as touching the war in *Spain*.

About that very time the Conſuls repaired to *Rome*, (from their Provinces) who held an aſſemby of the Senat in the Temple of *Bellona*: and when they demanded triumph in conſideration of their good ſervice, and happy exploits in war atchieved: *C. Atinius Labeo* and *C. Urſanius*, Tribunes of the Commons required, That the Conſuls ſhould ſpeak ſeverally by themſelves, con-
E cerning triumph: for ſuffer them they would not joyntly to propound that thing in the houſe, to the end, that equall and ſemblable honour ſhould not be conferred upon perſons of unlike quality, worth, and deſert. And when *Minutius* inferred again and ſaid, That the Province of *Italy* fell unto them both in one commiſſion, and *Cornelius* ſeconded him withall, averring, That he and his companion in government had managed all their affairs with one mind by common counſell and advice; that the Boians who paſſed over the river *Po* againſt him for to ſuccour the Inſubrians, and Cænomans, were forced to turn back again to defend their own, by reaſon that the other Conſul his Collegue made ſuch waſte and pillage in their fields and villages. The Tribunes confeſſed that *Cornelius* indeed had atchieved ſo worthy exploits in war, that there was no more doubt to be made of his triumph, than of rendring praiſe and thanks to the immortall
F gods: but neither he nor any other Citizen ſtood ever at any time in ſuch grace, favour, and credit, that having obtained the honour of a triumph for himſelf, he ſhould impart that glory unto his Collegue and fellow, if he were ſo ſhameleſs as to crave it. As for *Q. Minutius* (ſay they) he made ſome ſleight skirmiſhes with the Ligurians not worth the talking of: mary in *France* he loſt a good number of his ſouldiers. And with that they named *T. Juventius* and *Cneus* the brother of *Labeo*, two Colonels of Tribunes of the camp, who were ſlain in an unfortunate battel, with many a brave and hardy man beſides, as well Citizens as allies. And to conclude, there were
G ſome few towns and villages colourably yielded and rendred up for the time, without any aſſurance and ſecurity. Theſe janglings and debates between the Conſuls and the Tribunes continued for two daies: but in the end, the Conſuls being overcome with the importunity of the Tribunes, were content to propoſe the matter diſtinctly by themſelves. And with the generall voice and accord of all, a triumph was decreed for *Cn. Cornelius*. The Placentins alſo and men of *Cremona*, were a great cauſe that this Conſul found more favour; by reaſon that they gave thanks, and reported on his behalf, that they were delivered by his good means from the ſiege, yea, and moſt of them recovered from ſervitude out of the hands of their enemies. *Q. Minutius* having only caſt a proffer and made an aſſay of propoſing his cauſe to the Senat, ſeeing them wholly banded and ſet againſt him, ſaid aloud, That in maintenance of Conſular authority, and by vertue of

that place, yea, and according to the good examples of divers noble and renowned perſonages, he would triumph, and aske them no leave, in the mount *Alban*. But *Cn. Cornelius* whiles he was ſtill in office, triumphed over the Inſubrians and Cænomans. He carried in pomp before him a number of military enſigns: he cauſed great ſtore of French ſpoil and pillage to paſs in a pageant upon charriots taken from the enemies. Many Noblemen of *France* were led in a ſhew before his own triumphant chariot: among whom (as ſome write) was *Amilcar* Generall of the Carthaginians. But above all others, the goodlieſt ſight was, a number of Coloners and inhabitants of *Cremona* and *Placentia*, who with * bonets or caps of liberty on their heads followed his chariot. He bare in triumph 237500 Seſterces, 7900 Bigats of ſilver coin. He divided among his horſemen ſeventy Aſſes apeece, to every horſeman he gave double, and to each Centurion trebble ſo much. *Q. Minutius* likewiſe triumphed in mount *Alban* over the Ligurians and the Boians in *Gaul*. The honour of this triumph as it was leſs, in regard of the place, and of the name that went of his acts, as alſo becauſe all men knew full well, that the charges went not out of the common Cheſt or Camber of the City: ſo for number of enſigns, of chariots and ſpoils gained from the enemies, it was in manner equall and comparable to the other. And of money he brought well-near as much as *Cornelius*: for of braſs coin he had in ſhew 254000 Aſſes, of ſilver coin in Bigat peeces 53200. To common ſouldiers or footmen, to Centurions and horſemen, he gave as much as his Collegue. After this triumph there was a generall aſſembly held for the election of Magiſtrats: wherein were created Conſuls, *L. Furius Purpurio*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*. The next day after theſe Prætors were choſen, *Q. Fabius Butco*, *T. Sempronius Longus*, *Q. Minutius Thermus*, *M. Acilius Glabrio*, *L. Apuſtius Fullo* and *C. Lælius*.

* In token that they were by him freed from captivity.

In the end of that former year, letters came from *T. Quintius* with this intelligence, That he had fought in battell ranged with King *Philip* within *Theſſaly*, where the army of the enemies was defeated and put to rout. Theſe letrers were firſt read in the Senat by *Sergius* the Prætor, and then by order from the LL. in the publike aſſembly of the people. For this happy ſucceſs, it was ordained, That there ſhould be ſolemn proceſſions for five daies. Shortly after there arrived Embaſſadors both from *T. Quintius*, and alſo from the King. The Macedonian Embaſſadors were brought without the City to the place or hamlet called *Villa publica*, where they were appointed their lodging, rich preſents were given them, and allowed they were the charges for themſelves and their train. In the Temple of *Bellona* the Senat was aſſembled, where there paſſed not many words by reaſon that the Macedonians promiſed, That the King ſhould perform whatſoever the Senat would ſet down. So (according to the ancient cuſtome and manner) there were appointed ten Committees or Delegats, by whore advice and counſell *T. Quintius* the Generall, was to preſent and tender unto *Philip*, articles and conditions of peace: provided, that in the ſaid number of Delegats, *P. Sulpitius* and *P. Valerius* ſhould be compriſed by name; who when they were Conſuls governed the Province of *Macedony*. The ſame day, the Coſſans demanded and made ſuit, That the number of their Coloners or inhabitants might be augmented: whereupon an order was granted, That there ſhould be a thouſand new enrolled to the former: with this proviſo, that in this number none of them ſhould be matriculated, who after the Conſulſhip of *P. Sulpitius* and *P. Villius* had been enemies to the people of *Rome*. The Roman games and plaies were that year exhibited as well in the *Circus* as upon the ſtage in the Theatre, by the Ædiles Curule *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Cn. Manlius Volſo*: which, as they were ſet out with more ſtate and magnificence than ever before, ſo they were beheld with more joy, contentment and pleaſure, in regard that all things fell out ſo fortunatly in the wars: and they were renewed and repreſented all thrice over. As for the plaies called *Plebeii*, they were ſet forth no leſs than ſeven times one after another. *Acilius Glabrio* and *C. Lælius* exhibited thoſe paſtimes: who alſo of their ſilver that aroſe of fines and forfeitures, cauſed three caſt images of braſs to be made, and erected them to the honour of *Ceres*, *Liber*, and * *Libera*.

* *Venus.*

Now when *L. Furius* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* were entred into their Magiſtracy, and after queſtion made concerning their Provinces, the Senat paſſed a decree, That both of them joyntly ſhould govern *Italy*; they requeſted that they might caſt lots for *Macedony* and *Italy* together. *Marcellus* more deſirous of the twain of the Province of *Macedony*, alledged, that the peace was not ſound but counterfeit, pretended, and deceitfull; and that the King would take arms and war again, in caſe the army were withdrawn from thence: by which words he put the LL. of the Senat into a deep ſtudy and ſuſpence, what to do, or to think of it. And haply the Conſuls had obtained their requeſt, but that *Q. Martius Rex*, and *C. Atinius Labeo*, two Tribunes of the Commons, proteſted, that they would oppoſe themſelves and croſs it by their negative voice, unleſs they might firſt propoſe unto the people to know, Whether their will and pleaſure was to entertain peace with King *Philip*, or no? This bill being preferred and read in the Capitoll before the people, was granted, and all the tribes or wards, even five and thirty, every one gave their affirmative voice, *Uti rogaſtis* [*i.e.* So be it as ye demanded.] And to the end, that all men might have more cauſe to rejoyce that peace was confirmed with *Macedony*, there came heavy news out of *Spain*, and letters were divulged abroad, containing thus much, That *C. Sempronius Tuditanus* the Vice-Prætor in the hither Province of *Spain*, was vanquiſhed in battell, that his army was diſcomfited and put to flight, and divers men of name and mark ſlain. That *Tuditanus* himſelf was carried forth of the conflict grievouſly wounded, and ſoon after died. The Province of *Italy* was aſſigned for both the Conſuls with thoſe two legions which the former Conſuls had in charge, and order

A order granted, that they ſhould levy and enroll four new legions, whereof two ſhould be ſent whither it pleaſed the Senat to appoint. And *T. Quintius Flamininus* was commanded to rule his Province ſtill with the ſame army, and his Commiſſion of longer government was renewed. After this, the Prætors caſt lots for the parting of their Provinces. *L. Apuſtius Fullo* obtained the juriſdiction of the Citizens of *Rome*, and *M. Acilius Glabreo* was L. Chief Juſtice between Citizens and forrainers. *Q. Fabius Buteo* had the government of the baſe or farther *Spain*, and *Q. Minutius Thermus* of the higher or hither *Spain*. To *C. Lælius* fell *Sicily*, and *Sardinia* to *T. Sempronius Longus*. And ordained it was, that unto *Q. Fabius Buteo*, and *Q. Minutius*, to whom the rule of the Provinces in *Spain* befell, the Conſuls ſhould out of thoſe four legions which they had enrolled, deliver one legion apeece, which they thought good and of allies and of the Latine nation, four B thouſand footmen beſides, and three hundred horſemen to either of them. And theſe Prætors were enjoyned to go to their charges with all ſpeed poſſible.

The war in *Spain* began afreſh, in the fifth after that the former together with the Punick war was ended. But before that theſe Prætors went forth to this war (which may be counted as it were new, in regard that the Spaniards now firſt, and never before, warred in their own proper name, without either leader or army of *Carthage*) and before that the Conſuls themſelves departed out of the City, order was given, that according to the old cuſtome they ſhould provide for the prodigious tokens that were reported. *L. Julius* as he rode on horſeback into the Sabins country, was both himſelf and his horſe under him ſtrucken dead with lightning. The temple of *Feronia* in the territory of *Capena*, was likewiſe ſmitten and blaſted from heaven. At the Temple of C *Moneta*, the Iron heads of two ſpears were ſent to burn on a light fire. A Wolf happned to enter into the City at the gate *Eſquilina*, and ran through the moſt populous part thereof as far as unto the market place, and ſo forward to the Tuſcan ſtreet, and from thence through the *Velium*, and paſſed forth again at the gate *Capena* untouched, and in manner without taking any harm.

Theſe prodigious ſigns were purged by the ſacrifices of greater beaſts. At the ſame time *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, who had governed the Province of high *Spain* before *Tuditanus*, entred the City by order from the Senat in a kind of triumph, and carried before him in pomp 1515 pound weight of gold: of ſilver likewiſe in bullion 20000 pound weight: and in coin 34550 deniers. *L. Stertinius* from the nether *Spain*, brought into the treaſury 50000 pound weight of ſilver, and never pretended any hope that he had to obtain a triumph. Moreover, of the prizes and ſpoiles D won from the enemies, he cauſed two arches to be erected in the beaſt market, even before the Temple of *Fortune*, and the goddeſs *Matuta*: and one beſides in the grand Cirque or ſhew-place. And upon theſe arches he ſet up guilded Statues. Theſe were all the affairs, to ſpeak of, that paſſed this winter-ſeaſon.

There wintered at that time in *Athens Quintius*. And among many other ſuters that came unto him with their petitions, the Bœotians exhibited a requeſt, and obtained the ſame, to wit, that as many of their nation as had ſerved in the wars under *Philip*, might be reſtored and ſent home again unto them: which was eaſily granted by *Quintius*, not ſo much, for that he thought them worthy of that favour, but becauſe he was to win the love and affections of the States in *Greece* unto the Roman name, now eſpecially that he had ſome doubt of King *Antiochus*. They were E not delivered ſo ſoon, but ſeen it was, how little the Bœotians would be beholding to him for it. For they ſent preſently unto *Philip*, and gave him thanks for the rendring of thoſe men, as if they had been delivered by him, and not by *Quintius* and the Romans. And in their next aſſembly generall for their ſolemn election, they choſe one *Barcillas* for their Bœotarches, or Lord governour of *Bœotia*; for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had been the Colonell of thoſe Bœotians that bare arms for the King: but they paſſed by *Zeuſippus*, *Piſiſtratus*, and others, that had perſwaded to make a league with the Romans. This wrought diſcontentment in theſe perſons for the preſent, and fear for the time to come. For thus they reaſoned with themſelves, If they would do thus while the Roman army lay encamped near to their gates, what ſhould become of them when the Romans were departed into *Italy*, and whiles *Philip* was ſo near at hand to aſſiſt thoſe F that ſided with him, and to annoy thoſe of the adverſe part and faction? Therefore they complotted and concluded in the end to make away *Barcillas*, the head of the Kings bend, whiles the Roman forces were at hand. And ſo chuſing a convenient and fit opportunity for their purpoſe, at what time as he returned homeward drunk from a publike ſolemn feaſt, accompanied with certain pleaſant and effeminat perſons, who to make ſport and mirth had been at that great feaſt; he was forelaied and beſet with ſix armed men, whereof three were Italians, and three Ætolians, and ſo murdered. His train that attended him ran away, and raiſed hue and cry, and called for help. Much trouble and hurly-burly there was throughout the City, much running to and fro with torch-light. But they that did the deed were eſcaped out at the next gate. In the morning betimes the people in great number aſſembled in the Theater, being called together by the voice G of the common Beadle, as if the murderers had been detected. Openly it was in every mans mouth, that he was killed by his own retinue, even thoſe filthy wanton perſons that he had about him: but ſecretly in their minds they deemed *Zeuſippus* the author of the murther. For the preſent it was thought good to apprehend them that were in his train, and that they ſhould be examined. Whiles ſearch was made for them, *Zeuſippus* came forth into the aſſembly, with the like intent to avert all ſuſpition of crime from himſelf, ſaying, that men were much deceived to think that ſo horrible and ſtrange a murder was committed by ſuch weaklings & perſons as they were.

This he argued and diſcourſed by many likelihoods and probabilities to the ſame effect; by which means ſome were verily perſwaded, that if himſelf had been guilty of the fact, he would never have offered and preſented himſelf in the face of the aſſembly, or broached any words at all of the murder, eſpecially when no man urged him thereto. Others there were again, who made no doubt but by this impudent face, his drift was to prevent an accuſation, and to turn away all ſuſpition from himſelf. The innocent and guiltleſs creatures within a while after being examined upon the rack and tortured, knowing what was the general opinion and conceit of men, made their uſe of the ſame for to bolt out and reveal the fact; and ſo they named *Zeuſippus* and *Piſiſtratus* for the principals; without any preſumption or light given how they ſhould ſeem to come to the knowledge of any thing. Howbeit *Zeuſippus* accompanied with one *Stratonidas*) fled by night to *Tanagra*, fearing the remorſe and prick of his own conſcience more than the appeaching and information of thoſe perſons who neither were party nor privy to any thing. But *Piſiſtratus* making no regard of theſe accuſers, remained ſtill at *Thebes*. Now had *Zeuſippus* one bondſlave, (whoſe hand was in all this action, and had been a courrier between) whom *Piſiſtratus* feared that he would bewray him, and by that very fear cauſed him to open and declare the whole matter. He diſpatched therefore his letters unto *Zeuſippus*, adviſing him to rid that ſlave out of the way, who was privy to their dealing; advertiſing him, that in his conceit he was not ſo meet to conceal the thing now done, as he was a fit inſtrument at the time to execute the ſame. The bearer of theſe letters he ſtraightly charged to deliver them unto *Zeuſippus* immediatly with all ſpeed. But he, becauſe he could not ſpy a convenient time to meet with him himſelf, gave the letters to the very ſame ſlave, whom he ſuppoſed to be moſt faſt and truſty to his Maſter: adding moreover, and ſaying, That they came from *Piſiſtratus* unto *Zeuſippus*, and imported matter of great conſequence. The bond ſlave promiſed to deliver them incontinently, but being touched in conſcience, he was ſo bold as to break them open; and when he had read them through, he fled back in great fear to *Thebes* (where he bewrayed *Piſiſtratus*.) *Zeuſippus* troubled in ſpirit for the flight of his bondman, retired himſelf to *Athens*, ſuppoſing it a place of more ſecurity to live in, as a baniſhed man. As for *Piſiſtratus*, after he had been divers times examined upon the rack, was put to death in the end. This murder wondrouſly eſtranged the Thebans and Bœotians and ſet their hearts againſt the Romans; inſomuch as they hated and deteſted them to death, taking great indignation that *Zeuſippus* (a principall and chief perſonage of their nation) had committed ſo foul and hainous a fact. To rebell in open terms, they had neither force ſufficient to maintain them, nor a principall head to direct and lead them. Whereupon they fell to that which is next couſin to plain war, even to thieving and robbing by the high waies ſide, in ſuch ſort, as they ſurprized as well ſome ſouldiers who lodged near unto them, and were their gueſts, as others that wandred and ranged abroad from the garriſons in winter time, and travelled about their affairs, who otherwhiles were caught up by the way, and came ſhort home. Some paſſengers were killed in the port-rode-waies, by thoſe that lay in wait for them in notorious thieviſh corners: others were trained and led deceitfully through by-lanes into deſert places, there to take up their innes and lodging, and then were murdred. At length they plaid theſe pranks, not only of malice unto them, but alſo for greedy deſire of booty and ſpoil, by reaſon that commonly theſe waifaring men went about their trade and merchandiſe, and therefore had ſome charge about them, and carried ſilver in their belts. Now when as at firſt there were ſome out of the way, and every day more than other many men miſſing, and no man knew what was become of them, all * *Bœotia* began to have an ill name, and the ſouldiers were more affraid to travell there, than in the enemies country. Then *Quintius* ſent certain Embaſſadors to all the Cities for to make complaint of theſe robberies and enormities. Many footmen there were found dead about the mear or lake * *Copais*, where their carkaſſes were raked forth of the mud and mire, and drawn out of the ſtanding water, tied and faſtned as they were to heavy ſtones or ſome great veſſels, that by their poiſe they might be plunged, and ſink to the bottom. Many ſuch like outrages were found to have been committed at *Acraphea* and *Coronea*. *Quintius* at the firſt demanded to have the offendors delivered unto him, and for five hundred ſouldiers (for ſo many were caught up by the way and murdred) he enjoyned the Bœotians to make payment of five hundred talents of ſilver. But the Cities would do neither the one nor the other: only they paid with bare words, and excuſed themſelves in that nothing had been done by publike warrant or counſell from the State. Whereupon the Embaſſadors were ſent to *Athens*, and into *Achæa*, to make proteſtation unto their allies, that they would purſue the Bœotians with open war, upon good ground and juſt cauſe offered. And ſo after he had given commandment unto *P. Claudius* to go unto *Acraphea* with one part of his forces, himſelf with the other ſet him down about *Coronea*, and planted ſiege unto it. But firſt the territory was laid waſte, all the way as the two armies marched from *Elatia* in divers quarters. The Bœotians plagued with theſe loſſes and calamities, ſeeing nothing but fear and flight in every place, ſent their Embaſſiadors unto him: but when they could not be admitted into the camp, the Achæans and the Athenians were fain to come with them. The Achæans were of greater credit, to entreat in their behalf: for unleſs they might obtain pardon and peace for the Bœotians, they determined alſo to enter into the quarrel, and to make war themſelves. By whoſe mediation the Bœotians had acceſs unto the Roman Generall, and audience granted. Who after they were enjoyned to deliver up the offenders and malefactors to Juſtice, and to pay thirty talents for amends and ſatisfaction, obtained peace: and ſo the ſiege was raiſed.

* *Stramuzupa.*

* *Lago ſtivo.*

After

A After ſome few daies, the ten Delegats or Committees from *Rome* were arrived, by whoſe advice and counſell peace was articled and capitulated with King *Philip*, upon theſe conditions: *Imprimis*, That all the Greek Cities, as well in *Europe* as in *Aſia*, ſhould enjoy their liberty, and live under their own laws. *Item*, That *Philip* ſhould withdraw his garriſons out of as many of them as had been in ſubjection under him. *Item*, That he do the like by thoſe which were in *Aſia*, to wit, *Euromos*, *Pedaſa*, *Bargylla*, *Iaſſus*, *Myrina*, *Abydus*, *Thaſſus*, and *Perinthus*: all which, the Romans required to be free. As concerning the liberty and freedom of the *Cyani*, it was covenanted, That *Quintius* ſhould write his letters to *Prutias* the King of Bithynians, giving him to underſtand the advice and pleaſure of the Senat, and the ten Delegats aforeſaid. *Item*, That *Philip* render all the priſoners and fugitive traitors to the Romans, and yield up all the covered ſhips with
B hatches: and over and beſides, one huge royall Galliace or Argoſey, which by reaſon of the exceeding bigneſs was unweildy and of little uſe, and was directed with ſixteen banks of oars on a ſide. *Item*, That he ſhould not have above five hundred men in arms, nor one Elephant at all. *Item*, That he ſhould not war (but by leave and permiſſion of the Senat) without the marches of *Macedony*. *Item*, That he pay unto the people of *Rome* a thouſand talents, the one half in hand, and the other at ten payments, within the term of ten years. *Valerius Antias* writeth moreover, that there was impoſed upon him a tribute of four thouſand pound weight of ſilver yearly, for ten years: and beſides, twenty thouſand pound weight preſently. The ſame author ſaith, that expreſly it was capitulated, that *Philip* ſhould not war at all with *Eumenes* the ſon of *Attalus*, who was newly
come to the crown. For the aſſurance of theſe covenants, there were received hoſtages, and a-
C mongſt them *Demetrius* King *Philip* his ſon. *Valerius Antias* hath written moreover, that the Iſland *Ægina*, and certain Elephants were given in pure gift to *Attalus* in his abſence: and that upon the Rhodians was beſtowed *Stratonicea*, a City in *Caria*, with other Cities alſo which *Philip* had poſſeſſed. To conclude, that the Athenians received of free gift theſe Iſles following to wit, *Paros*, *Imbros*, *Delos*, and *Scyros*.

When all the States of *Greece* approved and thought well of this peace, only the Ætolians ſecretly muttered & found fault with this order ſet down by ten Delegats aboveſaid: giving out, that they were but bare letters and vain words, ſhadowed with a counterfeit apparance of liberty. For to what end, ſay they, ſhould ſome Cities be delivered to the Romans, and thoſe not named? others again be named, and yet order taken, that they without delivery ſhould be free? but only
D for this purpoſe, that thoſe Cities which are in *Aſia* ſhould be ſet free, becauſe they be far off and therefore in more ſafety; but thoſe that are in *Greece*, being not preciſely named, ſhould be ſeiſed upon by them: to wit, *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Oreum*, with *Eretrias*, and *Demetrias*. And to ſay a truth, this finding fault of theirs was not altogether frivolous, and without occaſion given: for ſome doubt there was of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*: becauſe in the order and act of the Senat, by vertue whereof thoſe ten Delegats aforeſaid were ſent from the City, all other Cities of *Aſia* and of *Greece* were doubtleſs in plain terms freed: but as touching theſe three before named, the Delegats had in commiſſion to take order, as they ſhould ſee it ſtand with the good of the Common-wealth, according to their own judgment and diſcretion, and the truſt that was committed unto them. For well they wiſt that King *Antiochus* would paſs over into *Europe*, ſo
E ſoon as ever he could bring his affairs about to his mind, and unwilling they were on any hand, that theſe Cities ſo commodious for his deſigns, ſhould lie open and ready to his hand for to ſeize upon at his pleaſure. So *Quintius* together with the ten Delegats ſailed from *Elatia* to *Anticyra*, and from thence to *Corinth*, where they held their Councill and conſulted of their affairs. *Quintius* would very often ſay unto them, That all *Greece* might be delivered and ſet at liberty, if they could reſtrain the tongues of the Ætolians: if they were willing that their good affection ſhould be deemed ſincere, and the majeſty of the Roman name maintained among all: finally, if they would pretend and make it known abroad, that they were paſſed the ſeas to ſet *Greece* free, and not after they had ſhaken off the ſeignory of *Philip*, to tranſlate it unto themſelves. The other a-
gain contradicted nothing as touching the liberty of thoſe Cities: howbeit, they made remon-
F ſtrance, that it was the ſafer courſe for them, to remain awhile under the protection and ſafegard of the Romans than that inſtead of *Philip* they ſhould receive *Antiochus* for their Lord. In concluſion decreed it was, That *Corinth* ſhould be rendred to the Achæans, but yet ſo, that there ſhould be a Roman garriſon in the higheſt quarter of the City called *Acrocorinthus*. *Item*, That *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* ſhould be retained ſtill, untill ſuch time as they were no more in fear and doubt of *Antiochus*.

Now approached the ordinary ſolemnity of the Iſthmian games, unto which at all times uſually there was great recourſe of people, as well in regard of the naturall diſpoſition of that nation (deſirous to ſee ſuch ſports and paſtimes, wherein was repreſented the triall of maſteries in all kind of arts, in all feats either of mere ſtrength, or of agility and nimbleneſs of the body) as alſo
G in reſpect of the commodious ſeat of the place: whereunto from all parts of *Greece* they repaired thither by two divers and ſundry ſeas. But being amuſed in expectation to know what the eſtate of *Greece*, and what their own particular condition would be hereafter, divers men not only deviſed ſecretly with themſelves, but alſo gave out and whiſpered in their ſpeech and talk. Well, the Romans were ſet to behold this ſolemnity: and the publike Crier with a trumpetter went forth into the midſt of the Cirque or ſhew-place, from whence the manner was to proclaime the ſports and games aforeſaid in a ſolemn ſet form of words: and after he had by ſound of trumpet

made ſilence, he pronounced with a loud vice in this manner, "Be it known unto all men, that the H
"Senat of *Rome*, and *T. Quintius* the General of their army, having vanquiſhed King *Philip* and
"the Macedonians, do ordain, that the Corinthians, the Phocenſians, and the Locrenſians, be all
"free, and delivered frow all taxes whatſoever, and to live according to their own laws. *Item*, That
"the Iſle *Euloea*, the Magneſians, Theſſalians, Perrhæbians, Acheans, and Phthiots do enjoy the
"like freedom and immunity. And conſequently he rehearſed all the nations which had been in
"ſubjection to *Philip*. Upon this proclamation of the beadle there was ſuch joy, that men were
not able to conceive and comprehend it. Every man could hardly beleeve that he had heard the
thing which he ſo wiſhed and deſired afore to hear: one looked upon another wondring at the
matter, as if it had been a vain viſion or illuſion of ſome dream: and well they truſted not their own
ears in hearing that which particularly concerned every one, but enquired of them that ſtood next I
unto them. The Crier was called back again: ſuch a deſire had each one not only to hear the glad
tidings, but alſo to behold the happy meſſenger of this their liberty: and no remedy there was, but
once again he muſt publiſh and pronounce the ſame. Now when their joy was once confirmed,
they ſet up ſuch a ſhout, and followed it ſo with clapping of hands, redoubling the ſame ſo often,
as evidently it appeared, how there is no earthly good in the world more pleaſing and welcome
unto a multitude than is liberty. After this, the games were performed in ſuch hatte, that neither
the mind of any man was bent to intend, nor the eye buſied to behold the ſight thereof, ſo wholly
had that one joy poſſeſſed them and foreſtalled the ſence of all other pleaſures and delights. But
when the paſtimes were once ended, they all in manner ran apace to the Roman Generall, in ſuch
ſort, that his perſon was in ſome danger of the multitude, crowding ſo hard upon him alone, for K
deſire they had to come unto him, to touch his right hand, and to caſt garlands of flowers and la-
bels of ſundry colours upon him: but being a man faſt upon three and thirty years of age, both
the vigour of youth, and alſo the joy that he took for the accompliſhment of ſo glorious an act,
afforded him ſtrength enough to abide the preſs of the people. This gladneſs of all men ſhewed it
ſelf not only for the preſent, but continued alſo for many daies ſpace, entertained not only in
thankful minds, but expreſſed alſo in joyful diſcourſes: namely, "That there was one nation yet in
"the world, which at their proper coſt and charges, with their own pain and perill made war for
"the freedom of others: who afforded this favour and pleaſure not to the neighbours and bor-
"berers only, or to thoſe that were joyned near to them in the continent and firm land, but paſ-
"ſed over the ſeas; to the end, that throughout the whole world there ſhould be no unjuſt and L
"tyrannicall government, but in all places, right, reaſon, and law, might prevail moſt and carry
"greateſt ſway. Lo, how by the only voice of one Beadle all the Cities of *Greece* and *Aſia* are ſet
"free. To conceive and enterpriſe ſo great a thing proceedeth from a brave mind and noble heart:
"but to effect the ſame is a ſingular vertue and rare felicity.

This done, *Quintius* and the ten Delegats gave audience to the embaſſages of divers Kings and Princes, Nations and States. And firſt of all others were the Embaſſadors of King *Antiochus* called in: who uſed the ſame ſpeech in manner that they had at *Rome*, vanting great words without any ground and ſubſtance of credit. But anſwer was returned unto them, not covertly by way of circumſtance as aforetime (when *Philip* was on foot and things ſtood doubtfull) but openly in plain terms. *Imprimis*, That *Antiochus* muſt quit and abandon all the Cities of *Aſia*, which belon- M
ged at any time either to King *Philip* or King *Ptolomeus*. *Item*, That he meddle not with any free City or State, and eſpecially with thoſe of *Greece*: but above all, warned he was and forbidden, either to paſs over himſelf, or to ſend any forces into *Europe*. After the Kings Embaſſadors were licenſed to depart, all the nations and ſtates had a generall ſeſſion and meeting together, which was the ſooner diſpatched, for that in the decrees of the ten Delegats all the Cities and States were pronounced by name. Unto the Oreſtians (a people in *Macedony*) for that they revolted firſt from the King, their own lands and priviledges were reſtored. The Magneſians, the Perrhæbians and Dolopians were likewiſe declared free. Unto the people of *Theſſaly* over and above the grant of their liberty, the Phthiotian Achæans were annexed, excepting the City of *Thebes* in *Phthia* and *Pharſalus*. As for the Ætolians who required, that according to covenant *Pharſalus* N
and *Leucas* ſhould be rendred unto them, they were put over unto the Senat. But they awarded them the Phocenſes and Locrenſes, with other appurtenances adjoyned before by vertue of the decree. *Corinth*, *Triphylia*, and *Herea* (which alſo is a City of *Peloponneſus*) were rendred unto the Achæans. Moreover, theſe ten Delegats gave *Oreum* and *Eretria* unto *Eumenes* the ſon of *Attalus*, but by reaſon that *Quintius* would not agree thereto, the matter was referred over to the Senat for to be decided: and the Senat granted freedom unto theſe Cities, together with *Caryſtus*.
* Clavon al. Unto *Pleuratus* were freely given *Lingus* and *Parthenius*, which were two nations in * *Illyricum*, and had been both ſubject to *Philip*. It was ordained alſo, that *Aminander* ſhould hold thoſe Caſtles ſtill, which during the wars he had won from *Philip*. When the aſſembly was diſſolved, the ten Delegats having divided between themſelves their ſeverall charges, departed every man to O
ſet free the Cities of their particular regions and quarters. *P. Lentulus* to *Bargyllæ*, *L. Stertinius* to *Hephæſtra*, *Thaſſus*, and other Cities of *Thracia*; *P. Villius* and *L. Terentius* toward King *Antiochus*; and *Cn. Cornelius* toward *Philip*. Unto whom after *Cornelius* had declared his Commiſſion concerning ſome ſmaller matters, and withall demanded of him, Whether he could with patience abide to hear counſell not only profitable unto himſelf, but alſo neceſſary? The King made anſwer again and ſaid, That he would not only give him the hearing, but alſo yield him thanks beſides,

in

A in caſe he would deliver ought unto him for his good. Whereupon he perſwaded him earneſtly, that foraſmuch as he had obtained peace already, he ſhould ſend his Embaſſadors to *Rome*, to crave league alſo and amity: to the end, that if *Antiochus* began to ſtir, he might not be thought to have attended and waited for ſome occaſions and opportunities to make war. [ This conference and communication with *Philip* was at *Tempe* in *Theſſaly*. ] And when he anſwered, That he would immediatly diſpatch his Embaſſadors *Cornelius* came to *Thermopylæ*, where a ſolemn Diet and aſſembly of all *Greece* is wont to be held upon certain ſet daies, and thither reſort great numbers of people. Which meeting is called *Pylaicum*: where he adviſed the Ætolians eſpecially to perſever conſtant and faithfull in the amity of the people of *Rome*. Some of the principall Ætolians ſeemed to complain between whiles, that the Romans were not ſo well affected to their nation after vi-
B ctory, as they were in time of the war: but others, more ſharply blamed and reproached them, yea, and upbraided them with this, That *Philip* could not have been vanquiſhed, no, nor the Romans ever able ſo much as to paſs over into *Greece*, without the help of the Ætolians. *Cornelius* forbare to make anſwer again to thoſe points, for fear of farther wrangling and altercation; and promiſed, that if they ſent to *Rome* they ſhould obtain any thing that was reaſon. Whereupon by his advice and approbation there were deputed Embaſſadors. This was the iſſue and end of the war with *Philip*.

Whiles theſe affairs thus paſſed in *Greece*, *Macedony*, and *Aſia*, all *Tuſcan* in manner was gone out and riſen up in arms, by occaſion of a conſpiracy of bondſlaves. For to enquire into theſe troubles and to repreſs the ſame, there was ſent *M. Acilius* a Prætor (who had the civill juriſdiction
C between Citizens and aliens) with one of the two legions of Roman Citizens. Some of them, who were already aſſembled together and grown to an head, he overcame in fight: of whom many were ſlain, and many taken priſoners. Others he ſcourged and round truſſed up, hanging them on gybbets, even as many as were the principall and chief of the conſpiracy: and others there were whom he ſent home again to their Maſters.

Now the Conſuls were gone into their Provinces. *Marcellus* ſo ſoon as he was entred into the marches of the *Boii*, and had over-wearied his ſouldiers with marching all day long, ſate him down upon a certain riſing of a hill, and there as he was encamping himſelf and his men, *Corolamus* a Prince or great Lord of the *Boii*, with a mighty power aſſailed and charged him, and ſlew upon three thouſand of his men. In which ſudden and tumultuary skirmiſh, certain brave men
D of mark were ſlain; among whom were *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *M. Junius Syllanus* two Colonels of the allies: alſo *A. Ogulnius* and *P. Claudius* two Knight Marſhals or Tribunes of the ſecond legion. Howbeit the Romans ſtrongly fortified their tents and defended them valiantly, which the enemies upon their fortunat victory had long aſſailed to no effect. And in the ſame ſtanding camp he continued certain daies, whiles he cured his ſouldiers of their wounds, and recovered their hearts after ſo great a fright. The *Boii* (as they are a nation that of all things cannot endure any tedious delay of time) diſperſed themſelves into their towns and forts. Then *Marcellus* preſently croſſed the *Po*, and led his army into the territory of *Comum*, where the Inſubrians lay encamped after they had ſollicited and cauſed thoſe of * *Comum* to take arms. The legions * Comc.
made no more ado, but gave them battell in the very way: and at the firſt encounter the enemies
E charged them ſo hotly, that they forced the forefront of the battell to give ground. Which when *Marcellus* perceived, fearing leſt being once diſcovered they ſhould be repulſed and diſcomfited, he made a cohort of Marſians to make head; and at once ſet forth all the troops of the Latine Cavalry againſt them. Their firſt and ſecond charge both, mightily impeached and quailed the enemy, advancing forward luſtily and preſſing upon them in great fury: whereby the reſt of the Roman army taking heart again and being encouraged, at the firſt received them manfully and made reſiſtance only, but afterwards followed fiercely upon them: inſomuch as the Gauls were able no longer to abide their violence, but turned their backs, took them to their heels, and ran away by heaps. *Valerius Antias* writeth, that in this battell there were forty thouſand men ſlain and above, five hundred and ſeven military enſigns taken, with 432 chariots: beſides many chains
F of gold, whereof *Claudius* preſented one (very maſſie above the reſt and of great weight) unto *Jupiter*, which was hung up within the Temple in the Capitoll, as he writeth. The ſame day was the Camp of the Gauls forced and ranſackt, and the town of *Comum* alſo within few daies taken by aſſault. Upon this there were eight and twenty boroughs or forts that fell away and revolted to the Conſul. But the Hiſtoriographers agree not upon this, Whether the Conſul led his forces againſt the Inſubrians firſt, or the Boians; and whether he raſed out the diſhonour of a former foil and defeat by a fortunate victory in this battell: or contrariwiſe, after a proſperous fight atchieved before *Comum*, he blotted and defaced the ſame with a ſhamefull overthrow received at the Boians hand.

During this variable and alternative fortune, *L. Purpurio* the other Conſul, marched into
G the Boians Country through the tribe *Sappinia*. And when he was approached near to a Caſtle called * *Mutilum*, he feared leſt he ſhould be encloſed and intercepted by the Boians and Ligu- * *Mutilina*.
rians: whereupon he retired with his forces the ſame way that he came, and fetching a great com- Blondo, *Mediana*. Leandro.
paſs about through the open country in ſafety and ſecurity, he came at length to his Collegue. Who having joyned both their powers together, firſt ranged over the Boians territories, waſting and ſpoiling untill they came as far as * *Felſina*. This Town with other ſtrong burroughs * *Bologna*.
and forts, and in a manner all the Boians yielded themſelves, ſave only their youth, who were

up

up in arms to pill and ſpoil, and were at that time retired unto the forreſts and glins out of the H way. After this the army marched toward the Ligurians. The Boians making full account to aſſail the Roman army at unawares, which marched without good regard of themſelves, and not cloſe together (for that their enemies ſeemed to be far off) followed after through the blind and covert forreſts. But when they ſaw that they could not overtake them, they ſuddenly all at once paſſed over the *Po* in ſmall bothoms and punts, and after they had ſpoiled and pilled the Levians and Libuans, as they returned from thence with a booty raiſed out of the country, they chanced in the utmoſt frontires of *Liguria*, to light upon the army of the Romans in their march. Sooner and with more eagerneſs fell they to fight, than if they had appointed both time and place, and been prepared aforehand to ſtrike a battell. There it well appeared, of what force anger is to prick on and ſharpen mens ſpirits to conflict. For the Romans more greedy of murder and bloudſhed, I than of victory, fought ſo, as they ſcarce left the enemies one meſſenger to carry the news of their unhappy overthrow. In regard of theſe exploits, upon the Conſuls letters brought to *Rome*, ordained it was, that there ſhould be a ſolemn proceſſion and thankſgiving to the gods for three daies. Shortly after *Marcellus* came to *Rome*, unto whom was granted a triumph with great conſent of the LL. of the Senat; and whiles he was in his Magiſtracy he triumphed over the Inſubrians and Comians, leaving for his Collegue good hope likewiſe of a triumph, becauſe himſelf (to ſay a truth) in that nation fought but unfortunately, whereas his Collegue ſped well enough, and had a lucky hand. Much ſpoil of the enemies was carried in a pomp, upon the Chariots that were taken and won from them. Many enſigns and banners were born in a ſhew, beſides in money, to the value of 320000 aſſes of braſs coin; and 234000 bigate peeces of ſilver. The footmen had 800 aſſes K given them apeece, every horſeman and centurion had thrice as much.

The ſame year King *Antiochus*, whiles he kept his winter at *Epheſus*, aſſaied to reduce all the Cities and States of *Aſia* unto the ancient form of government and ſubjection, aſſuring himſelf, that the reſt would not be hard to be ſubdued and brought under, becauſe the towns were either ſituate upon plains, or nothing well fortified with walls, and not furniſhed with men and munition. As for * *Smyrna* and * *Lampſacus*, they ſtood upon their freedom, and challenged it. Doubted it was, and great danger, that if he ſhould let them go clear away ſo, ſome Cities in *Æolis* and *Ionia* would take after *Smyrna*, and others in *Helleſpontus* follow the example of *Lampſacus*. Therefore both himſelf ſent from * *Epheſus* to lay ſiege unto *Smyrna*, and gave commandment, That the forces which were at *Abydus* (leaving only a ſmall garriſon behind) ſhould be lead to I the ſiege and aſſault of *Lampſacus*. And yet he threatned and terrified them not ſo much with forces and violence, but aſſaied them rather by fair means, ſending to them his Embaſſadors, ſo as, partly by flattering and gentle words wherewith he entertained them, and partly by mild reproof for their raſhneſs and obſtinacy, he endeavoured to put them in ſome hope, that ſhortly they ſhould have whatſoever they deſired: and then, both they themſelves, and all others ſhould evidently ſee, that they had obtained their liberty by the eſpeciall grace and favour of the King, and not uſurped and gained it by occaſion of ſome advantage and opportunity. To this they anſwered again, That *Antiochus* ought neither to marvell, nor be offended and diſpleaſed at them if they could not wel endure the hope which they had of freedom thus to be deferred from time to time. Then he departing from *Epheſus* in the beginning of the ſpring ſailed unto *Helleſpontus* with M his fleet. His land forces he tranſported over to * *Madytos* a City in *Cherſoneſus*, and joyned them to his ſtrength by ſea. And becauſe they ſhut the gates upon him, he environed the town with armed men, and when he was at the point to give the aſſault, and to bend his engins of battery againſt the walls, it was ſurrendred into his hands. Upon the like fear the Inhabitants alſo of other Cities in *Cherſoneſus* yielded themſelves. After this he came to * *Lyſimachia* with his whole power, as well of land-ſouldiers as ſea-ſervitors. And finding it abandoned, ruinat, and lying (as it were) along, (for but few years before the Thracians had forced, ſacked, and burnt it) he had a great deſire to rear and ſet upright again that noble and famous City, ſeated in ſo good and commodious a place. And therefore he took great care, and employed all his endeavour to re-edifie the walls, to re-build the edifices, to redeem and ranſom the Lyſimachians that were in ſlavery, to ſeek out all thoſe that were diſperſed over *Helleſpontus* and *Cherſoneſus*, and gather them together, yea, and to enroll new inhabitants upon hope of gain and profit, and by all means poſſible to ſtore and people the City again. And withall, becauſe he would eaſe them of the fear they had of the Thracians, he went in perſon with the one half of his land-forces to waſte and ſpoil the confines of *Thrace*; the other part with all the ſea-ſouldiers and mariners he left hard at work about the repairing of the City.

About this time as *L. Cornelius* (being ſent by the Senat to compoſe the controverſies and variance between the two Kings, *Antiochus* and *Ptolomeus*) abode at *Selymbria*; ſo of the ten Commiſſioners aboveſaid, *P. Lentulus* departed from *Bargylla*, *P. Villius* and *L. Terentius* from *Thaſſus*, and arrived all three at *Lyſimachia*: where *L. Cornelius* likewiſe met them from *Selymbria*; and O a few daies after King *Antiochus* being newly returned out of *Thracia*. The firſt meeting and ſalutation between him and the Commiſſioners was friendly and courteous, yea, and there paſſed to and fro afterwards divers amiable kindneſſes and loving entertainments mutually. But when they entred once to parl of their Commiſſion that they had in charge, and of the preſent State of *Aſia*, then there was fretting and fuming and their bloud up. The Roman Agents ſtuck not to tell him to his face that all that he had done, ſince he took the ſea, and departed with his fleet out of *Syria*

was

* *Iſmyr*, Leunclavio.
* *Lepſeke*, Leunclavio.
* *Epheſo*.
* *Maicos*.
* *Hexamil*. Sophiano. *Policaſtro*, Nardo.

A was displeasant unto the Senat, saying, "That they thought it meet, that all the Cities should be "restored unto King *Ptolomeus*, which had been under his dominion. For as touching these "towns, which sometime *Philip* had been possessed of, and which *Antiochus* had surprized and "seized upon, taking his time and vantage, when *Philip* was employed another way in the Ro- "man wars, it was no reason, nor a thing tolerable, that the Romans should so many years "space, by land and sea endure so great toil, and hazard such perils; and suffer *Antiochus* in the end "to go away with the fruit and reward of all the service. But set the case, that the Romans would "take no knowledge of his coming into *Asia*, as a matter impertinent unto them: can they dis- "semble also, that now he is come over into *Europe* with all his forces both by land and sea and "little wanteth of making open war upon the Romans? Marry as for him, he will not stick to deny
B "that he levieth any war, although he were arrived and landed in *Italy*. Then he challenges the "King made answer, and said, That he saw well enough and knew before that the Romans were "inquisitive and curious enough to search what King *Antiochus* ought to [illegible] "thought of their own selves, how far forth they should by right proceed, as well by land as by "sea. As for *Asia*, it appertained not at all to the people of *Rome*, neither had they reason unto "enquire what *Antiochus* did in *Asia*, than *Antiochus* to search into the [illegible] of "*Rome* in *Italy*. As concerning *Ptolomeus*, from whom they complain that he had taken certain Ci- "ties; he did them to understand that there was amity between him and *Ptolomeus* and they were "now in terms of knitting themselves shortly in nearer bonds of alliance and affinity. Neither "sought he the spoil of *Philip*, and to enrich himself by his adversity and misfortune: or passed o-
C "ver into *Europe* against the Romans * * * * But when he was vanquished once, all that e- "ver he had, by right and law of war, became the possessions of *Seleucus*, and so consequently (as "he took it) appertained unto him. And during the time, that his progenitors and predecessors, "were busied and troubled with other affairs, first *Ptolomeus* catched at some things, and *Philip* "after at other, and so between them they usurped and seized upon other mens possessions, and "namely, of certain places near and hard by in *Thacia*, which without all controversie belonged "unto *Lysimachus*. For to reduce which into their ancient State, he was thither come, and now "was in hand to re-edifie *Lysimachia* anew, lately destroyed by the violence of the Thracians, to "the end, that *Seleucus* his son might hold it as the royall seat of his kingdom. Thus as they con- tinued arguing and debating for certain daies, there ran a rumor, but without any certain author,
D that King *Ptolomeus* was dead: whereupon they could grow to no conclusion of all their parlies: yet they made semblance on both sides, that they heard nothing thereof. And as well *L. Cornelius*, who was sent in Embassage to both the Kings, *Antiochus* and *Ptolomeus*, requested respite of some small time to confer with *Ptolomeus*, to the end that himself might be arrived in *Ægypt* before any alteration were made in the new possession of that kingdom: as also *Antiochus* made reckoning, that *Ægypt* would be his, if this good occasion then were presented unto him. Therefore having dismissed the Romans, and left his son *Seleucus* behind him with all the land-forces, for to finish the building again of *Lysimachia* which he had begun, himself with all his fleet sailed to *Ephesus*: and having sent his Embassadors to *Quintius* to treat soberly about a league and amity, he coasted along *Asia* and so arrived in * *Lycia*. And when he heard for certain at * *Patara* that *Ptolomeus* was
E yet living, he gave over his purpose of sailing into *Ægypt*: yet nevertheless he shaped his course & set sail for *Cyprus*: and when he had doubled the point of *Chelidonium*, he staid awhile in * *Pamphylia* about the river * *Eurymedon*, by occasion of a mutiny among the mariners & oar-men. From thence he weighed anchor, and when he was sailed as far as a place called [*The heads of the river* *Sarus*] there arose a gust and fearful tempest, wherein he had like to have been cast away and drowned with all his fleet. Many of his ships were run aground, & many of them swallowed up of the sea, so as there escaped not one of them by swimming to land. A number of men there perished, not of base mariners only, and unknown common souldiers but also of his near and special friends. Having rallied the dispersed reliques of this shipwrack, seeing he had no means and was not able to reach and gain *Cyprus*, he returned again to *Seleucia*, with an army nothing so puissant nor so
F well furnished, as when he set out in his voyage. There he commanded his ships to be haled a- land, and laid up in their docks (for winter now approached) & himself took his journey to * *Antiochia*, there to lye all that winter time. And in these terms stood the affairs of the Kings.

At *Rome*, there were first instituted in this year three Triumvirs called *Epulones*, to wit, *C. Licinius Lucullus*, *T. Romuleius* (who was the man that put up the bill for their creation) and P. *Porcius Lecca*. And by a law in that behalf ordained, these Triumvirs were allowed as well as a Bishop, the long embrodered robe of purple. But in this year great debate & variance there was between the Questors or Treasurers of the City Q. *Fabius Labeo* & L. *Aurelius* of the one side, and all the Priests on the other side. These treasurers were at some fault for mony, because they were minded and appointed to make the last payment unto certain privat persons, for the loan-silver which
G they had disbursed for the wars: these monies the Treasurers demanded of the Augurs and Bi- shops to furnish out the said paiment; for that during the wars, they only had not been contri- buters in any levy. The Priests appealed to the Tribunes, and called for their lawfull favour: but all was in vain, and so they were forced to satisfie all the arrerages for the years past, wherein they had paid nothing. This year there died two Bishops, and new were installed in their rooms. *M. Marcellus* the Consul entred in place of *T. Sempronius Tuditanus*, who deceased Prætor in *Spain*; and *L. Valerius* instead of *M. Cornelius Cethegus*. *Q. Fabius Maximus* also an Augur died a very young

Some what wanting in the Latine.

* *Bricquia*, Giravæ.
* *Patera*.
* *Cecilia*, wherof the North part is called *Caraman*, and the rest *Scandalorum*, Niger.
* *Zacuth*, Theveo.
* *Sangro*.

* *Antiochia*, Nigro, *Aleppo*. Villenovano.

young man, before he had born any office of State: but for that year there was not ſubſtituted a new Augur in his room. H

After this, *M. Marcellus* the Conſul held the ſolemn aſſembly for the election of Conſuls. And Conſuls were created *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *M. Portius Cato*. Then were the Prætors choſen, namely, *C. Fabricius Luſcinus*, *Cn. Atinius Labeo*, *C. Manlius Volſo*, *Ap. Claudius Nero*, *P. Manlius*, and *P. Porcius Lecca*. The Ædiles of the chair *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *C. Flaminius* divided among the people 1000000 Modii of wheat, at two aſſes a Modius. This ſtore of corn had the Sicilians brought to *Rome* for the honour of *C. Flaminius* and his father. And *Flaminius* was content that his companion in office ſhould reap a full part of the thanks for this gratuity. The games called Roman were exhibited in moſt ſumptuous manner, and thrice repreſented all over again. The Ædiles of the Commons *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus*, and *C. Sempronius*, who alſo was the high Pariſh-Prieſt, and Superintendent, called *Curio Max.* called in queſtion many of the City Bailiffs that gathered their rents for paſtures, judicially to anſwer upon their accounts before the people. Three of them were condemned, and of their ſilver raiſed upon their fines, they built the Temple of *Faunus* in the Iſland. The Plebeian plaies were renewed for two daies, and a ſolemn publike feaſt was celebrated in regard of them. I

The ſame day that *L. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Porcius* entred their office, they propoſed unto the Senat concerning the government of the Provinces. And order was given by the LL. of the Councill, that foraſmuch as the war increaſed ſo in *Spain*, as required not only a Conſular army, but a Conſul alſo for the Leader; the Conſuls ſhould either agree between themſelves for the government of the two Provinces, to wit, the hither *Spain*, and *Italy*, or elſe to caſt lots therefore: K that he whoſe hap it was to rule *Spain*, ſhould have with him two legions, five thouſand Latine allies, and five hundred horſe; and likewiſe to have the conduct of a fleet of twenty gallies of war: that the other Conſul ſhould levy and enroll two legions; which were thought ſufficient to defend and keep *France* in obedience, conſidering the courages of the Inſubrians and *Boii*, were well cooled and abated the laſt year. *Cato* by lot had the charge of *Spain*, and *Valerius* of *Italy*. Then the Prætors caſt lots for their Provinces. To *C. Fabricius Luſcinus* fell the juriſdiction over the Citizens of *Rome*: to *C. Atinius Labeo* over the ſtrangers. *C. Manlius Volſo* governed *Sicily*, and *Ap. Claudius Nero* the farther *Spain*. *M. Porcius Lecca* was aſſigned to rule * *Piſa*, to the end he might be upon the back of the Ligurians, and *P. Manlius* was appointed as an aſſiſtant and co-adjutor to the Conſul in the higher *Spain*. As for *T. Quintius*, his Commiſſion was renewed for L one year longer, in regard that not only *Antiochus* and the Ætolians, but alſo *Nabis* the Lacedæmonian Tyrant, were doubted and ſuſpected not to ſtand ſound to the Romans; and for him were ſet out two legions: and if need were of any ſupply to make up the companies thereof, the Conſuls were enjoyned to enroll new ſouldiers, and to ſend them over into *Macedony*. Alſo *Appius Claudius* had a warrant to take up 2000 foot, and two hundred horſe, over and above that legion which *Q. Fabius* had. The like number of freſh horſe and foot was appointed for *P. Manlius* to be ſent into the higher *Spain*: and the ſame legion was granted unto him, which was commanded by *Minutius* the Prætor. Moreover, *P. Porcius Lecca* was to have the leading of two hundred ſootmen, and fifty horſe, drawn out of the Gauls army, for to lie in *Hetruria* about *Piſa*. Laſt of all, in *Sardinia* *P. Sempronius Longus* continued ſtill in place of command. Thus the Provinces M being diſtributed, the Conſuls before they departed out of the City, by advice and counſell of the Biſhops performed the ſolemnity of the ſacred Spring which was vowed before by the Prætor *C. Cornelius Mammula*, according to the mind of the Senat and the good liking of the people, in the year when *Cn. Servilius* and *Cn. Flaminius* were Conſuls: and ſo it was celebrated one and twenty years after it was firſt vowed. Much about this time was *C. Claudius Pulcher*, the ſon of *Appius*, elected Augur, and inveſted in that Sacerdotall dignity, in the place of *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who died the year before.

* *Piſa.*

When as men began now to marvell that there was ſo little account made of the war begun already in *Spain*, there were letters brought from *Q. Minutius* with news, That he had fought a fortunate field before the town of *Turba*, with *Budares* and *Beſaſides*, two Spaniſh Generals and great N commanders: that he had ſlain twelve thouſand enemies, taken *Budares* the Generall himſelf priſoner and that the reſt were diſcomfited and put to flight. Upon the reading of theſe letters, leſs fear there was of *Spain*, from whence they looked for great wars.

After the return of the ten Delegats or Commiſſioners aboveſaid, all the care was, and no talk elſe but about *Antiochus* and his affairs. Theſe men, after they had declared firſt how their proceeding went with King *Philip*, and upon what conditions they had granted peace, informed and gave them to underſtand, "That there was as great a war behind from *Antiochus*: "that he had paſſed over the ſeas into *Europe* with a mighty Armado, and as puiſſant an army "for land ſervice; and had not been averted another way by a vain hope to invade and ſeize "upon *Ægypt*, which he conceived of a vainer bruit and rumor of *Ptolomy* his death, all *Greece* O "would have been anon on a light fire, and up in arms. For the very Ætolians themſelves, a na- "tion naturally of an unquiet ſpirit, and incenſed beſides againſt the Romans, would not have "ſit ſtill and been in reſt. Moreover, there was another malady and miſchief as dangerous, ſetled "as it were within the ribs & in the very heart of *Greece*: to wit, *Nabis*, the tyrant at this preſent "of the Lacedæmonians only, but ſhortly, if he may be let alone, of all *Greece*; who for avarice "and cruelty is equall to all the famous and noted tyrants that ever were: and if he be ſuffered to

"poſſeſs

A "poſſeſs himſelf of *Argos*, and to hold it as a fortreſs to command all *Peloponneſus*, when the "Roman armies ſhall be once tranſported home again into *Italy*, in faith, *Greece* may make "ſmall boaſt of being delivered from *Philip*: for this they ſhall be ſure of at leaſt, if of nothing "elſe, to have a near-neighbour tyrant, inſtead of a King far off, for to be their Lord and imperi- "ouſly to command them. The ancient Senators, hearing theſe intelligences from grave perſons of good quality, and who made report of all things not by hearſay, but upon their own knowledge, were of advice and reſolved to have a good eye and regard with all ſpeed unto *Antiochus*, conſidering the King was paſſed already into *Syria*, whatſoever the occaſion was. But as touching the Tyrant, after they had diſputed and debated the matter long time, Whether they had ſufficient cauſe already to determine upon ſome finall concluſion, or ſhould refer unto the wiſ-
B dome and judgement of *T. Quintius* the managing of thoſe affairs, therein to proceed and do according as he ſhould deem it good and expedient for the Common-wealth; in fine, they permitted him to uſe his own diſcretion concerning the Lacedæmonian Tyrant: ſuppoſing that the matter was not of ſuch weight and conſequence as to concern the main ſtate of the weal-publike ſo matterially, whether it were haſtened or protracted; but rather it behoved them to be adviſed and conſider well, what *Annibal* and the Carthaginians would do, if haply the war with *Antiochus* were begun and once afoot. They [ at *Carthage* ] that ſided with the adverſe faction of *Annibal*, had ſent divers and ſundry letters unto the principall LL. at *Rome*, every one privatly to his friends to this effect, That there paſſed meſſengers and letters from *Annibal* to *Antiochus*, and that there were Embaſſadors again that ſecretly came from the King to him. And like
C as there be ſome beaſts ſo wild and ſavage as never can be tamed; ſo the courage and ſpirit of that man was ſuch as might not poſſibly be dulced or appeaſed. For he daily complained that the City languiſhed and grew feeble with idleneſs, and by ſitting ſtill and doing nothing, was overgrown as it were with moſs, and unpoſſible it was to raiſe and ſtir it up but with ſound of armour and weapons. Theſe advertiſements carried likelihood of truth and good credit with them, in regard of the late war, ſo freſh in memory, which he alone began firſt, and managed to the laſt. Over and beſides, he had provoked by a late act of his many great and mighty perſonages, who ſet their hearts againſt him. The order and degree of Judges at that time bare chief ſway and ſoveraign authority in *Carthage*: in this reſpect principally, for that the ſame Judges were perpetuall. The goods, the honour and reputation, yea, and the life of every man lay in their
D hands. He that diſpleaſed one of that bench, war ſure to have all the reſt his enemies and to be upon him: and there never wanted one promoter or other to carry tales and give information to theſe judges againſt a man, if they ſaw them ill affected once and bent againſt one. During the time of this imperious and tyrannicall rule of theirs, (for as their power was exceeding all meaſure, ſo they bare themſelves therein as outragiouſly beyond the limits of civility) it was *Annibal* his hap to be Prætor; and by vertue of his place he ſent for one of the treaſurers, to come before him: but he made no reckoning of his authority, and refuſed to obey: for the ſaid treaſurer was one of the contrary ſide: and becauſe from the degrees of theſe treaſurers they mounted preſently into the higheſt order of the Judges, therefore he carried with him an hauty mind already, in regard of the high room that he was ſhortly to ſtep into. *Annibal* you may be
E ſure took this as a great diſgrace and indignity to his perſon, and therefore he ſent a purſevant or ſerjeant to attach the body of the Treaſurer aforeſaid: and preſently calling the people to a generall aſſembly, he commanded him there to be preſented: where he accuſed and blamed the party himſelf, no more than the whole order and degree of the Judges: through whoſe inſolent pride and exceſſive power, both laws and Magiſtrats were nothing regarded but trodden under foot. And perceiving that theſe words of his tickled the itching ears of the people, conſidering alſo that their proud demeanor prejudiced the liberty of the meaneſt perſons: immediatly he publiſhed a law, and got it enacted, That thoſe Judged ſhould be choſen every year, and that thenceforth one and the ſame man might not be a Judge two years together. But look how much thank he had at the Commons hands for this act, ſo much he offended many of the great
F men and principals of the City. Another thing beſides he did, whereby he purchaſed to himſelf the ill will of ſome private perſons, in tendring the common good of the weal-publike. The finances and revenues of the State, partly, through negligence went to decay, and partly, were ſhared out in dividends between ſome certain of the head Citizens and Magiſtrats: and more than that, the money which by way of tribute was to be paid yearly unto the Romans, was too ſhort and not to be found: and it appeared, that a ſore levy would be impoſed upon private perſons ſhortly to make thoſe payments out of their own purſes. *Annibal*, after he had caſt up the books, and made an eſtimate and juſt abſtract how much the rents and revenues of the City amounted unto as well from cuſtoms by ſea as land, and to what uſes they were employed; and perceiving thereby what was defrayed in the ordinary charges of the State, and what went a wrong way, and
G was averred by theſe theeves to their own ſelves, he pronounced aloud in open audience of the whole aſſembly, That the arrerages ſhould be gathered up and brought into the common Cheſt: and ſo privat perſons might be diſcharged and eaſed of their impoſitions of tribute, and the Common-wealth would be rich enough and able to perform and furniſh out the monies due to the people of *Rome*. And as he thus ſaid, ſo he was as good as his word, and executed it accordingly. Then theſe caterpillers, who for certain yeers lived by robbery of the common treaſure, and fed upon the fruits of the City, fared ſpightfully againſt *Annibal*, as if he had done them

them great wrong in taking their own goods from them, and not proceeded in justice to wreſt H
out of their hands their ſtoln ſubſtance: and in great malice and bitterneſs ceaſed not to provoke
againſt *Annibal* the Romans, who were ready enough of themſelves to pick ſome quarrell to him,
to ſeek occaſion of hatred, and to find ann hole in his coat. *Scipio Africanus* for a long time gave
the deafear unto them, and miſliked the courſe: for he ſuppoſed it was not for the honour and
majeſty of the people of *Rome* to ſubſcribe unto thoſe imputations charged upon *Annibal*, to en-
tertain the ſpight and hatred of men, and to intereſs and inſert publike authority within the pri-
vat factions of the Carthaginians; and not to be content to have vanquiſhed *Annibal* in war,
unleſs they alſo took upon them the perſons of accuſers, and preferred a ſlanderous libell & bill of
inditement, and ware thereto *billa vera*. But at length they wrought and brought about, that I
Embaſſadors ſhould be ſent to *Carthage*, who in the Senat there might charge *Annibal* categori-
cally, with plotting and practiſing with *Antiochus* for to wage war againſt them. And theſe three
were addreſſed to this Embaſſie, *C. Servilius*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Q. Terentius Culleo*;
who being arrived there, cauſed it to be given out to as many as ſhould demand the cauſe of their
coming, (and all by inſtruction from the adverſaries of *Annibal*) that their errand was to compoſe
and end the debates between *Maſaniſſa* King of the Numidians, and the Carthaginians. This was
commonly divulged and beleeved for truth. But *Annibal* found them ſtraight and ſmelt this jug-
ling and was not ignorant that he was the only man that the Romans ſhot at, and howſoever
peace was granted to the Carthaginians, yet they continued an endleſs and inexpiable war with
him alone ſtill. Whereupon he reſolved to frame himſelf to give place to the time and yield unto
fortune. And being furniſhed aforehand with all things requiſit to take his flight, when he had of K
purpoſe all the day long ſhewed himſelf in the publike place of aſſembly very formally, to turn by
all ſuſpition of his intended reſolution, ſo ſoon as it began to be dark night, in his Citizens gown
as he went a l day, and attended in the Hall, he gate him forth ſtraight to the City gate, accompa-
nied only with two perſons, and thoſe not privy at all to his purpoſe and deſignment. And having
found his horſes ready in the place appointed, he mounted and rode apace that night untill he
was come to a certain quarter of the territory of *Vocæ*: and by the next morning, he paſſed be-
tween *Acylla* and *Thapſus*, and recovered a tower or fort of his own; where he was imbarked
in a ſhip ready rigged and appointed with ſail and oar to take ſea and away. Thus departed *An-*
*nibal* out of *Affrick*, lamenting more often the hard hap and calamity of his country, than of his
own friends and kinsfolk. And the ſame day he fell with the Iſland *Cercina*: where the Cartha- L
ginians found in the rode certain hulks charged with merchandiſe: and when at his coming a-
ſhore out of his ſhip, there came many running toward him for to ſalute and welcome him thi-
ther, he charged his own company, that if any asked concerning him, they ſhould make anſwer,
That he went upon an Embaſſage to *Tyrus*: but fearing leſt any of their barks ſhould diſanchor
that night and make report at *Thapſus* or *Acylla* that he was ſeen in *Cercina*: he cauſed a beaſt to
be killed for ſacrifice, and invited the Maſters of the ſhips and all the Merchants to ſupper; and
therewith commanded all the ſails and croſs ſail-yards to be had out of the veſſels, to make there-
of a large pavilion that they might ſit in the ſhade at their ſupper: for that, as it fell out, it was
then midſummer. And as the time and ſuch proviſion as they had, would give leave, he ſet out a
feaſt and banket; he ſpared for no wine, and continued the merriment far within night. Then M
*Annibal*, ſo ſoon as he could eſpy his time for to deceive thoſe that were in the harbor, weighed
anchor. The reſt were faſt aſleep; and when the next day they awoke and rouzed themſelves, with
their drunken and drouzy nols (and far forth day it was, and late ere they aroſe) they were fain
to ſpend ſome hours in fitting their oars again in their right places, and the tackling of the ſhips in
good order.

In this while, at *Carthage* the ordinary multitude that uſed to frequent the houſe of *Annibal*,
repaired as their manner was to his gate-houſe: and when it was voiced abroad, that he was not
to be found all the company gathered together in the market place, ſeeking and enquiring for the
principall and chief perſonage of their City. Some gave out (as the truth was) that he was fled: o-
ther ſaid plainly, that he was murdered and made away through the falſhood and villany of the N
Romans; and this they ſticked not to avouch. There might a man have ſeen ſundry and divers
countenances (as it fareth commonly in Cities where there is ſiding and parts-taking) as each one
is affected to his own party and faction. At laſt, news came that he was ſeen at *Cercina*. The Ro-
man Embaſſadors having upon audience given, declared in the Senat of *Carthage*, that the LL. of
their Senat had certain intelligence, that both aforetime, King *Philip* was by *Annibal* eſpecially ſol-
licited and ſet on to make war with the people of *Rome*; and alſo now there hath been letters and
meſſengers with credences from him to King *Antiochus*; and that he would never reſt untill
he had ſet all the world together in arms: and therefore if the Carthaginians were deſirous to
content and ſatisfie the Romans, they ſhould not ſuffer theſe parts of his to eſcape unpuniſhed:
then the Carthaginians made anſwer, and ſaid, That nothing of all this paſſed by publike councill O
or conſent or allowance of the State, howbeit they would be willing to do whatſoever the Ro-
mans thought to be reaſon.

*Annibal* this while had a boon voyage, and with a merry gale of wind arrived at *Tyrus*, where
he was received of the Tyrians, the firſt founders of *Carthage*, as if he had been in another coun-
try of his own: received he was, I ſay, and entertained with all kind of honour, beſeeming a man
ſo famous and renowned. After he had ſojourned there ſome few daies, he ſailed to *Antioch*:

where

A where understanding that the King himself was already departed from thence, he repaired to his son, and conferred with him, as he was setting out an yearly solemnity of games and plaies neer *Daphne*, and being courteously also by him intreated, he made no stay, but to ship-board and Sea again. And at *Ephesus* overtook the King, whom he found floating and wavering still in his mind, and unresolved what to do as touching the Roman war. But this coming of *Annibal*, was no small poise to turn the ballance, and to move him to enter into the enterprise thereof. The Ætolians likewise at the same time were estranged and alienated in affection from the Roman league and society, whose Embassadors demanding to have *Pharsalum* and *Leucas* again, with other Cities, according to the tenor and form of the first league, the Senat turned over and referred to *Quintius*.

B

# The four and thirtieth Book
## *Of the Histories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the four and thirtieth Book.

C THE law Oppia *proponded and enacted by* C. Oppius *a Tribun of the Common, in the time of the Punick war, for the abridging and restraint of the excess in womens apparel, was after much variance and debate repealed, notwithstanding that* Porcius Cato *laboured to the contrary, that it might not be abolished. This* Cato *made a voyage into* Spain, *and by force of arms (beginning first to war as Emperour) brought the hither province of* Spain *on this side* Iberus *to quietness.* T. Quintius Flamininus *levied war against the Lacedemonians and* Nabis *their tyrant, in which he sped fortunatly, and so prevailed, that he made an end thereof, granted them peace to his own good liking and pleasure, delivered* Argos, *and set it free, which was before in subjection to the tyrant. The Senat then, and never before, beheld the publick games and pastimes by themselves, apart from the rest of the people. Which to bring about* Sex. Ælius Pætus *and* L. Cornelius Cethegus *the Censors, set in foot and intermedled themselves,*
D *to the great indignation and discontentment of the Commons. More colonies were planted with Roman citizens.* M. Porcius Cato *triumphed over* Spain. *The wars also which fortunatly were atchieved against the* Boii *and the French Insubres are here recorded.* T. Quintius Flamininus, *who had vanquished* Philip *King of the Macedonians and* Nabis *the tyrant of the Lacedemonians, yea, and freed all* Greece *from their oppression, for these many and noble exploits, rode in triumph three daies together. The Carthaginian Embassadors brought word, that* Annibal *who was fled unto* Antiochus, *banded with him and combined to make war.* Annibal *had besides assayed by means of one* Aristo *a Tyrian (sent as a courier with credence only and no letters, to* Carthage) *for to move and sollicite the Carthaginians to rebellion.*

E
## *The four and thirtieth Book of* T. Livius.

BEtween the troublesome cares of great wars which either were not fully ended, or at hand ready to begin, there hapned an occurrence, which in it self being but a small matter to speak of, and of little regard; considering the sides and part-taking about it, grew to a mighty head and contention in the end. *M. Fundanius* and *L. Valerius* Tribuns of the Commons, preferred a bill unto the people touching the abrogation of the Law *Oppia*. For *C. Oppia* a fortime even when the *Punick* war was at the hottest, and whiles *Q. Fabius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls had promulged a Statute, by vertue whereof, No woman of what degree soever might either have in Ornaments and Jewels above half an ounce weight of gold, nor wear
F any habiliments wrought of sundry colours, nor yet ride in Coach within the City of *Rome*, or any other Town nor neerer than a mile from thence unless it were upon occasion of some solemn feast or publick sacrifice. Now *M. Junius Brutus*, and *P. Junius Brutus*, both Tribuns likewise of the Commons stood in defence and maintenance of the said law *Oppia*, and affirmed plainly they would not suffer it to be anulled. Many a nobleman was seen in this quarrel: some spake for the Law, and others gainsaid it. The Capitol was full of people, either taking part and favouring the cause, or else opposing themselves, and urging the contrary. The very dames of the City themselves could neither by perswasion and advice, nor by any reverent and womanly regard, nor yet by the express and absolute commandment of their husbands be kept within dores; but do what they could they bespread all the streets of the City, beset and kept all the waies into the common
G place, beseeching and entreating their husbands as they passed by and went down thither to permit and give their consent, That seeing the good estate of the Common-weal now flourished, and the private wealth of every man encreased daily, their wives also and matrons might be allowed to have their ancient ornaments and gay attire again. The number of these women grew every day more then other: for now they flocked also out of the Towns, Villages, and other places of resort in the country and shewed themselves at *Rome*. In so much as they took heart at length, and were so bold as to encounter the Consuls, the Pretors, and other Magistrats, requesting and be-

them great wrong in taking their own goods from them, and not proceeded in juſtice to wreſt H
out of their hands their ſtoln ſubſtance: and in great malice and bitterneſs ceaſed not to provoke againſt *Annibal* the Romans, who were ready enough of themſelves to pick ſome quarrell to him, to ſeek occaſion of hatred, and to find ann hole in his coat. *Scipio Africanus* for a long time gave the deafear unto them, and miſliked the courſe: for he ſuppoſed it was not for the honour and majeſty of the people of *Rome* ro ſubſcribe unto thoſe imputations charged upon *Annibal*, to entertain the ſpight and hatred of men, and to intereſs and inſert publike authority within the privat factions of the Carthaginians; and not to be content to have vanquiſhed *Annibal* in war, unleſs they alſo took upon them the perſons of accuſers, and preferred a ſlanderous libell & bill of inditement, and ware thereto *billa vera*. But at length they wrought and brought about, that Embaſſadors ſhould be ſent to *Carthage*, who in the Senat there might charge *Annibal* categori- I
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In this while, at *Carthage* the ordinary multitude that uſed to frequent the houſe of *Annibal*, repaired as their manner was to his gate-houſe: and when it was voiced abroad, that he was not to be found all the company gathered together in the market place, ſeeking and enquiring for the principall and chief perſonage of their City. Some gave out (as the truth was) that he was fled: o- N
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*Annibal* this while had a boon voyage, and with a merry gale of wind arrived at *Tyrus*, where he was received of the Tyrians, the firſt founders of *Carthage*, as if he had been in another country of his own: received he was, I ſay, and entertained with all kind of honour, beſeeming a man ſo famous and renowned. After he had ſojourned there ſome few daies, he ſailed to *Antioch*:

where

A where understanding that the King himself was already departed from thence, he repaired to his son, and conferred with him, as he was setting out an yearly solemnity of games and plaies neer *Daphne*, and being courteously also by him intreated, he made no stay, but to ship-board and Sea again. And at *Ephesus* overtook the King, whom he found floating and wavering still in his mind, and unresolved what to do as touching the Roman war. But this coming of *Annibal*, was no small poise to turn the ballance, and to move him to enter into the enterprise thereof. The Ætolians likewise at the same time were estranged and alienated in affection from the Roman league and society, whose Embassadors demanding to have *Pharsalum* and *Leucas* again, with other Cities, according to the tenor and form of the first league, the Senat turned over and referred to *Quintius*.

B

# The four and thirtieth Book
## *Of the Histories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the four and thirtieth Book.

C THE Law Oppia *proponded and enacted by* C. Oppius *a Tribun of the Common, in the time of the Punick war, for the abridging and restraint of the excess in womens apparel, was after much variance and debate repealed, notwithstanding that* Porcius Cato *laboured to the contrary that it might not be abolished. This* Cato *made a voyage into* Spain, *and by force of arms (beginning first to war at* Emporix) *brought the hither province of* Spain *on this side* Iberus *to quietness.* T. Quintius Flamininus *levied war against the Lacedemonians and* Nabis *their tyrant, in which he sped fortunatly, and so prevailed, that he made an end thereof, granted them peace to his own good liking and pleasure, delivered* Argos, *and set it free, which was before in subjection to the tyrant. The Senat then, and never before, beheld the publick games and pastimes by themselves, apart from the rest of the people. Which to bring about* Sex. Ælius Pætus *and* L. Cornelius Cethegus *the Censors, set in foot and intermedled themselves, to the great indignation and discontentment of the Commons. More colonies were planted with Roman citizens.* M. Porcius Cato *triumphed over* Spain. *The wars also which fortunatly were atchieved against the* Boii *and the French Insubres are here recorded.* T. Quintius Flamininus, *who had vanquished* Philip *King of the Macedonians and* Nabis *the tyrant of the Lacedemonians, yea, and freed all* Greece *from their oppression, for these many and noble exploits, rode in triumph three daies together. The Carthaginian Embassadors brought word, that* Annibal *who was fled unto* Antiochus, *banded with him and combined to make war.* Annibal *had besides assaied by means of one* Aristo *a Tyrian (sent as a courier with credence only and no letters, to* Carthage) *for to move and sollicite the Carthaginians to rebellion.*

D

E

## *The four and thirtieth Book of* T. Livius.

BEtween the troublesome cares of great wars which either were not fully ended, or at hand ready to begin, there hapned an occurrence, which in it self being but a small matter to speak of, and of little regard; considering the sides and part-taking about it, grew to a mighty head and contention in the end. *M. Fundanius* and *L. Valerius* Tribuns of the Commons preferred a bill unto the people touching the abrogation of the Law *Oppia*. For *C. Oppius* a fortime even when the *Punick* war was at the hottest, and whiles *Q. Fabius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls had promulged a Statute, by vertue whereof, No woman of what degree soever might either have in Ornaments and Jewels above half an ounce weight of gold, nor wear

F any habiliments wrought of sundry colours, nor yet ride in Coach within the City of *Rome*, or any other Town nor neerer than a mile from thence unless it were upon occasion of some solemn feast or publick sacrifice. Now *M. Junius Brutus*, and *P. Junius Brutus*, both Tribuns likewise of the Commons stood in defence and maintenance of the said law *Oppia*, and affirmed plainly they would not suffer it to be anulled. Many a nobleman was seen in this quarrel: some spake for the Law, and others gainsaid it. The Capitol was full of people, either taking part and favouring the cause, or else opposing themselves, and urging the contrary. The very dames of the City themselves could neither by perswasion and advice, nor by any reverent and womanly regard, nor yet by the express and absolute commandment of their husbands be kept within dores; but do what they could they bespread all the streets of the City, beset and kept all the waies into the common

G place, beseeching and entreating their husbands as they passed by and went down thither to permit and give their consent, That seeing the good estate of the Common-weal now flourished, and the private wealth of every man encreased daily, their wives also and matrons might be allowed to have their ancient ornaments and gay attire again. The number of these women grew every day more then other: for now they flocked also out of the Towns, Villages, and other places of resort in the country and shewed themselves at *Rome*. In so much as they took heart at length, and were so bold as to encounter the Consuls, the Pretors, and other Magistrats, requesting and be-

beſeeching their favour, to ſtand with them, and forward the cauſe. But as for one of the Conſuls, *Marcus Porcius Cato* by name, they could not with all their praiers entreat him to enclin unto their ſuit: who in the maintenance of the ſaid law, and that it might not be revoked, ſpake in the frequent aſſembly of the people to this effect. "My Maſters and citizens of *Rome*, If every "one of us had fully reſolved and purpoſed with himſelf to hold his own, and keep the rightful "authority and preheminence that he hath over his own wife, leſs ado and trouble we ſhould "have had with them all together at this day. Now having given them the head at home ſo "much, that the curſtneſs and ſhrewdneſs of women hath conquered our liberty and freehold "there; behold, here alſo in publick place it is troden down and trampled underfoot: and be- "cauſe we were not able every man to rule his own in ſeveral, now we ſtand in fear and dread "them all in general. Certainly, I my ſelf thought ever until now, that it was but a feined fable I "and deviſed tale that went of a certain * Iſland, wherein by a conſpiracy of women, all the men "were murdered every one, and that ſex utterly made away and rooted out. But well I ſee now, "be they creatures never ſo weak, ſo ſilly and feeble, let them once have their meetings, their con- "venticles and ſecret conſetences, they will work miſchief in the higheſt degree, and be as dan- "gerous as any other. And ſurely for mine own part, I cannot reſolve in mine own conſcience "and determine, whether of the twain be worſe; the thing I mean in it ſelf, or the precedent ex- "ample and conſequence thereof, conſidering the manner how it is handled. Of which two, the "one toucheth us that are Conſuls and the reſt of the magiſtrats, the other concerneth you rather "my maſters and citizens of *Rome*. As for the matter in queſtion, and propoſed unto you, whe- "ther it be good and expedient for the weal-publick or no, that reſteth in you to determine and K "judge, who are to give your voices and ſuffrages. But this ſeditious inſurrection here, of wo- "men, be it of themſelves, or procured by your motion and inſtigation, *M. Fundanius* & *L. Valeri- "us*, no doubt it argueth and implieth a great default in the Magiſtrats, and I wot not whether it "will be a fouler blot and diſhonour to you that are Tribuns, than to us Conſuls. Yours will the "blame be if ye have brought women now to raiſe and ſtir up tribunitious ſeditions; and ours "the ſhame, if we needs muſt admit and accept of laws, whether we will or no for fear of a com- "motion and ſeparation of our women, as ſometimes we were forced to do by the departure and "inſurrection of our Commons. I aſſure you for mine own ſelf, when I paſſed erewhile into this "common-place through the preſs and throng of theſe women, I was abaſhed & could not chuſe "but bluſh. And had I not been more reſpective of the reputation, the honour and reverence of L "ſome in particular, than of them all together, becauſe it ſhould not be thought & ſaid, that they "had been checked and taken up by the Conſul; I would have ſaid unto them, What new faſhion "is this good wives, to run gadding abroad into the open ſtreets, to beſet the paſſages, and to af- "front, yea, and hang upon other womens husbands as ye do? What? could ye not every one at "home have dealt with your own good-men in the cauſe, and craved their help? or can ye ſpeak "fair and flatter better, can ye be more pleaſant and affable abroad in the Town, than within your "houſes? or make love to other men, rather then to your own husbands? And yet to ſpeak up- "rightly, if wives were of that modeſty and womanly carriage, as to keep themſelves within the "compaſs and bounds of their own liberty, and paſs no farther; it were not beſitting you I wot ſo "much as at home to trouble your ſelves about our laws here, nor to buſy your brains, to know "either what new Statuts paſſed, or what old were caſſed. Our anceſtors in old time would not, M "that women in any wiſe ſhould diſpoſe ſo much as of their own privat matters without the ad- "vice and direction of a Governor and Overſeer: and therefore in great wiſedom they ordained, "that they ſhould be ordred and ruled by their parents, by their brethren, by their husbands. But "we (and God will) can abide them to intermeddle in ſtate-matters, to govern the weal-publick, "to converſe with us in the common place, in publick aſſemblies and courts of parliament. For "what elſe do they now in the ſtreets, in the croſs waies & at all Iavenues, but, ſome of them give "their voyces that the bills of the Tribuns may paſs, and others adviſe and be of opinion, that the "law *Oppia* may be repealed? Let this outrageous & unreaſonable nature of theirs have the head; "let theſe unruly creatures and untamed animals have their wil and bridle them not; ſeethen how N "of themſelves they will keep a mean and meaſure in their licentiouſnes, unleſs you curb them & "hold them in. Tuſh, this is the leaſt matter of all that diſpleaſeth theſe women: there are a 1000 "things beſides that they think hardly of, and are diſconſented to be held unto by old cuſtomes "and poſitive laws. Liberty in all things; nay, to ſpeak more truly, a looſe and diſſolute licentiouſ- "nes, is the very thing they long after and deſire. For go they away cleer with this once, what is "it that they will not attempt and give the venture for? Do but run through and count the laws "provided in this behalf for women, whereby our fore-fathers and predeceſſors have kept down "and reſtained their diſorderly appetites, and with which they have ſought to ſubject them to "their husbands: yet, hardly can ye with the help of them all, keep them in awe and tied faſt, but "break out they will and have their own waies. What then? how and if ye ſuffer them to catch O "this and that, and t'other thing to it: if I ſay, ye let them wreſt from you one thing after another, "until at length they be check-mares with their husbands, think ye that ever you ſhall be able to "ſupport and endure them? Begin they once to be equals they will ſoon be ſuperiours: make them "your fellows, and ſtreight-wayes they will be your maſters. But, alas, we lay too hardly to their "charge. The thing that they ſtand upon is no more but this, That no new Act and ſtatute paſs "againſt them: for no equal and reaſonable thing do they refuſe: their deſire and prayer is only

The Oration of *M. Portius Cato*, in maintenance of the law *Oppia*.

* *Lemnos.*

that

A "that they might not be wronged. No, no, it is clean contrary: That law which ye have received
"and admitted, that which by your ſuffrages you firſt granted, that which by the practiſe and ex-
"perience of ſo many years you have allowed and approved, they would have you to revoke and
"aboliſh: which is as much to ſay, as by anulling that one, to infringe, impair, and diminiſh the
"authority and vertue of the reſt. No law is there ſo well deviſed, that is good, commodious and
"agreeable unto all. This only is intended principally to be conſidered, that it may be profitable
"to the moſt part, and ſerve in general. For if as each perſon ſhall find an act prejudicial, hurtful,
"and offenſive to himſelf, he may be allowed by and by to undo and demoliſh the ſame: to what
"end ſhould all the people aſſemble together to the making of thoſe ſtatutes, which they anon a-
"gainſt whom they were enacted, may aboliſh & overthrow? But gladly would I know the great
B "occaſion and cauſe, for which our dames in ſuch trouble and uprore run out into the ſtreets, and
"have much ado to forbear the common place, and to mount up into the *Roſtra* to make an ora-
"tion to this audience? Is it for this, to redeem out of the hands of *Annibal*, their fathers, their
"husbands, their children and brethren, whom he keepeth priſoners? Nay, that calamity is far e-
"nough off at this day, and far may it ever be I pray God from our City and Common-weal. And
"yet when the time was of that hard fortune and calamity, you would not hearken to their pite-
"ous and kind prayers in that behalf. But it may well be, that it is neither natural love and kind
"affection, nor careful regard of their deer friends, but meer touch of conſcience and ſenſe of reli-
"gion that hath brought them thus together in a congregation. And ready they are, it may be, to
"receive and intertain dame *Cybele* or *Idæa*, coming from *Peſcinus* out of *Phrygia*. What honeſt
C "colour and ſhew, ſo much as in word only can be pretended to bear out and cover this muti-
"nous ſedition of women? Mary this (ſay they) that we may glitter in our golden jewels, and
"ſhine in purple robes to be ſeen a far off: that as well on work daies as holy-dayes, we may be
"ſet up and ride in our coaches and chariots through the City, as it were in triumph, for the con-
"queſt and victory of a law by us repealed and diſanulled: for winning from you, and wringing out
"of your hands, maugre your beards, the liberty of your voices and ſuffrages: to the end that we
"might not be ſtinted and gaged in our exceſſive expenſes, in our diſſolute profuſion, in coſtly va-
"nities and ſuperfluities. Many a time ye have heard me complain of the waſtful and ſumptuous
"bravery of women: and as often have you known me to inveigh againſt the laviſh ſpending of
"men, not privat perſons only, but magiſtrats alſo in higher place: and how this City of ours is ſick
D "as it were at one time of two contrary diſeaſes and maladies, to wit pinching avarice, and ſuper-
"fluous prodigality, two plagues I ſay, that have been the bane and overthrow of all great Mo-
"narchies and flouriſhing empires. Theſe peſtilent miſchiefs I dread ſo much the more, as our
"ſtate and common-weal encreaſeth to the better; groweth wealthy every day more than other;
"and as our dominion extendeth ſtill farther and farther. And now that we are gotten over into
"*Greece* and *Aſia*, provinces full of all entiſing pleaſures and alluring delights of the world, now
"that we are come to finger and handle the rich treaſures of mighty Monarchs, I fear me that even
"theſe things have rather captivated us, than we them. The goodly images, ſtatues and pictures
"that came from *Syracuſa* are (truſt me truly) dangerous to this City, and threaten no leſs than ſo
"many enſigns of the field diſplayed againſt it. And I hear ſay already, that there are many, and
E "too too many, that praiſe and have in admiration the beautiful ornaments of *Corinth* & *Athens*,
"and begin to make a ſcorn and game of the images of the Roman Gods made of potters earth
"only, laughing much at them, where they ſee them ſtanding forth of the walls. Well, for my part
"I had rather have theſe gods ſo propice and favorable to us as they be than ſuch as thoſe: and ſo
"I hope they will ever be, if we can ſuffer them to abide ſtill in their uſual ſhrines and places ac-
"cuſtomed. No longer ago than in our fathers daies, King *Pyrrhus* ſent his Embaſſador *Cyneas* of
"purpoſe, and aſſaied by rich and goodly gifts, to tempt the minds not only of our men, but alſo of
"our women. There was no law *Oppia* as then in force to bridle and keep down the coſtly pomp
"and bravery of women: and yet not one of them all received ought at his hands. And what think
"ye was the cauſe? even the ſame and no other, for which our anceſtors in times paſt, never ſo
F "much as thought upon the providing of any ſuch law. There was no pride then, nor riotous ſu-
"perfluity to reſtrain. And like as the skill and knowledge of diſeaſes, muſt præcede and go afore
"their cures and remedies: even ſo evil deſires and enormous luſts had need to bud forth & ſpring
"before the laws, which ſhould repreſs and cut them down. What cauſed the law *Licinia* to be
"made, concerning 500 acres of ground, forbidding that no man ſhould poſſeſs above, but the
"exceeding covetouſnes of men, encroaching ſtill and laying land to land? What brought in the
"law *Cincia*, as touching gifts and preſents, but this, that the Commons began already to be vaſſals
"as it were and tributaries to the Senat. No marvail therefore it is, nor ſtrange may it ſeem, that
"neither the law *Oppia*, nor any other providing for the cutting off the unmeaſurable expences of
"women, was required and thought needful in thoſe daies; when gold, when purple freely tendred
G "and offered unto them was refuſed. If now at this day *Cyneas* were come, and went with ſuch
"gifts round about in the City, he ſhould find receivers enough of women, ſtanding in every ſtreet
"ready for him. And verily, with all the wit I have, I can not deviſe what the cauſe and reaſon
"ſhould be of many luſtful deſires and appetites that reign in this age. For ſay, that if one of you
"were kept ſhort and debarred of that which another might lawfully have: peradventure there
"might riſe in your hearts (through infirmity) ſome ſhame and abaſhment in nature, or elſe diſ-
"pleaſure and diſcontentment in reaſon: ſo being all as ye are brought within one compaſs of fur-

" niture and apparel, and no ods at all between you, what need any one of you to fear, leſt ſhe H
" ſhould be looked into, marked or obſerved, more than another. I muſt needs ſay, the ſhame that
" followeth & attendeth either upon nigardiſe or poverty, is worſt of all others: but the law quit-
" teth and freeth you of both, when you want but that only which by law ye may not have, and
" no man wil reproach you therfore. Yes mary, quoth ſome rich and wealthy dame, this ſame e-
" quality and no diſtinction at al among us, of al things I can not abide: Why may not I according
" to my calling, be ſeen araied in purple, and adorned with gold? And why is not the poor eſtate
" of others known, but lieth hidden under this pretext & cloak of a law: ſo as they may be thought
" yet (were it not for the law) that ſuch and ſuch things they would have; where as indeed they
" are not able to maintain and bear it out? Would ye (in faith) my maſters and citizens of *Rome*,
" have your wives to ſtrive thus, that the richer ſort might deſerve to have that, which no other I
" can reach unto: and the poor again, becauſe by that means they would not be deſpiſed, over-
" ſtrein themſelves to go above their calling and ability? Certainly I dare avow, if they begin once
" to ſhame at that which is not ſhame-worthy, they will not abaſh at any thing, be it never ſo
" ſhameful. Have it ſhe will out of her own, ſo long as it laſteth: and when all is gone, to her hus-
" bands purſe ſhe will go. Alas poor man and wo begun is that husband, as wel he that is intrea-
" ted by his wife, to ſtretch his purſe ſtrings, as he that is not, when he ſhal ſee another man to give
" her that, which he would not allow himſelf. And even now ye ſee how openly in the ſtreet (un-
" ſhame-faced as they be) they are in hand with other womens husbands, yea, & that which more
" is, they keep an intreating for to caſs the law & for the favour of their voices only. For of ſome
" they have got the good wills no doubt already, whiles themſelves wil not be intreated, but draw K
" miſery upon thee, upon thy ſtate, and upon thy children. Wel, let the law once ceaſe to ſet down
" a gage and proportion of thy wives expences, and never think to have remedy, and to ſtay the
" ſame of thy ſelf with all thou canſt do. Be not deceived ſirs, to think that the world will be ever
" again at the ſame paſs, as it was before this law took place. And as it is a ſafer courſe and leſſe
" dangerous to let a naughty and obſtinat perſon alone, that he be not called into queſtion at all;
" than after he is once accuſed to ſuffer him to be quit and go away unpuniſhed: even ſo this ex-
" ceſſive ſuperfluity, would have been more tolerable if it had not been medled & tempered with-
" al, than it wil be now upon the very binding and curbing thereof: much like a wild and ſavage
" beaſt let looſe after it hath been tyed up a time, and ſo made more fell and angry. To conclude
" therfore, of this opinion am I, that of no hand the law *Oppia* be repealed: and ſo I pray all the L
" Gods to vouchſafe for to bleſs and turn to good, whatſoever you do or go about. When he had
" thus ſaid, thoſe Tribuns alſo of the Commons, who openly promiſed and proteſted to oppoſe
" themſelves, and to croſs the repealing of the law, made ſome brief ſpeeches to the ſame effect.
" Then *L. Valerius* roſe up to maintain the bill by him propoſed for the revoking of that law, and
The Oration of *L. Valerius* againſt the law *Oppia*. " ſpake as followeth. " If privat men had ſtepped forth and advanced forward either to approve
" and perſwade, or to reject & diſſwade that which by us is propoſed, I my ſelf alſo without open-
" ing my mouth would have attended your wil & expected the delivery of your ſuffrages, as think-
" ing it had been ſufficiently debated and diſcourſed already, whatſoever might be ſaid for both
" parties. But now ſith that the Conſul *M. Porcius Cato*, a man of great reputation & gravity, not
" only by his countenance and authority, (which alone without any word at all ſpoken had been M
" important enough & effectual) but alſo in a long premeditate Oration framed with much ſtudy
" and forethinking, hath impugned and inveighed againſt our propoſed ordinance, I muſt of ne-
" ceſſity anſwer him again as briefly as I can. Who nevertheleſs hath ſpent more words in repro-
" ving and chaſtiſing the matrons & dames of the City, than he hath beſtowed reaſon to the pur-
" poſe in diſſwading our new law: & all verily for this intent, that he might leave it doubtful, whe-
" ther the women had done that which he blamed them for, as induced by their own motives, or
" ſeduced by us and our ſuggeſtions. As for me the protection directly of the cauſe I will take in
" hand, and not buſy and trouble my head in defence of our perſons, againſt whom the Conſul
" hath rather glanced and girded at, by way of big words, than charged indeed by ſound reaſons.
" It hath pleaſed him to cal this, An aſſembly and mutinous meeting: yea, and otherwhiles he ter- N
" meth it, An inſurrection and ſeceſſion of women: becauſe the wives in open place intreated you
" to repeal that law, now in time of peace, in the flouriſhing and bleſſed ſtate of the Common-
" weal, which during thoſe troubleſome daies of war, had been enacted againſt them. I wot full
" well that both theſe words and other beſides are very ſignificant, ſought out, and picked for the
" purpoſe, to enforce and aggravate the matter. And we all know, that *M. Cato* is an Orator not
" only grave and earneſt, but otherwhiles alſo fell, ſharp and biter, how ever otherwiſe by natural
" diſpoſition he be of a mild ſpirit and courteous enough. But to the point. What new & ſtrange
" thing is this that our wives have done, in coming abroad and aſſembling themſelves in compa-
" nies, about a matter that ſo much concerneth and importeth themſelves? What were they ne-
" ver ſeen before now, abroad in open ſtreet? I wil take the pains (*Cato*) to turn over your own O
" book of Originals againſt your ſelf. Liſten and mark how often they have done the ſemblable,
" and alwaies truly for the common good and benefit of the State. And firſt and foremoſt, in the
" very beginning and infancy of this City, even in the reign of K. *Romulus*, when the Capitol was
" taken and held by the Sabins; when in the midſt of the Common place, they were ranged in bat-
" tel array and ready to fight a bloudy field, was not the quarrel ended and the conflict ſtayed by
" the dames and wives that ran in, & put themſelves between the two armies? After the KK. were

driven

A "driven out and expelled, What hapned tho? When as the legions of the Volſcians under the con-
"duct of *C. Martius* incamped within 5 miles of *Rome*, were they not the matrons of the City that
"turned back this army, which doubtleſs would have forced our City & put it to ranſack? And
"is not this likewiſe as true, that when the Gauls were poſſeſſed of *Rome* and maſters thereof, the
"dames of the City and none but they, even by the conſent of all men, came forth into the open
"ſtreets made a contribution, and laid down that gold which paid for the ranſom and redempti-
"on of the City? No longer ſince than in the laſt Punick war (becauſe I will not ſtand ſo much
"upon antiquities) was it not thus, that not only when the City was at a fault for money, the
"widows ſtocks ſupplied the want of the common treaſure? but alſo at what time as we were
"driven to ſeek for new Gods, and to ſend for them afar off to ſuccour us in our extremities; all
B "the wives & matrons of the City went to the Sea ſide for to receive the goddeſs Mother *Idea*?
"The occaſions (qd. he) are different, and the caſe is not alike. Neither is it my purpoſe or any
"part of my meaning to compare cauſes, and to prove they are all one. This only I ſtand upon, and
"take it ſufficient to excuſe and cleer the women, for bringing up no ſtrange novelty, in that they
"ſhewed themſelves in open place. To proceed therefore: ſeeing that no man made any wonder
"then of that which women did in undertaking the affairs that concerned all alike as well men
"as women: marvail we now that they do the ſemblable, in a cauſe that properly and peculiarly
"pertaineth to themſelves? And what great thing was it they did? Now in good faith we are too
"coy and ſqueamiſh of our hearing, and our ears over nice and delicate, if when maſters diſdain
"not to hear the praiers of their ſervants and ſlaves, we ſcorn to give ear to the requeſts of ladies
C "and dames of honor. But now I come to the matter in queſtion, in regard whereof the Conſul
"his Oration conſiſted in two points. For firſt, he took it very ill that any law at all once enacted
"ſhould be revoked: and ſecondly he ſtood upon this that above all others the law deviſed and
"made for repreſſing the ſuperfluous ornaments and attire of women ſhould remain in force for
"ever. So it ſhould ſeem, that the firſt part (a common defence as it were, of all the laws) was a
"ſpeech befitting the place and perſon of a Conſul: but the other againſt the exceeding pomp of
"women, more properly became a man (as himſelf) of moſt ſevere life and preciſe carriage. And
"therefore it is great doubt and to be feared, leſt we ſhould ſeduce you into ſome errour, if we
"lay not down and ſhew plainly the vanity and defect both in the one and in the other. For as I
"confeſs, that of thoſe laws which are deviſed and eſtabliſhed not for a time and by occaſion of
D "ſome particular occurrence, but for ever and to the perpetual good of a City, none ought to be
"aboliſhed; unleſs it be ſo that by uſe and experience the ſame be checked and found hurtful, or
"by ſome change of the State become needleſs and ſuperfluous: ſo I ſee evidently, that thoſe ſta-
"tuts and ordinances which are brought in to fit and ſerve ſome ſeaſons, are mortal (if I may ſo
"ſay) and mutable with the times. And oftentimes we ſee, that war diſclaimeth thoſe laws which
"peace proclaimeth; and peace pulleth down that which war ſet up: like as in the government
"and rule of a ſhip, one thing is requiſit in fair weather and calm Sea, another in foul and trouble-
"ſome tempeſts. Theſe things thus being in nature divers and diſtinct, let us conſider I pray you,
"of whether ſort is this law that now we are in hand to revoke. What? is it one of the ancient
"and royal laws made by the Kings, and equal in time with the foundation of our City? or (that
E "which is the next in time and authority) was it ſet down and written in the twelve Tables by
"the Decemvirs, created of purpoſe to deviſe and make laws? Is it of that nature without the
"which as our anceſtors were of opinion, that the honeſty and honour of matrons could not
"be preſerved: ſo we are to fear likewiſe, leſt by the repealing thereof, we overthrow the mode-
"ſty, chaſtity, and integrity of maried women? Why? who knoweth not that this is a new law
"of 20 years ſtanding and continuance and no more, made whiles Q. *Fabius* and *T. Sempronius*
"were Conſuls? And ſeeing that without it, wives lived ſo many years before in good name and
"fame, and in paſſing good order: tell me what danger can enſue, and why we need to fear leſt if
"it be anulled, they ſhould break out to al looſenes and diſorder. Mary, if this law had been made
"at firſt, to gage the wantonneſs of women, believe me then it were greatly to be doubted, that
F "the putting down thereof would ſtir them up again to their former outrage. But to what end
"it was deviſed, the time it ſelf is able to ſhew and teſtifie. *Annibal* being in *Italy*, had won a vi-
"ctory at *Canne*: he was now maſter of *Tarentum*, Lord of *Arpi*, and poſſeſſed of *Capua*: every
"hour men looked when he would march forward and advance his enſigns againſt *Rome*: our al-
"lies were revolted and gone: ſouldiers we had no more of our own to ſupply and make up the
"decaied bands: no mariners and Sea ſervitors could we find for the maintenance of our Arma-
"do; all our treaſure in the City Chamber was ſpent and conſumed. Driven we were to this
"exigent, as to take up bondſlaves for to ſerve in wars, and to buy them of their maſters for day,
"yea, and to make payment of their price after the war was ended. For want of money alſo the
"Publicans and Farmors of our demain and publick profits, undertook to ſerve the army with
G "corn, and to furniſh us with all things needful for war at a certain price, and gave us the like day
"and time of payment. The Gally ſlaves that ſerved at the oar we found and maintained with
"our own proper and private charges; and a rate and proportion was ſet down according to
"our revennes and worth in the ſubſidy book, what number every one ſhould be charged with.
"All the gold and ſilver that we had in private we brought forth in common, and the Senators
"themſelves led the way firſt, and gave good enſample. The widdows and orphan Children
brought in their ſtocks of money to the City Chamber. Streight order was given, that

" we ſhould not have in our houſes either of gold or ſilver, wrought in plate or otherwiſe above H
" ſo much, nor of ſilver and braſs in coin and currant money beyond a certain proportion limit-
" ted. At ſuch a time, our dames (belike) were ſet all upon their braveries, pruning, trimming, and
" tricking themſelves, in ſuch ſort, as the law *Oppia* muſt needs be deviſed, there was no other
" remedy to keep down their exceſſive pride and ſuperfluous expence in their attire and orna-
" ments: even then, I ſay, when by occaſion that the ſolemn feaſt and ſacrifice of *Ceres* was diſ-
" continued, by reaſon of the general mourning and heavy chear of all the wives of the City, the
" Senat was fain to take order, that they ſhould finiſh and end their ſorrowful mourning within
" thirty dayes. Who is ſo blind that ſeeth not, how in regard only of the poverty and extream
" calamity of the City, and becauſe all the monies of private perſons ſhould be converted into a
" common ſtock, and for a publick uſe, this law was firſt framed, drawn, and ſet down, ſo long I
" only to ſtand in ſtrength and vertue, as the cauſe of penning and writing it ſhould endure and
" continue? For otherwiſe, if thoſe acts and decrees of the Senat, if thoſe orders and ordinances
" of the Commons, reſpective unto that preſent time, ſhould be in force, and obſerved for ever;
" Why make we paiment of the loan money unto private men? Why do we ſet and to ferm let
" our commodities, our cuſtomes and revenues of the City, unto farmers for ready rent? Why put
" we forth our publick works for preſent money paid down upon the nail? Wherefore buy we
" not ſlaves to ſerve in our wars? Laſtly, why are we not put to find mariners and oarmen, at our
" own proper charges, as then we did? All other eſtates and degrees, all men elſe, of what calling
" ſoever, feel a great change in the eſtate of the City, from wo to weal, from adverſity to proſperi-
" ty; and ſhall our wives only miſs the good thereof, and not once taſt nor enjoy the fruits of K
" peace, and publick repoſe and tranquillity? Shall we that are men be in purple and ſcarlet? ſhall
" we wear our embrodered gowns and robes when we are Magiſtrats? ſhall we put on our rich
" amyces and copes, when we exerciſe the function and miniſtery of the high Prieſts? ſhall our
" children go in their ſide garments, purfled afore with purple? ſhall we permit and priviledge the
" head Officers and Magiſtrats in our Colonies and Burrough Towns? nay, ſhall we ſuffer here at
" *Rome* the Maſters and Conſtables of every pariſh, the meaneſt and baſeſt officers of all other to
" wear embrodered gowns, & ſtudded with purple? and not only ſo, for to grace and credit them-
" ſelves, with theſe goodly ornaments and badges of worſhip and honour during their life, but al-
" ſo after their death, the ſame to be burned and buried with them? And ſhall we debar and for-
" bid our women only to uſe purple and ſcarlet in their apparel? And when you the husband may L
" have purple and ſcarlet, carpets, counter-points, and foot-cloths, what reaſon is there to deny
" your wife, the miſtreſs of the houſe, a gown or mantle of the ſame? And ſhall your horſe be trap-
" ped and barbed more richly, and better ſet out with his capariſon, than your wife arraied in her
" apparrel? But in truth, for purple and ſcarlet, which are the worſe for the wearing, and waxeth
" bare, me thinks I ſee ſome reaſon, ſuch as it is (although it be very hard) of ſparing and reſtraint:
" mary for gold wherein little or nothing is loſt but the faſhion and workmanſhip, what niggar-
" diſe, what miſery is this, to make ſpare of it, and to deny it them? Nay, I dare avow and abide by
" it there is great benefit and uſe thereof in time of extremity; and it may help at a pinch both in
" publick affairs, and in private occaſions, as ye have found by good experience. But *Cato* ſaid
" moreover, There would be no emulation and envy between this good wife and that, if neither M
" one nor other were allowed that liberty of apparel and ornaments. True it is, but inſtead there-
" of they all are mightily diſcontented and grieved at the heart in the mean while, diſdaining to
" ſee the wives of our allies of the Latine name and Nation, permitted to wear thoſe ornaments
" which they are forbidden to have, to ſee them, I ſay, all gorgeouſly ſet out with ſpangles and
" jewels of gold, clad in their purple and ſcarlet cloths, riding in their coaches all over their cities,
" whiles they at *Rome* take pains to go afoot on their ten toes, as if the State of the Empire were
" ſeated in their Towns, and not in this their own City of *Rome*. This indignity were enough to
" wound the hearts of men, and make them bleed; what hurt doth it then, think you, to ſilly wo-
" men, whom ſmall matters, God wot, are wont to trouble? Alas poor ſouls: no magiſtracy and
" place of government in State, no ſacerdotal dignities in the Church, no triumphs no ornaments N
" and titles of honour, are they capable of, no gifts, no ſpoils and prizes gotten in wars, can fall to
" their ſhares. Neatneſs and fineneſs, gay garments, trim attire, and gorgeous habiliments, are the
" honour and ornaments of women: in it they take delight, on it they ſet their hearts, of it they
" make their joy. And therefore well have our anceſtors called all furniture for the decking of
" women [*Mundus Muliebris.*] What lay they off in time of ſorrow and mourning, but their gold
" and purple? what put they on and reſume again, when their mourning is paſt, but their gold and
" purple? what hang they on them beſides in time of publick joy and ſolemn proceſſions but their
" better apparel, their richeſt attire & moſt coſtly ornaments? But peradventure, after ye have once
" repealed the law *Oppia*, it will not be in your power to over-rule them, if haply you ſhould for-
" bid them to wear any thing that now the law reſtraineth them of. And perhaps ſome ſhall have O
" more ado with their daughters, their wives, and ſiſters, and find them leſs tractable and pliable
" unto their minds than now they are. Never fear that: women cannot ſhake off their obedience,
" ſo long as their Governors (be they fathers, husbands, or brethren) are alive; nay, of all other
" things they abhor and cannot brook to be at their own liberty, when it cometh by the death ei-
" ther of husbands or parents: Widows ſtate and Orphans life, they may not abide. Be ſure there-
fore, they had rather have their ornaments and attire to be at the diſpoſition of your ſelves than

of

A "of the law. And therefore, to ſpeak a truth, you muſt in equity and reaſon protect and defend
"them in kindneſs, and not oppreſs them with hardneſs and bondage: delight ye muſt to be called
"their fathers and husbands, rather than their Lords and Maſters. It pleaſed the Conſul erewhile
"to give them hard words and odious terms, calling this their meeting, A mutiny of women, and
"a very inſurrection and departure of theirs: and danger there is, no doubt, leſt being up once, they
"will ſeize upon the mount *Sacer*, as ſometimes the Commons did in their furious anger, or elſe
"poſſeſs themſelves of the Aventine, and there encamp and keep an hold. Well, this weak and
"feeble ſex, born to bear, muſt ſuffer and endure whatſoever ye ſhall ordain and ſet down againſt
"them. But take this withal at the looſe for a final concluſion, that the greater power and autho-
"rity ye have over them, the more diſcretion and moderation ye ought to uſe in that ſoveraignty
B "of yours. After debate of words paſſed in this wiſe, in favor and diſfavor of the law, the day fol-
lowing the women flocked in greater multitudes into the open ſtreets, and banding themſelves
together, as it were, in one troop, they beſet the dores and houſes of the *Bruti*, who by interpoſing
themſelves, had hindred and croſſed the bill preferred by their fellow Tribuns: and never gave they
over to keep this ſtir, until thoſe Tribuns ſlaked in their oppoſition, for to inhibit the ſame. Which
done, there was no doubt then, but all the tribes with one voice would abrogate and aboliſh
that law. Thus twenty year after the enacting thereof, it was repealed and annulled. The law *Oppia* repealed.

*M. Porcius Cato* after the abrogation of the law *Oppia*, preſently departed with a fleet of five
and twenty Gallies, whereof five were ſet out by Allies, and arrived in the Port of * *Luna*, to
which place he commanded his forces to aſſemble: and after by vertue of an edict ſent out along
C the Sea coaſt, he had gathered together veſſels of all ſorts as he looſed from *Luna*; and proclaimed
that they ſhould all follow after him to the Port of *Pyreneus*, from whence he purpoſed to ſet
forth againſt the enemy, with an Armado of many ſail, and well appointed. Who having paſſed
beyond the mountains of *Liguria* and the gulf of Gaul, arrived and met all together, at the day
and place appointed. From thence they came againſt * *Rhoda*, where they expelled the Spaniſh
garriſon that held the fortreſs. From *Rhoda* with a good gale of wind, they ſailed to *Emporiæ*.
Where, all the whole army, excepting the mariners, were ſet a land. At the ſame time *Emporiæ*
were two Towns, ſeparate one from the other by a wall. The one of them was inhabited by
*Greeks*, who came from *Phocæa*, from whence the Maſſilians alſo are deſcended: the other was
poſſeſſed by Spaniards. But the Greeks Town lieth out into the Sea, ſo as the whole compaſs of
D the wall is not half a mile about: but the Spaniſh Town ſeated farther into the Land, and divided
from the Sea, is defended with a wall three miles in circuit. A third ſort of Roman inhabitants
were joyned unto them by * *Cæſar* the Emperor of famous memory, after he had vanquiſhed
*Pompeys* children. And at this day, they are confuſed and mingled one with another, and become
one entire body, by reaſon that firſt the Spaniards, and afterward the Greeks, were made free de-
nizens of the City of *Rome*. A man might well marvail, ſeeing how open they lie of the one ſide to
the main Sea, how expoſed they are on the other ſide to the danger of the Spaniards, a Nation ſo
fierce and warlike, what thing it was that garded and protected them? Diſcipline it was and good
government, and nothing elſe, which maintained and preſerved them in that weakenes of theirs;
diſcipline I ſay, which is ever beſt intertained of them, who live in fear of the mightier that are
E round about them. One quarter of the wall looking to the fields, is paſſing ſtrong and exceeding
well fortified, having but one gate in all that ſide; which ordinarily is alwayes warded by one of
the Magiſtrats. In the night, one third part uſually of the citizens kept watch upon the walls. And
this watch they mainrained not for cuſtome and faſhion, nor by vertue of any law: but they per-
formed it with as great care, yea, and went the round and ſaw to the ſentinels with as much dili-
gence, as if the enemies were hard at gates. A Spaniard came not within the City; neither went
they forth themſelves, unleſs it were upon juſt occaſion. But on the Sea ſide the iſſue was open for
any man at his pleaſure. By that gate which turneth toward the Spaniſh Town, they never uſed to
go forth but in great number, even a third part welneer of the Townſmen, and thoſe who the night
before had watched upon the walls. And this cauſe induced them to go abroad, for that the Spa-
F niards being no men at Sea, gladly would traffick and trade with them: willingly buying of them
their ſtrange merchandiſe from forein parts brought in by ſhips: and venting unto them again
their Land commodities and fruits ariſing of the main. The deſire of this mutual commerce and
neceſſary intercourſe was the cauſe, that the Spaniſh Town was open to the Greeks. And in grea-
ter ſafety and ſecurity they were alſo, by reaſon that they were ſhadowed under the wing of the
Roman amity, which they intertained with as great loyalty as the Maſſilians, although they were
nothing ſo mighty and puiſſant. And even at this time they received the Conſul and his army
with great courteſie and liberality. *Cato* ſojourned there ſome few dayes, whiles he was advertiſed
by his eſpials where his enemies abode, and what their forces were: and becauſe he would not be
idle whiles he ſtayed there, he beſtowed all that time in training and exerciſing his ſouldiers. It
G hapned to be that ſeaſon of the year, when the Spaniards had their corn within their granges rea-
dy for the thraſhing floor, whereupon he forbad the cornpurveiors to provide grain, and ſent
them home to *Rome*. War, ſaith he, ſhall feed and maintain it ſelf. Being departed from * *Emporiæ*,
he waſted and burnt the territory of the enemies, forced them to run away in every place where he
came, and put them in exceeding fright.

At the ſame time, as *M. Helvius* departed out of the farther Province of *Spain* with 6000
garriſon ſouldiers delivered unto him by the Pretor, he was encountred by a great army of the
Celti-

* *Porto Venere.*

* *Roſea.*

* *Iulius.*

* *Emporium* Stephano. *Ampuriæ*, Cluſio.

Celtiberians, before the Town *Illiturgum*. *Valerius* writeth, that they were 20000 ſtrong: that 12000 of them were ſlain, the Town *Illiturgum* won again, and all above 14 years of age put to the ſword. From thence *Helvius* marched to the camp of *Cato*: and becauſe the countrey was cleer from enemies, he ſent back the garriſon into the nether *Spain*, and took his journey to *Rome*, where he entred the City *Ovant* in pety triumph, for the happy ſucceſs atchieved in his affairs. He brought into the treaſury, of ſilver in bullion or Ingots, 14732 pound weight: of ſilver coin 17023 bigate peeces: and of Oſcane ſilver 120338 pound weight. The cauſe why the Senat denied him full triumph, was this, for that he warred under the conduct and name of another, and not in his own province. But it was two years before he returned, by reaſon that the year between he was ſtayed there, lying ſick of a long and grievous diſeaſe, and put over his government to *Q. Minutius* his ſucceſſor. Whereupon *Helvius* likewiſe entred the City of *Rome* in that manner of triumph, two months only before his ſucceſſor *Q. Minutius* triumphed. He likewiſe brought into the Chamber of the City 34800 pound weight of ſilver in maſs: of bigats in coin 78000: of Oſcane ſilver 278000 pound.

All this while the Conſul lay encamped in *Spain* not far from *Emporiæ*. Thither repaired unto him from *Biliſtages* a Prince of the Ilergets, three Embaſſadors, whereof his ſon was one: complaining that their forts were aſſailed by force of arms, and they had no other hope to make reſiſtance, unleſs they might have a guard of Roman ſouldiers to defend them, 5000 ſay they will be ſufficient: for never would the enemies abide by it if ſuch a power came againſt them. The Conſul anſwered them and ſaid, that he had a feeling and compaſſion of the peril or fear (whether it was) wherein they ſtood: howbeit, he was not at that time furniſhed with ſuch forces, that he might ſafely ſpare ſo many out of his main army, thereby to diſmember the ſame and to empair his ſtrength, conſidering a mighty hoſt of his enemies was not far off, with whom he looked every day, and he knew not how ſoon, to joyn battail in open field with banner diſplaied. The Embaſſadors hearing this, fell down proſtrate at the Conſuls feet, and ſhed tears, humbly beſeeching him not to forſake them in this piteous plight. "For whither (ſay they) ſhall we go, if we be repul-
"ſed from the Romans? No allies we have beſides, nor other hope in all the world. This danger
"we might have avoided wel enough, if we would have been falſe and diſloyal: if we would have
"banded and rebelled with other Spaniards: but no menaces, no terrors preſented unto us, could
"drive us to renounce our fealty, hoping alwayes that we ſhould have help and ſuccour enough
"from the Romans: but now if no help, if no relief come from thence; if we be denied at the
"Conſuls hand; heaven and earth we call to witnes, that we muſt be forced, full againſt our wills
"and upon mere neceſſity, to revolt from the Romans, for fear we drink of the ſame cup that the
"Saguntins have done afore us; and chooſe we will to die with the reſt of the Spaniards for com-
"pany, rather than periſh alone by our ſelves. So for that day they were diſmiſſed without other anſwer. But all the night following, the Conſul was much diſtracted in mind, and careful in both reſpects. Unwilling he was to caſt off his allies and ſee them deſtitute; and as unwilling again to break his army conſidering that in ſo doing, he might either delay the opportunity of giving battail or endanger himſelf in the very inſtant of conflict. But at length he reſolved in no wiſe to diminiſh his own forces; doubting leſt in the mean while he ſhould receive ſome diſhonor at the enemies hand. As for his aſſociats, he thought it beſt to intertain them with good hopes, for want of better helps; conſidering that oftentimes and eſpecially in war, outward ſemblances and vain ſhews, are held and taken for truth and ſubſtance, and ſerve the turn well enough: and when a man is throughly perſwaded that he hath aid and ſuccour, the very truſt and confidence thereof hath miniſtred heart to give the venture of ſome exploit and preſerved him as well as the thing it ſelf. The next morrow he delivered this anſwer unto the Embaſſadors, That albeit he feared to abate his own ſtrength, in ſerving other mens turn with any part of his forces, yet he had at this preſent more regard of their occaſions and dangerous eſtate than of his own. Whereupon he gave commandment, that a third part of all his bands and companies ſhould have warning to bake and dreſſe viands with all ſpeed, for to beſtow and lay in the ſhips; and ſtreightly he charged, that they ſhould be rigged and ready appointed againſt the third day: and willed withal, two of the Embaſſadors to report ſo much to *Biliſtages* and the Ilergets. As for the young Prince his ſon, he detained ſtill with him, uſed him graciouſly, and beſtowed favours and rich gifts upon him bounteouſly. The Embaſſadors took not their leave nor departed, before they ſaw the ſouldiers embarked: and thus by making relation hereof as a thing aſſured and paſt all peradventure, they filled the heads not of their own friends only, but alſo of the enemies, with the bruit of Roman aids coming neer at hand. The Conſul now, when he had ſet this countenance of the matter, and made ſufficient ſemblance to ſerve his purpoſe, gave order that the ſouldiers ſhould be disbarked again & ſet a land: and himſelf ſeeing now that the time of the year approached commodious for action and execution of martial affairs, diſlodged and removed his ſtanding winter camp within a mile of *Emporiæ*. From whence (as any occaſions and opportunities were preſented) he led forth his ſouldiers a foraging and plundering into the enemies land, ſometime one way and ſometime another, leaving alwayes a competent guard to defend the camp. Ordinarily their manner was to ſteal out by night, to the intent that both they might go on ſtil farther from their leaguer, & alſo ſurpriſe the enemies at unawares and unprovided: by which means not only his new & raw ſouldiers were exerciſed, but alſo many of his enemies were caught up and came ſhort home: whereupon they durſt no more peep out of their forts & holds of defence. Now after he had made ſufficient proof

A proof of the hearts as well of his own men as of his enemies, he commanded all the Marſhals, Colonels, Horſemen, and Centurions, to aſſemble before him: and unto them he made this ſpeech. "The time (quoth he) is now come, that you ſo often have wiſhed for; in which you may ſhew "at full your vertue and valour. Your ſervice hitherto hath been more like the manner of for- "ragers than warriors: but now ſhall ye come to a main battail, and as enemies, fight hand to "hand with profeſſed enemies. From henceforth you may if you will, not waſt their fields only "and ſpoil their territory, but ranſack the pillage of rich and wealthy cities. Our fathers before "us and anceſtours in times paſt, when as in *Spain* there were both Generals and armies of Car- "thaginians, having themſelves no leaders and commanders, no ſouldiers and forces there, yet "would they needs have this article among others capitulated in the accord and compoſition B "with the Spaniards, That the River of *Iberus* ſhould limit their Seignory and dominion. Now "at this day, when two Pretors and a Conſul, when three entire Roman armies have the go- "vernment and charge of *Spain*; now, I ſay, after ten years ſpace almoſt, wherein no Carthagi- "nians have ſet foot and been ſeen in all theſe quarters of both provinces, we have loſt our ſeig- "nory on this ſide *Iberus*. This muſt ye recover and win again by force of arms, by manhood and "valour: ye muſt I ſay, compel this nation, more raſh and inconſiderate in rebelling, than con- "ſtant and reſolute in maintaining war, for to receive once more the yoke of ſubjection, which "they have ſhaken from off their necks. Having exhorted and encouraged them in this manner, he gave them to underſtand, that he would ſet forward in the night and lead againſt the enemies camp. And ſo he let them depart to refreſh their bodies. At midnight, after he had devoutly C taken with him the ſigns and approbations of the birds for his better ſpeed, he put himſelf in his journey: and becauſe he might be ſeized of ſome place to his liking before the enemies ſhould deſcry him, he ſet a compaſs in his march, and led his ſouldiers clean beyond their camp. And having by day light ſet his companies in battel array, he ſent out three cohorts, even cloſe to the rampier and trench of the enemy. The barbarous people wondering to ſee the Romans ſhew themſelves behind at their back, ran to and fro to take arms. Mean while, the Conſul held his men with theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches: "My ſouldiers (quoth he) there is no other hope now "left, but in mere ſtrength and valour, and I of very purpoſe have wrought it ſo. Between us "and our camp the enemies are encamped all: behind at our back we have our enemies Land. "The braveſt courſes are ever ſafeſt, namely, to build and ground our hope ſurely upon vertue. D And herewithal he gave order, that the cohorts aforeſaid ſhould retire of purpoſe to train forth the barbarous people, by making ſemblance of retreat and flight. And ſo fell it out in very deed as he thought and ſuppoſed: for they imagining that the Romans for very fear were retired, iſſued forth by heaps out of the gate, and beſpred with armed men all the ground, that lay between their own camp and the enemies battel. And whiles they made great haſt to embattel themſelves, the Conſul who was already arranged in battel array, and in all reſpects well appointed, charged upon them before they were marſhalled and ſet in order. Firſt he put forth the cornets and wings of horſemen from both points and flanks of the battail: but they of the right ſide were ſtraight- wayes repulſed, and by their haſty and fearful retreating, cauſed the footmen alſo to be mightily affraid. Which the Conſul perceiving, he commanded two elect cohorts of footmen to wheel E about the right flank of the enemies, and to ſhew themſelves at their backs before the other companies of foot encountred and charged one another. This ſuddain terror affrighted the ene- mies, but ſet all upright again and recovered the battail of the Romans, which through the fear of the Cavalry began to ſhrink and go down. Howbeit the horſemen and footmen both of the right point, were ſo troubled and ſo far out of order, that the Conſul was forced to pluck ſome of them back with his own hand, and turn them with their faces affront the enemy. Thus all the while that the ſhot laſted, the skirmiſh was doubtful: ſo as now the Romans in the skirmiſh, had much ado to make head and ſtand to it in the right ſide, whereas the fright and flight firſt began. But on the left and all affront, the barbarous had the worſt, and with great horror they looked behind and ſaw their enemies how they played upon their backs and reſted not. After they had F done with flinging their iron darts and lancing their fiery javelins, they drew their ſwords; and herewith began the conflict afreſh. They were not wounded now from a far off by blind chance and hap-hazard they knew not from whence; but foot to foot they ſtood, and hand to hand they coped and let drive one at another: no hope at all was now but to truſt in pure ſtrength and main force. The Conſul ſeeing his men wearied, encouraged and refreſhed them by ſending for to relieve and maintain the fight, certain cohorts out of the rereward. This new battaillon well in heart, and with freſh weapons, charged the enemies toiled and tired: and being ranged in pointed wiſe like a quoin or wedge at the firſt hot onſet brake their arraies: and being once diſ- ordered, they put them to flight, and in ſcattering wiſe they ran as faſt as their legs would carry them, to their camp. *Cato* ſeeing them flie on all hands, mounted on horſeback and rode him- G ſelf to the ſecond legion which was in the rereward for ſupply, and commanded to advance the ſtandards and enſigns before him, to march apace, and to approach the camp of the enemies for to give an aſſault. If he eſpied any one to ſtep out of his rank, he would ride before and rap him with his light javelin that he had in his hand; commanding the Marſhals and Captains to cha- ſtice him for it. Now was the enemies camp at the point to be aſſaulted, and the Romans were with ſtones, pikes, perches, and all kind of weapons ſet back and driven from the trench. But when this freſh legion approached neer, then both the aſſailants were more encouraged, and alſo the

The Oration of *Cato* to his Captains and gallants.

the enemies fought more luſtily in defence of their rampier. The Conſul caſt his eye all about him, to ſpie how to break in at ſome place or other where leaſt reſiſtance might be made: and ſeeing the guard thin about the left gate, thither he conducted the Principals and the Haſtati of the ſecond legion: but the *corps de guard* which warded that gate, was not able to endure their violent charge. The reſt on the other ſide, ſeeing the enemies within the rampier, abandoned the camp, and flung away their enſigns and weapons. The ſouldiers of the ſecond legion followed the chaſe and killed them as they ran away, whiles the other ranſacked and rifled their tents. *Valerius Antias* writeth, that there were 60000 fell that day upon the edge of the ſword. *Cato* himſelf (that never loved to make the leaſt of his own praiſe-worthy acts) ſaith, there were many ſlain; but ſetteth not down what number. He is thought to have performed that day three peeces of ſervice worthy of great praiſe and commendation: firſt, in that he fet a compaſs with his army far from his ſhips, far from his camp, and gave battail in the midſt of the enemies, where his men could repoſe no hope at all but in their own vertue and valour: ſecondly, for ſending thoſe cohorts behind the enemies to charge upon their backs: and thirdly, for that he cauſed the ſecond legion to march a great pace under their colours diſplaid, ranged as they were and ordered in battail array, for to approach and aſſail the gates of the enemies camp, whiles all the reſt were disbanded and ſpread all abroad to purſue the enemy in chaſe.

After this victory atchieved, he ſat not ſtill in reſt and repoſe, but having ſounded the retreat and brought his own ſouldiers loden with pillage into the camp, he allowed them ſome few hours for their night ſleep, and led them forth into the territory of the enemy to forrage and ſpoil: which was as effectual to enforce the Spaniſh Emporitans, and all their neighbour borderers to yeeld ſubjection, as the unhappy battel fought the day before. Many alſo of other Cities, which were retired to *Emporia* for refuge, rendered themſelves to his devotion: whom he entertained all with gracious words, and when he had made them good cheer, beſtowing wine and cates plentifully upon them, he ſent them home to their own houſes. Then immediately he diſlodged and removed his camp. And all the way as he marched with his army there reſorted Embaſſadors from divers States that yeelded themſelves unto him. By that time that he was come as far as *Taracon*, all *Spain* on this ſide *Iberus*, was wholly ſubdued: and the barbarous people brought in as preſents unto the Conſul, all the captives and priſoners, as well Romans as Allies, and namely, Latins, who by many and ſundry chances had been taken in *Spain*. The bruit went commonly abroad, that the Conſul would lead his power into *Turdetania*. There was a falſe alarm likewiſe given, and ſpoken it was, That he would viſit the mountainers that lay out of the way. Upon this vain and headleſs rumour, there were ſeven forts belonging to the State of the Bergiſtans that revolted from him: but the Conſul led his army againſt them, and without any memorable battel reduced them under obedience. And the Conſul his back was no ſooner turned, and he gone to *Taracon*, but they rebelled again, even before he was departed from thence in any other expedition. Subdued they were the ſecond time, but they found not the like favour as before, to have pardon: for they were all ſold like ſlaves in open market, under the garland becauſe they ſhould not thus every while trouble the peace.

In this mean time *P. Manlius* the Pretor, after he had received the old army at the hands of *Q. Mutius* whom he ſucceeded, and joined thereto the other army of old ſouldiers belonging to *Appius Claudius*, and which were come out of the farther *Spain*, he made an expedition into *Turdetania*. Now theſe Turdetans of all other Spaniards are counted to be the worſt ſouldiers, howbeit, in confidence of their great numbers and multitudes they came forward and encountred the Roman forces. But the men of arms had no ſooner charged them, but preſently, they were diſarraied. As for the footmen, they fought in manner not at all. The old approved ſouldiers, who knew the enemies very well, and were experienced in feats of arms, made a quick diſpatch of this skirmiſh, and ſoon put all paſt peradventure. Howbeit, the war was not ſo ended, nor determined in one battel. The Turdetans levied and waged 1000 Celtiberians, and ſo maintained war afreſh with forrain mercenary forces.

The Conſul being ſtung already with the Rebellion of the Turdetans, and ſuppoſing that other Cities would do the like, upon any good occaſion and opportunity, diſfurniſhed all the Spaniards on this ſide *Iberus* of their armor and munition. Which they took for ſuch an indignity, that many of them for very melancholly killed themſelves: a martial and warlike nation, that thought they were as good be out of the world, as turned out of their arms; and reckoned no life, without their weapons. The Conſul having intelligence hereof, commanded the Senators of all thoſe Cities to repair unto him: and when they were aſſembled together, he uſed this ſpeech unto them. "It "concerneth you (qd. he) no leſs than us, to give over this rebelling and warring. For never yet "to this day have ye entred into the action, but with more loſs and damage of Spaniards, than "toil and travel of the Roman army. To prevent this miſchief that it ſhould not happen, I ſup"poſe one good way it is, to contrive and work ſo, that ye might not poſſibly be able to rebel. "Effect this I would fain, by the eaſieſt mean and courſe of all other. Aſſiſt me I pray you herein "with your good counſel: I aſſure you I will not be directed by any adviſe more willingly, than by "that which you your ſelves ſhall give me. When they held their tongues, and would not ſpeak a word, he ſaid unto them again, that he was content they ſhould pauſe upon the matter, and conſult therof a few daies. When they were called again & kept ſilence in this ſecond meeting and conference as wel as in the former; he made no more ado, but in one day raſed the wals of al their Cities: which

A which done, he went forward against those that hitherto were not come in, not yeelded obedience: and into what quarters soever he came, he received all the States one after another, there bordering and adjoining, into his protection; save only *Segestica*, a wealthy City and of importance, the which he forced with mantelets and rolling pavoises, and such like fabricks. More difficulty in subduing these enemies he found, than others afore him who first came into *Spain*; in this regard, for that in times past the Spaniards at the beginning revolted unto them, as being weary of the tedious yoke of subjection under the lordly government and tyranny of the Carthaginians. But *Cato* had more ado with them now, in that out of liberty and freedom, which they had usurped and been used to, he was to ingage them (as it were) bond, and to bring them again to servitude. Besides, he found all out of frame and order, whiles some of them were up in arms, others
B were forced by siege to revolt, as not able to have held out long, unless they had been rescued and succoured in time. But of this nature and courageous mind was the Consul, that he would himself in person be present and manage all affairs, as well those of smallest moment, as also those of greatest weight and consequence: and not only devise and give direction what was best to be done, but would himself set to his hand, and execute most of the exploits and effect them fully. There was not one amongst them all, that he commanded with more severity and rigour, than his own self. In living meerly, in spare feeding, in much watching, in painful travel, he strived to surpass and outgo the meanest common souldiers. And no priviledge challenged he, no advantage sought he to himself in his whole army above others, but only honour and soveraign command.

The Pretor *P. Manlius* had the more trouble in his war-service, by reason of the Celtiberians,
C whom (as it hath been said before) the enemies had levied and hired with their mony. And therefore the Consul being sent unto by the Pretor his letters, led his legions also thither. Being there arrived, (now the Celtiberians and Turditans were severally encamped apart one from the other) the Romans fell presently to maintain light skirmishes with the Turditans, and ever and anon charged their *corps de guard*: and how rashly and inconsiderately soever they began the game, yet they ever went away winners. As for the Celtiberians, the Consul sent certain Tribuns or Knight Marshals unto them to emparle, giving them in charge to make them an offer and tender unto them the choice of three conditions. First, if they could be content to arrange themselves to serve under the Romans, and to receive at their hands double wages to that they bargained for with the Turditans. Secondly, whether they would be willing to go their waies home under safe con-
D duct and publick security, besides that their siding with the Roman enemies should not be laid to their charge, nor bring them within the compass of any danger. Thirdly, if they had more mind to war, than, that they should set down some time and place, when and where they might come to an issue, and trie it out in a set battail. The Celtiberians required to take a day for to consider better upon these points. So they assembled together in counsel, with great trouble and confusion, by reason that some Turdetans were thrust in among them; upon which occasion, they might worse grow to any conclusion. Now albeit uncertain it was, whether there would be any war or peace with the Celtiberians, yet the Romans gathered their provision out of the territory and borroughs of their enemies, like as in time of peace: yea, and more than that, they entred oftentimes within their fortifications and defences, as if there had been some common traffick
E and commerce agreed between them, by way of private truce. The Consul seeing he could not draw the enemy to a battail, first led certain companies lightly appointed with banners displaied, to raise booties in one quarter of the country, which as yet was free, and not tasted of the wars: but afterwards hearing that all the bag and baggage and other cariage of the Celtiberians was left at **Saguntia*, he set forward thither to give an assault to the Town. But seeing that nothing would move and stir them, he paied not only his own souldiers their wages, but also the Pretors army their due, and leaving the main host in the Pretor his camp, himself returned to the River *Ebre*, accompanied only with seven cohorts. With these forces, as small as they were, he won certain Towns, and there revolted unto him the Sedetans, Ansetans, and Suessetans. The Lacetans (a Nation living out of the way after a savage manner within the wilds and woods) kept
F still in arms, not only upon a natural and inbred wildness, but also upon a guilty conscience, in that whiles the Consul and his army was employed in the Turdulois war, they had made suddain rodes and incursions into the Lands of their Allies, and pitifully wasted the same. And therefore the Consul advanced forward to assault their Town, and led against it not only his own cohorts and bands, but also the youth of his Allies, who had good cause to be angry, and to oppose themselves unto them. The Town which they inhabited, lay out in length, but was nothing so wide and large in breadth: and within one half mile or less, he pitched down his ensigns, and planted himself. There he left behind a guard of choise companies, and streightly charged them not to stir out of that place, before he came unto them himself. The rest of his forces he led about unto the farther side beyond the Town. Of all the aid souldiers that he had
G about him, the greatest number were the youth of the Suessetans, and those he commanded to approach the wall for to give assault. The Lacetans, when they took knowledge of their armor and colours, calling to mind how often they had overrun them at their pleasure, and wasted their lands without check or empeachment, how many and sundry times they had in ranged battel discomfited & put them to flight, all at once set open the gate, and sallied out upon them. The Suessetans were so little able to sustain the forcible charge of their onset, that they hardly could abide their very shout & first cry. The Co. seeing now, that come to pass indeed which he suspected would

be

* *Gigonca in Andaluſia, ol. Otali.*

be ſo, rode a gallop upon the ſpur to thoſe ſaid cohorts of his own that were left on the other H
ſide under the Town, and taking them with him in great haſt, whiles all the Townſmen were
ſpread abroad in following the chaſe after the Sneſſetans, he led them into the Town at a place
where there was no noiſe, no ſtirring, and not a man to be ſeen; and made himſelf maſter of all,
before the Lacetans were returned back: but within a while he received them to mercy upon
their ſubmiſſion: who, poor men, had nothing to yeeld and loſe but their bare armor and wea-
pons. Immediatly he followed the train of this victory, and led his forces againſt the hold or
ſtrong Town of *Vergium*. This was a receptacle and place of ſure receit for certain Rovers and
Theeves, who from thence uſed to make many rodes into the peaceable parts of that Province.
The principal and chief perſon of *Vergium* quit the place, and betook himſelf unto the Conſul,
and began to excuſe as well himſelf as the Townſmen; ſaying, that the government of the Town I
and the ſtate thereof lay not in their hands. For why? theſe robbers after they were once received
in among them, ſeized themſelves wholly of that ſtrength, and had all at their command. The
Conſul willed him to go home again, and to deviſe and forge ſome likely and probable cauſe why
he had been abſent and out of the way; with this charge and direction, that when he ſaw him
approach under the walls, and the robbers aforeſaid wholly amuſed and occupied in defence
thereof, then he ſhould remember to join with the reſt of his part and faction, and be poſſeſſed
of the fortreſs and hold of the Town. This put he in practiſe and execution accordingly. So whiles
the Romans of one ſide ſcaled the walls, and they on the other ſide had taken the fortreſs, theſe
barbarians were ſuddainly at once ſurpriſed with a two-fold fear before and behind. The Conſul
when he had gotten the place into his own hands, gave order, that all thoſe who were gotten K
into the Caſtle and held it, ſhould remain free, themſelves and all their kinred, and likewiſe en-
joy their goods. The reſt of the Vergetans he commanded the Treaſurer to ſell and make mony
of them. As for the Rovers, they ſuffred according to their deſerts. After he had ſet the Pro-
vince in quiet, he laid great tributes and impoſts upon the mines of iron and ſilver: which being
once ordained and eſtabliſhed, the whole province grew in wealth and riches, every day more
than other. For theſe his exploits atchieved in *Spain*, the LL. of the Senat decreed, that there
ſhould be a ſolemn proceſſion at *Rome*, to endure for three dayes.

The ſame winter, *L. Valerius Flaccus* the other Conſul, fought in *France* a ſet field with the
power of the Boians, neer the foreſt of *Litania*, and wan the victory. And by report, there were
eight thouſand Gauls there ſlain: the reſt abandoned the war, and ſlipt every one into their own L
Hamlets and Villages. The reſt of the winter the Cof. kept his army at *Placentia* and *Cremona* a-
bout the *Po*, and repaired in theſe Cities whatſoever had been decaied and demoliſhed during
the wars.

The affairs in *Italy* and *Spain* ſtanding in theſe terms: when *T. Quintius* had ſo paſſed the win-
ter in *Greece*, the ſetting aſide the Ætolians (who neither had been recompenced according to
the hope that they conceived of the victory, nor yet could long time like of repoſe) all *Greece*
throughout in general enjoying the bleſſing of peace and liberty, flouriſhed and mainteined their
ſtate exceeding well, admiring no leſs the temperance, juſtice, and moderation of the Roman
General after victory, than his valour and proweſs in war: there was an Act of the Senat of *Rome*
brought and preſented unto him, importing thus much, That war was determined againſt *Nabis* M
the tyrant of the Lacedemonians. Which when *Quintius* had read, he publiſhed and proclaimed
a general Diet or Councel at *Corinth* againſt a certain day, when and where all the States aſſociats
ſhould aſſemble by their delegats and Embaſſadors. Now when there was met together from all
parts a frequent number of Princes and great perſonages, in ſuch ſort, that the very Ætolians alſo
were not abſent, *Quintius* uſed unto them this or the like ſpeech. "The Romans & Greeks have
"warred againſt King *Philip* as ye well know; and as with one mind and common counſel they
"have ſo done, ſo either of them had ſeveral quarrels unto him, and privat cauſes and occaſions
"by themſelves to take arms. For *Philip* had broken the league and amity with us Romans, one
"while by ſending aid and maintenance to the Carthaginians our enemies: otherwhiles by aſſail- N
"ing our allies in theſe parts: and to you wards he hath ſo demeaned himſelf, that albeit we could
"forget and put up all the wrongs that he hath done unto us, the very injuries that ye have re-
"ceived at his hands, miniſter ſufficient cauſe unto us to war againſt him for your ſake. As for
"this dayes conſultation, it reſteth wholly in your ſelves. For, this I propound unto you, Whe-
"ther your will is to ſuffer *Argos* (which as ye know your ſelves *Nabis* the tyrant holdeth) to
"remain ſtill under him in obedience: or whether you think it meet and reaſon, that a moſt noble
"and ancient City as it is, ſeated in the very heart of *Greece*, ſhould be reduced unto liberty, to
"enjoy the ſame condition and ſtate wherein other Cities of *Peloponneſus* and *Greece* do ſtand.
"This conſultation I ſay, as you well ſee, entirely toucheth you and your good, and concerneth
"us Romans no farther than thus, that by the ſervitude of that one only City, we can not have
"the full and entire glory of ſetting *Greece* wholly in liberty. But if you regard not the ſtate of O
"that City, and are not moved with the example thereof and the danger, for fear the contagion
"of this miſchief ſpred farther: we for our parts are content, and take all in good worth, and will
"not ſet you down and teach you what to do. Only I require your advice in this point, mind-
"ing to reſolve upon that, which the Major part of you ſhall carry by voices. After the Roman
General had ended his ſpeech, all the reſt began to deliver their opinions. And when the deputed
delegate or agent for the Athenians had magnified and extolled as highly as poſſibly he could, the

good

A good demerits of the Romans towards *Greece*, yielding them great thanks, that upon their requeſt they had granted them aid againſt *Philip*, and without any petition at all, offered their help and ſuccour againſt *Nabis* the tyrant; and ſeemed therewith to be offended and diſpleaſed at ſome, who nevertheleſs in their talk and ſpeeches found fault and carped at theſe ſo great favours and deſerts; yea, and ſpake badly of future events, whereas it behoved them rather to acknowledge and confeſs how much they were bound and beholden already to the Romans for good turns paſt: it well appeared that he pointed out directly the Ætolians, and girded at them. "Whereupon *Alexander*, a principall and chief man of their nation, inveighed firſt againſt the Athenians, "who having been in times paſt the head Captains and maintainers of freedom, betraied now the "common cauſe for love of their own privat flatteries. Moreover, he complained that the Achæ-
B "ans, who firſt ſerved *Philip* in his wars, and at the laſt (when they ſaw him down the wind and "fortune to frown upon him) fell away like diſloyal traitors & poſſeſſed themſelves of *Corinth* to "their own behoof, practiſing alſo to compaſs and gain unto them the City of *Argos*. As for the "Ætolians, the firſt and principall enemies of *Philip*, and alwaies allies and friends to the Ro-"mans, howſoever they had expreſly and preciſely covenanted in the league, to enjoy their towns "and territories, after *Philip* was vanquiſhed, were notwithſtanding put beſides *Echinum* and "*Pharſalus*. He charged the Romans with fraud and deceit, who pretending an outward ſhew, a "vain title and colour of liberty, held the Cities of *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* with ſtrong garriſons:
C "and yet when *Philip* made ſome ſtay and halting to withdraw and void from thence his armed "guards, they were ever wont to object and ſay, that *Greece* would never be in freedom, ſo long as "*Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Corinth* were in his hand: and finally he alledged againſt them, that un-"der pretence of *Argos* and *Nabis*, they ſought occaſion to remain ſtill in *Greece* and keep their "armies there. Let them (quoth he) tranſport their legions once into *Italy*, the Ætolians would "then undertake and promiſe, that *Nabis* ſhould remove his garriſon out of *Argos*, upon compo-"ſition and with good will, or elſe they would compell him by force and arms, to be over-ruled "by the puiſſance of all *Greece* united together in one generall conſent. By this vain babble of his, he rouſed *Ariſtenus* firſt, the Prætor of the Achæans, who ſpake in this wiſe. Never will *Jupiter Opt. Max.* quoth he, and Queen *Juno* the Patroneſs of *Argos*, ſuffer that City to be the recom-pence or prize between the Lacedæmonian Tyrant, and theſe pilling and thieving Ætolians: to
D be brought to this hard point and theſe terms of extremity, as to ſuſtain more miſery and calami-ty when it is recovered by us, than when it was won and taken by him. O *Quintius*, it is not the ſea lying between us and them that can defend us from theſe robbers. What will then become of us, in caſe they ſhould make themſelves a fort and Caſtle of ſtrength in the midſt of *Peloponneſus*? Nought have they of the Greeks but their language, like as they carry nothing of men but their ſhape and viſage. For look into their manners, their faſhions and behaviour, they are more rude and cruell than any barbarians, nay, they are more ſavage than the moſt wild and ravenous beaſts that be. We beſeech you therefore O Romans, both to recover *Argos* out of the hands of *Nabis*, and alſo to eſtabliſh the State of *Greece* in ſuch ſort, that ye leave theſe parts alſo ſafe and ſecure e-nough from the robberies and theeving hoſtility of theſe Ætolians. The Roman Generall *Quin-tius*, ſeeing them of all ſides to blame and rebuke the Ætolians, ſaid, that he would have anſwered
E them himſelf, but that he perceived them all ſo hateſully bent againſt them, that more needfull it was that they were to be appeaſed than farther provoked. And therefore holding himſelf ſatisfied and contented with that opinion which was conceived of the Romans and Ætolians, he ſaid, that he would demand what their pleaſure was to adviſe, concerning the war againſt *Nabis*, unleſs he rendred *Argos* to the Achæans? And when they all were of one mind to make war, he exhorted them to ſend aids proportionably to the power and ſtrength of each State and City. To the Æto-lians he ſent an Embaſſador, more to diſcover and lay open their intention (as it fell out accor-dingly) than upon any hope he had to obtain ought at their hands. Unto the Provoſt Marſhals of the camp, he gave commandment to ſend for the army from *Elatia*.

About this time, when the Embaſſadors of King *Antiochus* came unto him to treat about
F alliance and a league, he anſwered, That he could ſay nothing to them nor determine of that point in the abſence of thoſe Delegats aboveſaid; and therefore they were to repair unto the Se-nat of *Rome*. Then, himſelf in perſon prepared to make an expedition and voyage againſt *Argos*, with thoſe forces which were brought from *Elatia*. And when he was about [illegible] *Ariſtænus* the Prætor, with 10000 foot of Achæans, and 1000 horſe met him in the way: and not far from thence they joyned both their forces and encamped together. The next day after they came down into the Plain of *Argos*, and choſe a place to fortifie and lye in leaguer about four miles from *Ar-gos*. Now was *Pythagoras* the Captain of the Lacedæmonian garriſon, who had both married the tyrant his daughter, and was his wives brother beſides. This *Pythagoras* againſt the coming of the Romans, had fortified with ſtrong guards both the Caſtles (for two there are within *Argos*)
G and other places, which either had eaſie acceſs or were ſuſpected. But as he was employed in theſe proviſions and preparations, he could not diſſemble and hide the fear which this arrivall and ap-proach of the Romans ſtrake into him: and beſide this forrain terrour from without, there hap-ned alſo an inteſtine mutiny within. There was one *Damocles* an Argive, (a young Gentleman of more ſpirit and courage than wiſdom and diſcretion) who at the firſt by interpoſing a mutuall and reciprocall oath, had conferred with certain perſons of good ſufficiency, about expelling the garriſon: but whiles he ſtudied to ſtrengthen the conſpiracy and his own ſide, he was not well aſſured

assured of their fidelity, and could not judge which of them were true and which not. As he talked upon a time with his complices, the Captain of the garrison sent for him by one of his guard; whereupon he perceived that his complot was revealed: he exhorted therefore the conspirators that were in the way to take arms with him, rather than to die by torture upon the rack: and so with some few about him he marched forward into the market-place, crying often aloud, That as many as loved the safety of the Common-weal should follow him as their head and maintainer of their liberty: but no man moved he with his speech to go after him and take his part; for no hope saw they of any succour at all near at hand: so far off were they from making good account of a sure guard of defence. And as he spake those words, the Lacedæmonians were come round about him, and killed both him and his fellows. After this were others also apprehended; the most part of them were slain, and some few cast into prison. A great number the night following slid down the wall by ropes, and fled to the Romans. These assured the Romans, that if their army had been near the gates, the commotion and conspiracy aforesaid would have taken effect: and in case their camp approached nearer, the Argives would not be in quiet, but make some insurrection: whereupon *Quintius* sent out the footmen lightly appointed, together with the horsemen; who skirmished with the Lacedæmonians about *Cylarabis* (a publike school and place of exercise about a quarter of a mile out of the City) who were sallied out at the gate, and without any great difficulty chased them within the town: and in that very place where the conflict was, the Roman Generall encamped. One day he spent in escouting an espiall, whether any new trouble and uproars arose among them within the City. But when he perceived once that they were all amort for fear, he assembled a Councill to take advice, Whether he were best to give the assault upon *Argos*, or no? All the heads of *Greece*, (except *Aristænus*) agreed with one accord, that since there was no other cause of war elsewhere, it should begin there especially. *Quintius* in no case would like of that course, but willingly he gave ear with evident approbation unto *Aristænus*, as he discoursed and reasoned against the generall opinion and consent of them all: and over and besides added this of himself, That considering the war was enterprised and taken in hand in the behalf of the Argives against the tyrant, there was nothing less beseeming and more without sence, than to leave the enemy himself, and to assail and batter the poor City of *Argos*. For his part he would fight at the head, even against the Lacedæmonians and their tyrant, the principall cause of this war. Then having dissolved the Councill, he sent certain cohorts lightly appointed to purvey store of grain. As much as could be found ripe in those parts was cut, mowed, and reaped down immediatly and laid up: all that was green they trampled under foot and spoiled, that the enemies soon after might have no good thereof. So he dislodged and removed from thence, and having passed over the mountain *Parthenius*, at three daies end he encamped in the territory of *Caryæ* near to *Tegea*. In which place he expected the aids of his allies before he would invade the territory of the enemies. From *Philip* there came a thousand and five hundred Macedonians, and of Thessalians forty horse. The Roman Generall staid not now for succours of men (whereof he had sufficient and plenty) but for his provision of victuals, which he had commanded the towns bordering near hand to furnish him withall. Besides, there came great forces by sea, and met him there: for by this time was *Lucius Quintius* arrived with forty sail from *Leucas*: also eighteen covered ships of *Rhodes*. And now also was *Eumenes* the King, about the Islands *Cyclades*, with ten close hatched and decked ships, thirty gallions, with other smaller vessels among, of sundry sorts. Likewise of Lacedæmonians that were exiled and banished persons there were very many; who chased and driven out by the oppression and wrongfull dealing of their tyrants, repaired now into the Roman Camp, in hope to recover their native country again. Now a great many had been expulsed in divers and sundry ages, since time that the tyrant first usurped rule, and were possessed of *Lacedæmon*. The chief of these exiled persons was one *Agesipolis*, a man to whom by right of descent and linage the inheritance of the kingdom of *Lacedæmon* appertained. He whiles he was but an Infant hapned to be expelled by *Lycurgus* after the death of *Cleomenes*, who was the first tyrant at *Lacedæmon*.

The tyrant beset thus round about with wars threatning both from sea and land, and destitute in manner of all hope, (considering the proportion of his forces to the power of his enemies:) yet nevertheless neglected not to wage war, but levied out of *Creta* one thousand more (even the chosen flower of all their youth) to the other thousand that he had from thence already. He had besides of mercenary souldiers three thousand in arms: also ten thousand of his own subjects and Citizens of *Lacedæmon*, together with those that he had taken out of the burroughs and villages in the country. Moreover, he fortified the City with trench and mure. And that there might arise no trouble and stir within the town, he held the spirits of men in awe with fear of sharp and rigorous punishments. And forasmuch as he could not hope nor imagine that they desired and wished his good and safety, for that he held some Citizens in suspition and jealousie: after he had brought forth all his forces into the plain, which they call * *Dromos*, he commanded the Lacedæmonians to assemble together without any armour and weapons to an audience; and when they were assembled he environed them with his armed guard. And after some few remonstrances by way of a short preamble, Why they ought to hold him excused at such a time if he feared every thing, and made all sure as well as he could: considering withall, it was expedient even for them also (as many as the present state of the world might bring in suspition) to be kept short for being able to execute any attempt, rather than be surprized in the midst of their practises and complots, and

* *i.e.* A running race.

A and ſo be puniſhed accordingly: even for this cauſe (quoth he) I will have certain perſons in ſafe cuſtody and durance, untill ſuch time as the tempeſt be overblown which now is coming. And when the enemies be once repulſed, (from whom leſs danger there will be, in caſe domeſticall treaſons may be prevented) then incontinently will I enlarge them and ſet them at liberty. This ſaid, he commanded the names to be called of fourſcore or thereabout of the principall of the youth; and as every one of them anſwered to his name, he clapt him up faſt in priſon: and the next night following, murdered them every one. After this, certain Ilots (theſe were they who ever of old time were the Burghers and Villagers, a kind of peaſants and country kerns) were accuſed to have intended to flie unto the enemy and to band with him: who likewiſe were whipped & ſcourged throughout all the ſtreets, and then put to death. By the fearfull example of this cruelty, the cou-
B rages of the common ſort were well cooled and abated, yea, and ſo aſtonied, that they durſt not once quetch nor give attempt of any new deſignments tending to change and alteration. His forces he kept within his ſtrength and places of defence, for neither thought he himſelfe ſtrong enough to enter the field and fight a ſet battell, nor durſt abandon the City, ſeeing the minds of men ſo wavering, and their affections ſo unconſtant.

*Quintius* having made his proviſion and ſet all things in good order, departed from his ſtanding camp, and the ſecond day came to *Sellacia* upon the river *Oenus*: in which very place *Antigonus* ſometime King of the Macedonians ſtruck a battell (men ſay) with *Cleomenes* the tyrant of the Lacedæmonians. And there, having intelligence, that from thence he was to mount up an hard aſcent and narrow paſſage, he ſet a ſhort compaſs through the mountains, having ſent before
C certain men to levell the ground and make the way even, and ſo got into a large and broad portgate, untill he came to the river *Eurotas*, which runneth in manner hard under the walls of the City of *Sparta*: where, as the Romans were pitching their tents, even as *Quintius* himſelf with the horſemen and light van-courriers gone before, the Auxiliaries of the tyrant charged upon them: who looking for nothing leſs, becauſe no man had encountred them all the way as they marched, but paſſed on in their journey as in a peaceable country, were much troubled and affrighted herewith. This fear of theirs continued a good time, while the horſemen called upon the footmen, and they again unto the horſemen; and both the one ſort and the other truſted in themſelves but little or nothing at all. At length the ſtandards of the legions with their enſigns came forward; and were within ſight, and ſo ſoon as the companies of the vanguard advanced forth to fight,
D they who erewhile terrified others, were driven in fearfull haſte themſelves into the City. The Romans being retired ſo far from the wall, as that they were without dart-ſhot, ſtood a while ranged in battell array. But after that they ſaw none of the enemies come abroad againſt them, returned to their leaguer. The next day after *Quintius* took his way and marched with his army in order of battell along the town ſide, near unto the river, hard at the foot of the hill *Menalus*. The companies of the legionary footmen led the march in the vanguard, the light footmen and the horſemen followed in the rereward, and flanked the reſt. *Nabis* kept within the walls his mercenary ſouldiers (in whom he repoſed greateſt confidence) arranged under their enſigns, and in readineſs to fight, purpoſing to charge the back of his enemies. And the rereguard of the Romans was not ſo ſoon paſſed by, but they ſallied out of the town at ſundry places at once, with as tumul-
E tuous a noiſe as they made the day before. *Appius Claudius* had the leading of the rereward, who having prepared beforehand the hearts of his ſouldiers, and advertized them to be preſt and ready for what occurrent ſoever might happen, preſently turned the enſigns, and ſet a compaſs with the whole army to make head againſt the enemies. Whereupon there enſued a hot fight which endured a good time, as if two armies had directly encountred one another. In the end, the ſouldiers of *Nabis* began to give ground and flie: in which flight of theirs they had made leſs haſt, and better ſaved themſelves, but that the Achæans who were acquainted well with the ground, and knew the coaſts of the country, hotly followed the chaſe: theſe made a foul ſlaughter and butchery among them; and the moſt part, ſuch as were diſperſed here and there in their flight they diſarmed. Then *Quintius* encamped near unto *Amycla*, and having harried and waſted all the territory
F round about the City (which places were very well peopled and very pleaſant:) when he ſaw no enemies iſſue out at the City gates, he removed his camp hard to the river *Eurotas*. From whence he made excurſions, waſted all the vale lying under the hill *Taigetus*, and the lands butting and adjoyning cloſe to the ſea.

Much about the ſame time *L. Quintius* made himſelf Maſter of the towns, ſituat on the ſea ſide: ſome yielded willingly, others for fear or perforce. And being afterwards advertiſed, that the town *Gythæum* ſerved for a place of ſafe retreat and refuge unto the Lacedæmonians in all their exploits and ſervice at ſea, and that the Romans lay encamped not far from the ſea ſide; he reſolved to aſſail it with all forcible means. This town at that time was very ſtrong, well peopled with Citizens and other inhabitants, and ſufficiently furniſhed with all warlike proviſion and munition.
G And in very good time it fell out, that as *Quintius* was entred into this difficult enterpriſe, King *Eumenes* and the Rhodian fleet arrived. A mighty number of mariners and ſea-ſervitors, gathered out of three Armadoes, within few daies made and furniſhed all engins and fabricks, which were to aſſault a City ſo wel fortified both by ſea and land. Now was the town-wall broken down with the undermining of the tortures, now was the wall ſhaken by the puſh of the ram, and withall there was one tower that by continuall battery was overthrown, and with the fall thereof all the wall that ſtood of each ſide came tumbling down and lay along. And the Romans endeavoured

red at one time to enter the town, both from the haven (where the paſſage was more plain and eaſie) to the end, that the enemies might abandon the defence of the more open place; and alſo at the breach made in the wall: and they miſſed but very little of entrance there where they intended, but the hope they conceived of yielding the City, which anon was croſſed again, and turned to nothing, ſtaid their violence and heat of aſſault. *Dexagoridas* and *Gorgopas* governed the town then in equall authority. *Dexagoridas* had diſpatched a courrier to the Roman lieutenant, to ſignifie that he would betray the town: and when the time and place of execution of this deſignment was agreed upon between them, the traitor was killed by *Gorgopas*: by occaſion whereof, the City was the better defended with more carefull heed by him alone; yea, and the aſſault thereof had been more difficult, but that *Titus Quintius* came to ſuccour and help with four thouſand choſen ſouldiers. He was no ſooner diſcovered with an army arranged in battell array from the brow and top of the hill that is not far diſtant from the town; whiles *L. Quintius* withall from another ſide followed the aſſault with his ordnance and artillery both by ſea and land, but *Gorgopas* then began himſelf to deſpair in very deed, and was driven perforce to take that very courſe, which in another he had puniſhed by death: and upon compoſition that he might depart and have away with him thoſe ſouldiers which he had in garriſon, he delivered up the City to *Quintius*.

Before that *Gytheum* was rendered, *Pythagoras* left as Captain at *Argos*, leaving the guard and defence of the City unto the charge of *Timocrates* of *Pellenæ*, came with a thouſand waged ſouldiers, and two thouſand Argives unto *Nabis* at *Lacedæmon*. And *Nabis* like as at the firſt arrivall of the Roman fleet, and the ſurrender withall of the towns ſtanding by the ſea ſide, was much affrighted, ſo he had recovered again ſome little hope and was well quieted in mind, ſo long as *Gytheum* held out ſtill, & his garriſon within the town kept their own. But after he heard once, that it alſo was yielded unto the Romans, and loſt; ſeeing no hope left by land ſide, which was wholly poſſeſſed by the enemies, and that he was altogether ſhut up from the ſea, he thought it beſt to yield unto fortune. And firſt he ſent an herald into the camp, to know whether the enemies would permit and ſuffer him to ſend his Embaſſadors unto them. Which being granted, *Pythagoras* repaired unto the Generall with no other charge and commiſſion, but only to requeſt that the tyrant might parl with the Roman Generall. Hereupon the Councill was aſſembled: and generally opined it was that there ſhould be granted unto him a conference; inſomuch, as both time and place was agreed upon and appointed. Now when they were come to the hils ſtanding in the midſt of that quarter, with ſome ſmall companies of ſouldiers attending on either ſide upon them; they left their cohorts behind them, ſtanding in guard, within the open view and ſight of both parts: and then *Nabis* came down with a certain choſen guard for his body; and *Quintius* accompanied with his brother, *Eumenes* the King, *Sobilaus* the Rhodian, and *Ariſthenus* the Prætor of the Achæans, with ſome few Knight Marſhals and Colonels. And then the tyrant being put to his choice, whether he would ſpeak firſt, or hear another, began his ſpeech in this wiſe.

The Oration of *Nabis*.

"If I could have bethought my ſelf (O *Quintius*, and you all that are here preſent) & imagined "what the cauſe ſhould be, that you either proclaimed or made war firſt againſt me, I would have "attended the iſſue of my fortune with ſilence. But now I could not have that Maſtery and com- "mand of my ſelf to forbear, but that before I periſh, I would needs know the reaſon and cauſe "of my ruin and overthrow. Surely, if ye were ſuch men as the Carthaginians are reported to be "(with whom there is no regard of truth, no truſt and ſecurity in covenants of ſociety and alli- "ance) I would not then marvell at all if you made ſmall reckoning, & cared but little what mea- "ſure ye offered unto me. But now, when I behold and adviſe you well, I ſee you are Romans, "whoſe manner is to entertain moſt duly and preciſely the obſervation of holy rites & divine Re- "ligion, and the faithful keeping of human league and alliance. When I conſider and look into my "ſelf, I hope and think verily that I am one, with whom in generall, as well as with the reſt of the "Lacedæmonians ye are linked by vertue of a moſt ancient league: and in particular regard of my "ſelf, a privat amity and ſociety hath been lately renewed by the war with *Philip*. But peradven- "ture ſome man will ſay, That I have broken and overthrown the ſame firſt, in that I hold the Ci- "ty of the Argives. And how ſhall I be able to anſwer this, and excuſe my ſelf? Shall I plead to the "ſubſtance of the matter, or to the circumſtance of the time? The thing it ſelf preſenteth unto me "a twofold plea for my defence. For being called by the inhabitants themſelves of the City, who "offered the town unto me, I received it at their hands, and in no wiſe ſeized upon it by force: I "received it, I ſay, when it ſided and took part with *Philip*, before it was compriſed within your "league. As for the time, it juſtifieth and cleareth me alſo and my doings. For even then when as I "was poſſeſſed of *Argos*, I was allied and aſſociat with you in good accord: and in our covenants, "we articled and capitulated to ſend aids unto you for your wars, and not to withdraw the gar- "riſon from *Argos*. And verily, in this difference and queſtion about *Argos*, I have the vantage as "well in regard of the equity of the fact (in that I received a City not of yours but of your ene- "mies received it I ſay not ſurpriſed by force, but offred and delivered willingly) as alſo by your "own confeſſion, for that in the conditions of the aſſociation agreed between us, ye left *Argos* "free unto me. But it may be that the name of tyrant hurteth me: and ſome of mine actions con- "demn me much, and namely, that I ſet ſlaves free, and divide lands to the poor commons. As for "the name, thus much I am able to anſwer: that, ſuch as I am, better or worſe, ſtill I am the very "ſame man, and no other than I was when you, even you O *Quintius*, entred alliance with me: "then, I remember well, I was called King among you: and now I ſee I am termed a Tyrant. And

therefore

A "therefore if I my ſelf had changed the title and ſtile of my dignity and government, I muſt have
"yielded a reaſon and account of my levity and inconſtancy: but ſeeing you have altered it, ye
"ought to anſwer for your vanity. Now as concerning the multitude, ſo augmented by the enfran-
"chiſing of ſlaves; as touching the land alſo, parted and diſtributed among the poor and needy;
"I can maintain and juſtifie my doings herein, & protect me under the defence and priviledge of
"the very time. For all theſe things, be they as they be may, I had done already, when ye made a
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"ted by you and your followers day by day, one in the head of another: Grant but liberty of an
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"both the one and the other: for you have taken by force and arms *Meſſena*, a City received

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The anſwer of *Quintius*.

red at one time to enter the town, both from the haven (where the passage was more plain and ea- H
sie) to the end, that the enemies might abandon the defence of the more open place; and also at the breach made in the wall: and they missed but very little of entrance there where they intended, but the hope they conceived of yielding the City, which anon was crossed again, and turned to nothing, staid their violence and heat of assault. *Dexagoridas* and *Gorgopas* governed the town then in equall authority. *Dexagoridas* had dispatched a courrier to the Roman lieutenant, to signifie that he would betray the town: and when the time and place of execution of this designment was agreed upon between them, the traitor was killed by *Gorgopas*: by occasion whereof, the City was the better defended with more carefull heed by him alone; yea, and the assault thereof had been more difficult, but that *Titus Quintius* came to succour and help with four thousand chosen souldiers. He was no sooner discovered with an army arranged in battell array from the I
brow and top of the hill that is not far distant from the town; whiles *L. Quintius* withall from another side followed the assault with his ordnance and artillery both by sea and land, but *Gorgopas* then began himself to despair in very deed, and was driven perforce to take that very course, which in another he had punished by death: and upon composition that he might depart and have away with him those souldiers which he had in garrison, he delivered up the City to *Quintius*.

Before that *Gytheum* was rendered, *Pythagoras* left as Captain at *Argos*, leaving the guard and defence of the City unto the charge of *Timocrates* of *Pellenæ*, came with a thousand waged souldiers, and two thousand Argives unto *Nabis* at *Lacedæmon*. And *Nabis* like as at the first arrivall of the Roman fleet, and the surrender withall of the towns standing by the sea side, was much affrighted, so he had recovered again some little hope and was well quieted in mind, so long as *Gytheum* held out still, & his garrison within the town kept their own. But after he heard once, that it also was yielded unto the Romans, and lost; seeing no hope left by land side, which was wholly possessed by the enemies, and that he was altogether shut up from the sea, he thought it best to yield unto fortune. And first he sent an herald into the camp, to know whether the enemies would permit and suffer him to send his Embassadors unto them. Which being granted, *Pythagoras* repaired unto the Generall with no other charge and commission, but only to requeſt that the tyrant might parl with the Roman Generall. Hereupon the Councill was assembled: and generally opined it was, that there should be granted unto him a conference; insomuch, as both time and place was agreed upon and appointed. Now when they were come to the hils standing in the midst of that quarter, with some small companies of souldiers attending on either side upon them; L
they left their cohorts behind them, standing in guard, within the open view and sight of both parts: and then *Nabis* came down with a certain chosen guard for his body; and *Quintius* accompanied with his brother, *Eumenes* the King, *Sobilaus* the Rhodian, and *Aristhenus* the Prætor of the Achæans, with some few Knight Marshals and Colonels. And then the tyrant being put to his choice, whether he would speak first, or hear another, began his speech in this wise.

The Oration of *Nabis*.

"If I could have bethought my self (O *Quintius*, and you all that are here present) & imagined
"what the cause should be, that you either proclaimed or made war first against me, I would have
"attended the issue of my fortune with silence. But now I could not have that Mastery and com-
"mand of my self to forbear, but that before I perish, I would needs know the reason and cause
"of my ruin and overthrow. Surely, if ye were such men as the Carthaginians are reported to be M
"(with whom there is no regard of truth, no trust and security in covenants of society and alli-
"ance) I would not then marvell at all if you made small reckoning, & cared but little what mea-
"sure ye offered unto me. But now, when I behold and advise you well, I see you are Romans,
"whose manner is to entertain most duly and precisely the observation of holy rites & divine Re-
"ligion, and the faithful keeping of human league and alliance. When I consider and look into my
"self, I hope and think verily that I am one, with whom in generall, as well as with the rest of the
"Lacedæmonians ye are linked by vertue of a most ancient league: and in particular regard of my
"self, a privat amity and society hath been lately renewed by the war with *Philip*. But peradven-
"ture some man will say, That I have broken and overthrown the same first, in that I hold the Ci-
"ty of the Argives. And how shall I be able to answer this, and excuse my self? Shall I plead to the N
"substance of the matter, or to the circumstance of the time? The thing it self presenteth unto me
"a twofold plea for my defence. For being called by the inhabitants themselves of the City, who
"offered the town unto me, I received it at their hands, and in no wise seized upon it by force: I
"received it, I say, when it sided and took part with *Philip*, before it was compriſed within your
"league. As for the time, it justifieth and cleareth me also and my doings. For even then when as I
"was possessed of *Argos*, I was allied and associat with you in good accord: and in our covenants,
"we articled and capitulated to send aids unto you for your wars, and not to withdraw the gar-
"rison from *Argos*. And verily, in this difference and question about *Argos*, I have the vantage as
"well in regard of the equity of the fact (in that I received a City not of yours but of your ene-
"mies received it I say not surprised by force, but offred and delivered willingly) as also by your O
"own confession, for that in the conditions of the association agreed between us, ye left *Argos*
"free unto me. But it may be that the name of tyrant hurteth me: and some of mine actions con-
"demn me much, and namely, that I set slaves free, and divide lands to the poor commons. As for
"the name, thus much I am able to answer: that, such as I am, better or worse, still I am the very
"same man, and no other than I was when you, even you O *Quintius*, entred alliance with me:
"then, I remember well, I was called King among you: and now I see I am termed a Tyrant. And

therefore

A "therefore if I my ſelf had changed the title and ſtile of my dignity and government, I muſt have
"yielded a reaſon and account of my levity and inconſtancy: but ſeeing you have altered it, ye
"ought to anſwer for your vanity. Now as concerning the multitude, ſo augmented by the enfran-
"chiſing of ſlaves; as touching the land alſo, parted and diſtributed among the poor and needy;
"I can maintain and juſtifie my doings herein, & protect me under the defence and priviledge of
"the very time. For all theſe things, be they as they be may, I had done already, when ye made a
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" into our ſociety and alliance by the very ſame conditions and covenants that *Lacedæmon* was; H
" you I ſay our allie, have forced a City allied unto us. Again, with *Philip* our enemy, you have not
" only concluded amity, but (God ſave all) contracted alliance and affinity by means of *Philocles*
" a Colonell and Commander of his: and making war againſt us, you have kept the ſeas all about
" *Malea* with your men of war and rovers: and I think I may ſafely ſay, you have taken priſoners,
" and killed more Roman Citizens than *Philip* himſelf. And the whole ſea-coaſt of *Macedony* hath
" leſs infeſted our ſhips that uſe to bring proviſion unto our armies, and been more ſafe for paſſage
" than the promontory & cape of *Malea*. Do you forbear therefore to make ſuch vaunt of fideli-
" lity: ſpare you, of all other, to ſpeak of the rights of alliance; and laying off the mask of popular
" language and civill ſpeech, talk as a tyrant and enemy as you are. Upon this, *Ariſtenus* dealt with
*Nabis*, one while admoniſhing and advertiſing him, another while requeſting and entreating him, I
now that the opportunity was offered, to provide for himſelf and his whole eſtate: he began to
diſcourſe unto him of the Tyrants of all the ſtates confining thereabout one after another by
name, who when they had reſigned up and laid down their abſolute ſoveraignty of command,
and reſtored liberty to their ſubjects, paſſed their old age among their Citizens, not only in re-
poſe and ſecurity, but alſo in great honour and reputation. Theſe words uttered & heard between
them to and fro, the night drew on apace & parted the conference. The morrow after, *Nabis* pro-
miſed, ſeeing the Romans would have it ſo, to quit the City *Argos*, to withdraw his garriſon from
thence, and to deliver again all the captives and fugitive traitors that were under his hands: and
if they demanded any more of him, he requeſted that they would ſet it down in writing, that he
might conſult thereof with his friends. So, both the Tyrant had reſpit and time granted to take ad- K
vice, and alſo *Quintius* ſate in Councill with the principall heads of his allies what to do. The
moſt part were of opinion to maintain the war ſtill, and to kill the tyrant out of the way; for
never would the liberty of *Greece* be otherwiſe firm and ſure: and better far had it been, never to
have entred into arms with him, than being once begun, to give it over. And he will, ſay they, be
greater and more ſtrong hereafter, as if his tyrannicall government were approved, and no doubt
he would vouch the people of *Rome* for author of his unjuſt rule and dominion, and will induce
and incite by his example many in other free States and Cities, to lie in wait to work means to o-
verthrow the liberty of Citizens, and to bring them into thraldom and bondage. The Generall,
of himſelf was more affected and inclined to peace: for he ſaw, " that if the enemy were once dri-
" ven within the walls, there was no way but to lie in ſiege againſt the City, and that would re- L
" quire long tract of time: foraſmuch as it was not *Gytheum* (and yet that was betraied and ren-
" dred, and not forced by aſſault) but *Lacedæmon*, a moſt ſtrong town both for men and munition,
" that they were to lay ſiege unto and aſſault. And whereas the only hope was, that when they
" approached with the army, there might ſome diſſention and ſedition have riſen among them-
" ſelves within: now when as they ſaw the enſigns in manner advanced hard to the City gates,
" there was not one that mutined or ſtirred at all. He added moreover and ſaid, That *Villius* the
" Embaſſador newly returned from *Antiochus*, reported, how all was not ſound there, nor the
" peace like to continue: and that he had paſſed over into *Europe* with far greater forces both for
" land and at ſea, than at any time heretofore: and if (quoth he) the army ſhould be wholly em-
" ployed in the ſiege of *Lacedæmon*, what other power have we to maintain war withall againſt M
" ſo puiſſant and mighty a Prince as is *Antiochus*? Theſe were the remonſtrances that openly he
gave out; but ſecretly he was troubled in mind for fear leſt a new Conſul ſhould come in his place,
and have the government of the Province of *Greece*: and ſo he ſhould leave unto his ſucceſſour,
the honour of the victory of a war commenced by him, and in good forwardneſs. But when he
perceived that his allies were nothing inclined to his waies, notwithſtanding all his contradicti-
on and bending to the contrary, by making ſemblant that he now drew with them and was of
their mind, he won them all to approve his deſignment and intention. " Well, God ſpeed our
" hand (quoth he:) let us beſiege *Lacedæmon* ſince ye will needs have it ſo: but conſidering that
" the laying ſiege unto Cities, is a thing as ye well know, that goeth ſo ſlowly forward, and of-
" tentimes maketh the aſſailants ſooner weary than the defendants: you ought even now to caſt N
" this account preſently with your ſelves, that we muſt lie all winter long about the walls of
" *Lacedæmon*. And were there nothing but travell and perill, that during ſo long time we were
" to endure, I would exhort and encourage you to ſuffer and abide the ſame, with ſtout bodies
" and reſolute minds. But beſides all that, we muſt be at great coſt and expences about fabricks,
" engins, and inſtruments of artillery, requiſit to the aſſault of ſo great a City: we muſt I ſay be
" provided of victuals good ſtore againſt winter, as well to ſerve us as you. Be well adviſed
" therefore (to the end that you ſhould not ſuddenly in haſte huddle up theſe matters, or after ye
" are once entred into the action, give over and abandon it with ſhame) that ye diſpatch
" your letters aforehand every one to the State wherein he liveth, and ſound them to the depth,
" how their hearts ſerve them and what ſtrength and forces they have. Of aids & ſuccours I have O
" enough and to ſpare: but the more in number we are, the more maintenance ſhall we need. At
" this time the territory of our enemies hath nothing but bare ſoile and naked ground: and
" withall, the winter is coming on apace, all which ſeaſon, carriage (eſpecially far off) is cum-
" brous and hard. This Oration at the firſt cauſed them every one to regard and look homeward
to domeſticall difficulties and inconveniences, namely, the idleneſs, the envy and backbiting
of thoſe which tarry at home, againſt them that are employed in warfare: the common liberty
(which

A (which cauſeth men of one ſociety and commonalty hardly to accord and ſort together) the publike want of treaſure, and the niggardice of private perſons, when they are to part with any thing out of their own purſes. And therefore ſuddenly changing their minds, they put to the diſcretion of the Roman Generall, to do and determine what he thought expedient for the good of the people of *Rome* and their allies. Whereupon *Quintius* taking the advice only of his own Lieutenants and Provoſt-Marſhals, engroſſed theſe Articles and conditions following, according to which peace ſhould be concluded with the Tyrant. *Imprimis*, That there be a truce made for the term of ſix months between *Nabis* and the Romans, King *Eumenes* and the Rhodians. *Item*, That both *T. Quintius* and *Nabis* ſhould immediatly ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*, that the peace might be ratified and confirmed by the authority of the Senat. *Item*, That from that day forward, where-
B in the conditions put down in writing ſhould be preſented unto *Nabis*, the truce aforeſaid ſhould begin. *Item*, That within ten daies next after enſuing, all the garriſons quit *Argos* and the reſt of the towns within the territory of the Argives: and then thoſe peeces to be delivered void and free unto the Romans. *Item*, That no ſlave taken captive in wars, belonging either to the King, or to any publike ſtate, or private perſon, be had away from thoſe towns: and if any before time had been carried forth, they ſhould be reſtored again duly to their right Maſters. *Item*, That *Nabis* ſhould deliver again thoſe ſhips that he had gotten from the maritime Cities, and that himſelf have no veſſell at all but only two gallions, and thoſe to have no more than ſix and twenty oars apiece to direct and rule them. *Item*, That he render all the runagate Traitors and captives unto all the Cities confederate with the people of *Rome*, as alſo make reſtitution to
C the Meſſenians of all their goods again, that either could be found, or the owners know certainly to be theirs. *Item*, That he reſtore to all the baniſhed Lacedæmonians their wives and children; but of the wives, ſo many only as would be content to follow their husbands: and that none of them ſhould be compelled againſt their wills to go with any exiled perſon. *Item*, That to as many mercenary ſouldiers of *Nabis*, as were either gone from him into their own Cities or to the Romans, all their own goods ſhould be juſtly and truly delivered again. *Item*, That in the Iſland of *Crete* he ſhould not be poſſeſſed of any one City: and look what Cities he then held, he yield them to the Romans. *Item*, That he enter into alliance with no Candiot, nor with any other whatſoever, nor yet make war with them. *Item*, That he remove all the garriſons out of all the Cities that himſelf had delivered up, and which had ſurrendred themſelves and all they had, under
D the protection and obedience of the people of *Rome*, and not moleſt them neither by himſelf nor any of his. *Item*, That he build no town nor Caſtle, either in his own land or in any other. *Item*, That for the more aſſurance of performing theſe covenants, he give five hoſtages, ſuch as it ſhould pleaſe the Roman Generall to chooſe; and namely, his own ſon for one of them. Laſt of all, That he make preſent paiment of one hundred talents of ſilver, and fifty more yearly untill the term of eight years be run out. Theſe Articles engroſſed, were ſent to *Lacedæmon*, after the Camp was removed nearer to the City. But nothing well pleaſed was the tyrant with any of them. Only he was well apaid, that beyond his hope and expectation, there was no mention at all therein of reducing the exiled perſons home into the City. But that which offended and diſpleaſed him moſt was this, that both ſhipping was taken from him, and alſo the maritime
E port towns: for great commodity he gat by the ſea, in ſcouring the coaſt from the cape of *Malea* with his pyrats and men of war: and beſides, the youth and able men of thoſe Cities, ſerved his turn very well to furniſh and man his ſhips with the very beſt ſouldiers and men of ſervice that were. And albeit he ſcanned and conſidered upon theſe articles in great ſecrecy with his friends, yet were they all of them divulged abroad and current in every mans mouth: ſo vain are theſe courtiers commonly and hardly to be truſted, as in all things elſe, ſo eſpecially in keeping of ſecret counſell. Theſe conditions were controlled and found fault with, not ſo much by all men in generall, as by each one in particular, as they took exceptions againſt thoſe points that touched and concerned themſelves. They that had married the wives of the baniſhed, or were poſſeſſed of any part of their ſubſtance, chafed, and ſtormed thereat, as if they were to loſe and forgo their
F own, and not to render and reſtore the goods of others. The ſlaves who had been freed by the tyrants, were now not only to loſe the benefit of that freedom, but alſo to endure harder ſervitude and bondage than aforetime; ſetting before their eyes how they ſhould return again into the houſes and hands of their old Maſters, angry and incenſed now againſt them. The hired ſouldiers were malecontent, for that they ſaw they ſhould loſe their pay after peace concluded: and ſaw full well, that there was no being for them in thoſe States and Cities, who hated the tyrants themſelves no more than their followers and attendants. At firſt they muttered and murmured, whiſpering theſe things among themſelves in their ſecret meetings and conventicles: afterwards they mutined, and on a ſudden ran and took arms. The Tyrant ſeeing the multitude diſquieted enough of themſelves with this tumult, aſſembled the people to-
G gether. Where after he had declared the conditions impoſed upon him by the Romans, and in every article had untruly put to ſomewhat of his own deviſing, to aggravate all matters and make them ſeem more grievous and intollerable, at the rehearſing of every particular the whole aſſembly one while cried out, and another while the ſundry parts thereof, ſet up a note of utter diſlike. Then he asked their opinion what anſwer they would have him to return to thoſe Articles, and what to do? They all in manner with one voice accorded and ſaid, that there was no anſwering of the matter, but that he ſhould plainly go to war, and make no more

ado.

ado. And that every man for his own part (as the usuall manner is of a multitude, when they are together) should take a good heart, and hope the best, saying, that Fortune favoureth Fortitude. The tyrant incited with these their words, seconded them himself, & assured them that *Antiochus* and the Ætolians would take their parts and assist them: and if they did not, yet were they strong enough of themselves, and had sufficient means to endure the siege. No more talking now nor thinking of peace, but every man was ready to run in hast to his severall quarter, and stand upon their own guard without any rest or repose from thenceforth. The Romans so soon as they saw some few of them to sally out of the City, and to discharge their darts among them, were soon put out of all doubt, that no other remedy there was, but they must to war again. After this there passed certain light skirmishes four daies together, at first without any assured issue of good speed, either of the one part or the other: but the fift day after one conflict fought in manner almost of a set battell, certain Roman souldiers following the chase upon their enemies, and killing them in their flight, entred the City at certain void places, where the wall was not united: for in that order were the walls built of that town in those daies. *Quintius* then verily, having well bridled and tamed by this terror his enemies for making any more excursions, and supposing that there remained no more but lustily to go to an assault, sent out certain of purpose for to call the mariners & sea-servitors from *Gytheum*, whiles himself in person, accompanied with the Provost Marshals, rode about the walls to view the situation of the City. This *Sparta* in times past stood without murage. And the tyrants of late daies had built walls against the open flats and plain fields. The higher ground and of harder access, they fortified with strong *corps de guards* of armed souldiers, instead of bulwarks of defence. When *Quintius* had sufficiently considered every corner, he supposed there was no other way but to invest it round about, and thereupon with all his forces united (which being all together Roman Citizens and Latine allies foot and horse, land-souldiers and sea-servitors one with another, amounted to 50000 fighting men) he compassed and environed the City. Some brought scaling ladders, some fire, every man one thing or other, not only to give an assault, but also to terrifie and amaze them: with direction and expresse commandment with a loud cry and shout at once in all places to approach the walls, & give the venture upon them; to the end that the Lacedæmonians affrighted at one instant on every side, might not know which way to turn them, and be to seek, where first to make head against the enemies, and in what place to come with succours. Having therefore divided the whole power of his army into three parts, he gave the one of them in charge to assail that quarter which was called *Phœbeum*; a second likewise to set upon that which is named *Dictynneum*, and the third to force the canton *Heptagoniæ*; places all lying open and without a wall. The City being thus seized on all sides with so great fear, the tyrant moved and troubled to hear those sudden outcries & fearful news brought unto him by hasty messengers: according as any place stood most in danger, at the first either presented himself in proper person or else sent some to help; but afterwards, seeing the fear so general, and no one place void of danger, he was so astonied, that unable he was either himself to give good direction to others or to hear theirs. So void was he and disfurnished of advice and counsel, yea, and bereft of his right wits and senses. The Lacedæmonians at first hand sustained the furious violence of the Romans in the narrow streights and passages & at one time in divers places, three armies fought on either side: but afterwards, as the heat of the fight encreased, the service was nothing equall of both parties; for the Lacedæmonians discharged shot from which the Roman souldiers easily saved themselves, by means of their large targets, and withall much thereof either fell short and besides, or else so feebly flung from them that little or no harm they could do. For by reason of the streightness of the place, and the multitude so thronged and thrust together, they had not only no space to take their run, when they should lance their darts (the best means of all other to enforce them) but not so much as sure footing, and at ease to drive and levell them with all their strength. Insomuch, as of all the darts and javelins which were directly shot afront them, none at all pierced to their bodies & very few so much as stuck in their bucklers. Mary some happened to be wounded from the higher places by those that stood near unto them, and about their sides. And anon as they advanced forward they chanced to be hurt, not only with arrows & darts from off the houses, but also with tiles and slates whereof they were aware. But afterwards, they covered their heads with their targets, which they set so close united together one under the other, featherwise, that not only there was no place nor entrance for the darts thrown and cast at random afar, no, nor so much as any room for a weapon to get between, levelled though it were, and aimed near at hand; so as under this target-ten they approached nearer and nearer in safety. At the first the narrow and straight passages filled with the throng both of themselves and also of the enemies so thrust and crouded together, did them for a while; but afterwards, when they had by little and little gathered upon the enemies, and put them back, and were come into a larger and more spacious street of the City, then their force and violence could not possibly be endured any longer. Now when the Lacedæmonians turned their backs, and fled apace to gain the higher places for their vantage, *Nabis* verily for his part trembling and quaking, as if the City had been quite lost, looked about him on every side, which way himself might escape and save his life. But *Pythagoras* as in all things else he performed the devoir and part of a couragious Captain, so he was the only cause that the town was not lost: for he commanded to set fire on the houses standing next to the wall, which in the minute of an hour burned out on a light flame, as being set forward by the help of those, who otherwise were wont to quench the like fires:

whereupon

A whereupon the houſes came ratling and tumbling down upon the Romans heads, and not only the tileſhards, but alſo the timber pieces half burnt fell upon the armed ſouldiers, the flame ſpread ſtill far and near, and the ſmothering ſmoak put them in fear of more danger than was. And therefore, as well thoſe Romans who were without the City in the hotteſt of their aſſault, retreated from the walls, as alſo thoſe that were entred already, for fear leſt by the fire behind them they ſhould be ſeparated from their fellows, retired themſelves. *Quintius* alſo ſeeing how the caſe ſtood, cauſed to ſound the retreat, and ſo being recalled, they returned out of the City which they had as good as won, into the camp. And *Quintius* conceiving more hope by the fear of the enemies, than of the thing it ſelf and the ſervice done, never gave over for three daies to terrifie them partly by skirmiſhing, and partly by intrenching and ſtopping up certain quarters, that they might have no B paſſage at all to fly and ſhift for themſelves. The tyrant conſtrained at length with theſe dangers menaced, ſent *Pythagoras* again as an Orator unto *Quintius*. But he at firſt rejected him, and commanded him to avant out of the camp: yet in the end, after he had made moſt humble ſupplication, and caſt himſelf proſtrate at his feet, he gave him audience. The beginning of his ſpeech was this, that he yielded all to the diſcretion and former award of the Romans. But ſeeing that he gained nothing thereby, and that his words took no effect, they grew at length to this point, That upon the ſame capitulations which few daies before were exhibited up in writing, a truce ſhould be made, and hereupon was both the money and alſo the hoſtages received.

Whiles the tyrant was beſieged and aſſailed, there came poſt upon poſt to *Argos*, that *Lacedæmon* was at the point of being loſt: whereupon the Argives took ſuch heart and courage unto C them (by reaſon that *Pythagoras* with the beſt part of the garriſon ſouldiers was departed before out of their town) that contemning the ſmall number which remained in their fortreſs, under the leading of one *Archippus*, they expelled the reſt of the garriſon. As for *Timocrates* of *Pellene* their Captain, becauſe he had behaved himſelf in his charge and government gently and mildly, they ſent him away alive with ſafe conduct. At the very inſtant of this joyfull occurrent, *T. Quintius* arrived, after he had granted peace to the tyrant, and ſent away from *Lacedæmon*, *Eumenes* and the Rhodians, together with *L. Quintius* his brother to the fleet. The City of *Argos* in great joy proclaimed the celebration of their moſt ſolemn feaſt, and thoſe ſo famous and renowned games and paſtimes called *Nemea*, againſt the coming of the Roman army and their Generall, which they had forelet upon the ordinary time and day, by occaſion of the troubles of war. And for the D honour of *Quintius*, they ordained him to be the overſeer of theſe ſolemnities. Many things there were to redouble and increaſe this their joy and ſolace to the full. The Citizens were reduced from *Lacedæmon* whom *Pythagoras* of late and *Nabis* aforetime had carried away. They alſo were returned home again who had fled and eſcaped, after the conſpiracy of *Pythagoras* was detected, and the maſſacre begun. Now they ſaw their liberty again, whereof they had loſt the ſight a long time: now they beheld the Romans the authors thereof, and who for their ſakes were induced to take arms and enterpriſe the war with the tyrant. Alſo, upon the very day of the Nemean games, the liberty of the Argives was publiſhed and proclaimed by the voice of the publike beadle and crier of the City. But look how much joy and hearts content the Achæans conceived in their common and generall Councill of all *Achæi*, for the reſtoring of *Argos* into E their ancient freedom, ſo much troubled they were again, in regard that *Lacedæmon* was left ſtill in ſervitude, and the tyrant ſo near unto them ready ever to prick their ſides, whereby their joy was not ſo ſound and entire. But the Ætolians in all their Diets inveighed mightily againſt this, ſaying, That the Romans never gave over the war with *Philip* before he had abandoned all the Cities of *Greece*: as for *Lacedæmon*, it was left ſtill under a tyrant and in the mean while the lawfull and naturall King who had been in the Roman camp, and all the reſt of the nobleſt Citizens ſhould live in exile. For now the people of *Rome* was become a penſioner to guard the body of tyrannizing *Nabis*. Then *Quintius* brought back his army from *Argos* to *Elatia*, from whence he departed to the Spartan war. Some write, that the tyrant when he fought with the Romans, came not immediatly out of the City; but that he was lodged without by himſelf full oppoſite to the F Roman camp: and that after he had made good a long time, expecting the aid of the Ætolians, he was driven in the end to a battell, by occaſion that the Romans charged upon the forragers and purveyors of his camp: in which battell he was vanquiſhed and beaten out of the field, and craved peace, after that fifteen thouſand of his men were ſlain, and four thouſand taken priſoners, and above.

At one and the ſame time in a manner were letters brought both from *T. Quintius* touching the affairs atchieved at *Lacedæmon*, and alſo from *M. Porcius* the Conſul out of *Spain*. And by order from the State, there was granted in the name of either of them a ſolemn proceſſion to continue three daies. *L. Valerius* the Conſul, after he had governed his Province in quietneſs upon the defeat of the Boians about the forreſt of *Litana*, returned to *Rome* againſt the generall G aſſembly for election of Magiſtrates, and created Conſuls, *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus* the ſecond time, and *T. Sempronius Longus*: whoſe fathers had been Conſuls in the firſt year of the ſecond Punick war. Then the Aſſembly was holden for the election of Prætors, wherein were choſen *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and the two *Cneii Cornelii*, the one *Merenda*, and the other *Blaſio*: *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus*, *Sextus Digitius*, and *T. Juventius Talva*. When theſe elections were finiſhed, the Conſul returned again into his Province. That year the Ferentinats aſſaied to obtain a new privilege: to wit, That as many Latines as were enrolled in any Roman Colony, ſhould

be

be Citizens of *Rome*. But they of *Puteoli*, *Salernum*, and *Buxentum*, who were Coloners and had their names entred there, and by that means carrying themselves as Roman Citizens, were adjudged by the Senat to be no Citizens of *Rome*.

In the beginning of this year, wherein *P. Scipio Africanus* was Consul the second time, with *T. Sempronius Longus*, two Embassadors of *Nabis* the tyrant, arrived at *Rome*. For to give them audience, the Senat assembled together without the City in the Temple of *Apollo*. Their petition was, That the peace agreed upon with *Quintius* might be ratified: and their suit was granted. When it was moved, as touching the government of the Provinces; the Senat (assembled in great frequency) were all of this opinion. That forasmuch as in *Spain* and *Macedony* the war was ended, both Consuls should have the government of *Italy*. *Scipio* was of advice, That one Consul was sufficient for *Italy*, and that the other should be employed in *Macedony*. And why? there was cruell war menaced from King *Antiochus*: himself already was passed over into *Europe*: And what think ye, quoth he, will he then do, when the Ætolians (who doubtless are enemies) of one side shall sollicit and call upon him for to war, and *Annibal*, a warriour and commander so renowned for the defeats and overthrows of the Romans, shall prick him forward of the other? Whiles they debated thus about the Provinces of the Consuls, the Prætors cast lots for their severall governments. The City jurisdiction fell to *Cn. Domitius*, the forrain to *T. Juventius*. To *P. Cornelius* the farther *Spain* was allotted, and the hither to *Sex. Digitius*. *Cn. Cornelius Blasio* had *Sicily* assigned unto him, and *Merenda* was charged with *Sardinia*. It was not thought good that a new army should be transported over into *Macedony*. But concluded it was, that the army there should be brought back by *Quintius* into *Italy*, & discharged. *Item*, That that the army likewise should be cassed, which had served under *M. Portius Cato* in *Spain*. *Item*, That both Consuls should govern *Italy*, and levy two legions of Citizens to go thither, that when those forces were dismissed and licensed to go home, which it pleased the Senat to set at liberty, there should be eight Roman legions in all, and no more in pay.

In the former year, when *M. Porcius* and *L. Valerius* were Consuls, there had been held a solemnity of a sacred Spring. But when *P. Licinius* the high Pontifees made report first to the Colledge of the Priests, and by the advice and authority of that Colledge, unto the LL. of the Councill, That there was some errour committed, and that it was not performed accordingly: the Senators ordained, that it should be done again anew, according to the discretion and direction of the Pontifees aforesaid. Also that the great Roman Plaies, which together with that Spring were vowed, should be exhibited with the accustomed cost and expences: And that all young cattell that fell between the Calends of *March*, and the last day of *April*, in that year wherein *P. Cornel. Scipio* and *T. Sempronius Longus* were Consuls, should be accounted as consecrated for that sacred Spring above-named. After this, there was an assembly held for the choosing of Censors, wherein were created *Sex. Ælius Pætus*, and *C. Cornelius Cethegus*: who elected *P. Scipio* the Consul, President of the Senat, like as the Censors before them had done. In the survey and review of the whole Senat, they left out and discarded three only, and none of them who had born office of State, and sat in the Ivory chair. Great love these Censors won amongst them of that calling and equality, in giving commandment to the Ædiles curule, that at the Roman games and plaies they should set out places apart from the rest of the people for the Senators to behold the said disports. For aforetime they beheld the sports and pastimes all together, without regard and distinction. Few also of the Gentlemen or Knights of *Rome* had their horses of service taken from them: and rigorously dealt they with no estate and degree. The porch of Liberty, and the hamlet called *Villa publica*, were by them repaired and enlarged. The sacred Spring was celebrate; and the games vowed by *Ser. Sulpitius* the Consul, were by them exhibited. And whiles all men were amused and their minds occupied thereupon, *Q. Pleminius* who had been cast in prison for divers and sundry outrages committed at *Locris*, to the great offence of God and man, had procured certain persons, who in the night season at one instant should set on fire many places of the City, to the end that whiles all the people were affrighted in this night-tumult, he might break prison and escape. This complot was discovered and reported to the Senat by some of them that were privy and accessary thereunto. And *Pleminius* was let down into a lower dungeon and there killed.

That year were certain Colonies of Roman Citizens conducted to *Puteoli*, *Vulturnum*, and *Liternum*, and three hundred men planted in each of them. Likewise Coloners of Roman Citizens were brought to *Salernum* and *Buxentum*. The Triumvirs who had the placing of them were *T. Sempronius Longus*, Consul for the time being; *M. Servilius* and *Q. Minutius Thermus*. The territory of the Campans was divided among them. Three other also deputed for the like purpose, *D. Junius Brutus*, *M. Babius Tamphilus*, and *M. Helvius*. placed a Colony of Roman Citizens in *Sipontum* to enjoy the lands of the Arpins. Likewise other Colonies of Roman Citizens were planted in *Tempsa* and *Crotone*. The lands belonging to *Tempsa* were won from the *Brutii*, who had expelled the Greeks: and the Greeks remained in *Crotone*. The Triumvirs for *Crotone* were *Cn. Octavius*, *L. Æmylius Paulus*, and *C. Pletorius*: and for *Tempsa* *L. Cornel. Merula*, and *C. Salonius*. Also that year were seen at *Rome* divers wonders and prodigious sights: and some were reported from other parts. In the common place place, in the publike Hall, Comitium, and Capitol, were seen certain drops of bloud. And ostentimes it rained earth. The head of *Vulcan* was on fire. News came that at *Interamna* there ran a stream of milk. Also that at *Ariminum* there were

A were two Infants both of free condition, born without eyes and noſe, and another in the Picene country handleſs and footleſs. Theſe ſtrange tokens were by order given from the chief Pontifees, looked unto and expiated, and a Novendiall ſacrifice continued for nine daies, becauſe the Adrians brought word, that in their territory it rained ſtones.

In *Gaul* near to *Mediolanum*, *L. Valerius Flaccus* the Pro-Conſul, fought a ſet field with the French Inſubrians and Boians. Which Boians under the conduct of *Dorulacus* paſſed over the river *Padus*, for to ſollicit and raiſe the Inſubrians. In which conflict were ſlain ten thouſand enemies. About the ſame time his Collegue in government *M. Porcius Cato* triumphed over *Spain*. In this triumph he carried in pomp and ſhew 25000 pound weight of ſilver in bullion, and in coin 123000 Bigat pieces: of Oſcan ſilver 540 pound weight, and of gold 400000 pound weight. Of
B the booty won from the enemies he dealt among his ſouldiers that were footmen 270 aſſes apiece, and trebble ſo much to every man of arms.

*T. Sempronius* the Conſul having put himſelf in his journey toward his Province, led firſt his legions into the Boians country. *Boiorix* at that time their Prince with his two brethren, having raiſed the whole nation to rebellion, encamped in certain commodious places: ſo as it appeared that if the enemy entred their confines, they were ready to give him battell. The Conſul perceiving how ſtrong and confident the enemies were, diſpatched a courrier to his Collegue, to make haſt if he thought ſo good and come unto him: for untill his coming he would fall off, ſeem to retire and not fight. But the ſame cauſe that moved the Conſul to ſtay, gave occaſion to the Gauls to make more haſte: for beſides that the delaying & lingring of the Conſul, encouraged the
C enemies, they were deſirous to have the triall of a battell before the forces of both Conſuls were joyned together. Howbeit, for two daies ſpace they did nothing but ſtand ready ranged for fight, if any ſhould come forth to brave and dare them. On the third day they approached the trench and rumpier of the Conſuls Camp, and on every ſide at once gave the aſſault. The Conſul immediatly commanded the ſouldiers to arm. And when they were armed, he kept them in awhile, with intent to encreaſe the fooliſh confidence in the enemies, and to diſpoſe of his own forces, and give direction, what companies ſhould ſally out at every gate. The two legions he commanded to iſſue forth under their colours at the two ſide gates called *Principales*: but in the very paſſage without the Gauls ſtood thick and made head again, ſo that the way was ſtopped up. A long time they fought in thoſe very ſtraights. And they beſtirred themſelves no more
D with their hands and ſwords, than they preſſed one upon another with their bodies and targets: whiles the Romans ſtrived to advance their enſigns out of the gates, and the Gauls endeavoured no leſs, either to enter themſelves within the camp, or elſe to impeach the Romans for going forth. But in this conflict there was nothing between them either won or loſt, no ground gained the one of the other, before that *Q. Victorius* a principall Centurion of the *Pilani* in the ſecond legion, and *C. Atinius*, a Tribune or Marſhall of the fourth, caught the banners from the enſign-bearers (a thing often practiſed in time of extremity) and flung them among the enemies. For whiles theſe laboured and ſtrained themſelves to recover each one a banner, they of the ſecond legion firſt brake through and got forth of the gate: ſo as now, they maintained skirmiſh without the trench, and the fourth legion ſtuck ſtill in the gap. By which time there
E aroſe another tumult and noiſe in the contrary ſide of the camp: for the Gauls were broken in at the Quæſtors gate (or the gate againſt the * *Quæſtorium*) and ſlain thoſe that valiantly made head and held them play; to wit, *Lucius Poſthumius* a treaſurer ſurnamed *Tympanus*, *Marcus Atinius* and *Publius Sempronius* two Colonels of the allies, and well near two hundred ſouldiers beſides. Thus the camp on that part was won, untill ſuch time as one extraordinary cohort was ſent from the Conſul to defend the Quæſtors gate aforeſaid: which either ſlew thoſe that were within the rampier, or elſe drave them forth, and ſo withſtood thoſe that would have ruſhed in. And much about that very time the fourth legion alſo with two extraordinary ſquadrons brake forth at the gate. Thus at once there were three ſeverall battels in ſundry places about the camp: and the diſſonant cries and noiſes (according to the divers occaſions of each party miniſtred by their fellows) turned and withdrew the minds and ſpirits of thoſe that were in fight, from the preſent skirmiſh before them. In this manner maintained they the fight till noon: equally matched in ſtrength and number, and little or no odds between them for hope of victory: but tedious travell and extremity of heat compelled the Gauls (whoſe bodies are ſoft and open, and ſoon running to ſweat, and who of all other things can leaſt away with thirſt) to abandon the battell: and thoſe few that remained behind, the Romans ran upon, ruffled their colours, and chaſed them into their own hold. Then the Conſul ſounded the retreat: at which ſignall given the moſt part retired themſelves; but a ſort of them, upon a hot deſire of fight, and good hope to be Maſters of their camp, perſiſted ſtill, cloſe to their trench. The Gauls diſdaining their ſmall number iſſued all forth out of their Camp: and then the Romans being diſcomfited, were glad now of themſelves for fear and fright to trudge unto the ſtrength of their own hold, which they would not retire unto at the commandment of the Conſul. Thus on both ſides there was one while victory, and another while fearfull flight: howbeit, when all cards were told and the reckoning made, the Gauls had the worſt of the game: for of them were ſlain eleven thouſand, whereas of Romans there died but five thouſand. Then the Gauls retired themſelves into the moſt inward parts of their country, and the Conſul marched with his legions to *Placentia*. Some write, that *Scipio* and his Collegue with their

* The quarter and lodging of the Treaſurer.

this joynt forces, invaded and ſpoiled the countries of the Boians and Ligurians, ſo far forth H as they could paſs for woods and bogs: others again record, that he, having done no memorable exploit at all, returned to *Rome* about the aſſembly for election of Conſuls.

The ſame year *T. Quintius* ſpent the whole winter ſeaſon at *Elatia* (whither he had retired his forces for winter harbour) in hearing mens cauſes and miniſtring juſtice to every one; alſo in reforming and redreſſing all ſuch diſorders as had paſſed in the States and Cities, through the licentious government and juriſdiction either of *Philip* himſelf or his Captains, whiles he advanced thoſe favourits of his own faction, and put down the right and liberty of others. In the beginning of the ſpring he came to *Corinth*, where he had given ſummons, that there ſhould be holden a general Diet of the States. There in the aſſembly of all the Embaſſadors and agents from the Cities, gathered about him as it were to hear an Oration, he made a ſpeech unto them; beginning I firſt with the amity contracted between the Romans and *Greece*: and proceeding to the acts atchieved in *Spain* by the Generals afore him, and thoſe alſo of his own. All that he ſpake was heard and received with great applauſe, untill he touched the point concerning *Nabis*: for it was generally thought unfitting, that he undertaking to ſet all *Greece* at liberty, had left a tyrant (not only a grievous oppreſſour of his own ſubjects, but alſo dangerous to all the Cities about him) to remain ſtill as a tearfull malady ſetled in the very bowels and heart of a moſt noble and renowned State. *Quintius*, not ignorant of their affections and diſpoſitions, confeſſed, that he ſhould not indeed have any ear at all to the motion or mention of peace with the tyrant, in caſe that *Lacedæmon* could have ſtood in ſafety without ſo doing: but now ſince that *Nabis* might not poſſibly be confounded and overthrown, without the preſent ruin and fearfull downfall of the City, he K "thought it a better courſe in policy to leave the tyrant enfeebled and diſfurniſhed of all means "to offend and hurt any man, than to ſuffer ſo goodly a City to die in the cure, and under the "hand as it were of the Phyſician, amidſt thoſe quick and ſharp remedies which it were never a- "ble to endure: and ſo in ſeeking to recover liberty, to periſh and die for ever. And after he had "diſcourſed of things paſt, he inferred, that his purpoſe and intent was, to go into *Italy*, and to "have away with him his whole army: alſo that within ten daies they ſhould hear news how all "the garriſons had quit *Demetrias* and *Chalcis*: and that he would deliver out of hand unto the "Achæans in their very ſight, the fortreſs of *Corinth*: that all the world may know, whether it be "the Romans guiſe, or the faſhion of the Ætolians, to over-reach and lie; who in their common "talk have not let to diſcourſe, to ſow ſurmiſes, and to buzze into mens heads that it was dan- L "gerous for *Greece* to put their liberty into the Romans hands: & that they had but made an ex- "change of their lordly rulers, admitting the Romans in lieu of the Macedonians. But as for them "(quoth he) their tongue is no ſlander, being ſuch perſons as never took heed and made regard "what either they did or ſaid. But the other Cities he advertiſed to weigh their friends by deeds "and not by words: to be wiſe and well adviſed whom they are to truſt, and whom they are to "beware of: to uſe their liberty in meaſure and moderation; which if it be well tempered and "qualified, is good and wholſome to particular perſons and generall States: but exceſſive if it be, "it would not only be grievous and unſupportable to others, but alſo unruly, dangerous, and per- "nicious to themſelves that have it. He gave them counſell, that the Princes and States in each "City ſhould maintain concord not only among themſelves, but alſo with all other in one com- M "munity: for ſo long as they accord and agree together, no King nor tyrant ſhould be ſtrong e- "nough for them: whereas diſcord and ſedition maketh overture and openeth eaſie way to ene- "mies that lie in wait for the vantage; conſidering, that the ſide which in civill contention is the "weaker and goeth to the walls, will band rather with a forrainer, than give place and ſtoop to a "Citizen. In concluſion, he adviſed them, to keep and preſerve by their carefull regard, this their "liberty purchaſed for them by forrain forces, and delivered unto them with faithfull ſecurity of "ſtrangers and aliens; that the people of *Rome* might ſee, that they have given freedom to well "deſerving people: and this their great benefit hath been well beſtowed upon worthy perſons. Whiles they hearkned to theſe ſage admonitions, as uttered out of the mouth of a very father, the tears guſhed plenteouſly out of their eyes for kind heart and joy; inſomuch as they troubled him in the delivery of the reſt of his ſpeech. For a while there was a plauſible noiſe heard among N them as they approved his words, and adviſed one another to ponder theſe ſage ſayings, and to imprint them deeply in their hearts, proceeding as it were from divine oracle. After ſilence made, he requeſted them to ſeek up all thoſe Roman Citizens (if haply there were any) who lived in ſervitude and ſlavery among them, and within two months to ſend them unto him into *Theſſaly*: for it were a great ignominy and ſhame even for them, that in their countries there ſhould remain in bondage any of thoſe, by whoſe means they themſelves were ſet free and delivered out of bondage. With that, they all cried aloud with one voice, That for this above all the reſt they rendred thanks unto him, in that they were admoniſhed and warned by him, to perform their devoir and duty, ſo honeſt ſo religious, and ſo neceſſary. Now a mighty number there was of captives in O the Punick war; ſuch as *Annibal* (when their friends redeemed them not by ranſome) had ſold in open market. And how great the multitude of them was, this may prove and teſtifie which *Polybius* writeth; to wit, that this coſt the Achæans for their part * one hundred talents: and yet they ordained and ſet down, that there ſhould but 500 *Denarii* be repaid unto their Maſters for the redemption of every poll: for by this account *Achæa* had 1200 of them. Add now unto them as many as all *Greece* was like to have by that proportion [and ſee what number may ariſe.]

* By this account of *Livy*, a talent in this place amounteth to 187 li. 10 ſh ſterl.

The

A The aſſembly was not broken up and diſmiſſed, before they might ſee the garriſon deſcending from the fortreſs of *Corinth*, who marched directly to the gate and went their waies. The General preſently followed after, and being accompanied with them all, who called him with a loud voice, Their Saviour and Redeemer; he took his leave and bad them farewel: and ſo returned the ſame way he came to *Elatia*. From thence he ſent his Lieutenant *Ap. Claudius* with al the forces, commanding him to conduct the army to *Oricum* by the way of *Theſſalie* and *Epirus*, and there to expect and wait his coming: for he purpoſed there to take Sea and ſet over his army into *Italy*. He wrote alſo to *L. Quintius* his brother and Lieutenant, and Admiral likewiſe of the fleet, to gather all the ſhips of burden from along the Sea coaſt of *Greece* into that place. Himſelf went to *Chalcis*, and having withdrawn the garriſons not only from thence but alſo from *Oreum* and *Ere-*
B *tria*, he held a general Councel there of all the cities of *Eubœa*: and after he had made remonſtrance unto them in what caſe he found them, and in what eſtate he left them, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly. From thence he departed to *Demetrias*, where alſo he removed the garriſon, and being attended with a train of all the citizens, like as at *Corinth* and *Chalcis* before, he took his journey into *Theſſalie*: where the cities were not only to be ſet free, but alſo to be reformed, and from a general diſorder and confuſion wherein they ſtood, to be reduced and framed into ſome tolerable order and form of government. For they were not only tainted and infected with the corruption of the times, and the violent current of licentious outrage, which had taken head under the government of the King; but alſo of an inbred troubleſome ſpirit and humor of their own, wher-
C by, ſince their firſt beginning and upriſing, even unto our daies they never held Parliaments, Elections, Diets, Councels or any other aſſemblies whatſoever, without much trouble and ſedition. He choſe the Senate and Judges there in regard eſpecially of their wealth, and in all Cities he made that part more mighty, unto which it was more expedient and beneficial to have all quiet and in peace. Thus having viſited *Theſſalie*, and taken a general review thereof, he came by the way of *Epirus* to *Oricum*, from whence he minded to croſs the ſeas. From *Oricum* all his forces were tranſported to *Brunduſium*, and ſo they paſſed forward throughout *Italy* to the City of *Rome*, in manner of triumph, ſending before them as great a train of prizes by them taken, as they made themſelves in their march. After they were come to *Rome*, the Senat aſſembled without the City for *Quintius*, where he had audience to declare and diſcourſe of his worthy exploits: and willing they were to grant him triumph, according to his deſerts. Three daies together he rode in
D triumph. The firſt day he made a ſhew of all the armour, as wel defenſive as offenſive, alſo of braſen and marble images, of which he had taken more from King *Philip*, than he found in the ſaccage of the cities. The ſecond day there was carried in pomp, the gold and ſilver both unwrought and wrought into plate, yea, and caſt into coin. Of ſilver unwrought there was 18000 pound weight: of wrought, 270 pound weight. Many veſſels of plate of all ſorts, and moſt engraven, ſome of right curious and exquiſit workmanſhip. Likewiſe braſen veſſels, cunningly and artificially made: and beſides, ten ſhields of ſilver, and in coin eighty four thouſand Attick peeces of ſilver, which they call *Tetradrachma*, weighing almoſt four Roman deniers apeece: of gold there was three thouſand ſeven hundred and fourteen pound weight, and one ſhield full and whole of beaten gold, and of *Philip* golden peeces in coin, fourteen thouſand five hundred and fourteen. The third
E day were born in view for a pageant, a hundred and fourteen coronets of gold, which were the preſents of Cities given unto him. Moreover, there were led that day the beaſts for ſacrifice: and before his chariot went many noble priſoners and hoſtages, and among them, *Demetrius*, King *Philip* his ſon, and *Armenes* the ſon of *Nabis* the tyrant, a Lacedæmonian born. Then rode *Quintius* himſelf in a chariot into the City, and a great number of ſouldiers followed after, by reaſon that his whole army was retired with him out of his province. To every footman he gave two hundred and fifty Aſſes, duple as much to a centurion, and triple to an horſeman. Thoſe who were redeemed out of captivity, followed his chariot with their heads ſhaven, and much beautified the glory of the triumph.

In the end of this year, *Q. Ælius Tubero* a Tribun of the Commons, preſented a requeſt or bill
F unto the people, and they granted and enacted it, to wit, that two Colonies of Latins ſhould be conducted, the one into the Brutians countrey, and the other into the territory of *Thurium*. For the conduct and planting whereof, there were ordained three Deputies called Triumvirs, whoſe commiſſion was in force for three years, namely, *Q. Nevius*, *M. Minutius Rufus*, and *M. Furius Craſſipes* for the Brutians: and for *Thurium*, *A. Manlius*, *P. Ælius*, and *L. Apuſtius*. For the chuſing of theſe officers, *Cn. Domitius* the Pretor in the City, called two ſeveral aſſemblies in the Capitol. In that year were certain Temples dedicated, one of *Iuno Soſpita* in the herb-market, which had been vowed and ſet out to building four years before, by *C. Cornelius* the Conſul, during the war with the French: and he in his Cenſorſhip dedicated it. Another Temple of *Faunus*: the
Ædiles *C. Scribonius* and *Cn. Domitius*, had likewiſe bargained for the building thereof two years
G before, and laid by the money therefore; and this *Cn. Domitius* being now Pretor of the City dedicated it. Alſo *Q. Minutius Rufus*, dedicated a Temple to *Fortuna Primigenia* upon the hill *Quirinalis*, having been created Duumvir himſelf for that purpoſe. *Sempronius Sophus* had vowed the ſame ten years before in the time of the Punick war, and agreed for a certain price to have it built. Alſo *C. Servilius* the other Duumvir conſecrated the Temple of *Iupiter* within the iſland. Vowed it was ſix years before in the Gauls war by *L. Furius Purpurio* Pretor, and by him afterwards (when he was Conſul) order was given for the edifying thereof. And theſe were the affairs which paſſed that year.

*P. Scipio* returned out of his Province and government of *Gaul* for the election of new Consuls, and to that purpose was the general assembly summoned; wherein were chosen *L. Cornelius Merula*, and *Q. Minutius Thermus*. The next morrow after were created Pretors, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *C. Scribonius*, *M. Valerius Messala*, *L. Porcius Licinius*, and *C. Flaminius*. *C. Attilius Serranus*, and *L. Scribonius Libo*, Ædiles of the chair, were the first that exhibited the Stage-plaies called *Megalesia*. And the Roman plaies or games represented and set out by these Ædiles, the Senat now first and never before beheld apart from the rest of the people. And this (as all novelties and new fashions) ministred much talk: whiles some gave their opinion and said, That now at length that was given to this most noble and honorable State, which long ago was due; others again construed thus, and gave out, "That whatsoever was added to the Majesty of "the Senators and Nobles, was derogatory from the dignity of the people: and that all such kind "of distinctions, whereby estates and degrees are severed one from another, are prejudicial as wel "to common peace as publick liberty. For these five hundred and eighty years say they, these "plaies and games have been beheld and looked upon in common, without any such precise dif- "ference. What new accident is suddainly befaln, why the Nobles should not be willing to let "the Commons be intermingled with them in the Theatre? and why a rich man should disdain "his poor neighbour to sit by him? This is a new appetite and strange longing of theirs indeed, "full of pride and arrogancy, a thing never desired nor taken up and practised by the Senat of any "nation whatsoever. So as in the end even *Africanus* beshrewed himself (men say) and repented thereof, for that he in his Consulship moved and perswaded the bringing up of this new fashion. So hard a matter it is to alter an old custome, and make a new order to be well liked of. And men are ever more willing to keep them to ancient customes, unless they be such, as practise and experience do evidently check and condemn.

In the beginning of the year, wherein *L. Cornelius* and *Q. Minutius* were Consuls, news came so thick of many earth-quakes, that men were not only weary of the thing it self, but also of the holy-dayes and solemnities that were published and proclaimed in that regard. For the Consuls could not intend either to assemble the Senate and sit in Councel, or manage the affairs of the Common-weal, for being wholly employed about sacrificing and appeasing the wrath of the gods. In conclusion, the Decemvirs were commanded to peruse the books of *Sibylla*, and according to their answer and direction, a procession and supplication was for three daies solemnised. And before the Altars and shrines of the gods and goddesses, they made their praiers with garlands and coronets on their heads: yea, and commandment was given, that every houshold and family by it self should fall to their praiers and devotions. Also the Consuls by order from the Senat made proclamation, That upon what day a feast or solemnity was ordained by occasion of one earthquake, no man the same day should bring news of another. Then the Consuls cast lots for the government of their provinces, and after them the Pretors did the like. Unto *Cornelius* befell *Gaul*, and to *Minutius* the Ligurians; *C. Sempronius* had the charge of the civil jurisdiction, and *M. Valerius* of the forrain; *L. Cornelius* governed *Sicily*, *L. Porcius Sardinia*, *C. Flaminius* high *Spain*, and *L. Fulvius* the lower. The Consuls looked for no war that year: but even then at that instant were letters brought from *M. Cincius* Lord President of *Pisa*, which gave notice, that twenty thousand Ligurians were up in arms, having conspired together in all market Towns and places of resort throughout the whole nation, and that they had already wasted the territory of *Luna*, and having invaded and passed through the Pisan Land, had over-run also the Sea coasts. Wherefore *Minutius* the Consul, unto whom the government of *Liguria* was allotted, by the advice of the LL. of the Senat mounted up into the pulpit *Rostra*, and published an act, That those two legions of Roman citizens, which the former year had been enrolled, should within ten daies present themselves at *Aretium*, in lieu whereof he would levy two other legions out of the City. Also he commanded the allies and Magistrats of the Latin nation, and their Embassadors leagers, who owed knight-service, and were bound to find souldiers to come before him into the Capitol. And from among them he enrolled fifteen thousand foot and five hundred horse, according to the number of young and serviceable men that were to be found in each State: which done, he commanded them forthwith, to go directly from the Capitol to the gate of the City, and presently to take musters that all might be done with greater expedition. Unto *Fulvius* and *Flaminius* were appointed three thousand Roman footmen and two hundred horsemen apeece, for to supply and strengthen their forces: also five thousand foot to either of them of allies of the Latin nation, with two hundred horse. Moreover the Pretors were charged to dismiss and cass the old souldiers, so soon as they were arrived into their provinces. Now, when as the souldiers who were enrolled in the City-legions, resorted thick unto the Tribuns of the Commons, that they shou'd take knowledge of as many of them as were exempted from warfare, for that they either had served out their full time by law appointed, or were sickly and diseased: behold the letters of *Sempronius* dashed all this, and cleered every difficulty and scrupulosity: wherein it was written, that fifteen thousand Ligurians were entred the territory of *Placentia*, and had made great wast and saccage therein putting all to fire and sword as they went, even as far as to the very walls of the Colony it self, and the banks of * *Padus*. Also that the nation of the Boii made countenance and gave suspicion of rebellion. In which regards seeing there was a tumultuous and suddain war toward, the Senat passed a decree, wherein they signified that it was not their pleasure that the Tribuns should accept any excuses pretended by the souldiers, but that they should all meet

* Po.

A meet and assemble together, according to the Edict. Over and besides they gave order, that the allies of the Latin nation, who had served in the armies of *P. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius*, and were discharged from souldiery by them being Consuls, should now be ready to shew themselves, against that day which *L. Cornelius* the Consul should appoint, and at what place soever of *Hetruria* he should command by way of proclamation: Also that the said *L. Cornelius* the Consul in his march and journey toward the Province, might take up, enrol, and arme, what souldiers he thought good, out of all the burroughs and villages in his way, and have them with him whither soever he would, yea, and have commission to dismiss whom of them he thought good, and when soever he listed at his good pleasure.

After that the Consuls had taken musters, and were gone into their Provinces, then *T. Quin-*
B *tius* demanded to have a day of audience in the Senate concerning those affairs that he had concluded with the assistance of the ten Delegats above said: and that it would please them to confirm and establish the same by vertue of their assent and authority. Which they might do with more ease, in case they would hear the Embassadors themselves speak, who were come out of all *Greece*, a great part of *Asia*, and from the Kings. These embassies were admitted into the Senat by *C. Scribonius* the Pretor for the City, and all dispatched with a gratious answer. But because the dispute about *Antiochus* reqnired long time of debate, therefore it was referred and put over to the ten Delegats, of whom some had been in *Asia*, or at *Lysimachia* with the King. And *Quintius* was commanded, that together with those said Delegats he should hear what the King his Embassadors could say, and so return unto them such an answer, as might stand with the honor and
C welfare of the people of *Rome*. The chief of this embassage from the King were *Menippus* and *Hegesianax*. Then *Menippus* began and said, "That he knew no such perplexed difficulty in their "embassage, considering they were come simply to treat for peace, and to contract a league and al-"liance. For, saith he, there are three sorts of confederacies and associations, whereby States and "KK. ordinarily conclude league and amity one with another. The first, when they that are van-"quished in war, have conditions and articles imposed upon them: for when all is yeelded into "the hands of him that is the mightier and more puissant, then it is in his power and at his dis-"cretion and will, to give unto the conquered party what he list, or to take from him as he "pleaseth. The second is, when they that are equal in warlike forces give over on even hand, and "be content to make peace and amity, upon indifferent and equal conditions, one with the other:
D "in which case, demand and claim is made, restitution and amends performed according to the "accord and agreement: and if in time of the wars, any have been molested and troubled in their "possession, they fall to composition either by the form and tenor of ancient law, or respective "to the good and profit of both parties. The third is, when they that never were enemies, meet "and confer together about concluding some friendship, by way of solemn alliance and society, "who neither give nor take any conditions: for that belongeth properly to Conquerors, and "those that are conquered. Seeing then that *Antiochus* is compriſed in this last kind, I marvail "(qd. he) that the Romans should think or say, It is reasonable to tender articles unto him, or "to prescribe and set down, what Cities of *Asia* they would have to be free and exempt, and "which they would have to be tributary: and into what Cities they would expressly forbid the
E "King his garrisons, or the King himself to enter and set foot. For in this wise ought they to "make peace with *Philip* their enemy in times past, and not to draw a contract of amity and asso-"ciation with *Antiochus*, a friend at this present. To this Oration *Quintius* shaped his answer in "this sort. "For asmuch as it pleaseth you to make your speech thus distinctly by way of divisi-"on, and severally to reherse all kinds of confederacies and accords, I also will set down as metho-"dically in order two conditions, without which, you may let the King your master to understand, "that he must not look to entertain any friendship with the people of *Rome*. The one is this, "that if he would debar us to intermeddle with the Cities of *Asia*: he likewise himself have no-"thing to do with all *Europe*. The other, that if he cannot contain himself within the compass of
F "*Asia*, but will needs encroach upon it the Romans likewise may have liberty and power both to "maintain those amities which they have already, and also to entertain new with the States of "*Asia*. Hereat *Hegesianax* inferred and said, "That this was an indignity intolerable, and which "he could not abide to hear, namely that *Antiochus* should be dissaized of those Cities of *Thrace* "and *Chersonesus*, which *Seleucus* his great grand-father had conquered with singular honor from "King *Lysimachus*, whom he vanquished in war and slew in field, and setled the same in him as "his rightful inheritance. As for the same cities possessed by the Thracians, *Antiochus* himself with "as great praise and glory hath partly by force of arms regained out of their hands, and partly re-"peopled with the old inhabitants called home again, whereas they lay abandoned and desolat, "and namely, *Lysimachia* it self, as all the world seeth: and more than that, hath re-edified to his "exceeding charge and expense, those that lay along in their ruins, and were consumed with fire.
G "What likenes then is there between these two demands: namely, that *Antiochus* should quit the "possession of that which either he acquired or recovered in that sort: and that the Romans "should abstain and forbear *Asia*, which never appertained unto them? To conclude, *Antiochus* "saith he) is desirous of the Roman friendship, but in such terms as may stand with his honor, & "not purchase himself shame and reproach. Then *Quintius* rejoyned again in this manner: "For "asmuch as, qd. he, we balance and weigh things according to honesty (as in truth it is befitting the "chief and principal state of the world, and so great and mighty a King to prize that only or at

"leastwise principally above all other regards) I would gladly know of you. Whether ye think it H
"more honeſt of the twain, either to will and wiſh that all the Cities of *Greece* whatſoever and
"whereſoever ſhould enjoy liberty: or to make them homagers and tributary? If *Antiochus*
"thinketh it be an honorable thing for him to reduce into ſervitude and bondage as his own,
"thoſe Cities which his great grand-father held by right of arms, and whereof neither his father
"nor grand-father afore him were in poſſeſſion: the people of *Rome* likewiſe eſteemeth it a mate-
"rial point that toucheth their faithfulneſs and conſtancy, not to forſake the Greeks, whoſe pro-
"tection and defence they have enterpriſed and taken in hand. And like as they have freed *Greece*
"out of the hands of *Philip*, ſo they intend to deliver thoſe Cities of *Aſia* which are of Greekiſh
"race and deſcent, from the ſubjection of *Antiochus*. For the Greek Colonies were not ſent into I
"*Æolis* and *Ionia*, to live in ſervitude under the King, but to increaſe and multiply, that a moſt
"ancient nation might ſpread over the face of the whole earth. Now when as *Hegeſianax* knew
not how to ſhift and turn himſelf, and could not deny but that the cauſe of liberty which the Ro-
mans pretended in the title of their quarrel, was of more honeſty and credit, than that other of
ſlavery: Let's lay away all theſe circumſtances of words (quoth *P. Sulpitius*, the ancienteſt perſon
of all the ten Delegats) and chooſe ye one of the two conditions which even now were expreſly
offered unto you by *Quintius*, or elſe make no more talk about amity with the Romans. Then
quoth *Menippus*, As for us, we may in no caſe, neither will we capitulate and covenant any thing
prejudicial to the Kingdom and royal ſtate of King *Antiochus*. The morrow after *Quintius* when
he had brought all the Embaſſies of *Greece* and *Aſia* into the Senat, that they might know what
affection the people of *Rome* carried, and what mind *Antiochus* bare to the Cities of *Greece*, he K
declared before them all as well his own demands, as thoſe of the Kings part: willing them to make
report unto their own Cities, and aſſure them, that the people of *Rome* would maintain them a-
gainſt *Antiochus* (unleſs he departed out of *Europe*) with the ſame vertue, valour, and fidelity
wherewith he had defended their liberty againſt *Philip*. Then *Menippus* was earneſt with *Quin-
tius* and the LL. of the Senat, beſeeching them inſtantly not to proceed in haſt to a decree where-
by they ſhould ſet all the world in trouble and uprore; but both take leiſure themſelves and give
reſpite unto the King to deliberat farther of the matter: for no doubt, upon the relating of the
conditions, he would conſider upon them, and either obtain ſomewhat at their hands, or for
peace ſake yeeld his conſent to all. Thus was the matter wholly and entirely deferred: and agreed
it was, that the ſame Embaſſadors ſhould be addreſſed unto the King, who had been with him at L
Lyſimachia, to wit, *P. Sulpitius P. Villius*, and *P. Ælius*.

Scarcely were they gone from the City and entred upon their journey, but Embaſſadors arri-
ved from *Carthage*, who reported, that without all doubt *Antiochus* made preparation for war,
and therein uſed the hand and miniſtery of *Annibal*: in ſo much, as it was feared alſo that a third
Punick war would break out withal. *Annibal*, as we ſaid before, having fled his native countrey,
repaired unto *Antiochus*, and was in great account and eſtimation with the King, for no other
cauſe and policy in the world, but that the King who projected and plotted long time in his ſpi-
rit to levy war upon the Romans, could find no man more fit than *Annibal* to break his mind
unto, and with whom to diſcourſe upon a matter of ſuch conſequence. *Annibal* his ſong and re-
ſolution was ever one and the ſame ſtill, namely, To make war within *Italy*: and that *Italy* was M
able to furniſh a forrain enemy, with men, munition, and victuals. For this he caſt with himſelf
and conſidered, that if all were quiet there and no troubles ſet a foot, but that the people of *Rome*
might with the forces and riches of *Italy*, furniſh themſelves to make war without *Italy*, there
was no Monarch nor nation under the ſun able to make head againſt the Romans. He demanded
therefore to have the command of 100 cloſe ſhips with hatch and deck, 16000 foot, and 1000
horſe: and with the ſaid fleet he would firſt ſail into *Affrick*, where he aſſured himſelf that he
ſhould be able to ſollicit and induce the Carthaginians to rebellion: but if they held off and made
it goodly and ſtrange, yet would he ſettle in ſome part of *Italy* and levy war againſt the Romans.
His advice and counſel furthermore was, that the King ſhould with all his other forces paſs into
*Europe*, and in ſome one part of *Greece* keep his power together, and not to take the Sea, but to be N
ready ever to croſs over; which would be ſufficient to make a ſhew and raiſe a bruit all abroad of
war. When he had perſwaded the King to this deſignment and reſolution, ſuppoſing that he was
likewiſe to ſound and prepare the hearts afore-hand of his own countrymen to this purpoſe: he
durſt not diſpatch any letters unto them, for fear they might chance to be intercepted by the way,
and ſo diſcover the whole plot. He hapned at *Epheſus* upon a Tyrian one *Ariſton*, a man whoſe
induſtry and dexterity he had tried in ſome ſmall ſervices wherein he had imployed him. Him he
plyed with gifts in hand, but fed him more with large promiſes of great rewards, which King *An-
tiochus* alſo himſelf ſeemed to make good and give his word for; and ſo ſent him to *Carthage*
with credence and inſtructions. He acquainted him with the names of all thoſe perſons with
whom he was to talk and confer: he furniſheth him with ſecret tokens, whereby they might O
aſſuredly know that he was no counterfeit, but came with a meſſage from him. Now whiles this
*Ariſton* converſed in *Carthage*, the friends of *Annibal* knew no ſooner about what errand he came,
than his very enemies. At the firſt, much talk and diſcourſe there was in every corner of the City
where they met, and at their feaſts and merriments, of this matter. Afterwards at their councel ta-
ble ſome ſtuck not to ſay, that the exile of *Annibal* was to little or no purpoſe, if whiles he was
abſent he could contrive and compaſs new plots, and by ſolliciting and tempering mens minds,

diſquiet

A diſquiet and trouble the ſtate of the City. There is a ſtranger, ſay they, one *Ariſton* a Tyrian, hither come with inſtructions from *Annibal* and King *Antiochus*: certain men there are, that daily have privy conference with him, and deviſe in ſecret of that, which anon will break out to the utter ruin and overthrow of all. "Whereupon they all cried with one voyce to convent *Ariſton* pe-"remptorily before them, and to examine him about what buſineſs he was thither arrived; and un-"leſs he would bewray & declare the matter, to ſend him with Embaſſadors of purpoſe, to *Rome*: "For why? we have (ſay they) felt the ſmart enough, and paid ſufficiently for the folly and raſh "head of one harebrained man already. Let privat perſons bear their own load hereafter, and at "their own peril commit a treſpaſs: provided alwayes, that the Common-weal be preſerved clear "not only from all fault, but alſo from all apparance and bruit of any ſuch intent. *Ariſton* being
B called before them, ſtood ſtifly upon his integrity and excuſed himſelf, and evermore uſed this for his beſt and ſureſt defence, That he had brought no letters at all to any perſon: howbeit he could not render a ready & ſound reaſon of his coming thither: but eſpecially he was ſhrewdly troubled and put to his trumps when they charged him, That he had talk and communication with thoſe only of the Barchine faction. Hereupon aroſe ſome debate and altercation in the houſe; whiles ſome were of opinion that he ſhould be apprehended for a ſpie, and clapt up faſt in ward: others again were of mind that there was no cauſe to make ſuch a ſtir and tumult; for it was an evil preſident to be given, that ſtrangers coming to their City, ſhould be troubled and hardly intreated: and the like meaſure no doubt would be offered to the Carthaginians in *Tyrus* & in other Towns of marchandiſe, whereunto they uſe to have reſort for exchange and traffique. So for that day the
C matter was put off. *Ariſton* framing himſelf to play the crafty Carthaginian among theſe Carthaginians, wrote a certain bill: and in the ſhutting in of the evening, hung it up in the moſt conſpicuous and publick place of all the City, even over the ſeat where the head Magiſtrate uſeth daily to ſit: and himſelf about the third watch gat to ſhipboord and eſcaped. The morrow after, when the Suffetes were ſet on the bench, to miniſter law; the bill aforeſaid was ſeen, taken down, and read: wherein to this effect was written. That *Ariſton* was not come with a meſſage to any perſon in particular, but to all the Seniors or Elders in general (for ſo they call the Senat.) After that the thing was by this means made a publick matter, and the whole ſtate of the Senators reputed culpable they were not ſo earneſt to ſearch into privat perſons. Howbeit thought good it was, that Embaſſadors ſhould be ſent to *Rome* to give information hereof to the Conſuls and the Se-
D nat, and withal, to make complaint of certain wrongs done by *Maſaniſſa*.

*Maſaniſſa* underſtanding that the Carthaginians were ſuſpected and in ſome ill name among the Romans, and alſo at jar and variance within themſelves; and namely, that the great and principal men were had in jealouſy by the Senat for their conferences with *Ariſton*; and their Senate likewiſe ſuſpected by the people, by reaſon of that writing above-named of the ſaid *Ariſton*: taking this for a good advantage and opportunity to do them ſome injury, not only invaded their maritime parts and made ſpoil, but alſo forced certain tributary Cities to the Carthaginians for to pay himſelf tribute. That quarter of the countrey they call *Emporia*. It is the Sea coaſt of the leſſer *Syrtis*, and the country is exceeding fertile: there is in it one only City named *Leptis*, which paid to the Carthaginians for tribute, a talent every day. All this region *Maſaniſſa* then had plagued ſore,
E yea, and for one part thereof he made ſome claim, as being litigious whether it pertained to his Kingdom, or the Seignory of the Carthaginians: and becauſe he knew for truth, that the Carthaginian Embaſſadors were about to go to *Rome*, as well to purge themſelves of ſome crimes wherewith they were charged, as to complain of him; therefore himſelf alſo addreſſed his Embaſſadors to *Rome*, who ſhould lay open more matter againſt them of deeper ſuſpition, and debate withal as touching the right of thoſe tributes. The Carthaginians were no ſooner heard ſpeak concerning that Tyrian ſtranger, but the LL. of the Senat grew into ſome doubt leſt they ſhould wage war with *Antiochus* and the Carthaginians both together. And this preſumption of all the reſt made the ſuſpicion moſt pregnant, becauſe when they had the party among them and were purpoſed to ſend him to *Rome*, they neither made the man himſelf ſure, nor the bark wherein he arrived. After this,
F they fell to debate and argue with the Kings Embaſſadors, about the territory and land in controverſy. "The Carthaginians pleaded for themſelves, and ſtood much upon their bounds and li-"mits, for that the land in ſuit lay within that precinct, by which *P. Scipio* the Conqueror limited "out that territory which pertained to the ſeignory of the Carthaginians. Alſo they alledged the "confeſſion of the King himſelf, who at what time as he purſued *Apheres*, that fled out of his own "realm, and with a company of Numidians ranged abroad about *Cyrene*, made requeſt unto them "to give him leave to paſs through this very ground, as if (without all queſtion) it belonged to "the Carthaginians. The Numidians anſwered again to theſe points & ſaid plainly to their faces, "that they lied in their throats, as touching that ſuppoſed limitation and bounding by *Scipio*: "and moreover, if we would go (ſay they) and ſearch the very original indeed of the law, what
G "land at all ought the Carthaginians have of their own proper inheritance? For being but meer "ſtrangers, they had after much praier and entreaty, as much ground allowed them and no more, "to build them a City in, as they could compaſs with thongs cut out of one bull hide. And look "whatſoever they had encroached upon; without that neſt and ſeat of theirs in *Byrſa* they gat and "held it by force and violence. And as for the land now in ſtrife, they are not able to prove, that "they alwaies held the ſame in poſſeſſion, no, nor that they kept it any long time together. But as "occaſion and opportunies ſerved of advantage, one while they, and another while the Numidian

" Kings made reentry and enjoied it, and evermore he went away with the poſſeſſion thereof H
" that was the ſtronger, and had the keener ſword. In theſe conſiderations they requeſted the Ro-
" mans to leave the thing in that ſtate and condition, wherein it ſtood before that the Carthagi-
" nians were enemies, or King *Maſaniſſa* friend and allie to the Romans: and not to intermeddle
" between, nor take a part, but let the winner wear it, and him have it that can hold it. In conclu-
ſion it was thought good, that to the Embaſſadors of both parties this anſwer ſhould be returned, namely; That they would ſend certain Commiſſioners into *Affrick*, to decide this controverſy about the land in queſtion, between the people of *Carthage* and the King. So there were ſent of purpoſe, *P. Scipio Africanus*, *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *M. Minutius Rufus*. Who having heard what could be ſaid, and ſeen the thing, left all hanging ſtill in ſuſpence and undecided without adjudging it by their definitive ſentence to the one or the other. But whether they ſo did, on their I
own head and ſelf-accord, or by direction from the Senat, is not ſo certain as it ſeemeth agreeable unto that preſent time in policy, to leave them as they found them, and the controverſie ſtill depending. For unleſs it were ſo, *Scipio* himſelf alone, in regard of the knowledge that he had of the thing, and of his authority with the perſons (ſo much bound they were unto him on both ſides) might with a word of his mouth, or a nod of his head, have ended all this matter.

# The five and thirtieth Book *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the* K *City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the five and thirtieth Book.

PUblius Scipio Africanus *being ſent Embaſſador unto* Antiochus, *talked at* Epheſus *with* Annibal *(who had fled with* Antiochus) *to this end that he might rid him of that fear which he had conceived of the people of* Rome, *as touching the taking away of his life. Among other matters paſſed between them, when he demanded of* Annibal, *whom he judged to have been the nobleſt and greateſt warrior that ever was, he anſwered, that it was* Alexander *King of the Macedonians: for that he with a ſmall* L *power had diſcomfited and defeated an infinite number of armies, and withal, paſſed through thoſe far diſſite and remote parts of the world unto which a man would not believe, that it were poſſible for any perſon to go and ſee them. When he asked again of him whom he deemed for the ſecond: Who but* Pyrrhus *(qd. he) becauſe he taught the manner how to pitch a camp, & beſides, no man had the coſt to gain places and holds for advantage, nor could ſet his corps de guard or plant garriſons better than he. And when he proceeded ſtill to know whom he took to be the third,* Annibal *named his own good ſelf. At which anſwer* Scipio *fell a laughing: And what would you have ſaid then (qd. he) if your hap had been to have vanquiſhed me? Marry then (ſaith he) I would have ſet my ſelf before* Alexander, *before* Pyrrhus, *and before all other. Among other prodigious ſights, whereof there were reported very many, it is ſaid, that in the year wherein* Cn. Domitius *was Conſul, a Cow ſpake, and ſaid theſe words;* Rome, look to thy ſelf, M *The Romans prepare to war with* Antiochus. Nabis *the tyrant of the Lacedemonians, provoked by the Ætolians, who ſolicited both* Philip *and alſo* Antiochus *to wage war againſt the people of* Rome, *revolted from the Romans, and after he had levied war againſt* Philopœmen, *Pretor of the Achæans, was by the Ætolians ſlain. The Ætolians likewiſe abandoned the friendſhip of the people of* Rome, *with whom* Antiochus *King of* Syria *landed: who warred upon* Greece, *and ſurpriſed many Cities, and namely,* Chalcis *and* Eubœa *among the reſt. Beſides, this book containeth the martial affairs in* Liguria, *and the preparation of* Antiochus *for the wars.*

## *The five and thirtieth Book of* T. Livius.

N

IN the beginning of that year wherein theſe affairs thus paſſed. *Sext. Digitius* Pretor in high *Spain*, fought battels (rather ordinary, and for number many, than otherwiſe memorable and worth the ſpeaking) againſt thoſe States, whereof after the departure of *Cato* a great part had rebelled. And thoſe battels for the moſt part were ſo unfortunate that hardly he could deliver up to his ſucceſſor the one half of thoſe ſouldiers which he had received. And doubtleſs all *Spain* would have taken heart again, if the other Pretor *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the ſon of *Cneius*, had not ſped better in many of his conflicts beyond *Iberus*. Upon which terrour no fewer than fifty good Towns revolted unto him. And theſe exploits performed *Scipio* as Pretor. Who alſo in quality of Propretor, encountred the Luſitans upon the way, as they returned homeward charged with a mighty great booty raiſed out of the baſe *Spain*, which they had utterly pilled and ſpoiled: where O
* After Sunring. he fought from the third hour of the * day unto the eight, with doubtful event. For number of ſouldiers he was inferiour to his enemies, but for all things elſe he had the vantage and went beyond them. For his bataillons were well appointed and cloſe compacted of armed men, and ſo he charged upon the enemies marching in a long train, and the ſame encumbred with a deal of cattel: beſides, his ſouldiers were freſh and in heart, whereas the other were wearied with long travel.

A vel. For the enemies ſet forth at the third watch, and beſides their night journey, they had marched three hours alſo of the day, and without any repoſe or reſt at all, they came to a conflict preſently upon their travel on the way. And therefore at the beginning of the battel, ſo long as they were in any heart, and their ſtrength ſerved, they troubled and diſordered the Romans with the firſt charge they gave: but afterwards for a while they came to be equal in fight. In which hazard of doubtful iſſue the Propretor vowed to ſet forth certain ſolemn games to the honour of *Jupiter*, in caſe he might diſcomfit the enemies, and kill them in chaſe. At the length the Romans advanced forward more hotly, and the Luſitans retreated, yea, and anon turned their backs quite. And when as in this train of victory the Romans purſued them hard in the rout, there were of the enemies ſlain upon 12000, 500 and forty taken priſoners, all in manner horſemen; and of military
B enſigns they carried away one hundred thirty and four. Of the Roman army ſeventy and three only were loſt. This battel was fought not far from the City *Ilipa*. And thither brought *P. Cornelius* his victorious army, enriched with prey and pillage. Which was laid all abroad before the Town, and every man had leave given to challenge and claim his own. All the reſt was given to the Treaſurer for to be ſold: and the mony raiſed thereof, was parted among the ſouldiers.

Now had not *C. Flaminius* the Pretor as yet taken his leave of *Rome*, when theſe things fell out in *Spain*, and therefore both he and his friends talked and diſcourſed much upon theſe occurrents both good and bad: and foraſmuch as a great war in his Province was broken out to a light fire, and himſelf was to receive from *Sext. Digitius* but a ſmall remnant of an army, and the ſame timorous ſtill and full of fright, as not well recovered of their former flight, he had aſſaied to bring
C about, that the Senat would aſſign unto him one of the City-legions; to the end that when he had joined thereto thoſe ſouldiers which himſelf had enrolled according to an order ſet down by the Senat, he might out of all that number chuſe forth ſix thouſand and five hundred footmen, and three hundred horſemen. With which legion (for in the army of *Sext. Digitius* he repoſed ſmall confidence) he minded to make war. The ancient Senators denied and ſaid, That acts of the Senat were not to be made upon every flying tale and report ſet abroad and blazed by ſome particular perſons in favor of Magiſtrats. Neither would they hold any thing for certain, but that which either the Pretors themſelves wrote out of the Provinces, or Embaſſadors ſent of purpoſe, related. And if there were any ſuch commotion and trouble in *Spain*, they were of advice that the Pretor ſhould levy in haſt without *Italy*, ſuch tumultuary ſouldiers, as in that caſe were uſually taken up.
D The intent and mind of the Senat was, that ſouldiers ſhould in that ſort be preſt out in *Spain*. *Valerius Antias* writeth that *C. Flaminius* both ſailed into *Sicily* to levy and muſter men, and alſo as he made ſail from *Sicily* toward *Spain*, was by wind and tempeſt put with the ſhore of *Africk*: where he found certain ſouldiers diſperſed over the countrey, remaining of the army of *P. Africanus*: of whom he took a military oath to ſerve him in his wars: and that to theſe levies raiſed in two Provinces he joyned alſo a third in *Spain*.

The war of the Ligurians likewiſe grew as faſt: for they had already beſieged and inveſted *Piſa* with forty thouſand men: and thither reſorted and flocked dayly unto them great multitudes as well for hope of pillage, as upon the bruit and rumor that went of the war. *Minutius* the Conſul came at the day appointed to *Aretium*, which was the *Rendezvous* where he had commanded all
E his ſouldiers to meet him: from whence he marched with a fourſquare Battailon toward *Piſa*. And when the enemies had removed their camp a mile from the City on the other ſide of the River, the Conſul entred the Town, which no doubt by his coming he preſerved. The next day himſelf alſo encamped on the other ſide of the River, almoſt half a mile from the enemies, from which place he made light skirmiſhes with them and ſaved the territory of his allies from the excurſions and robberies of the enemies. He durſt not as yet try a battail in pitched field, as having but raw and new ſouldiers, and thoſe gathered out of many kinds of men, and not ſo well known among themſelves, that one might ſurely truſt another. The Ligurians bearing themſelves bold of their numbers, not only came forth into the field ready to bid battail, and hazard all upon a throw: but having multitudes at commandment and to ſpare, ſent out into all parts ſundry com-
F panies to ſpoil and raiſe booties as far as to the marches and frontiers of the countrey. And when they had gathered together much cattail and great ſtore of pillage, they had a ſtrong place of defence ready at hand, well manned and guarded, by means whereof all was convoyed into their burroughs and Towns.

Thus while the Ligurians war was ſettled about *Piſa*, the other Conſul *L. Cornelius Merula* entred with his army by the utmoſt confines of the Ligurians into the territory of the Boians: where the war was managed far otherwiſe than with the Ligurians. For the Conſul entred the field in battail arrai, but the enemies fell off, and would not fight. In ſo much as the Romans ſeeing none to come forth and preſent themſelves, ran abroad into all parts to ſpeed their hands with
G pillage. And the Boians choſe rather to ſuffer their goods to be ranſacked making no reſiſtance, than to ſave the ſame with the hazard of a battail. The Conſul when he had wrought his pleaſure and conſumed all with fire and ſword departed out of the territory of the enemies, and marched toward * *Mutina* ſecurely without any regard of himſelf, as through a peaceable country of his friends. The Boii perceiving one that they were gone out of their limits, followed after with a ſtill and ſilent march, ſeeking ſome convenient place for to lay an ambuſh. And having in the night ſeaſon paſſed beyond the Roman camp they ſeiſed themſelves of a ſtreight paſſage within a faſtneſs, through which of neceſſity the Romans muſt paſs, and there they forlayed them.

* *Modena.*

This

This was not ſo cloſely carried, but the Conſul had an inkling thereof: and therefore where as H his manner was to ſet out in his march early in the morning, long before day light, now for fear leſt the darkneſs of the night ſhould increaſe the terror of a tumultuary skirmiſh, he waited for the day. And albeit the ſun was up before he removed and ſet forward, yet he ſent out a Troop of horſemen to ſcour and diſcover the quarters. And after he was advertiſed by theſe eſpials what number there was of enemies, and in what place they were, he commanded that all the baggage and carriage of the whole army ſhould be beſtowed in the mids, and that the Triarii ſhould ſtake and pale it all about, whiles he with the reſt of his forces marched in order of battail, and approached the enemy. The like alſo did the French, after they once ſaw that their ambuſh and trains were detected, and that they muſt of neceſſity fight a ſet pitched battail, where down right blows, clean ſtrength, and pure valour, was to carry away the victory. Thus about I the ſecond hour of the day they affronted one another. The left wing of the horſemen of the allies and the extraordinaries fought in the vanguard, under the conduct of two Lieutenants that had been Conſuls, to wit, *M. Marcellus*, and *T. Sempronius*, Conſul the year before. The new Conſul one while was in the front of the battail, another while at the tail to keep in the legions, leſt for eager deſire of fight they ſhould advance forward to the conflict before that the ſignal was given. As for the men of arms belonging to the legions, he commanded *Quintius* and *P. Minutius*, Marſhals or Colonels, to bring them forth, and conduct them without the battail into a large plain, from whence out of the open ground they ſhould on a ſuddain charge the enemies, when he gave them a ſignal by ſound of Trumpet. Thus as he was marſhalling and directing his men, there came a meſſenger from *T. Sempronius Longus* with a report, that the looſe Extraordinary K ſouldiers aforeſaid were not able to abide the violence of the Gauls: that very many of them were ſlain, and thoſe that remained, partly for wearineſs of travail, and partly for fearful cowardice began to quail their heat of fight: and therefore if he thought ſo good, he ſhould ſend one of the two legions to ſuccour, before they had received farther diſhonor. Whereupon the ſecond legion was ſent, and the Extraordinaries retired themſelves out of the battail. Then began the conflict anew, by reaſon that the ſouldiers came in freſh and in heart, and the legion beſides was compleat and fully furniſhed with all her companies: the left wing of horſemen aforeſaid was retired out of the battail, and in lieu thereof, the right wing advanced into the fore-front. By this time the ſun with extreme ſcorching heat roſted and fried the bodies of the Frenchmen, which of all things can leaſt abide heat: howbeit, ſtanding with their ranks thick and cloſe together, one while they L leaned one upon another: other whiles they reſted and bare themſelves upon their targets, and ſuſtained the violence of the Romans. Which when the Conſul perceived, he commanded *C. Livius Salinator* who had the conduct of the light horſe in the wings, to ſend in the quickeſt horſe in all his company, with ful carrier to break their ranks: and gave charge that the legionary horſemen ſhould abide behind in the reregard. This tempeſt and ſtorm of Cavalry firſt ſhuffled and put in diſaray the battail of the Gauls, and afterwards brake their ranks and files clean, yet not ſo, that they turned their backs: for why, their Captains and Leaders would not ſuffer them, laying about with their truncheons upon the backs of them that ſo trembled for fear, and forced them again into their ranks: but the light horſemen aforeſaid riding among them would not permit them to ſtand to it, and keep their place. The Conſul for his part encouraged and exhorted his M ſouldiers to ſtick to it awhile, for the victory was in their hands; and to charge ſtill upon them ſo long as they ſaw them diſordred and affrighted: for if they ſuffered their ranks to cloſe again they ſhould abide another conflict, and the ſame perhaps doubtful and dangerous. The Enſign-bearers he commanded to advance their banners: and thus at length with putting all their power and good will together, they diſcomfited the enemy, and put him to flight. After they ſhewed their backs once and took them to their heels, running away on all ſides, then the legionary horſemen were ſent out after to follow the chaſe: fourteen thouſand Boians that day were ſlain, a thouſand and nine hundred taken priſoners alive: 221 horſemen, three of their Leaders, and of Enſigns were won 212, and chariots 63. The Romans likewiſe won not this victory ſo cleer, but it coſt them ſome bloud. For of their own ſouldiers and allies together, there died above five thouſand, N 23 Centurions, beſides four Colonels of Allies, and two Marſhals of the ſecond legion, to wit, M. *Genutius*, and *M. Martius*.

At one and the ſelf ſame time in manner, both the Conſuls letters were brought to *Rome*. *Cornelius* his letters, touching the battail fought at *Mutina* with the Boians: but the other of *Q. Minutius* from *Piſæ* were written to this effect, That whereas by lot it belonged to him to hold the aſſembly for the election of new Magiſtrats, yet conſidering in how doubtful terms of hazard his affairs ſtood in *Liguria*, that he might not poſſibly depart from thence without the utter ruin of the allies, and hinderance of the weal publick: therefore if it might ſeem ſo good unto the LL. of the Senat, he would adviſe them to ſend unto his brother Conſul, That he, who had finiſhed his war, might return to *Rome* for to hold the foreſaid general aſſembly for the election: but incaſe O he ſhould think much thereof, becauſe this charge properly appertaineth not to him; he promiſed them, that himſelf would do whatſoever the Senate ſhould think good. But he requeſted them to conſider and be well adviſed, Whether it were not more expedient for the commonweal to proceed rather to an interreign, than that he ſhould leave the Province in that ſtate of jeopardy. The Senat hereupon gave in charge to C. *Scribonius* for to ſend two Embaſſadors both of Senators calling, unto *L. Cornelius* the Conſul, who ſhould carry alſo with them unto him

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A the letters of his colleague written and ſent unto the Senat: and withal, to let him underſtand, that unleſs he would come himſelf to *Rome* for the election of new Magiſtrats to ſucceed, the Senat would ſuffer an interreign rather than call away Q. *Minutius* from the war unfiniſhed, and wherein he was wholly employed. The Embaſſadors that were ſent, brought word back, That L. *Cornelius* would repair to *Rome* himſelf for the chuſing of new Magiſtrats. As touching the letters of L. *Cornelius*, wherein he gave them to underſtand, what happy iſſue & ſucceſs he had in the battail with the Boians; there was ſome reaſoning and debate in the Senat-houſe: for *M. Claudius* his Lieutenant had written other letters privately to moſt of the Senators, to this effect; That they were much beholden and bound to give thanks unto the good fortune of the people of *Rome*, and the valour of the ſouldiers, in that they ſped ſo well as they did: for by means of the Con-
B ſul, not only there were a good number of men loſt, but alſo the army of the enemies was eſcaped out of their hands, when they had fit opportunity preſented unto them, of a final defeat and overthrow thereof: and that by this occaſion there was a greater number of the ſouldiers miſcarried; for that they who ſhould have reſcued and ſuccoured thoſe that were diſtreſſed, came too late out of the reregard: and the reaſon why the enemies got away and eſcaped was this, becauſe the legionary horſemen had not the ſignal ſoon enough ſounded unto them, and could not poſſibly purſue them in the chaſe. Therefore as concerning that point, they would not determine any thing raſhly and hand over head, but the matter was referred and put over to a more frequent aſſembly of Senators.

A greater object there was to trouble their heads; for the City was much oppreſſed with uſu-
C ry: and albeit the avarice and covetouſneſs of men had been well gaged and bridled by many laws concerning uſury, yet there was a cautelous device and ſhift found out, to avoid all ſtatutes in that behalf: to wit, that all obligations ſhould paſs in the names of allies, and be ſealed unto them, who were not tied and bound to obſerve the laws aforeſaid. By which means the creditors enwrapped their debtors in what bonds they liſt, and forced them to pay extream intereſt as they would themſelves, without ſtint. For to ſee into this diſorder and enormity, and to redreſs the ſame it was thought good and order taken, to ſet down and limit a certain day, namely, upon which the uſurers were laſt reſtrained. From which day all thoſe allies ſhould come in and declare and profeſs, what mony they had put forth upon uſury to any citizens of *Rome*; and that the creditour ſhould have right to recover thoſe monies put forth from that time, according to ſuch
D conditions as the debtor would himſelf. Hereupon, after there were diſcovered great ſums of money and debts contracted by this fraudulent practiſe, *M. Sempronius* a Tribun of the Commons, by advice of the Senat propounded a law, and the Commons allowed it, That the ſame courſe of putting out money practiſed between citizen and citizen of *Rome*, ſhould likewiſe be in force among the allies of the Latin Nation. In this ſort went matters in *Italy*, both within the City of *Rome*, and alſo in the wars abroad.

In *Spain* the war was nothing ſo much as the bruit that ran thereof. C. *Flaminius* in high *Spain*, wan *Ilucia*, a Town in the Oretans countrey: after which exploit, he laid up his ſouldiers in their winter harbour. And in winter time there paſſed certain light skirmiſhes (not worth the naming) againſt the excurſions of brigands and theeves, I may rather ſay, than enemies: and
E yet the fortune was variable, and not without ſome loſs of men. As for M. *Fulvius* he atchieved great matters: for he fought in a ranged battail with banner diſplaied againſt the Vacceans, the Vectones, and the Celtiberians, before the Town *Toletum*; where he diſcomfited and put to flight the army of thoſe nations, and took priſoner alive, their King *Hilernus*.

Whiles theſe things thus paſſed in *Spain*, the day drew neer, of the ſolemn election of Magiſtrats at *Rome*: and therefore L. *Cornelius* the Conſul having left M. *Claudius* Lieutenant in the army, came to *Rome*: who, after he had diſcourſed in the Senat-houſe of his own exploits, and in what eſtate the province ſtood, he complained to the LL. of the Senat, that conſidering ſo great a war was brought to an end, by one battail ſo fortunatly and happily fought, there was no ſolemnity to the honour of the Gods, performed in that behalf. Over and beſides, he demanded, That
F they would decree a proceſſion and triumph withal. But before the Senators were to deliver their opinions to this demand, Q. *Metellus*, who had been Conſul and Dictator, roſe up and ſaid, "That there had been letters brought at one and the ſame time; both from the Conſul *Cornelius* "to the Senat, and alſo from M. *Marcellus* to a great many of the Senators, and thoſe letters impor-"ting contrarieties: whereupon the conſultation of that matter had been deferred and put off, to "the end that it might be argued and debated in the preſence of them both, who wrote the let-"ters: and therefore I ever looked (quoth he) that the Conſul (knowing eſpecially that his Lieu-"tenant had written and informed ſomewhat againſt him, and conſidering that himſelf was to re-"pair to *Rome*) would have brought him alſo with him: ſeeing that it had been more meet and "befitting him to have delivered the army to *T. Sempronius*, one that was in the commiſſion and
G had a command, than to a Lieutenant. But it ſhould ſeem now, that he was left behind far enough off of very purpoſe, for fear he would avow and juſtifie perſonally his hand-writing, and charge him face to face: and that if the Conſul ſhould make report of any untruth, he might be challenged therefore, and the thing ſifted and canvaſed, until the truth appeared clearly and came to light: and therefore my opinion is (quoth he) that nothing be determined at this preſent, as touching the demands of the Conſul. But when as he perſiſted notwithſtanding, and followed the ſuit ſtill, namely, that they would ordain a ſolemn proceſſion, and that himſelf might enter

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the City, riding in triumph: then *Marcus* and *C. Titinius*, both Tribuns of the Commons, protested, H
that they would interpose their negative, and cancel the order of the Senat in that behalf.

The Censors for that time, were *Sex. Ælius Patus* and *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, created the year before. *Cornelius* took a review of the City and numbred the people; and there were accounted by his survey 143704 polls of Citizens. Great flouds arose that year, and *Tyber* overflowed all the flats and plain places of the City: and about the gate *Flumentana* certain houses and buildings were overthrown withal, and laid along. The gate *Calimontana* besides, was stricken with lightning, and the wall about it was likewise blasted from heaven. At *Aricia*, *Lanuvium*, and in mount *Aventin*, it rained stones. And reported it was from *Capua*, that a great swarm of Wasps came flying into the market place, and setled upon the Temple of *Mars*; which being with great care taken up and gathered together, were afterward consumed with fire. In regard of these prodigious tokens, order was given, that the Decemvirs should search and peruse the books of *Sibylla*; whereupon a novendial sacrifice (to continue nine dayes) was appointed, a publick procession solemnized, and the City was cleansed and hallowed. About the same time *M. Porcius Cato*, dedicated the Chappel of *Virgin Victory*, neer to the Temple of the Goddess *Victory*, two years after that he had vowed it. In that year also the Triumvirs, *C. Manlius Volso*, *L. Apustius Fullo*, and *P. Ælius Tubero*, (who had preferred a bill of request about the planting of a Colony) had commission granted, to conduct a Colony of Latins into the countrey of *Thurium*: and thither went three thousand footmen and three hundred horsemen; a small number in comparison of the largeness and quantity of the territory. There might well have been set out thirty acres for every footman, and threescore for an horseman: but by the motion and advice of *Apustius*, one K
third part of the Lands was excepted and reserved, to the end, that afterwards in time, they might enrol new Coloners if it pleased them. And therefore the footmen had twenty acres, and the horsemen forty apeece.

Now approached the end of the year, and more ambition there was, and hotter suit for place of dignity in the election of Consuls, than ever had been known any time before. Many mighty men, as well of the *Patritii* and nobles, as the Commoners, stood and laboured hard for the Consulship, to wit, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the son of *Cneus*, who lately was departed out of *Spain* after he had atchieved many worthy deeds. *L. Quintius Flaminius* who had been Admiral of the navy in *Greece*, and *Cn. Manlius Volso*, all of the Nobility. But of the Commons were *C. Lælius*, *Cn. Domitius*, *C. Livius Salinator*, and *M. Acilius*. But all mens eyes were fixed upon *Quintius* and *Cornelius*: For they desired one place, being both of them nobly descended, and their fresh glory for feats of war, recommended both the one and the other. But above all other things, the brethren of these competitors, two most renowned warriors of their time, set the debate on a light fire. The glory of *Scipio*, as it was the greater of the twain, so it was more subject to envy. The honour of *Quintius* was more fresh, as who that yeer had newly triumphed. Over and besides, the one of them had been now almost ten years continually conversant in the eyes of men (a thing that maketh great men not so highly regarded, by reason that they are grown stale, and the world is full already of them) also he had been twice Consul, and Censor since he vanquished *Annibal*. But in *Quintius* all was fresh and new, to win the good grace and favor of men. And more than that, he neither after his triumph had obtained ought of the people, nor, to say a truth, requested any M
thing. He alledged, that he made suit for his own natural and whole brother by both sides, and not for a Cousin German; in the behalf of a very companion and partaker with him in the managing of the war (for as himself served by Land, so his brother performed many exploits by sea.) So he obtained, that *Quintius* should be preferred before his competitor, whom *Africanus* and his brother [*Asiaticus*] brought in and graced, whom the whole race of *Cornelii* seemed to countenance, even then when a *Cornelius*, Consul, was president of the election, and held the assembly; whom the Senat had given so grave a testimony of, in adjudging him to be the best man simply in all the City, and thought most worthy to receive the goddess dame *Idæa*, coming from *Pessinus* to the City of *Rome*. Thus were *L. Quintius*, and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus* created Consuls, in such sort, that *Africanus* was of no credit, and bare no stroke at all (ye may be sure) in the election of N
a Consul out of the third estate of Commons, albeit he employed himself, and did his best for *C. Lælius*. The next day after were the Pretors elected namely, *L. Scribonius Libo*, *M. Fulvius Centimalus*, *A. Attilius Serranus*, *M. Babius Tamphilus*, *L. Valerius Tappus*, and *Q. Salonius Sarra*. In this year *M. Æmylius Læpidus* and *L. Æmylius Paulus*, the Censors, bare themselves so in their office, as they made their year to be notable and much spoken of. They condemned and fined many of the City graziers or farmers of the common pastures: and of that money which arose of their amercements, were certain gilded shields made, which were set up on the finial or lantern of *Jupiters* Temple. They made one terrace or gallery without the gate *Trigemina*, with a marchants Hall or Burse adjoined thereto, neer *Tyber*: and another from the gate *Fontinalis* they built in length as far as to the Altar of *Mars*, leading to *Mars* field. O

For a long time nothing was done in *Liguria* worth the remembrance. But about the end of the year twice were the Romans in great jeopardy: for both the camp of the Consul was assailed and hardly defended, and also not long after, as the Roman host marched through a streight pass, the army of the Ligurians kept the very gullet of the passage, and the Consul seeing he could not make way through, turned his ensigns, and began to retire the same way he came: but by that time, some of the enemies had gained also the back part of the pass, insomuch as the

lamentable

A lamentable remembrance of the Caudine overthrow, not only preſented it ſelf to their ſpirit and mind, but alſo was in manner an object to their eye. Now had he amongſt his auxiliary or aid-forces, to the number almoſt of eight hundred horſe. Whoſe Captain promiſed the Conſul, that he and his would break through whither way he would, let him only but tell him which of the two quarters were better peopled and inhabited: for the firſt thing that he did, he would fire their Villages and houſes; to the end, that the fear and fright thereof might force the Ligurians to depart out of the chaſe which they held and beſet, and run to ſuccour their own neighbours. The Conſul commended him highly, and fed him with hope of large rewards. Whereupon the Numidians mounted on horſeback, and began to ride about the *corps de guard* of the enemies, without offering to charge upon any man. At the firſt, a man that had ſeen them, would have
B thought nothing more contemptible, being both men and horſe, little, ſpare and gaunt. The horſeman unarmed and without weapon, ſave that he carrieth about him ſome light darts: the horſes without bridles; and as they ran ſhutting out their ſtiff necks, and bearing their heads forward without any reining at all, they made a very ill favoured ſight. And the riders, for to make themſelves more deſpiſed, would on purpoſe ſeem to take fals from their horſes, and made their enemies good ſport. Whereupon they (who if at firſt they had been aſſailed, would have been heedful & ready to have received the charge) now ſat ſtill (many of them unarmed) to behold this pleaſant paſtime. The Numidians would gallop toward them, and preſently ride back again, but ſo, as by little and little they gained ground, and advanced neerer to the paſs, yet making ſemblance, as if they had had no rule of their horſes, but were carried thither againſt their wils. At the laſt, they
C ſet ſpurs to their horſes indeed, and brake through the mids of the enemies guards: and ſo ſoon as they had recovered the open ground, they ſet on fire all the houſes neer the high way ſide, and ſo forward they burnt the next village they came unto, and deſtroied all afore them with fire and ſword. Firſt, the ſmoak that was deſcried, afterwards the outcry heard of them that were affrighted in the villages, and laſt of all, the children and old folk that fled to ſave themſelves, made a trouble and hurlyburly in the camp: inſomuch, as every man of himſelf without advice, without warrant or direction, made what haſt he could to run and ſave his own. Thus in the turning of an hand, the camp was abandoned, and the Conſul delivered from ſiege, arrived thither where he intended.

But neither Boians nor Spaniards (with whom that year the Romans made war) were ſo
D ſpiteſully and maliciouſly bent againſt them, as the whole nation of the Ætolians. They at the very firſt were in very good hope, that preſently upon the remove of the forces out of *Greece*, *Antiochus* would have entred *Europe*, and ſeized upon the vacant poſſeſſion thereof: and that neither *Philip* nor *Nabis* would be in reſt and do nothing. But ſeeing them not to ſtir in any place, they thought it high time to make ſome trouble and confuſion themſelves, for fear leſt by delayes and lingring, all their deſignments would turn to nothing: and therefore they publiſhed a Diet or Councel to be holden at *Naupactum*. In which aſſembly *Thoas* their Pretor, after he had made grievous complaint of the wrongs received by the Romans, moving and ſolliciting the ſtate of *Ætolia* (for that they of all other nations and Cities of *Greece*, were leaſt honoured and ſet by after that victory, whereof they had been the cauſe) gave his advice, That there ſhould be Embaſſadors
E ſent to all the neighbour Kings, not only to ſound their minds and affections, but alſo to incite and prick them every one forward to enter into arms againſt the Romans. So *Damocritus* was addreſſed to *Nabis*, *Nicander* to *Philip*, and *Dicæarchus* the brother of the Pretor unto *Antiochus*. *Damocritus* had in commiſſion to ſignify unto the tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, "That by the loſs of his "maritime Cities, the very ſtrings and ſinews of his tyranny and Kingdom were cut in ſunder; "For from thence was he furniſhed with ſouldiers, from thence had he his ſhips and ſervitors at "Sea: whereas now, he might ſee the Achæans LL. and rulers of *Peloponneſus* whiles himſelf was "pinned up and encloſed within his wals, and never ſhould he have opportunity to recover him-
F "ſelf, if he let paſs this that preſently was offered unto him. No Roman army was now in *Greece*: "and never would the Romans think it ſufficient cauſe, to paſs over the Seas with their legions "into *Greece*, for any occaſion of *Gytheum* or other Laconians inhabiting the Sea-coaſts. Theſe reaſons were laid forth to incenſe the courage of the tyrant, to the end, that when *Antiochus* was once paſſed over into *Greece*, he being touched in conſcience, that he had broken the Roman league, by committing outrage upon their allies, might of neceſſity join and band with *Antiochus*. "Semblable remonſtrances and reaſons uſed *Nicander* for to provoke and perſwade *Philip*: and "much more matter he had to enforce that point, as the King was depoſed from much higher de-
"gree of eſtate than the tyrant had been, and alſo had ſuſtained far greater loſſes. To this, he "alledged the ancient name and renown of the KK. of *Macedony*; and how that nation had over-
"run the whole world and filled all places with their noble conqueſts & victories. Moreover he "ſaid, That he adviſed him to take a courſe, which was ſafe both to be enterpriſed, and alſo eaſy to
"be executed. For he gave not *Philip* counſel to ſtir, before that *Antiochus* were paſſed over with
G "an army into *Greece*: and conſidering that he without the aid of *Antiochus* had maintained war "ſo long againſt the Romans and Ætolians, what poſſible means had the Romans to withſtand "him aſſiſted with *Antiochus* & the Ætolians his allies, who even then were fiercer enemies than "the Romans? Over and beſides, he inferred this reaſon alſo, what a brave and doughty Captain "*Annibal* was, a man even born to be an enemy to the Romans, and who had ſlain already more "leaders and ſouldiers of theirs than were left behind. Theſe were the allegations of *Nicander* to "*Philip*. As for *Dicæarchus*, he had other motives to perſwade with *Antiochus*. Firſt, and principally

pally above all others, he affirmed, "That howſoever the prize and booty of *Philip* fell to the H
"Romans, the victory was gained and atchieved by the Ætolians, and none but they either
"gave the Romans entrance and paſſage into *Greece*, or furniſhed them with forces for the per-
"formance and accompliſhment of the victory. Then he ſhewed and made promiſe what power
"as well of foot as horſe they would preſent unto *Antiochus* toward his wars, what places they
"would give him for his land-forces, and what havens and harbours for his ſtrength and army at
"Sea. After all this he ſtuck not (to ſerve his own turn) for to over-reach and tell a loud lie as
"touching *Philip* and *Nabis*, in giving out confidently that they were both of them ready and at
"the point to renue war: and would take the vantage of the very firſt opportunity and occaſion
"that could be preſented, to recover thoſe things which by war they had loſt. Thus the Ætolians
laboured to ſet all the world at once upon the top of the Romans. Howbeit, the KK. were either I
not moved at all with their ſolliciting, or beſtirred them more ſlowly than they looked for. But
as for *Nabis*, he ſent immediatly about all the Towns by the Sea ſide, certain perſons of purpoſe to
ſow diſcord and kindle ſeditions among them: and ſome of their principal citizens he won by
gifts and preſents to his own purpoſe and deſignments: but ſuch as ſtifly continued faſt and firm
in alliance and allegeance with the Romans, thoſe he made away and murdred. Now had *T.
Quintius* given in charge and commiſſion to the Achæans, for to guard all the Laconians that dwelt
upon the Sea-coaſts: and therefore preſently they both diſpatched their Embaſſadors unto the
Tyrant, to put him in mind of the confederacy and aſſociation with the Romans, and to warn
him and give him advertiſement, that in no wiſe he would trouble that peace, which he had ſo
earneſtly craved and ſought for: and alſo ſent aid unto *Gytthenm*, which now the tyrant began to J
aſſault; yea, and addreſſed other Embaſſadors alſo to *Rome* to give intelligence of theſe occur-
rents.

*Antiochus* the King after he had that winter time given his daughter in marriage to *Ptolomæus* the King of *Ægypt* at *Rhaphia* a City in *Phœnicia*, retired to *Antiochia*; and in the very end of the ſame winter, paſſed through *Cilicia* over the mountain *Taurus*, and came to *Epheſus*. And from thence in the beginning of the Spring, after he had ſent his ſon *Antiochus* into * *Syria* for to defend and keep in obedience the utmoſt frontiers of his Kingdom, leſt in his abſence there might ariſe ſome troubles behind his back, he marched with all his Land-forces againſt the Piſidians, who in- habit about * *Selga*.

* *Syria.*

* *Philadelphia.*

At the ſame time the Romans Embaſſadors *P. Sulpitius* and *P. Villius*, who as we ſaid before L had been ſent unto *Antiochus* with direction firſt to viſit K. *Eumenes*, arrived at * *Elæa*, and from thence went up to * *Pergamus*, where *Eumenes* kept his royal court. *Eumenes* was deſirous in his heart that *Antiochus* ſhould be warred upon: ſuppoſing verily, that if he were at peace, being a Prince ſo much mightier than himſelf, he would be but an ill and dangerous neighbour ſo neer unto him: but if war were once afoot, that he would be no moreable to beard and match the Romans than *Philip* had been: and that either he ſhould wholly be overthrown and come to utter ruin; or if, being vanquiſhed he had peace given unto him by the Romans; then, as he loſt much thereby and would be weaker, ſo himſelf ſhould gain by the bargain, and grow mightier, that afterwards he might be able eaſily of himſelf to make his part good, and hold his own againſt him, without the help and aid of the Romans: or if any misfortune ſhould happen unto him, he were M better by far, to hazard any fortune whatſoever in the Roman ſociety, than either alone to endure the Lordly dominion of *Antiochus* and be ſubject, or in refuſing to obey, be compelled thereto by force and arms. For theſe cauſes he employed all the credit and authority he had, yea, and addreſſed all counſel that he could deviſe for to prick on and ſet forward the Romans in this war. *Sulpitius* remained behind ſick at *Pergamus*. But *Villius* advertiſed that the King was occupied and buſied in the Piſidian war, went to *Epheſus*: and whiles he abode there ſome few dayes, he endevoured and made means to have conference oftentimes with *Annibal*, who haply at that time ſojourned there, both to ſound his mind if poſſibly he could, and alſo to ſecure him of all fear from the Romans. In theſe meetings and communications, no other thing paſſed nor was done between them. But ſee what enſued hereupon of it ſelf, as if it had been a thing wrought and compaſſed of meer N pollicy. *Annibal* by this means was leſs ſet by and in ſmaller credit with the King, yea, and in all matters began to be more and more ſuſpected and had in jelouſie. *Claudius* (the Hiſtorian) who followeth the Greek books of *Acilius*, writeth that *P. Africanus* was joyned in that embaſſage, and that he talked and deviſed with *Annibal* at *Epheſus*: and namely, maketh report of one conference and ſpeech between them twain: and that is this. *Africanus* demanded of *Annibal*, whom in his judgment, he took to have been the greateſt commander for feats of arms, that ever was: to which he made anſwer, that he judged *Alexander* the King of the Macedonians was ſimply the moſt excellent warrior; in this regard, that he with a ſmall power had defeated innumerable armies: and beſides had paſſed as far as to the utmoſt bounds of the whole earth, even to thoſe lands, that a man would think incredible for any one to reach unto. And when he asked again whom O he deemed worthy to ſtand in the ſecond place: he anſwered, that *Pyrrhus* was the man; for that he firſt taught how to pitch a camp and above all other points of military skill no man knew better to chooſe out commodious ground and places of advantage, or more cunningly to plant and diſpoſe garriſons: beſides, he had ſuch a ſleight and dexterity to draw and win men unto him, that the Italian nations had rather have been ſubject to him a forein Prince, than to live under the people of *Rome*, notwithſtanding they had of long time the Seignory and rule of thoſe parts. And

* *Risa tarpassa.*

* *Pergamo.*

nehw

A when he proceeded ſtill to know whom he reputed for the third, he made no ſticking at the matter, but named himſelf. Whereupon *Scipio* took up a laughter and replied again: What would you ſay then, if your hap had been to have ſubdued me? Mary then, quoth he, I would think I were worthy to be ſet before *Alexander*, before *Pyrrhus*, yea, and before all other martial men and commanders in the whole world. At this anſwer, *Scipio* took delight and pleaſure, to ſee how ſubtilly and cautelouſly he had like a curning Carthaginian, couched his words in a certain kind of flattery, as if he had ſequeſtred him from out of the range and rank of all other Captains as being by many degrees incomparable, and far above all others. Then *Villius* went forward from *Epheſus* to *Apamea*: and thither *Antiochus* alſo repaired for to meet him, hearing of the coming of Roman legats. In this communication and conference at *Apamea*, the matter was debated much after the B ſame ſort, as it had been at *Rome* between *Quintius* and the Kings Embaſſadors. But the news of *Antiochus* the Kings ſon his death (whom I ſaid a little before to have been ſent into *Syria*) brake off the peace. Great mourning and ſorrow there was in the Kings Court, and much was that young Prince miſſed and moaned, for, that good proof he had given of himſelf, that if he had lived any long time, he would have proved by all likelyhood of his towardneſs, a great, a mighty, and a righteous King. The deerer and better beloved he was of all men, the more ſuſpicious was his death: and namely, that his father doubting that he would preſs forward and be inſtant to ſucceed him in his old age, took order by the miniſtery of certain Eunuchs or guelded men (perſons greatly accepted with Kings for ſuch ſervices) to have him poiſoned. And they ſay, that another cauſe alſo ſet him forward to commit this ſecret act, becauſe having given the City *Lyſimachia* to his C ſon *Seleucus*, he had no ſuch place to beſtow upon *Antiochus* his ſon, for to keep his reſidence in, whereunto he might have removed him farther off from his own perſon, under colour of doing him honor. Howbeit great ſemblance and ſhew there was of much mourning and lamentation all over the court for certain dayes: inſomuch as the Roman Embaſſador retired himſelf to *Pergamus*, becauſe he was loth to converſe there uncivilly, at ſo unſeaſonable a time. The King returned to *Epheſus*, and gave over the war that he had enterprized. Where, the court gates being ſhut by occaſion of the mourning time, he deviſed and conſulted in great ſecret with one *Minio* an inward friend unto him, and whom of all other he loved beſt, and truſted moſt. This *Minio*, a meer ſtranger and altogether ignorant in forein affairs and forces, meaſuring and eſteeming the power and greatnes of the King by his exploits done in *Syria* or in *Aſia*, deemed verily, that *Antiochus* had D not only the better cauſe, in that the Romans demanded unreaſonable conditions; but alſo ſhould have the upper hand in the tryal thereof by war. When as now the King refuſed to have any conference and diſpute with the Embaſſadors, either for that he knew by good experience that it would be bootleſs for him ſo to do, or becauſe he was troubled in ſpirit upon this late and freſh object of grief and ſorrow: *Minio* undertook the buſineſs, and profeſſed that he would ſpeak to the point of the matter and to good purpoſe: and ſo perſwaded the King to ſend for the Embaſſadors from *Pergamus*. By this time *Sulpitius* was recovered of his ſickneſs, and therefore both of them repaired to *Epheſus*; where *Minio* excuſed the King, and in his abſence they began to treat about their affairs. Then *Minio* with a premeditate oration began in this wiſe. "I ſee well (qd. he) The Oration of *Mimo*. "that you Romans pretend unto the world a goodly title of ſetting free the Cities of *Greece*, but E "your deeds are not anſwerable to your words: and ye have ſet down unto *Antiochus* one man- "ner of law to be tied unto, and practiſe your ſelves another. For how cometh it about that the "Smyrneans and Lampſacens ſhould be Greeks, more than the Neapolitans, the Rhegins, and "Tarentins, of whom you exact tribute and require ſhips by vertue of the accord and covenants "between you? Why ſend you yearly to *Syracuſe* and other Greek Cities of *Sicily*, a Pretor in "ſoveraign authority, with his rods and axes? Certainly, ye have nothing elſe to ſay, but that ye "have ſubdued them in war, and by right of conqueſt have impoſed theſe conditions upon them. "The like, yea, and the ſame cauſe know ye that *Antiochus* alledgeth as concerning *Smyrna*, *Lamp-* "*ſacus*, and other Cities and ſtates of *Ionia* and *Æolis*. For having been conquered in war by his "anceſtors and progenitors, having I ſay been made tributary and liable to impoſitions, he chal- F "lengeth of them the ancient rights and duties due from them, and to him belonging. And there- "fore if ye will debate and treat the queſtion according to equity and reaſon and not rather pick "quarrels and ſeek occaſions of war. I would gladly know what ye wil anſwer to him in this point? "To this *Sulpitius* made anſwer in this wiſe. "*Antiochus* (qd. he) hath done very well, and with "good regard of modeſty, in that having no other matters to plead unto for his defence and the "maintenance of his cauſe, he hath made choice of any other rather than himſelf to be the ſpeak- "er. For what one thing is there alike in thoſe cities which you have named and put in compa- "riſon? Of the Rhegins, Neapolitans and Tarentins, we demand that which is our due according "to the deeds of covenants indented, and hath ever been ſince time that firſt they were in ſubje- "ction under us; that I ſay which we have challenged and enjoyed by vertue of one continued G "courſe and tenor of right, by us ever practiſed without any intermiſſion or interruption. And "are you able to avouch, that as thoſe nations neither by themſelves nor by any other, have alte- "red and changed the accord between us and them; ſo the Cities of *Aſia*, when they once became "ſubject to the anceſtors of *Antiochus*, remained alwayes in the perpetual poſſeſſion of your "Kingdom? And not rather, that ſome of them have been under the obeiſance of *Philip* & others "obedient to *Ptolomæe*? Yea, and divers of them for many years have been free & uſed their own "liberties without contradiction, and no words or doubt made thereof? For admit this once, that

" that (becauſe theſe Cities ſomtime were in bondage through the iniquity of thoſe times where- H
" in they were oppreſſed) there ſhall be a right pretended, and the ſame be effectual to reduce
" them again after ſo many ages into ſervitude? What wanteth it but ye may as well ſay, that we
" have done juſt nothing, in delivering *Greece* out of the hands of *Philip*? and that his ſucceſſors
" and poſterity, may claim again and lay title to *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and the whole Theſſa-
" lian nation? But what mean I to maintain the cauſe of the Cities of *Greece*, whom it were more
" meet and reaſonable, that both we and the King himſelf would give audience unto, and let them
" plead what they can for their own ſelves? With that he commanded the embaſſages of the Ci-
ties to be called in, which were prepared and inſtructed aforehand by *Eumenes*, who made this
reckoning, that whatſoever ſtrength went from *Antiochus*, ſhould accrue and come unto him and
his Kingdom. Many were admitted to ſpeak: and whiles every one ſet forward his own cauſe, I
ſome by way of complaint, others in manner of demand, each one putting in for himſelf without
regard of right or wrong, ſo he ſerved his own turn, they fell at length from reaſoning to warbling
and wrangling: in ſo much, as the Embaſſadors returned to *Rome* as uncertain and doubtful in all
matters as they were when they came, without releaſing or obtaining any one thing at all.

When they were diſmiſſed and gone, the King held a Councel as touching the Roman war. In
which aſſembly, ſome delivered their opinion more freely and ſtoutly than others: but generally
the more bitter ſpeech that any one uſed againſt the Romans, the greater hope he had to enter in-
to eſpecial grace and favour with the King. One above the reſt, inveighed much and ſpake againſt
thoſe proud and inſolent demands of the Romans, who impoſed hard laws and conditions upon
*Antiochus*, the mightieſt King of all *Aſia* as if he had been no better than *Nabis*, whom they had K
conquered and ſubdued. And yet (ſaith he) they left unto *Nabis* ſome ſeignory and dominion in
his own countrey and City of *Lacedæmon*: whereas if *Lampſacum* and *Smyrna* ſhould be at the
command of *Antiochus*, they deemed that an unworthy thing and a very indignity. Others opined
and ſaid, " that thoſe two Cities were but ſmall cauſes, and not worth the naming, for ſo puiſſant
" a Prince to ſtand upon and to war for. But alwayes (ſay they) men begin with juſt and reaſona-
" ble demands, to make an overture and way to compaſs and obtain that which is unjuſt. Unleſs
" one would believe, that when the Perſians requeſted of the Lacedæmonians, water and earth,
" they ſtood in need of a clot & turf of ground, or a draught of water. In like ſort for all the world
" the Romans do but ſound and try the King, in their demands touching theſe two Cities. For o-
" ther Cities likewiſe, ſo ſoon as they ſhall perceive that thoſe two have ſhaken off the yoke of L
" obedience, will ſoon revolt and turn to that people which is their deliverer, and at whoſe hands
" they hope for liberty. And ſay, that freedom were not to them more dear and pretious than
" bondage yet it is the nature of every man to feed and pleaſe himſelf with a bare hope of a change
" and new world, much more than with the aſſured hold of any preſent ſtate whatſoever. There
was in place at this councel, *Alexander* of *Acarnania*, one who ſomtime had friended *Philip*; but
of late dayes was faln from him and followed the court of *Antiochus*, a more wealthy and magni-
ficent Prince: and being taken for a politician who had a ſpecial inſight into the ſtate of *Greece*, &
was not ignorant of the affairs of *Rome*, had wound himſelf into high favour and inward friend-
ſhip with the King, that he was taken in to be one of his privy councel, and acquainted with all
his ſecrets. This man, as if the queſtion in hand had been, not, Whether war ſhould be levied or M
no; but, Where, and by What means, and How it ſhould be managed, ſpake aloud & ſaid, " That
" he made full reckoning and account in his very ſpirit and heart of the victory, in caſe the King
" would paſs the Seas over into *Europe*, to plant & ſettle himſelf in ſome part of *Greece*, and there
" wage war: for at his very firſt coming he ſhould ſee in arms already the Ætolians, that inhabit
" the very heart and centre of *Greece*, who would be the only Captains and port-enſigns to march
" before them, ready to venture and enter upon the moſt difficult and dangerous enterpriſes of
" war. Again, in the two cantons and angles as it were thereof, he ſhould find *Nabis* of the one
" ſide from *Peloponneſus*, at hand to riſe and raiſe thoſe quarters, with intent to regain the City of
" the Argives, to win again the maritime Cities, which the Romans have diſſeized & diſpoſſeſſed
" him of, and have mued and ſhut him within the walls of *Lacedæmon*. On the other ſide from N
" *Macedony*, *Philip* would no doubt take arms, ſo ſoon as he ſhall hear the firſt alarm and ſound of
" trumpet. Full well (qd. he) know I his courage, and of what ſpirit and ſtomack he is: right well I
" wot that he hath foſtered in that breſt of his for a long time, anger and deſpite: like to theſe wild
" and ſavage beaſts, which either are kept within iron gates, or faſt tyed and bound: and as well I
" remember, how many a time he was wont (during the wars) to pray heartily to all the Gods,
" to vouchſafe for to give him *Antiochus* for his helper and aſſiſtant: and if now he might enjoy
" his wiſh, and have the thing ſo long deſired and praied for he would without any delay enter in-
" to arms and war incontinently. Only (qd. *Alexander*) we muſt not linger and ſtay nor drive off,
" for aſmuch as herein conſiſteth the very point of victory, even betimes to ſeize upon commo-
" dious places of advantage, before the enemies be poſſeſſed of them. Alſo with all ſpeed, *Annibal* O
" is to be ſent into *Affrick*, whereby the Romans may be diſtracted, and compelled to turn them-
" ſelves ſundry wayes. *Annibal* only was not called to this councel; for by reaſon of the foreſaid
conferences with *Villius*, the King had him in ſome jealouſy, and therefore he was out of favour,
and of no credit and account with him. At the firſt, he put up this diſgrace and made no words,
but afterwards he thought it a better courſe, both to demand the cauſe of ſo ſuddain ſtrangeneſs
and alienation of his, and alſo to take ſome good time to excuſe and purge himſelf. And therefore

upon

A upon a day having ſimply asked of the King, and heard the cauſe of his anger toward him. "My
"father *Amilcar* (qd. he) O *Antiochus*, when upon a time he ſacrificed unto the Gods, cauſed me
"(a very little one) to be brought and preſented before the Altar, where he forced me to touch the
"ſame with my hand, and to take an oath, Never to be friend unto the people of *Rome*. To accom-
"pliſh and fulfill this oath, I maintained the wars for the ſpace of ſix and thirty years; by vertue of
"this oath, in time of peace I was driven out of my native country; and being fled from thence,
"this oath brought me into your court: and by the guidance and direction of this oath, if you
"ſhould diſappoint me of my hope, yet whatſoever I know there are forces, whereſoever I hear
"there is any ſtirring and ruſtling of arms, I ſhall ſeek all the world over, until I find ſome Roman
"enemies. And therefore if there be any of your Courtiers that have a mind and deſire to advance
B "themſelves in your good grace, and would grow by carrying tales and accuſing me unto you, let
"them find ſome other ſubject and matter to do this by me: for I hate the Romans, and am like-
"wiſe hated of them. That this is truth which I ſay, my father *Amilcar* and the Gods in heaven,
"can teſtify. Wherefore, whenſoever you ſhall think to make war with the Romans, ſee you enter-
"rain *Annibal* for one of your greateſt and moſt aſſured friends: but if any occurrent ſhall force
"you to peace, ſeek ſome other councellor and not me, to conſult withal about that point. This
ſpeech was ſo effectual, that not only it prevailed with the King, but alſo reconciled *Annibal* unto
his grace. And ſo they departed out of the councel with a full reſolution to make war.

At *Rome* it was commonly talked and diſcourſed, that *Antiochus* was an enemy, but no proviſion and preparation there was for war, but only whetting the edge of their ſtomacks. For both
C Conſuls had no other Province but *Italy* aſſigned unto them to govern. And they were either to agree between themſelves, or elſe to caſt lots, whether of the twain ſhould hold the general aſſembly and be preſident of the election for that year. And he whoſe hap was not to be charged with that buſineſs, was to be in readineſs to lead forth the legions into any place out of *Italy*, as need ſhould require. And to this Conſul it was permitted to enrol two new legions of Citizens, and beſides of allies and Latins 20000 foot, and 800 horſe. To the other Conſul were appointed thoſe two legions, which *L. Cornelius* the Conſul of the former year had under his governance: alſo of allies and Latins 15000 footmen out of the ſame army, and 500 horſe. As for *Q. Minutius*, his commiſſion was continued ſtill for the conduct of that army which he had in *Liguria*. And for to ſupply and make up the broken companies, he was allowed to enrol 4000 Roman footmen,
D and 150 horſe, and likewiſe to levy of the aliies 5000 foot, and 250 horſe for that ſervice. To *Cn. Domitius* it fell by lot, that he ſhould go with a power out of *Italy*, whither ſoever the Senate gave order; and unto *Quintius* to govern *Gaul*. Then the Pretors election followed, who likewiſe caſt lots for their Provinces. *M. Fulvius Centimalus* had the civil juriſdiction, and *L. Scribonius Libo* the forrain, *L. Valerius Tappus* governed *Sicily*, *Q. Salonius Sarra*, *Sardinia*: *M. Bœbius Tamphilus* high *Spain*, and *A. Attilius Serranus* the baſe. But theſe two changed their Provinces, firſt by an order from the Senate, and afterwards by an act alſo of the Commons. For to *Attilius Macedony* was aſſigned and the navy, and to *Bœbius* the countrey of the Brutii. *Flaminius* and *Fulvius* continued in the government and command of *Spain*, and to *Bœbius Tamphilus* for the rule of the Brutii, were thoſe two legions appointed which the year before lay in the City,
E with commiſſion to take up and levy of allies fifteen thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe to go thither. *Aulus Attilius* had in charge to cauſe thirty galleaces to be made with five banks of oars on a ſide, and to take out of the harbors and docks as many old veſſels as were fit for ſervice, and to enrol mariners and rowers. The Conſuls alſo were enjoyned to deliver unto him two thouſand allies of the Latin nation, and a thouſand Roman footmen. It was commonly voyced, that theſe two Pretors with two armies both by Land and at Sea, were prepared againſt *Nabis*, who openly now aſſailed the confederats of the people of *Rome*. But ſtill the Embaſſadors were looked for, who had been ſent unto King *Antiochus*, and the Senat commanded the Conſul *Domitius* not to depart from the City before their return. The Pretors, *Fulvius* and *Scribonius*, whoſe charge it was to miniſter law and execute juſtice in *Rome*, had commiſſion to provide a hundred
F galeaces, beſides that fleet which *Attilius* was to command. But before that either Conſuls or Pretors went forth into their Provinces, there was a proceſſion holden, in regard of the prodigies and fearful ſights that were reported. For word was brought out of *Picenum*, that a ſheegoat had yeaned ſix kids at once, and that it rained earth at *Amiternum*: and at *Formiæ*, that a gate and wall of the City were ſmitten with lightning; and (that which moſt of all troubled and frighted the Conſul *Domitius*) that an Ox ſpake theſe words, *Rome, take heed to thy ſelf*. In regard of the other prodigious tokens, there was a ſupplication holden: but as for the Ox, the Sooth-
ſayers and bowel-priers gave commandment, that he ſhould with great care be kept and nouriſhed. The *Tyber* alſo with more violence overflowed into the City than in the former year, and overthrew two bridges and many buildings, eſpecially about the gate *Flumentana*. Moreover, a mighty
G huge ſtone ſhaken out of the Capitol cliff, fell from thence into the ſtreet called *Iugarium*, either by the force and violence of rain, or ſome earthquake (which if there were any, was ſo little, that it could not be perceived) and that ſtone killed many a man. In the countrey alſo, by reaſon of this deluge, much cattel was carried away with the floud, and many farm houſes and granges were born down and laid along.

Before that *L. Quintius* the Conſul was arrived into his Province, *Q. Minutius* fought a battel with the Ligurians in the territory of *Piſæ*, and ſlue nine thouſand enemies; the reſt he diſ-

comfited, put to flight and chaſed into their camp; which being aſſailed, was defended manfully with much fighting until dark night: and then the Ligurians ſlipt away in the night ſeaſon ſecretly. And by the dawning of the next day the Romans entred and ſeiſed thereof when it was empty of the enemies. Leſs pillage was there found, for that ever and anon what booties ſoever they gat in the countrey they ſent home to their houſes. *Minutius* notwithſtanding gave the enemies no repoſe from that time forward. For being departed out of the territory of *Piſæ* he came into *Liguria*, where he deſtroyed their borroughs and Caſtles, and put all to fire and ſword. There the Roman ſouldiers filled their hands with the Tuſcan prizes, ſent thither by the forragers and robbers. H

Much about this time the Embaſſadors returned to *Rome*, from the KK. who brought word and made relation of nothing that was ſufficient to enforce them to proceed in any haſt to war, I but only againſt the Lacedæmonian tyrant, by whom (as the Achæan Embaſſadors alſo gave intelligence) the Sea coaſts of *Laconia* were wronged and aſſailed, againſt the covenants of the league. Whereupon *Attilius* the Pretor was ſent with a fleet to defend the aſſociats. And for aſmuch as there was no imminent peril from *Antiochus*, it was thought good, that both the Conſuls ſhould go into their Provinces. *Domitius* took his journey, and went the neereſt way by *Ariminum*, and *Quintius* came into the Boians countrey by the way of *Liguria*. And theſe two Conſuls armies in divers quarters, waſted all abroad the enemies countrey. At the firſt ſome few of their Gentlemen and Horſemen, together with their Captains; afterwards, all thoſe of Senators calling; and laſt of all, as many as were of any repute, worth and worſhip, to the number of fifteen hundred fled to the Conſul.

Likewiſe in both *Spains* that year the affairs went proſperouſly: for not only *C. Flaminius* won by force of mantelets and engins of battery the rich and ſtrong Town *Litabrum*, and took priſoner alive their Lord *Corribilo* a noble Prince, but alſo *M. Fulvius* the Pro-conſul fought with two armies of the enemies twice, and put them to the worſe; and won by aſſault two Towns of the Spaniards *Veſcelia* and *Holone*, with many other fortreſſes: the reſt of themſelves revolted unto him. After this he made a journey into the Oretans countrey, & there having gotten two towns, * *Nolibla* and *Cuſibi*, he ſet forward and marched to the river *Tagus*. In that quarter there ſtood * *Toletum* a ſmall City but ſtrongly ſeated: whiles he aſſaulted it, there came a mighty army of the Vectons to aid the Toletans, with whom he fought a ſet field, and won the day, and having defeated the Vectons, he forced the Toletans with engins of battery, and won the Town. K L

* or Nabilia.
* Toledo.

But all the wars which at that time were in hand, nothing troubled the LL. of the Senate ſo much as the expectation of the war which *Antiochus* had not yet begun and enterpriſed. For albeit they had ever and anon certain advertiſements and intelligences of all things by their Embaſſadors, yet many flying tales and headleſs bruits there went without any certain Authors, reporting lies as well as truths. And among the reſt there ran a rumor, that *Antiochus*, ſo ſoon as he was come into *Ætolia*, would preſently put over a fleet into *Sicily*. Whereupon the Senate, notwithſtanding they had ſent *Attilius* the Pretor with a fleet into *Greece* yet foraſmuch as there was need not of forces only but alſo of authority to entertain the hearts and affections of their allies, they ſent over *T. Quintius*, *Cn. Octavius*, *Cn. Servilius*, and *P. Villius*, as Embaſſadors into *Greece*, and gave order that *M. Fabius* ſhould advance his legions out of the countrey of the Brutians, toward *Tarentum* and *Brunduſium*, that from thence if need required, he might ſail over into *Macedonia*. Moreover, That *M. Fulvius* the Pretor ſhould put out a fleet of thirty ſail, for the defence of the coaſt of *Sicily* and that the Admiral thereof ſhould have full commiſſion there to command (now *L. Oppius Salinator*, who the former year had been one of the Ædiles of the Commons, had the conduct of thoſe ſhips.) Alſo, that the ſame Pretor ſhould addreſs his letters unto *L. Valerius* his Colleague, and advertiſed him that it was to be feared, that the armado of King *Antiochus* would croſs over out of *Ætolia* into *Sicily*; and therefore it was the will and pleaſure of the Senate that he ſhould take up and enrol into that army which he had already, of tumultuary ſouldiers 12000 footmen, and 400 horſe, by whoſe means he might defend that coaſt of the Province which looketh toward *Greece*. For the levy of theſe forces, the Pretor took muſters not only in *Sicily* but alſo in the Iſles adjacent and lying thereabout, and fortified with good garriſons all the Towns upon the Sea ſide which lie toward *Greece*. Thoſe rumours aforeſaid were fed ſtill and maintained by the coming of *Attalus* the brother of *Eumenes*, who reported that King *Antiochus* was paſſed over *Hellespontus* with an army: and that the Ætolians were in that forwardneſs, that they would be preſt and ready in arms againſt his arrival. Great thanks were given as well to *Eumenes* in his abſence, as to *Attalus* there preſent in place. Alſo order was taken, that he ſhould have a lodging allowed him at his pleaſure, and his charges born for his diet and houſe-keeping. Moreover, there were given him as preſents, two great horſes of ſervice, two pair of horſemens armors, as much ſilver plate as amounted to an hundred pound weight; and of gold plate, as much as weighed 20 pound. M N O

And for aſmuch as meſſengers one after another advertiſed and gave warning, that war was at hand it was thought requiſite and expedient that the new Conſuls ſhould be choſen in all convenient ſpeed: whereupon a decree paſſed from the Senat, that *M. Fulvius* the Pretor ſhould forthwith diſpatch his letters unto the Conſul, to certifie him of the Senats pleaſure, namely, that he ſhould commit the government of his Province and the army unto his Lieutenants, and return himſelf unto *Rome*, and in his way ſend out his writs aforehand for the publiſhing of an aſſembly general

A general for the election of Consuls. The Consul obeied these letters, directed forth his summons in manner aforesaid, and came to *Rome*. In this year also great ambition there was, and much suit for the dignity of government. For that three noblemen stood for one place, namely, *P. Cornelius Scipio* the son of *Cneus*, who the former year had the repulse, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Cn. Manlius Volso*. The Consulship was conferred upon *P. Scipio*, so as it might appear to the whole world, that this honour was deferred only, and not fully denied to so worthy a personage. His adjunct companion in government was *M. Acilius Glabrio*, a man by calling a commoner. The morrow after were the Pretors chosen, to wit, *L. Æmylius Paulus*, *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, *M. Junius Brutus*, *A. Cornel. Mammula*, *C. Livius*, & *L. Oppius*, both surnamed *Salinator*. This *Oppius* was he that had the conduct into *Sicily* of a fleet of thirty sail. Mean while that these new Magistrats cast lots for the
B government of their Provinces, *M. Bœbius* was commanded to pass over with all his power from *Brundusium* into *Epirus*, and to keep his forces about *Apollonia*. And M. *Fulvius* the Pretor of the City had in charge to build fifty new Galeaces called Quinqueremes, of five banks of oars on either side. And thus verily the people of *Rome* was provided against all enterprises and attempts of King *Antiochus* whatsoever.

Neither was *Nabis* behind for his part in levying war; but assaulted with great force the Town of *Gytheum*; and of a mischievous and malicious mind against the Achæans, for sending a garrison to aid the besieged Townsmen, he forraged and wasted their country. The Achæans durst not go in hand with war, before their Embassadors were returned from *Rome*, and until they might know the pleasure and will of the Senat: but after the return of those Embassadors, they both published
C a Diet and general Councel at *Sicyone*, and also sent their Embassadors to *Quintius* for his advice and counsel. In this Diet, all their opinions inclined and tended to make war out of hand: only the letters of *T. Quintius* made some stay of the enterprise, wherein he advised them to expect the Pretor and navy of the Romans. Now when the States there assembled in councel were distracted, some persisting still in their former opinion, and others of mind to take with them the advice of him unto whom they had sent for counsel: the multitude at length looked what *Philopœmenes* would say in that behalf. The Pretor he was for the time, and in those dayes surpassed all other in wisedome and authority. Then he rose up and used this preface and said, "That it was a good
"custome among the Ætolians, and well ordained and provided, that the Pretor himself in all
"consultations of war should not deliver his own opinion; and therefore willed them of their
D "selves to resolve and determine with all speed possible what they pleased. As for the Pretor,
"saith he, he will be ready to execute with fidelity and careful diligence their decrees accordingly: yea, and indevor, so far forth as mans policy may reach unto, that they shal not repent of their
"resolution, be it war or peace. This briefspeech of his was more forcible and effectual to incite them to take arms, than any perswasive Oration, wherein he openly could have shewed his desire to follow the wars. And therefore with exceeding accord of all in general they agreed upon war. As for the time and means of managing the same, it was wholly referred to the discretion of the Pretor, to use his own liberty and pleasure. *Philopœmenes*, besides that *Quintius* so advised, was also himself minded to wait for the Roman fleet which on the Sea side might defend *Gytheum*: but
E fearing again that their present necessity could abide no delaies, and left not only *Gytheum* should be lost, but the garrison also miscary, which was sent to the defence of the war, he set aflote and put to the Sea the Achæans shipping. The Tyrant likewise had rigged and dressed a small fleet to empeach any aid and succours that haply might be sent to the besieged by Sea, to wit, three covered ships with hatch and deck, three Brigantins or Pinnaces, and as many Gallions. For the old ships were by composition and covenant delivered up to the Romans. And to make proof and tryal of these new vessels how swift and nimble they were, and withal to see how all things else were well fitted for a battail, if need were; he made every day certain shews and representations of fight at Sea, and exercised both mariners and souldiers by such kind of false alarms: supposing that herein principally consisted the hope of his siege, in case he could cut off all their aid from the Sea side.
F Now the Pretor of the Achæans as he was equal to any of the best and most renowned commanders and Captains of that time in Land service, either for experience and practise, or wit and policy: so at Sea he was but a novice and a learner, as being an Arcadian born, an Inlander far within the main, and ignorant besides of all forein forces, but that he had born arms and served a little in *Candy*, whiles he had the leading there, of some auxiliaries. One old Gally there was a Quadrireme, taken at Sea 80 years before, at what time as she caried *Nicæa* the wife of *Craterus* from *Naupactum* to *Corinth*. And having heard much talk of this ship (for indeed she had been sometime of great name in the Kings royal fleet) he commanded her, all rotten as she was now, and
G ready to fall in pieces, to be shot into the Sea from out of the Bay of *Argium*. This ship as admiral, made way before the rest, wherein *Tiso* of *Patra*, a Captain General of a fleet was aboord; and encountred the ships of the Laconians, making sail from *Gytheum*. And at the first she chanced to affront and run against a new strong ship, and being old of her self, leaking and taking water at every joynt, she was rent asunder and fell apieces. All within her were taken prisoners. The rest of the fleet having lost their captaines fled as fast as possibly their oars could make speed and away. *Philopœmenes* himself was in a light foist frigot or pink, and fled amain, and never staied until he was arrived at *Patræ*. This mishap nothing discouraged and abated the heart of this marrial warrior, who had run through many and sundry adventures: but contrary-wise wrought this effect, that he assured himself and said, That if he were overtaken and put to the worse in service at Sea, wherein

he had no skill, he would ſo much the rather quit himſelf ſo upon the Land (where he had ſuch H
experience and was ſo ready) as that the Tyrant ſhould not long joy and make boaſt of his winnings. *Nabis* puffed up with pride of his fortunat victory, and perſwading himſelf aſſuredly that he had no cauſe to fear any more danger from the Sea, purpoſed likewiſe to ſtop up all the avenues and paſſages by Land; and therefore beſet all the wayes betimes with ſtrong guards, which he beſtowed in convenient places. And retiring with a third part of his forces from the ſiege of *Gythæum*, he encamped before *Pleia*. This is a place that overlooketh and commandeth *Leuca* and *Acra*, by which wayes it ſeemed that the enemies would make their approach with their army. Whiles he kept a ſtanding camp there, and few of his ſouldiers were provided of tents and pavilions, and the reſt of the common ſort had made them cabins of reeds, wound and interlaced one within another, and the ſame covered with leaves only to give them ſome ſhade; *Philopœmenes* I
deviſed, before that he were diſcovered and came in ſight of the enemies, to aſſail them at unwares and not looking for his coming, after a new faſhion of war that they little doubted. Certain ſmall craies or boats he got together into a ſecret blind bay, lying within the territory of *Argos*: in which he beſtowed certain ſouldiers nimbly appointed, moſt of them having round bucklers, with ſlings, darts, and ſuch like offenſive light weapons. From thence he coaſted along the River neer the ſhore, until he was come to the promontory or cape adjoyning cloſe to the enemies camp: then he went aland, and by known wayes he came by night unto *Pleia*: and whiles the watch was faſt aſleep, as miſtruſting no ſuch fear neer hand, he ſet fire upon the cabins aforeſaid in every quarter of the camp. Many men were conſumed with the fire before they wiſt that the enemy was come: and they that were ware of them, had no means to help and ſave their fel- K
lows: ſo with fire and ſword all went to wrack. Some very few eſcaped out of this extremity of danger, and fled to the main camp before *Gythæum*. Thus *Philopœmenes* having diſcomfited and frighted his enemies, led his army forthwith to waſt *Tripolis* in the territory of *Laconia*, bounding faſt upon the confines of the Megalopolitans: and having driven from thence great prizes of men and cattel, he departed before that the Tyrant could ſend any guards from thence for the defence of the Countrey. And when he had gathered and aſſembled his army at *Tegea*, and publiſhed and made known unto the Achæi and other Allies, a Diet or general councel to be holden there, whereat alſo were the chief States of the Epirots and Acarnanians: he determined (for aſmuch as both the hearts of his own people were ſufficiently recovered after the diſgrace and ſhameful diſhonor received at Sea; and alſo the courages of his enemies well cooled and they affrighted) L
to lead his forces againſt *Lacedæmon*: ſuppoſing that, that only means to draw the enemy away from the ſiege of *Gythæum*. And firſt he encamped before *Caria* within the enemies ground. But that very day was *Gythæum* forced by the enemies and won. *Philopœmenes* nothing ware thereof, ſet forward, and encamped neer *Barboſthenes*, a mountain ten miles from *Lacedæmon*. *Nabis* alſo, having gained *Gythæum*, departed from thence with his army lightly appointed; and marching apace beyond *Lacedæmon*, ſeized upon a place, called, The Camp of *Pyrrhus*: which he made no doubt but that the enemies intended to be poſſeſſed of. And then from thence he went to meet them. Now by reaſon of the narrow way, they took up in their march almoſt five miles of ground in length. At the tail of the army were the horſemen, and eſpecially where the Auxiliaries marched: becauſe *Philopœmenes* thought, that the tyrant would M
charge his men behind with his mercenary ſouldiers, in whom he repoſed his greateſt truſt. Two things fell out contrary to his expectation at once, which troubled him much: the one was, that the place was gotten by the enemies before, which he intended to have ſeized upon for his own advantage: the other was, for that he ſaw the enemy affront his vanguard in a place ſo rough and rugged, that without the guard of his light-armed ſouldiers, he could not poſſibly march forward and advance his Enſigns. Now *Philopœmenes* had a ſingular dexterity and skill, yea, and great experience in leading an army, and in making choice of his ground either to pitch or fight: and not only in time of war, but alſo in peace, he buſied his head and employed himſelf principally therein. His manner was, when he rode forth any whither and was come to a ſtreight paſſage hard to paſs through, to look every way, and diligently to view and conſider N
the ſituation and poſture of the place on all ſides: and if he were alone, to caſt about and adviſe with himſelf; but if there were any in his company, to aſke their advice in this wiſe: What if the enemy appeared and ſhewed himſelf in that place; How if he came affront or aſſank on this or that ſide; nay, How if he ſhould charge upon our back, what were beſt to be done? It may be the enemies will encounter us directly ranged in battail array; it may be they march diſorderly and looſly, minding nothing elſe but their way, and to travail on. Thus I ſay, would he either deviſe with himſelf or ſeek advice of other, what place he were beſt to ſeize for his own purpoſe and commodity: alſo what number of armed men he ſhould need to employ; or what kind of armour and weapons were needful to uſe (for therein alſo lay no ſmall importance.) Moreover, where he ſhould beſtow his carriages? where he ſhould lay his baggage? and O
where he ſhould place and diſpoſe of the multitude that were not meet to bear arms? what ſtrength and what manner of guard was needful for their defence? and whether it were more expedient to go forward ſtill the way that he was entred into, or better to go back again as he came? likewiſe, what ground was meet to be choſen for to pitch his camp upon? what compaſs and ſpace were neceſſary to be taken up for the fortification of the place? from whence he might have convenient watering? from what quarter he might be beſt provided of fodder and fewel?

Finally,

A Finally, against the morrow, which way were safest to remove the camp? and what form and manner of march were best? In these courses and discourses, he had from his childhood so inured and exercised his spirits, that he was never to seek what to do upon any such suddain occasion or occurrent presented unto him. And now at this present, seeing his enemies so neer, first and formost he made a stand with his vanguard; then he sent out toward the formost ensigns, his auxiliary Candiots that came to aid him, and those horsemen which they call Tarentin, whose manner is to have with them, two horses apiece; and then commanding his own men of arms to follow after, he possessed himself of a rock standing over a brook or running rill, from whence they might water commodiously: into that place he gathered together all his bag and baggage; there he bestowed all the pages and horse-boyes, and followers of the camp, whom he environed also with armed men: and as the nature of the place would give him leave, he fortified his
B camp. But to pitch pavilions in a craggie, rugged, and uneven ground he found much ado. Now were the emenies about half a mile off: and at one and the same rivulet they watered both, with the guard of their light armed souldiers: but before that they could scuffle and skirmish together (as commonly they do when the camps stand so neer one to another) the night overtook them. It appeared plainly there would be some fighting the next day about the brook for water: and therefore in the night season he bestowed close in a valley, farthest out of sight from the enemies, as many of his targeteers s apossibly the place would contain and hide. When day-light was come, the light armed Candiots and those Tarentin horsemen (of both sides) entred into skirmish upon the very banks of the brook. *Letemnastus* the Candiot had the leading
C of his country-men; *Lycortas* the Megapolitan commanded the light horse. The Candiots, who likewise were auxiaries and aid-souldiers to the enemies, and the same sort also of the Tarentin horsemen, guarded those that came to water for them. Doubtful was the skirmish for a good while (as being managed and maintained of the one side and the other by men of one Nation, and those furnished with the same kind of weapons) but those that were for the Tyrant, were more in number than the other. And by reason that *Philopœmenes* had given charge and direction to the Captains, after they had held skirmish a while, to seem to retreat and flie, thereby to train the enemy into the aforesaid place of ambush, they followed hard in chase upon them as they fled along within the valley, and most of them were either slain or wounded before they saw the enemies hidden there within. Now those targeteers aforesaid, were set in that
D order (so far forth as the breadth of the valley would permit) that they might easily receive their fellows as they fled, within the spaces between their ranks and files. Then at once they arose, fresh in heart, and ordred in good array, and charged upon the enemies, disordered, disbanded, loose, scattered, weary with travel, and faint of their wounds. Then was it out of doubt and past all peradventure where the victory went: for presently the Tyrant souldiers turned their backs, fled a good deal faster than they made pursuit before, and were beaten into their camp: many were either killed or taken prisoners as they fled; and they had been put in affright also within the camp, but that *Philopœmenes* commanded to sound the retreat, fearing more the rugged and broken ground, and the disadvantage and difficulties thereof, in case he had rashly ventured forward any farther, than he did the enemy. Then he, taking his conjecture by the issue of the
E fight, and guessing by the nature of *Nabis* the General, in what fear and fright he might be, sent unto him one of his auxiliaries that were strangers, counterfeiting himself to be a renegate revolt, to inform him assuredly, that the Achæans determined the next day to march as far as to the river *Eurotas*, which runneth hard by the walls of *Lacedæmon*, for to stop the passage, that neither the Tyrant might retire himself into the City when he would, nor any munition or victuals be caried from thence into the camp: moreover, that they would give the attempt, and assay if they could sollicite any of the citizens to revolt from the Tyrant. This counterfeit carried himself so in this errand, that the Tyrant believed not so much his words, as took hold thereby of a good pretence and honest occasion for to quit and abandon the camp: and therefore the next morrow, he commanded *Pythagoras*, with the auxiliary souldiers and the horsemen, to keep a good guard about
F the trench and enclosure of the camp: himself in person with the strength of his army, marched as it were to a battail, and commanded to advance forward the ensigns in all hast toward the City. * *Philopœmenes* perceiving that the army marched so fast through the narrow passage down the hill, put forth all his own horsemen and the auxiliary Candiots, against the guards of the enemies that warded before the camp. They, seeing the enemies to approach and themselves forsaken of their own fellows, at first went about to retire within their hold: but afterwards when they perceived the whole army of the Achæans advancing against them in order of battail, fearing that they and their tents should be at once surprised, made apace after their own host which was gone a good way before. With that, the targetiers of the Achæans assailed the camp, entred upon it, and ransacked the tents, whiles the rest went forward and pursued the enemies. The way was
G such, as that an army at liberty and free from fear of enemies, might hardly and with much ado rid any ground and march without encumbrance: but so soon as the skirmish began in the tail of the rereward, and the noise and cry of them affrighted behind was heard in the vanguard: every man made shift for one, flung away weapons, and fled into the woods on either side of the way; and ere one could turn about, all the wayes were strewd and choaked up with armour and weapons, and especially with darts or javelins, which lighting for the most part with one end full against the enemies, were in stead of a staked or empalled palaissade to hinder their passage.

* or rather *Philopœmen.*

*Philo-*

*Philopœmenes* having given commandment to his light armed aid-ſouldiers to preſſe forward ſtill, H and to follow the chaſe as faſt as they could (knowing well that the horſemen would have much ado and trouble in their flight) conducted himſelf the main army and heavily charged by a more open way to the River *Eurotas*: where he encamped himſelf a little before the going down of the ſun, and there he ſtaied for his light appointed ſouldiers, whom he had ſent to follow after the enemies. Who being come about the time of the firſt watch, brought word, that the Tyrant with ſome few was entred into the City, but the unarmed multitude were diſperſed, and wandred all about the forreſt and the woods. Then he willed them to repoſe and refreſh their bodies: which being done, himſelf choſe out of all the ſouldiers beſides (who becauſe they were come faſt into the camp, had well heartned themſelves with taking their refection and ſome ſmall ſleep) certain elect and ſpecial men, and took them forth immediatly with him, having about them nothing but I their ſwords, and ſet them in good order to keep two port-waies, by which men go to *Phara* and *Barboſthenes*, where he preſumed that the enemies would take their way and retire themſelves upon their flight: and nothing was he deceived. For the Lacedæmonians, ſo long as the day light laſted, had withdrawn themſelves to the middle of the forreſt, through by-lanes and blind paths; but when the night was once come, and that they deſcried lights within their enemies camp, they kept themſelves aloof over-againſt them within cloſe and ſecret lanes; and when they were once paſſed beyond, and thought all to be in ſafety and ſecurity, they came down into the more open high waies, where they were received and caught up by their enemies that forlaied them in ambuſh: ſo they were every where by numbers either killed or taken priſoners; inſomuch as ſcarce one fourth part of their whole army eſcaped. *Philopœmenes* having ſhut up the tyrant cloſe within K the City, ſpent almoſt thirty daies conſequently enſuing, in waſting and ſpoiling the territory of the Laconians: and when he had thus weakned and in manner broken the back of his enemy, he returned home, and the Achæans held him a paragon, and equal to the Roman General for glorious deeds of arms, nay, in the ſervice of the Laconian war they preferred him before the other.

During the war between the Achæans and the tyrant, the Roman Embaſſadors, who carefully and diligently viſited the Cities of the Allies, for fear leſt the Ætolians had alienated any of their affections from them to King *Antiochus* travelled but little in going about to the Achæans, whom by reaſon of the hatred they bare to *Nabis*, they hoped verily to be faſt and faithful enough unto them in all other things. And firſt they came to *Athens*, from thence to *Chalcis*, and ſo into *Theſſaly*: and after they had conferred with the Theſſalians in a frequent councel of theirs, they L turned their way to *Demetrias*, where there was publiſhed a ſolemn Diet to be holden by the Magnetes. Where they were to frame their ſpeech more curiouſly than in other places, becauſe certain of their great men and Potentats were eſtranged from the Romans, and altogether made for *Antiochus* and the Ætolians. The reaſon was this; becauſe when news came that *Philip* his ſon, who was left hoſtage with the Romans, ſhould be rendred again unto him, and likewiſe the tribut remitted which had been impoſed upon him, among other falſe tales and untruths it was reported, That the Romans would redeliver *Demetrias* alſo into his hands. And rather than that ſhould come to paſs, *Eurylochus* (a principal and chief man among the Magneſians) and ſome others of that faction, deſired to have a new world and an alteration, by the coming of the Ætolians and *Antiochus*. To theſe Magneſians, they were to couch and place their words to, in ridding M them of that fooliſh vain fear which they had conceived, that thereby they did not put *Philip* clean beſide his hope, and ſo give him occaſion to be ill affected unto the Romans; conſidering that he alone was to them of far greater importance in all reſpects, than were the Magneſians, put all together. Thus much only they ſaid by way of advertiſement, That as all *Greece* generally was much beholden and bound unto the Romans for the benefit of Liberty, which they by their means enjoyed, ſo that City and State eſpecially above all others was obliged unto them. For there, not only a garriſon of Macedonians had been maintained to keep them in awe, but alſo the King had built him a royal palace, to ſeat himſelf there, to the end, that they might evermore have in their eye, their Lord to command them. But in vain, and to no purpoſe was all this, in caſe the Ætolians brought *Antiochus* in his ſtead to make his reſiance in the houſe and palace of N *Philip*; and would needs entertain a new and unknown King in lieu of the old, ſo long a time and ſo well known. The ſoveraign Magiſtrat of that City, they call *Magnetarches*; and for that time *Eurylochus* was the man: who bearing himſelf big and ſtout of his high place, ſaid plainly, That he knew no cauſe, why either he or the Magneſians ſhould ſuppreſs and ſmother the rumour that ran ſo rife touching the delivery of *Demetrias* into *Philip* his hands. For rather than to ſuffer that, the Magneſians were to oppoſe themſelves, yea, to do and dare any action whatſoever. And in the vehement heat of ſpeech he went ſo far, that inconſideratly he caſt out one word and ſaid, That *Demetrias* ſeemed free in outward ſhew and appearance, but in very truth was at the command and devotion, yea, and at every beck of the Romans. At this ſpeech there aroſe a diſſonant bruit and murmuring of the aſſembly, which jarred and varied one from another, O whiles ſome ſoothed him up, others were offended, and took it in great deſpight, that he ſhould preſume to utter and ſpeak ſo much. And *Quintius* was in ſuch an heat of choler therewith, that ſtretching forth his hands to Heaven, he called the Gods to witneſs this ingratitude and diſloialty of the Magneſians. At whoſe words they were all greatly terrified. Then *Zeno* one of the chief, a man at that time of great authority and reputation, as well in regard of the honourable port that he ever caried in the whole courſe of his life, as alſo for that he alwayes ſtood firm and ſure

"to

A "to the Roman ſide, beſought *Quintius* and the reſt of the Embaſſadors with tears, Not to im-
"pute the folly of one man to the whole City, for every man is to bear his own burden, and as he
"hath brued, ſo to drink, and abide the ſmart of his own ſcratching. As for the Magneſians
"(ſaith he) they acknowledge to owe unto *T. Quintius* and the people of *Rome*, not only their
"freedom, but all other things elſe that are moſt deer and precious unto men. Neither could a
"man pray or wiſh at the hands of the immortal Gods for any thing, which the Magneſians had
"not received by their means: and ſooner would they like frantick perſons pluck the very heart
"out of their own bellies, yea, and tear themſelves in peeces, before they would violate and break
"the amity which they had with the Romans. This ſpeech of his was followed and ſeconded with
the humble prayers of the multitude. *Eurylochus* departed out of the aſſembly, and through by-
B wayes and blind lanes recovered the gates, and from thence fled ſtreight into *Ætolia*. For now by
this time, and every day more than other, the Ætolians diſcovered and ſhewed themſelves how
they were affected to revolt. And happily at the ſame time, *Thoas*, a principal perſonage of that
Nation, whom they had ſent as Embaſſador to King *Antiochus*, was newly returned, and brought
with him *Menippus* the Kings Embaſſador. Who, before they had audience given them in a coun-
cel aſſembled for them, had filled every mans ears and blabbed forth, what forces were prepared
both for Land and Sea, what a mighty power was coming both of foot and horſe, how Elephants
were ſent for out of *India* and above all (wherewith they thought the minds of the people would
be moſt moved) That there was ſuch a maſs of gold brought, as would buy all the Romans out
and out. It was eaſy to ſee what trouble and broil ſuch language might make in the general diet
C and aſſembly. For the Roman Embaſſadors had intelligence, both of their coming, and of all
that ever they did. And albeit there was little hope or none at all to do any good, yet *Quintius*
thought it not amiſs, that ſome Embaſſadors from the allies and aſſociate Cities ſhould be preſent
at that Councel, ſuch as might admoniſh and put the Ætolians in mind of the Roman alliance
and ſociety, and not ſtick to ſpeak their minds franckly, yea, and thwart the King his Embaſſador.
The Athenians of all other were thought the meeteſt men for that purpoſe, both in regard of the
authority and reputation of their City, and alſo for the ancient league between them and the
Ætolians. So *Quintius* requeſted them to ſend their Embaſſadors to the Panætolian Parliament.
When the aſſembly was met, and the Councel ſet, *Thoas* firſt declared his embaſſage: and after
him was *Menippus* called in, who being entred in place, ſpake in this manner: "It had been (qd.
D "he) the beſt courſe for all them that inhabit both *Greece* and *Aſia*, that *Antiochus* had intermed-
"led in theſe affairs, during the upright fortune and entire ſtate of *Philip*: then, every man had
"enjoyed his own, and all had not been reduced to the appetite and devotion, nor brought under
"ſubjection of the Romans. And even yet (quoth he) in caſe ye perſiſt ſtill in the ſame mind, and
"purpoſe reſolutely to accompliſh and finiſh theſe your deſigns and commenced enterpriſes, poſ-
"ſible it is by the favor and help of the Gods, and by the means of the Ætolian aſſociation that
"*Antiochus* may recover the State of *Greece*, craſed as it is, and much broken and bring it again to
"her firſt freſh hue, to her lively and lightſome luſtre, which conſiſteth in true liberty, even that
"which is able to ſtand alone and maintain it ſelf, and dependeth not upon the will and pleaſure
"of others. The Athenians, who firſt (after the Kings embaſſage was delivered) had audience given
E them and liberty to ſpeak their mind, without making any mention at all of the King, "Ad-erti-
"ſed the Ætolians of the Roman ſociety, and put them in mind of the favors and good turns done
"by *Quintius* to all *Greece* in general: adviſing them to take heed, that without diſcretion they
"overthrew not the welfare thereof, by running raſhly and too ſoon into a new world of ſtrange
"courſes and fine devices: for hot, haſty, and heady counſels are at the firſt ſight and entertain-
"ment pleaſant and amiable; in the handling and managing, hard and difficult; in the end and
"iſſue, heavy and dangerous. Conſider how the Roman Embaſſadors, and namely, *Quintius* a-
"mong them, are not far off: and whiles things ſtand in good terms of integrity, it were better to
"treat and debate of matters in queſtion and doubt by words and reaſons, than to ſet all *Aſia* and
"*Europe* together to take arms and to make lamentable and deadly war one upon another. The
F multitude deſirous of a change enclined altogether, and were wholly devote to *Antiochus*, being
of opinion, that the Roman Embaſſadors were not to be admitted into the Councel: but the more
grave and ancient perſons of the nobility and ſtates-men, obtained thus much by vertue of their
authority, That they ſhould have audience granted unto them. And when the Athenians had
made relation of this decree and concluſion paſſed, *Quintius* was of mind to go into *Ætolia*: for
this accompt he made, either to obtain ſomewhat that he came for, or elſe to have all Gods and
men to bear him witneſs, that the Romans would enter into the action of war juſtly and in man-
ner upon conſtraint and neceſſity. "*Quintius* being thither come, began at firſt to diſcourſe be-
"fore the whole aſſembly, as touching the ſociety of the Ætolians with the Romans, and how
"often they had broken for their parts the faithful accord between them: and when he had ſo
G "ſaid, he uſed a brief ſpeech concerning the right of thoſe Cities that were in queſtion. And if they
"thought that they had any law and reaſon of their ſide, how much better (quoth he) were it to
"ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*, either to argue and expoſtulate the matter with them, or to demand
"their advice (whether they would themſelves) than to cauſe the people of *Rome* to make war
"with *Antiochus* & the Ætolians together, not without great trouble of the whole world & cer-
"tain ruin of all *Greece*? For none ſhould feel the ſmart & calamity of this war ſooner than they
"that are the very cauſes therof & began firſt. Thus ſpake the Roman Embaſſ. by way of propheſy,

but

but in vain and to no effect. After him *Thoas* and the reſt of that faction, were heard with the H
general applauſe of all: and they effected ſo much, that without any farther proroguing of the
Diet, and referring the matter to another day, yea, and without ſtaying ſo long until the Romans
were out of the place and abſent, they concluded to make a decree, by vertue whereof *Antiochus*,
ſhould be ſent for to affranchiſe *Greece*, and to decide the quarrel between the Romans and the
Ætolians. This decree was not ſo proud and inſolent, but *Damocritus* their Pretor accompanied
it with as arrogant and reproachful a frump of his own. For when *Quintius* required of him to
ſee the ſaid decree, he without any reſpect of the honorable perſonage of the man, made anſwer,
That for the preſent time he had ſomwhat elſe to do of greater importance; but he would give
him the decree and an anſwer withal ſhortly, and that within *Italy*, encamped upon the bank of
*Tyberis*. So great a ſpirit of ſenſeleſs folly in thoſe dayes had poſſeſſed the nation of the Ætolians, I
and their chief Magiſtrats! Then *Quintius* and the delegats returned to *Corinth*.

After the Romans were diſmiſſed, the Ætolians held no more general councel of the whole
Nation, becauſe they would make ſemblance and ſeem to do nothing of themſelves as touching
the cauſe and queſtion of *Antiochus*, but ſit ſtill and expect the coming of the King. Mary, they
treated and debated the matter by their *Apocleti* (for ſo they call their ſpecial and privy Councel
which conſiſteth of certain elect choſen perſons) by what means there might be an alteration
and change in the affairs of *Greece*. This was held of all men for certain, that in every City and
State, the chief and the beſt men generally were for the aſſociation of the Romans, and content-
ted themſelves with the preſent condition wherein they ſtood: but the multitude and thoſe who
had not all things to fall out to their own good liking, were deſirous of a change. And one day K
above the reſt, the Ætolians entred into a deſignment and plot, which was not only out of all
meaſure audacious, but alſo moſt ſhameleſs, namely, to ſurpriſe and poſſeſs themſelves of *Deme-
trias*, *Chalcis* and *Lacedæmon*. And to each of theſe Cities there was ſent one of their principal
perſonages, namely, *Thoas* to *Chalcis*; *Alexamenus* to *Lacedæmon*, and *Diocles* to *Demetrias*. This
*Diocles* had the help and aſſiſtance of *Eurylochus* a baniſhed man (of whoſe flying away, and the
occaſion thereof we have ſpoken before) who otherwiſe had no hope at all to return again into
his native countrey. The kinſfolk and friends of *Eurylochus* and the reſt of that faction, upon in-
ſtructions given them by his letters, willed his wife and children to preſent themſelves in the fre-
quent aſſembly of the citizens in habit of mourners, in poor array, and vailed after the manner of
humble ſuppliants, there to beſeech them all and ſome, not to ſuffer him a guiltleſs perſon, neither L
convicted nor condemned, to wax old and pine away in exile. All that were plain and ſimple men
ſeemed to be touched with pity and commiſeration. The wicked and ſeditious perſons conceived
ſome hope to make a confuſion in the State by theſe Ætolian troubles: in ſo much as every one
was of opinion and gave his voice, that he ſhould be reſtored and ſent for home. This ground
being laid and matters thus prepared, *Diocles* with his horſemen (for then was he the Captain of
the Cavalry) took his journey, under a colour and pretence to reduce and bring home this ba-
niſhed perſon his hoſt and good friend; and in one day and night travelled a mighty great jour-
ney, and came within ſix miles of the City. And betimes in the morning by day light, accompa-
nied with three elect troops he marched forward, commanding the reſt of the horſemen to fol-
low after. When he approached the gate, he cauſed them all to alight on foot and to lead their M
horſes in their hands by the reins of their bridles, and to go without order, reſembling travailers
and waifaring men, ſo as they ſeemed more like to the ordinary train of Captain *Diocles*, than to
the men of arms and warriors under his charge: and leaving one of his troops at the gate, for fear
leſt the horſemen behind might be ſhut out, he led *Eurylochus* by the hand, and brought him
through the mids of the City and the market place home to his houſe: and all the way he was
met with many of his lovers and friends that welcomed him, and joyed for his return. Anon the
whole City was full of horſemen, and all places of opportunity and advantage were ſeized and
poſſeſſed by them. Which done, divers were ſent to maſſacre the chief of the adverſe part in their
houſes. Thus the Ætolians became maſters of *Demetrias*.

As for *Lacedæmon*, they deviſed in no hand to force the City, but by ſome wile to entrap and N
ſurpriſe the tyrant. For ſeeing the Romans had deſpoiled him of all his Sea coaſt Towns: and the
Achæans driven him within the walls of *Lacedæmon*, there was no doubt, but who ſo ever could
firſt take his life from him, ſhould cary away all the thanks, and curry eſpecial favor with the Lace-
dæmonians. Good occaſion and pretence they had to ſend unto him a power of armed men, for
that he had importuned them by his prayers for ſome aids, conſidering that by their advice and
perſwaſion he had rebelled. So there were given unto *Alexamenus* a thouſand footmen, and
thirty elect horſemen, drawn out of all the flour of the City. *Damocritus* the Pretor delivered
unto them from the privy councel of that nation (of which we have before ſpoken) "That they
"ſhould not believe that they were to be employed in war againſt the Achæans, or in any other
"ſervice, according as each one might imagine and conceive in his own head: but he charged O
"them to be ready to perform and execute obediently whatſoever ſuddain deſignment *Alexame-*
"*nus* upon the preſent occaſion ſhould happen to attempt, were it never ſo unlooked for, ſtrange,
"inconſiderate, and audacious: and to reſt upon this, That they were ſent with him to accom-
"pliſh that, and for no other purpoſe. Thus *Alexamenus* with the conduct of theſe men thus
prepared to his hand came unto the Tyrant: and no ſooner was he arrived, but he poſſeſſed him
preſently with a world of hopes: giving to underſtand, "That *Antiochus* was already paſſed over

"into

A "into *Europe*: that ſhortly he would be in *Greece*, and over-ſpred all ſeas and lands with his ar-
"mies and armados; that the Romans ſhould full well know and find, that they have not now to
"deal with ſuch an one as *Philip*; that the numbers of his foot and horſes by land can not be
"counted, nor his ſhips at Sea numbred; that the battail of his Elephants at the very fight will
"decide the matter and finiſh the war. Moreover, that the Ætolians with all their forces, were
"ready and preſt to come to Lacedæmon, (as need required) at any time: but indeed, deſirous
"they were to ſhew and muſter before the King at his arrival, a goodly number of armed ſoul-
"diers. *Nabis* therefore himſelf ſhould do very well, not to ſuffer thoſe forces which he had, to
"decay with long repoſe and idleneſs, but bring them forth and train them abroad, make them
"to run in their armour, thereby both to whet and ſharpen their courages, and alſo to exerciſe and
B "inure their bodies: for by uſe and cuſtome, the labour will be lighter; and by the courteſy and
"graciouſnes of their General, not without delight and pleaſure. Hereupon, they began to iſſue
out of the City, and oftentimes went into the plain lying hand by the River *Eurotas*. They of the
tyrants guard kept commonly in the battail or middle ward: and himſelf with three horſemen at
the utmoſt (with whom *Alexamenus* for the moſt part was) uſed ordinarily to ride before the en-
ſigns, taking ſurvey and viewing the utmoſt points and wings of the army. The Ætolians were pla-
ced in the right wing, as well thoſe that came before to aid the tyrant, as thoſe thouſand that were
newly arrived with *Alexamenus*. Now had *Alexamenus* taken a cuſtome, one while to tourney as
it were amongſt the ranks before in the company of the tyrant, and to inſtruct him in ſome mat-
ters ſounding to his commodity: otherwhiles, to ride to his own men into the right wing, and
C ſoon again to return to the Tyrant, as if he had given them charge of ſomewhat neceſſary to be
done. But upon that day which was appointed for to do the feat and murder the tyrant, after he
had ridden forth with the tyrant to the uſual place, and kept him company a while; he took occa-
ſion (as his manner was) to make a ſtep aſide to his own ſouldiers; and then he went in hand
with thoſe horſemen which were ſent with him from out of *Ætolia*, and ſaid thus unto them:
"Now ſirs, you muſt adventure and execute that luſtily and without delay which you were com-
"manded to perform by my direction and leading. Be ready with heart and hand, and be not ſlack
"and idle to exploit that, which ye ſhall ſee me to undertake and enterpriſe. And look whoſoever
"he be that either ſtandeth ſtill, or wil ſeem to argue and interpoſe his own wit and advice to croſs
"mine, let him make account, he ſhall never go home again to his own countrey. With that he
D ſet them all a quaking, for well they remembred what their charge was when they came forth
from home. Now was the Tyrant a coming on horſeback from the left wing: Then *Alexamenus*
commanded his horſemen to couch their lances down, and to have their eye upon him. He alſo
ſetled himſelf to take a good heart unto him, which was not a little daunted at firſt with the co-
gitation of ſo great a deſignment that he had projected. When he was now approached and come
neer the Tyrant, he ran with full carrier at him, gored his horſe, and overthrew himſelf to the
ground. He was not ſo ſoon unhorſed and laid along, but the horſemen ſtabbed him with many a
thruſt; whereof the moſt part did no harm, conſidering they were driven againſt his corſlet: but
in the end they found where his body was naked and unarmed, ſo he gave his laſt gaſp before he
could be reſcued by his guard in the main battail aforeſaid. Then *Alexamenus* taking with him
E all the Ætolians, made all the haſt he could to poſſeſs himſelf of the royal place. The Penſioners
and Squires of the body, ſeeing this murder done before their eyes were at firſt mightily affright-
ted: but afterwards perceiving the army of the Ætolians to go their wayes and depart, they ran
to the breathleſs carkaſe left among them and of men that ſhould have guarded his body and re-
venged his death, they became a ſort of idle gazers and lookers on. And ſurely there would not
a man have once ſtirred, in caſe the multitude had immediatly been called to an aſſembly; and if
after arms laid down, they had been entertained by him with ſome Oration or Remonſtrances
framed according to the time. The Ætolians were kept many together, in arms ſtill, without any
outrage or wrong done or offered to any one perſon. But all things that they did, haſtened the
ſpeedy ruin and deſtruction of thoſe that had committed this fact: as it could not otherwiſe be in
F all reaſon, but they ſhould ſo be ſerved, who had plaid ſo lewd and treacherous a part. The Cap-
tain and Ring-leader of all this miſchief kept himſelf cloſe ſhut within the royal palace, ſpending
both night and day in rifling and ſearching the Tyrants coffers and his treaſury. And the Ætoli-
ans for their part alſo fell to ranſacking, as if they had won that City by aſſault, which they made
countenance and ſemblance to ſet free. The indignity of theſe their pranks, the contempt withal
and ſmall regard made of them, encouraged and animated the Lacedemonians to gather toge-
ther and conſult of the matter. Some were of opinion and ſaid, That the Ætolians were to be
thruſt out by the head and ſhoulders, and to be ſent away with a miſchief, and their own liberty
to be recovered, which under a colour of being reſtored, was intercepted and taken from them:
others adviſed and ſaid, that for faſhion at leaſtwiſe, ſome one of royal blood ſhould be ſet up
G for to be the head in this action. Now there was of that race and ſtem one *Laconicus* a young
Child, brought up with the children of the late Tyrant: him they mounted upon horſeback, and
then they took arms with all ſpeed, and as many Ætolians as they could light upon, wandring
here and there in the ſtreets, they ran upon and hewed in peeces. Then they aſſaulted the palace,
where they alſo murdered *Alexamenus*, albeit with ſome few about him he made reſiſtance
and defended himſelf. The reſt of the Ætolians gathered together about *Chalciœcos* (which
is a Chappel of *Diana* made of braſs) and there likewiſe they were maſſacred. A few of them

flang

flang away their weapons and fled, ſome eſcaped to *Tegea*, and others to * *Megalopolis*: where being apprehended by the Magiſtrats, they were ſold in port-ſale, to them that would offer moſt. *Philopœmenes* hearing of the Tyrants death, went to *Lacedæmon*, where he found all things out of order and in confuſion by reaſon of fear. And having called forth the principal & chief citizens, he uſed unto them ſuch a ſpeech, as indeed *Alexamenus* ſhould have made, and thereby knit the Lacedæmonians in league and alliance with the Achæans: which he effected the ſooner, becauſe it chanced even then, that *Attilius* was come before * *Gythæum* with four and twenty galleaces of five banks of oars on a ſide.

* Leontario, or Londtario.

* Cabo de Pazu, or Palcopoli.

About the ſame time, *Thoas* had not ſo good ſpeed before *Chalcis*; by means of *Euthymidas*, a great and chief man of the City (one, who by the might and ſtronger hand of thoſe that ſided with the Romans, had been expelled the City after the coming of *T. Quintius* and the Embaſſadors or Delegats) and alſo of *Herodotus* of *Canus*, a Merchant and a man that in regard of his wealth and riches bare a great ſide in *Chalcis*: *Thoas*, I ſay, ſped not ſo well by their means, notwithſtanding that the ſuppoſts and part-takers of *Euthymidas* were well diſpoſed to betray the Town; as *Eurylochus* did in the ſurpriſing and ſeizing of *Demetrias*. This *Euthymidas* from *Athens* (for there he had made choice to dwell) firſt came to *Thebes*, and ſo from thence went forward to *Salganea*. *Herodotus* abode at *Thronium*, and not far from thence within the gulf of *Malea*, he had 2000 footmen, and *Thoas* two hundred horſemen, and about thirty light Caravels. Which *Herodotus* was commanded to ſet over into the Iſland *Atalanta* with ſix hundred footmen, that from thence, when he perceived once the Land-forces to approach *Aulis* and *Euripus*, he might cut over to *Chalcis*. As for themſelves, they conducted the reſt of the forces in all the haſt they could, and moſt by night journies marched unto *Chalcis*. *Miſchio* and *Xenoclides* (who had the manging of the affairs in *Chalcis*, and might do all in all there, now that *Euthymidas* was baniſhed) remained in *Chalcis*, and whether they miſtruſted ſomewhat themſelves, or had ſome inkling and intelligence of the matter, I wot not, but affraid they were at firſt, and had no other hope at all but by flight to ſave themſelves: howbeit afterwards when their fear was well allaied and ſetled, ſeeing evidently, that not only their own countrey was betraied, but alſo the Roman ſociety abandoned, they plotted in this wiſe, and entred into a courſe as followeth.

It fortuned at the very ſame time, that a ſolemn anniverſary ſacrifice was celebrated at *Eretria* to the honour of *Diana Amarynthis*: to which ſolemnity there reſorted not only the inhabitants of thoſe places neer at hand, but alſo a number of Caryſtians. Thither they ſent certain Orators, to requeſt and entreat the Eretrians and Caryſtians, both to take ſome pity of their eſtate, conſidering they were born in the ſame Iſland, and alſo to have ſome regard to the alliance of the Romans, and not ſuffer *Chalcis* to fall into the hands of the Ætolians: who no doubt, if they might get *Chalcis*, would not be long ere they had *Eubœa* too. Sirly Lords (ſay they) were the Macedonians, and rigorous, but the Ætolians would be much more unſupportable. Theſe Cities were principally reſpective to the Romans, whoſe vertue and proweſs in war, whoſe juſtice and bounty in victory they had lately experience of, and therefore both States armed the flower and manhood of all their youth and ſent them. The Townſmen of *Chalcis* having committed the guard of their walls to theſe, went forth themſelves with all their forces paſſed over *Euripus*, and encamped neer *Salganea*. From which place they ſent firſt an herald, and after him Embaſſadors to the Ætolians, to demand of them, Wherein they had ſo offended either in word or deed, that their allies and friends ſhould come to moleſt and aſſail them ſo by way of hoſtility? To whom *Thoas* the General of the Ætolians made this anſwer, That they were not come to annoy and trouble, but to deliver and free them from their ſervitude under the Romans. For bound they were and tied now with a brighter and more glittering chain indeed, but far heavier, than at what time as they had the garriſon of the Macedonians within their Caſtle. The Chalcidians replied again and inferred, that they neither were in bondage, nor needed at all the garriſon of any. And thus the Embaſſadors departed from the parly, and returned to their own people. *Thoas* and the Ætolians, whoſe whole and only hope was to come upon them on a ſuddain and ſurpriſe them at unawares returned home again as they came, being not able to maintain open war, nor to aſſail a City ſo well fortified both by ſea and land. *Euthymidas* being advertiſed that his country-men lay in camp at *Salganea* and that the Ætolians were diſlodged and gone, retired himſelf alſo from *Thebes* to *Athens*. And *Herodotus* likewiſe, after he had wiſtly and with great longing, expected from * *Atalanta* certain daies together, to ſee ſome ſignal (but in vain) ſent out a pinnace or brigantine, to know what the cauſe might be of ſuch ſtay: and underſtanding that the enterpriſe was given over by his complices and fellows in the complot, he returned to *Thronium* from whence he came.

* Talandi.

*Quintius* likewiſe having intelligence of theſe occurrents, as he ſailed with his fleet from *Corinth*, encountred *Eumenes* in *Euripus* neer *Chalcis*. And thought good it was between them that *Eumenes* the King ſhould leave at *Chalcis* five hundred ſouldiers in garriſon, and himſelf go directly to *Athens*: and *Quintius* kept on his way to * *Demetrias* whither he intended, ſuppoſing that the deliverance of *Chalcis* would make ſomewhat to induce the Magneſians to embrace again the ſociety of the Romans. And to the end that thoſe perſons in *Demetrias* who ſided with him might have ſome forces for their defence, he wrote unto *Eunemus* the Pretor of the Theſſalians, to put the youth in arms: and he ſent *Villius* before unto *Demetrias* to ſound their affections, not minding otherwiſe to give the attempt, unleſs ſome part of them enclined to reſpect the ancient ſociety. *Villius* entred the mouth of the haven with a five banked Galleace. Thither ran

* Dimitriada.

the

A the whole multitude flocking unto him. And *Villius* demanded of them whither they had rather that he came to them as to friends or enemies? Unto whom *Enrylochus* the *Magnetarches*, answered, that he was come unto his friends: but he willed to him forbear the haven, and suffer the Magnesians to be at peace and liberty, and to beware that under a pretence of parle, he did not solicit and disquiet the multitude. After this there was no farther talk and speech between them but plain debate and altercation: whiles *Villius* the Roman blamed and challenged the Magnesians, as unthankfull persons, and forewarned them of the miseries and calamities that hung over their heads; and again the multitude cried out aloud, and accused as well the Senat as *Quintius*. Thus *Villius* without doing any good, returned to *Quintius*. But *Quintius* having dispatched a messenger to the Pretor, that he should reduce home his forces, retired himself again by sea to *Corinth*.

B The affairs of *Greece* thus interlaced and blended with the Roman, have carried me away as it were out of my lists: not for that they were so necessary and important to be written, but only because they were materiall to the cause of the war against *Antiochus*. After the Consuls were elect (for there I began my digression) *L. Quintius* and *Cn. Domitius*, the Consuls went into their severall provinces, *Quintius* in *Liguria*, and *Domitius* against the Boii. As for the Boii, they held themselves quiet, yea, and the whole body of their Senat with their children, their captains also with their Cavalry, to the number in all of fifteen hundred, yeelded themselves to the Consul. But the territory of the Ligurians was overrun and wasted, and some fortresses won: whereby not only there were prizes got of all sorts, and prisoners taken, but also diverse captives, as well citizens as allies were recovered out of the enemies hand. This very year a Colony was planted at *Vibo*,

C by an act of Senat and Commons: and there went thither three thousand and seven hundred footmen, and three hundred horsemen. The Triumvirs, who had the placing of them, were *Q. Nevius*, *M. Minutius*, and *M. Furius Craſſipes*. Every footman was endued with fifteen acres of land, and the horsemen with twice as much. It was a territory held last in the tenure of the Brutians, and they had conquered it first from the *Greeks*.

About the same time, there hapned at *Rome* two most fearfull accidents; the one of them continued long, but was not altogether so vehement and terrible: for there was an earthquake endured eight and thirty daies. All which time, the lawsteed or vacation from all courts of law and civill causes, continued in great fear and pensiveness: in regard whereof, a supplication was holden for three daies. As for the other, it was not a vain fear, but a very loss indeed that touched ma-

D ny men: for there began a scarfire in the beast Market, and continued a day and a night, burning many houses standing on the *Tyber* side; and all the shops and ware-houses, with merchandise of great price, were consumed. Now was the year well drawing to an end, and daily more and more the bruit and rumor of the war with *Antiochus* encreased: and likewise the care that the LL. of the Senat had therof. And therefore they began to treat as concerning the Provinces of the Magistrats elect, to the end, that all of them might be more circumspect and intentive to their charges. So a decree passed, that the Consuls should have the governance of *Italy*, by name, and also to go whithersoever the Senat should please to dispose of them: and all men knew wel enough, that the war against *Antiochus* was upon the point. Also ordained it was, that he whose lot it was to manage

E that war, should have the conduct of four thousand footmen of Roman Citizens, and three hundred horsemen; besides six thousand allies of the Latine nation, and four hundred horsemen. *L. Quintius* the Consul was appointed to take musters for those souldiers, that there should be no stay, but that the new Consul might immediatly put himself in his journey, to what expedition soever the Senat thought good. *Item*, It was decreed as concerning the Provinces of the Pretors, in this manner: namely, That the first lot should assign the double jurisdiction, civill and forreign, as well among Citizens as strangers: the second should concern the Brutians: the third, the navy, and the same to sail whithersoever the Senat would appoint: the fourth for *Sicily*: the fift for *Sardinia*: the sixt for the nether *Spain*. Over and besides *L. Quintius* the Consul was commanded to enroll two new legions of Roman Citizens, besides twenty thousand foot and eight

F hundred horsemen of allies of the Latine nation: and this army they set out for the Pretor, who was to govern the Brutii. Two chappels that year were dedicated to *Jupiter Capitolinus*: the one of them *L. Furius*, *Purpureo* vowed in the Gauls war, as Pretor; the other when he was Consul: and *Q. Martius Ralla* the Daumvir, dedicated them. This year there passed many sharp and grievous sentences and judgements upon usurers: against whom (being privat men) *M. Tuccius* and *P. Iunius Brutus* the two Ædiles of the chair, commenced action. Of that silver wherein they were fined, was made a chariot with four wheels, guilded; and set up it was in the Capitoll in the cabinet of *Jupiter* above the top of his shrine: likewise twelve bucklets guilded. The same Ædiles also, caused the porch or gallery to be made without the gate *Tergemina*, among the carpenters.

G As the Romans were wholly amused upon preparation for this new war, so *Antiochus* for his part sat not still: three Cities there were which kept him back and checked his progresse, to wit. *Smyrna*, *Alexandria* in *Troas*, and *Lampsacus*; the which they never could to that day force by assault, or draw into amity with any condition whatsoever; and to leave them behind in those terms, when he should in proper person passe over into *Europe*, he was not willing. Somewhat also he was stopped by a consultation as touching *Annibal*. For as first he was staid and hindered by occasion of the open ships which he intended to send with him into *Affrick*. And afterwards this was into his head by *Thoas* the Ætolian especially, and question moved, whe-

ther it was good ſimply to ſend him thither at all, or no? This *Thoas*, when *Greece* was all in an hurry and full of troubles, bare them in hand, that *Demetrias* would be in their power and at their devotion. And like as with his leaſings touching the King, in multiplying and magnifying his forces; he had brought many of the *Greeks* into a fools paradiſe, even ſo alſo after the ſame maner he ceaſed not to feed the King with lies, and fill him with hopes, making him beleeve as all men wiſhed for him with all their hearts, and would run by heaps to the ſea ſtrand, to meet him ſo ſoon as they could ken his fleet under ſail. This ſelf-ſame man was ſo bold alſo as to alter the Kings mind "as touching *Annibal*, which ſeemed before reſolved and ſetled. For he perſwaded him that the "Kings navy was not to be diſmembred, and part therefore to be ſent away; and if he were to "make out any of the ſhips from the reſt, yet *Annibal* of all other was not to have the conduct "thereof, a baniſhed perſon and a Carthaginian; who was like enough to be of many minds, & "to change a thouſand times in a day, ſuch was his preſent condition and fortune & ſuch was his "nature and diſpoſition. And as for that glorious name for martiall proweſſe (which is the cauſe "that *Annibal* is ſo much ſet by, and which recommendeth him as a ſpeciall and ſingular gift to "the world) it is too much, and far unfitting for any one captain under a King: and more meet it "were that the King himſelf ſhould be regarded and ſeen above all other, that the King, I ſay and "none but the King ſhould be the leader, conducter and commander of all. Again, if *Annibal* "chanced to miſcary with a fleet, or to have his forces defeated, the loſſe would be accounted no "more then if any other meaner captain had done it: but if the affairs ſhould proſper and ſpeed "well, *Annibal* ſhould go away with the honour, and not *Antiochus*. Moreover, ſay that fortune "were ſo kind as to give *Antiochus* the upper hand of the Romans, and the entire victory over "them for ever, what hope or likelihood is there that *Annibal* would be content to live under the "King and ſubject to him alone, who hardly could brook and endure the command and ſoveraign-"ty of the whole ſtate wherein he was born? He hath not carried himſelf ſo, ever ſince his firſt "youth, bearing amind to compaſſe the dominion of the whole world, as that now in his old age "he can not abide to have a lord and a ſuperior over him. To conclude: the King (quoth he) "hath no ſuch need of *Annibal* in this war, as to make him a commander: well may he uſe him for "a counſeller, and ſo forth have him in his train and company; for ſome mean fruit and uſe of ſuch "a nature, cannot be cumberſome, hurtfull, and dangerous: but if high and great matters be reach-"ed at, ſoon they may bear down and overcharge both the giver, and alſo the receiver. And no "ſpirits are ſo ready to envy and malice others, as they whoſe birth and parentage, whoſe degree "and eſtate is not anſwerable to their hauty minds: and ſuch commonly, as they hate the vertue, "ſo they depreſſe the good of another. Hereupon their courſe of ſending *Annibal* into *Africk*, "was forthwith laid aſide and clean caſt behind, which was ſo well deviſed in the beginning of "the war.

*Antiochus* bearing himſelf aloft now, principally for that *Demetrias* was revolted from the Romans unto the Ætolians, determined no longer to delay the matter, but preſently to take a voiage into *Greece*. But before that he embarked and took the ſea, he went up to *Ilium* from the ſea ſide for to ſacrifice to *Minerva*; and when he was returned to his fleet, he made ſail with 40 cloſe covered and hatched ſhips, and 60 uncovered and undecked, and after thoſe followed 200 veſſels of burden, charged and fraught with victuals, munition, and warlike furniture of all ſorts. And firſt he fell with the Iland * *Imbros*: and from thence he cut over to *Scyathos*, where after he had rallied his ſhips which had been ſcattered one from another in the wide and deep ſea, he arrived at *Pteleum*, the firſt town of the main and continent. Where *Eurylochus* the *Magnetarches*, [i.the ſoveraign of *Magneſia*] and the principall citizens of the State, who were come from *Demetrias*, met him and joyned with him; who rejoycing exceedingly to ſee ſo goodly a company of them in his train, the next day put into the haven of the City of *Demetrias*: and not far from thence landed all his forces, which amounted in the whole to ten thouſand foot, five hundred horſe, and ſix Elephants: a ſmall power (God wot) and unfficient to ſeize upon *Greece*, all naked and alone, far ſhorter then to hold and maintain war with the Romans. After it was reported that *Antiochus* was come to *Demetrias*, the Ætolians proclaimed a councell, wherein they made a decree to ſend for *Antiochus*. For now the King knowing that they would paſſe ſuch an Act, was departed from *Demetrias*, and had withdrawn himſelf to *Phalera* within the gulph of *Malea*. And after he had received once the patent of that decree, he went from thence to *Lamia*, where he was received with exceeding favour of the common people, with clapping of hands, ſhouts, acclamations, and others ſigns, whereby the multitude uſed to ſhew & teſtifie their great joy. When they were aſſembled together and ſet in Councell, *Phaneas* the Pretor and other chief citizens brought him ſolemnly in: where *Ojez* made, thus the King began his ſpeech, firſt excuſing himſelf, in that he was come with a far ſmaller power then all men hoped or looked for. "And e-"ven this (quoth he) may ſerve in ſtead of the greateſt argument that may be of my exceeding "love and affection toward you, in that being ſo unprovided and unfurniſhed of all things, and "at a time ſo unſeaſonable for to ſail, as too early to take the ſea, I have not thought much but "am willingly come at the call of their Embaſſadors: being thus aſſuredly perſwaded, that the Æ-"tolians ſeeing me once, will ſuppoſe that in me alone conſiſted all their hope and defence "whatſoever. And yet I would accompliſh I aſſure you, and ſatisfie to the full even your content-"ment alſo, whoſe expectation for the preſent may ſeem to have been diſappointed: for ſoon as the

time

A "time of the year will ſerve, and the ſpring is once come, that the ſeas are navigable, I will o-
"verſpread all *Greece* with men, horſe, and munition; I will take up all the ſea coaſts with fleets,
"I will ſpare for no coſt, no pain, no perill, untill I have taken from their necks the heavy yoke of
"the Roman empire, ſet *Greece* free indeed, and the made the Ætolians the chief commanders
"therein. Nay, with mine armies beſides ſhall come all kind of proviſion and furniture out of A-
*ſia*. But for the preſent (ſaith he) the Ætolians muſt ſee & take order, that my people may be ſerved
with corn and other victuals at a reaſonable rate. To this effect when the King had ſpoken with
the great aſſent of all men, he departed. After the *Kings* departure, there roſe ſome contention be-
tween two great men of the Ætolians, to wit, *Phaneas* and *Thoas*. *Phaneas* was of opinion, that
it was better policy to uſe *Antiochus* for a mediator and reconciler of peace, or to be an umpire or
B arbitrator to decide the controverſies between them & the Romans, rather then to be the General
of the war. For his very coming and majeſty would be more effectuall then all his forces, to ſtrike
ſome reverence in the Romans, and cauſe them to be reſpective unto him. For men oftentimes
yeeld and remit many things of themſelves willingly, to avoid war, which they cannot be forced
unto by war and by arms, when they are once entred into action. *Thoas* inferred again and ſaid,
that *Phaneas* ſpake not this for any deſire & love to peace, but his meaning was to ſcatter and diſ-
patch this furniture and preparation of war, for this intent, That by this tedious lingring, the Kings
courage might abate, and the Romans gain time to make themſelves ready. For, that there was
no reaſon poſſibly to be gotten at the Romans hand, they had tried ſufficiently by good experience,
in ſending ſo many embaſſages to *Rome*, and in debating the matter ſo often with *Quintius*: nei-
ther would they ever have ſought unto *Antiochus* and craved his aid, if all their hope otherwiſe
C had not been cut off and clean failed. And now ſince his helping hand is preſented unto them
ſooner then all men thought or looked for, they were not now to begin to faint and give over, but
rather to requeſt and intreat the King, that ſince he was come himſelf in perſon (which was the
greateſt matter of all) to ſet free and maintain *Greece*, he would ſend for forces both at ſea and
land. For the King in arms, might peradventure obtein ſomething: but diſarmed if he were,
little or no reckning would the Romans make of him in the quarrell and queſtion of the Ætoli-
ans, no, nor in his own affairs whenſoever he ſhould reaſon and debate thereof. And here went
the hare away. They all opened ſtreightwaies to ſtile the King with the name of *Imperator*
[*i.* Emperour:] and they choſe thirty of the chief perſonages to aſſiſt him in councell for all things
requiſit. Thus the Diet was diſſolved, and every man ſlipt away and retired to his own City.
D The next day the King ſat in a conſultation with their Apocletes, in what place they ſhould be-
gin the war. And it was thought beſt, firſt to aſſail the City of *Chalcis*, which lately the Ætolians
had aſſaied in vain. And for to effect this ſervice, there was more expedition and ſpeed required
then any other great forces and preparations. Hereppon the King ſet forward with 1000 foot-
men which followed him from *Demetrias*, and made by the way of *Phocis*: The Captains of the
alſo of the Ætolians, having levied ſome few companies of their youth took another way, and met
with him at *Chæronea*, and followed with ten covered ſhips. The King encamped neer *Salganea*,
and himſelf in perſon with the chief of the Ætolians croſſed the *Euripus*: and when he was land-
ed and not far gone from the haven, the Magiſtrats and chief men of *Chalcis* came forth without
E their gates, and ſome few of both ſides met together for to parle. The Ætolians were earneſt to
perſwade with them, "That ſo far forth as they might without impeaching the Roman amity
"they would aſſume the King to be their allie and friend, for aſmuch as he was paſſed into *Europe*
"not to make war, but to deliver *Greece*, and ſet it free in very deed, and not in word only and
"falſe ſemblance, as the Romans had done. And nothing was there more for the good and benefit
"of the Cities in *Greece*, then to entertain the ſociety and fellowſhip of them both. For under the
"the defence and ſafegard of the one, they might be ſure to guard themſelves from the violence
"and outrage of the other. But if they accepted not of the King, they were beſt to take heed
"and ſee what danger they preſently incurred: conſidering the ſuccours of the Romans to relieve
"them were ſo far off, and the forces of *Antiochus* their enemy to annoy them, ſo neer even at
F "their gates, whom of themſelves with their own power they were not able to withſtand. To
this, *Miccio* one of their chief men made this anſwer: I marvell much (ſaith he) who they be, that
"*Antiochus* for to deliver and ſet free, hath taken the pains to leave his own Kingdome, and to
"paſs over into *Europe*. For mine own part, I know no City in *Greece*, that either hath Roman
"garriſon, or payeth any tribute unto them, or is bound to unjuſt and unreaſonable covenant, or
"endureth any hards laws and conditions againſt their wils: and therefore the Chalcidians have
"need of no perſon to reſtore them to freedome, ſince they be free already; nor yet of a gar-
"riſon for their defence, conſidering that by the grace and favour of the ſame people of *Rome*, they
"enjoy peace and liberty already. As for the King, we refuſe not his amity, nor yet reject
"we the friendſhip of the Ætolians. And we will take it for a ſpeciall point of friendſhip that
G "they ſhall do us, if they gently will depart out of our Iland and be gone: For, as for us, we are re-
"ſolute in this, not to receive them within our wals, no, nor to contract with them any ſociety,
"without the advice and conſent of the Romans. When theſe matters were related to the King,
who ſtayed behind with the ſhips, he determined preſently to return to *Demetrias* for that he
was not come with ſuch a power as to attempt any thing by force: where, ſeeing his firſt enterpriſe
came to nothing, he conferred with the Ætolians what was to be done next: & cõcluded it was, to
found the Achæans & *Aminander* the King of the Athamans. They ſuppoſed that the nation of the

Bœotians was clean eſtranged and badly affected to the Romans ever ſince the death of *Barcillas* and thoſe troubles that enſued thereupon. They were perſwaded alſo that *Philopœmenes* a great potentat, and principal leader of the Achæans, was both malicious and odious unto *Quintius* for emulation and jelouſie of honour in the Laconian war. *Aminander* had eſpouſed and taken to wife *Apamea* the daughter of one *Alexander* a Megapolitan, who vaunted himſelf to be deſcended from *Alexander* the Great, named his two ſons *Philip* and *Alexander*, and his daughter *Apamea*; whom being thus advanced by marriage with a King, her elder brother *Philip* accompanied into *Athamania*. This *Philip* a vain-headed young man, the Ætolians and *Antiochus* had induced into a fooliſh hope (conſidering that for certain he was of the royall blood) to obtain the Kingdome of *Macedony*, if haply he could bring about to joyn *Aminander* and the Athamanians to *Antiochus*. And theſe vain conceits of great beheſt wrought mightily not with *Philip* only, but alſo with *Aminander*.

Now in *Achæa* there was a councell holden at *Ægium*, and audience given there to the Embaſſadors of *Antiochus* and the Ætolians, before *T. Quintius*. Where the King his Embaſſador ſpake firſt, and being, (as all thoſe commonly are, that have interteinment and maintenance of Kings) full of fooliſh babble, & making ſea and land reſound again with his vain pratling and ſenſleſſe words; ſet tale an end, and told them, what an infinit number on horſemen were paſſing over by *Helleſpont* into *Europe*: whereof ſome of them were in compleat harneſs, armed at all peeces, whom they call *Cataphracti*: others were archers, and ſhot of horſeback, againſt whom there was nothing cloſe, nothing ſure enough, who when their backs are turned, and their horſes run away, ſhoot ſo much the more ſurely, and even point-plank. And albeit theſe forces of horſe by his report, were ſufficient of themſelves to defeat all the armies of *Europe* if they were put together, yet he addedbeſides a mighty number, I wot not how many of footmen: and terrified them with namely a ſort of ſtrange nations, that ſcarcely had been heard of before, to wit, the Dakes, the Medians, the Ælymæans and Caduſians. But for his forces at ſea, there was no bayes, "harbors, nor havens in all *Greece* able to receive them. The Sydonians and Tyrians (ſay they) "hold the right ſide, the Aradians, and the Sidets out of *Pamphylia* keep the left; nations for ſkill and valour at ſea incomparable. As for money and other proviſion and furniture for the wars, "it were needleſſe to diſcourſe of, ſince they themſelves knew well enough, that the realms of "*Aſia* have alwaies flowed with gold, as their proper wealth. So as the Romans now were not "to deal with *Philip* nor with *Annibal*, the one a chief perſon among many others of a City; "and the other limited within the confines only of the kingdom of *Macedony*, but with the great "Monarch of all *Aſia*, yea, and of ſome part of *Europe*. And yet he, as mighty a potentat as he is "(notwithſtanding he is come to the utmoſt coaſts and bounds of the Levant ſea, to deliver and "and enfranchiſe *Greece*) demandeth nothing of the Achæans prejudiciall to their fealty and allegeance to the Romans their firſt allies and aſſociats: for he required not them to take arms with "him againſt them, but only not to intermeddle and take part: his ſeeking is, that (as behoveth "good friends and mediators between both parties) they would all well and peace among them, "and not interpoſe themſelves in a quarrel of war. *Archidamus* likewiſe the Embaſſador for the "Ætolians, requeſted in maner the ſame, that they would hold themſelves quiet and in repoſe (a "thing moſt eaſie and ſafe for them) and being but lookers on the war, wait and attend the iſſue "of others mens fortunes, without the hazard of their own; yet heſtaied not ſo, but proceeded ſo "far and overſhot himſelf ſo much in words, that he brake forth at length in ill language, one "while railing againſt the Romans in general, another while againſt *Quintius* in particular; cal-"ing them ungratefull and unthankfull perſons, reproaching, upbraiding, and hitting them in the "teeth, how not only they had got the victory of *Philip*, but alſo ſaved themſelves by the vertue "and valour of the Ætolians: and as for *Quintius*, he was to thank them and their means, as much "as his own life came to & the preſervation of his army. For wherin at any time (qd. he) perform-"ed he the duty and devoir of General in the field? Seen him indeed I have in the time of battell "and in the camp, take the flight of birds, kill ſacrifices, and make vows very devoutly, like ſome "holy pariſh-prieſt or divining Prophet, whiles I my ſelf was fain in his defence to expoſe and "preſent my body to lances and darts of the enemies. To theſe challenges *Quintius* made anſwer "in this wiſe, ſaying that *Archidamus* had more regard in whoſe preſence he ſpake, then to whom "he directed all his ſpeech: for the Achæans know very well, that all the valour of the Ætolians, "ſtandeth in bragging words and not in martiall deeds, as men that love to be heard in Diets and "aſſemblies rather then ſeen in the field and battell; and therefore no marvell if he made ſo ſmal "reckning to ſpeak unto the Achæans, conſidering that he knew, how well acquainted they were "with the maners and faſhions of the Ætolians. But he hath beſides vaunted and made great brags "before the King Embaſſadors, and in their perſon, before the King himſelf in abſence. And if a "man had not known before, what it was, and had ſo knit and united *Antiochus* and the Ætolians "together, he might perceive it evidently by the ſpeeches of the Embaſſadors: for by exchanging "lies reciprocally, and by bragging of their forces which they have not, they have inflated and "puffed up one another with vain hopes, whiles they tell and would make them beleeve, That "*Philip* by them was vanquiſhed, That the Romans by their valour were protected; and other gay matters, which erewhile ye heard: building caſtles in the air, to the end, that you & other ſtates "and nations would ſide with them and take their parts: the King again (by his Embaſſadours) overſpreadeth all with clouds of horſmen and footmen, and covereth whole ſeas with fleets

and

A "and armados. Now in faith this is mine hoſt of *Chalcis* up and down, a friendly man I aſſure
"you, and a good fellow in his houſe, and one that knoweth how to entertain his gueſts and bid
"them welcome. And verily I can liken this maner of dealing to nothing better then to a ſupper
"of his: We went upon a time to make merry with him, and I remember well it was not mid-
"ſummer (when the daies are longeſt and the ſun at the hotteſt) where he made us paſſing good
"cheer. And as we wondred how at ſuch a ſeaſon of the year he met with that plenty of veniſon
"and ſuch variety withall; the man (nothing ſo vainglorious as theſe fellows here) ſmiled plea-
"ſantly upon us and ſaid, we were welcome to a feaſt of a tame ſwine and no better: but well
"fare a good cook my maſters (qd. he) who by his cunning hand, what with ſeaſoning it, and
"what with ſerving it up with divers ſauces, hath made all this fair ſhew of wild fleſh, and the
B "ſame of ſundry ſorts. This may fitly be applyed to the King his armes and forces: of which even
"now ſo great boaſt was made. For theſe divers kinds of arms, theſe many names of nations ne-
"ver heard of before, to wit, the Dakes or Daheans (I wot not what to call them) the Medes, the
"Caduſians, the Elimæans, they are but Syrians when all is done; who for their baſe minds by na-
"ture, are much better to make a ſort of ſlaves then a company of good ſouldiers. And would to
"God (you my maſters of *Achæa*) I could repreſent unto your eies the port and train of this great
"King, when he ran from *Demetrias*, one while to *Lamia* to the councell of the Ætolians, & ano-
"ther while to *Chalcis*: you ſhould ſee in the Kings camp hardly two prety legionets, & thoſe but
"lame ones neither and not well accompliſhed: you ſhould ſee the King ſometime as good as beg-
"ging grain of the Ætolians, to meaſure out among his hungry ſouldiers: otherwhiles making
"ſhift to take up monies at intereſt to make out their pay: now ſtanding at the gates of *Chalcis*,
C "and anon ſhot out from thence and excluded clean: and when he had done nothing elſe but ſeen
"*Aulis* and *Euripus*, returning fair into *Ætolia*. *Antiochus* (you ſee) hath yeelded but ſmall belief
"to the Ætolians, and the Ætolians have as litle truſted & relyed upon the vanity of the King. And
"therefore the leſſe ſhould you be deceived by them, but rather repoſe your ſelves aſſuredly in,
"the fidelity of the Romans ſo often tried, ſo often known and approved. For whereas they ſay
"It is your beſt courſe not to be embarked and intereſſed in this war, I aſſure you, there is nothing
"more vain then this, nay, nothing ſo hurtfull unto your eſtate. For you ſhall be a prize and prey
to the victor, without thank of either part, without any worth and reputation. *Quintius* was
thought by the Achæans to have ſpoken not impertinently, but to have anſwered them both, fully:
D and an eaſie matter it was to approve his ſpeech unto thoſe, that were well enough enclined to
have given him gentle hearing: for that it was no queſtion nor doubt at all, but that every man
would judge them to be friends or enemies to the Achæan nation, whom the Romans held for
theirs: yea, and would conclude in the end of an act, to denounce war both againſt *Antiochus* &
the Ætolians. Moreover, according as *Quintius* thought good, they ſent preſently an aid of 500
ſouldiers to *Chalcis*, and of as many to *Pyræum*. For at *Athens* there had like to have been a ſedi-
tion and mutiny, whiles ſome drew the multitude (which commonly is bought and ſold for mony)
to take part with *Antiochus* upon hope of large rewards and great bounties, untill ſuch time as
*Quintius* was ſent for by them that took part with the Romans: in ſo much as *Apollodorus* (who
gave counſell and perſwaded to revolt) was accuſed by one *Leon*, and being condemned, was
E baniſhed. Thus verily the embaſſage returned from the Achæans to the King with preſent anſwer.
The Bœotians delivered no certainty: this only was their anſwer, That when *Antiochus* himſelf
was come in *Bœotia*, then they would conſider and conſult what they were beſt to do.

*Antiochus* being advertiſed, that both the Achæans and King *Eumenes* alſo had ſent men for the
defence of *Chalcis*, thought good to make haſt, that his forces might not only prevent them, but
alſo if it were poſſible receive them and cut them ſhort as they came. And for this intent, he
ſent *Menippus* with three thouſand ſouldiers or thereabout, and *Polyxenidas* with his whole fleet.
Himſelf a few daies after marched with ſix thouſand of his own ſouldiers; and of that levy, which
on a ſuddain might be gathered at *Lamia*, no great number of Ætolians. Thoſe five hundred
Achæans aforeſaid, and the ſmall aid that King *Eumenes* ſent under the conduct of *Xenoclides* the
F Chalcidian, having ſafely paſſed *Euripus* before that the waies and paſſages were beſet, arrived
at *Chalcis*. The Romans alſo who were upon five hundred, at what time as *Menippus* encamped
before *Salganea*, came to *Hermeum*, where is the paſſage out of *Bœotia* into the Iland of *Eubœa*.
In their company was *Miction* ſent as Embaſſador from *Chalcis* to *Quintius*, for to crave ſome
ſuccour: who perceiving that the waies were laid and the ſtreights kept by the enemies, leaving
his intended journey by the way of *Aulis*, turned to *Delium*, minding from thence to cut over
into *Eubœa*. This *Delium* is a temple of *Apollo* ſituat upon the ſea ſtrand, and five miles diſtant
from *Tanagra*, from whence there is a ſhort cut (little more then a league) over an arm of the ſea
unto the next parts of *Eubœa*. In this Temple and ſacred grove about it, ſo religious, ſo privileg-
ed and ſecured (as are thoſe franchiſed houſes and ſanctuaries which the Greeks call *Aſyla*) and
G at that time, when neither war was proclaimed, or at leaſtwiſe not ſo far proceeded, as that in
the hearing and knowledge of any man there had been ſword drawn, or blood ſhed in any place:
In this place, and at this time, I ſay, whiles the ſouldiers wandred at their leiſure and plea-
ſure, ſome gone to ſee the temple aboveſaid and the grove, others walking upon the ſtrand
unarmed, and a great ſort alſo of them ſcattered over the fields (ſuch as were gone for forrage,
and fewell) all on a ſuddain *Menippus* finding them looſe and disbanded, charged upon them
and ſlew them, and to the number of fifty he took alive: very few eſcaped, among whom

was *Micio* who got into a smal vessel of merchandise. This occurent, as it troubled and disquieted *Quintius* and the Romans, for the losse of their souldiers, so it seemed much to encrease the right of their just quarell to make war upon *Antiochus*, *Antiochus* having advanced his army, and approached *Aulis*, after he had once again addressed Orators, partly of his own subjects, and partly Ætolians to *Chalcis*, for to follow those causes which of late he had commenced, but in more minatory terms, now prevailed easily, notwithstanding *Micio* and *Xenoclides* laboured to the contrary, that the gates should be set open unto him. All those that were for the Romans abandoned the City a little before the Kings coming. The souldiers of *Achæa* and King *Eumenes*, kept *Salganea* The Rom. souldiers also (who were but few) fortified and made a sconce upon the water of *Euripus*, to be a defence for the passage. *Menippus* began to assail *Salganea*, and the King himself to set upon the fort of *Euripus* aforesaid. The Achæans and souldiers of *Eumenes* first grew to composition, and having capitulated to depart without any harm, quit their place of garrison. The Romans held out longer, and stoutly defended the hold of *Euripus*: but even they also being so streightly invested both by land & water, and seeing now the ordnance and engins of battery, brought and ready to be planted against them, would no longer endure the siege. When as now the King had possessed himself of the City of *Eubœa*, all the other Cities of that Island, refused not to submit and come under his subjection. And he thought he had made a good beginning and entrance in this war, in that so great an Island, and so many Cities commodiously seated, and of such importance, were reduced under his obeisance.

# The six and thirtieth Book
## *Of the Histories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the six and thirtieth Book.

MArcus Acilius Glabrio *the Consul, with the aid of King* Philip, *vanquished King* Antiochus, *Lucer to* Thermopylæ, *and drave him out of* Greece. *He also subdued the Ætolians* P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, *the Consul (reputed and judged by the Senat, the best man in the City) dedicated the temple of the mother of the gods, whom himself had brought into the* Palatium. *He also when he had overcome the Boians, took them upon surrender to his protection, and triumphed over them. Over and besides, here are set down the prosperous battels fought at sea, against the admirals and captains of* King Antiochus.

## *The six and thirtieth Book of* T. Livius.

SO soon as *P. Cornelius Scipio* the son of *Cneus*, and *M. Acilius Glabrio*, the two Consuls were entred into their magistracy the LL. of the Senat enjoined them (before any speech & question moved as touching the provinces) to sacrifice greater beasts in all those temples, wherein the custom was for the more part of the year to celebrat the solemnity of Lectisterns, and to make their praiers in this maner, That whereas the Senat intended a new war, the gods would vouchsafe to blesse and happily conduct the same to the good and publick weal of the Senat and people of *Rome*. All those sacrifices proved good and as they ought to be: even the very first beasts that were slain, prognosticated fortunat successe, and shewed apparent signs that the gods were pacified and well pleased. And thus the soothsaiers and bowel-priers, out of their learning, answered, It was evident, that by this war the bounds and limits of the Roman empire should be extended, and that both victory and triumph was foresignified. These answers being reported, and mens minds setled, and their consciences resolved of all scruples as concerning the gods, then the LL. of the Senat granted out an order, that a bill should be preferred solemnly unto the people in this form; *Pleaseth it you, and is it your will, that war should be enterprized against* Antiochus, *and all that take his part? And if this bill passe and be granted, are ye pleased, that the Consuls, if they think so good, refer the whole matter unto the Senat to take order for the managing thereof accordingly? P. Cornelius* propounded this bill, and the people accepted therof. Whereupon the Senat set down a decree that the Consuls should cast lots for the government of *Italy* and *Greece*: and that he whose hap it was to govern *Greece*, should (over and above that number of souldiers, which *L. Quintius* by authority and commission from the Senat had for that province either enrolled or levied) receive that army also which *M. Bœbius* the Pretor caused to passe over the year before into *Macedony*, by vertue of an order from the Senat, in that behalf enacted. And license he had, if need so required, to take up aid-souldiers from among the allies without *Italy*, so as he exceeded not the number af five thousand. Also agreed it was, that *L. Quintius* the Consul of the year before, should be deputed lord-General for that war. As for the other Consul, unto whom had been allotted the charge of *Italy*, he was commanded to levy war against the

Boians

A Boians and to their choice, whether army he had rather have of those two which the former Consuls conducted: and when he had received one, to send the other to *Rome*, that those legions of Citizens should be in readiness for to be sent whither it pleased the Senat. This order being taken in the Senat, as touching the appointment and assignation of those provinces, then it was thought good that the new Consuls shall cast lots for their governments. To *Acilius* befel *Greece*, and *Italy* to *Cornelius*. After this by a speciall lot there passed an act of the Senat, That whereas the people of *Rome* had ordeined to wage war at that time against King *Antiochus*, and those that were under his dominion, the Consuls should cause a procession to be solemnized. Also that the Consul *M. Acilius* should conceive and make a vow to *Jupiter*, for to celebrat the great Games in his honour, and to bring offerings to every altar. This vow was by him pronounced in this form
B of words, according as *P. Licinius* the Arch-Priest endited and prompted unto him. *If that war which the people hath determined to be enterprised and made against King* Antiochus, *shall be performed according to the mind and contentment of the Senat and people of* Rome, *then shall the people of* Rome *celebrate unto thy honour*, O Jupiter, *the great Games for the space of ten daies together, and oblations shall be brought to every Altar, of that price and amounting to that sum which the Senat shall ordain and set down. And what Magistrats soever shall exhibit those Games, or in what place, yea, and at what time soever they shall be represented, the same Games shall be held for good, and reputed as well done, yea, and the offrings accepted as rightly presented.* After this, there was published and proclaimed by both Coss. a supplication for the space of 2 daies. When the Coss. had cast lots for the parting of their governments, the Pretors likewise went presently about the same for their provinces. To *M. Junius Brutus* fell both the jurisdictions, as well of
C Citizens as aliens. *A. Cornel. Mammula* had the charge of the Brutii, *M. Æmylius Lepidus* of *Sicily*, and *L. Oppius Salinator* of *Sardinia*. *C. Levius Salinator* was L. Admiral of the navy, and *L. Æmylius Paulus* governor of the nether *Spain*. And in this manner following, were the armies and forces distributed and appointed. Unto *A. Cornelius* were assigned the new souldiers which the former year *L. Quintius* the Consul, by vertue of an Act of the Senat, had enrolled. And his commission was to defend and keep in order all that tract and coast about *Tarentum* and *Brundusium*. As for *L. Æmylius Paulus*, who was to take a voiage into the farther *Spain*, he was allowed (besides the army which he was to receive of *M. Fulvius* the Pro-Pretor) to have the conduct of three thousand new souldiers footmen, and three hundred horse: so that of them, two third parts
D should consist of allies of the Latin nation, and one third of Roman Citizens. The supply was sent unto *C. Flaminius* into the higher *Spain*, whose commission was renewed for to have the command there still. *M. Æmylius Lepidus* had commandment to receive the government of the province, and withall, the conduct of the army, at the hands of *L. Valerius*, whom he was to succeed; and if he thought so good, to keep with him in the Province *L. Valerius*, in quality and and place of a Vice-Pretor: and so to divide the province, that the one part should reach from *Agrigentum* to *Pachinus*: the other half from *Pachinus* to *Tyndarium*: also, that *L. Valerius* should defend the sea-coasts and the river with a fleet of twenty Gallies. The same Pretor aforesaid was to levy and gather a double tenth of corn, and to take order for the convoy thereof to the sea, and so to be embarked and transported into *Greece*. The like commission had *L. Opimius*, to exact
E and take another tenth in *Sardinia*: but that grain was to be brought to *Rome*, and not to be carried over into *Greece*. *C. Livius* the Pretor and Admiral of the navy, was appointed with 300 sail ready rigged and trimmed, to sail into *Greece* with all speed, and to receive the ships that *Acilius* had: likewise to repair, rigge and furnish the old vessels that rid in the habors, or lay at one side up in docks. *M. Junius* the Pretor his charge was, to levy marriners and rowers from among the libertins, for to serve that Armado. And there were sent Embassadors into *Africk* to *Carthage*, and into *Numidia*, three into either part, for to seek and purvey corn to be sent into *Greece*, for which the people of *Rome* would make present payment. And so wholly imployed was the City to prepare and take order for this war, that *P. Cornelius* the Consul published an Edict, that no Senators, or any that had authority to give their opinion in the Senat, neither any inferior Magi-
F strats, should take any journey out of the City, farther then they might have return again the same day: *Item*, that there should not be five Senators absent at once from *Rome*.

*C. Livius* the Pretor, whiles he used all diligence and care to prepare and provide his fleet, was empeached and hindred a time, by occasion of a debate and contention that arose between him and the Coloners of the sea-side. For when they should be gathered and sent to sea, they appealed to the Tribunes of the Com. from whom they were put over and referred to the Senat: and the Senat with one voice and accord pronounced and determined, that these Coloners were not exempted from sea-service. The Colonies that contended with the Pretor about their immunity were these, *Hostia*, *Fregena*, *Castrum novum*, *Pyrgi*, *Antium*, *Tarracina*, *Minturnæ* and *Sinuessa*.

G This done, the Consul *Acilius* by order from the Senat, consulted with the colledg of the Feciales or Heralds at arms, and demanded their advice, Whether the war should be proclaimed and defiance given to *Antiochus* himself in person; or it were sufficient, to intimat and denounce the same to some one of his garrisons? Also whether they would advise to proclaim war against the Ætolians apart by themselves: or whether it were not meet and convenient first to disclaim and renounce their society and friendship, and then to proclaim and denounce hostility? The Fecials answered, that heretofore they had determined and cleered this point, at what time as

their

their opinon was touching *Philip*, to wit, That it was all one, and made no matter, H
whether the defiance were given him to his face, or only intimated to some garrisons of his.
And as for the Ætolians, this was their mind, that they had quit already their amity, and abandoned all society, in that when our Embassadors so oftentimes had redemanded amends for wrongs done, they never thought good to make restitution or satisfaction. Moreover, the Ætolians had themselves sent defiance first and proclaimed war against the Romans, when as by force they seized *Demetrias* a City of our allies, and advanced before *Chalcis*, to assail it both by land and sea; and lastly, in that they had sollicited King *Antiochus* and brought him into *Europe*, for to levy war against the Romans. All things now being sufficiently provided, *M. Acilius* the Consul published an edict and proclaimed, That all those souldiers whom *L. Quintius* had enrolled, likewise all those whom he had levied of the allies of the Latine nation, who were to go with him into his I
province, likewise all the Colonels and Marshals of the second and third legion, should render themselves, and be ready altogether at *Brundusium* upon the * Ides of *May* following. Himself upon the * fifth day before the Nones of the same month departed forth of the City clad in his rich coat of arms. And at the same time the Pretors also took their journies into their severall provinces.

* 15 *May*.
* 3 *May*.

Much about that time there arrived at *Rome* Embassadors from two Kings, to wit, *Philip* of *Macedony*, and *Ptolomæe* King of *Ægypt*; promising their aid of men, money, and corn for that war. And besides from *Ptolomæus* there was brought * 1000 pound weight in gold, and the weight of * 2000 pound of silver: howbeit nothing was received, but much thanks rendred to both the Kings. And whereas both of them offred to come with all their power into *Ætolia*, and to be there in person, *Ptolomæe* was discharged of that offer of his, but the Embassadors of K
*Philip* received this answer, That he should highly please and content the people of *Rome*, in case he would not fail the Consul *M. Acilius*. In like manner there came Embassadors from the Carthaginians and *Masanissa*. The Carthagiuians made promise of * a thousand Modii of Wheat, and of Barley five hundred thousand for the army, and likewise to bring half so much to *Rome*; praying the Romans to accept the same at their hands as a free gift and gratuity: adding moreover, that they would man out a fleet at their own charges, and were ready also to make one entire payment of their tribute behind, which they were of duty to pay by sundry terms of many years. The Embassadors of *Masanissa*, promised in the behalf of their King, to send five hundred thousand Modii of wheat, 300000 of barley into *Greece* to the army, besides 500 men of arms and twenty Elephants, unto *M. Acilius* the Cos. As touching the corn, this answer was returned L
unto them, that they were content to accept thereof, so that they would take money therefore to the worth. As to the fleet aforesaid, which the Carthaginians made offer of, they acquit them clean, save as many ships as they were to find and provide according to the tenor of the accord and composition between them. Last of all, concerning the tribut mony, none would they receive before the day.

*3600 pound sterling, after angel touch.
*60000 pound sterl.

* I suppose that here wanteth the multiplicant number, viz. 100 For it is not answerable to the proportion of the rest that followeth, nor to the magnificence of so great estate, to send some thirty quarters of wheat, who heretofore allowed a hundred times as much, and yet the same proportion of barley which now at this present is set down.

Whiles the affairs passed thus at *Rome*, *Antiochus* being at *Chalcis*, because he would not sit still and do nothing, all a winter time, partly himself sollicited (by sending Embassadors) the minds of the States, and partly also there came unto him Embassadors from thence of their own accord: and namely, among others, the Epirots presented themselves by the common consent of their whole nation, and the Eleans also came out of *Peloponnesus*. They of *Elis* craved aid against the M
Achæans, who (they verily thought) would take arms against their City, because war was denounced against *Antiochus* nothing to their will and good liking. Unto them were sent 1000 footmen under the leading of *Euphanes* the Cretensian. The embassage of the Epirots, plaid with both hands, meaning to deal roundly and simply with no side, but to go between the bark and the tree. Gladly they would make court to the King and curry favour with him, but so, as they stood "in good terms still with the Romans, whom they were loth to offend. For their request to him "was, that he would not draw them without great and important cause into the quarrell, consi- "dering that they for the defence of all *Greece* lay open and exposed to *Italy*, and were sure before "others to feel the Romans fingers, and receive their first assaults. But in case he were able of "himself with his forces by land and sea to defend *Epirus*, and furnish it with garrisons sufficient, N
"they would with heart and good will accept of him and his into their Cities & port-towns: but "if so be he could not effect that, they besought him not to offer them, naked and unarmed men, "to the violence of the Roman wars. Their drift was in that embassie (as it appeared) that if the King and his forces came not into *Epirus* (as they rather thought nay then yea) they might reserve themselves and all they had, safe, entire, and at their own liberty for the Roman armies, and win withall the Kings good grace in that they seemed to make an offer to deceive him: or if any came indeed, yet they might conceive good hope to find favours, and have pardon at the Romans hands, in that they had not expected their succours being so far off, but rather yeelded to the forces of *Antiochus* being present there in person. In such sort they carried themselves in their embassage so perplexed and intricat, that the King knew not well how to answer them readily: but said, that O
he would send his own Embassadors unto them for to parle and treat of all affairs perteining in common as well to them as to him. Then went he himself into *Bœotia*, which countrey in colour and shew pretended these causes of anger and spight against the Romans, that before I have mentioned, to wit, the murder of *Barcillas*, and the armies by *Quintius* levied against *Coronea*, occasioned by a massacre commited upon Roman souldiers: but in very truth this was the reason, The singular discipline and order of that nation in old time, was going downward and endlong

many

many years and ages already, and the popular government of many, grown to decay and ruin,
A which cannot possibly continue long without some change and alteration of State. Well, to *Thebes* he came, where all the principal and chief Stats of *Bœotia* came flocking from all parts to meet him: Where in the General Diet and Councell of that Nation (notwithstanding he had sounded the battell, and began the fray already by giving the first blow, in that he had forced the Roman garrison neer *Delium* and *Chalcis*, which were no small signs nor doubtfull overtures of war, yet he began with the same kind of speech he first used in the parle and conference at *Chalcis*, and which his Embassadors had followed in the general assembly of the Achæans, namely, demanding that they would enter into amity with him, without professing themselves enemies to the Romans, or pretending hostility against them. But there was no man there but soon found him and saw him well enough: howbeit there passed an act and decree in favour of the King against the
B Romans, under a vain and slight pretext and colourable shew of words. Having gained this nation also, he returned to *Chalcis*, from thence he sent out his letters before unto the States of the Ætolians, that they should meet him in *Demetrias*, where he would confer and consult with them of all their affairs to be managed; and thither came he by sea at the day appointed. *Aminander* also was sent for out of *Athamania* to this consultation, yea, and *Annibal* the Carthaginian (whose counsel was not required a long time) was present at this frequent Diet and Assembly. Much parle and great opening there was as touching the nation of the Thessalians; and all there in place were of opinion, that they should be sounded how they stood affected: but about the maner and some circumstance thereof, they were of divers minds, while some advised it to be done and executed out of hand: others thought good to put it off from winter season (considering now they were in
C the mids thereof) unto the prime and beginning of spring: others again said, that Embassadors only should be sent: and some hot-spurs there were, that gave counsell to go against them with all their forces, yea, and to fright and terrifie them if they made slow halt. Now when all the knot and difficulty of this deliberation consisteth in one point, *Annibal* was requested by name to deliver his mind and speak to the cause in question: who turned the King and all that were present from other wandring cogitations, and induced them to the entire consideration of the total war; and to this effect framed his speech in this wise. "If since the time that we passed over "into *Greece*, my hap had been to be called to any councell, when as some question was touching "*Eubœa*, the Achæans and the Bœotians, I had delivered that advice then, which now I purpose to utter this day in the question concerning the Thessalians. Above all things my counsell is, "that *Philip* and the Macedonians may by all means possible be wrought to this our association
D "in the war. For as touching *Eubœa*, the Bœotians and the Thessalians, who doubteth, but that "they (as nations that stand upon their own bottoms and are of no force by themselves) will al- "waies flatter them that are present in place, and be ready to crave pardon upon the same fear "that they ever shew when they are to take counsell and resolve? who doubteth (I say) but so "soon as they shal see the Roman army in *Greece*, they will to turn to their accustomed obedience, "and that it will be imputed to them no fault at all, that when the Romans were so far off, they "were not willing to try the force of you (a puissant Prince in person among them) or of your ar- "mies? How much rather ought we then, nay, how much better and more important would it "be, to joyn *Philip* unto us then these? For if he once enter into the cause and be seen in action, he "can not possibly start from us nor draw his head out of the collar: and moreover, he bringeth
E "that power with him, which is not to be held for a simple succour & addition to mend our forces, "but such as lately of it self without the help of others, was able to make head against the Roman "puissance. Let me have this prince on my side, and (be it spoken without offence of any man here) "what need I doubt of the sequel & issue? especially when those, by whose means & assistance the "Romans prevailed against *Philip*, I see now ready to enter the field against them? The Ætolians "(I say) who as all the world knoweth vanquished *Philip*, shall now together with *Philip*, enter "into arms and fight against them. Over and besides, *Aminander* and the whole nation of the A- "thamans (whose service in the war, next to the Ætolians, stood the Romans in best stead) shall "be on our side, *Philip* at that time (O King *Antiochus*) susteined the fight and burden of the whole "war, when you sat still and stirred not: now both of you together, two most mighty monarchs,
F "with the puissance of all *Asia* and *Europe*, shall wage war against one City and people, which (to "speak nothing of mine own fortune good or bad) certainly in our fathers daies was not able to "make their part good with one only King of the Epirots; how hardy soever they will be when "they shal be matched with you both together. But what moved me to think, yea, and assured me, "that *Philip* may be won unto us to joyn in this action? One thing is this, a common good and be- "nefit even the greatest bond that is of society: and yet there is anothers besides it, namely, an "inducement proceeding from you that be here of *Ætolia*: for *Thoas* your Embassador (who "is present in place) among other matters that he was wont to alledg for to animat & move
G "*Antiochus* to come into *Greece*, evermore assured him of this principally, and vowed that *Philip* "grumbled, bit the lip and freted, that under the colour and shew of peace, there were imposed upon him hard conditions of servitude and slavery. And he verily, I mean *Thoas*, set out the fell an- "ger of the King, and with all his words compared it to the wood rage of a wild beast bound with "chains, or being enclosed in some cage, would willingly break the gates and bars thereof. Now, if "he be disposed thus, and of that courage, let us burst his bonds asunder, let us (I say) force open "his iron cage, that his rage pent up so long may now break out upon the common enemies. And

The speech of *Annibal*.

suppose

"suppose that our embassage effect nothing at his hands, yet may we provide and take order, that H
"if we c nnot work and win him to side with our selves, yet that he shall not combine and band
"with our enemies. Your son *Seleucus* is now at *Lysimachia*, who shal not so soon with those forces
"which he hath about him, begin to invade and wast (by the way of *Thracia*) the confines of Ma-
"*cedony*, but he shal withdraw and turn *Philip* clean away (from giving succour to the Romans) to
"the defence especially of his own. Thus have you heard mine advice as touching *Philip*: now for
"the whole course and managing of the war, what mine opinion was, you have not been ignorant
"of from the first beginning. If then, I might have had mine own waies, and my counsell had been
"taken, the Romans should not have received intelligences of the taking of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*,
"nor of the forcing and winning of a little pile upon *Euripus*; but they had heard by this, that all
* *Lombardy.* "the coast of the Ligurians and of the * Cisalpine Gauls was up in arms and on a light fire of war; I
"and (which would have feared and frighted them most) that *Annibal* was in *Italy*. And (now
"things standing as they do) my advice is, that you send for all your forces both by land and sea.
"Let your carriks and hulks with victuals and provision follow after your armado & ships of war.
"For in this place, like as we are too few to perform any martiall exploits, so we are too many,
"considering our smal store of victuals. And when you rallied and united all your force together,
"divide your navy in two parts: the one you shall keep in the rode of *Corcyra*, to impeach the Ro-
"mans, that they shall not passe in safety and security, the other you shall cause to sail unto that
"coast of *Italy* which looketh toward *Sardinia* and *Africk*. Your self in proper person, with all
"your land army shall march onward into the territory of the Bylliones: thence shall ye have good
"means for the defence of *Greece*, as making the Romans beleeve, that your are upon the point K
"to pass the seas, yea, and being ready indeed to crosse over if need should require. This gene-
"rally is my counsell; mine, I say, who as I will not take upon me a singular skill in all kinds of war,
"so me thinks I should know how to war with the Romans, as having learned my skill thereby,
"as well to my cost as advantage, and as much with my good as harm, & look whatsoever design-
"ment I have projected unto you, I promise and protest, that I will be faithfull and forward in
"the execution thereof: and the gods approve and blesse that course, which your self shall think
"the best. To this effect, in a manner, was the oration of *Annibal* directed; which all that were
in place and heard it, rather praised for the present, then put in practise and effected afterwards,
For no one thing was done of all that he had said, save only *Antiochus* sent *Polyxenidas* for a navy
and army out of *Asia*; yes, there were Embassadors also dispatched to the General Diets of the L
Thessalians. And a day was appointed for the Ætolians and *Aminander* to meet the army at *Phe-
ræ*, whither King *Antiochus* came streight after with his power. And whiles he staied there, ex-
pecting *Aminander* and the Ætolians, he sent out one *Philip* a Megapolitan, with two thousand men
to gather out the bones and reliques of the Macedonians about *Cynoscephalæ*, where the war with
*Philip* was determined, and the quarrel decided by a famous battell: were it that therein he fol-
lowed his own head and took a conceit, thereby to wind himself into grace and favour with the
Macedonian Nation, and to bring the King into obloquie and disgrace, because he left his souldiers
unburied: or that, as it is the vein (or vanity rather) engraffed in Kings by kind, he set his mind
and busied his spirits in matters, for apparence gay and goodly, but in effect fond & fooliſh. There
he made a mount (as it were) of a number of bones gathered together into one place, that lay scat- M
tering and strewed here and there: a thing no doubt) that the Macedonians conned him no thank
for, and which *Philip* (you may be sure) took in foul scorn and malicious disdain. And therfore
*Philip*, who at that time minded to take counsell of Fortune, and to be directed by her, as she en-
clined now, sent to *Marcus Bœbius* the Vice-Pretor, and advertised him, how *Antiochus* invaded
*Thessalie*, and if it pleased him to stir out of his winter habour, he would meet him, that they might
confer both together what were best to be done.

While *Antiochus* lay now encamped before *Phera*, where *Aminander* and the Ætolians had
joyned with him, there came Embassadors from *Larissa*, expostulating, Wherein the Thessalians
had so offended either by deed or word, that he would molest and trouble them with war? and N
withall beseeching him to retire & withdraw his forces, and debate the matter (if he had ought a-
gainst them) by his Embassadors. At the same time they sent five hundred men in armes, well ap-
pointed, under the governance of *Hippolochus*, to lie there in garison, who because they could not
pass thither, by reason that all the avenues were seized and kept by the Kings forces, returned to
*Scotussa*. As for the Embassadors of the Larissæans, the King made them a gracious answer, and said,
That he was entred into *Thessaly*, not by way of hostility to distresse them, but in friendly man-
ner to maintain and establish the freedome of the Thessalians. Likewise he sent an Embassador to
*Phera*, to signifie so much to them and in the same terms. But the Pheræans giving him no an-
swer again, dispatched unto the King an Embassador of their own, one *Pausanias*, a principal man
of their City. Who after he had pleaded the semblable remonstrances to those, that had been O
in the like case alledged and laid forth in the behalf and name of the Chalcidians, in that Coun-
cell holden neer the streights of *Euripus*, and besides, uttered something else with more bold-
nesse and courage; the King dismissed him, after he had willed them to consider more of the
matter, and be well advised, that they took not that counsell which anon they would repent,
whiles they sought to be too wary, provident, and forcasting the future time. When this em-
bassage was related at *Phera*, the Citizens took no long time to deliberat, but soon resolved in
the maintenance of their faith and loialty to the Romans for to undergo whatsoever hazard
the

A the fortune of war ſhould preſent unto them. Whereupon both they addreſſed themſelves to defend the City with all their might, and alſo the King began to aſſault and batter the wals on all parts at once. And knowing well enough (as in truth there was no doubt) that in the iſſue of the ſiege of that City which he firſt enterpriſed, lay the whole importance and conſequence of all, either to make him deſpiſed ever after, or feared and dread of the Theſſalians, therefore he terrified the beſieged inhabitants, on every ſide, and by all means poſſible that he could deviſe. The firſt aſſault they ſuſtained ſtoutly and manfully; but afterwards ſeeing many of the defendants were either overturned and ſlain, or grievouſly hurt and wounded, their hearts began to quail: yet reclaimed by the rebukes and chaſtiſements of their captains and leaders, and animated by their effectuall exhortations, to perſiſt ſtill in their purpoſe and reſolution, they quit the utmoſt compaſs
B of their wall (ſeeing a what default they were for want of men) and retired themſelves more inward into the City, into one part thereof, which was ſtrongly fortified with a mure and leſs circuit and compaſs then the other. At the length, overcome with travell and calamities, and fearing that if they were forced and taken by aſſault, they ſhould find no mercy nor pardon with the conqueror, they yeelded themſelves. The King following the train of victory, delaied no time, but whiles the fright was freſh, ſent four thouſand armed men preſently to *Scotuſa*, where the townſmen made no ſtay, but rendred the town and themſelves incontinently, having before their eies the freſh bleeding example of the Pheræans, who tamed by mere force and wofull miſeries, were compelled to do that at laſt which they obſtinatly refuſed at the firſt. Together with the City it ſelf was ſurrendred alſo *Hippolochus* and the Lariſsæan garriſon under his hand. All of
C them the King ſent away without any hurt or violence offred unto their perſons: for he thought therby to win the hearts and love of the Lariſsæans. Having accompliſhed theſe exploits within ten daies after his firſt coming to *Pheræ*, he marched towards *Crano* with all his army, and at his firſt coming won it. Then he regained and ſeized *Cyphera* and *Metropolis*, and the borroughs & forts about them: ſo as now all thoſe quarters were ſubdued and put under his ſubjection, except *Atrax* and *Gyrto*. Then he determined to aſſail *Lariſſa*, ſuppoſing, that either upon the fearfull terrour of other Cities forced, or in regard of his demerit in diſmiſſing the garriſon ſo courteouſly, or by the preſent example of ſo many Cities yeelded unto him, they would not long perſiſt in
D their obſtinacy. And for to terrifie them the more, he commanded the elephants to march in the forefront of the vanguard, and approached himſelf in a ſquare battell, with four ſides, in ſuch ſort as the hearts of many of the Lariſsæans waved in doubtfull ſuſpence, between forced fear of preſent enemies, and kind regard of abſent friends.

In this time *Aminander*, with the whole youth and manhood of the Athamans, became maſter of *Pelinæum*. *Menippus* alſo with three thouſand Ætolian footmen and two hundred horſe went to *Perrhæbia*, won *Mallæa* and *Cyretiæ* by aſſault, and waſted the territory of *Tripolis*. Having performed theſe exploits with great expedition, and celerity, they returned to *Lariſſa* unto the King, and arrived even then when as the King was in conſultation what to do with *Lariſſa*: for the councell was divided into diverſe opinions. Some thought it good to proceed forcibly, and not to defer and aſſail the Cities wals with fabricks and engins of battery on all ſides at once: alledging that the town being ſituated in a plain towards the champain field ſide, might be ap-
E proached unto with eaſe and inveſted every way. Others again inferred one while, that there was no compariſon between the ſtrength of this City and of *Pheræ*: otherwhile that it was now winter time, and a ſeaſon of the year far unfit for warlike executions, and moſt of all other for the ſiege and aſſault of Cities. As the King thus hung in the equall ballance of hope and deſpair, the Embaſſadors of *Pharſalus* arrived, who, as good hap was, being come to ſurrender up their town, revived his ſpirits and mightily comforted his heart.

*M. Bœbius* in this mean while having parlied and conferred with *Philip* in the Daſſaretians countrey, ſent *Appius Claudius* by the common advice of them both, to the ſuccour and defence of *Lariſſa*; who paſſed through *Macedony*, and by long journies came to the top of thoſe hills that command *Gonni*. Now this *Gonni* is a town twenty miles diſtant from *Lariſſa*, ſeated juſt
F in the very ſtreights of that forreſt and paſſe called *Tempe*; who having taken up a larger circuit of ground to encamp in, then was proportionable to his number, and made more fires in ſhew then need was for that company, gave ſemblance unto the enemie (which was the thing he aimed at) that all the Roman forces were there, together with King *Philip*. King *Antiochus* therefore pretending unto his army, that the unſeaſonable winter that approached, after he had ſtayed one only day before *Lariſſa*, diſlodged, and thence departed, and ſo returned to *Demetrias*. The Ætolians likewiſe and Athamanians repaired to their own countries.

*Appius*, albeit he ſaw that the ſiege was levied (which was the only cauſe of his coming) yet down he went to *Lariſſa* to encourage and confirm the hearts of the allies againſt the time to come. And a two-fold joy there was, both becauſe the enemies were gone and had quit their coun-
G try, and alſo for that they ſaw the Roman garriſon within their wals. King *Antiochus* departed from *Demetrias* to *Chalcis*, where he fell in fancy and love with a damſell of that City, daughter of *Cleoptolemus* a Chalcidian. Now after he made means to the maidens father firſt by interceſſion of meſſengers and mediators, and after by importuning him in his own perſon with earneſt requeſts by word of mouth (who was very loth and unwilling to entangle & tie himſelf, in matching her ſo high above his own calling) at length ſo overcame the man, that he obteined his deſire: and as if it had been a time of ſetled and confirmed peace, he proceeded to conſummate and celebrat

brat the marriage. And forgetting clean, how at one time he had undertaken the charge of two affairs ſo important, to wit, the war with the Romans, and the deliverance of *Greece*, he paſſed away the reſt of the winter in feaſts and bankets, and in thoſe delights and pleaſures, which ordinarily (you wot well) follow upon the liberall drinking of wine; yea, and when he had thereby rather wearied his body then fulfilled his appetite, he gave himſelf to ſleep without compaſſe. The like riot and looſe life took hold of the reſt of the Kings captains, by example in all places, but in *Bœotia* eſpecially, ſuch as commanded the garriſons. Nay, the very ſouldiers were let looſe and given over to take voluptuous waies, and not one of them would put on armor, keep the watch, attend the guard, or do any thing pertaining to the duty and charge of a ſouldier. And therefore at the beginning of the ſpring, when he was come by *Phocis* and *Cheronea* to the *Rendez-vous*, where he had appointed from all parts his forces to meet, he ſoon perceived that the ſouldiers had ſpent the winter as licentiouſly as their leaders, and kept no better order and ſtreighter diſcipline. Then he commanded *Alexander* the Acarnanian, and *Menippus* the Macedonian, to lead the army to *Stratus*, a town in *Ætolia*. Himſelf having done ſacrifice at *Delphi* to the honour of *Apollo* went forward to *Naupactum*. And after the Diet holden of all the States of *Ætolia*, in the way which leadeth to *Stratus*, along by *Chalcis* and *Lyſimachia*, he encountred his own forces aforeſaid, that came by the gulf of *Malea*. Where *Mneſilochus*, a Principal Acarnanian, but wrought and bought with many gifts and preſents, not only himſelf won that nation to take part, & to ſide with the King, but alſo had drawn to his own mind and affection *Clitus* their Pretor, who at that time had the ſoveraign rule there, and might do all in all. He ſeeing that the Leucadians (who are the chief of all the Acarnanians) could not be eaſily induced nor brought to revolt, for the awe wherein they ſtood of the Roman fleet, which either was with *Attilius*, or about *Cephalenia*, went cunningly to work with them. For having delivered his opinion in their generall Councell, that the inland parts of *Acarnania* were to be well guarded and defended; and that as many as were able to bear arms ſhould go forth to *Medio* and *Tyrrheum*, for fear thoſe places ſhould be ſeized by *Antiochus* and the Ætolians: there were again ſome who made anſwer and ſaid, how there was no ſuch need that all ſhould be raiſed and levied ſo tumultuouſly in haſt; for a garriſon of five hundred men was ſufficient. And when he had obteined that number of young & able men, he placed three hundred of them in garriſon at *Medio*, and two hundred at *Tyrrheum*: his reach and drift was to have them put into the Kings hands for hoſtages. And even at that time arrived the Kings Embaſſadors at *Medio*, whoſe embaſſage being heard, they laid their heads together and conſulted in the publick aſſembly what anſwer to return unto the King. Some were of opinion to continue ſtill in the Roman ſociety: others were of advice again, that the Kings offer of amity was not to be rejected. The counſell of *Clytus* was mean and indifferent between both, and therefore accepted, to wit, that they ſhould addreſſe the Embaſſadors to the King, to intreat him that he would permit them to take a day of deliberation upon a matter of ſuch conſequence in a full Diet of the Acarnanians. In this Embaſſage *Mneſilochus*, and thoſe of his faction were employed of ſet purpoſe: who having diſpatched meſſengers covertly to King, to advertiſe him to approach the town with his forces, triſled out the time themſelves, and made no haſt to ſet forward in their embaſſie. Whereupon theſe Embaſſadors were ſcarcely gone forth of the City, when *Antiochus* was entred the borders, and anon ſhewed himſelf hard at the gates. And whiles they that wiſt nothing of this treaſon were affrighted, and in great trouble and turmoil, called the youth haſtily to arm, he was by *Clytus* and *Mneſilochus* let into the City. Some willingly of themſelves came running about the King: thoſe alſo that were of the adverſe part, for very fear joyned with him. Whom he ſeeing to be afraid and terrified, he entertained with gracious words, and ſo gently handled them, that in hope of his clemency ſo much divulged and ſpoken of abroad, certain States of *Acarnania* revolted and turned unto him. Then from *Medio* he went to *Tyrrheum*, unto which place he had ſent *Mneſilochus* and his Embaſſadors aforehand. But the treachery and deceit at *Medio* being diſcovered, made the Tyrrheans more wary and carefull then otherwiſe fearfull, who made him this plain direct anſwer without any double ambiguity, that they would admit of no new alliance, without the advice and authority of the Roman Generals: ſo they ſhut their gates, and diſpoſed armed men upon their wals. Now it fell out very fitly and happily for confirming and encouraging the hearts of the Acarnanians, that *Cn. Octavius* ſent by *Quintius*, having received a garriſon and ſome few ſhips of *A. Poſthumius*, who by *Attilius* the Lieutenant had been appointed Governour of *Cephalenia*, was come to *Leucas*, and and much comforted the Allies, and put them in good hope, who alſo gave them to underſtand, that *M. Acilius* the Conſul had already paſſed the ſeas with his legions, and the Romans were encamped in *Theſſaly*. And for as much as this bruit carried a great likelihood of truth, by reaſon that the ſeaſon of the year ſerved now for navigation, the King after he had planted a garriſon at *Medio* and in other towns of *Acarnania*, departed from *Tyrrheum*, and paſſing through the Cities of *Ætolia* and *Phocis*, returned to *Chalcis*.

Much about the time *M. Bœvius* and King *Philip*, who had communed and deviſed together before (during the winter) in the Daſſaretians country, having ſent *Appius Claudius* into *Theſſaly*, for to raiſe the ſiege before *Lariſſa*: and becauſe the ſeaſon then was unmeet and too ſoon for execution of any exploit, were retired to their wintring harbours, now in the beginning of the Spring joyned all their forces together and came down into *Theſſaly*. (Now at that time was *Antiochus* in *Acarnania*.) And at their firſt coming, *Philip* began to lay ſiege unto

*Malea*

A *Mallæa*, and *Bœbius* to *Phacium*: which when he had forced in manner at the firſt aſſault, he won *Pheſtius* alſo with like expedition. From whence having retired himſelf to *Atrax*, he took *Chyretias*, and ſo conſequently ſurpriſed *Eritium*, and after he had planted garriſons in theſe towns that he had thus recovered, he joyned with *Philip* again lying in nege before *Mallæa*. Upon the very coming of the Roman army, when the townſmen had yielded themſelves either for fear of forces, or for hope of pardon, they marched joyntly together with one army to recover thoſe towns whereof the Athamans were ſeized: to wit, *Ægitium*, *Ericinium*, *Gomphi*, *Silane*, *Tricca*, *Melibœa*, and *Pholoria*: After this, they inveſted *Pelinæum*, where *Philip* the Megapolitan lay in garriſon with five hundred foot and forty horſe: but before they gave the aſſault, they ſent a trumpet to *Philip* to give him warning, that he ſhould not adventure to try the utmoſt hazard. But he re-
B turned this anſwer again right ſtoutly unto them, that he would be content to commit himſelf to the Romans or the Theſſalians, he paſſed not whether, but put his life and eſtate into the hands of King *Philip* he never would. Now when it appeared that they were to proceed by force, and for that it ſeemed that *Limnæa* alſo at the ſame time might be aſſaulted, it was thought expedient that the King ſhould go to *Limnæa*, and *Bœbius* ſtaid ſtill to batter and force the town of *Pellineum*.

It fortuned at the ſame time that *M. Acilius* the Cof. having paſſed the ſeas with a power of 10000 foot, and 2000 horſe and fifteen Elephants, commanded certain choſen Colonels of foot-
C men to conduct all the Infantry to *Lariſſa*, whiles himſelf with the Cavalry came to King *Philip* before *Limnæa*. At the coming of the Conſul the town was yielded incontinently: the Kings garriſon was delivered, and the Athamanians withall. Then the Conſul went from *Limnæa* to *Pellinæum*, where the Athamans yielded firſt: and afterwards *Philip* alſo the Megapolitan rendred himſelf. And as he came down from the fort, *Philip* the King chanced to meet with him, and in ſcorn and deriſion commanded his men to ſalute him with the ſtile of King, and himſelf alſo by way of mockage came cloſe unto him, and greeting him by the name of brother *Philip*, ſcoffing and jeſting in broad terms, far unfitting, I wot, his royall Majeſty. Then was he brought before the Cof. and put in ward, and not long after ſent bound to *Rome*. All the multitude beſides of the Athamanians, as alſo of King *Antiochus* his ſouldiers, which were within the garriſons of thoſe towns
D that were ſurrendred about that time were delivered unto *Philip*, who amounted to the number of 3000. The Conſul departed to *Lariſſa* to conſult and take advice for the generall courſe of the whole war. And in his way there met him Embaſſadors from *Pieria* and *Metropolis*, for to render their Cities. *Philip* having courteouſly and lovingly intreated above all other the priſoners of the Athamanians, that by their means he might win the grace and favour of that nation, and conceived ſome hope to conquer *Athamania*, led his army thither, and ſent his captives aforehand into their ſeverall Cities. Now they were of great account and reputation among their countrimen, and withall made report of the King his clemency toward them, and how liberally and bountifully beſides he uſed them: And *Aminander* verily, whoſe preſence and majeſty had kept ſome of them in allegeance, fearing leſt he ſhould be delivered into the hands of *Philip* (who long time had been his mortall enemy;) and unto the Romans, whom he knew to have juſt cauſe at that time
E to be offended with him for his revolt, departed out of his own Realm with his wife and children, and retired himſelf to *Ambracia*. Thus all *Athamania* became ſubject to King *Philip*, and at his pleaſure.

The Conſul ſojourned certain daies at *Lariſſa*, eſpecially for to refreſh his beaſts, which firſt had been ſea-ſick, and afterwards were tired with long travel; and thus when he had renewed, as it were, and repaired his army with a little reſt and repoſe, he marched to *Crato*. At his coming thither, theſe towns, to wit, *Pharſalus*, *Scotuſſa*, and *Phera*, together with King *Antiochus* his garriſons that lay there, were yielded up unto him. And having put unto their choice, either to be
F gone or tarry ſtill with him: as many of them as he ſaw willing (and thoſe were about a thouſand) he delivered unto King *Philip*; the reſt he ſent back diſarmed to *Demetrias*. Then he regained *Proerna* and the fortreſſes and piles there about it. Then began he to conduct forward his army toward the gulph of *Malea*: and when he approached the ſtraights upon which the town *Thaumaci* is ſituate, all the flower of the youth in their armour quit the City, and put themſelves in ambuſh about the woods and paſſages, and from the higher ground charged upon the Romans in their march. The Conſul at the firſt ſent certain unto them, to parl near at hand with them, and to ſee if they could ſcare them from ſuch deſperate outrage: but perceiving that they perſiſted ſtill as they began, he commanded a Colonel with two enſigns of ſouldiers to fetch a compaſs about, in ſuch ſort, that he got between thoſe armed men and the town, and kept them from entrance; whereby he poſſeſſed himſelf of the City, being void of defendants. They they that lay in the for-
G reſt in ambuſh, hearing an outcry behind their backs of the town taken, fled backward out of all parts of the wood, and fell upon the ſword. The Conſul then departed from *Thaumaci*, and the ſecond day came as far as the river *Sperchius*, and ſo forward unto the territory of the *Hypataans*, which he ſpoiled.

During the time of theſe occurrents, *Antiochus* lay at *Chalcis*, who by this time ſeeing that he had gotten in *Greece*, but the pleaſure of one wintring, ſpent ſo deliciouſly in *Chalcis*, and a diſhonourable marriage; began to blame the Ætolians for their vain promiſes, and eſpecially *Thoas*; but *Annibal* he had in great admiration, reputing him not only for a ſage and prudent man, but alſo for a true Propher, who foretold him of all things that then were come to paſs: howbeit for

ſear that his cold ſlackneſs might not overthrow that quite, which his raſh ſolly had begun and enterpriſed, he ſent out his courriers into *Ætolia*, to give them warning to levy all their youth and aſſemble them together; and himſelf for his own part had brought thither almoſt 10000 footmen, who were made up full and furniſhed by them that after came out of *Aſia*, and 500 horſemen beſides. To this place perceiving that there repaired ſmaller numbers by many degrees than ever at any time before, and that they were but the Nobles only and ſome few of their vaſſalls, who proteſted, that they had done their endeavor to levy out of their Cities as many as poſſibly they could: but neither by authority, nor for love and favour, nor yet with abſolute command were they able to prevail or do any good with them that refuſed warfare:) and ſeeing himſelf thus forſaken on all ſides, as well of his own ſubjects who dragged behind in *Aſia*, as of his allies who performed not thoſe matters, in the hope whereof they had called him to aſſiſt them, I he withdrew himſelf within the ſtraights of *Thermopylæ*.

This mountain divideth *Greece* in the very middle, like as *Italy* is parted in twain by the ridge of the *Appennine*. On the fore-part of this ſtraight and forreſt of *Thermopylæ* toward the North lyeth *Epirus* and *Perrhæbia*, *Magneſia* and *Theſſaly*, alſo the Phthiotæ of *Achæa*, and the gulph *Malea*: but more ſouthward is diſcovered the greateſt part of *Ætolia* and *Acarnania*, *Phocis*, *Locris*, and *Baotia*, together with the Iſland *Eubœa* joyning cloſe thereto: behind it is ſituate the country of *Attica* running into the ſea like a promontory, and beſides it *Peloponneſus*. This mountain taking his beginning at *Leucas* and the Ponant or Weſtern ſea, reacheth through *Ætolia* to the Levant or Eaſterly Ocean, and is ſo full of rocks and rough crags betwen, that no whole armies, no, nor ſo much as ſingle travellers lightly appointed, can find but hardly and with much ado K the waies and paths to paſs through: the utmoſt brows and the hils of this mountain bending toward the eaſt they call *Oeta*; and the higheſt pitch and knop thereof, is called *Callidromos*; at the foot whereof lyeth the valley leading toward the gulph of *Malea*, wherein the plain is not above threeſcore paces broad. And this is the only high and port-way by which an army may march, if it be not otherwiſe empeached. And hereupon it is, that the paſſage is called * *Pylæ*: and of ſome (becauſe there are found therein certain natural hot waters or bains) *Thermopylæ*: even that very place which is ſo famous and renowned for the memorable death of the Lacedæmonians, more than for any worthy battell againſt the Perſians. Here lay encamped *Antiochus* at this preſent (carrying nothing that mind nor reſolution as thoſe Lacedæmonians did) within the gates as it were of the ſtraights, where he encloſed and ſtopped the paſſage beſides, with ſtrong defences: And L when he had caſt a double rampire and trench, yea and raiſed a mure and wall where need was (which to do the place afforded him great plenty of ſtone lying every where) and had made all ſure: preſuming confidently that the Roman army would never venture nor be able to break through thoſe barricadoes that way: he ſent of thoſe 4000 Ætolians (for ſo many were met together) ſome to keep a garriſon in *Heraclea*, ſituate even before the very gullet and ſtreight; and others to *Hypata*: for that he made no doubt but the Conſul would aſſail *Heraclea*, and many poſts brought word, that all about *Hypata* was already waſted.

* i.e. *Gales.*

Now the Conſul having ſpoiled the territory of *Hypata* firſt, and then of *Heraclea*, (where the Ætolians aids did no good and ſerved to no purpoſe in the one place or the other) pitched his camp over-againſt the King, even in the very mouth of the gullet, near the fountains of the hot M waters aforeſaid: both thoſe regiments above-named of the Ætolians were got within the town *Heraclea*, and there kept themſelves ſure. *Antiochus*, who before he ſaw his enemies, thought all was faſt enough and ſufficiently fenced, began then to fear leſt the Roman ſouldiers would find out ſome privy paths and waies, thereby they might paſs and get over thoſe high hils that commanded his camp: for a rumour ran, that the Lacedæmonians in times paſt were ſo encloſed by the Perſians, and of late daies alſo King *Philip* was likewiſe compaſſed and environed by theſe very ſame Romans. Whereupon he diſpatched a meſſenger to the Ætolians in *Heraclea*, willing them to do him thus much ſervice yet in theſe his wars, as to ſeize the tops of thoſe hils and to keep them that the Romans might have no paſſage that way. Upon this meſſage received there aroſe ſome diſſention among the Ætolians. Some were of mind to obey the King his will and N commandment and to go accordingly; but others thought better to tarry ſtill at *Heraclea*, to attend upon fortune and ſee what would happen: to the end, that if the King ſhould chance to be vanquiſhed by the Conſul, they might have in readineſs their forces freſh and in heart, to ſuccour and aid their own Cities near at hand; or if his luck were to defeat the Conſul then they might follow the Romans in chaſe, when they were disbanded and ſcattered aſunder. Both parts, thus divided as they were, not only perſiſted ſtill in their ſeverall deſignments, but alſo put the ſame in execution by themſelves. For two thouſand of them remained at *Heraclea*; the other two thouſand parted themſelves three waies, namely, to *Callidromos*, to *Rhoduntia*, and *Tichius*, (theſe are the names of three principall high hills;) and each company took and held one. The Conſul when he ſaw that the Ætolians were poſſeſſed of theſe higher places, ſent *M. Porcius Cato* and O *L. Valerius Flaccus*, two of his Lieutenants (who both had been Conſuls) with two thouſand choſen men againſt theſe holds of the Ætolians, to wit, *Flaccus* againſt *Rhoduntia* and *Tichius*, and *Cato* againſt *Callidromos*: himſelf before that he advanced his battell againſt his enemies, made a brief ſpeech unto his ſouldiers in this manner: "My ſouldiers, I ſee that the moſt part "of you even of every quality and degree, are they that in this very Province ſometime ſerved "under the conduct, charge, and government of *T. Quintius* in the Macedonian war. The ſtraights

of

A "of that passage then, near the river *Aous*, were far more difficult to gain and get over, than this "is; for here are very gates, yea, and one natural way (as it were) to pass through, as if all else "were stopped up between two seas. There were more stronger defences and sconces against them "at that time, and those planted in places more convenient and commodious. The army of the e-"nemies then, was both for number greater & for men & souldiers much better; for therein were "the Macedonians the Thracians, and the Illyrians, all most fierce and warlike nations: in this are "Syrians and Asiatick Greeks, or half Asians, the vainest kind of people of all others, and born to
"serve. The King there, namely *Philip* a most noble warrior exercised and inured ever from his "youth in the neighbour-wars of the Thracians and Illyrians, & all the nations bordering upon
"him: but this *Antiochus* (to say nothing of all his life besides) is he, who being come out of *Asia*
B "into *Europe*, for to make war upon the people of *Rome*, hath done all the long winter time no-"thing more memorable than this, That for to please his wanton lust he hath taken to wife the "daughter of a privat person; a man (I say) of low degree and base quality among other Citizens: "& this new married man, fed fat and franked (as I may so say) with dainty suppers & delicat bride-"bankets, is come forth (forsooth) to fight a battell. His whole strength and all his hope hath been "in the Ætolians, a people of all others most vain, unconstant, and unthankfull, as ye have tried "heretofore, and *Antiochus* findeth true at this present. For neither assembled they in great num-"ber, nor possible was it to keep them together in the camp: nay, which more is, they mutine a-"mong themselves, and having demanded and required the guard of *Hypata* and *Heraclea*, they
"have defended neither the one nor the other. Some of them are fled to the tops of the moun-
C "tains; others have shut themselves within *Heraclea*. The King himself hath confessed plainly,
"that he was never so hardy as to meet in plain field and affront the enemy, no, nor so much as to "pitch his camp in open ground; in that abandoning all that country before him which he vaun-"ted and bragged that he had taken from us and *Philip*, he hath hidden himself among the rocks. "He hath not encamped before the entrance of the gullet and straights (as the fame goeth of the "Lacedæmonians in times past) but pitched his tents far within. And to bewray his cowardly "fear, What difference is there between so doing, and hoising himself within the walls of some "City for to be beseged? But neither shall those narrow straights save him no more than those "steep hills defend the Ætolians, which they have seized. This one thing hath been forecast and "provided for on all sides, that ye shall have nothing to make head against, but your enemies,
D "Now must ye resolve upon this point, That ye fight not only for the liberty of *Greece* (and "yet even this also were a brave and honourable title, to be said for to deliver the same now out "of the hands of *Antiochus* and the Ætolians, which before you freed from King *Philip*) nor "that ye shall have no other reward and recompence for your pains, but that which we shall find "now in the Kings camp, but also that the great provision and furniture which daily is expected "from *Ephesus*, shall be your prize and booty, and that ye shall hereafter make a way for the Ro-"man Empire into *Asia*, *Syria*, and all those most wealthy and rich Realms, even as far as to the "Levant sun. And what shall let us then, but that from *Gades* to the red sea we bound and limit
"our state and Dominion, even with the very Ocean that environeth and compasseth the round "globe of the earth? What shall hinder us, I say, but that all the nations of the world shall ho-
E "nour and worship the Roman name next unto the immortall gods? Prepare your hearts there-"fore and courages answerable to so high rewards, that with the leave and help of the gods we "may to morrow fight a field. After this speech the assembly brake up, and the souldiers being dismissed, made ready their armor and weapons, before they took repast or repose. And in the morning, by dawning of the day, the Consul put out the signall of battell, and set his army in array, with a narrow and pointed front, according to the nature and straightness of the place. The King seeing the ensigns of his enemies, led forth his forces likewise. Part of his light armours he planted before the rampier and trench in the forefront, then he placed the flower and strength of the Macedonians, whom they call *Sarissophori*, *i.e.* Pikemen, for the surety and safeguard of his defences and fortifications. And to flank these on the left side, he put the archers, the flingers of darts,
F and slingers of stones, hard upon the foot of the hill, that from the higher ground they might assail and pelt the naked sides of the enemies. On the right flank of these Macedonians at the very edge and point of the mures and defences, which as they were enclosed and mounded with those places which reach to the sea, and are unpassable by reason of the bogs, muddy marshes, quagmires, and quicksands, he set the Elephants with their ordinary and usuall guard. After them his horsemen and men of arms. Then leaving an indifferent space between, he ranged the rest of his forces in the second ward or middle battaillon. The Macedonians who were bestowed before the camp and the trench, at the first sustained the Romans easily enough (who assaied on every side to make an entry) for much help they had of them, who from the upper ground weighed bullets out of their slings, as thick as an hail storm, who lanched darts also, and shot arrows besides. But
G when as afterwards greater numbers of enemies pressed upon them, and charged them with such violence as possibly might not be endured, they gave ground, and retired within their fortifications, keeping yet their array and their ranks whole. And then from the rampier they made (as it were) another pallisado with their long pikes that they held out afore them. Now the height of their camp-mure was so reasonable, that as it afforded some rise and vantage of ground for their own men to fight upon it, so by reason of the length of their spears, they might reach the enemy under them. Insomuch as many of the Romans approaching rashly, and venturing to clamber up,

were run clean through: and either they had given over and done nothing, or elſe more of them H
had died for it, but that *M. Porcius Cato* having beaten from the top of *Callidromus* the Ætolians, and ſlain a great part of them (for he ſurpriſed them ſuddenly at unawares, and moſt of them faſt aſleep) appeared upon the hill that commandeth the camp. *Flaccus* ſped not ſo well at *Tichius* and *Rhodiuntia*, who laboured to get up thoſe cliffs and holds, but to no purpoſe. The Macedonians and the reſt that were in the Kings hoſt and camp, at firſt, when they deſcried afar off nothing but a multitude and number marching, imagined verily, that they were the Ætolians, who having diſcovered the battell and fight a good way off were coming to aid them. But ſo ſoon as they beheld and diſcerned near at hand the enſignes and armour of the Romans, they took themſelves in their own errour, and were upon a ſudden ſtrucken with ſuch fear, that they all flung their weapons away, and fled. But both their fortifications and defences in the way, & alſo the narrow- I
neſs of the vale through which they were to be purſued, hindred the Romans in following the chaſe. And the Elephants above all which were in the rereward took up the ground ſo, as that the footmen could hardly paſs by them, and the horſemen by no means poſſible; ſo affrighted were the horſes, and cauſed more trouble and diſorder among themſelves, than they did during the battell. Beſides the Romans ſtaid ſometime behind, whiles they rifled and ranſacked the camp. Howbeit, they had the enemy in chaſe that day as far as *Lylæum*, killing and taking in the very way, not only many horſes and men, but alſo ſlaying the Elephants which they could not take alive; which done, they returned to their own camp, which that day had been aſſailed by the Ætolians, who were of the garriſon of *Heraclea*; but that enterpriſe, as it was exceeding bold and audacious, ſo it took no effect at all. The Conſul having at the reliefe of the third watch the night K
enſuing ſent before his Cavalry to purſue the enemy, advanced likewiſe the enſigns of his legions forward by break of day. The King by this time had won ſome ground, and got a good way before; for he never gave over galloping with bridle in horſe neck, untill he had recovered *Elatia*. Where firſt he gathered together the broken ends of his army thus diſperſed in flight, and ſo having rallied a ſmall and poor troop of ſouldiers, and the ſame armed by the halfs, he retired to *Chalcis*. The Roman Cavalry was not able to overtake the King himſelf at *Elatia*, but overthrew and cut off a great part of his army, which either for wearineſs reſted themſelves dragging behind, or elſe were ſcattered one from the other, as miſſing their way in thoſe unknown quarters, going as they did without their guids: and ſetting aſide five hundred which kept about the King, there was not one that eſcaped of the whole army. Which was but a ſmall number in proportion L
of 10000, (if they were no more) for ſo many (according to *Polybius*) we have written that the King conducted over with him for his part into *Greece*. What were they then to that great power, which (if we beleeve *Valerius Antias*) came with the King, for he writeth that he had in his hoſt threeſcore thouſand, and that forty thouſand were ſlain of them, and above five thouſand taken priſoners, with the loſs of military enſigns two hundred and thirty. Of Romans there died in all a hundred and fifty.

As the Conſul marched with his army through *Phocis* and *Bœotia*, the States and Cities which were privy to the revolt, and partly culpable, ſtood without their gates with their inſules and veils in token of peace, and craved mercy, fearing they ſhould have been pilled and ranſacked as enemies. But his hoſt journeyed every day as in a peaceable and friend-country, doing no hurt or M
wrong to any earthly creature, untill they were come into the territory of *Corona*: where the Statue or Image of *Antiochus* erected in the Temple of *Minerva Ionea* kindled their choler, and the ſouldiers were permitted to ſpoil the country lying about that Temple. But bethinking themſelves that (conſidering the ſaid Statue was ſet up with the publike conſent of all *Bœotia*) it was an indignity to deal ſo hardly with that territory only of *Corona*, the ſouldiers were immediatly called in and reclaimed, and ſo they ceaſed the waſting and ſpoiling thereof. The Bœotians only had a check and rebuke by words for carrying ſo unthankfull hearts to the Romans, of whom they had ſo lately received ſuch high favours and benefits.

At the very time of the battell aforeſaid, there rode at anchor ten ſhips of the Kings, in the gulph of *Malea* near to *Thronium*, under the charge and conduct of *Iſidorus*. To which place *Alexander* the Acarnanian, being fled from the conflict, freſh bleeding and full of grievous wounds, brought news of the unfortunat fight. Wherupon the ſhips in great fear for this late terrour, made haſte and away to *Ceneum* in *Eubœa*, where *Alexander* died, and was interred. But three other ſhips which were come out of *Aſia*, and lay in the ſame rode, upon the news of the defeat of the army returned to *Epheſus*. And *Iſidorus* croſſed the ſeas from *Ceneum* to *Demetrias*, if peradventure the King were fled thither. About that very time, *A. Attilius* the Admiral of the Roman navy intercepted and ſurpriſed great ſtore of the Kings proviſions, which had paſſed already the ſtraights near the Iſland *Andros*. Some ſhips he ſunk, others he boorded and took: as for thoſe that came hindmoſt in the rereward, they turned ſail, and ſhaped their courſe into *Aſia*. *Attilius* being returned to *Pyræum* (from whence he came) with a fleet of ſhips taken from the enemies, divided great O
ſtore of corn both among the Athenians, and other allies alſo of that country.

*Antiochus* ſomewhat before the Conſul his coming, looſed from *Chalcis*, and firſt fell with the Iſland *Tenus*, and afterwards ſailed to *Epheſus*. Againſt the Conſul his arrivall at *Chalcis* the gates were ſet open for him, and *Ariſtotle* the Captain there for the King, quit the place upon the approachment of the Conſul. In like manner other Cities in *Eubœa* yielded without reſiſtance. And ſo within few dates (when all troubles were appeaſed and ſet in quiet order without the hurt and

damage

A damage of any one City) the army was brought back to *Thermopylæ*, and wan much more honour and commendation for the modesty used after victory, than for the victory it self.

From thence the Consul dispatched *M. Cato* to *Rome*, by whose certain and sure relation the Senat and people might have full knowledge of all the affairs that had passed. Who taking sea at *Creusa* (a port town of Merchandise standing within the inmost gulph of *Corinth*) arrived at *Patræ*, a City in *Achæa*. From *Patræ*, he coasted along the rivers of *Ætolia* and *Acarnania*, as far as *Corphu*, and so cut over to * *Hydruntum* in *Italy*, from whence he travelled by land, and in exceeding great haste within five daies came to *Rome*. Early in the morning before day light he entred the City, and from the gate rode directly to *M. Junius* the Prætor, who assembled the Senat betimes by the break of day: and thither, *L. Cornelius Scipio* (who some daies before had been dismissed B and sent away from the camp by the Consul) hearing at his first coming that *Cato* was got before him, and in the Senat repaired, even as he was relating the news. Then these two Lieutenants by the commandment of the Senat were presented in the generall assembly of the people, where they declared the same which they had done before in the Senat house, as touching the deeds atchieved in *Ætolia*. And ordained it was, that a solemn procession for three daies should be holden, and that the Prætor should sacrifice forty head of greater beasts, in the honour of what gods he would himself.

* Otranto

And at the same time *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, who two yers before went as Prætor into the farther *Spain*, entred the City in pomp of an Ovation, or petty triumph. He caused to be born before him of silver bigats 130000. And besides that, silver in coin and ready money, 12000 pound C weight. Also in gold the weight of 127 pound. *Acilius* the Consul sent certain messengers from *Thermopylæ* to the Ætolians at *Heraclea*, to advertise them that before he came they would now at last be wiser, and bethink themselves (after such experience of the King his vanity and insufficiency) for to deliver up *Heraclea*, and crave pardon of the Senat, either for their wilfull folly, or their blind errour. Who used these and such like motives and inducements unto them, namely, That other Cities likewise of *Greece* (during this war) abandoned the Romans and revolted from them, at whose hands they had received so many benefits: yet because that after the King was fled (upon whose assurance they had disloyally broken their allegeance) they stood not out still, nor persisted obstinatly in their fault and folly, were received to mercy and protection. The Ætolians likewise albeit they followed not the King, but sent for him, and were rather conducters and D leaders, than companions and associats in this war, yet if they could take up in time and repent, they might be pardoned and saved. But no answer returned they tending to peace: nay, it appeared, that the matter would come to a triall by arms, and for all the King was vanquished, yet the Ætolian war was behind as wholly and entire as before time. Whereupon the Consul dislodged from *Thermopylæ*, and marched directly against *Heraclea*: yea, and the very same day he rode on horseback all about the walls to view the situation of the City. This *Heraclea* is seated at the foot of the mountain *Oeta*: & though the town it self standeth in a plain, yet a fortress it hath built upon an high ground, which as it overlooketh the City, so it is so steep on every side, that it is altogether inaccessible. After he had diligently beheld all things that were to be marked and known, he determined to assault the town in four places at once. Unto *L. Valerius* he gave in charge to E plant his platforms and to batter that side where the river *Asopus* runneth, and where the publike place of exercise is built. *T. Sempronius Longus* had commission to assail the Castle, without the walls indeed, but yet better inhabited and more peopled (as a man would say) then the town it self. On that side which standeth toward the gulph of *Malea*, which part yielded the hardest access, he appointed *M. Bœbius*. And from another prety river which they call * *Melas*, he set *Appius Claudius* opposite against the Temple of *Diana*. Through the great industry and earnest labour of these four gallants, striving who could perform the best service, the work went so well forward, that within few daies the frames and platforms, the Rams and all other engins of battery meet for the assault of Cities were finished. For besides that the territory about *Heraclea*, being a moory ground and full of tall trees, afforded them plenty enough of timber to frame and per- F form all sorts of fabricks: the houses also in the entry of the City without in the Suburbs standing void, by reason that the Ætolians had put themselves within the walls, yielded unto them not only posts, beams, joysts, planks, and boords, but brick, and tile, plaster, morter, and stone of all sizes for divers and sundry uses. So, the Romans assaulted the town rather with fabricks, ordnance, and artillery, than by force of arms: but the Ætolians contrariwise defended themselves by main strength and their weapons. For when as the walls should be shaken with the Rams, they caught not hold of them as the manner is with cords, and by plucking them aside, avoided their force; but armed in great number, they carried fire with they to fling upon the terraces and the fabricks. They had besides divers vaults and arches in the walls at which they could readily and fitly sally out: and ever as themselves closed up the breaches of their walls, or made G new for the ruinat, they would remember to make more of those vaults still, that in many places at once they might break forth upon their enemies. Thus for the first daies, whiles they were fresh in heart, they issued forth oftentimes and many together, and quit themselves right lustily: but afterwards in fewer numbers, and more slackly every day than other. For being evermore employed about many things at once, nothing so much tamed and wearied then, as watching. For whereas the Romans had a great number of souldiers, and one guarded after another successively by turns; the Ætolians being so few, were constrained without any change, to continue in unces-

* Black water.

ſant labour night and day. Thus for the ſpace of twenty four daies they had no reſt nor reſpit but H
day and night was all one unto them, maintaining fight ſtill, and labouring without intermiſſion
againſt the enemies that aſſailed the City in all four quarters at once. When the Conſul knew once
that the Ætolians were wearied and overtoiled (partly by counting the time, and partly by that
which he had learned of certain fugitives) he uſed this policy and ſtratagem. About midnight he
ſounded the retreat, and having drawn all his ſouldiers at once from the aſſault, held them quiet
in the camp untill the third hour of the day. After that, he began to give a freſh charge, and conti-
nued it unto midnight following, and ſo gave over again untill the ſame hour before noon. The
Ætolians ſuppoſing verily that the cauſe why they ſurceaſed the aſſault, was for very wearineſs
(like as themſelves were tired out) ſo ſoon as the Romans had the retreat ſounded unto them, de-
parted every man from his ward and quarter, as if they alſo by the ſame ſignall were called away, I
and ſhewed not themſelves in armor upon the walls before the third hour of the next day. The
* Three of the clock in the morning. Conſul having at one time given over the battery aforeſaid at midnight, began at the * fourth
watch a freſh aſſault again with all forcible means in three parts: and at one ſide, he gave com-
mandment to *T. Sempronius* to keep his men together, and intentively to obſerve and wait for the
ſignall: aſſuring himſelf that in the alarm by night, the enemies would run to thoſe places from
whence they heard the noiſe. The Ætolians, many of them being found aſleep, had much to do to
rouſe themſelves, and were loath to riſe up from their ſweet ſleep, their bodies being ſo weary
with toiling, moiling, and watching before. Some of them who were yet awake ran in the dark to
the place where the aſſailants made a noiſe. Their enemies laboured to get into the town, ſome
by mounting over the ruins and breaches of the broken wall, others by ſcaling and climbing with K
ladders. And againſt them the Ætolians ran from all parts, ready to ſuccour and help. One quarter,
whereas there ſtood houſes without the City, was neither defended nor aſſailed: but as there were
ſome ready and waited for the ſignal to give the aſſault, ſo there was not one of the other part for
to reſiſt and defend. Now began the day to peep, when as the Conſul put forth the ſignal, and the
ſouldiers began to mount over into the City, and found none to withſtand them: ſome entred at
the wals half broken down, others ſcaled them with ladders where they ſtood whole and ſound.
And the cry was not ſo ſoon heard that the City was taken, but the Ætolians left their guards on
all ſides, and fled into the Caſtle. The ſouldiers that had won the town were permitted by the
Coſ. to rifle and ranſack it: which was not done ſo much upon anger and deſpite, as in this regard,
that the ſouldiers who had been kept ſhort & faſting thus long (notwithſtanding ſo many towns L
recovered out of the enemies hands) might once at length in ſome one place taſte the fruit of vi-
ctory. The Coſ. having called from thence about noon, the ſouldiers unto him, divided them into
two parts, whereof he commanded the one to caſt about the foot of the hils unto a rock or cliff,
which being in height equal to the Caſtle aforeſaid, was notwithſtanding divided from it by a val-
ley between, ſeeming as if it had been ſometime a part thereof and cut from it. Now theſe two
points of the hils ſhot up ſo near together in the head, that from the top of the one, a man might
lance a dart into the Caſtle or fortreſs. The Coſ. with the other half of the ſouldiers ſtaid beneath,
expecting a ſign and token from them that were to get up the cliff behind, ready thereupon to
mount up from the town ſide into the fort. The Ætolians that were within the Caſtle could nei-
ther abide at the firſt the ſhout of thoſe that had ſeized the cliff, nor afterwards the aſſault of the M
Romans from the City, both for that their hearts failed them and were danted already, and alſo
becauſe they were unprovided of all neceſſaries for to endure any long ſiege and aſſault: conſide-
ring that women and children and all the other impotent multitude unmeet to bear arms, were
got thither in ſo great numbers, that the place was hardly able to receive and contain, much leſs to
keep and maintain them: and therefore at the firſt aſſault, they caſt down their weapons and yiel-
ded. Among other principal perſonages of the Ætolians, *Damocritus* alſo was delivered; he, who
in the beginning of the war when *T. Quintius* deſired to ſee a copy of the Decree of the Ætolians
for the ſending for *Antiochus*, anſwered, That he would ſhew it him in *Italy*, when the Ætolians
lay there encamped. For this proud ſpeech of his, the Romans now conquerors, were the gladder
that they had got him into their hands. N

During the time that the Romans aſſailed *Heraclea*, *Philip* alſo beſieged and battered *Lamia*,
according as it was before agreed between them: for near unto *Thermopylæ*, at what time as the
Coſ. returned out of *Bœotia*, he met with him, of purpoſe to ſignifie his joy in the behalf of him
and the people of *Rome* for their atchieved victory; and alſo to excuſe himſelf by occaſion of ſick-
neſs, that he was not preſent with him in perſon in the managing of the wars. From thence they
parted aſunder, and took divers waies, for to aſſault theſe two Cities (as I ſaid) both at once: and
diſtant they were one from the other near ſeven miles. And foraſmuch as *Lamia* was ſeated upon
an hill therefore the town diſcovered and overlooked all the country about, but eſpecially on that
ſide toward *Heraclea*, where, by reaſon that it ſeemeth a leſs compaſs, it repreſenteth a full pro-
ſpect to the eye. When as the Romans and Macedonians labouring and ſtriving who could do O
better, were day and night emploied either about their fabricks and pioners work, or elſe in skir-
miſh and fight: the Macedonians found more difficulty than they, in this reſpect, that the Ro-
mans were buſied in platforms, mantlets, and works all above ground; but the Macedonians were
put to undermine: and oftentimes (as it falleth out in ſuch ſtony and craggy ground) they met
with hard flints and rags not minable, and ſuch as no iron or ſteel-tool was able to touch and
pierce. The King ſeeing little good done by this means, and his enterpriſe going but ſlowly for-
ward,

A ward, began to ſound the townſmen, and to tempt them to render the City, uſing the mediation therein of their chief Citizens whom he parled withall: for this reckoning he made, that if *Heraclea* were forced before it, they within the City would ſooner yield unto the Romans than to him, and ſo the Conſul ſhould win all the thank to himſelf for levying the ſiege. And nothing was he ſhort of his count; for immediatly upon the winning of *Heraclea*, a meſſenger came unto him from the Conſul, willing him to ſurceaſe the aſſault and the ſiege; alledging, it was more reaſon, that the Roman ſouldiers who had fought in ranged battell with the Ætolians, ſhould have the reward and recompence of the victory. By this means *Lamia* was abandoned, and by the ruin of *Heraclea* her neighbour City avoided and eſcaped the like calamity of her own.

Some few daies before that *Heraclea* was won, the Ætolians having aſſembled a *Diet* at *Hypa-*
B *ta*, addreſſed Embaſſadors unto *Antiochus*, and *Thoas* among the reſt even he, who aforetime had been ſent unto him. His commiſſion and charge was, firſt, To requeſt the King that once again he would rally his forces as well by land as at ſea, and in perſon paſs over into *Greece*: ſecondly, If any other important affairs hindred him, yet that he would ſend unto them both men and money. For as it touched his Highneſs in honour, reputation, and credit not to ſee his allies abandoned; ſo it made for the ſafegard and ſecurity of his own Realm and royall eſtate, not to ſuffer the Romans (after they had once defeated the Ætolians) to ſail over into *Aſia* at their eaſe and pleaſure, with all their forces. Theſe were no fained devices, but true remonſtrances indeed; and therefore prevailed the more with the King. Whereupon he delivered money preſently to the Embaſſadors, ſufficient to defray the charges of the war, and promiſed certainly to ſend men to
C ſerve both by land and ſea. *Thoas* alone of all the Embaſſadors he kept ſtill with him, who was not himſelf unwilling to ſtay behind, becauſe he might be ever at hand to call upon the King for to perform his word and beheſt. But the winning of *Heraclea* killed the heats clean of the Ætolians in the end: and within few daies after that they had diſpatched their Embaſſadors into *Aſia*, about the renewing of the war and ſending for the King, they laid apart all deſignments of arms, and addreſſed their Orators unto the Romans to crave peace. Who, as they began to make ſome ſpeech, the Conſul cut them off, and ſaid, he had other matters of greater importance to think upon and to diſpatch; and commanded them to content themſelves with a truce for ten daies, and to return to *Hypata*; and with them he ſent *L. Valerius Flaccus*, unto whom they
D ſhould declare thoſe things that they were about to deliver unto him, and whatſoever elſe they had to ſay. When they were arrived at *Hypata*, the chief and principall Ætolians aſſembled themſelves in the lodging of *Flaccus*, conſulting with him what courſe they were to take in their treaty with the Conſul. And when they went in hand to alledge the ancient rights of the leagues, and to lay abroad their good demerits, and what they had done for the Romans: "*Flaccus* bad "them lay a ſtraw there, and ſpeak no more of the priviledge of thoſe covenants and accords "which they themſelves had broken; ſhewing unto them, that they ſhould ſpeed better and "gain more by a ſimple confeſſion of their treſpaſs, and in recourſe only to prayer and humble "ſupplication; foraſmuch as all the hope they might have of ſafety, reſted not in their own de-"ſert and goodneſs of their cauſe, but in the meer clemency and mercy of the people of *Rome*; "promiſing for his part to aſſiſt them and ſecond their petitions as well to the Conſul as the Se-
E "nat of *Rome*, ſince that thither alſo they muſt of neceſſity ſend an Embaſſage. This way ſeemed to them all, the beſt ſimply for their ſafety, namely, to put themſelves to the diſpoſition and devotion of the Romans: for they ſuppoſed by this means to drive the Romans for very ſhame to have regard of them & not to offer hurt or violent outrage to them, coming in the habit of poor ſuppliants: and yet withall, if any opportunity of better fortune ſhould in the mean time offer it ſelf unto them, to be their own Maſters nevertheleſs and at their choice. When they were come before the Coſ. *Phaneas* the chief of that embaſſie, made a long Oration, couching and framing his words ſundry waies right artificially, to mitigate and aſſwage the wrath of the conqueror, which he knit up and concluded with this ſpeech, ſaying, That the Ætolians committed themſelves and all that they had to the mercy and protection of the people of *Rome*. When the Coſ.
F heard thoſe words: See you do ſo then indeed (qd. he) O ye Ætolians, and take heed I adviſe you that you deal herein *bona fide*. Then *Phaneas* brought forth and ſhewed a fair inſtrument of a Decree, wherein the ſame was engroſſed in plain terms. Since that (qd. he again) you mean good earneſt, and are at our diſpoſition I demand that ye deliver unto me out of hand *Dicæarchus* a ſtateſman of yours, and *Menætus* of *Epirus*, (who being entred into *Naupactum* with a garriſon, had compelled the City to revolt) alſo *Aminander* and all the Nobles of the Athamans, by whoſe counſell and ſuggeſtions ye fell from us and rebelled. *Phaneas* interrupted the Coſ. before he had well made an end of his ſpeech, We yield not our ſelves (qd. he) to be your villains and ſlaves, but as allies to be protected by you: and I am verily perſwaded you know not what you do, to impoſe thoſe things upon us againſt all the manner and cuſtome of the Greeks. The Coſ. replied again;
G In good faith, I paſs not (qd. he) greatly what the Ætolians deem well or ill done according to the faſhions of the Greeks; all the whiles that I, after the cuſtome of the Romans, have that power and command over them, who erewhile by vertue of their own decree yielded unto us. And heretofore by force of our arms have been vanquiſhed and ſubdued by us. And therefore, unleſs that be executed which I command, yea, and with ſpeed, my will is, that preſently here you be bound hand and foot: and with that he commanded chains and gyves to be brought forth, and the Lictors to come about them for to lay hold upon them. Then the ſtout courage both of

*Phaneas*

*Phaneas* and the reſt of the Ætolians, was well cooled & abated; and ſo at length they ſaw in what H
poor plight they were. And *Phaneas* made anſwer, That both himſelf and the Ætolians there preſent in place, knew well, that thoſe things were to be performed which were impoſed upon them, but (quoth he) there needs a Councill of the Ætolians for to enact a decree thereof, and therefore he requeſted the Conſul to allow a ſurceaſe of arms only for ten daies. Then *Flaccus* began to ſpeak for the Ætolians, and at his requeſt the ſaid abſtinence was granted, and ſo they returned to *Hypata*. When *Phaneas* had related in the privy Councill of thoſe elect peers of that nation called *Apocleti*, as well the demands that were commanded, as what had like to have faln upon themſelves in perſon, the peers ſighed deeply and groaned again, to ſee their miſerable condition; howbeit they were all of opinion, that the victor muſt of neceſſity be obeyed. and a generall Parliament aſſembled of the Ætolian Burgeſſes out of all their towns and Cities. When I
all that multitude was gathered together, and heard the ſame related again, their hearts ſo fretted within them at the cruelty and indignity of thoſe Lordly commands, that if they had been well ſetled in peace, yet ſuch a fit of anger had been enough to have put them into arms. And to ſtir the fume and choler the more, the difficulty of effecting the things demanded, helped well: for how poſſibly could they compaſs to deliver *Aminander*, being as he was an abſolute King? But even then there was preſented unto them by chance a new hope, For *Nicander* at that very time, coming from King *Antiochus*, filled the peoples heads with this vain expectation, namely, that the King made wondrous proviſion for war, as well by ſea as land. This *Nicander* having accompliſhed his Embaſſage, and made return again into *Ætolia*, within the compaſs of twelve daies, after he was embarked, arrived at *Phalera* in the gulph of *Malea*: from whence K
having brought the monies which he had, down to *Lamia*, whiles himſelf with certain nimble men and light appointed, travelled toward *Hypata* in the evening, between the Roman and Ætolian camp, through paths that he well knew; he chanced to ſtumble, ere he was aware, upon the *corps de guard* of the Macedonians, and was brought to the King before ſupper was done, the table taken up, and the King riſen. When *Philip* was advertiſed thereof, he ſhewed no other countenance, than if a friend or gueſt, and not an enemy was come; he bad him ſit down at the board, and eat his meat. Afterwards he kept him there with him ſtill in the room, and voided all the reſt, willing him in no caſe to be afraid. "He blamed greatly the bad courſes and deſign-
"ments of the Ætolians (which evermore lighted upon their own pates) who firſt had brought
"the Romans, and then *Antiochus* into *Greece*. But for my part (quoth he) ſince things done and L
"paſt, may ſooner be blamed than amended, I am content to forget and put all under my foot,
"and will never be the man that will ſeem to inſult over them in their diſtreſs and adverſity.
"And ſo ſhould the Ætolians likewiſe take up in time, and lay aſide all their rancor and malice
"to me: and *Nicander* eſpecially ought to remember this day, on which by me his life was pre-
"ſerved. With that he ſent him away with a good convoy, untill he was paſt all danger; and this *Nicander*, as is beforeſaid, came to *Hypata*, even as the Ætolians were in deep conſultation about peace with the Romans.

*M. Acilius* having either ſold outright, or given away to the ſouldiers the booty of the country about *Heraclea*, and hearing that the Councill at *Hypata* nothing tended to peace, and that the Ætolians were run together to *Naupactum*, for to abide in that place the whole violence of the war; N
ſent *App. Claudius* afore with 4000 ſouldiers to ſeize the tops of the mountains, where as the paſſages were difficult; and himſelf aſcended up to the hill *Oeta*, and ſacrificed to *Hercules* in that very place which they call *Pyra*, by occaſion that the mortall body of that god was there conſumed with fire: from whence he departed with his whole army & performed the reſt of his journey well and marched with eaſe. Being come to *Corax* (an exceeding high mountain between *Calipolis* and *Naupactum*) he loſt there many of his labouring beaſts and ſumpter horſes, which together with their loads and fardels, as they went, tumbled down headlong from the mountain, and his men alſo were much troubled and encumbred. Whereby it was ſoon ſeen, with how lazy and idle an enemy he had to deal, who had not beſet and kept with a guard that difficult paſſage, to empeach and ſhut up the thorow-fare from the enemies. Howbeit, as much toiled and troubled N
as his army was, he deſcended to *Naupactum*. And having erected one Fort againſt the Caſtle, he inveſted all the other parts of the City, and divided his forces according to the ſituation of the walls. This ſiege he found as toilſome and painful, as that at *Heraclea*.

At the ſame time began the Achæans to lay ſiege to *Meſſene* alſo in *Peloponneſus*, for that it refuſed to be of their Councill and aſſociation. For theſe two Cities, *Meſſene* and *Elis*, were exempt from the Achæan Diet and accorded with the Ætolians. Howbeit, the Elians, after that *Antiochus* was chaſed out of *Greece*, gave the Embaſſadors of *Achæa* a more mild anſwer, to wit, That when they had diſcharged and ſent away the Kings garriſon, they would conſider of the matter what to do. But the Meſſenians having without any anſwer at all ſent the Embaſſadors away, had levied war; and fearing much their own eſtate, ſeeing their territory overſpread with an army, O
and every where burned, yea, and their enemies encamped near unto their City, addreſſed unto *Chalcis* their embaſſadors to *T. Quintius* (the very man who before had ſet them at liberty) to ſignifie unto him, That the Meſſenians were ready both to open their gates & alſo to ſurrender their City unto the Romans & not to the Achæans. *Quintius* ſo ſoon as he had heard their embaſſage, ſent a meſſenger incontinently to *Megalopolis*, unto *Diophanes*, the Prætor there of the Achæans, to command him preſently to retire his hoſt from *Meſſene*, and to repair unto him. *Diophanes*
obeyed

A obeyed his commandment, and having raised his siege, marched himself lightly appointed for speed before the rest of his army, and about *Andania*, a small town between *Megalopolis* and *Messene*, encountred *Quintius*. Unto whom after he had shewed the causes of the siege, he received at his hands a gentle rebuke only, for that he had enterprised a matter of so great consequence without his authority; with an expres commandment also to cass and discharge his army, and not to disturb and trouble the peace, made for the good and benefit of all. The Messenians likewise he charged to call home their banished persons into their City, and to joyn with the Achæans in their generall Diet and Assembly. And if they either had any matters to refuse, or would willingly provide for themselves against the future time, he willed them to make their repair unto him at *Corinth*, and enjoyned *Diophanes* immediatly to summon the Diet of the Achæans for him, where B personally himself would be. Where, after he had complained as touching the Island *Zacynthus*, that by fraud and treachery they had come by and kept, he required that it should be restored to the Romans. Now this Isle had sometime appertained to *Philip* the King of the Macedonians, and he gave it unto *Aminander*, in consideration, that he might conduct his army into the higher parts of *Ætolia*, through *Athamania*: in which expeditions and exploits of his, the Ætolians hearts were so abated and quailed, that they were constrained to seek peace. *Aminander* made first *Philip* the Megapolitan governour of this Island; but afterwards, in time of that war wherein he banded with *Antiochus* against the Romans, he called him away from thence to imploy him in martiall affairs, and sent *Hierocles* the Agrigentin to succeed him in his place. This *Hierocles*, after the defeat and flight of *Antiochus* from *Thermopylæ*, and the expulsion of *Aminander* out of C *Athamania* by King *Philip*, dispatched of his own motion certain messengers unto *Diophanes*, the Prætor of the Achæans, and for a sum of money agreed upon between them, betraied the Island to the Achæans. The Romans thought it great reason that this Island should be theirs, in recompence for the wars which they had maintained; forasmuch as *M. Acilius* the Consul, and the Roman legions fought not at *Thermopylæ* for *Diophanes* nor yet for the Achæans. *Diophanes* to these challenges and demands sometime excused himself and the whole nation, otherwhiles stood to it, and avowed the action, and maintained the cause by a plea of right. Some there were of the Achæans there, that both protested, how from the beginning they utterly misliked the course, and also at this present much blamed the Prætor for his wilfull obstinacy. And by their advice and authority an act was set down, that the whole matter should be referred and put to *Quintius*, to D determin what he pleased. Now had *Quintius* this nature, if a man crossed and thwarted him, he was fierce and fell; if one yielded and gave place he was gentle again, and pliable. And therefore, without shewing any sign of debate, either in language or countenance, thus he spake. "If I "thought (qd. he) and were perswaded in my heart, that it were good and commodious for the "Achæans to hold and possess this Island in question, I would advise the Senat & people of *Rome* "to let you enjoy it. But like as a Tortoise, so long as she keepeth her self close within her shell (I "see) is sure and safe enough, against all blows and offence whatsoever; but when she once put-"teth forth any parts, look whatsoever is discovered and naked, the same is weak and subject to "injury: even so you Achæans, being enclosed round about with the sea, are able easily to adjoyn "unto your selves whatsoever lyeth within the præcinct of *Peloponesus*, and to keep the same also E "when you have laid it to you: but so soon as for a greedy desire of having more and encroaching "further, you go beyond those bonds, you lie open without, and are exposed to all hurt and da-"mage. Thus *Zacynthus* was delivered to the Romans with the assent of all the Councill there assembled, and *Diophanes* durst not say a word more to the contrary.

At the same time King *Philip* asked the Consul as he marched to *Naupactum*, Whether it was his pleasure, that he in the mean while should recover and regain those Cities which were revolted from the association of the Romans? And having a grant and warrant from him, he led his forces against *Demetrias*, knowing well enough in what terms of troubles that City then stood. For being forlorn and in utter despair, seeing *Antiochus* had forsaken them and no hope at all remaining in the Ætolians: they looked every day and night either for the coming of *Philip* their F heavy friend; or else even the Romans themselves a worse enemy, like as they had a more just cause of anger and indignation against them. A confused and disordered sort there were of King *Antiochus* his souldiers, who being but a few at first left there to lie in garrison, grew after to be more, and most of them unarmed; such as after the field was lost [at *Thermopylæ*] thither chanced to flie, and neither had strength nor heart enough to abide a siege. And therefore when *Philip* sent certain messengers before unto them, to signifie, that there was some hope that they might be pardoned: they made them this answer, That the gates were open for the King, and that he might enter at his pleasure. At his first entrance, certain chief men of mark quit the City and departed, and *Eurilochus* killed himself. The garrison souldiers of *Antiochus* (for so they had capitulated) were conducted to *Lysimachia* through *Macedony* and *Thrace*, accompanied with a con-G voy of Macedonians, for fear that any man should do them harm. There were some few ships also in the rode of *Demetrias*, under the command of *Isidorus*, which together with their leader and Captain were dismissed. After this, he regained *Dolopia*, *Aperantia*, and certain Cities of *Perrhæbia*.

During the time that *Philip* was employed in these affairs, *T. Quintius* having recovered the Island *Zacynthus*, departed from the Diet of the Achæans, and crossed the seas to *Naupactum*, which had been beleaguered already two months, & was at the point to be forced and lost: which

if

if it might have been won by assault, it was thought that the whole nation and name of the Æto- H
lians there would have perished for ever. And albeit he had good cause to be highly offended and displeased with the Ætolians, in remembrance that they only checked and impeached his glory, at what time as he set *Greece* free: and that they were nothing stirred and moved with his authority, when he (forewarning them that those things would happen which afterwards fell out just so indeed) would have discounselled and scared them from foolish and furious designs: yet, supposing that it was a speciall part of his charge and work, that no nation of *Greece* (now freed by him) should utterly be subverted and destroyed, he began to walk up and down along under the walls, to the end that he might be seen, and soon known of the Ætolians. And anon the very formost guards took notice of him, & noised it was presently throughout all the ranks and companies that *Quintius* was there. And thereupon they ran from all parts up to the walls, every I
man stretched forth his hands, and with one accord and consonant voice called by name unto *Quintius*, beseeching him to help and save them. And albeit he was moved at these their pitious cries with commiseration, yet for that time he signified by the turning away of his head, that he refused and denied them: asking withall, What lay in him to do them any good? But afterwards, being come unto the Consul, "Know you not (quoth he) O *M. Acilius* whereabout we are, and "what we have in hand? or if you be a man provident enough, esteem you not that it mainly con- "cerneth the common-weal? He set the Consul by these words a longing, and caused him to give more attentive ear what he would say, and withall, Why do you not speak forth (quoth the Consul) and utter your mind what the matter is? Then quoth *Quintius*: "See you not that after you "have vanquished *Antiochus*, you spend and lose much time here in the siege and assault of two K
"Cities, when as now the year of your government is wellnear come about? And *Philip* in the "mean time without seeing a battell or the ensigns of his enemies displaied, hath gained and joy- "ned to himself not Cities only, but so many nations already, namely, *Athamanie*, *Perrhæbia*, *A-* "*perantia* and *Dolopia*? But it is nothing so good and expedient for us, nor standeth it us so much "upon, to take down the Ætolians and pare their nails, as to look unto *Philip* that he wax not "too great: and (seeing you and your souldiers have not got yet two Cities in reward and re- "compence of victory) not to suffer him to go clear away with so many nations of *Greece*. The Consul accorded hereunto: but he thought it a shame and dishonour for him to give over the siege and effect nothing: but afterwards, all the matter was put unto the disposition of *Quintius*. Who went again to that side of the wall, whereas a little before the Ætolians called and L
cried aloud unto him. And when as they intreated him more earnestly and with greater affection to take pitty of the Ætolian people, he willed some of them to come forth unto him. And immediatly, *Phaneas* himself with other principall persons of the Ætolians, went out unto him; unto whom lying prostrate and groveling at his feet: "Your present fortune (quoth he) and hard "estate wherein you are, caused me both to temper my choler and also to stay my tongue. Those "things you now see are faln out, which I foretold would come to pass. And not so much as this "is left unto you, That the calamities faln upon your heads can be truly said to have light upon "them that have not deserved as much. Howbeit, since it hath been allotted unto me as it were "by destiny to be a foster-father (as I may so say) to nurse up *Greece*, I will not cease even to do "you good, as thankless and ungratefull persons as you are. Send your Orators to the Consul, M
"to intreat him to grant you a truce for so long, untill you may address your Embassadors to "*Rome*, by whom you shall wholly refer and submit your selves to the Senat: and I will not fail "to be an intercessor and advocate to the Consul for you and likewise unto the Senat. And, as *Quintius* counselled them, so did they. Neither rejected the Consul their Embassie, but granted them abstinence of war for such a term as within which they might have an answer of their Embassage to *Rome*: so he dislodged, the siege was raised, and the army sent into *Phocis*. The Consul together with *Quintius* passed over the sea to *Ægium*, unto the generall Councill of *Achæa*. There was much treaty and parly about the Eleans, and the restoring of the Lacedæmonians exiles: but nothing was effected in the one or the other. As for the Lacedæmonians, the Achæans were desirous to reserve that for themselves, and to win thereby a thank, as proceeding from N
their speciall grace. And the Eleans, chose rather to come and be united to the Achæans Parliament of themselves, than by the mediation of the Romans. The Embassadors of the Epirots came unto the Consul, who (it was well known) carried not themselves sound and upright in the entertaining of the Roman amity: howbeit, they had not levied a souldier for *Antiochus*. Charged they were to have relieved him with money; and deny themselves they could not but they had sent their Embassadors unto the King. And when they put up a petition, that they might be accepted again into the ancient band of amity: this answer the Consul returned unto them, That he knew not yet whether to range them in the number of enemies, or peaceable friends, and thereof the Senat should be judge; and therefore he referred their whole entire cause to *Rome*. And to that purpose a truce he granted them of fourscore and ten daies. The Epirots thus O
sent to *Rome*, presented themselves before the Senat, and when they stood rather upon these terms in recounting those things wherein they had not shewed any open hostility, than in clearing themselves of those matters that were laid against them; they received such an answer, as whereby they might be thought rather to have obtained pardon, than to have made good and justified their cause. The Embassadors also of King *Philip* about that time had audience given them in the Senat, who came to congratulate with the Romans, testifying their own joy, and wishing

theirs

A theirs for their victory: and upon their request, that they might sacrifice in the Capitoll, and offer an oblation and present of gold in the Temple of *Jup. Opt. Max*, the Senat gave the good leave. So they presented and offered a crown of gold weighing * one hundred pound. These Embassadors had not only a friendly answer and gracious dispatch: but also *Demetrius* the son of King *Philip*, who had lien as an hostage at *Rome*, was delivered unto them, for to bring home again unto his father. Thus was the war atchieved and brought to an end, which *M. Acilius* the Consul waged against King *Antiochus* in *Greece*. * 3600 pound sterl.

The other Consul *P. Cornelius Scipio*, whose lot was to govern the Province of *Gaul*, before that he took his journey to that war which he was to make against the Boians, demanded of the Senat, that money should be assigned unto him, for to perform those plaies and games which B he had promised by vow, as Vice-Prætor in *Spain*, when he was driven to a great extremity in a battell. This seemed to be a strange and unreasonable demand. Whereupon the LL. of the Senat ordained, That what plaies the Consul had vowed on his own head without asking the advice and counsell of the Senat, the same he should exhibit and set forth either with the issue of the spoils got from the enemies, (if haply he had reserved any money raised thereout to that purpose) or else defray the charges out of his own purse. These plaies and games *P. Cornelius* represented for the space of ten daies. And near about the same time, the Temple of the great goddess dame *Cybele* (or *Idæa*) was dedicated. This goddess being brought out of *Asia*, in the time that *P. Cornelius Scipio* (surnamed afterwards *Africanus*) and *P. Licinius* were Consuls, was conveyed from the sea-side into the mount *Palatine*. The Temple was set out to be built at a price (according to C an act of the Senat) by *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius* the Censors, when *M. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls. Thirteen years after the bargain was made for the edifying thereof, *M. Junius Brutus* dedicated it. and for the honour of this dedication were the first stage-plaies exhibited (as *Valerius Antias* mine author saith) called thereupon *Megalesia*. In like manner, *C. Licinius Lucullus* (one of the two Duumvirs) dedicated the Temple of the goddess *Juventus* in the great Race called *Circus Maximus*. The same had *M. Livius* the Consul vowed sixteen years before, even that very day in which he defeated *Asdrubal* and his army. The same *Livius* in his Censorship, went through and bargained for the building thereof, whiles *M. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls. And in the honour of dedicating this Temple, the plaies were set forth: and D all was done with more devotion, because there was a new war intended against King *Antiochus*. In the beginning of this year in which these things passed, whiles *P. Cornelius* the Consul staid still behind at *Rome*, (for *M. Acilius* was gone forth already to war:) it is found in records, that two tame oxen climbed up a ladder in the street *Carina*, to the tile-roof of a certain house there. And the soothsayers gave expres order that they should be burnt quick, and the ashes to be thrown into *Tyber*. Also it was reported, that at *Tarracina* and *Amiternum*, it rained stones sundry times. *Item*, That in *Minturnæ* the Temple of *Jupiter* and the shops about the market-place, were blasted and smitten with lightning; and in the very mouth of the river *Vulturnus*, two ships caught fire from heaven, and were consumed. In regard of these fearfull prodigies, the Decemvirs by order from the Senat went to the books of *Sibylla* and perused them; and out of their learning pronounced, that a solemn fast should be now instituted in the honour of *Ceres*, E and the same to be observed and holden every fift year: also that a novendiall sacrifice for nine daies together could continue; and a supplication for one day: and that they who went in this procession and supplication, should wear garlands and wreaths of flowers upon their heads: lastly, That the Consul *P. Cornelius* should sacrifice to what gods, and with what beasts, the Decemvirs would appoint and pronounce. When the gods were pacified, as well by the accomplishment of the vows accordingly, as by taking order for the expiation of those wondrous signs, the Consul took his journey into his province: from whence he commanded *Cneus Domitius* the Pro-Prætor (after he had cassed his army) to depart to *Rome*: and himself entred with his legions into the territory of the Boians.

Within a little of that time, the Ligurians (by vertue of a sacred law that they had) levied and F assembled an army, and by night assailed the Camp unawares to *Quintus Minutius* the Pro-Consul. *Minutius* kept his souldiers in order of battell untill day within his hold, having an eye and circumspect regard, that the enemy should not mount over the trench and defences in any place. And at the day-break he sallied forth at two gates at once: neither were the Ligurians repulsed (as he hoped they should) at the first charge; for they sustained and held out the skirmish above two hours, with doubtfull event on both sides. At the last, when band after band issued out, and still fresh souldiers succeeded in the room of the wearied, for to maintain fight, the Ligurians in the end (besides other distresses, lost for want of sleep also) turned their backs. Of the enemies were slain above four thousand; of Romans and allies under three hundred. Two months after or somewhat less, *P. Cornelius* the Consul gave battell to the Boians and won the day; slew 28000 G enemies (as *Valerius Antias* writeth) took 3400 prisoners, gained 124 military ensigns, 1230 horses, chariots 247: and of the winners (as he saith) there died not above 1484. Where (by the way) how little credit soever (as touching the number) we give unto this Writer (for in that point there is none over-reacheth more than he) yet apparant it is, that a right great victory it was; both for that the camp was won, and the Boians after that battell presently yielded themselves; as for that in regard of this victory a joyfull procession was by order from the Senat holden, and greater beasts slain for sacrifice.

Not

Not much under or over this preſent time, *M. Fulvius Nobilior* returned out of the farther pro- H
vince of *Spain* in pomp of an Ovation, and carried in ſhew 10000 pound weight of ſilver in bul-
lion; of Bigats in ſilver coin 130000, and in gold 126 li. weight. *P. Cornelius* the Conſul, having
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G The King hearing that the Roman Armado approached, departed from thence (for that he was not to be preſent in perſon at the conflict upon the ſea) and went to *Magneſia* neer *Sipylus*, for to levy land-forces. But his navy made ſail to *Cyſſus*, a port of the Erythræans, to attend the coming of the enemy there: as in a place more commodious. The Romans, when the Northern winds were once laid (for they were aloft for certain daies, and locked them in) ſailed from *Delos* to *Phana*, a haven Town of the Chians, bearing toward the Ægean ſea. From thence they caſt about with their ſhips to the City, and there having victualled themſelves, they croſſed over to *Phocæa*. *Eumenes*

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D the Ætolians, he ſet ſail for *Malea* and having a good wind, within few daies he arrived at *Pyræum*, where the old fleet anchored. At *Scyllæum* King *Eumenes* met him with three ſhips: who had been a long time at *Ægina*, unreſolved in himſelf, whether he ſhould return to defend his own Kingdom (for he heard that *Antiochus* made preparation at *Epheſus* for war, as well by Sea as Land) or not to depart a foot from the Romans, upon whoſe fortune depended his whole ſtate. *Aulus Atilius*, ſo ſoon as he had delivered to his ſucceſſor five and twenty cloſe ſhips of war, looſed from *Pyræum*, and came to *Rome*. So *Livius* with a fleet of eighty one ſhips, armed at their beakheads with braſen pikes, beſides many other ſmaller veſſels, (which open as they were, had braſen heads, as is aforeſaid; or if they were without ſuch pikes, ſerved for eſpials) ſailed to *Delos*. Much about that time the Conſul *Aiclius* aſſailed *Naupactum*. At *Delos*, *Livius* for certain dayes
E was ſtaied by contrary winds (for that quarter among the Cyclades is exceeding windy, by reaſon that theſe Iſlands are divided aſunder, ſome with broader gulfs, ſome with narrower.) *Polexenidas* being certified by the poſt-ſhips (ſet in diverſe places to diſcover) that the Roman armado rid at anchor neer *Delos*, diſpatched meſſengers to the King, who leaving all matters which he enterpriſed in *Helleſpontus*, returned to *Epheſus* as faſt as ever he could make ſail with his ſhips of war piked at the head: and preſently called a councel, where it was debated, whether he were beſt to hazard a battel at Sea or no? *Polyxenidas* was of opinion, "That he ſhould not ſlack the time, "but in any wiſe give battel and trie a fight, before that the fleet of *Eumenes* and the Rhodian "ſhips were joined with the Romans: for ſo in number they ſhould not be much overmatched, "and for all other things have the better, as well for nimbleneſs and agility of ſhips, as for variety
F "of aid-ſouldiers. For the Roman ſhips, as being unworkmanly built, they are heavy of ſteerage "and unweldy, loaden they are and fraught beſides with proviſion of victuals, as they are com-"monly that come into the enemies countrey. But as for your ſhips (ſeeing they leave all about "them peaceable and quiet) they ſhall be charged with nothing but with men and munition. Be-"ſides, the skill of theſe ſeas and lands, and of the winds in theſe quarters, will be a great help unto "you; whereas the enemies muſt needs be much troubled, for want of knowledge in them all. The deviſer of this counſel had credit given unto him on all parts and the rather, for that he was the man himſelf to put in execution the ſame counſel. Two daies they made ſtay to ſet all things in order and readineſs, the third day they ſet forward with a fleet of a hundred ſail, whereof 70 were covered the reſt open, and all of the ſmaller making: and for *Phocæa* they ſhaped their courſe.
G The King hearing that the Roman Armado approached, departed from thence (for that he was not to be preſent in perſon at the conflict upon the ſea) and went to *Magneſia* neer *Sipylus*, for to levy land-forces. But his navy made ſail to *Cyſſus*, a port of the Erythræans, to attend the coming of the enemy there, as in a place more commodious. The Romans, when the Northern winds were once laid (for they were aloft for certain daies, and locked them in) ſailed from *Delos* to *Phanæ*, a haven Town of the Chians, bearing toward the Ægean ſea. From thence they caſt about with their ſhips to the City, and there having victualled themſelves, they croſſed over to *Phocæa*. *Eu-*

menes who was gone to *Elæa* towatd his fleet, within few daies after, with four and twenty co- H
vered ſhips, and more uncovered, returned to the Romans; whom he found preparing and marſhalling themſelves (a little ſhort of *Phocæa*) for a battel at ſea. Then ſet they all forward with a hundred and fifty cloſe covered ſhips, and more open and without hatches: and being with ſide Northern winds, at the firſt driven to the ſea ſhore, they were forced to ſail ſingle in rank one after another. But afterwards, as the violence of the wind began to be allaied, they aſſaied to croſs over to the haven *Corycus*, which is above *Cyſſus*. *Polyxenidas*, as ſoon as he heard that the enemies were at hand, rejoyced that he had occaſion preſented unto him of a naval battel: and himſelf ſtretched forth the left point of his fleet embattelled far into the ſea, willing the Captains of the ſhips to diſplay the right wing broad, toward the land: and ſo with an even front, he advanced forward to the fight. Which the Roman Admiral ſeeing, ſtruck ſail, took down the maſts, and I
laying together al the tackling of the ſhips in one place, attended their coming that followed after. By which time there were thirty in a rank afront, with which, becauſe he would make them equal to the left wing of the enemy, he ſet up the trinkets or ſmall ſails, meaning to make way into the deep, commanding them that followed ſtill, to make head, and direct their prows againſt the right wing neer the land. *Eumenes* was the rere-Admiral, and kept the rereward cloſe together: but ſo ſoon as they began to be troubled with taking down their tackling, he ſet forward with all ſpeed and haſt that he could make: and by this time were they in view one of the other. Two Carthaginian ſhips led before the Roman navy, which were encountred with three of the Kings ſhips. And conſidering the ods of the number, two of the Kings came about one. And firſt they wiped away the oars on both ſides, then they ſhewed themſelves aloft with their weapons, and K
boorded her, and after they had either overturned or killed the defendants, they were maſters of that ſhip. The other that was in ſingle fight, and aſſailed but by one, ſeeing the other ſhip taken by the enemies, fled back into the main fleet, before ſhe was environed by the three enemies. *Livius* chafing hereat, and angry at the heart, advanced forward with the Admiral ſhip afront the enemy: againſt her, thoſe other two which had encloſed the Carthaginian ſhip aforeſaid, hoping to do the like by this, came onward; which *Livius* perceiving, commanded the rowers to let their oars hang in the water on both ſides, for the more ſtay and ſteadineſs of the ſhip, and likewiſe to caſt their iron hooks faſhioned like hands, for to grapple the enemies ſhips, as they approached and came neer unto them; and when they were come to cloſe fight in manner of land-ſervice then to remember the valour of the Romans, and not to hold the Kings ſlaves for men of any worth. L
And with much more facility and eaſe, than the two ſhips before conquered one, this one for that gained two. By this time the main fleet on both ſides encountred on all ſides, and fought pell-mell. *Eumenes* who being in the rereward, came laſt in place, after the conflict was begun, perceiving that *Livius* had diſordered the left wing of the enemies, made head againſt the right, where he ſaw them fighting on even hand, not long after the left wing began to flie. For *Polyxenidas*, ſo ſoon as he ſaw himſelf without all queſtion overmatched in valour of the ſouldiers, cauſed the trinkets and all the cloth he had to be ſet up, and purpoſed to flie amain. Thoſe likewiſe that were toward the land, and fought with *Eumenes*, within a while did no leſs. The Romans and *Eumenes*, ſo long as the mariners were able to plie their oars, and ſo long as they were in hope to annoy the tail of the enemies, followed the chaſe luſtily enough: but after that they perceived M
their own ſhips (charged and heavily loaden with victuals) follow after to no purpoſe, and to lag behind nor like to overtake them which were the ſwifter, becauſe they were the lighter: ſtaied at length their purſuit, after they had taken 13 ſhips both with their ſouldiers and mariners, and ſunk ten. Of the Roman Armado there periſhed but one Carthaginian, which at the firſt encounter was beſet with two ſhips. *Polyxenidas* never gave over flight, but made way ſtill until he had recovered the haven of *Epheſus*. The Romans abode that day in the place from whence the Kings armado came, purpoſing on the morrow to make freſh ſail after the enemy. And in the mids of their courſe they met with thoſe 35 Rhodian ſhips covered, conducted by *Piſiſtratus* their Admiral; and taking thoſe alſo with them, they followed the enemy even as far as *Epheſus*, where in the mouth of the haven, they rid in order of battel: by which bravado, having wrung as it were from N
the enemies a plain confeſſion that they were vanquiſhed, the Rhodians and *Eumenes* were ſent home. The Romans ſetting their courſe for *Chius*, firſt ſailed by *Phœnicus*, an haven Town of *Erythæa*, and having caſt anchor that night, the next day they weighed, and arrived within the Iſland, cloſe to the City it ſelf, where having ſojourned ſome few daies, eſpecially to refreſh their rowers, they paſſed forward to *Phocæa*. Where leaving four quinquereme Galeaces, the fleet arrived at *Canæ*. and becauſe the Winter approached, the ſhips were laid up in their docks on drie Land, and for their ſafety were trenched and paled about. In the years end the General aſſembly for election of Magiſtrats was holden at *Rome*, wherein were created Conſuls *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Lælius*. For now all men had an eye to the finiſhing of the war againſt *Antiochus*. The next morrow were the Prætors alſo choſen, namely, *M. Tuccius*, *L. Aurunculeius*, *Cneus Fulvius*, *L. Æmylius*, *P. Junius*, and *C. Atinius Labeo*. O

A

# The ſeven and thirtieth Book

## *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the ſeven and thirtieth Book.

B LUcius Cornelius Scipio *the Conſul, having for his Lieutenant* P. Scipio Africanus (*according as he had promiſed, that he would be Lieutenant to his brother, if* Greece *and* Aſia *were ordained to be his Province, whereas it was thought, that* C. Lælius *for the great credit that he was in with the Senat, ſhould have had that Province given him*) *took his voyage for to war againſt* Antiochus, *and was the firſt Roman that ever ſailed over into* Aſia, *as Captain and Commander of an army.* Æmylius Regillus *fought fortunatly with the aid of the Rhodians before* Myonneſus, *againſt the royal navy of* Antiochus. *The ſon of* Africanus *taken priſoner by* Antiochus, *was ſent home to his father.* M. Acilius Glabrio *triumphed over* Antiochus, *whom he had driven out of* Greece, *as alſo over the Rhodians. Afterwards, when* Antiochus *was vanquiſhed by* L. Cornelius Scipio (*with the aſſiſtance of King* Eumenes, *the ſon of* Attalus *King of* Pergamus) *he had peace granted unto him, upon condition, that he ſhould quit and*
C *forgo all the Provinces on this ſide the mount* Taurus. *And* Eumenes, *by whoſe help* Antiochus *was overcome, had his Kingdom enlarged. To the Rhodians alſo, for their helping hand certain Cities were given and granted. One Colony was planted, called* Bononia. Æmylius Regillus, *who vanquiſhed the Captains of* Antiochus *in a naval battel, obtained alſo a naval triumph.* L. Cornelius Scipio, *who finiſhed the war with* Antiochus, *had the like ſurname given him as his brother, and was called after* Aſiaticus.

## *The ſeven and thirtieth Book of* T. Livius.

D WHen *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Lælius* were Conſuls, after order taken for the ſervice of the Gods, there was no matter treated of in the Senate, before the ſuit of the Ætolians. And as their Embaſſadors were inſtant and earneſt, becauſe the term of their truce was but ſhort, ſo *T. Quintius*, who then was returned out of *Greece* to *Rome*, ſeconded them. The Ætolians, relying more upon the mercy of the Senate, than the juſtice of their cauſe, and ballancing their old good turns done to the Romans, to the late harms and treſpaſſes committed, uſed humble ſupplication. But ſo long as they were in preſence before the Senators, they were wearied with their interrogatories of all hands, who ſought rather to fetch and wring from them confeſſion of a fault, then any other anſwer; and when they were bidden to void out of the Senat-houſe, they cauſed much debate within. For in the handling of their matter it was ſeen that anger bare more ſway than pity, becauſe they were not ſo much
E offended with them for being enemies, as they blamed them for an unruly, untamed, and unſociable nation. And after much hard hold for certain daies together, they reſolved at length, neither to grant nor deny them peace. Two conditions were tendered and preſented unto them, either to refer themſelves wholy to the pleaſure and diſpoſition of the Senate, or elſe to deliver a 1000 talents: and withal to hold thoſe for friends or foes, whomſoever the Romans reputed theirs. And when they were deſirous to draw from the Senators thus much, as to know in what points, and how far forth, they ſhould ſubmit themſelves to the diſcretion of the Senat; they could have no certain anſwer to build upon. And thus without any peace obtained, they were diſmiſſed, with expreſs commandment to void the City that very day, and to be gone out of *Italy* within 15 dayes following. Then they fell to conſultation in the Senat about the government of the Conſular pro-
F vinces. Both Conſuls deſired to have the charge of *Greece*. And *Lælius* was a great man with the Senat. Now when the houſe was minded that the Conſuls ſhould either caſt lots or agree between themſelves for their Provinces, he roſe up and ſaid, That it was more decent and befitting to put the matter to the judgment of that honorable court, than to the blind hazard of lots. To this *Scipio* for the preſent made anſwer, that he would conſider better of it: and after he had conferred ſecretly with his brother apart (who adviſed him to be bold and put it to the Senat) he gave *Lælius* to underſtand, that he was content to do as he would have him. When this ſtrange courſe and manner of proceeding (either new and unheard of before, or elſe after ſo long diſeaſe of the practiſe thereof forgotten and taken up again) cauſed the Senat to arm themſelves againſt a great ſtriſe and
G contention, then *P. Scipio Africanus* ſaid, That if they would ordain his brother *L. Scipio* to have the Province of *Greece*, he would accompany him in that voiage, in quality of his Lieutenant. This one word of his (accepted of them all with a general conſent) ſtaied all debate: for a great mind they had to make a trial, whether *Annibal* being vanquiſhed could aid King *Antiochus* more than *Africanus* the Conqueror aſſiſt the Conſul and the Roman legions. And all in a manner aſſigned *Greece* to *Scipio*, and *Italy* to *Lælius*. But the Pretors had their Provinces, ſet out to them by lot; *L. Aurunculeius* obtained the civil juriſdiction of citizens, and *L. Fulvius* of forainers: *L. Æmylius Regillus* was L. Admiral of the armado, *P. Iunius* governed *Tuſcany*, *M. Tuccius Apulia* and the

Brutii, and *L. Atinius Sicily*. Moreover that Consul, who was to be employed in *Greece*, had a commission granted, besides that army which he should receive of *M. Acilius* (and those were two legions) to furnish himself with a supply of 3000 footmen, and 100 horsemen of Roman citizens; also of 5000 foot, and 200 horse of allies that were Latins: and besides, granted it was in the same commission, that when he was arrived into his Province, he should pass over with his army into *Asia*, if he thought it so expedient for the Common-weal.

Unto the other Consul was allowed an entire whole army of new souldiers, consisting of two Roman legions, and fifteen thousand foot and six hundred horse of the Latin allies. *Q. Minutius* had direction (by reason that he wrote how he had performed in his Province all that there was to be done, and that the whole Nation of the Ligurians had yeelded subjection) to translate his forces out of *Liguria* into the Boians countrey, and to deliver the same to *P. Cornelius* the Pro-consul. Out of that territory which he had taken away from them after they were vanquished, those City legions were withdrawn, which had been levied and enrolled the year before; and committed they were to the charge of *M. Tuccius* the Pretor, besides 15000 foot, and 6000 horse of Latine allies: and all these forces were to be employed for to defend and keep in obedience, *Apulia* and the Brutians countrey. As for *A. Cornelius* the Pretor of the former year, (who with an army had the government of the Brutii) he was commanded to deliver unto *M. Acilius* (if the Consul thought so good) the legions transported over into *Ætolia*, if he would remain there still: but if *Acilius* would rather return to *Rome*, then *A. Cornelius* with that army, was to remain in *Ætolia*. Thought good it was, that *C. Atinius Labeo* should receive of *M. Æmylius*, the government of *Sicily* and his army: and if it pleased him, to take up and enrol out of that very Province 2000 foot and 100 horse, for to supply and fulfill the broken companies. *P. Junius Brutus* had commandment to levy a new army for the government of *Tuscany* to wit, one Roman legion, and 10000 foot of Latine allies, and 400 horse. Also *L. Æmilius* the Admiral, was to receive of *M. Junius* the Pretor of the former year, twenty Gallies, and the mariners and oars thereto belonging; and besides, to levy himself 1000 mariners more, and 2000 footmen: and with those ships and souldiers to sail into *Asia*, and to receive the fleet of *C. Livius*. As for them that were already in the government of both the Provinces of *Spain* and of *Sardinia*, they were to continue there still for one year longer, and to have the same armies at command. This year were two tenths of corn levied of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*: and order was given for all the Sicilian corn to be sent into *Ætolia* to the army: but out of *Sardinia*, that one part should be brought to *Rome*, and the other transported over into *Ætolia*, even to the same place that the other of *Sicily* aforesaid.

Before the Consuls set forward into their Provinces, it was thought meet, that the Pontifies should give order for the expiation of certain prodigies: for at *Rome* the Temple of *Juno Lucina* was smitten with lightning; so as both the lantern, yea, and the leaved dores thereof, were soully disfigured. Likewise at *Puteoli*, the Town walls in many places, and one gate, was blasted with lightning, and two men besides were strucken dead therewith. At *Nursia* it was for certain known, that the day being fair and cleer, there arose a stormy tempest, wherein also two free men lost their lives. The Tusculans reported, that with them it rained earth. And the men of *Reate* brought word, that within their territory a female mule foled. These prodigies (I say) were expiated: and the Latine festival holy-daies were celebrated anew, for that the dole of flesh was not given unto the Laurentins, which of duty should have been delivered. Moreover, a solemn supplication was ordained, in regard of all errours and faults escaped in divine service and religious observances. Also out of the books of *Sybilla*, the Decemvirs declared and shewed, to what Gods, sacrifice should be made: and ten young springals free born, and ten Virgins likewise, whose Fathers and Mothers yet lived, were employed about the ministery of those sacrifices. The Decemvirs also by night sacrificed young sucklings. And *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus*, before he took his journey, erected an arch in the Capitol (over-against the high street that leadeth thither) with 7 gilded statues and 2 horses: and before that arch, he set up two cesterns or lavers of marble. About this time, 43 principal persons of *Ætolia*, (among whom were *Democritus* and his brother) were conveighed to *Rome*, by two Squadrons or cohorts sent of purpose from *M. Acilius*; and there were laid up fast in the prison called * The stone quarries: which done, the cohorts aforesaid were commanded by *L. Cornelius* the Consul, to make return to the army. From *Ptolomeus* and *Cleopatra* (King and Queen of *Ægypt*) there came Embassadors, testifying their joy which they conceived in the behalf of the Romans, in these terms, That *M. Acilius* the Consul had chased King *Antiochus* out of *Greece*: exhorting also the Romans to transport an army into *Asia*: for that not in *Asia* only, but likewise in *Syria*, all men were smitten with fear and amazed. As for the KK. of *Ægypt*, they would be ready to do for their parts, whatsoever the Senat should set down. Thanks were returned to the K. and Q. aforesaid, and order was taken, that to the Embassadors for a reward should be given 4000 brasen Asses apeece.

* *Lautumiæ*, or *Latomiæ*.

*L. Cornelius* the Consul, having accomplished all things to be done at *Rome*, published an Edict in a general assembly, That aswell those souldiers whom himself had enrolled for supply, as they who were with A. *Cornelius* in the Brutians country, should all meet at *Brundusium* upon the Ides of * *Quintilis*. Moreover he nominated three Lieutenants, *Sex. Digitius*, *L. Apustius*, and *C. Fabricius Luscinus*, for to gather ships together out of all the Sea-coasts into *Brundusium*. And when he had prepared and set all things in good order, he departed from the City, clad in his rich

* 5 of *July*.

A rich coat of arms. There preſented unto the Conſul as he went forth, to the number of 5000 voluntaries, Romans and allies together, who had ſerved their full years in the wars under the conduct of *P. Africanus*, and now were exempt from ſouldiery, who all offered to go with him and to be enrolled as preſt ſouldiers. Much at the time that the Conſul took his journey (during the feſtival Apollinare games in the honour of *Apollo*, upon the fift day before the Ides of *July*) it chanced, that in the day time when the air was cleer and fair, there aroſe a ſuddain darkneſs during the Eclipſe of the ſun, by reaſon that the body of the moon was directly under the Circle and rundle of the ſun. *L. Æmylius Regillus* alſo Admiral of the war, at the ſame time went to Sea. *L. Aurunculeius* was charged by order from the Senat, to build 30 Galeaces with five banks of oars, and 20 Gallies with three banks, becauſe a bruit was blown and blazed abroad, that *Antiochus*
B upon the late battail at Sea, was about to prepare a much greater armado.

The Ætolians, after their Embaſſadors were returned from *Rome* and had made relation, that there was no hope of peace, albeit all their Sea-coaſts (eſpecially toward *Peloponneſus*) were ſpoiled and waſted by the Achæans, yet minding more their peril like to enſue, than remembring their loſs received, ſeized the mountain *Corax*, intending to impeach and ſtop the paſſage of the Romans. For they made no queſtion nor doubt, but that the next ſpring they would return to beſiege and aſſault *Naupactum*. *Acilius*, who wiſt well what they expected, thought it better to go in hand with an enterpriſe unlooked for, and namely, to aſſail *Lamia*: for thus he thought, That ſeeing they had been already brought to a great ſtrait and extremity by King *Philip*; now they might be taken ſuddainly and ſurpriſed at unawares, becauſe they ſtood in fear of nothing leſs.
C Whereupon, removing from *Elatia*, he encamped firſt in the country of his enemies neer to the River *Sperchius*: from whence by night he diſlodged, and advanced forthwith his enſigns, and by the day break had inveſted their walls round about. Great fear and hurly there was, as in an accident unlooked for: yet all that day they defended the City more reſolutly, than a man would have believed and thought they could have done in ſo ſuddain a danger: whiles men ſtood at defence upon the walls, women ſet up ladders in many places, and brought the men weapons and darts of all ſorts, yea, and ſtones up to the walls unto them. *Acilius*, after he had ſounded the retreat, brought back his men into the camp about noon: and after they had there refreſhed their bodies with meat and reſt, he gave them warning (before he diſmiſſed the *Prætorium*) that ere day-light the next morning they ſhould be ready in arms: for that he would not come back again with
D them into the camp, before they were maſters of the Town. At the ſame time as the day before, he gave aſſault in many places: and for as much as the Townſmens ſtrength decaied, their darts and weapons failed, and above all, their hearts fainted, within few hours he wan the City. After he had made a riddance of the pillage, ſold ſome part, and given away the reſt, he fell to take counſel what to do afterwards. There was not one man of opinion to go againſt *Naupactum*, conſidering that the Ætolians held and kept the paſs of *Corax*. Howbeit *Acilius*, to the end that he would not keep the field in ſummer without doing ſome exploit, and that the Ætolians might not enjoy that peace by the ſlacknes of the Roman ſouldiers, which obtain they could not at the Senats hand, he purpoſed to beſiege *Amphiſſa*: and ſo the army was conducted thither from *Heraclea*, by the mountain *Oeta*. When he had encamped himſelf under the Town walls, he began
E not to inveſt it round with men as he did *Lamia*, but with ordnance and engins to batter it. In many places at once he ran with the ram againſt the walls: and albeit they were ſhaken, the Townſmen went not about either to make ready, or to deviſe and invent any means of defence againſt that inſtrument or engin. All their hope was in truſty armour and hardy valour. And ſo often they ſallied forth, that they diſordred and troubled not only the guards of the enemies, but alſo thoſe that attended about the fabricks and artillery. Howbeit, in many places the wall was battred and breaches made: and even at that very inſtant news came unto him, that his ſucceſſor had landed his army at *Apollonia*, and was coming by the way of *Epirus* and *Theſſaly*. Now came the Conſul with a power of 13000 foot, and five hundred horſe. And by this time was he paſ-
F ſed as far as to the vale and level of *Malea*: and having ſent certain afore to ſummon the City *Hypata*, and received anſwer again, that they would do nothing but by a publick decree of the Ætolians: becauſe the ſiege of *Hypata* ſhould not ſtay him, and *Amphiſſa* not yet won, he led his forces againſt it, and ſent his brother *Africanus* before. Ere they came, the Oppidans had quit the Town, for by this time the wall in many places lay open and naked, and were all fled armed and unarmed into a Caſtle which they had, impregnable. The Conſul pitched his tents ſix miles from the Town.

Thither arrived the Athenian Embaſſadors, and firſt they repaired to *P. Scipio*, who, as we have ſaid, was gone before the main army, and afterwards to the Conſul, intreating for the Ætolians. Of the twain they received a gentler anſwer at the hands of *Africanus*, who ſeeking ſome honeſt occaſion to leave the Ætolian war, ſet his heart and eye wholly upon *Aſia* and King *Antiochus*:
G and to this purpoſe he willed the Athenians to perſwade not only with the Romans but alſo with the Ætolians, to prefer peace before war. And ſpeedily, through the motion and perſwaſion of the Athenians there was a ſolemn embaſſage of the Ætolians diſpatched from *Hypata*. Induced "they were the rather to hope for peace by the ſpeech of *Africanus* (for to him they came firſt) "who diſcourſed unto them, how that many Nations and Cities in *Spain* firſt, afterwards in "*Africk*, had put themſelves under his protection, and in them all he had left greater teſtimonies "of his clemency and bounty, than of his warlike valour and martial proweſs. Thus they had

brought the matter (as they thought) to a good paſs, and made it ſure: but when they came be- H
fore the Conſul, they had the ſame anſwer of him, with which they were ſent away from the Se-
nate, and commanded to avoid. The Ætolians wounded therewith anew, ſeeing they could win
nothing neither by the mediation of the Athenian embaſſage, nor the gracious anſwer of *Afri-*
*canus*, ſaid, they would make report thereof unto their States and country-men. So, they re-
turned from thence to *Hypata*, where they were to ſeek what to do, and could not reſolve: for
neither had they whereof to raiſe a thouſand talents: and again, if they ſhould abſolutely put
themſelves into their hands, they feared to feel the ſmart thereof in their bodies. Therefore they
commanded the ſame Embaſſadors to go again to the Conſul and to *Africanus*, and to exhibit a
petition, that if they were minded indeed and verity to grant them peace, and not by vain ſhew
and ſemblance only to fruſtrate and delude the hope of poor ſuppliants they would either rebate I
them a quantity of that grand ſum of money, or elſe accept ſo of their abſolute ſurrender, that no
free citizen might be touched thereby in his perſon. But nothing could be gotten at the Conſuls
hands, for to alter or relent any jot: thus was this embaſſage alſo ſent away as it came, and no-
thing done. The Athenians came after them in place, the principal man of whoſe embaſſage, *Eche-*
*demus*, ſeeing the Ætolians wearied with ſo many repulſes, and lamentably to no purpoſe bewail-
ing the miſerable eſtate of their country; put them ſtill in ſome new hope, and gave them counſel
to crave truce for ſix moneths, that they might addreſs their Embaſſadors to *Rome*, and receive an
anſwer from thence: ſhewing unto them, that this delay could not augment their preſent calami-
ty, which could not worſe be; but contrary-wiſe, time and ſpace coming between might afford
many accidents whereby their preſent miſery might be mitigated and allayed. So by the advice K
of *Echedemus*, the ſame men were ſent once again who had communed before with *P. Scipio*, and
by his means obtained of the Conſul a truce for that term; which was the thing they craved.
The ſiege being raiſed before *Amphiſſa*, *M. Acilius*, after he had delivered up his army into the
hands of the Conſul, reſigned his government, and departed out of the Province: and the Con-
ſul likewiſe from *Amphiſſa* returned into *Theſſaly*, intending through *Macedony* and *Thracia* to
conduct his army into *Aſia*.

Then *Africanus* entred into ſpeech with his brother, and ſaid: "The journey which you en-
"terpriſe *L. Scipio*, I for my part approve and think well of, but all reſteth in the will and plea-
"ſure of *Philip*: who if he be faſt and faithful to the ſtate and Empire of *Rome*, he will grant us
"paſſage, he will afford us victuals, he will furniſh us with all things which in ſo long a voyage L
"are neceſſary to the help and ſuſtenance of our army: but if he fail and forſake us once, you
"muſt make accompt of no ſafety and ſecurity throughout all *Thracia*: therefore I am of advice
"that the Kings affection be firſt founded. And that will beſt be done if the meſſenger who ſhall
"be diſpatched unto him, may come upon him on a ſuddain, and take him unprovided and ha-
"ving no time to put any prepenſed plot in practiſe. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a moſt nimble and
active young Gentleman, was at that time choſen for the fitteſt perſon to perform this action:
who taking freſh poſt Horſes all the way as he rode, with incredible celerity made ſuch ſpeed,
that from *Amphiſſa* (for thence he had his diſpatch) in three dayes ſpace, he arrived at *Pella*.
The King was at a feaſt or banket when he came, and wine he had taken full liberally. And find-
ing him thus diſpoſed to ſolace and recreat his ſpirits, he had no reaſon to ſuſpect that he was M
minded and inclined to any change or alteration: and ſo for that time this gueſt was bidden wel-
come, and had good cheer made him. The morrow after he ſaw the proviſion of victuals in
great ſtore ready for the armies, he beheld the Bridges made over the Rivers, and the high wayes
mended and prepared, where paſſage was difficult. With theſe intelligences he returned to the
Conſul, with as great ſpeed as he went, and met him at *Thaumaci*. From whence, the army in
much joy and with greater and more aſſured hope, entred into *Macedony*; where all was provi-
ded to their hands. The King at their coming received them right ſtately, and at their departure
conducted them on the way as royally. Very willing, ready and courteous he ſhewed himſelf:
which *Africanus* much liked and highly commended, being a man as in all other things ſingular,
ſo in allowing of elegancy and humanity, if it were without ſuperfluity and exceſs, nothing nice N
and ſtreight-laced. Thus they held on their journey unto *Hellespontus*, paſſing through *Macedo-*
*ny* and *Thrace*, and *Philip* ſtill accompanied them, and provided all things for their uſe afore-
ſtand.

After the battail fought at Sea neer *Corycum*, *Antiochus* having had all the winter time free
without any empeachment to furniſh himſelf with forces both for Land and Sea, above all things
ſtudied and deviſed how to repair his fleet, for fear he ſhould be quite diſſeized and diſpoſſeſſed
of the Sea. And evermore this ran in his mind, that he had an overthrow, and yet the Rhodians
fleet was away. For thus he caſt with himſelf, that if they alſo ſhould be preſent at the next con-
flict (and ſurely the Rhodians, thought he, will not for any thing be behind again) he then ſhould
have need of a mighty number of ſhips, to match the enemies Armado as well in greatnes as good- G
neſs. And therefore he had both ſent *Annibal* into *Syria* for to take up the ſhips of the Phæni-
cians, and alſo commanded *Polyxenidas* to repair thoſe veſſels which he had already and to make
and rig others with ſo much more diligence as his fight afore was leſs fortunate. Himſelf paſſed
the winter in *Phrygia*, and ſeeking for aid out of all places, he ſent out as far as into *Gallogracia*.
The people there at that time were great warriors; keeping ſtill the courages of Gauls, for that
the race of that nation was not yet extinct and worn out. His ſon *Seleucus* he had left in *Æolis* with
an

A an army to keep the maritime Cities in obedience, which *Eumenes* from *Pergamus* of one ſide, and the Romans from *Phocæa* and *Erythræ* on the other ſide, ſollicited to rebellion. The Roman fleet, as I ſaid before, wintered at *Cana*. Thither in the mids almoſt of winter came *Eumenes* with two thouſand foot, and a hundred horſe. Who having given out unto *Livius*, that great prizes might be raiſed out of the enemies territory about *Thyatira*, had ſo perſwaded and wrought with him, that he ſent with him five thouſand ſouldiers: who being ſet forth to this rode and expedition, in few dayes drove away a mighty booty. Amid theſe matters, there hapned a mutiny in *Phocæa*, by occaſion of ſome that would have withdrawn and turned away the hearts of the multitude unto King *Antiochus*. The wintering of the fleet was chargeable to that City. The impoſition of a tribute was heavy, in regard that they were put to the finding of five hundred ſide caſſocks, and as many coats for liveries: the ſcarcity of corn alſo was grievous unto them; for B which default the ſhips and the Roman garriſon abandoned the place and departed: whereupon that faction which in all their ſpeeches and aſſemblies drew the common people to ſide with *Antiochus*, was rid of all fear. The Senat and the principal citizens of *Phocæa* were of opinion to continue to the laſt, in the aſſociation of the Romans: but the perſwaders and counſellers of a revolt were of more credit with the multitude.

The Rhodians were not ſo ſlow the ſummer paſt, but they were as forward now in the ſpring: for before mid-*March*, they ſent out the ſame *Pauſiſtratus* Admiral of a fleet of ſix and thirty ſail. And by this time *Livius* looſed from *Cana*, and ſailed toward *Helleſpontus*, with thirty ſhips, and ſeven Gallies of four banks of oars, which King *Eumenes* had brought with him, to the end that he might prepare things neceſſary for the paſſage of the army, which he ſuppoſed would come by C Land. And firſt he fell with the bay or port which they call, The rode of the * Achæans, from whence he went up to *Ilium*, where, after he had ſacrificed to *Minerva*, he gave gracious audience to the embaſſages of the neighbors bordering, which came from *Eleus*, *Dardanus*, and *Rhœtium*, who committed their Cities unto his protection. From thence he directed his courſe to the ſtreights of *Helleſpontus*, and leaving ten ſhips in the rode over-againſt *Abydus*, with the reſt of the fleet, he paſſed over into *Europe*, to aſſault *Seſtos*. As the armed ſouldiers approached their walls, the frantick Prieſts of *Cybele* called *Galli*, bereft of their wits, preſented themſelves firſt unto them before their gates, in their ſolemn habit and veſtments, ſaying, That they being the ſervants and miniſters of Dame *Cybele* the mother of the Gods, were come by the inſtinct and commandment of that goddeſs to beſeech the Roman General to ſpare the walls and the City. And not one of D them had any harm done unto them. Anon, the whole body of the Senat with the Magiſtrats came forth to yeeld the Town. From thence they croſſed over to *Abydus*, where (after many parlies, in which they had ſounded their minds, and could have no anſwer tending to peace) they addreſſed themſelves to lay ſiege to the City, and to aſſault it.

* Where they lay ſometimes againſt *Troy*.

Whiles theſe things ſtood thus about *Helleſpont*, *Polyxenidas* a Rhodian born, but baniſhed his countrey, and a Captain for King *Antiochus*, hearing that a Rhodian fleet was gone to Sea, and that *Pauſiſtratus* their Admiral, had in open audience given out certain proud and diſdainful ſpeeches againſt him, entred into a privat quarrel with him, toſſing and deviſing in his mind night and day nothing elſe, but how he might by ſome effectual and worthy deeds, check and confute thoſe brave and glorious words of his. He diſpatched therefore unto him as a meſſenger, a man E well known unto him, with credence and inſtructions to give him to underſtand, that himſelf would (if he might) ſtand both *Pauſiſtratus* and his country in good ſtead: and that *Pauſiſtratus* (if it pleaſed him) had means to reſtore him again into his native country. When *Pauſiſtratus* marvailed hereat, and was very inquiſitive to know how this might be effected; and gave him his faithful promiſe (at his requeſt) either to joyn with him in the action, or elſe to conceal all and keep counſel: then the meſſenger declared, that *Polyxenidas* would make over unto him the Kings navy either entire, or the greater part thereof: and in conſideration and recompence of this ſo great demerit, he deſired no more but that he might return into his country. The importance of this matter was ſo great, that he neither believed his words, nor yet neglected and deſpiſed the ſame. So he went to *Panormus*, a place in the Land of *Samos*, and there he abode to view F and ſee the thing that was offred unto him. Courriers there ran between, and never would *Pauſiſtratus* give credit to the party, until *Polyxenidas* wrote a letter with his own hand in the preſence of his ſaid meſſenger, that he would perform whatſoever he had promiſed, yea, and ſent the ſame letters ſealed with his own ſign Manual. By this ſure pledge or gage, *Pauſiſtratus* made full account that he had the traitor ſurely bound and obliged unto him. For thus he thought, that *Polyxenidas* living as a ſubject under the King, would never hazard the danger of ſuch pregnant matter to appear againſt himſelf, teſtified under his own hand-writing: ſo from that time forward the means of this pretended and counterfeit treaſon was deviſed and agreed upon. *Polyxenidas* gave him to underſtand, that he would of purpoſe lay aſide and neglect preparation of all furniG ture, that he would neither have rowers nor other mariners in any number about his fleet: moreover, under a colour of calking and calfretting he would lay up ſome ſhips on dry Land: others he would ſend away into the havens neer at hand, and keep ſome few riding at anchor before *Epheſus* in the haven, and thoſe (if he were forced to battail) he would ſet out to fight. The ſame negligence that *Pauſiſtratus* heard ſay *Polyxenidas* would uſe in his fleet, the ſame himſelf preſently ſhewed in his own. For ſome of his ſhips he ſent to *Halicarnaſſus* for victuals, and other to *Samos* the City, to the end that he might be in readineſs when the traitor gave the ſignal of aſſault.

*Poly-*

*Polyxenidas* ſtill by falſe ſemblance encreaſed the errors and vain imaginations of *Pauſiſtratus*: for H
ſome ſhips indeed he drew aland and laid up dry: and as if he meant to hale up more, he repaired
and amended the docks. Oremen and mariners he ſent not forth out of their winter harbors to
go to *Epheſus*, but ſecretly aſſembled them to *Magneſia*. Now it fortuned that a certain ſouldier
ſerving under King *Antiochus*, who was come to *Samos* about ſome private affairs of his own, was
apprehended there for a ſpy, and brought to *Panormus* before the Admiral *Pauſiſtratus*. Who, be-
ing demanded what they did at *Epheſus*; I know not whether for fear, or upon ſmall loyalty that
he bare to his Prince and countrey, diſcovered all: namely, that the fleet rid in the haven rigged,
decked and trimmed in readineſs: *Item*, that all the rowers and mariners were ſent to *Sipylus* in
*Magneſia*: *Item*, that ſome veſſels, and thoſe very few, were drawn up to land, and the docks and
harbors were ſhut up cloſe: and laſtly, that never at any time before, the navy was ſo carefully I
looked unto, nor Sea-affairs ſo well managed. But the mind of *Pauſiſtratus* was ſo poſſeſſed be-
fore, with fooliſh conceits and vain hopes, that he would not believe theſe informations and in-
telligences for true. *Polyxenidas* having ſet all things forward and in good readineſs, by night ſent
for the rowers and mariners from *Magneſia*: and having in great haſt ſhot to Sea, and ſet aflote
thoſe veſſels which lay at one ſide upon the land, after he had ſpent the whole day, not ſo much in
making proviſion, as trifling out the time on ſet purpoſe, becauſe he would not have the fleet to
be ſeen when it ſet forth, weighed anchor and looſed after the ſun was gone down: and with 70
ſail of covered ſhips, becauſe he had a contrary wind, entred the Bay of *Pygela* before day, where
reſting all the live long day for the ſame purpoſe as before, the next night he ſailed to the neereſt
coaſts of *Samos*. From whence he gave commandment to one *Nicander* an Archpirat, to ſet ſail K
for *Palinurus*, with five cloſe covered ſhips, there to land; and from thence to march with his
armed ſouldiers over the fields the neereſt way to *Panormus*, and to come upon the back of the
enemies: himſelf in the mean while divided his fleet into two parts, and made way to *Panormus*,
there to keep the entry and mouth of the haven on both ſides. *Pauſiſtratus* at firſt was troubled
for a while at this unexpected occurrent: but afterwards, as one that was an old beaten ſouldier,
he quickly took heart again, and calling his wits together, ſuppoſed that he might more eaſily re-
pulſe the enemies by Land than by Sea; and led his ſouldiers in two Squadrons unto the promon-
tories which bearing out into the Sea like two horns, to force the haven: from which two capes
or heads he ſuppoſed that he might eaſily ſet back and put by the enemies with ſhooting darts
from both ſides. But *Nicander* who was ſent by Land, impeached this deſign of his, ſo that he was L
forced ſuddainly to change his mind and alter that courſe, and therefore commanded all his men
to go a ſhipboord and away. Hereupon exceeding fear there was both among the ſouldiers and
alſo the mariners, as if they were to take their flight by Sea and not to fight, ſeeing themſelves in-
vironed at once both by Land and Sea. *Pauſiſtratus* ſuppoſing the only way to eſcape and ſave
themſelves, was to make way through the mouth of the haven, and ſo to recover ſea-room; after
he had ſeen all his men embarked, commanded the reſt to follow, and himſelf firſt plying and la-
bouring hard with oars, ſcudded amain with his ſhip to the entrance of the haven. Now when
ſhe was once paſt the ſtreight and come into the open Sea, *Polyxenidas* was there to welcome him
with three Galeaces of five banks of oars, and ſo beſet him. The poor ſhip was wounded with the
iron pikes bearing out in the beak heads of the Galeaces, and ſo bouged and ſunk withal. The M
defendants upon the hatches were overwhelmed with ſhot of darts, and among the reſt, *Pauſiſtra-*
*tus* himſelf manfully fighting loſt his life. The reſt of the ſhips were boorded and taken, ſome before
the haven, others within: and ſome there were that by *Nicander* were ſeized as they laboured to
looſe from the land, and to lanch forth. Five ſhips only of *Rhodes*, and two of *Cous*, eſcaped cleer
and fled, which made themſelves way even among the thickeſt of their enemies, by the means of a
fearful burning flame of fire that they had with them. For they ſet me two long perches or poles
bearing forward at the prow, like two ſprit-ſails, in every ſhip, carying iron pots and pans afore
them full of light fire. The Gallies of *Erythrea*, meeting the Rhodian ſhips not far from *Samos* as
they fled the which were coming to help them, turned their courſe backward into *Helleſpontus*,
unto the Romans. About the ſame time *Seleucus* gained the City of *Phocæa* by treaſon, entring in N
at a gate which the warders ſet open of purpoſe for him. And for fear, *Cymæ* and other Towns of
that coaſt revolted unto him.

Whiles theſe things thus paſſed in *Æolis*, and that *Abydus* had endured the ſiege for certain dayes
by the defence of the Kings garriſon that manned the walls: now that all were overtoiled and
wearied, the Magiſtrats of the City (by the permiſſion of *Philotas* Captain of the garriſon) articled
with *Livius* upon conditions to render the Town. The only point whereupon they ſtood, and
which ſtayed the concluſion, was this, for that they could not agree whether the Kings ſouldiers
ſhould be ſent away armed or diſarmed. And whiles they debated hereabout, news came of the
Rhodians defeat, and ſo the opportunity of gaining the Town ſlipt out of their hands. For *Livius*
fearing, leſt *Polyxenidas* puffed up with the ſucceſs of ſo great an exploit, would ſurprize the fleet O
that rid at *Cana*, leaving preſently the ſiege before *Abydus*, and the garding of *Helleſpont*, put to Sea
afreſh thoſe ſhips that lay dry at *Cana*. And *Eumenes* came to *Elea*: But *Livius* went to *Phocæa*
with all his fleet, to which he had adjoyned two trireme gallies of *Mitylenæ*. But when he heard
ſay it was kept with a ſtrong garriſon of the Kings, & that *Seleucus* was encamped not far off, after
he had pilled the ſea-coaſt, and charged haſtily his ſhips with a good booty, & thoſe were prizes of
men eſpecially, he ſtayed no longer there than until *Eumenes* might overtake him with his fleet,

but

A but directed his course streight to *Samos*. The Rhodians upon the first news of this their overthrow, feared much, and withal mightily sorrowed: for besides the loss of their Sea-souldiers and ships, they lost also the very flour and strength of their youth: for asmuch as many young Gentlemen of their nobility, accompanied *Pausistratus*, among other motives, in regard of his authority, which was right great and for good desert among his country-men. But afterwards considering how treacherously they were over-wrought, and namely, by one of their own citizens, born among them, their melancholy turned into choler, and their sorrow into anger. Whereupon they sent forth ten ships immediatly, and few dayes after other ten, under the conduct of *Eudamus* the Admiral over them all: who albeit he were not for other feats of arms and martial skill equal to *Pausistratus*, yet they supposed verily he would be a leader so much the more wary and circum-
B spect, as he was the less hardy and courageous. The Romans and King *Eumenes* first fell with the Iland *Erythræa*, where they stayed one night, and the morrow after gained the point of *Corycus*, a promontory of the Teians. From whence when they purposed to cross over to the neerest parts of *Samos*, not waiting for the sun-rising, by which the Pilots might observe the disposition of the weather, they hoised up sails against a very doubtful and dangerous tempest: for the wind turned from North-east to full North, as they were in the mids of their course, whereby they began to be mightily tossed among the surging billows of the rough and angry Sea. *Polyxenidas* supposing that the enemies would take their course directly to *Samos*, there to joyn with the Rhodian fleet, departed from *Ephesus*, and first anchored at *Myonesus*: from thence he sailed to an Iland called *Macris*, to the end that as the enemies fleet sailed by, he might take advantage to set upon
C either some ships singled and severed from the body of the fleet or play upon the tail and reregard thereof. After that he perceived the whole fleet to be dispersed by force of the tempest, he thought first to take that occasion to fall upon them: but the wind rising still more and more, and raising greater waves, because he saw he could not possibly come neer to boord them, he cut over to the Iland *Ethalia*, minding the next day to assail the ships in the main Sea as they passed to *Samos*. Some small number of the Roman ships in the beginning of the night put into the haven of *Samia*, which they found void and empty: the rest of the fleet after they had been tossed and tormented all the night long in the deep, at length light upon the same harbor. Where being advertised by the peasants of the country, that the enemies ships lay in the rode of *Athalia*, they fell to consult, whether presently to bid battail and put it to the hazard, or expect the arrival of the
D Rhodian fleet. Deferring therefore that enterprise (for so upon advertisement they were agreed) they traversed to *Corycus*, from whence they came. *Polyxenidas* likewise, having staid at anchor in vain returned to *Ephesus*: and then the Roman ships, while the Seas were thus cleer of enemies, sailed over to *Samos*. Thither also arrived the Rhodian fleet few daies after: and that it might appear how long looked for it was, they all presently set sail for *Ephesus*, with purpose either to try an issue by a battel at Sea, or else if the enemy refused the tryal, to express and wring from him a plain confession of cowardise: which was a material point and of great importance to move the minds of the other neighbour-cities. Being arrived to the very haven mouth, they embattailed their ships and stood directly affront opposed unto it. And when they saw none make sail nor set out against them, the one part thereof rode aflote at anchor still in the very haven mouth; the
E other discharged the souldiers and set them a land. Upon whom (as they were driving a mighty booty which they had raised by foraging all the country over) *Andronicus* a Macedonian, who lay in garrison at *Ephesus*, sallied forth, even as they approached the walls of the City; and having eased them of a great part of their prey aforesaid, he chased them to the Sea unto their ships. The morrow after, the Romans having bestowed an ambush about the mid-way between, marched in order of battail against the City, to see if peradventure they could train forth the Macedonian again without the walls: but perceiving that no man durst come abroad for suspicion and fear of an await, they returned to their ships again; and when they saw their enemies would not abide them neither at Sea nor on Land, in the end the fleet sailed again to *Samos* from whence it came. Thence the Pretor made out two Gallies of Italian confederats, and as many Rhodians under the
F conduct of *Epicrates* the Rhodian Admiral, to defend and keep the streights of *Cephalenia*, which *Hibristas* the Lacedæmonian together with the youth of the Cephalens, infested with his roving and robbing, in so much as there could no ships pass by Sea to and fro with victuals between *Italy* and that coast. At *Pyræum Epicrates* met with *L. Aemilius Regillus* coming to succeed in the Admiralty: who hearing of the defeat of the Rhodians, and having himself but two Quinquereme Galleaces, brought *Epicrates* back with him into *Asia* with four ships. There accompanied them also the open ships of the Athenians. And he passed over by the Sea * *Ægeum*. Thither also ar- * *Archipelagum.*
rived *Timasicrates* the Rhodian in the dead of the night with two Quadrireme gallies from *Samos*.
G Who being brought unto *Æmylius*, declared how he was sent to quiet and defend that Sea-coast, which the Kings roving ships and men of war by their often excursions from *Hellespontus* and *Asydus*, had made too hot for the Hulks and other ships of burden which used to pass that way. As *Æmylius* sailed from *Chios* to *Samos*, two Rhodian Quadrireme Gallies were sent by *Livius* to meet him: and King *Eumenes* also with two Quinquereme galleaces presented himself unto him. Being all arrived at *Samos*, *Æmylius* after he had received the navy of *Livius*, and sacrificed orderly as the manner was, called a councel. At which *C. Livius* (for his opinion was asked first) spake and said, "That no man giveth more sound and faithful counsel than he, who perswadeth another man "to that which himself would do in the same case. As for me, my intent and purpose was, to

"go

"go againſt *Epheſus* with the whole armado, and thither to bring with me the veſſels of burden H
"charged with heavy ballaſt of gravel and ſand, and to ſink them in the very haven mouth, for to
"choak it up. And to make this bar againſt the haven, it was a matter (ſaid he) of leſs difficulty,
"for that the mouth and guller of the haven, was in manner of a river long, narrow, and full of
"ſhelfs and ſhallows. By which mean I ſhould have cut off the benefit of the Sea from the enemy,
"and make him loſe the uſe altogether of his navy. But no man there beſides himſelf thought
well of this device. King *Eumenes* demanded, what they would do then after this choaking up
and ſtoppage of the haven paſſage, by ſinking the ſhips? whether they would depart from thence
with their own navy at liberty, to help their allies and terrifie and affright their enemies; or ne-
ver the later ſtill, keep the haven (as it were) in ſiege with the whole fleet? For if they departed,
who could make doubt but that the enemy would pluck up thoſe dams and bars that there lay I
drowned; yea, and with leſs ado and trouble, open the haven again, than it was ſtopped? and if
they meant to tary there nevertheleſs, to what purpoſe then was the haven ſhut up? But contra-
ry-wiſe, they within *Epheſus* (quoth he) being in ſurety for any danger from their haven and ha-
ving a moſt rich and wealthy City of their own, furniſhed with all things out of *Aſia*, would paſs
the ſummer ſeaſon in reſt and repoſe; whiles the Romans floting in the open wide Sea, expoſed to
the violence of waves and lying at the mercy of tempeſts, ſhould be driven to keep a continual
guard, diſfurniſhed of all things, and rather tied up and debarred themſelves, for being able to
effect thoſe things that were needful to be done, than in caſe to empeach and ſhut up their ene-
mies. Then *Eudamus* the Admiral of the Rhodian fleet, opined for his part, and ſpake to the
queſtion, ſaying, That he rather diſliked of that courſe, than knew himſelf a better, or could ad- K
viſe what was to be done. *Epicrates* the Rhodian was of mind, to leave *Epheſus* for the preſent,
and to ſend part of his ſhips into *Lycia*, for to aſſociate unto them *Patara*, the capital City of that
nation: ſhewing two things of great conſequence, that hereby would accrue. For, both the Rho-
dians aſſured of peace, and ſecured from all danger of thoſe quarters that lie about their Iſland,
might thereby attend wholly, and employ all their forces upon the regard of this only war againſt
*Antiochus*: and alſo the Armado which was prepared in *Lycia* might be ſtopped and empeached,
for ever joining with *Polyxenidas*. This opinion imported, and prevailed moſt. Howbeit, thought
good it was and agreed upon, that *Regillus* ſhould preſent himſelf before *Epheſus*, with the whole
fleet, to ſtrike a terror into the enemies. And *C. Livius* was ſent with four Rhodian quadrireme
Gallies, and two Smyrnean open ſhips into *Lycia*, with direction to take *Rhodes* in the way, and L
with them there to communicate all his counſels. The Cities which he paſſed by, namely, * *Mi-*
*letus*, * *Myndus*, * *Halicarnaſſus*, * *Cnidus* and *Cous*, performed willingly whatſoever was enjoined
and impoſed upon them. Being arrived at *Rhodes*, he declared unto the Rhodians the effect of his
commiſſion, and withal required their advice. They all approved the deſign, and when he had
taken of them to the fleet that he had of his own, three quadrireme gallies more, he ſailed to
* *Patara*. At the firſt he had a merry gale of wind, that ſet them forward directly toward the
City, and good hope they had with their ſuddain terrour to do ſome good with the inhabitants:
but afterwards, the wind being come about, the Sea roſe, and the ſurging waves began to make it
troubleſome and dangerous; howbeit they laboured ſo with oars that they gat to the ſhore ſide.
But neither was there about the City any ſafe bay to ride in, neither were they able to keep the M
Sea with anchor without the haven mouth of the enemies City, the Sea was ſo rough, and the
night ſo neer. So paſſing along by the wall ſide of the City, they ſailed to the port of *Phanicus*, leſs
than two miles diſtant from thence, which was a ſafe rode for their ſhips from all danger of Sea,
but high cliffs and rocks there were over their heads which commanded them, and thoſe the
Townſmen quickly ſeized, with the aſſiſtance of the Kings ſouldiers whom they had in garriſon.
Againſt whom *Livius* ſent out the aid-ſouldiers of the Iſſeans, and the nimbleſt and moſt agile
young men of the Smyrneans, notwithſtanding the landing places were very difficult and unto-
ward. Theſe ſuſtained the fight at firſt, ſo long as they ſhot darts, and made petty excurſions and
profers rather of skirmiſhes, than a direct battel, as being but few in number. But after that they
ran out of the City in great numbers, and that the whole multitude was iſſued forth, *Livius* feared N
leſt not only thoſe auxiliars ſhould be environed and encloſed, but alſo the ſhips diſtreſſed and en-
dangered from the land: ſo he brought forth to fight, not the ſouldiers only, but all the rabble of
the mariners alſo and the rowers, armed and furniſhed with whatſoever weapons they could find.
And even then alſo there was a doubtful and dangerous conflict, wherein beſides certain ſouldiers
*L. Apuſtius* died in the conflict of this ſuddain and tumultuary skirmiſh. Yet in the end, the Ly-
cians were diſcomfited, put to flight, and chaſed into their City. The Romans likewiſe retired to
their ſhips, carrying away with them no bloudleſs victory for their part. From thence they ſhaped
their courſe to the gulf or narrow ſtreight of *Telmeſſus* (which of one ſide toucheth *Caria*, and *Ly-*
*cia* on the other) laying aſide all hope to aſſail *Patara* any more: and ſo the Rhodians were diſ-
charged and ſent home. *Livius* after he had coaſted along *Aſia* croſſed over into *Greece*, to the
end, that having communed and conferred with the *Scipios* (who then abode about *Theſſaly*) he
might ſail directly into *Italy*.

*Æmylius* when he had intelligence, that the deſignment intended in *Lycia* was given over,
and that *Livius* was departed into *Italy*, being himſelf alſo returned to *Samos* (for that he was by
violence of tempeſt repulſed from *Epheſus*, without effect of his enterpriſe) thought it was a ſhame
and diſhonour, that the adventure was given upon *Patara* in vain, and therefore determined in
proper

* *Melazzo*
* *S. Pietro.*
* *Caſtello S. Pedro.*
* *Cabo Crio.*
* *Patera.*

A proper perſon to make a voyage thither with his whole fleet, and to aſſault the City with all the force he could poſſible. And having paſſed along *Miletus*, and all that coaſt of the aſſociats, they disbarked from the gulf or creek of *Bargilla*, and came a land neer *Iaſſus*. The City was held by a garriſon of the Kings: and the Romans waſted by way of hoſtility, the territory about it. Then *Æmylius* ſent certain to parle with the chief citizens and the Magiſtrats, to ſound them how they were diſpoſed, and alſo to ſollicite them to revolt: but being anſwered again that it lay not in their own power to do as they would, he marched forward to give an aſſault to the City. Now there were certain Iaſſians, baniſhed perſons, in company with the Romans, who in great number beſought and importuned the Rhodians, not to ſuffer a City, ſo neer a neighbour and linked in bloud unto them, for to periſh and come to ruin, eſpecially having no way offended: alledging,
B that the only cauſe of their baniſhment was their loyalty unto the Romans, and by the ſame violence of the Kings garriſon ſouldiers, were they alſo held in awe who remained in the City, by which themſelves had been expeiled. For all the Iaſſians in general were of one mind, moſt willing and deſirous to avoid and ſhake off the ſervitude under the King. The Rhodians were moved in compaſſion with their prayers, and joining unto them King *Eumenes* alſo, partly by ſhewing the conſanguinity and kindred between them, and partly by pitying and lamenting the diſtreſſed ſtate of the City (beſieged, as it were, already by the Kings garriſon) they prevailed ſo much that they forbare to aſſail it. So they departed from thence, and becauſe all other parts were peaceable, they ſailed along the coaſt of *Aſia*, until they arrived at * *Lotyma*, a port or haven town even a-
C gainſt *Rhodes*. There in the *Principia* began firſt a ſecret whiſpering among the Colonels (which afterwards came to the ears of *Æmylius* himſelf) namely, That the navy was led away far enough off from *Epheſus*, where by right and of duty he was to war; to the end, that the enemy being left at liberty behind their backs, might attempt to do what he liſt without controlment, againſt ſo many Cities and States of the Roman allies, neer unto him. *Æmylius* was moved herewith, and calling unto him the Rhodians, demanded of them, Whether the whole armado might ride conveniently within the haven of *Patara*? And when they anſwered No, he took that occaſion to paſs no further, but to give over the voyage, and ſo brought back his ſhips to *Samos*.

* Mizi.

In this ſame time *Seleucus* the ſon of *Antiochus*, after he had kept his army all winter time in *Æolis*, employing it partly in ſuccouring his aſſociats, and partly in ſacking and pilling thoſe whom
D he could not draw into aſſociation, intended to invade the confines of King *Eumenes* his realm, whiles he (together with the Romans) was buſied far from home, in aſſailing the maritime parts of *Lycia*. And firſt he approached *Elæa* in countenance of an enemy, with banner diſplaied; but afterwards, leaving to beſiege the City, after ſpoil made in hoſtile manner of the territory, he marched forward to beſiege and aſſault the head City and capital ſtrength of al his Kingdom * *Pergamus*. *Attalus* at the beginning ſeemed rather to brave and provoke him unto fight with his ſtrong guards that he had placed without the City, and excurſions with his horſemen and light armour, than to ſtand upon his guard and defence, and to receive the forces of his enemy: but at length, ſeeing by theſe light skirmiſhes that he was in no reſpect able to match *Seleucus*, he retired himſelf within his walls, and ſo the City began to be beſieged. And much about the ſame time,
E *Antiochus* alſo being departed from *Apamea*, firſt lay encamped at *Sardis*, and afterwards, not far from the camp of *Seleucus*, neer to the head or ſource of the river * *Caicus*, with a mighty army compoſed of diverſe and ſundry nations. The greateſt ſhew of terror in this army was a redoubled Regiment of Gauls, to the number of four thouſand, hired for wages, whom with ſome few other among them, he ſent out to waſt and deſtroy all parts of the territory about *Pergamus*. When news hereof came to *Samos*, *Eumenes* at the firſt, being called away by this war, (begun at home, even at his very dores) made haſt with his fleet to *Elæa*; where finding in readineſs certain horſemen and footmen both lightly appointed, by their ſure convoy and ſafe conduct, he came to *Pergamus* before the enemies had knowledge thereof, or enterpriſed anything. Where once a-
F gain they began to make light skirmiſhes by way of excurſions, for in truth *Eumenes* lay off, and was not willing to hazard the main chance upon a throw. Few dayes after, both the Roman and Rhodian fleet came from *Samos* and were arrived at *Elæa* for to aid the King *Eumenes*. When *Antiochus* was advertiſed that they had landed their forces at *Elæa*, and that ſo many armadoes were met together in that one haven, and hearing withal about the ſame time, that the Conſul was already with a power in *Macedony* making reparation of all things for his paſſage over *Helleſpont*: he ſuppoſed now it was high time (before that he were preſſed at once both by Land and Sea) to treat for peace, and therefore he ſeized a certain hill over againſt *Elæa*, to fortify and encampin. Where, leaving his whole power of Infantry, he deſcended into the plain, under the very walls of *Elæa*, with all his Cavalry, to the number of ſix thouſand Horſe. And ſending an herald to *Æmylius*, he gave him to underſtand, that he was deſirous to have a treaty of peace.
G *Æmylius* ſent for *Eumenes* from *Pergamus*, and they both, together with the Rhodians, debated in councel what to do. The Rhodians refuſed not the offer. But *Eumenes* ſaid it was neither honourable to parle of peace at that time, nor yet poſſible to conclude thereof, if they went about it. "For being as we are (quoth he) pinned up within our walls and beſieged, how can we receive "from another, conditions of peace, ſaving our credit and honour? and who will hold that for a "firm and aſſured peace, which we ſhall contract without the preſence of the Conſul, without the "authority of the Senat, and without the grant of the people of *Rome*? For I demand of you, when "ye have made a peace, whether you will return preſently into *Italy* or no? whether you will

* Pergamo or Bergamo.

* Gimaſti.

"withdraw

" withdraw your fleet and army? or rather wait and expect to know the Conſul his mind and H
" adviſe, the Senats pleaſure and ordinance, and the general aſſent of the people in that behalf? It
" remaineth then after that is done, that you ſtay ſtill in *Aſia*, and that your forces being brought
" back again into their wintering harbors, (after they have done with warfare) fall to conſume
" and eat out our allies, by charging them with proviſion of victuals: and afterwards, if it ſhall ſo
" pleaſe the higher powers, and thoſe that are in authority ſo to ordain, we muſt begin that war
" anew, which now we are able (if we ſlack not the time, nor ſtop the forward courſe wherein we
" are) before winter come, with the favor and power of the Gods, to finiſh and bring to a final
" end. This advice took place; and anſwer was returned unto *Antiochus*, that there could be no
treaty of peace before the Conſul his coming. *Antiochus* having thus in vain ſought for peace,
when he had firſt forraged and waſted the territory of *Elaa*, and afterwards of *Pergamus*, left his I
ſon *Seleucus* there, and went himſelf in perſon to * *Adramytteum*, pilling and ſpoiling all the way
as he journeyed, in all kind of hoſtility. Now this territory is a rich country, called, The cham-
pain plains of *Thebe*: much renouned by the Poet *Homer* in his poem; and in no one place beſides
of all *Aſia* got the Kings ſouldiers a greater booty and more pillage. Thither arrived alſo to *A-*
*dramytteum* both *Æmylius* and *Eumenes* (having fet a compaſs by ſea) for the defence of the ſaid
City. During this time, they ſent for a thouſand foot, and a hundred horſe out of *Achæa* to come
unto *Elæa*: all which forces were commanded by Captain *Diophanes*. So ſoon as they were diſ-
barked and landed, there were ready to receive them certain men ſent from *Attalus* of purpoſe to
meet them, who by night conducted them to *Pergamus*. They were all old ſouldiers and well ex-
perienced in feats of war: and their leader *Diophanes* had been brought up and trained under *Phi-* K
*lopœmenes*, the greateſt warrior in thoſe dayes of all the Greeks, who took but two dayes for to
reſt his horſe and men, and to take view of the enemies guards, namely, in what places and at
what time they uſed cuſtomably either to come forward, or to retire. The Kings ſouldiers were
approached almoſt to the very foot of the hill, where the City is ſituate. By means whereof they
might forage behind at their will, and there was not one iſſued out of the City ſo much as to lance
a dart aloof againſt the *corps de guard* of the enemies. After they were once ſo neer driven for fear,
that they were fain to keep themſelves cloſe within the walls, the Kings ſouldiers without, began
firſt to contemn, and afterwards to neglect them. Many of them had not their horſes ſo much
as ſadled and bridled, and ſome few were left in arms and in ordinance of battail: the reſt were
gone aſide and ſpred over all parts of the champain: ſome went to play and took themſelves to L
youthful ſports and wanton riot: others fell to feeding, pampering their bellies, and making good
cheer under covert ſhade, and many were laid along aſleep. *Diophanes* beheld all the manner
hereof aloft from an high turret of the City *Pergamus*, and preſently gave commandment to his
ſouldiers to take arms and to be ready at the gate. Himſelf went to *Attalus*, and told him, that
he purpoſed to aſſail the enemies *corps de guard*. *Attalus* (although he were very loth) gave him
leave; for he ſaw full well, that he was to fight with one hundred horſe againſt three hundred:
and one thouſand foot againſt four thouſand. Being out of the gate, he ſat him down not far from
the enemies *corps de guard*, waiting when ſome good opportunity and occaſion would offer it
ſelf. Both they within *Pergamus* of one ſide, deemed this to be folly rather than hardineſs; and
alſo the enemies on the other ſide making towards them for a while, and perceiving them not to M
ſtir, altered nothing of their uſual negligence, and that which more was, made a mockery and
ſcorn of their ſmall number. *Diophanes* kept his men ſtill a good time, as if he had brought them
forth only for a ſhew, to ſee and to be ſeen: but after he perceived once the enemies to be diſ-
banded out of their ranks and ranges, he commanded the footmen to make all the haſt they could
after, whiles himſelf leading the way firſt among his horſemen, ran with his whole troop upon
the ſpur as hard as ever he could, and ſetting up a ſhout and cry aloud on all hands, as well with
foot as horſe, charged ſuddainly upon the enemies guards, ere they were aware of them. Man
and horſe both were greatly ſcared: and the horſes eſpecially having broken their collers and hal-
ters wherewith they ſtood tied, made foul work and much trouble among their own party. Some
few of the horſes kept their ſtanding ſtill unaffrighted, and even thoſe they had much ado to ſad- N
dle, to bridle, and to mount upon; with ſo great a terrour came the Achæans, and with much
more than ſo ſmall a number could be thought to make. And as for the footmen in order arran-
ged and well provided they fell upon thoſe that were negligently diſperſed abroad, ere they look-
ed for them, and in manner half aſleep. Great execution and butchery was committed upon them
all the fields over, and they fled amain. *Diophanes*, having followed the chaſe as they ran away
in ſcattering wiſe, ſo far as he might well with ſafety of himſelf, returned to the guard and defence
of the City, having won great honor to the nation of the Achæans by this exploit: for not only
the men, but women alſo beheld this ſervice, and looked on him from the walls of *Pergamus*. The
next day after, the Kings *Corps de guards* were better ordered and kept cloſer together, yea, and re-
tired half a mile farther from the City, where they encamped themſelves. The Achæans likewiſe,
much about the ſame time advanced to the very ſame place. Many hours together they looked
one upon another who would begin firſt, expecting every minute when the charge ſhould be
given. But after the ſun was neer going down, and that it was time to return into the camp,
they of the Kings part began to ruffle their enſigns and guidons together, and ſet forward with
their bands, ordred in manner of a march for the way, more like than marſhalled for to fight a
battail. *Diophanes* ſat ſtill ſo long as they were within ſight: but then he charged upon their rere-
ward.

* *Laudrimiti.*

A ward, with as great violence and fury, as the day before, and put them again into ſo great affright and trouble, that they gave them leave to wound them on their backs, and not one would ſtay to make head and reſiſt, but trembling for fear, and hardly keeping the order of a march, they were beaten into their camp. This boldneſs of the Achæans forced *Selencus* to diſlodge and remove out of the territory of *Pergamus*.

*Antiochus* after he heard ſay that the Romans and *Eumenes* were come to the defence of *Adramytteum*, medled no more with the town it ſelf, but after he had laid the fields waſte, departed from thence, and forced *Perœa*, a Colony of the Mitylenæans. As for *Cotton* and *Corylenus*, *Aphrodiſias* and *Pryene*, they were won at the firſt aſſault, and ſo he returned to *Sardis* by * *Thyatira*. *Selencus* remaining ſtill upon the ſea-coaſts, as he affrighted ſome, ſo he defended others. The Ro-

* Tire.

B man fleet together with *Eumenes* and the Rhodians ſailed firſt to * *Mitylena*, and back again from thence, returned to *Elæa* from whence ſhe came. So they held on their courſe to *Phocæa*, and ſell with an Iſland called *Bacchius*, ſituat above the City of the Phocæans: and after they had pilled and rifled by way of hoſtility the Temples, which heretofore they had forborn, and taken away the Images (for the Iſland was magnificently adorned and beautified therewith) they croſſed over to the City it ſelf, which they aſſaulted in divers quarters, according as they had divided their forces into three parts: but ſeeing that it might not be won with bare ſcaling and ſtrength of arms, without planting engins of battery and other fabricks; and beſides, that three thouſand armed men ſent from *Antiochus* for defence, were entred into the City, preſently they gave over the ſiege. and the fleet retired to the Iſlands, having done no other exploit, but only pilled the terri-

* Mitylin.

C tory about the City.

This done, it was thought good that *Eumenes* ſhould have licence to depart into his own kingdom, that he might provide for the Conſul and the army all neceſſaries toward the paſſage over *Helleſpontus*: alſo that the Roman and Rhodian fleets ſhould return to *Samos*, and there remain in guard, and have an eye unto *Polyxenidas*, leſt he removed from *Epheſus* and made ſome attempt that way. So, the King returned to *Elea*, the Romans and Rhodians to *Samos*, where *M. Æmylius* the Prætor his brother departed this life. The Rhodians, after his funerall obſequies performed, ſailed to *Rhodes* with thirteen ſhips of their own, one quinquerem galeace of *Cous*, and the other of *Gnidos*, there to lie in rode, ready to make head againſt the fleet, which as the bruit blazed, was afloat and coming out of *Syria*. Two daies before that *Eudamus* looſed from

D *Samos* with the Armado, thirteen ſhips ſent from *Rhodes* under the conduct of Admirall *Pamphilidas* to encounter the ſaid Syriack fleet, taking with them four other ſhips, which were for the guard of *Caria*, delivered from ſiege *Dædala*, and other petty forts which the Kings ſouldiers aſſailed. Then it was adviſed that *Eudamus* ſhould incontinently ſet forward on his voyage. And to that fleet which he had under his charge, he adjoyned alſo four open ſhips. Being departed, he made ſail in all haſte that he poſſibly could, and arrived at the port called *Megiſte*: where he overtook thoſe that were gone before; from whence they came in one band and train joyntly together unto *Phaſelis*, and then they judged it the beſt way, in that place to attend the coming of the enemy. This *Phaſelis* ſtandeth upon the confines between *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*. It lieth far within the ſea, & is the firſt land that ſheweth it ſelf, to them that ſail from *Cilicia* to *Rhodes*;

E and from thence a man may ken and diſcover ſhips under ſail afar off: for which cauſe eſpecially, this was choſen for a fit and convenient place, wherein they might encounter the enemies fleet. But by reaſon the air was unwholſome, and the ſeaſon of the year unhealthful (for it was midſummer) and the ſmels and ſtinking ſavours ſuch, as they had not been acquainted with; many contagious diſeaſes and maladies which they foreſaw not, began to ſpred commonly abroad, and eſpecially among the mariners: for fear of which plague and mortality, they departed from thence, and paſſed beyond the gulph of *Pamphylium*: and being arrived in the river *Eurymedon*, they received advertiſement from the Aſpendians, that the enemies were already before *Sida*. Thoſe of the Kings ſide had ſailed but ſlowly in regard of the adverſe ſeaſon of the winds named * *Eteſia*,

* Eaſterly winds yearly plowing about Midſummer for the ſpace of forty daies.

F which kept their ſet and certain time, like as thoſe do which they call * *Favonii*. Now of the Rhodians there were 32 quadrireme Gallies, and 4 other triremes beſides. The Kings fleet conſiſted of 37, and thoſe of greater burden and bulk: among which were three mighty Galleaces of * 7 banks of oars on a ſide, and four of * 6, beſides 10 ordinary trireme gallies. There were others alſo that knew by a ſentinel or watch-tower ſtanding on a certain high place, how the enemies were at hand. The next morning by break of day both theſe fleets ſet forth of the haven, as if they would have fought that very day. And after that the Rhodians had paſſed the cape, which from *Sida* hangeth over into the ſea, then preſently were they diſcovered of the enemies, and the enemies likewiſe deſcried by them. The left wing of the Kings fleet, flanked with the main ſea, was commanded by *Annibal*: and *Apollonius* one of his gallants and courtiers led the right: ſo as now they had ranged their ſhips broad in a front-rank. The Rhodians advanced forward ordred in length and caſting their battell into files. In the vanguard the Admiral ſhip of *Eudamus* was formoſt; *Caryclitus* governed the rereguard; and *Pamphilidas* had the conduct of the middle ward. *Eudamus* ſeeing the enemies battell arranged and ready for conflict, put forth into the open ſea, commanding thoſe that followed after in order to keep their array, and ſo directly to affront the enemy: which at the firſt cauſed ſome trouble, for he was not ſo far advanced into the deep, that all the ſhips could be ſet in array along the land ſide: and beſides, himſelf making too much haſte, with five ſhips only encountred *Annibal*, for the reſt followed not after him, becauſe they were bidden

* Weſtern winds in the ſpring, or March-winds.

* *Hepteres.*

* *Hexeres.*

to range afront. Now the rereward had no room left them toward the land: and thus whiles H they haſtily were jumbled together, the fight by that time was begun in the right wing againſt *Annibal*. But at one inſtant the Rhodians caſt off all fear, as well in regard of the goodneſs of their ſhips, as of their own experience and uſuall practice in ſervice at ſea. For their ſhips with great quickneſs and agility making ſail into the main ſea, made room for every one that came after along the land ſide: and withall, if any one hapned to run upon a ſhip of the enemies with her piked beak head, either it rent the prow, or wiped away the oars, or paſſing clear through, between the ranks and files turned again and charged upon the poop. But the thing which terrified the enemy moſt was this, That a great galleace of the Kings which had ſeven banks of oars on a ſide, was bouged and took a leak with one only knock, that it received by a Rhodian ſhip far leſs: whereupon the right wing of the enemy doubtleſs enclined to flie away. But *Annibal* I preſſed *Eudamus* very much in the open ſea, moſt of all with multitude of ſhips: for otherwiſe in all reſpects *Eudamus* had the odds and better hand of him by far: and certainly he had compaſſed and encloſed *Eudamus* round, but that a flag was put out of the Admirall, (by which ſignall the diſperſed ſhips are wont to rally themſelves together:) whereupon all thoſe that had got the better of the enemy in the right wing, made haſte to joyn in one for to ſuccour their fellows. Then *Annibal* alſo and the ſhips about him, took their flight: but the Rhodians were not able to make way after them and to maintain the chaſe, by reaſon that the rowers many of them were ſick, and therefore the ſooner weary. Whereupon they caſt anchor in the main ſea, and ſtaid to eat and take ſome refection for to ſtrengthen their bodies. And in this while *Eudamus* eſpied and beheld the enemies how they haled and towed by ropes at the tail of the open ſhips (that went K only with oars) certain other which were lame, maimed, ſore bruiſed, and cracked: and might ſee 20 others not much ſounder than they, to leave the reſt and depart: whereupon cauſing an *Oyes* and ſilence to be made from an high turret in the fore-caſtle of the Admirall, Ariſe my hearts (ſaith he) and ſee a pleaſant ſight yonder and a goodly ſpectacle. So they all aroſe at once and beheld how the enemies were afraid and what poor ſhift they made in haſte to flie, and with one voice they all in a manner cried out to follow after and purſue them. Now *Eudamus* his own ſhip was ſhaken in many places and ſore bruiſed; whereupon he commanded *Pamphilidas* and *Charicletus* to make way after them, ſo far forth as they thought they might without danger. And for a good time they held them in chaſe: but ſeeing *Annibal* approaching near the ſhore, and fearing leſt the wind would lock them within the enemies coaſt, they returned toward *Eudamus*, and drew along L with them the great galleace which they took, and which at the firſt encounter was pierced, and with much ado trained it to *Phaſelis*. From thence they retired themſelves to *Rhodes*, not ſo joyous for this victory, as blaming one another that they had not either ſunk or taken the whole fleet of the enemies, having ſo good means as they had to do it. *Annibal* daunted with this one infortunate battell, durſt not even then paſs along the river of *Lycia*, but deſired to joyn unto the old fleet of the Kings as ſoon as poſſibly he could. To impeach him for effecting that, the Rhodians ſet out *Charicletus* and twenty war ſhips with piked ſtems, toward *Patara* and the Port of *Megiſte*; and commanded *Eudamus* to return unto the Romans to *Samos* with ſeven of the taleſt ſhips in all the fleet whereof he had the command: to the end, that he might induce the Romans with his counſell and advice, yea, and with all the countenance and authority that he had, force them to lay M ſiege unto *Patara* and to aſſault it. The Romans took great joy and contentment, firſt at the news and report of this victory, and afterwards at the return of the Rhodians. And it ſeemed, if that one City ſtood not in their way to ſtay them, and that they were once rid of that care, they would without any let and empeachment, make all the ſea coaſts ſure enough for any danger and damage from thoſe quarters. But becauſe *Antiochus* was departed from *Sardis*, the Romans held them back, and would not ſuffer them to abandon the guard and defence of *Æolis* and *Ionia*, for fear leſt the Cities upon the ſea-ſide might be ſurpriſed. And ſo they ſent *Pamphilidas* with four covered ſhips, to the fleet that lay about *Patara*.

*Antiochus* gathered together not only the garriſons and aids of all the Cities that were about him, but alſo addreſſed his Embaſſadors with letters to *Pruſias* the King of *Bithynia*, wherein he N gave out hard words of the Romans for their paſſage into *Aſia*: namely, "That their coming only "was for this, to demoliſh put down, and overthrow all kingdoms, and to ſet up the only Roman "Empire that none elſe might ſtand in the whole world. That *Philip* and *Mabis* already were ſub-"dued and depoſed and now himſelf was to make the third, againſt whom they were come. Nei-"ther would they make an end there but go on ſtill, like a continuall fire that burneth forward, "and take all afore them, and ever as they vanquiſhed one, proceed to another that is next. And "no doubt, they would make a bridge of him to paſs onward into *Bithynia*, now that *Eumenes* "hath gently taken upon his neck the yoke of voluntary ſervitude. *Pruſias* was ſomewhat touched with theſe letters, but when there came others written from *Scipio* the Conſul, and his brother *Africanus* eſpecially, he was wholly averted from entertaining any ſuch ſuſpition. For *Africanus* beſides the continuall cuſtome that the people of *Rome* had, to advance and amplifie the Majeſty of KK. their allies and confederates with all kind of honour; alledged for his part, the domeſtical examples of their own houſe and family: inducing *Pruſias* thereby to enter into a deſire to win his love and friendſhip. For he diſcourſed & ſaid, "That thoſe Princes and petty KK. in *Spain*, "whom he had received into his protection, he left behind him when he went away, mighty mo-"narches: alſo, that he not only had placed & eſtabliſhed *Maſaniſſa* in his fathers realm & throne,

but

A "but setled him in the kingdom also of *Syphax*, who before had chased & expelled him: so as now "he was not only the richest potentate and most wealthy K. of all *Affrick*, but also for majesty & "puissant forces a patagon, equall to any other K. in the whole world. As for *Philip* and *Nabis*, e-"nemies they were and vanquished by *T. Quintius*, howbeit they remained KK. afterwards within "their own Realms. And *Philip* verily the year that is past, had his tribute forgiven him and his "son an hostage delivered unto him: yea, and some Cities without the dominion of *Macedony*, "have received them as their K. and the Roman Generals have winked thereat and been conten-"ted. And surely *Nabis* had been likewise graced and honoured, but for his own peevish folly "first, & the treacherous falshood afterwards of the Ætolians, which was his utter undoing and "overthrow. But the chief thing of all that most confirmed the mind of K. *Prusias*, was the com-
B ing of *Livius* unto him in embassage from *Rome*, he, who aforetime in quality of Prætor, had been Admiral of the navy. Who shewed and declared unto him, how the hope of victory was much more assured to the Romans than to K. *Antiochus*; and withall how the Romans would be the fatter and surer friend of the twain, yea, and make more conscience of keeping amity.

*Antiochus* being put besides all hope of the association with *Prusias*, departed to *Ephesus* from *Sardis*, to visit and see the fleet, which for certain months had been rigged and in readiness: and this he did the rather, because he saw that he could not hold out with the Roman army and the two *Scipios* the commanders thereof, than for that his sea-service in it self at any time before sped well, or could assure him now of great and certain success. Yet some little dram he had of good hope for the present, in that his intelligence was, that a great part of the Rhodian fleet was about
C *Patara*, and King *Eumenes* also with all his own ships departed into *Hellespontus* to meet with the Consul. Besides this, in some measure his spirit was puffed up with the remembrance, how the Rhodian Armado had been defeated at *Samos* by a cautelous plot and practice contrived beforehand. Having laid these conceits for a ground, he sent *Polyxenidas* away with his navy, to hazard the fortune of a battel in some sort or other (it made no matter how:) whiles himself in person led his whole army to *Notium* (a town of the Colophonians, seated upon the sea, and distant about two miles from the ancient City *Colophon*.) The City it self he had a good mind to conquer and bring in subjection unto him: for, being so near unto *Ephesus* as it was, there could not any thing be done either by sea or land, but it was within the eye of the Colophonians, and by their means notified streightwaies to the Romans. Now he made full account that they would remove
D their fleet from *Samos* to succour that associat City of theirs, and so *Polyxenidas* might thereby take his time and good opportunity to execute some notable exploit. Whereupon he went in hand to plant fabricks against *Colophon*, and having raised his rampiers, and cast trenches on both sides alike, even to the very sea, he approached with mantlets and terraces, as well the one part as the other, close unto the wals, and under the * roof-works, plaid upon them with the push & force of the ram. The Colophonians much troubled and affrighted with these dangers and distresses, sent their Orators to *Samos* unto *L. Æmylius*, to crave in humble manner the aid and succour of the Prætor and people of *Rome*. *Æmylius* was much discontented and offended in his heart, that he had made so long abode at *Samos* and performed no service. Nothing less thought he than that
E *Polyxenidas*, whom twice already in vain he had challenged and bidden battell, would now offer to fight. He reputed it also for a disgrace and shamefull indignity unto him, that *Eumenes* his fleet assisted the Consul to waft over the legions into *Asia*, and himself was assigned and enjoyned to succour and aid the City of *Colophon* besieged, the issue whereof would be so doubtfull and uncertain. *Eudamus* the Rhodian, who was the man that had detained and kept him still at *Samos*, when he was desirous to pass over into *Hellespont*, yea, & all the rest were instant with him, shewing and declaring how much better it was, either to deliver his allies from siege, or to defeat the fleet again, which had been once vanquished, and so to put the enemy quite besides the possession of the sea, than with the abandoning of his confederats, and betraying *Asia* both sea and land into the hands of *Antiochus*, to depart into *Hellespont* (where *Eumenes* with his fleet was sufficient to hold him play) and to quit that part of the war which was committed to his charge. Well, they
F loosed from *Samos* to provide victuals for that all their own provision was spent, & shaped themselves to cross over unto *Chios*. That was the garner and storehouse of the Romans, and the very place unto which all the ships of burden, and the hulks sent out of *Italy*, used to set sail and direct their course. So they set a compass about, toward the coast of the Island that lay fartheft off from the City, opposite to the Northeast, in regard of *Chios* and *Erythræa*. And as they were about to pass over thither, the Prætor was certified by letters, that great store of corn was come out of *Italy* to *Chios*: that the ships which were charged with wine, were kept back by contrary and crois winds. Likewise, reported it was, that the Teyans had furnished King *Antiochus* his fleet with victuals plenteously and liberally, and had promised also unto him five thousand vessels of wine. Whereupon he shifted sail suddenly in the midst of his direct course, and made
G head for *Teios*, intending either with their good wills to serve himself of the provision prepared for the enemy, or else to hold them for no better than enemies. Having directed the prows of their ships toward the land, they might descry, as it were, fifteen ships near unto *Myonesus*. Which the Prætor supposing at the first to be of the Kings fleet, resolved to make way after them: but afterwards it appeared, they were brigantines or pinnaces, and certain small barks of rovers and men of war. These rovers having harried and spoiled all the maritime coasts of the Chians, were upon their return with great store of prizes and pillage: but when they discovered a fleet

* *Testudinibus.*

in the deep ſea afar off, they made all the ſail they could, and fled. Yare of ſteerage they were and good of ſail, by reaſon that their veſſels were more light, and made of purpoſe to rid way, and beſides nearer they were to land. And therefore they had recovered *Myoneſus*, before the fleet could come any thing near unto them. The Prætor thinking verily to force them out of the haven, made after without direction of a skilfull pilot, and knowledge of the place. Now this *Myoneſus* is a promontory or cape between *Teios* and *Samos*, a very mountain made in faſhion of a ſteeple, broad enough at the foot, but riſing narrower ſtill, and runneth up to the top ſharp pointed. On the main or land ſide it hath one paſſage by a ſtraight and narrow path. From the ſea it is founded upon rocks, beaten and eaten with the continual ſurging waves of the ſea, inſomuch, as in ſome places the cliffs that hang over, bear more into the ſea than the veſſels that lie under the harbor, take up of the ſea. The Prætor with his ſhips durſt not approach near unto thoſe crags, for fear of being within the ſhot of the pirats, who were perched upon the top of thoſe ſteep rocks, and ſo they ſpent that day and lay off. At the laſt, a little before night they gave over that vain enterpriſe without effect, and the morrow after arrived at *Teios*; and having lodged their ſhips within the harbor, which themſelves call *Geraiſticus*, (and it lieth out at the back ſide of the City) the Prætor ſet aſhore, and ſent out his ſouldiers to forrage the territory about the City. The Teians ſeeing how their lands were ſpoiled even under their very noſes, addreſſed certain Orators to the Roman Admiral, arraied all in white, after the manner of humble ſuppliants. And as they would have ſeemed to excuſe their City, for having done or ſaid any thing againſt the Romans tending to hoſtility; he both charged them directly, that they had relieved the fleet of the enemies with victuals, and alſo told them what quantity of wine moreover they had promiſed to *Polyxenidas*. But and if they could be content to do the like by the Roman fleet, he would recall his ſouldiers from pillage, otherwiſe he would repute them for his enemies. The Embaſſadors aforeſaid made relation of this heavy anſwer. Whereupon the Magiſtrates of the City aſſembled the people together, for to conſult and conclude about this matter what they were beſt to do. Thither as it hapned, was *Polyxenidas* arrived with the Kings Armado; who having looſed from *Crlophon*, when he heard that the Romans were departed from *Samos*, that they had chaſed the Pirats as far as *Myoneſus*, and were now waſting and harrying the lands of the Teians, alſo that their ſhips anchored in the rode *Geraiſticus*, himſelf alſo caſt anchor overagainſt *Myoneſus*, hard by an Iſland which the ſailers and mariners call *Macris*, in a ſecret bay hard by, eſcouting and eſpying from this near harbor, what the enemies did and intended. And at the firſt in good hope he was to diſcomfit and deſeat the Roman fleet, like as he had beforetime the Rhodian Armado near unto *Samos*, by ſeizing the mouth of the haven, and empeaching their iſſue forth. For this bay was in all reſpects like unto the other, lying juſt between two Capes, which meet ſo near, and in manner encloſe the mouth thereof, that hardly two ſhips at once can go forth together. And to this purpoſe *Polyxenidas* intended in the night ſeaſon to take poſſeſſion, and make himſelf ſure of the ſaid ſtraights, there to place ten gallies under either Cape, which ſtanding there at a vantage, ſhould from both points flank the broad ſides of his enemies ſhips in their going forth; and withall out of his other veſſels to disbark and land armed ſouldiers, like as he had done at *Panormus*, and ſo at once to aſſail them both by ſea and land, and make an end of them for all. Which deſignment of his no doubt had taken effect, but that the Romans, after that the Teians had promiſed them to do whatſoever they ſhould command, thought it more commodious for the receiving of their proviſion of victuals, to paſs with their ſhips unto the other harbor which was before the City, to the open ſea. Some ſay that *Eudamus* the Rhodian, ſhewed the inconvenience and diſcommodity of the other harbor, by occaſion that two gallies fortuned in that ſtraight to be ſo intangled, that they brake one anothers oars with juſtling together. And among other motives the Prætor was induced to change the harbor, becauſe from the land ſide there he ſhould lye within danger, conſidering that *Anniochus* himſelf was encamped not far off. Thus the fleet being brought about cloſe to the City ſide, the ſouldiers and mariners (without the knowledge of any commanders) were disbarked for to diſpoſe & diſpenſe the victuals and wine eſpecially to every ſhip. But about noon-tide a certain peaſant of the country chanced to be brought before the Prætor, who gave intelligence, That there was a fleet of ſhips which two daies already rode at anchor under the Iſland *Macris*; and that but a while ago, certain veſſels of them were ſeen to weigh anchor, as if they would hoiſe up ſail and be gone. The Prætor moved at this ſudden occurrent, commanded the trumpets to ſound the alarm, and to give knowledge and warning, that in caſe any were ſtragling abroad in the fields, they ſhould retire. The Colonels he ſent into the City to gather the ſouldiers together and the mariners, that they might repair to ſhip-boord. This alarm cauſed as great a trouble and confuſion, as uſually is ſeen in a ſudden ſcarefire, or when a City is ſurpriſed by the enemies. Here was ſcudding into the City to recall their fellows; there was running out of the City to recover their ſhips; not knowing who commanded, by reaſon of the diſſonant noiſe of men and ſound of trumpet: howbeit, as hap was, at length they ran all toward the ſhips, but in ſuch a hurly-burly and diſorder that they ſcarcely knew their own veſſels; or if they did, they could hardly for the croud and preſs, get thither and embark themſelves. Neither had this affright paſſed clear without danger both by ſea and land, but that *Æmylius* gave direction to every one what to do, and put out of the haven firſt himſelf with the Admiral ſhip into the open ſea, & there received every veſſell as they followed one after another in their order, & ranged them all afront: and if *Eudamus* alſo with the Rhodian fleet had not ſtaid at the ſhore to ſee good order, that the

ſouldiers

A ſouldiers might be ſet aboord without hurrying in fearfull haſte, and every ſhip go forth as it was fitted and made ready. By this means both the formoſt of the vanguard were arranged in the ſight of the Prætor, and the Rhodians alſo kept their order in the rereguard in ſuch ſort, as they put themſelves into the open ſea in as good array, as if they had ſeen the Kings fleet under ſail. But they were between the two promontories, *Myoneſus* and *Corycus*, before they deſcried the enemy. The Kings Armado came forward in long files, two and two in a rank, who diſplaied and ſpread themſelves alſo affront towards the wing in ſuch wiſe, that they might be able to compaſs and encloſe the right wing of the enemy. Which *Eudamus* the rere-admirall perceiving, and ſeeing withall that the Romans could not poſſibly make head alike and extend themſelves as broad as the enemy, and were at the point already at the right wing to be environed, made haſte with his own
B veſſels (for the Rhodian barks were of all other in the whole fleet ſwifteſt by far) and after he had fronted equally and matched wing for wing, he made head with his own ſhip againſt the very admirall of the enemies, wherein *Polyxenidas* himſelf was aboord. By this time the battell began between both the main fleets, all at once from every part. Of the Romans ſide there fought fourſcore in all, whereof two and twenty were Rhodians. The enemies armado conſiſted of fourſcore and nine, all ſhips of greateſt bulk and making, and had among them three galeaces of ſix banks of oars on a ſide, and two of ſeven. For goodneſs and ſtrength of ſhips, as alſo for valour of ſouldiers, the Romans far ſurpaſſed the Rhodians. But for agility and nimbleneſs of their veſſels, for skilfull knowledge of Pilots, and expett cunning and readineſs of mariners, the Rhodians were as much beyond them. And thoſe above all the reſt that carried fire before them in their noſes
C troubled and ſcared the enemies moſt: and that ſtratagem and device which had been their only help and means of ſafety, when they were ſurpriſed and beſet at *Panormus*, was now the thing that ſtood them in beſt ſtead to win the victory. For the Kings ſhips fearing the fire that threatned their very faces, turned aſide, becauſe they would not run affront with their prows: ſo as, they neither could themſelves ſmite and hurt the enemies with their brazen pikes in the beak head, nor yet avoid them, but expoſe their own broad ſides open to receive all puſhes and violence from them. If any one fortuned to encounter and run upon them, ſhe was ſure to be paid and ſped with fire that was flung and caſt into her: and more running there was to quench the ſame, than otherwiſe to fight. Howbeit, the reſolute valour of the Roman ſouldiers (which ever in war prevaileth moſt) was it that did the deed. For after the Romans by mere force had broken and clo-
D ven the main battaillon of the enemy in the very midſt, they turned about again, and preſented themſelves behind, and plaid upon the backs of the Kings ſhips whiles they fought affront and made head againſt the Rhodians: and thus at one inſtant the battaillon in the midſt, and the ſhips in the left wing that ſerved King *Antiochus*, were beſet round about, and ſunk to the bottom of the ſea. The right wing as yet entire and ſound, was more terrified at the loſs and overthrow of their fellows, than for any proper danger of their own. Howbeit, after they ſaw the other inveſted, and the Admirall her ſelf with *Polyxenidas* in her, to abandon her companions and to hoiſe up ſails, they likewiſe in haſte ſet up all their cloth and ſmall trinquet ſails (for a good forewind they had for *Epheſus*) and fled as faſt away as they could. Two and forty ſhips they loſt in this fight: of which thirteen were boorded and taken for the uſe of the Romans, the reſt were either
E conſumed with fire, or devoured of the ſea. Two Roman ſhips were ſhattered and broken in pieces, and ſome other hurt, bruiſed and cracked. One Rhodian chanced to be taken by a notable and memorable adventure. For having with her piked beak head ſtricken a Sidonian ſhip, with the violence of the blow ſhe ſhook out her own anchor, which by one of the flouks took faſt hold as if it had been a grapling hook by the prow of the other ſhip. The Rhodians much troubled herewith, gave over rowing ſtreight, as willing and deſirous to be looſe and parted from the enemy: and whiles they were buſie thereabout, the cable which the anchor drew with it caught among the oars of her own ſhip, and ſwept them clean away, and ſo left one ſide of it naked, whereby the ſhip being much weakned and enfeebled, was taken by the other that was ſmitten and tied faſt unto her. Much after this manner was the battel fought at ſea near *Myoneſus*. Where-
F upon *Antiochus* was ſore affrighted: for being thus diſpoſſeſſed of the ſea, he diſtruſted himſelf that he ſhould not be able to hold and defend the places farther off: and therefore commanded the garriſon to retire from *Lyſimachia*, for fear it ſhou'd be ſurpriſed there by the Romans. But this was but a bad piece of counſell, as the ſequell and iſſue proved afterwards. For it had been an eaſie matter not only to defend *Lyſimachia* againſt the firſt aſſault of the Romans, but alſo to hold out the ſiege all winter: yea, and by drawing out the time on length, to bring the very aſſailants themſelves lying in leaguer, to extream neceſſity and want of all things: during which ſpace they might have taken ſome occaſion and opportunity, to find a mean and make way for peace. Neither did he only quit *Lyſimachia* and leave it for the enemies after this unfortunate battell, but alſo raiſed his ſiege before *Colophon* and diſlodged, yea, and retired himſelf to *Sardis*: from whence
G he ſent into *Cappadocia* to *Ariarates* for aid, and to all other places where he could, to gather more forces: and now was he ſet upon no deſign elſe, but to give battell, and to hazard all upon the fortune of the field.

After this Navall victory, *Regillus Æmylius* ſailed directly to *Epheſus*, where he embattelled his ſhips in array even before the haven, and when by this bravado he had at laſt wrung again from the enemies a plain and evident confeſſion that they had abandoned the ſea unto him, he ſet ſail for *Chius*, unto which he had intended to ſhape his courſe from *Samos* before the late

late battell upon the ſea. There he repaired and calked his ſhips which were ſhaken and cracked in the forſaid fight: which done, he ſent *L. Æmylius Scaurus* with thirty ſail toward *Helleſpontus* to tranſport the army. And when he had rewarded the Rhodian ſhips with part of the pillage, and honoured them with the navall ſpoils, he gave them the renvoy, and ſent them home. But the Rhodians luſtily out-ſailed *Scaurus*; and prevented his ſhips to ſet over the forces of the Conſul: and after they had performed that ſervice alſo, then they returned to *Rhodes*.

The Roman Armado ſailed from *Chios* to *Phocæa*. This City is ſeated far within the gulph of the ſea, builded ſo, as that it lieth out in length. The wall containeth in compaſs the ſpace of two miles and an halt: and from both ſides it groweth narrow ſtill, and meeteth in the midſt, reſembling the form of a wedg or *coin, which the Inhabitants themſelves call *Lampter*, in which place the City is a mile broad and a quarter with the vantage. From which canton or corner there is a bank of firm land running a mile on end into the ſea like a tongue, which divideth the haven juſt in the midſt, marked out (as it were) juſt by a certain line. Where it joyneth to the narrow ſtraights it hath two moſt ſure harbors of both ſides, and thoſe lying two contrary waies. That which looketh toward the South, is called according as it is indeed, *Naustathmos* [namely, a ſhip-rode, or harbour] for it is able to receive a great number of ſhips: the other haven is neer unto the very *Lampter* aforeſaid. When the Roman fleet was once poſſeſſed of both theſe moſt ſure and ſafe harbours, the Prætor thought good before he ſet in hand either to ſcale the walls, or to raiſe any fabricks and plant engins againſt the City, to ſend certain of purpoſe to ſound the minds and affections of the principall Citizens and the Magiſtrates within. But after he perceived they were obſtinatly bent, and would not come on, he began to lay battery againſt it in two ſeverall quarters. The one part was not much peopled, and had but few dwelling houſes in it; and the Temples of their gods took up a good ſpace thereof; and there began he firſt to approach with the ram, and therewith to batter the walls, and ſhake the turrets: and by that time that the multitude ran thither in great numbers, and preſented themſelves ready to defend, the ram was puſhing alſo at the other part: So as now the walls were laid along in both places: and upon the fall thereof whiles ſome of the Roman ſouldiers preſently gave the aſſault at the very breach, mounting and marching upon the ruines of the ſtones that were faln: others alſo aſſaied to gain the top of the upright walls with ſcaling ladders. But the townſmen withſtood them ſo ſtiffly and with ſuch reſolution, that it was well ſeen they repoſed more hope of defence in arms and valour, than in the ſtrength of their wals. Whereupon the Prætor ſeeing in what danger his ſouldiers ſtood, and fearing to expoſe and ſacrifice them ere they were aware to the fury of theſe people ſo enraged like deſperate and mad perſons, commanded to ſound the retreat. And notwithſtanding the aſſault ceaſed and was given over, yet betook not the townſmen themſelves to reſt and repoſe, but ran from all parts every one, to raiſe countermures, fill up the breaches, and repair the ruins where the wall was down. As they were wholly employed about this buſineſs, *Q. Antonius* ſent from the Prætor, came toward them: who, after he had reproved and rebuked their *wilfull* obſtinacy, and made remonſtrance unto them, that the Romans had more care and regard than they themſelves of the City, that by continuall aſſaults and batteries it ſhould not utterly be deſtroyed: and how if they would be reclaimed and forgo their outragious folly, he would make them this offer, That they ſhould yield under the ſame conditions and in thoſe very terms, as aforetime they had ſubmitted to *C. Livius* when they came under his protection: At the hearing of that, they demanded and had five daies ſpace to conſider of the matter: during which time they made means to receive ſome aid from *Antiochus*; but after their Embaſſadors whom they diſpatched to the King, had made relation, That there was no ſuccour to be expected from him; then they ſet open their gates, having articled and capitulated beforehand, that no outrage by way of hoſtility ſhould be exerciſed and committed upon them. As the Romans entred into the City with banners diſplaied the Prætor declared with a loud voice, That his will and pleaſure was they ſhould be ſpared, foraſmuch as they had yielded. Whereat the ſouldiers on all hands ſet up a great cry That it was an intollerable ſhame that the Phocæans (who were never true and loyall confederates, but alwaies dogged and malicious enemies) ſhould go away ſo ſcotfree, and not ſuffer for their ſins. At which word (as if the Prætor had given them a ſignall of ranſacking) they ran into all parts of the City to rifle and ſpoil. *Æmylius* at firſt ſtaid them what he could. and reclaimed them again, ſaying, That it was not the manner to ſack Cities rendred by compoſition, but ſuch as were forced and won by aſſault; and even thoſe alſo were at the diſpoſition of the Generall and not of the ſouldiers. But ſeeing that they in their angry mood of revenge, and covetous deſire of goods, were of more power than the reſpective reverence of his perſon, his quality and commandment; he ſent out beadles and trumpetters throughout the City, charging all perſons of free condition whatſoever, to repair before him into the market place, to the end, that no villany and outrage might be done upon their bodies. And ſo the Prætor did his beſt to perform his word and promiſe in whatſoever lay in his power: for he reſtored unto them their City, their lands and their own laws. And for that the winter approached, he made choice of the two harbours of *Phocæa* to beſtow his ſhips there for the winter time.

Near about that time, the Conſul having paſſed beyond the borders of the Adrians and Maronits, received news, that the Kings navy was defeated at *Myonesus*, and *Lyſimachia* diſfurniſhed of the garriſon: and this latter tidings was more acceptable and pleaſing unto him, than the other of the navall victory; and eſpecially, when they came thither: where in very truth the City

(plenteouſly

*In Maſonry.

A (plentouſly ſtored with all ſorts of victuals, as if they had been provided of purpoſe againſt the
coming of the army) received them curteouſly; whereas they made no other account, but to en-
dure extremity of want and painfull travell in beſieging thereof. There they abode ſome few daies
as it were in camp, untill ſuch time as their carriages and ſickly perſons of their train might reach
unto them; ſuch as they had left behind in all the forts and caſtles of *Thrace*, wearied with long
journey and enfeebled with divers infirmities. When all were come and well refreſhed and reco-
vered, they put themſelves again in their journey, and marching through *Cherſoneſus*, they came to
*Helleſpont*: where, finding all things in readineſs for their tranſporting (ſuch was the induſtrious
care and diligence of King *Eumenes*) they paſſed over without trouble and moleſtation into the
peaceable coaſts of their allies and friends, without empeachment of any perſon, notwithſtanding
B ſome ſhips arrived in one place, and ſome in another. And this was the thing that much content-
ted the Romans and mightily encouraged them, to ſee they had ſo free paſſage into *Aſia*, which
they made full reckoning would have been a matter of great difficulty and trouble. After this, they
encamped and made their abode a certain time near *Helleſpont*, by occaſion of thoſe daies which
hapned then to be, wherein the *Salii* uſed to dance with their ſcutchions called *Ancilia*; during
which time they made ſcruple of conſcience to take any journey (untill thoſe *Ancilia* were be-
ſtowed again in the temple of *Mars*.) By reaſon of which daies, *P. Scipio* alſo withdrew himſelf
apart from the army upon a more ſtrict regard of conſcience & religion, which touched him nea-
rer than other, becauſe he was himſelf one of the *Salii*, and was the cauſe that the army ſtaid be-
hind and came not forward to overtake the camp.

C And even then there hapned to come unto the camp from *Antiochus*, one *Heraclides* a Byzan-
tine, having in charge to treat as touching a peace: and good hope he conceived to obtain the
ſame with eaſe, by reaſon of the long abode and ſtay of the Romans in that one place: of whom
he had looked for no other, but that as ſoon as they had ſet foot in *Aſia*, they would have mar-
ched apace ſtraightwaies againſt the Kings camp. Howbeit this courſe he took not to go directly
unto the Conſul before he had ſpoken and conferred with *Scipio*, (and indeed ſuch direction and
charge he had from the King himſelf) in whom he had repoſed his greateſt hope: for beſides his
magnanimity and noble courage, as alſo the ſatiety of glory and honour, whereof already he had
his full, (great inducements unto the King that he would be eaſily wrought and made moſt plia-
ble to hearken after peace) all the world knew full well how ſoberly he had carried himſelf in his
D victories, firſt in *Spain*, and afterwards in *Affrick*: and more than all this, a ſon of his was captive
in the ſaid Kings hands. But where, when, and by what chance he was taken priſoner, writers a-
gree not no more than in many things elſe. Some ſay, that in the beginning of the war, he was be-
ſet and encloſed round within the Kings ſhips, at what time as he ſailed from *Chalcis* to *Oreum*.
Others write, that after the Roman army was paſſed over into *Aſia*; he was ſent out in eſpiall
with a troop of Frægellan horſemen to view and diſcover the Kings camp: and when the Kings
Cavalry made out to charge upon them, he made haſte to retire, and in that hurry his horſe fell
with him and ſo he and two other men of arms with him, was ſurpriſed, taken, and brought to the
King. But this one thing is for certain known, that if there had been ſure and firm peace between
the King and the Romans, nay, if there had been familiar acquaintance and hoſpitality between
E him and the *Scipios*, this young Gentleman could not poſſibly have had more friendly entertain-
ment, nor been more kindly intreated, liberally uſed, yea, and honourably regarded than he was.
For theſe cauſes the Embaſſador attended the coming of *Scipio*: and ſo ſoon as he was arrived,
preſented himſelf unto the Conſul, requeſting that he might deliver his meſſage and be heard.
Whereupon in a frequent aſſembly he had audience given him, and thus he ſpake: "Whereas
"(quoth he) there have been divers and ſundry embaſſages paſſed to and fro as touching peace,
"and no good as yet done; I lay this for a ground and aſſure my ſelf now to ſpeed, becauſe the
"former embaſſadors hitherto have effected and obtained nothing: for in all thoſe treaties and
"diſputations the queſtion was about *Smyrna*, *Lampſacus*, *Alexandria*, *Troas*, and *Lyſimachia*,
"which is in *Europe*. Of which Cities, the King my Maſter hath already quit *Lyſimachia*, to the
F "end you ſhould not ſay, that he hath any one City at all within *Europe*: and as for thoſe other in
"*Aſia*, he is ready to ſurrender them alſo; yea & all the reſt whatſoever, which the Romans would
"recover out of the Kings hands and dominions, in regard they had ſometime ſided & taken part
"with him. And for the charges which the Romans have defraied about this war, the King will
"be willing to diſburſe and make good the one moity unto them again. And thus much ſpake
"he concerning the articles and conditions of the peace. The reſt of his ſpeech behind, was be-
"ſtowed in advertizing and putting them in mind of the alternative revolution of this world and
"the affairs thereof; that as they ſhould uſe their own good fortune and proſperity with mea-
"ſure and moderation, ſo they ought not to preſs down others in their adverſity; but hold them-
"ſelves contented within the bounds and limits of *Europe*, and that was a dominion ſufficient (a
G "man would think) and exceeding great: conſidering this, that it is an eaſier matter to win one
"thing after another by way of conqueſt, than to hold and keep them all together when they are
"won. To conclude, if the Romans were minded to diſmember any part from *Aſia*, ſo they would
"make an end once, and limit out the ſame within certain precincts without any further doubt
"and difference, the King for the love of peace and concord, would ſuffer the Romans in their
"unmeaſurable deſire and appetite, to ſurmount and outgo his temperance and moderation.
But thoſe matters which the Embaſſador ſuppoſed were of great importance and effectuall to

obtain

obtain peace, the Romans made a piſh at it, and lightly regarded: for they judged it but meet and H
reaſon, that the King ſhould diſcharge all the expences they had been at in this war, conſidering
through his default it firſt aroſe: alſo that he ought to withdraw his garriſons not only out of
*Ionia* and *Æolis*: but alſo like as all *Greece* hath been made free and delivered, ſo the Greek Cities
likewiſe in *Aſia* ought to be enfranchiſed and ſet at liberty: which poſſibly might not be unleſs
*Antiochus* were diſleized of the poſſeſſion of all *Aſia* on this ſide the mountain *Taurus*. The Em-
baſſador perceiving well, that there was no reaſon to be had in the aſſembly, aſſaied privatly to
ſound and to win the heart and good will of *Scipio*, according as he had in charge from the King.
And firſt this way he went to work and ſaid, That the King was minded to ſend him his ſon again
freely without ranſom: then (ignorant as he was both of *Scipio* his nature and the manner of
Romans) he promiſed him a mighty maſs of gold, yea, and to be made equall companion in the I
government of the whole kingdom (the Kings name and royall ſtyle only reſerved) in caſe he
would be an inſtrument and means to effectuate peace. To theſe motives and offers *Scipio* return-
ned this anſwer, "That you neither know the Romans all in general, nor my ſelf in parrticular un-
"to whom you were ſent, I leſs marvell, ſeeing you are altogether ignorant of the ſtate of him
"who hath ſent you hither. For if ye had meant to have ſought for peace at our hands, as of men
"who were in care for the doubtfull event and iſſue of the war, ye ſhould have held and kept *Ly-*
"*ſimachia* ſtill, for to have empeached our entrance into *Cherſonneſus*, or elſe ye ſhould have made
"head againſt us in *Helleſpontus*, and ſtaid our paſſage into *Aſia*: but now ſeeing ye have granted
"paſſage into *Aſia*, and ſuffered your ſelves not only to be bridled and curbed, but alſo to be yo-
"ked, and like beaſts to bear and draw too; ſince I ſay there is no remedy but ye muſt endure to K
"be under our ſubjection, what equall and indifferent means of treaty is there left for you? Now,
"as concerning my ſon, I will accept it as a great preſent, and beſeeming the munificence and libe-
"rality of a King, in caſe he ſend him to me again. As for the other matters, I pray God I be ne-
"ver driven in regard of mine eſtate, to have that need: for ſurely, I carry a mind that will never
"find the miſs and want thereof. And for theſe great offers that the King maketh unto me, he
"ſhall find me thankfull unto him, if it pleaſe him for any private benefit unto me done, to require
"at my hands a private favour and pleaſure again: but as touching the State and publike weal, he
"ſhall pardon me; I will neither receive ought from him, nor beſtow any thing upon him. And all
"that I can do for him at this preſent, is to give him good and faithfull counſell. Go your waies
"therefore and tell him from me, That his beſt courſe is to abſtain from war, and not to refuſe any L
"condition of peace whatſoever. But all this nothing moved the King, who made reckoning that
any hazard and fortune of war would be good and ſafe for him, ſince that there were laws impo-
ſed upon him already, as if he had been quite vanquiſhed and overcome. Whereupon without
any more parl of peace for this time, he bent his whole mind and employed his ſtudy about pro-
viſion and preparation for war.

The Conſul having given order for the execution of all his plots and deſigns, diſlodged from
thence, and marched firſt to *Dardanum*, and after to *Rhœteum*: the inhabitants of both which Ci-
ties came forth to meet him upon the way in great multitudes. From thence he went forward to
*Ilium*, and encamped in a plain under the very walls: then he entred into the town, and aſcended
up into the Caſtle, where he offered ſacrifice unto *Minerva*, the patroneſs of that City. The Ilians M
entertained them with all ſhew of honour, as well in deed as in word, acknowledging that the Ro-
mans were deſcended from them, and the Romans again were as joyous and glad to ſee the place
of their firſt original and beginning. From thence they removed, and the ſixt day after arrived at
the head or ſpring of the river *Caicus*. Thither alſo *Eumenes* the King (who at firſt aſſaied to bring
his fleet back from *Hedeſpontus*, to winter before *Elæa*, and afterwards, when he could not for cer-
tain daies double the point of *Lectos*, by reaſon of the contrary winds, went a land) becauſe he
would not fail but be preſent at the beginning of theſe great affairs, made haſte the next way with
a ſmall power to the camp of the Romans. From the camp he was ſent back to *Pergamus*, to give
order for purveyance and proviſion of victuals: and after he had delivered out corn to thoſe whom
the Conſul had appointed to receive it, he returned again to the ſame leaguer. The Conſul his pur- N
poſe and intent was to be provided aforehand of victuals ſufficient for many daies, and together
in one train to go againſt the enemy, before the winter ſurpriſed them.

Now the Kings camp lay about *Thyatira*: where *Antiochus* hearing that *P. Scipio* was carried
ſick to *Elæa*, ſent certain Embaſſadors of purpoſe, to preſent and deliver his ſon again unto him. At
which preſent of his, he took not only great contentment in his ſpirit, as a father might do for re-
ceiving his dear ſon, but much eaſement alſo and comfort to his ſick body. After he had ſatisfied
himſelf at length with much embracing of his ſon, "Ye ſhall (ſaith he) recommend me unto the
"King your Maſter, and tell him from me, that I thank him moſt heartily, and that I have no good
"thing at this time to ſend to him again, but only this, That I adviſe him to take heed that he en-
"ter not into the field to give battell, before he hath heard for certain, that I my ſelf am returned O
"to the leaguer. Upon relation hereof, *Antiochus* albeit he was in camp ſeventy thouſand foot,
and twelve thouſand horſe and above ſtrong (which puiſſant power otherwhile animated, and
fed him with the hope of good iſſue of battell) yet moved with the authority of ſo great a perſo-
nage as *Scipio* was in whom he repoſed his whole refuge againſt all doubtfull events of the fortune
in war, he retired back, and paſſed over the river *Phrygius*, and pitched his camp about *Magne-
ſia* near unto *Sypylum*. And fearing, leſt (if he ſhould be minded to make long ſtay and abode
there)

A there) the Romans would aſſay to force his defences, he caſt a trench, ſix cubits in depth, and twelve in in bredth; and this trench he environed with a double bank and courſe of ſtrong ſtakes and pales, and upon the inward circuit and encloſure he oppoſed a mure with main turrets, for the more eaſie empeachment of the enemy, when he ſhould paſs over the trench. The Conſul ſuppoſing the King to be about *Thyatira*, marched continually, and upon the fift day came down into the plains of *Hircania*. And when he underſtood, that the K. was diſlodged and departed thence, he followed him by the tracts, and on this ſide the river *Phrygius* encamped four miles from the enemy. Where about a thouſand horſemen ſhewed themſelves (for the moſt part * Gallogræcians, ſome Dacians, with certain archers on horſeback of other nations intermingled among them) who in great haſte having paſſed over the river, charged upon the *corps de guard* of the B Romans. At the firſt they put the Romans to ſome trouble, finding them out of order and array: but as the skirmiſh grew hotter and continued longer, and the number of the Romans ſoon increaſed, (by reaſon their camp was ſo near to yield them ſuccours) they of the Kings ſide being now wearied and not able to make their part good againſt ſo many of them, began to retire: and certain of them before they could take the river, were overtaken by thoſe that followed the chaſe, and killed outright. For two daies after they ſtirred of no hand, for neither the one nor the other went over the river. The third day after the Romans all at once paſſed over, and encamped about a mile and a half from the enemies. But as they were pitching their tents, and buſied about fortifications and defences, three thouſand choſen horſemen and foot together from the Kings Camp, came upon them with a great trouble and affray. The number of them that were in guard, C was leſs a good deal; howbeit, of themſelves alone, without calling to help and aid the ſouldiers from their work about the fortification and defence of the camp, they not only at firſt received the charge with equall valour, but alſo afterwards, as the fight encreaſed, put the enemies to flight, when they had killed ſome hundred of them, and taken priſoners almoſt as many. For the ſpace of four daies next enſuing, both armies ſtood embattelled on either ſide before their Camp. And upon the fifth day the Romans advanced forth into the middle of the plain. *Antiochus* came not forward with his enſigns, inſomuch, as the hindmoſt were not an hundred foot off from the trench. The Conſul perceiving that he fell off and would no battell, called a councill the next day, to be adviſed and reſolved what he were beſt to do, in caſe *Antiochus* would not be fought withall. For conſidering that the winter approached, the ſouldiers were either to lie in the D field under their tents, or elſe if they minded for the winter ſeaſon to retire unto their garriſon towns, the war muſt be put off untill the next ſummer. Now the Romans never made ſo ſmall reckoning of any enemy as of him. Whereupon, throughout the whole aſſembly they called upon the Conſul with one voice to lead forth to battell out of hand, and take the ſouldiers whiles they were in this heart ready if the enemies would not come out into the field, to paſs over ditch and rampier, and break into the camp amongſt them; making account, that they were not to fight with ſo many thouſands of enemies, but rather to make a ſlaughter and butchery of ſo many beaſts. Whereupon *Cn. Domitius* was ſent to diſcover the way, and to view the place where was beſt entring upon the trench and rampier of the enemies. After he had brought certain relation of all things, it was thought good the next morrow to approach near unto their camp: and on the E third day the enſigns were diſplaied forth into the midſt of the plain, and they began to range the army in battell array. *Antiochus* likewiſe ſuppoſed it was not expedient to lie off and ſtay any longer, for fear leſt in refuſing ſtill to fight, he ſhould either abate the courage of his own men, or increaſe the hope of his enemies, and therefore came abroad with all his forces, and advanced ſo farforward from his camp, that it appeared well he meant to fight. The Roman army ſtood embattelled in one manner of form, as well for men, as munition and armor: for of Romans there were two legions, and of Latine aſſociats as many, and every legion conſiſted of five thouſand four hundred. The Romans put themſelves in the main battell, and the Latines kept both the points. The *Haſtati* were placed with their enſigns formoſt in the vanguard. After them the *Principes* in the midſt, and the *Triarii* in the reregard. Without this compleat battell, thus marſhalled, F the Conſul ſet to the right point the auxiliary ſouldiers of *Eumenes*, mingled together with the targetteers of the Achæans, to the number almoſt of three thouſand, whom he ranged equally afront, and beyond them more outward he oppoſed about three thouſand men of arms: whereof eight hundred were ſent from *Eumenes*, the reſt were the Cavalry of the Romans. Without all theſe in the outmoſt place, he put the Trallians and Candiots, who in all made up the number of five hundred. As for the left wing, it ſeemed to need no ſuch ſuccours, by reaſon it was flanked with the river and high ſteep banks, howbeit, in that ſide there were planted four troops of horſemen. Thus you ſee all the forces that the Romans had beſides two thouſand Thracians and Macedonians mingled and blended together, who followed as voluntaries, and were left for the guard of the Camp, and ſixteen Elephants, which they beſtowed in the rereguard for the defence of the G *Triarii*. For, over and beſides that they were not like to hold out againſt the Kings Elephants, which were in number fifty and four, you muſt conſider that thoſe of *Affrick* are not able to match them of *India*, ſay they were in number equall: either becauſe in bigneſs the Indians exceed the other (as in truth they are much greater by ods) or ſurpaſs them in courage and ſtomack. But the Kings army was compoſed of divers nations, different as well in arms as in ſouldiers. He had of Macedonians ſixteen thouſand footmen, heavily armed after their manner, called *Phalangitæ*; theſe made the main battell, and in the front ſtood divided in ten

* People of *Galatia*, now called *Gelati*

ſquadrons,

ſquadrons, parted and ſevered one from the other by two Elephants placed between. More H
inward behind the forefront, the battell was diſplaied in two and thirty ranks of ſouldiers.
This was the ſtrength of the Kings army, and as in other reſpects, ſo eſpecially in regard of the
Elephants ſurmounting aloft over all the ſouldiers, repreſented to the eye a fearfull and terrible
ſight. For beſides that they were high and lofty of themſelves, their creſted headſtalls with plumes
upon them, their turrets upon their backs, and in every turret four men ſtanding in glittering ar-
mour, beſides the Maſter and governor himſelf, made the apparence and ſhew far greater. On the
right wing he placed cloſe unto the Phalangites, a thouſand and five hundred horſemen of the
Gallogreeks: unto whom he adjoyned three thouſand lances in compleat armour, mounted upon
barb horſes, and thoſe men of arms they themſelves called *Cataphracti*. To theſe were added ano-
ther wing of a thouſand horſemen, which they named *Agema*. Medes they were, elect and cho- I
ſen men, together with more horſemen of the ſame region, mingled of many nations one with
another. Cloſe unto them in the rereguard was ſet a troop of ſixteen Elephants. On which ſide
alſo in a wing ſomewhat farther drawn out ſtood the King his own cohort, bearing the name of
*Argyraſpid s*, by occaſion of the ſilvered ſhields which they bare. After them followed 1200 Di-
*Like to Carbines. cians, * archers on horſeback. Then, three thouſand footmen lightly armed, and compoſed part-
ly of Candiots, and partly of Tralleans, in number almoſt equall, and 2500 Myſians attended upon
the archers. And the utmoſt ſide and tail of that wing was guarded with four thouſand Cyrte-
an ſlingers and Elymean archers ſorted together. On the left wing likewiſe there ſtood faſt unto
the Phalangites aforeſaid 1500 horſemen Gallogræcians: and two thouſand Cappadocians ar-
med after the ſame manner, ſent from King *Ariarathes*. Then the Auxiliaries of all ſorts 2700; K
beſides three hundred lances in compleat harneſs upon barbed horſes armed at all pieces, and
1000 other horſemen. As for the Cornet of the Kings, it was more lightly armed, as well them-
ſelves as their horſes. but their ſetting out and furniture otherwiſe, all one. And theſe were Sy-
rians for the moſt part, with Phrygians and Lydians together. Before this cavalry went the cha-
riots of four wheels, and drawn by as many horſes, armed with ſharp and trenchant hooks like
ſith-blades, and the camels called by them for their ſwiftneſs Dromedaries. Upon theſe were
mounted the Arabian archers, who alſo were armed with keen ſwords four cubits long, that ſit-
ting as they did ſo aloft, they might notwithſtanding reach their enemy. Then after theſe were
ſet another multitude equall to that in the right wing, whereof the formoſt were certain horſe-
men called Tarentins, and after them 2500 Gallogræcian horſe. Likewiſe of Neocretians a L
thouſand: and of Carians and Ciciliians one with another 1500 armed alike. As many Trallians:
and three thouſand targetteers. Theſe were Piſidians, Pamphylians and Lycians: and laſt of all,
the ſuccours in the rereguard of Cirteans and Elymeans, in like number as they that were pla-
ced in the right wing, with ſixteen Elephants alſo diſtant a pretty way aſunder. The King him-
ſelf in perſon had the conduct of the right point of the battell, and ordained *Seleucus* his ſon
and *Antipater* his brothers ſon to command the left. The main battell in the midſt was com-
mitted to the leading and governance of three Captains, to wit, *Minio*, *Zeuſis*, and *Philip* the
Maſter of the Elephants. There was a certain miſt aroſe in the morning, and as it waxed farther
day gathered aloft into thick clouds, and made the weather dark: beſides, by the South-wind it
reſolved into a ſmall driſſling rain, which wet and drenched all. This did little harm to the Ro- M
mans: but contrariwiſe, was much hurtfull to the Kings ſide. For, albeit the air was dim and
dark, yet by reaſon that the Roman battaillons took up no great compaſs of ground, they could
for all the air was overcaſt, diſcern from one end to the other: and the moiſture that fell dulled
nothing at all (to ſpeak of) either the ſwords or javelins of them that were heavily armed:
whereas the Kings army being embattelled ſo broad, had much ado, and hardly could ſee from the
middle of the main battell to the wings of each hand, and much leſs diſcern from one skirt and
flank of the battaillon to the other. Moreover, the dropping weather ſlugged their bows, ſoft-
ned their ſlings and loops of their darts. Their ſithed chariots alſo, wherewith *Antiochus* made full
account to break the arraies of his enemies, turned to the diſorder and fright of themſelves. Now
theſe chariots aforeſaid were in this manner armed for the moſt part: certain ſharp pikes they N
had about the ſpire-pole, bearing forward from the ſpring-tree, ten cubits in length, like unto
horns, with which pointed pikes they would pierce through whatſoever they encountred.
Alſo at each end of the ſaid ſpring-tree there were two blades ſtood out, the one of juſt and even
height with it, the other lower and bearing downward to the ground: the former was deviſed
to cut through whatſoever came near the ſide thereof, the other to reach and tear them that
were ſaln to the earth, or came under the chariot. Likewiſe at both ends of the axeltree with-
out the nave of the wheel there were two ſuch like hooks faſtned and bended divers waies.
Theſe chariots thus armed the King had placed in the front of the battell as we ſaid before, be-
cauſe if they had been ſet either in the middle or the rereguard, they ſhould have been driven
through their own battaillons. Which *Eumenes* perceiving, one that knew well enough the man- O
ner of that kind of ſervice, and how dangerous it was in caſe a man rather frighted the horſes than
charged them directly by ordinary warlike force: he commanded the Candiot archers and
ſlingers, with ſome other horſemen that lanced darts, to run forth not thick in troops, but
ſcattring as far aſunder as they could, and at once from all parts to diſcharge their ſhot upon
them. This forerunning tempeſt (as it were) ſo madded the horſes partly by galling, wounding,
and pelting them with darts, arrows, and ſtones, diſcharged from all ſides at them, and partly
with

A with the ſtrange and uncouth noiſe which they made, that ſuddenly as if they had been unbridled and without their geers, they flang out every way, and ran at random: which violence of theirs the light armed ſouldiers, the nimble ſlingers, and ſwift running Candiots avoided eaſily with a trice. And the horſemen withall following the chaſe, redoubled the fright and hurry amongſt the horſes, yea, and the dromedary camels too; which likewiſe were unruly and ſet a madding: and this hurly burly, the manifold cries from the multitude all about, helped well forward. Thus were the chariots chaſed in the middle of the plain between both armies: and when theſe vain bugs were once rid out of the way, then the alarm and ſignall was given on both parts, and they charged one another in battell-wiſe. But as fooliſh an occurrent as that was, it cauſed anon a diſcomfiture and overthrow indeed. For the auxiliaries and aids behind which were
B placed next unto them, terrified with the fear and affright of the chariots, fled, and left all naked and and diſfurniſhed even to the bard horſes, in ſuch ſort, that when the rereguard was in diſarray, The Roman Cavalry entred upon the foreſaid horſe, and charged them ſo hotly, that part of them was not able to endure the firſt ſhock and encounter: ſome were put to flight, others were born down with the poiſe and weight of their harneſs and weapons. And preſently thereupon the whole left wing of the battell began to retreat. And after that thoſe ſuccours were disbanded and in diſarray which were between the Cavalry and the heavy armed footmen called Phalangitæ, the diſorder and fear went as far as to the midſt of the main battel: where ſo ſoon as the ranks and files were broken and ſhuffled together, by reaſon of the entercourſe of their own fellows among them, they had no uſe at all of their long pikes, which the
C Macedonians call *Sariſſæ*. Then the Roman legions advanced their engins, and lanced their darts againſt thoſe diſordered ranks hudled together. The very Elephants that were placed between, nothing troubled and affrighted the Roman ſouldiers, as who had been uſed in the African wars, both to avoid the furious rage of thoſe beaſts, and alſo either with their javelins to flank and hurt them overthwart, or elſe if they could come near unto them, to hew them and cut their hamſtrings with their ſwords. By this time now was the front of the main battell defeated and beaten down: and the rereguard behind environed and cut in peeces: when as the Romans withall, might perceive their own fellows flying from the other part, and hear the cry of thoſe that were affrighted, even almoſt as far as to their camp. For *Antiochus* keeping the right wing, ſeeing in the left point of the Romans no other defence (by reaſon that they truſted upon the river) but only four troops of horſemen, and thoſe alſo by drawing themſelves
D cloſe to their fellows, to leave the bank-ſide void and naked, charged that point with his Auxiliaries and lances upon bard horſes, and not only made head and preſſed them afront, but from the river alſo ſet a compaſs and encloſed them; and flanked that wing ſo long, untill the horſemen were firſt diſcomfited, and then the footmen next unto them were put to flight, ſo as they ran amain toward their camp. *M. Æmylius* a Colonell, and ſon to *M. Lepidus*, who a few years after was created the High-Prieſt, had the charge of the camp: he with his whole guard came forth, and where as he ſaw them to flee, there he oppoſed himſelf, and firſt commanded them to ſtand, and afterwards to return to battell, checking and rebuking them for their beaſtly fear, and ſhamefull running away. Moreover, he proceeE deed to minatory words, ſaying, That in caſe they would not be ruled by his direction, they ſhould run headlong like blind beetles upon their own miſchief: and in the end, he gave a ſign to his own company, for to lay upon the formoſt of them that thus fled, and cauſed the multitude that followed, with dint of ſword and drawing bloud of them, to turn their face again upon the enemies. Thus the greater fear overcame the leſs: for ſeeing danger before and behind, firſt they ſtaid their flight, and afterwards returned to the battell. *Æmylius* alſo with his own regiment (which for the guard of the camp had 2000 tall and valiant men in it) withſtood the King right ſtoutly as he followed hot in chaſe upon thoſe that fled. Moreover, *Attalus* (brother of King *Eumenes*) in the right point of the battell, who at the firſt charge had diſcomfited the left wing of the enemies, perceiving that his fellows fled in their left point, and
F hearing a great ſtir about the camp, came to the reſcue in good time with 200 horſemen. *Antiochus*, when he ſaw them turn head again whoſe backs erewhile were toward him, and begin to fight afreſh, and perceived withall a number coming againſt him, both out of the camp and alſo from the battell, turned his horſe head and took himſelf to flight. By this means the Romans obtained the victory of both the wings, and paſſed directly to the rifling of the camp over the dead bodies, which in the main battell moſt of all were maſſacred and lay by heaps: where the ſtrength and flower of the hardieſt men ranged cloſe together and the weight beſides of their heavy armor, would not give them leave to flie away. The horſemen of *Eumenes* were the firſt of all others that purſued the enemies: after them, the reſt of the Cavalry followed the chaſe all over the fields, and ever as they overtook any of the hindmoſt, killed them outright. But that
G which troubled and plagued them in their flight more than all beſides, was their chariots, elephants and camels, intermingled among them as they fled; foraſmuch as being once disbanded and put out of their ranks, they tumbled one upon another like blind men, and were bruiſed and cruſhed under the beaſts feet which came running upon them. Great execution alſo there was committed in the camp, yea, and more in manner than had been in the battell: for the firſt that fled, and thoſe that fought in the vanguard, took their way moſt of them to the camp, and upon aſſured confidence of this multitude, the garriſon within fought more valiantly, and held

out

out longer in the defence of the hold. The Romans being thus ſtaid in the gates, and kept out of H
the rampier which they thought verily to have forced and won at their firſt aſſault, when they
were once at length broken through and got in, made the more bloudy ſlaughter amongſt them,
for very anger and deſpight that they had kept them forth ſo long. It is ſaid, that there were ſlain
that day about fifty thouſand footmen and 4000 horſemen, 1400 taken priſoners, together with
fifteen Elephants with their governors. A number of the Romans were hurt and wounded, but
there died not in the field above 300 footmen, and 24 horſemen: and of the regiment of King *Eu-*
*menes* not paſt five and twenty. And for that day verily, the conquerours after they had ranſacked
only the tents and pavilions of their enemies, returned to their own camp with great plenty of
pillage: but the next morrow they fell to ſpoiling the bodies of the dead and gathered their priſo-
ners together. And upon this victory, there came Embaſſadors from *Thyatira* and *Magneſia*, unto I
*Sypilus*, for to ſurrender and deliver up their Cities.

*Antiochus*, who fled accompanied with ſome few, having gathered unto him many more in
the way, who rallied themſelves unto him, arrived at *Sardis* about midnight with a ſmall power of
armed men; and hearing that his ſon *Seleucus* and ſome other of his friends were gone before to
*Apamea*, himſelf alſo at the fourth watch departed thence with his wife and daughter toward *A-*
*pamea*; after he had committed the charge of guarding the City *Sardis* unto *Zeno*, and appointed
*Timon* governour of *Lydia*. But the inhabitants of the ſaid City and the garriſon ſouldiers with-
in the Caſtle, deſpiſed their governours, and by generall conſent addreſſed Embaſſadors unto the
Conſul.

Much about the ſame time alſo, there arrived Embaſſadors from *Tralles*, and *Magneſia* (which K
ſtandeth upon the river *Meander*) and likewiſe from *Epheſus*, to yield up their Cities. For *Polyxeni-*
*das* (advertiſed of the iſſue of this battell) had abandoned *Epheſus*; and having ſailed with the fleet
as far as *Patara* in *Lycia*, for fear of the Rhodian ſhips which rid in guard within the harbour of
*Megiſte*, disbarked and put himſelf a ſhore, and with a ſmall company marched by land into *Syria*.
The Cities of *Aſia* were ſurrendred into the hands and protection of the Conſul, and ſubmitted
to the people of *Rome*. By this time now was the Conſul poſſeſſed of *Sardis*, and thither repaired
unto him *Scipio* from *Elæa*, ſo ſoon as ever he could endure the travell of journey.

At the ſame time there came an herald from *Antiochus* unto the Conſul, who by the meditti-
on of *Scipio*, made requeſt and obtained thus much, That the King might ſend his Orators and
Embaſſadors unto him. And after few daies *Zeuſis* (who had been governour of *Lydia*) together L
with *Antipater* (*Antiochus* his nephew, or brothers ſon) arrived. Who firſt dealt with King *Eu-*
*menes* and communed with him, whom (by reaſon of old jars and quarrels) they ſuppoſed verily
to be the greateſt enemy unto peace, and that he would never abide to hear thereof: but him they
found more reaſonable and enclining to peaceable terms, than either the King their Maſters or
themſelves hoped and looked for. So by the means of *Scipio* and him together, they had acceſs
unto the Conſul; who at their earneſt petition granted them a day of audience in a frequent aſ-
ſembly, there to declare their Commiſſion and what they had in charge. "Then (quoth *Zeuſis*)
"we are not ſo much to ſpeak and deliver ought of our own ſelves, as to ask and be adviſed of you
"(Romans) what courſe to take, and by what means of ſatisfaction we might expiate and ſatisfie
"the treſpaſs of the King our Maſter, and withall obtain grace and pardon at your hands who are M
"the victors? Your manner alwaies hath been of a magnanimous and haughty ſpirit, to forgive
"Kings and nations by you vanquiſhed: How much more then is it decent and beſeeming you
"to do the like: yea, and with a greater mind and more generous and bountifull heart, in this vi-
"ctory and conqueſt, which hath made you LL. of the whole world? For now it behoveth you
"to lay down all debate and quarrel with mortall men here upon earth, and rather like the im-
"mortal gods in heaven, to provide for the good and ſafety of mankind, and them to pardon and
"forgive. Now was it agreed upon before the coming of the Embaſſadors, what anſwer to make
unto them; and likewiſe thought good it was that *Africanus* ſhould deliver the ſame, who ſpake
by report in this wiſe: "We Romans, of all thoſe things which are in the power of the immortall
"gods, have that meaſure which they vouchſafed to give us: as for heart and courage which de- N
"pendeth upon our own will and mind, we have born (and ever will) the ſame without change
"and alteration in all fortunes: neither hath proſperity raiſed and lift it up aloft, nor adverſity
"debaſed and put it down. For proof hereof, I might produce your friend *Annibal* as witneſs, to
"ſay nothing of others, but that I can report me to your own ſelves. For after we had paſſed
"over *Helleſpont*, even before we ſaw the Kings camp and army, when the hazard of war was in-
"different, when the iſſue doubtfull and uncertain, look what conditions of peace we then of-
"fered on even hand, and whiles we were equall one unto the other, and ſtood upon terms of ad-
"vantage the ſame and no other we preſent unto you at this time, now that we are conquerors.
"Forbear to meddle within *Europe*: depart wholly out of *Aſia*, ſo much as is on this ſide *Taurus*.
"Moreover, in regard of the expences defraied in this war, ye ſhall pay fifteen thouſand Ta- O
"lents of ſilver, according to the computation of *Euboea*: five hundred in hand, two thouſand and
"five hundred at the aſſurance and making of the peace, by the Senat and people of *Rome*; and a
"thouſand talents yearly for twelve years next enſuing. Alſo ye ſhall make paiment unto *Eu-*
"*menes* of four hundred talents, and the remnant behind of the corn and grain which was due
"unto his father. And when we have contracted and concluded theſe covenants, to the end that
"we may reſt aſſured that ye will perform the ſame, we demand for a gage and ſufficient pawn

"that

A "that ye deliver into our hands twenty hostages, such as we shall like well of and chuse. And "for as much as we can never be perswaded that the people of *Rome* shall enjoy long peace there, "where *Annibal* is, we demand above all things to have him in our custody. Also you shall deliver into our hands *Thoas* the Ætolian, the principall author and firebrand of that war with the Æto- "lians, who caused you to take armes against us, upon assurance that he gave you of them: and likewise armed them upon the trust they had in you. Item, together with him you shall deliver "*Mnasimachus* the Acarnanian, together with *Philo* and *Eubulidas* the Chalcidians. The K. shall "now contract peace in worse estate then he was, by reason he maketh it later then he might "have done. But in case he hold off still and delay, know he well thus much, that the roial majesty "and port of Kings is with more difficulty abated & taken down from the highst pitch and degree "unto the midst; then from that mean estate, cast down headlong to the lowest. Now these Em-
B bassadors were sent from the King with this charge, to accept of any articles of peace whatsoever. And therefore it was decreed that Embassadors should be directly sent to *Rome*. The Consul divided his army into garrisons for to winter, some in *Magnesia* upon the river *Maander*, others in *Trallis* and *Ephesus*. After few daies the hostages abovesaid, were brought to *Ephesus* from the K. and Embassadors also came who were to go to *Rome*. *Eumenes* likewise went to *Rome* at the same time that the Kings Embassadors: and there followed embassies moreover of all the States of *Asia*.

While the affairs of *Asia* passed thus in these terms, there were two pro-consuls returned out of their severall provinces, both in maner at once, upon hope to obtain triumph, to wit, Q. *Minutius* out of *Liguria*, and *M. Acilius* out of *Ætolia*. When the exploits were heard as well of the one as the other, *Minutius* was flatly denied triumph, but *Acilius* had it granted with great
C consent of all men: who rode into the City triumphant over K. *Antiochus* and the Ætolians. In which triumph there were carried before him 230 ensigns, 3000 pound weight of massie silver in bullion; of coin in Attick Tetradrachms 1130000: in Cistophors 248000. In plate many vessels engraved and chased, of great weight. He carried also in pomp the implements of the KK house all of silver, with rich and sumptuous apparell. Also crowns of gold 45 presented unto him by Cities associat: besides all sorts of rich spoils; and moreover he led divers noblemen prisoners, and last of all 36 captains, as well Ætolians as those who served under the King. As for *Democritus*, a great commander of the Aetolians, who some few daies before had broken prison and escaped by night, he was by his keepers that made fresh suit after him, overtaken upon the bank of *Tybris*: but be-
D fore he could be attached by them, he fell upon his own sword, and ran himself through. Only there wanted those that should have followed after his chariot; otherwise the triumph had been magnificent and stately, both for the pompous shew and also of the honor and renoun of exploits atchieved. But the joy of this triumph was blemished with heavy tidings out of *Spain*, of a losse and overthrow received of the Portugals, in the countrey of Valcetans, neer the town *Lyco*, under the conduct of *L. Æmylius*: where 6100 of the Roman army were left dead in the place, and the rest discomfited and beaten back into the camp; which they had much ado to defend and hold, and were forced to retire in manner of flight, and by long journies recovered the peaceable quarters of their friends. And this was the news out of *Spain*.

From out of *France* the Embassadors of the Placentins and Cremonians, were brought by the Pretor *L. Aurunculeius* into the Senat: where they made much moan and complaint for default
E and want of inhabitants, whereof some were devoured by the edge of the sword in wars, others consumed by malady and sickness, yea, and certain of them departed out of their colonies for weariness they had of the Gauls their neer neighbours. Whereupon the Senat ordained *C. Lælius* the Consul to enroll, if he thought so good, six thousand families, for to be distributed among those Colonies aforesaid: & *L. Aurunculeius* the Pretor to create three Commissaries called Triumvirs, for the conducting of the coloners and inhabitants aforesaid. And created there were *M. Attilius Serranus*, *L. Valerius Flaccus* the son of *Publius*, and *L. Valerius Tappus* the son of *Caius*.

Not long after, against the time of the Consuls election which approached neer, *C. Lælius* the
F Consul returned out of *France* to *Rome*, and he not only by vertue of the act of the Senat made in his ablence, enrolled certain Coloners to supply the want in *Placentia* and *Cremona*, but also proposed a bill, and according to it the LL. of the Senat ordained, that two new Colonies should be conducted into the land that appertaine to the Boians. And at the very same time were letters brought from *L. Æmylius* the Pretor, as touching the battell at sea fought neer to *Myonesus*: which letters also give intelligence, that *L. Scipio* the Consul had transported his army into *Asia*. For joy of the said navall victory, there was ordained a solemn procession for one day, and in regard that the Roman army was then fight on foot in *Africk*, the said procession continued ano-
G ther day with supplication to the gods, that this voiage might turn to the prosperity and joy of the Commonwealth. And the Consul was enjoyned at each procession and supplication, to sacrifice twenty head of greater beasts. After this ensued the solemn assembly for the chusing of Consuls, which was holden with great strife and contention. For *M. Æmylius Lepidus* stood to be Consul, a man grown into an ill name, and hardly spoken of among the people, in that he had left his government and charge in *Sicily* for this occasion and business only, without making suit unto the Senat and craving leave so to do. Together with him were competitors in election, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *Cn. Manlius Volso*, and *M. Valerius Messala*. But *Fulvius* was chosen alone, because the had rest not sufficient voices of the Centuries, and the morrow after nominated *Cn.*

*Manlius* for his colleague, and gave the repulse unto *Lepidus*; for *Massala* kept silence and held H
his tongue. Which done, the Pretors were elected, namely, the two *Quintii Fabii*, the one surnamed *Labeo*, the other *Pictor* (who had been consecrated that year for the Flamin Quirinall) *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*, *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*, *Lucius Plautius Hypseus*, and *L. Bœbius Dives*.

During the time that *M. Fulvius Nobilior* and *Cn. Manlius Volso* were Consuls, *Valerius Antias* writeth that there was a rise rumour raised at *Rome*, and held for certain, that *L. Scipio* the Consul, together with P. *Africanus*, were called forth to a parley with King *Antiochus*, as touching the enlargment and delivery of young *Scipio* the son of *Africanus*, and by that means were both of them arrested and taken prisoners: also that when these chief commanders were under arrest, the Kings army incontinently advanced against the Roman camp, the same was surprised I
and forced and the whole power of the Romans utterly defeated. By occasion whereof, it went current also that the Ætolians began to look aloft, refused to obey, and shook off their allegeance; also that their Princes and chief States were gone into *Macedony*, *Dardany* and *Thrace*, to levy and wage auxiliary forces: moreover, that *A. Terentius Varro*, and *Marcus Claudius Lepidus* were sent unto out of *Ætolia*, from *A. Cornelius* the Propretor, for to report these news at *Rome*. Last of all, to make up the tale, he addeth and saith that the Ætolian Embassadors among other things being examined in the Senat about this matter, and demanded of whom they heard and understood that the Roman Generals were taken prisoners in *Asia* by King *Antiochus*, and the whole army overthrown? answered directly, that they had advertisement thereof by their own Embassadors, who had been with the Consul. But because I find no other author besides him that maketh mention of this rumor, I dare not for any thing that I can say of my self, report it for a cer- K
tain truth, nor yet omit it as a meer fable or loud lie.

The Ætolian Embassadors were permitted to come into the Senat house; and being induced (in regard of their own cause and present condition) to confesse a truth, and as humble suppliants to crave pardon and forgiveness either for their fault, or misprision and error, began with a bedroll of their favours and good turns done unto the people of *Rome*, yea and in manner to upbraid the Romans with the valour which they shewed in the war against *Philip*. But with their arrogant and insolent language they offended the ears of the Senators: and by ripping up old matters done and past (time out of mind and utterly forgotten) they handled their own cause so, and brought it to this passe, that the LL. of the Senat began to call to mind much more harm and mischief contrived and practised by that nation, then kindnesses and courtesies received at their L
hands: insomuch as the Ætolians having need of their mercy, incurred their heavy displeasure, and provoked them to anger and hatred. Being asked this question by one of the Senators Whether they would refer and submit themselves to the censure and judgment of the people of *Rome*? and likewise of another, If they could be content to hold them for their friends or enemies whom the Romans so accounted; they answered not a word: and thereupon immediatly were commanded out of the Court: and presently all the Senat began to cry out with one voice, that the Ætolians were all still for Kings *Antiochus* depending wholly and only upon that hope, and therefore they ought to war against them as undoubted enemies, and to take down and tame the so proud and fellonious hearts of their own. Over and besides all this, another thing there was that incited and kindled the stomacks of the LL. against them, because at the very same instant when they M
seemed to require peace at the Romans hands, they warred against *Dolopia* and *Athamania*. So there passed a decree of the Senat, (and the same was moved by *M. Acilius*, who had vanquished and subdued *Antiochus* and the Ætolians) That they shall void that very day out of the City of *Rome*; and within fifteen daies next ensuing, out of all *Italy*. Au. *Terentius Varro* was sent to safe-conduct them on the way: and this warning they took with them, that if ever after there came any Embassadors from the Ætolians, without the warrant, license, and permission of the chief General who governed the province, or not accompanied with a Roman Legat, they should be reputed all of them for no better then enemies. In this maner were the Ætolians dismissed & sent away.

After this the Consuls proposed unto the Senat, as touching the government of the provinces. N
And thought good it was that they themselves should cast lots for *Ætolia* & *Asia*. Unto him whose lot it should be to govern *Asia*, was appointed that army which *L. Scipio* had. And for to furnish it fully up and make up the decaied bands, he was allowed to have four thousand foot men of Romans with two hundred horsemen: of allies that were Latins, eight thousand foot and four thousand men of arms, and with these forces he was to make war against *Antiochus*. The other Consul had assigned unto him that army which was *Ætolia*: and liberty he had for supply of that broken army to levy the same number of Citizens and allies that his companion in government had enrolled. To the same Consul was granted a commission likewise to set in order, furnish, and take with him those ships which the former year were prepared and rigged, and not only to make war with the Ætolians, but also to sail over into the Isle *Cephalenia*. And withall, the said Consul O
had in charge to return home to *Rome* for the election of Magistrats, if he might so do conveniently with the good of the Common-weal. For besides the annuall Magistrats (who were to be chosen one under another) it was agreed upon, that Censors also should be created. But in case his affairs detained him, that he might not return in person, then he was to give advertisement, and signifie so much to the Senat, that he could not possibly be present at the time of the aforesaid Election. So *Ætolia* fell by lot to M. *Fulvius*, and *Asia* to *Cn. Manlius*. Then the Pretors fell to draw lots for their provinces. *Sp. Posthumius Albinus* had the jurisdiction over

Citizens

A citizens and forreiners both: *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* governed *Sicily*: and *Q. Fabius Pictor* the Quirinall Flamin, *Sardinia*: *Q. Fabius Labeo* was admirall of the navy at sea: and *L. Plautius Hypseus* was allotted to the rule of high *Spain*, and *L. Babius Dives* of the lower. For *Sicily* one legion was appointed, together with that fleet which was already in that province. Also there was order given that the new Pretor should impose two tenths of corn upon the Sicilians, and send the one into *Asia*, and the other into *Ætolia*. The like imposition was laid and exacted upon the Sardinians, and the said corn to be conveighed into the same armies that the Sicilian corn was. A supply was granted unto *L. Bœbius* for *Spain* of a thousand Rom. footmen and fifty horse besides: besides six thousand Latin foot, and two hundred horsmen. Unto *Plautius Hypseus* for the higher *Spain* were allowed a thousand Roman footmen: with two thousand Latine allies, and two hundred horse. Besides these supplements, both the provinces of *Spain* were allowed each
B of them one legion. The Magistrats and governours of the former year continued still in place of command for one other yeer, to wit, *C. Lælius* with his army, and *P. Iunius* also the Propretor in *Hetruria* with those forces which were in the province *M. Tuccius* likewise in the Brutians country and *Apulia*.

But before the Pretors went into their provinces, there hapned a variance between P. *Licinius*, the Arch-Pontifie or chief Prelat, and *Q. Fabius Pictor* the Quirinall Flamin, like unto that which sometime fell out between *L. Metellus* and *Posthumius Albinus*. For at what time as *Posthumius* the Consul was upon his departure and journey to his fleet in *Sicily*, together with *C. Lutatius* his colleague, *Metellus* the Archbishop for the time being, kept him back
C upon occasion of certain sacrifices to be celebrated: semblably, when as *Fabius* the Pretor would have gone into *Sardania*, *P. Licinius* the high Priest detained him. Much strife and hard hold there was hereabout, as well in the Senat house, as before the people. Inhibitions passed to and fro. Cautions and pledges were distrained: fines they imposed one upon anothers head: the Tribunes were called unto on both sides for to interpose their authority, and they appealed both unto the people. In fine, religion, and the regard of holy rites took place, and carried it clear, and the Flamin was enjoined to obey the chief priest: and by order and expresse commandment from the people, all fines were taken off and forgiven. And when the Pretor for very anger and spite that he was debarred from his province, would have surrendred and resigned up his government,
D the LL. of the Senat impeached and terrified him by their absolute authority, and ordeined that he should minister justice, and exercise civill jurisdiction between aliens. After that the musters were ended within few dayes (for many souldiers were not to be levied and enrolled) both Consuls and Pretors took their journey into the provinces. After this, there arose a bruit concerning the occurrents and affairs in *Asia*, blown and spread abroad I wot not how, nor from what author it proceeded: but after few daies there came certain messengers with letters from the Generals of the Roman army, sent of purpose to the City, which caused not so great joy presently ensuing upon the fresh fear aforesaid (for why, they were no more afraid of *Ætolia* by them already conquered) as dashed quite the fame and opinion that went on *Antiochus*, whom in the beginning of this war they supposed would have been a dangerous enemy unto them, as well in regard
E of his own puissance, as for that he had the direction and conduct of *Annibal* in the war: howbeit, they thought good to alter nothing, either as touching the sending of the Consul into *Asia*, or diminishing his forces, for fear they should have war with the French.

Not long after *M. Aurelius Cotta*, a lieutenant of *Scipio*, came to *Rome* with the Embassadors of King *Antiochus*, and likewise King *Eumenes* and the Rhodians. *Cotta* reported and declared first in the Senat, and afterwards in a full assembly of the people (by order and commandment from the LL. of the Councell) what affairs had passed in *Spain*. Whereupon ordeined it was, that there should be holden a solemn procession for 3 daies together: and order was given, that 40 head of greater cattel shou'd be killed for sacrifice. This done, the Senat assembled for to give audience to King *Eumenes*; first above all other matter: who briefly in few words having rendred
F "thanks to the LL. of the Senat, for that they had delivered him and his brother from siege, and "protected his realm against the wrongs and outrages offred by *Antiochus*: also having testified "his joy by way of gratulation for their prosperous and fortunat affairs atchieved both by land and "sea: namely, in that they had discomfited and put to flight K. *Antiochus*, & driven him out of his "camp, that he could not keep the field; and withall disseized and dispossessed him first of *Europe* and afterwards of all that part of *Asia* which lieth on this side the mountain *Taurus*: he concluded and knit up all with this, That as touching his own demerits and employments about their "affairs, he had rather they took knowledge by their own generals, captains and lieutenants, "than from his mouth. They all approved well of this speech of his, and willed him to speak boldly without bashful modesty in that case, What he thought in equity and reason the Senat and people of *Rome* was to yeeld unto him by way of justly recompense: assuring him that the Senat would
G do it more willingly and liberally (if possibly they could) according to the worth of his desert. The King answered thus again, that in case any other had made him that offer, and given him the "choice of his own rewards, he would gladly have used the counsell of that honorable court "of the Roman Senat (so he might have the means and liberty to aske their advice) to this end that "he would not be thought, either to exceed measure in covetous desire, or passe the bounds of modesty in craving a recompense. But now considering they are themselves to give that reward, "much more reason it is that their magnificence and bounty to him & his brethren should be re-

"ferred to their own arbitrement and diſcretion. The LL. of the Senat were nothing moved at this H
language of his, but urged him ſtill to ſpeak himſelf in his own cauſe. And after a certain time that
they had ſtrived a-vie, the LL. in courteſie and kindneſs, the King in modeſty and ſhamefaſtneſs,
yeelding one unto the other reciprocally, in ſuch amiable and mutuall manner as hardly can be
expreſſed, *Eumenes*, departed out of the temple. The Senat perſiſted neverthelefs in their reſolution
ſaying, it was very abſurd and undecent that the King ſhould be ignorant upon what hopes he was
come, and what he purpoſed to make ſuit and petition for: and himſelf muſt needs of all others
know beſt what was meeteſt and moſt expedient for his own Kingdom: yea, and was far better
acquainted with the eſtate and affairs of *Aſia* then the Senat was. And therefore no remedy, but he
muſt be called again, and compelled to declare and deliver what his will, deſire and mind was to
The Oration of King *Eumenes* in the Senat of *Rome*. have. Hereupon the King was brought back into the temple by the Pretor, and urged to ſpeak. I
"Then at laſt, my LL. (qd. he) I would have perſiſted ſtill in ſilence, but that I knew that anon ye
"will call the embaſſage of the Rhodians in place, and that after audience given unto them, I muſt
"neither will nor chooſe but make ſome ſpeech of neceſſity: and verily with ſo much more
"difficulty ſhall I ſpeak, becauſe their demands will be ſuch, as if they would ſeem not only to
"require nothing prejudiciall and hurtfull unto me, but alſo (which more is) matters little or
"nothing pertinent to themſelves. For plead they will and maintain the cauſe of the Cities in
"*Greece*, ſaying, they ought be ſet free and at liberty: which being once obteined, who can make
"doubt but rather they will withdraw from our obeiſance, not only the Cities which ſhal be freed,
"but alſo thoſe which have been homagers and tributaries unto us of old time? yea, and will keep
"them as ſubjects in very deed and wholly at their devotion, whom being thus bound and obliged K
"to them by ſo great a benefit, they call by the name of Aſſociats, and would make the world be-
"lieve they repute them for no other? Yet forſooth (I wot well) in affecting and aſpiring to this ſo
"great power & puiſſance, they will carry it ſo cleanly & make ſemblant, as though this in no wiſe
"touched and concerned them: but it is befitting you alone, correſpondent & anſwerable to other
"former deeds of yours. But be ye well adviſed, and let not their gloſing words deceive you;
"take you heed, I ſay, that ye go not with an uneven hand nor bear your ſelves equally, whiles you
"depreſſe and abaſe too much ſome of your allies, in promoting and advancing others beyond all
"meaſure; and above all, beware that they who have lift up their ſpear and born arms againſt you,
"be not more kindly intreated & in better condition, then your loving friends and faithfull confe-
"derats. For mine own part, in all other things I would gladly be thought of every man, rather to L
"keep within my compaſs; yea, and yeeld ſomewhat of my right whatſoever it is, then to ſtrive
"too much in the maintenance and holding therof: but in the queſtion of your friendſhip, my
"affection towards you, and to the honour which ſhall come from you, I cannot endure with
"patience that any one ſhould out-go and ſurmount my ſelf. This I account the greateſt inheri-
"tance left unto me by my father the firſt, (of all thoſe that inhabit in *Greece* and *Aſia*) who was
"entertained in your amity and continued in the ſame alwaies moſt faſt, moſt conſtant and ſure
"ever to his dying day: who not only ſhewed found affection and loyall heart unto you, but alſo
"was in perſon employed in all your wars which ye made in *Greece*, as well at land as at ſea; aſſiſt-
"ed and aided you with all kind of proviſions, in ſuch ſort, as none of all your allies beſides was
"any way comparable or came neer to him. And finally, as he earneſtly exhorted the Bœotians M
"to accept of your ſociety, he ſunk down, ſwooned in the very aſſembly & not long after yeelded
"up his ſpirit and dyed. His footſteps have I troden, and followed his good example. For affection
"verily and ſtudious deſire to honour you, I could not have more then he had (for I ſuppoſe it was
"impoſſible to ſurpaſſe him therein:) but in kind pleaſures, effectuall ſervices, offices, courte-
"ſies, and favours, to ſurmount and go beyond him; the goodneſs of fortune, the occaſion of
"times, King *Antiochus* and the war of *Aſia*, have miniſtred ample and ſufficient matter unto me.
"*Antiochus* King of *Aſia* and part of *Europe*) gave me his daughter in marriage, and with her en-
"dowed me with the repoſſeſſion of thoſe Cities which had revolted from us. He fed me more-
"ver with great hopes of encreaſing my dominion in time to come, if I would have ſided with him N
"againſt you. I will glory and vaunt of this, that I have done nothing to offend and diſpleaſe you:
"I will rather rehearſe thoſe pleaſures and ſervices which are beſeeming the ancient amity and
"friendſhip between our houſe and you. In forces as well for land as ſea, I have friended and
"helped your Generals in ſuch wiſe, as I forbid all your allies beſides to do the like: furniſhed them
"I have with victuals on the land, with proviſions at ſea. In all the battels and conflicts by ſhips
"(which were many and in ſundry places) I was preſent in perſon. I underwent all travels, ad-
"ventured all perils, and no where favoured my ſelf and thought much of my pains: nay, that
"which is the greateſt calamity and miſery that followeth wars, I was beſieged, and endured it:
"enclofed I was and ſhut up within *Pergamus*, to the utter hazard of my life and of my realm and
"royall dignity. And after I was delivered from that danger and the ſiege raiſed, albeit *Antiochus* O
"of one ſide and *Seleucus* on another, lay encamped about the principall fortreſſe of my Kingdom,
"I quit mine own affairs and laid all aſide, to come with my whole fleet into *Helleſpont*, & there
"to meet with *L. Scipio* your Conſul, and to aid him in tranſporting and waſting his army into
"*Aſia*. And when your forces were paſſed over, I never afterwards departed from him: there
"was not a Rom. ſouldier more reſiant ordinarily in your camp then my ſelf and my brethren. No
"expeditions, no rodes, no exploit of horſe ſervice was there without me. In battel have I ſtood on
"foot & guarded that quarter which the Conſul hath appointed me to keep. I wil not ſay, my LL. what

one

A "one person there is that hath done so good service for you in the last war as I my self, and who
"is any way comparable unto me: nay, I dare make comparison with all states and Princes what-
"soever, whom you esteem and honour so highly? *Masanissa* before he was your friend, was
"your professed enemie: he came not to you with his aids in the time of his upright fortune, and
"whiles his Kingdome florished in good estate; but when he was banished, driven out of his
"Kingdom, and turned out of all, he fled into your camp, accompanied only with a small troop
"and cornet of horsemen: Yet nevertheless, because he stood fast to you and bare himself in all
"loyalty, and shewed his prowesse in your behalf against *Syphax*, and the Carthaginians in *Africk*,
"you not only restored him to his fathers Kingdome, and placed him again in the royall throne,
"but you laid unto his dominion the richest part of the realm of *Syphax*, made him the most puis-
B "sant and greatest Prince of all the Kings in *Africk*. What reward then, nay, what honour are we
"worthy to have at your hands; we (I say) who never were enemies, but ever friends? My fa-
"ther, my self, my brethren, have born arms in your quarrell by land, by sea, not only in *Asia* but
"far from our own home and native soil, in *Peloponnesus*, in *Bœotia*, in *Ætolia*, during the war with
"*Philip*, with *Antiochus*, with the Ætolians. What recompence demand you then? may some
"man say. For as much as (my LL.) you will have it so, and it is your pleasure that I should speak
"my mind; good reason it is that I obey. This shall stand for all; if you have dispossessed *Antiochus*
"of all on this side *Taurus*, with this intent, to hold those lands your own selves; none better then
"you, and whom I would rather wish to be my neighbours and to confine upon me: neither can
"I bethink me, of any means in the world more important to the safety and strength of my King-
"dome. But in case your purpose be to depart and retire your forces from thence, I dare be bold
C "to say, that of your allies, (and put them all together) there is not one more worthy then my self
"to have and hold that which you have won by conquest. But an honourable deed it is and mag-
"nificent, to set free and deliver Cities out of thraldome and servitude. True and I my self am of
"the same opinion; provided alwaies, that they had attempted nought by way of hostilitie against
"you. But in case they had taken part and sided with *Antiochus*; how much more standeth it with
"wisdom, nay, with equity and reason, to be respective of your allies who have so well deserved
"at your hands, then to regard your enemies. This Oration of the King much pleased the LL. of
the Senat, and soon it was seen by their countenance that they would deal bounteously and libe-
rally with him. yea, and gratifie him in what they might. Then audience was given to a brief
D embassage of the Smyrneans, who by occasion that some of the Rhodians were absent, came be-
tween and delivered their message. Highly were these Smyrneans commended, in that they chose
rather to endure all extremities, then to yeeld themselves unto King *Antiochus*. Then the Rhodians
entred in place: and the chief man of their embassie, after he had declared the first occasion and
beginning of the amity which they had with the people of *Rome*, and shewed withall the good
deserts and services which the Rhodians had performed in the wars first against *Philip* and then a-
gainst *Antiochus*, went on and spake as followeth. "Right honourable, there is nothing more
"difficult and troublesome unto us in all the businesse that we have in hand then this one thing, The oration of the Rhodian Embassadors.
"that there is some variance and matter to be debated between us and *Eumenes*, the only K. of all
"others, with whom especially every one of us in privat, and (that which toucheth us more) our
E "City in publick, doth entertain the bond of friendship and mutuall hospitality. Howbeit no re-
"pugnancy is in our affections (my LL.) but even the course of this world and nature it self (the
"mightiest thing of all) which disjoyneth us and causeth difference: this maketh us (being men
"free born) to defend and maintain the freedom also of others: this is it, that moveth KK. to be
"desirous to have all in servitude and subjection under them, and at their command. But howsoe-
"ver it is, our modesty and the reverent regard we have of the King person hurteth us more, then
"either the debating of our cause with him is otherwise difficult unto us, or the deciding thereof
"like to be intricat and troublesome unto you. For in case it were so, that you could not honour
"and reward a King, your allie and friend, for his good service done in this war (for recompence
"whereof you sit in consultation) by no other means, unlesse you deliver free Cities into his
F "hands, to serve in bondage; then were it hard for you to resolve; for fear lest either ye should
"send away a prince (your friend and confederat) without guerdon and honour; or seem to change
"that laudable enterprise of yours which you have begun, to stain and blemish your glory now
"(which you have acquired by the war against *Philip*) with reducing so many Cities and states
"into servitude. But your happy fortune easeth you right well of this difficulty and necessity,
"that you need not fear either to empair your credit and favour with your friends, or to endamage
"your reputation and honour among men. For (the gods be thanked therefore) you have atchie-
"ved a victory, no lesse rich then glorious, and sufficient (if I may so say) to discharge all your
"debts, and set you clear with all the world. For *Lycaonia*, *Phrygia* both the great and the lesse,
"whole *Pisidia*, *Chersonesus*, and in brief all the confines of *Europe* are under your dominion. Of
G "all which provinces, if you lay but one by (which you will your selves) for K. *Eumenes*, you shal
"mightily enlarge and amplifie his Kingdom: but, give him all, you will make him equall to the
"greatest princes and monarchs that are. You see then by this, that you may recompence and en-
"rich your allies out of the conquest gotten by war, and nevertheless hold out your good custom
"that you have begun, remembring alwaies what title you pretended first in your war with *Philip*,
"& now lately with *Antiochus*: cõsidering withal, what you did then after *Philip* was vanquish'd, &
"what is required and expected at your hands, now: not so much because you have used it alrea-

"dy, as for that it was meet and decent you ſhould ſo do. Many cauſes there be (and thoſe colour- H
"ably juſt and lawfull) to enter into arms: one pretended this, another that; ſome in right of lands
"and territories, other of villages; ſome lay claim to towns and Cities, others challenge the poſ-
"ſeſſion of ports and havens, and one tract or other of the ſea-coaſts. As for you, before you en-
"joyed theſe things, you deſired them not: ſince then ye have now compaſſed the whole earth,
"and are LL. of the world, you cannot poſſibly covet the ſame any more. Warred you have and
"fought for honour and glory, in the ſight of all the nations of the earth, who now this long time
"behold and regard your name and empire, no leſſe then they do the gods immortall. And I wot
"not well, whether thoſe things which we hardly come by, be not with more difficulty holden & I
"kept afterwards, then they were purchaſed. You undertook to deliver & rid out of the ſervitude
"and oppreſſion of Kings, and to maintain in liberty, a moſt ancient and noble ſtate, renowned
"for their worthy and famous acts, and right commendable for their ſingular learning and know-
"ledge in all ſciences. For your honour it is, having once received all this nation in your ſafegard
"and protection, to defend and preſerve the ſame for ever. And think not, that thoſe Cities only
"are more Greek which are built and ſeated upon the ancient ſoil of *Greece*, then their colonies
"which have been drawn from them, & in times paſt went from thence into *Aſia*: for the change
"of air and place hath wrought no alteration, either in the nature and complexion, or the maners
"and faſhions of the people. As for us, endevoured we have do better and better, and each City
"hath entered into an honeſt contention and religious emulation to out-go and ſurmount their
"forefathers and firſt-founders in all good arts and commendable vertues. There be many of you
"who have been in *Greece*, many have viſited the Cities of *Aſia*, and ſetting aſide this only, That K
"we are farther diſtant and remote from you, there is no difference and odds between us and
"them. The Maſſillans, whom (if poſſible it had been, that an imbred temperature might be al-
"tered and overcome with the ſtrength and nature, as it were in the ſoil) ſo many wild, barba-
"rous, and untamed nations, environing them round about, would have made cruell and ſavage
"long before this day; we hear ſay and underſtand to be in that requeſt and eſtimation (by good
"right, and their deſert) among you, as if they dwelt in the very midſt and heart of *Greece*, for
"not only they retain ſtill the very naturall language of their own, they keep them to their old
"faſhion of apparell and attire, and carry the ſame port in their geſture and countenance, but alſo
"above al things they have kept and obſerved their cuſtoms, their maners, their laws and natural
"diſpoſition pure and entire, notwithſtanding the frequent commerce with thoſe, in the midſt L
"of whom they converſe and inhabit. Well, the mountain *Taurus* at this day is the limit of your
"empire and ſignory one way: and therefore whatſoever lieth between you and that bound,
"you muſt not think it remote, but look how far your arms have reached, ſo far let your laws and
"juriſdiction extend. Let Barbarians, who know no other laws then lords hefts, have their Kings,
"ſince they take ſuch pleaſure in them, and much good may they do their hearts: as for the
"Greeks, they muſt do as they may, and are not (we confeſſe) in ſo good caſe as you, howbeit
"they carry with them as brave a mind as your ſelves: and the day hath been, when they were
"Monarchs, when they conquered by their own ſword a mighty dominion, and held the ſame
"when they had it. Now they are content with that empire where it now is, nay, they wiſh it
"may remain and continue there for evermore, where it is ſetled at this preſent. They ſhall be M
"well apaied, and think they are well, to maintain their liberty by your force of arms, ſince they
"have no means of their own to defend the ſame. But (will ſome man ſay) there be certain Cities
"that held a ſide and banded with *Antiochus*? I anſwer again, ſo were ſome before that took part
"with *Philip*, ſo there were that conbined with *Pyrrhus*, as for example, the Tarentins: and to
"ſay nothing of other States, which I could name and rehearſe, even *Carthage* it ſelf enjoyeth
"freedom and is governed by her own laws. Conſider then my LL. what a precedent therein
"ye have ſet down to your own ſelves, and how ye ought to confirm and uphold ſo good an exam-
"ple. You muſt reſolve to deny that unto the covetous deſire of *Eumenes*, which you would not
"grant to your own ire againſt the Carthaginians, which they had moſt juſtly deſerved. And N
"as for us Rhodians, with what valour and loialty we have ſerved and aided you, as well in
"this war, as in all others which ye have had in thoſe parts and quarters, we report us to our
"own ſelves, and leave it to your judgment. And now in time of peace, we here preſent unto you
"that counſell, which if you will accept and approve, all the world will beleeve and ſay, That
"you have born your ſelves more honorably in the uſage, then in the atchievance of your victory.
This Oration ſeemed to fit well the greatneſs and majeſty of the Romans. When the Rhodians had done, the Embaſſadors of *Antiochus* were called in. Who after the uſual and ſtale maner of thoſe that crave pardon, confeſſed the King was in fault, and humbly beſought the LL. of the Senat to have more regard of their own accuſtomed gracious clemency, then remember the Kings treſpaſſe, who had paied ſufficiently for it already: and finally that they would ratifie and con- O
firm by their authority, the peace granted by *L. Scipio* the Lord Generall, according to thoſe conditions, which by him were capitulated and ſet down. So both the Senat thought good to admit of that peace, and alſo within few daies after the people gave their aſſent and eſtabliſhed the ſame. And this accord was ſolemnly confirmed in the Capitol, with the Kings Procurator or agent, to wit, *Antipater*, the chief of the embaſſage, who alſo was *Antiochus* his brothers ſon. This done, the other embaſſages of *Aſia* had audience, and were all diſpatched with this one anſwer, that the Senat would ſend ten deputies or commiſſioners, according to the an-

cient

A cient custome of their ancestors, to hear, decide, and compose all their affairs of *Asia*. But the finall conclusion of all should be this, That whatsoever pertained to the dominion of *Antiochus* on this side the mountain *Taurus*, should be assigned to King *Eumenes*, excepting the countries of *Lycia* and *Caria*, so far as the river *Maander*, all which must lie to the signory of the Rhodians. As touching the other Cities of *Asia*, which had been tributaries to *Attalus*, those also were to pay tribute to *Eumenes*: but such as were sometimes homagers to *Antiochus*, those should be enfranciled and remain free. The ten commissioners whom they appointed were these, to wit, *Q. Minutius Rufus*, *L. Furius Purpureo*, *Q. Minutius Thermus*, *App. Claudius Nero*, *Cn. Cornelius Merula*, *M. Iunius Brutus*, *L. Aurunculeius*, *L. Æmylius Paulus*, P. *Cornelius Lentulus*, and P. *Ælius Tubero*. These men had plenary power and full commission to take order and deter-
B mine as they thought good, in all the occurents that were presented in these affairs. But they had direction from the Senat, as touching the principal points: *Imprimis*, That all *Lycaonia* and *Phrygia*, both the more and the less, that *Mysia*, with the Kings chases and forrests, that the Cities of *Lydia* and *Ionia*, except those that were free at the day of the battell fought with *Antiochus*, and expressely by name *Magnesia* neer *Sipylus*, together with *Caria*, which is called *Hydrela*, and all the territorie of *Hydrela* lying toward *Phrygia*; moreover *Telmessus* and the forts of the Telmessians, reserving only that territory which belonged to *Ptolomeus* the Telmessian; that all these countries, I say, and Cities above writen, should be given and granted to King *Eumenes*. *Item*, That the Rhodian should be enfeoffed in *Lycia*, without the foresaid *Telmessus*, the forts and territory, appertaining sometime to *Ptolomeus Telmessius*: which parcels, I say, were reserved as well from *Eumenes*, as the Rhodians. *Item*, to the Rhodians was granted that part of *Caria*, which
C lieth beyond the river *Maander*, neer to the isle *Rhodes*, together with the towns, villages, fortresses, and lands bounding upon *Pisidia*: except those towns which were free the day before the battell with King *Antiochus* in *Asia*. The Rhodians, when they had given thanks to the Senat for their graunties, were in hand with them for the City *Soli* in *Cilicia*: they alledged, that they likewise as well as themselves, were descended from *Argos*: by occasion of which confraternity and neer alliance, they loved together as brethren by nature: in regard whereof, they made petition that over and besides other donations, they would do them this extraordinary favour, as to exempt that City also from the servitude and subjection of K. *Antiochus*. Then were the Embassadors of King *Antiochus* called for, and treated withall about this matter, but to no effect. For *Antipa-*
D *ter* stood stoutly upon this point, pleaded hard, that the accord was past already, and might not be revoked or altered: and that against the tenour of the articles and covenants therein comprised, it was not the City *Soli*, but also *Cilicia* that the Rhodians demanded; and never would they rest till they were gotten over the mountain *Taurus*. Then were the Rhodians called back again into the Senat, unto whom the Lt. of the Senat, after they had made relation how earnest the Kings Embassador was with them upon the point, added thus much moreover and said, That if the Rhodians deemed in very deed that the matter concerned the honour of their City and State, the Senat would work all possible means to cause the Kings Embassadors to relent, how stiff and obstinate soever they stood. For this courtesie, the Rhodians thanked them much more heartily then for all the rest before, and said withall, that they would yeeld and give place to the arrogant spirit
E of *Antiochus*, rather then seem to give any cause or occasion of troubling the peace. And so as touching the City *Soli*, there was no alteration made.

Whiles these matters were thus debated and passed, the Embassadors of the Massilians brought intelligence, that *L. Bœbius* the Pretor, being in his journey towards his province of *Spain*, was entrapped and enclosed by the Ligurians, and many of his train killed outright in the place, that himself mortally wounded fled without his lictors and sergeants into *Massilia*, and within three dayes left this life. The Senat upon the advertisment ordeined *P. Iunius Brutus* the Pro-pretor in *Hetruria* to go in person into the farther *Spain*, and govern the same as his own province: but
F first to leave *Hetruria* and the army there to one of the Lieutenants whom he pleased to make choise of. This decree of the Senat, together with letters from *Spurius Posthumius* the Pretor of the City was sent into *Hetruria*: and so *P. Iunius* departed as Pro-pretor into *Spain*. In which province *L. Æmylius Paulus* (who afterwards wan a right glorious victory of King *Perseus*) having the former year fought unfortunatly, now a little before the arrival of his successor, gave battell to the Lusitanians with an army rallied and assembled in hast, in which the enemies were put to the worse and driven to flie. One thousand eight hundred of them well armed were left dead in the field, 3300 taken prisoners, and their camp forced and ransacked. The bruit that went of this victory set all matters in *Spain* in greater quietnes.

The same year upon the third day before the Calends of *Ianuary*, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *M. Atilius Serranus*, and *L. Valerius Tappo*, the three Triumvirs, by order from the Senat, planted a * 29. December.
Latine Colony at *Bolonia*; and three thousand people were thither sent to dwel. Every gentleman
G by calling that served on horseback had 70 acres of ground set out unto him, and the rest of the coloners fifty apeece. The land divided thus among them had been conquered from the Boians in *Gaul*: and those Gauls first had dispossessed the Tuscans of the same.

This year there were many men of mark and name that sued to be Censors: and this competition as if it had not been of sufficient importance it self to move matter of debate, was the occasion of a contention and variance much greater. The competitors were these, *T. Quintius Flaminius*, P. *Cornel. Scipio*, the son of *Cneus*: *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *M. Porcius Cato*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*,

*Marcellus*, and *M. Acilius Glabrio*, even he who had vanquiſhed *Antiochus* and the Ætolians at *Thermopylæ*. To this man laſt reherſed the peoples favour and affection moſt enclined, by reaſon of many congiaries and largeſſes which he had given amongſt them in publick, by means whereof many a man was obliged and bound unto him. The reſt, being ſo many and nobly deſcended withall, took it to the heart, and could not endure that ſuch a perſon as he newly riſen and come up, and a gentleman of the firſt head, ſhould be preferred before them; whereupon P. *Sempronius Gracchus*, and *C. Sempronius Rutilius*, two Tribunes of the commonalty, commenſed action againſt him to anſwer at a day, laying to his charge that there remaineth a ſurpluſage of the Kings mony and other pillage gotten in the camp of *Antiochus*, over and above all that he either carried and ſhewed in triumph, or brought in accompt into the City chamber. Many and ſundry depoſitions there were to prove this inditement, as well of lieutenants as of colonels. But *M. Cato* above all other witneſſes was moſt noted: whoſe great authority acquired in the whole courſe of his life (whic h he had paſsed hithertoin all upright converſation and conſtant gravity) was much empaired and diſcredited now, with his white robe that he bare on his back. He being produced as a witneſs, depoſed and gave evidence, that he had ſeen certain plate as well gold as ſilver, among the reſt of the pillage found in the Kings camp, which he never could ſet eye on in all the triumph aboveſaid. In the end, *Glabrio*, becauſe he would bring ſome diſpleaſure particularly, and moſt of all upon *Cato*, ſaid, he would give over his ſuit for the Cenſorſhip, ſince that there was another competitor as newly come up as himſelf, (whereat the Nobles indeed took indignation inwardly, although they ſaid nothing) who purſued the cauſe ſo againſt him, even with incredible and ineſtimable perjury. Well, a fine was ſet upon his head of a thouſand aſſes. And twiſe was the matter traverſed, whether the mulct ſhould be taken off or paid. But when the third day was come, and the party in trouble (*Acilius*) had quite forcreaſed to ſue for the dignity, the people would not give their voyces as touching the paiment of the fine aforeſaid, and the Tribunes alſo themſelves let fall their action. So T. *Quintius Flamininus*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus* were created Cenſors.

About the ſame time the Senat ſate within the City in the temple of *Apollo*, in regard of *L. Æmylius Regillus*, who had vanquiſhed the Admiral of King *Antiochus* in battell at ſea; where he had audience given, and when he had declared what exploits he had done, namely, againſt how puiſſant Armados of the enemies he had fought, and how many ſhips of theirs he had either ſunk or taken; The LL. of the Councell with one generall conſent and accord, granted unto him an ovall triumph. And he triumphed upon the Calends of *February*. In which triumph there were born in ſhew fifty crowns ſave one, of beaten gold: but nothing that ſtore of coin as ſuch a royall triumph required only there were carried in pomp 34700 Attick tetradrachms, 123300 ciſtophors. After this (by decree of the Senat) there were proceſſions celebrated in conſideration that *L. Æmylius Paulus* had brought his affairs in *Spain* to an happy iſſue.

Not long after *L. Scipio* came alſo into the City, who becauſe he would not be inferiour *to his* brother in the honourable addition of his name, cauſed himſelf to be ſurnamed *Aſiaticus*. He diſcourſed before the Senat, and in the publick audience of the people, as touching his worthy acts. Divers there were who conſtrued the thing thus and ſaid, That the war was greater in name then difficult unto him in the mannaging: for with fighting one only memorable battel the matter was atchieved and ended, but the glory indeed of that victory was begun unto him and prepared for his hand at *Thermopylæ*. But if a man ſhould judg hereof aright, and according to truth, the battell of *Thermopylæ* may rather be accompted an exploit againſt the Ætolians then King *Antiochus*. For what great forces I pray you had *Antiochus* there in the field of his own? But in the laſt battell ſmitten in *Aſia*, the whole power and puiſſance that he had in all *Aſia*, ſtood there to be ſeen, yea, and all the aids and ſuccours which he could levy out of the nations as far as to the utmoſt parts of the Eaſt. Great cauſe therefore they had both to render much praiſe and thankſgiving to the immortall gods, in as ample maner as poſſibly they could deviſe (for vouchſafing unto them ſo brave a victory as it was, and the ſame with ſuch eaſe and expedition) and alſo to grant a triumph to the General. He triumphed upon the laſt of *February*, even in the very day that maketh the leap year. This triumph of his was much greater then that other other of his brothers in regard of the magnificent pomp and ſhew repreſented to the eye: but if one call to mind the ſubſtance of the things themſelves, and compare the dangers, the conflicts and difficulties of the one war with the other; there is no more equality between them, then if a man ſhould in compariſon of captain with captain, ſet *Antiochus* to match with *Annibal*. He ſhewed in triumph two hundred thirty four field enſigns and ſtandards: he carried before him the portraicts of two hundred thirty four towns and Cities: a hundred thirty four teeth of ivory: two hundred thirty four crowns of gold: 237300 ponnds weight of ſilver: 234000 Artick tetradrachms: 331070 ciſtophores: 140000 Philip-peeces of gold: of ſilver plate, and that was all graven and chaſed, a thouſand four hundred twenty four pound weight: of golden plate as much as weighed 1204 pound. Moreover there were led before his chariot 32 great commanders; either governors of provinces under the King, or attendant in his court. Every ſouldier ſerving on foot, had given unto him * 25 deniers: every centurion had double ſo much; and the gentlemen or knights triple. After the triumph done, the ſouldiers had their pay double in mony, yea, and the portion of corn likewiſe was doubled. He had moreover given them already a double proportion in *Aſia*, preſently upon the end of the battell. A year it was almoſt after his Conſulſhip expired ere he triumphed.

And

A And much about one and the ſame time, both *Cn. Manlius* and the Conſul entred into *Aſia* and *Q. Fabius Labeo* the Prætor repaired to the fleet. Moreover the Conſul had work enough and wanted not matter of war within *France*. The ſeas were quiet after that *Antiochus* was defeated and ſubdued: *Fabius* therefore ſtudied which way to take, and how to employ himſelf and his forces at ſea, becauſe he would not be thought and reputed idle in his province: ſo he reſolved at length to put over with his fleet into *Crete*. Now they of *Cydon* warred at that time againſt the Gortynians and the Gnoſians: and the voice went that there was a great number of Romans and Italians, captives, living in ſlavery and bandage in every quarter of that Iland. He looſed therfore from *Epheſus* and ſet ſail for *Candy*, and ſo ſoon as he was arrived and ſet aland, he ſent his meſſengers about to the Cities, willing them to abandon their armor and ſurceaſe from war, and to B ſearch and ſeek up throughout all the Cities and territories thoſe captives and priſoners aforeſaid, to bring them to him: nd moreover, to ſend their Embaſſadors or agents, with whom he would treat concerning the affairs that in common touched as well the Candiots as the Romans. The Ilanders made ſmall regard of theſe meſſages: and unleſſe it were the Gortynians, there was not one that delivered the captives *Valerius Antias* hath recorded, That out of the whole Iland there were rendred to the number of four thouſand; becauſe the inhabitants were frighted with threats of war. And that this was the cauſe why *Fabius*, although he performed no other exploit, obteined of the Senat a navall triumph. From *Crete*, *Fabius* returned to *Epheſus*; from whence he ſet forth three ſhips to the coaſt of *Thracia*, and commanded that the garriſons of *Antiochus* ſhould quit *Ænus* and *Marona*, to the end, that thoſe Cities likewiſe might be ſet free and en-franchiſed.

C

# The eight and thirtieth Book

## *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the eight and thirtieth Book.

D MArcus Fulvius *the Conſul beſieged the Ambracians in* Epirus, *and received them upon compoſition to mercy. He ſubdued* Cephalenia, *vanquiſhed & brought under his ſubjection the Ætolians, and made peace with them. The Conſul* Cn. Manlius *his colleague, overcame the Gallogreeks, the Toliſtobogians, the Tectoſages, and the Trocmians. who were paſſed over into* Aſia *under the conduct of* Brennus: *the only people that within the mountain* Taurus *yeelded not obedience to the Romans. The firſt beginning and riſing is ſet down: alſo the time when as they ſeized firſt of thoſe places which they hold. Here is recounted alſo the example of the rare valour and chaſtity of a woman, who being the wife of a certain King of the Gallogreeks, chanced [illegible] priſoner; and when a Centurion had forced and abuſed her body, ſhe killed him with her own [illegible] the Cenſors held a ſeſſing of the City: in which by computation were numbred 258328 poll[illegible] Citizens.*

E *Amity was contracted with* Ariarathes *King of* Cappadocia. Cn. Manlius *triumphed over the Gallogreeks, notwithſtanding the contradiction of thoſe ten Commiſſioners, by whoſe advice and aſſiſtance he had articled and engroſſed the accord of alliances with* Antiochus, *and pleaded his own cauſe himſelf in the Senat againſt them.* Scipio Africanus *was indicted as ſome ſay, by* Quintus Petilius Actus *a Tribune of the Commons: as others, by* Nævius, *for that he had defranded the City Chamber of ſome part of the* Pillage *which he got from* Antiochus. *When the day was come that he ſhould make his anſwer, he was called up to the publick pulpit and place of audience, and with a loud voice ſaid unto the people: My maſters you that are Citizens of* Rome, *this very day have I won* Carthage: *and with that he aſcended up into the Capitoll, and the people accompanied him thither: and from thence becauſe he would avoid theſe hard and injurius courſes of the Tribunes, and be no more tormented with them, he*

F *retired himſelf to* Liternum, *as it were into voluntary exile: and whether he ended his daies there, or at* Rome, *it is not well known: for his tomb and monument was to be ſeen in both places.* L. Scipio Aſiaticus *(the brother of* Africanus*) was accuſed of the ſame crime of embezeling the publick treaſure and robbing the common-weal, and thereof condemned: but as he was led to priſon, and ſhould have been laid up in bonds and irons,* Tib. Sempronius Gracchus *Tribune of the Commons (who before-time had been an adverſary and enemy unto the* Scipios*) interpoſed himſelf and reſcued him: and for that pleaſure done, he took to wife the daughter of* Africanus. *When the Prætor ſent the treaſurers of the City, ſo far off they were from finding any remnant or token of the King riches and money, that they could not meet with as much as would ſatisfie the fine wherein he was condemned. And when his kinsfolk and*

G *friends had contributed and raiſed an infinite maſſe of mony for him, he would not receive the ſame: and as much only was redeemed and bought again, as might ſerve for his neceſſities to find and maintain him.*

During

# *The eight and thirtieth Book of* T. Livius.

DUring the time of the wars in *Asia*, the affairs also in *Ætolia* were in smal rest and quietnes: which troubles arose first from the Athamanians, who after that *Aminander* was dispossessed of his Kingdom, were held in obedience by garrisons under th captains of King *Philip*; and they bare themselves so proud, insolent, and outragious in their government, that the Athamanians found a great misse of *Aminander*, and were desirous of him again. Now remained he at that time as a banished person in *Ætolia*; and upon letters received from his own nation (conteining the state wherein *Athamania* then stood) he conceived some hope to recover his crown again, whereupon he sent the messengers back to *Argithea* (the chief City of *Athamania*) unto the principall men of the countrey, with this credence, That if he might be assured of the affection and love of the people, he would procure the aid of the Ætolians and come into *Athamania*, accompanied with the elect personages (and those are the councel of that nation) and *Nicander* the Prætor. When he understood and perceived that they were prest and ready to do him all service, he advertised them oftentimes upon what day he would enter with his army into *Athamania*. At the first there were but four persons that conspired against the Macedonian garrison and these took every one six more unto them for to be assistant in the execution of their complot. But afterwards trusting but little in this small number of their adherents and complices (who indeed were fitter to keep counsell and conceal a matter secretly, then to perform any action valiantly) they adjoyned unto them the like number unto the other: so as now they were two and fifty in all; and they divided themselves into four companies. One crew of them went to *Heraclea*; another to *Tetraphylia*, where the Kings treasure was usually kept; a third took their way to *Thendoria*; and the fourth to *Argithea*. But they all agreed upon this course, to hold themselves quiet and peaceable at their first coming, and to converse in the market place of these Cities as if they were come about some particular negotiation of their own: and upon a certain day appointed to set to it at once, and to raise the whole multitude for to expell the Macedonian garrisons out of their fortresses. Now when the day was come, and *Aminander* ready upon the frontiers with his forces of a thousand Ætolians, the garrisons of the Macedonians were at one instant chased out of those four Cities aforesaid, like as it was complotted before hand: and letters were dispatched from all parts into other Cities, advising them to deliver and free themselves from the tyranny of *Philip*, and restore *Aminander* into his lawfull kingdome and throne of his father. Thus the Macedonians were expelled in every quarter: only the town *Theium* made resistance and held out some few daies against the siege, by occasion that *Zeno* (captain of the garrison there) had intercepted the letters, and they that sided with *Philip* were possessed of the castle. But in the end surrendred it was likewise unto *Aminander*, and all *Athamania* reduced unto his obedience excepting only the fort of *Athenæum*, situat upon the marches of *Macedony*.

*Philip* advertised of the revolt of *Athamania*, accompanied with a power of six thousand fighting men, rose himself in his journy, and with exceeding expedition, marched as far as *Gomphi*. Where he before the greater part of his forces, (for they had not been able to endure so long journey) and ere were 6 thousand came to *Athenæum*, the only place held by his garrison to his use. And from to him if after he had sounded the next neighbours, and soon found that there was nothing but hatred among them, he retired to *Gomphi*, and joined withall his forces together returned into *Athamania*. Then he sent *Zeno* before with a thousand footmen, and gave him in charge to seize upon *Æthopia*, a place that directly for his purpose commandeth *Argithea*: and seeing that his men were possessed thereof, himself sat him down, and pitched his tents about a certain temple dedicated to the name of *Iupiter*. There he was forced by reason of the foul and stormy weather to stay one whole day, and the morrow after he went forward with his army to *Argithea*. As they marched, behold they discovered the Athamanians, running from divers parts to the hill tops, which stood over the way along. They had no sooner espied them, but the formost ensigns made stay, and all that regiment of the vanguard was surprised with fear and fright. Every man began for his part to cast many doubts, and think with himself what should become of them, in case their companies were entred once into the vallies, so checked by those rocks aboveſaid. This tumult and trouble caused the King perforce to call back those in the vanguard, and to retire the same way that he came, notwithstanding he was very desirous (if they would have seconded him) to have made quick speed, and gotten through those streights. The Athamanians at first followed after them aloof quietly enough: but when they had once joined with the Ætolians, leaving them behind to come upon the tail of the enemy, they spread themselves all about and flanked them on the sides: some of them also got afore their head by the next waies which they were acquainted with, and beset the passages; insomuch, as the Macedonians were so greatly troubled, that forced they were (more like men that fled in disarray, then marched in good order) to leave much of their armor, and many of their men behind, to passe over the river; and there the chase ended. From thence the Macedonians returned safely to *Gomphi*, and so forth into *Macedony*.

The Athamanians and the Ætolians assembled from all parts to *Ethopia* for to surprise and defeat *Zeno* and that regiment of a thousand Macedonians which was with him. But the Macedonians reposing no great trust in that place, retired from *Ethopia*, to an hill much higher and steeper

A steeper on all sides, and therefore lesse acceptable. The Athamanians having found out diverse passages unto it, enforced them to forgo that hold also. And when they were dispersed among the blind rocks, and unto them unknown, and could not readily find the way out, some of them were taken prisoners & others slain. Many for fear tumbled down headlong from the pitch of the cliffs, and brake their necks, and very few escaped with *Zeno* to the King. The next day after they obtained truce, untill they had commited their dead to earth.

*Aminander* having thus repossessed his realm, sent Embassadors to *Rome* unto the Senat: likewise unto the *Scipioes* in *Asia* (who after the great battell with *Antiochus*, sojourned in *Ephesus*) He craved peace and pardon. he excused himself in that he had recovered his fathers Kingdome by the means and help of the Ætolians, and withall laid great fault and blame upon King *Philip*.
B As for the Ætolians, they departed out of *Athamania*, and made an expedition against the Amphilochians, and by consent of the greater part (reduced the whole nation under their puissance and subjection. Having thus regained *Amphilochia* (for in times past it appertained to their siegnory) upon the same hope they passed over in *Aperantia*, which yeelded also for a great part thereof, and came under their obedience. As for the Dolopians, they never belonged to the Ætolians, but unto *Philip*. And at the first they assembled together in arms, but understanding once that the Amphilochians took part with the Ætolians, that *Philip* was fled out of *Athamania*, and that his garison was put to the sword, they revolted likewise from *Philip*, and turned to the Aetolians. Who making now full account that they were sure enough on all sides from the Macedonians, by reason of so many nations which environed them about, they took knowledge (by the common
C bruit) of the defeat of *Antiochus* by the Romans in *Asia*, and not long after their own Embassadors returned to *Rome* without hope of peace, relating withall that *Fulvius* the Consul had passed the seas already with army. Upon these news, they were much troubled and afraid: and in this perplexity, they induced and procured first the Rhodian and then the Athenian Embassages, to the end that by the credit and countenance of these two States, their praiers lately rejected, might have more easie accesse to the Senat: and with them they sent to *Rome* once again the principall personages of their nation, to try their last hope of obtaining peace; and never forcast to prevent war, before the enemy was come welneer within their sight. Now had *M. Fulvius* transported his forces to *Apollonia* and devised with the princes and states of the Epirots, where to begin war. The Epirots advited him to assail *Ambracia*, which as then was united to the Aetolians. And
D why? if either the Ætolians should come to the defence of the place, they had a goodly large and open plain all about to bid them battel; or if they refused the field, and would not fight, they should find no great difficulty to assault and force the town. For not only there was at hand store enough of timber and other matter to raise mounts, mantelets, and other fabricks; but *Arethon* a river navigable, very commodious to transport all necessaries unto them, runneth under the wals of the City; and besides, the summer was a fit season for war-service. With these reasons they perswaded the Consul to conduct his army through *Epirus*. But when the Consul was come before *Ambracia*, he found it was no easie peece of work to besiege and assault the [illegible]. This *Ambracia* is situat under the stony and craggy hill, which the inhabitants call *Per*[illegible]e City it self looketh unto the West, what way as the wall reacheth toward the fields a[illegible] the fort
E and castle thereof standeth upon the hill, and regardeth the East. The river [illegible]nning out of *Acarnania*, dischargeth it self into an arme of the sea, which beareth the nam[illegible]he City neer adjoyning, and is called *Ambracia*. This town, besides that it is well guarded with the river of one side, and defended with hils on the other, is fortified also with a strong wall, in circuit somwhat more then three miles about. *Fulvius* encamped strongly on the fields side, in two holds of a prety distance asunder, and raised one sconce upon an high ground, opposit against the fortress of the town. All these places he determined to enclose within the compass of a trench and rampier, to the end that they who were shut up within the town, might have no egress, and that from without there should be no ingress, for any aid and succour whatsoever. The Ætolians were assembled
F already at *Stratus* by an edict from the Pretor *Nicander* incontinently upon the rumour that ran the siege of *Ambracia*, intending fully at first to march from thence withall their forces. But afterwards, when they preceived that a greater part of the City was streightly beleaguered already, and blocked with trench and rampier; and withall, that the Epirots were encamped upon a plain on the other side of the river, they were of advise to divide their forces in two parts. *Eupolemus* accompanied with a regiment of a thousand men lightly appointed, passed through the fortifications of the enemies, before they were joined and united together, and entred *Ambracia*. *Nicander* with the rest of the forces purposed at the first by night to assail the camp of the Epirots, considering that the Romans could not easily succour them, by reason of the river running between. But afterwards upon better advise, supposing this to be a dangerous enterprise (for fear lest the Ro-
G mans should discover their march, and so intercept them that they might not retire again in safety) he altered his mind, and turned to the spoiling and wasting of *Acarnania*. Now when the Consul had made an end of all his fabricks devised for to invest and enclose the City, and finishing his engins wherewith he meant to shake the wall, he approached neer and gave assault in five places at once. Three batteries he planted in equall distance asunder, and where the easiest passage and accesse was from the plain, full upon that place of the City which they call *Pyrrhanm*: one over against the temple of *Æsculapius*; and another opposit to the Castle. With rams he shook the wals; with long poles and hooks he fetcht off and plucked down the

battle-

battlemens of the wals. The oppidans at the first were afraid to see their strange engins, and quaked to hear so terrible noise of their wals battered: but afterwards, seeing that the wals stood upright beyond their expectation, they plucked up their hearts again, and with swipes weighed either great counterpoises and weights of lead, or huge stones, then with a swing they let them fall ag in upon the rams of the enemies, or else tumbled mighty big logs of timber aloft, and so either brake them apeeces, or bare them down. And as for their hooks aforesaid, they caught hold of them with iron flouks like anchors, and so drew them over the wals to the other side with a witness and brake both them & their poles. Moreover, they sallied out in the night upon the watch that at attended their engins, issued forth of themselves in the day time, assailed the *corps de guard*, and put them great fear. As things stood in these terms before *Ambracia*, the Ætolians by this time were returned to *Stratus* from their rodes which they made into *Acarnania*. And then *Nicander* the Pretor conceiving some hope to levy the siege by some audacious and hardy adventure devised that one *Nicodamus* should put himself within the town of *Ambracia* with five hundred Ætolians; and appointed one certain night, and an hour also of the same night, when both they from out of the town should assail the fabricks and engins of the enemy planted against *Pyrrhæum* and also himself charge upon the camp of the Romans at the same time, and put them in fright: supposing by this twofold alarm (especially in the night which maketh every thing more fearfull) there might be some notable act and memorable exploit done. And *Nicodamus* verily for his part in the dead time of the night, having passed unseen and not descried by some of the sentinels, and by resolut force broken through the rest of the watches, passed over an arm of the river and recovered the City, and in some measure by this means heartned the besieged inhabitants to adventure anything, and put them in better hope to accomplish al. And when the night appointed was come, all on a suddain he set upon the engins, as it was before accorded between them. The adventure of this enterprise was much more then the effect, because there were no forces without to joyn with him; were it that the Pretor of the Ætolians was afraid to be too bold or that he thought it was a better peece of service to aid the Amphilochians newly recovered, whom *Perseus* King *Philip* his son, sent from his father to reconquer *Dolopia* and *Amphilochia* assailed with great force and violence. The Romans had planted their ordnance and artillery, as is aboveland in three places against *Pyrrhæum*, which the Ætolians charged all at one time, but not with like preparation of means, nor with the same violence. For some came with burning and flaming firebrands, others carried tow and hards with pitch, and faggots of dry sticks, and other like matter easie to be kindled, in such sort as all their companies shone again with a light fire. Many of the warders they killed at the first onset, but when the alarm and tumult was heard within the camp, and the sign I given by the Consul, they took arms, and ran apace out of all the gates for to rescue and defend them. In one quarter the Ætolians did their deed, and fought with fire and sword: but in the other two places after they had given the attempt, rather then began any skirmish, they retired and went their waies. The heat of the fight inclined wholly to one quarter, where the two captains *Eupolemus* and *Nicodamus*, encouraged their men as they fought from two divers parts, and entertained them with an allured hope, that *Nicander* according to agreement would hither and charge upon the back of the enemies. This for a good while mainteined the courages of the souldiers: but perceiving there was no sign appeared of their countrymen, and that they kept not touch with them, and seeing withall how the number of the enemies encreased, and themselves disappointed and destitute, they slaked their fight, and were not so eager upon the enemy, and in the end gave over: and having much ado to retire in safety, were chased into the City, after they had burnt some of the Roman engins, and slain a few more of their enemies then there died of themselves. And surely if the service had been followed in execution according as it was complotted and agreed, those devised engins no doubt might have been destroyed, if not wholly, yet in one part at least wise, and that with great murder and slaughter of the enemies. The Ambracians, together with those Ætolians which were within the City, not only gave over that nights enterprise, but ever after shewed more coldnes to hazard themselves again, as if they had been betrayed by their own fellows. Not a man would sally forth upon the ward and watch of the enemies, but they all from their walls and turrets stood upon their guard only, and with the vantage of the place defended themselves in safety.

*Perseus* advertised that the Ætolians approached *Amphilochia*, quit the siege of the City which he was about to assault: and after he had only harried and wasted the territory about it, retired from those quarters and returned into *Macedony*. The Ætolians likewise were enforced to depart from thence, by reason that their sea-coasts were spoiled and overrun: for *Plenius* the King of the Illyrians, was entred into this river of *Corinth* with a fleet of 60 barks, and with the fleet of the Achæan ships that lay in the rode of *Patræ* invested the maritim tract of *Ætolia*. Against whom were sent a thousand Ætolians, who waited upon the fleet at every turn as they doubled any reaches, and with the vantage of the short waies and next passages by the land, were ready to welcome them on the banks and make head against them.

The Romans lying still in siege before *Ambracia*, by battering and shaking the wals in many places, had dismantled a great part of the City, and laid it open: howbeit, they could not enter with it. For at every breach where the wall was broken down, they were ready to make a new countermure, and the souldiers standing upon the very ruins, served in stead of a bulwark. The Consul seeing he could not prevail by open force, determined to undermine and make a secret way

A way in the ground into the City; but first he covered the place where they wrought with mantlets. For a good while the pioners were not perceived by the enemies, notwithstanding they wrought both night and day, not only digging under the earth, but also casting up the mould as they went. But an huge heap of earth bearing up aloft from the rest, was discovered, and gave them within the town to understand, what the enemies were about: and fearing lest they had wrought so far already as under their wals, and that they were at the point to make a way into the town, they within began likewise to strike another trench just against the place covered with mantlets aforesaid: and when they had digged to that depth as the bottom might be of the enemies mine, they made no words within, but in great silence laid their ear too in divers places close to the earth, harkning if haply they might hear any noise of the pioners: and when they once had got B an ear of them, they countermined directly against them. And long they were not about it: for anon they came as far as to the void hollow ground, whereas the foundation of the wall stood upon staies and props, which the enemies had set to bear it up. Now when their works were met together, and that there was a continued passage out of this trench into the Mine, the pioners first fell to it and scuffled with their spades, shovels, and mattocks, and such other tools that they had used to work withall: but soon after, armed souldiers entred and encountred within the vault, and closely skirmished under ground. But within a while that manner of dealing grew more cold and slack by reason that they stopped up the Mine between when they list, one while with sacks and haircloath, otherwhiles with doors and such trash as they could come by in haste & stood next hand. One new invention above the rest was devised against those within the Mine, C and the same but a slight matter, and made without any great trouble, and this it was, The townsmen took a great tun or dryfat with a hole boared in the bottom, of that capacity, as might receive a pretty pipe like a faucet within it; and withall they made a pipe indeed of iron to fit it, and an iron lid likewise to cover the other end or mouth thereof, but the same had many holes in divers places of it. Now this vessell they stuffed full of down and soft feathers, and then set it with the head forward against the very Mine. From the lid or cover aforesaid there stood proking out long sharp pikes, which the Macedonians call *Sarissa*, for to keep off the enemies. Within the feathers they put a cole or sparkle of fire, and then with a pair of smiths bellows (the nose whereof went into the pipe aforesaid) they blowed the cole and set it on a smothering fire within the feathers. By which means there arose not only a mighty deal of smoak, but also it carried with it a D stinking savour, by the reason of the feathers burning within; and so filled all the Mine underneath, that scarce durst any man abide within for fear of being choaked.

During these affairs about *Ambracia*, *Phaneas* and *Demoteles* two Embassadors sent from the Ætolians by a generall decree of the whole nation, came with a full and plenary commission unto the Consul. For their Prætor (seeing of the one side *Ambracia* besieged, and on the other side the sea coast endamaged with the enemies ships, and in a third quarter the Amphilochians and all *Dolopia* piteously wasted by the Macedonians; and that the Ætolians were not able to oppose themselves and make head at once against three wars in divers parts) had assembled a generall Diet for to consult with the chief of the Ætolians what was to be done in this case. All their opinions jumped in this one point, "To seek for peace (if it were possible) under equall and indifferent E "conditions: if not, yet in as tollerable terms as they might. In confidence and assurance (say they) "of *Antiochus*, the war began: and now that *Antiochus* is vanquished both by land and sea, yea, "and hunted as it were out of the compass of the world into an angle beyond *Taurus*, what "hope remaineth to maintain and wage the war any longer? and therefore *Phaneas* and *Demote-* "*les* were to deal, as in such a case and time, as they thought best according to their wisdome and "fidelity, and the common good of the Ætolians: for what other counsell remaineth, what course "else can they take, or what choice beside hath fortune left them? With this so large and free "commission I say, were these Embassadors sent: who besought the Consul to spare their City, to "have mercy and pity of their nation sometime linked in amity unto them, and forced through "very calamity and misery (for loath they were to speak of any injuries and wrongs offered) to fall "into such follies: neither have the Ætolians in this late war of *Antiochus* deserved to suffer more "harm than they were worthy to receive good for their service in the former war against *Philip*: "and when they were not largely rewarded and recompenced then, so they ought not to be pu- "nished and chastised extremely now. The Consul made answer again, That the Ætolians had "made a suing for peace many a time, but sincerely and truly at no time: and since they had solli- "cited and drawn *Antiochus* to war, let them hardly follow his example in craving peace. Like as "he therefore hath not quit and rendred some few Cities which were in question about their li- "berty and freedom, but parted with a rich and wealthy kingdom, even all *Asia*, between this and "the mountain *Taurus*: so unless the Ætolians will simply lay all arms aside and come to treat for "peace unarmed, he would never give them audience. And to be short, if they will peace have, "they must deliver up their armour and all their horses first, yea, and make paiment of a thousand "talents of silver, and the one moity thereof to pay downright upon the nail before hand. Over "and besides this branch, I will annex unto the accord and covenant, That they shall hold for "their friends and enemies those whom the people of *Rome* reputeth to be theirs, & none other. To this answer the Embassadors said never a word, both for that they were very hard and grie- vous impositions, and also because they knew the natures and minds of their countrimen and neighbours at home, how untractable they were and not to be removed if they once took a pitch:

whereupon they returned unto them, without doing any thing at all, to know the advice once a- H
gain of the Prætor and the principal States, what to reſolve upon in every reſpect, whiles all ſtood
whole and upright. But they were welcomed with outcries, and well ſhent for their labour, in
that they had not diſpatched and made an end, and ſo were ſent away, and commanded to bring
back with them one peace or other. As they went again toward *Ambracia*, they were forelayed
and ſurprized in an ambuſh laid for them near the high way ſide by the Acarnanian (with whom
at that time they warred) and were had to *Tyrrheum* and there impriſoned. And by this occaſion
the peace was delayed.

Whiles the Embaſſadors of *Athens* and Rhodes (who were come already to intreat for them)
remained with the Conſul, *Aminander* alſo (the King of the Athamans) preſented himſelf under
* *Ambrachia*, or *Arta*. ſafe conduct in the Roman camp, and took more care for the City of * *Ambracia* (where he had I
ſojourned the greateſt part of his exile) than in the behalf of the Ætolians. By them, the Conſul was
certified of the hard hap of the Ætolian Embaſſadors; and then he gave commandment that they
ſhould be brought from *Tyrrheum*. When they were come, they began to treat of peace. *Amin-
der* in the mean while laboured what he could in that enterpriſe which he eſpecially had under-
taken namely, to induce the Ambracians to ſubmit unto the Romans: but when he ſaw he did
but ſmall good, for all his parling with the principal perſons of the City from their walls: at length
by the Conſul his permiſſion he entred into the town; where, partly by good counſell, and partly by
prayer and entreaty, he perſwaded them in the end, to put themſelves into the Romans hands.
Now as touching the Ætolians, they found much favour by the means of *C. Valerius* the ſon of
that *Lævinus*, who firſt contracted amity with that nation; and was beſides half brother unto the K
Conſul by the ſame mother. And the Ambracians after capitulation made, that the Ætolians who
came to aid them might go forth without harm, ſet open their gates. Then articled it was with
the Ætolians: *Imprimis*, To pay 500 Euboik talents of ſilver; two hundred preſently, and the o-
ther 300 at ſix paiments yearly by even portions. *Item*, To render all Roman captives and fugitive
traytors and runagates that they had into the hands of the Romans. *Item*, To challenge juriſdi-
ction over no City, which ſince the time that *T. Quintius* paſſed over into *Greece*, was either for-
ced by the Romans or entred voluntarily into amity and ſociety with them: provided alwaies,
that the Iſle *Cephalenia* be not compriſed within this capitulation. Theſe articles albeit they were
ſomewhat eaſier than they looked for, yet the Ætolians requeſted that they might acquaint their
Council withall: and permitted they were ſo to do. Some ſmall variance and debate diſtracted and L
held them awhile as touching thoſe Cities, which having been in times paſt within their ſeignory
and juriſdiction they hardly could abide to be diſmembred (as it were) from their body. But in the
end there was not one but agreed to accept of the peace. The Ambracians gave unto the Conſul for
a preſent a coronet of beaten gold, weighing 150 pound. Their ſtatues of braſs and marble their
painted tables (wherewith *Ambracia* was better ſtored and adorned, than all the other Cities of
that region, becauſe it was the royall ſeat of King *Pyrrhus* where he kept his court and reſiance)
were all taken down and carried away: nought elſe was touched nor any hurt done beſides.

The Conſul diſlodged then and removed from *Ambracia* into the higher and more inland
parts of *Ætolia*, and encamped before the City called *Argos Amphilochium*, two and twenty
miles diſtant from *Ambracia*: and thither at length repaired the Ætolian Embaſſadors unto him, M
who marvelled much at them why they ſtaid ſo long. When he underſtood by them that the ge-
nerall council of the Ætolians had approved of peace, he willed them to go directly to *Rome* un-
to the Senat: and permitted alſo the Athenians and Rhodians (their mediators and advocats) to
go with them and as orators to ſpeak in their behalf: & moreover he granted, that his half brother
*C. Valerius* ſhould accompany them: which order when he had taken, himſelf croſſed over the wa-
ter to *Cephalenia*.

When they were arrived at *Rome*, they found both the ears and hearts of the chief Senators
wholly poſſeſſed beforehand, with many complaints and imputations that *Philip* had enformed
againſt them: for he by means of his Embaſſador and letters (complaining that the Ætolians had
unjuſtly taken from him the Dolapians, the Amphilochians, and *Athamania*; and that his garri- N
ſons, yea, and laſt of all his ſon *Perſeus*, were driven out of *Amphilochia*) had wholly averted the
Senat from giving any ear at all to their requeſts and prayers: howbeit the Rhodians & Athenians
had audience given them with patience and ſilence. "The Athenian Embaſſador *Leon* (by report)
"moved and perſwaded the Senat with his eloquent tongue: and by a familiar parable and ſimili-
"tude, he compared the people of *Ætolia* to the nature of the ſea: For like as it, being of it ſelf
"calm is troubled and made rough by the winds: even ſo (ſaith he) the people of that nation, all
"the while they entertained friendſhip with the Romans, and performed their faithfull promiſe
"unto them, ſo long were in their right kind, and continued peaceable and quiet: but after that
"*Thoas* and *Dicearchus* began to blow from out of *Aſia*, as after that, *Menetas* and *Damoritus*
"bluſtred and puffed from the parts of *Europe*, then aroſe a ſtorm and tempeſt, with the guſts O
"whereof driven they were to *Antiochus*, and caſt (as a man would ſay) upon a rock. Well, the Æ-
"tolians after they had been much toſſed a long time from poſt to pillar, in fine effected, that theſe
"articles of peace enſuing, were freely agreed upon. *Imprimis*, The nation of *Ætolia* ſhall main-
tain faithfully and truly the Empire and Seignory of the people of *Rome*. *Item*. They ſhall ſuffer to
paſs through their country and confines no army that ſhall be conducted againſt their allies and
friends; nor aſſiſt them with any aid or maintenance whatſoever. *Item*, They ſhall repute the ene-
mies,

A mies of the Romans for their enemies, and wage war against them. *Item*, They shall deliver unto the Romans and their confederats, all runagates, all fugitives, and prisoners that are among them, excepting such as having been once taken and returned home, chanced to be caught again the second time: or those, who being Roman enemies, were taken prisoners by them, at what time as the Ætolians served in garrison under the Romans. As for the rest, as many as are forth-coming and may be found, shall be delivered (without fraud or covin) within 100 daies next ensuing, to the Magistrate of *Corcyra*: but those that appear not within that time, shall be likewise rendred whensoever their fortune is to be met withall. *Item*, They shall yield forty hostages, such as the Roman Consul in his discretion will approve and like well of: provided, that none of these pledges be under twelve years of age, nor above forty. Neither shall there be ta-
B ken for hostage any Prætor or Captain over horsemen, nor publike Notary or Secretary to the State, nor yet any one that hath lain in hostage before-time. Provided also, that *Cephalenia* shall be exempt from the articles of this accord. *Item*, As touching the sum of money which they are to pay, and the manner and terms of the paiment, there shall be nothing changed of that which hath been concluded with the Consul; yet, if they had rather pay the same sum in gold than in silver, they may so do; provided then, that they keep the rate and proportion, of one for ten, to wit, that one golden peece of coin go for ten times so much in weight of silver, and no more. *Item*, What Cities, what lands and territories, what persons soever, which having at any time heretofore held tenor of the Ætolians, were by the Consuls *T. Quintius* and *Cn. Domitius*, or any time since their Consulship, either subdued and conquered by force of arms, or otherwise
C of themselves came under the obeisance of the people of *Rome*, the Ætolians shall make no claim nor challenge unto them. Finally, the Æniades with their City and territory, shall appertain to the Acarnanians. Under these conditions aboveſaid, the accord was concluded with the Ætolians.

Not only in the same summer, but also much about those very daies wherein these affairs were managed by *M. Fulvius* in *Ætolia*, *Cn. Manlius* the other Consul maintained war in * *Gallogræcia*, whereof at this present I will begin to write. This Consul in the beginning of the spring came to *Ephesus*; where, after he had received the army of *L. Scipio* and taken a review and survey thereof he made an Oration to his souldiers; wherein, first he praised their valour and vertue, in that with one battell they had finished the war against *Antiochus*: then he exhorted them to enter
D into a new war with the Gauls who had succoured King *Antiochus* with aid; and were beside of nature so untamed, that unless their puissance were abated and their courage taken down, to little or no purpose it was that *Antiochus* was removed beyond the mountains of *Taurus*. Last of all, some discourse he made of his own person, which was nothing prolix and long, implying neither vain untruths nor excessive reports. The souldiers gave audience to the Consul with great joy and a general applause, making this account, that since King *Antiochus* was vanquished, the Gauls alone (who were one part of his forces) would be of no puissance to withstand them. But the Consul supposed that it was much out of his way, that *Eumenes* should be absent (for then he was at *Rome*) who knew the countries, was acquainted with the nature of the people, and whom it imported and concerned very much, that the power of the Gauls should be enfeebled and abated.
E And therefore he sent for *Attalus* his brother, from *Pergamus*, and exhorted him to enter into action with him and take arms. And when *Attalus* had made promise to aid him both in his person and with all the power that he could make, he sent him into his country to levy souldiers. After some few daies, when the Consul was departed from *Ephesus*, *Attalus* (accompanied with a regiment of a thousand foot and two hundred horse) met him at *Magnesia*; and had given order to his brother *Athenæus*, to follow after with the rest of the forces; having committed the guard and government of *Pergamus* and the kingdom to those, whom he knew to be fast and faithfull to his brother and himself. The Consul, after he had praised and commended the young gentleman, marched forward with his whole power as far as * *Maander*, and there encamped, because it
F was not possible to pass the river at any foord, and therefore boats and barges were to be got together for to ferry and transport the army. When they were set over the river, they went to *Hiera Come*, where there was a magnificent and stately Temple of *Apollo*, and an Oracle in it. And by report the Priests and Prophets there, deliver the responds and answers of the Oracle in verses, and those not rudely composed without rhithm & meeter. From hence they removed, and at two daies end arrived at the river *Harpasus*: & thither were embassadors come from the Alabandians, requesting the Consul, either by vertue of his authority, or by force of arms to compel one of their fortresses which lately had revolted from them and rebelled, to return again to their former obedience.
G And hither *Athenæus* also, brother to *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, was come together with *Leusus* the Cnidiot, and *Corragus* the Macedonian, bringing with them 1000 foot, and 300 horse, of divers nations mingled together. The Consul sent one of his martiall Tribunes or Colonels with a mean company, to summon the Castle or fortresse aboveſaid, and after it was forced and recovered, he delivered it into the hands of the Alabandians. Himself kept on his direct way, and turned on no side untill he came unto *Antiochia* upon the river *Maander*, where he encamped. This river *Maander* ariseth from *Celænæ*, where the first head and source thereof is to be seen. Now this *Celænæ* had been in times past the capitall City of all *Phrygia*. But in process of time this old *Celænæ* was abandoned by the Inhabitants, and not far from it they peopled a new City called *Apamea*, bearing the name of *Apamea* the sister of *Seleucus*. The river *Marsyas* likewise springing not far from

* Otherwise named *Galatia*

* *Madre*.

the foreſaid ſources of *Mæander*, diſchargeth it ſelf thereinto. And as the common fame goeth, at this *Celæna* it was, where *Marſyas* the Muſician gave defiance to *Apollo*, and challenged him to play upon the flute. This *Maander* abovenamed, iſſuing out of an high hill at *Celæna*, runneth through the midſt of the City and firſt keeping his courſe along the country of the Carians, and afterwards of the Ionians, falleth at the laſt into an arm of the ſea, between *Priene* and *Miletus*. H

Whiles the Coſ. lay encamped about *Antiochia*, *Seleucus* the ſon of *Antiochus*, preſented himſelf unto him with corn for his army, according to the covenant contracted with *Scipio*. Some ſmall variance and difference there was as touching the aid demanded of *Antiochus*: for *Seleucus* pleaded that *Antiochus* had capitulated only to find corn for the Roman ſouldiers. But this debate was ſoon at an end by reaſon of the ſtiff reſolution of the Coſ. who ſent a Colonel to warn and charge the ſouldiers to accept no corn, before the aid-ſouldiers of *Antiochus* were received. From I thence he marched to * *Gordiu tichos* (a City ſo called) & ſo forward the third day to *Tala*. This City is ſeated upon the frontires of the Piſidians, in that coaſt which boundeth upon the Pamphylian ſea. This quarter was able to yield luſty men for war, when it had not been any way endamaged, but remained entire and whole. For proof whereof, even then alſo there iſſued out of the City a cornet of horſmen, who charged upon the Romans as they marched, and at the firſt onſet troubled them not a little. But afterward, ſeeing themſelves neither for number, nor yet for proweſs comparable unto them, they were driven back into the town, & craved pardon for their treſpaſs, ready to ſurrender their City into the Coſ. his hands. The Coſ. impoſed upon them a paiment of 25 talents of ſilver, and 10000 medimns of wheat, and upon that compoſition their ſurrender was accepted. Three daies after the Romans came to *Chaus* the river, & from thence to the City *Eriza*, K which at the firſt aſſault they won. After this the army marched as far as to a Caſtle called *Thabuſion* ſtanding over the river * *Indus*, ſo called of a certain Indian, whom an Elephant threw and caſt into it. Now they were not far from *Cibyra*, & yet no embaſſage appeared from the tyrant of that country and ſtate, *Moagetes*, a diſloyal and treacherous man in all his dealings, and beſides extream hard and unreaſonable. Whereupon the Coſ. ſent out before *C. Helvius*, with 4000 foot and 500 horſe, to ſound his diſpoſition and mind. As theſe companies entred into his frontiers, there encountred them his Embaſſadors, giving them to underſtand that the tyrant their Maſter was ready to do whatſoever they would command: only his requeſt was unto *Helvius* to paſs peaceably through his country, and to reſtrain his ſouldiers from waſting & ſpoiling the territories, & 15 talents they brought with them for to make a crown of gold. *Helvius* promiſed to ſave his L lands for being ſpoiled and waſted, but he willed the embaſſadors to go to the Coſ. Now when they had related the ſame unto him, he made them anſwer in theſe terms, We cannot gather by any ſign (qd. he) that the tyrant beareth good will and affection to us Romans: & again, if he be ſuch an one as the world taketh him for, we are to think rather of his chaſtiſement, than of admitting him into our amity. The embaſſadors ſore troubled at this word, requeſted him for that preſent no more, but to take the crown of gold, and to permit that the tyrant himſelf might have acceſs into his preſence for to parl with him and clear himſelf. The morrow after, by permiſſion of the Coſ. came the tyrant into the camp, bearing no port of a Prince. For a privat perſon and mean man of ſmall wealth would have gone in better apparel, and carried a greater train about him than he: neither went he ſo meanly but he ſpake as lowly, hacking and hewing his words, as if he had not M been able to ſpeak them out. He complained of his own bareneſs and want & likewiſe of the poverty of the Cities under his ſeignory (for beſides *Cybira*, he held in poſſeſſion *Sylium* & that which is called *Alimne*) Yet he promiſed to ſee what he could do if haply by undoing himſelf & ſpoiling his ſubjects he might make up five and twenty talents. Mary he miſtruſted greatly that he ſhould never effect ſo much. Are you thereabout? (qd. the Coſ.) Now verily I can no longer endure this mockery. Was it not enough that in your abſence you baſhed not to delude and diſappoint us by your Embaſſadors, but you muſt perſiſt ſtill in the ſame impudency now that you be here your ſelf in perſon? And would you make us beleeve indeed that the diſburſing of 25 talents will begget you and your whole kingdom? Come on ſir, I ſay; Bring me hither within theſe three daies, and lay me down in ready money 500 talents, or look for no other favour, but your territory to be N waſted, and your City beſieged. Greatly affrighted was he at theſe minatory words, howbeit he continued ſtill obſtinatly, counterfeiting & pretending his needineſs and poverty, and after much baſe hucking, and riſing by little and little, one while haſting and wrangling, another while praying and entreating (and that with whining and putting finger in the eye) he was fetcht over at length, and came off to pay 100 talents of ſilver, and to deliver 10000 medimns of corn beſides. And all this was exacted of him to be performed in ſix daies. From *Cibyra* the Coſ. conducted the army through the country of the Sindenſians, and after he had paſſed over the river *Calauris*, he there pitched down his tents. The morrow after they marched by the lake or meer *Caralitis*, and ſet them down and reſted upon the river *Maander*. As they advanced from thence toward *Lagon* the next City the inhabitants fled for fear: wherupon the town void of people, but repleniſhed with O abundance of all things was ranſacked and rifled. This done, they arrived at the head or ſpring of the river *Lycus*, and the next day marched toward the river *Cobulatus*. The Termiſſians at the ſame time having forced and won the City of the Lyrians, were now upon the point to aſſault the Caſtle. They who were within beſieged, ſeeing no other hope of ſuccour ſent their Embaſſadors to the Conſul, beſeeching his help, and making pitifull moan, how they with their wives and children were ſhut up within the fortreſs, and looked every hour for death, either by famin or the ſword.

* The ſame that *Gordiocome* or *Juliopolis*.

* *Hind.* Nigro. *Dion.* Incolis.

A sword. This fell out as the Cos. wished, namely, to have so good an occasion presented unto him, of turning his way into *Pamphylia*. At his first coming he delivered the Lyrians from the siege. To *Termessus* he granted peace, upon composition that he should receive first 30 talents. In like sort he dealt by the Aspendians and other States of *Pamphylia*. In his return from thence the first day he encamped fast by a river called *Taurus*, and the next day following, near a town which they call *Xyline-Come*. From whence he marched and held on his journey continually, untill he came to the City *Cormasa*. The next City unto it was *Dorsa*, which he found abandoned by the Inhabitants for B fear, howbeit, full of all kind of goods. As he marched still along the marshes there met him Embassadors from *Lysinia*, who came to render their City into his hands. After this, he entred into the territory of *Sagalassus*, a fertile & plenteous quarter, for all sorts of corn & fruits. The Pisidians inhabit those parts, who are the best warriors in all that country. In regard whereof, as also for that their territory is fruitfull and well peopled and their City strongly situat (as few like unto it) they were grown to be hardy and courragious. The Cos. seeing no embassage presented unto him in the entrance of the frontiers, sent out forragers to fetch in booties. When they perceived once their goods harried and carried away before their faces, their stomacks came down, and then they sent their embassadors and upon composition to pay 50 talents, 20000 medimns of wheat, and as many of barley, they obtained peace. From thence he passed to the fountains of *Obrima*, untill he C came to a village which they name *Aporidos-Come*, and there he encamped. Thither repaired the next day *Seleucus* from *Apamea*. And the same day, after he had sent away unto *Apamea* his sick folk and other baggage and pelf that he had (good for nothing) he took guides of *Seleucus* for the way, and entred into the plains of *Metropolis*, and the next morrow marched as far as *Dinia* in *Phrygia*. After this he entred into *Synada*, where he found all the towns about abandoned for fear and left desert. With the booty and pillage whereof his army was so heavily charged, that hardly he could march five miles a day; and so he came at length to *Bendos*, named, The old. From thence he passed to *Anabura* and the next day to the source of *Alander*, and the third day pitched down his tents near *Abassus*. There he lay encamped many daies together, because he was now arrived into the country of the Tolistobogians.

The Gauls in times past being a mighty people in number, were induced to take a voyage, either for want of land to inhabit, or for hope of booty and prizes: and supposing withall, that they could not pass through any nation whatsoever, comparable to themselves in feats of arms, entred D under the conduct of *Brennus* into the country of the Dardanians. Where, they began to mutine among themselves: by occasion whereof it hapned, that to the number of twenty thousand of them, following two of their Princes *Lomnorius* and *Lutarius*, departed from *Brennus*, and took their way into *Thracia*: where partly by warring with them that made resistance, and partly by imposing tribute upon them that craved peace, they came at length as far as to *Bizantium*: and after they had held tributary a good time the coast of * *Propontis*, they possessed themselves also of the good towns and Cities of that quarter. After this, they had a mind and desire to invade *Asia*; for they heard say, being so near, how fertile and plenteous the soil of that country was. And after they had surprized and won *Lysimachia* by a wile, and by force of arms conquered all *Chersonesus*, they descended to *Hellespont*. Where seeing how they were divided from *Asia* but only by the E straights and that it was but a small cut thither their desire was much more inflamed to pass over. And for this purpose they dispatched certain curriers to *Antipater* the governour of that coast, to demand passage. But by reason that they effected not this so soon as they hoped, there arose another new sedition between the Princes themselves. Whereupon *Lomnorius* accompanied with the greater part retired to *Byzantium* from whence he came. But *Lutarius* took from the Macedonions (who under colour of an embassage were sent from *Antipater* in espiall) two covered ships, and three brigandines. By means of these vessels, within few daies he had set over all his army, transporting them one after another day and night continually. Not long after *Lomnorius* also passed over into *Asia* from *Byzantium*, by the aid of *Nicomedes* Kings of *Bithynia*. After this, the Gauls joyned again together in one, and succoured *Nicomedes* in his wars against *Zybœa*, who held F part of *Bithynia* and by their help and assistance especially, *Zybœa* was vanquished, and all *Bithynia* became subject to *Nicomedes*. Then they departed out of *Bithynia* into *Asia*. Now of twenty thousand there were not above ten thousand armed. Yet so great a terrour they struck into all nations on this side the mountain *Taurus*, that both they to whom they approached not near, and also they whom they came unto, as well the farthest as the neerest, submitted themselves, and ranged under their obedience. In the end, being three nations of them, to wit, the Tolistobogians, the Trocmians, and the Tectosages, they divided *Asia* likewise into three parts, and parted them so equally among themselves, that each nation of them possessed a severall tract which paied them tribute. The coast of *Hellespontus* was given to the Trocmians: the Tolistobogians had for their share *Æolis* and *Ionia*: and unto the Tectosages were allotted the inland parts of the main con- G tinent of *Asia*. And in one word they demanded tribute of all *Asia* on this side *Taurus*. But they planted and seated themselves about the river *Halys*. The bruit of their name was so fearfull and terrible, and especially after their issue was multiplied and increased in great number, that the KK. also of *Syria* in the end refused not to be their homagers and give them tribute. The first of all the inhabitants in *Asia* that denied them homage, was King *Attalus* the father of *Eumenes*: and fortune beyond the expectation of all men, favoured his hardy and courragious enterprise: for he vanquished them in battell. Howbeit, he danted not their hearts so much, but still they upheld

* *Mar di Mar-mora.*

and maintained their ſoveraign ſeignory, in ſuch ſort, as their puiſſance continued untill the war H
between *Antiochus* and the Romans. Yea, and after that *Antiochus* was vanquiſhed and chaſed
out of part of his Realm, they conceived great hope to hold their own ſtill; by reaſon they were
ſo remote from the ſea, and therefore thought that the Roman army would never pierce ſo far as
to them. The Conſul now, for as much as he was to war with this nation, ſo terrible to all their
neighbours in thoſe quarters, aſſembled his ſouldiers to a publike audience, and in this manner
made ſpeech unto them.

"I am not ignorant, my ſouldiers, that of all the people which inhabit *Aſia*, the Gauls are moſt
"renowned for valiance in war. And why? this fierce and cruell nation having run over the world
"in a manner, and warred with all countries, choſe them a place of abode, and to ſettle themſelves
"in the midſt of a generation, of all other moſt mild and tractable. Big and tall they are of ſtature I
"and perſonage: their hair they wear long in golden criſped and ſhining locks: they carry bucklers
"of huge bigneſs, and handle ſwords of exceeding length. Beſides, when they enter into battell,
"they uſe to ſing, to hoop, and dance, and with clattering their targets and weapons together, after
"the guiſe of their country, they make an horrible noiſe. And all this is done of purpore by them
"to terrifie their enemies. But ſuch devices as theſe be, let the Greeks, the Phrygians, and Carians
"be afraid of, who are not uſed and accuſtomed to hear and ſee ſuch things: as for the Romans,
"acquainted, with the Gauls ſudden and tumultuous wars, they can skill well enough of theſe
"their toyes and vanities alſo. Once indeed, and but once, at the firſt encounter they diſcomfited
"the Romans at the river *Allia*: but ſince that time our Anceſtors for the ſpace of two hundred
"years have made havock of them, killed, put to flight, and driven them like ſheep before them: K
"and oftner, I dare well ſay, have they triumphed of the Gauls, than of all the world beſides. Thus
"much we know of them by experience, that if a man be able to ſtand out their firſt ſhock and
"violence (which upon a furious heat of their own by nature, and in blind choler and anger they
"ſpend all at once) all the parts of their body run to ſweat and become faint: their weapons are
"ready to fall out of their hands: their bodies are ſo tender, their courages ſo feeble (after their
"cholarick anger is once allaied and paſſed) that the very heat of the ſun the duſt and the drought
"is able without drawing ſword, to overthrow them and lay them along. Proof and trial we have
"had of them not only legions to legions, but man to man. *T. Manlius* and *M. Valerius* have
"ſhewed plainly how far Roman vertue and proweſs ſurpaſſeth the furious rage of Gauls. Why?
"even *Marcus Manlius*, one man alone, repulſed and beat down the Gauls as they climbed up L
"by numbers to the Capitoll cliff. And thoſe anceſtors of ours beforenamed, had then to deal
"with natural Gauls indeed, born and bred in their own country: whereas theſe here, by this
"time now are a baſtard ſort of them, and clean degenerate, mingled they are with others, and in
"truth as they be called, ſo are they Gallo-greeks. And it fareth with them as with plants, fruits,
"and living beaſts in which we ſee that the ſeed is not of that vertue, & ſo effectual to keep and
"retain ſtill the own kind and nature, as the property of the ſoil and the air where they are nou-
"riſhed is to change the ſame. Thus the Macedonians who inhabit *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, who
"dwell in *Seleucia* and *Babylonia*, and other Colonies diſperſed over the earth, are grown out of
"their own kind, and in manners become Syrians, Parthians, and Ægyptians. *Maſſilia* ſeated a-
"mong the Gauls, hath drawn ſomewhat of the nature of the nations adjoyning and bordering M
"upon them. And what have the Tarentins left them of that ſevere, rough, and hard diſcipline
"of the Spartans? For, whatſoever is ingendred and bred in the own proper place, is evermore
"kindly, and retaineth its own nature better; but look what is tranſplanted into another ſoil,
"doth ſoon degenerate, and grow into a baſtard kind: for nature transformeth her ſelf, and chan-
"geth into that wherewith ſhe is nouriſhed. Be ſure therefore, that like as ye have defeated theſe
"Phrygians (for no beter they be) overcharged and loaden with French arms in the battell a-
"gainſt *Antiochus*, even ſo being now conquerours, ye ſhall ſubdue and hew them in pieces once
"already vanquiſhed. And I fear me more that ye ſhall win too ſmall glory of them, then I doubt
"by fighting ſo little with them that ye ſhall have their hands too full of war againſt them.
"Why, even King *Attalus* many a time and often hath diſcomfited and put them to flight. Neither N
"would I have you to think, that ſavage beaſts only newly taken, and keeping at the firſt their
"fell and wild nature, after a time that they have been fed by mans hand, grown to be tame and
"gentle; but that the fierceneſs and cruelty of man is likewiſe of the ſame nature to be diſ-
"made tractable. Are ye perſwaded that theſe Gauls reſemble their fathers and grandſires in con-
"ditions? Their forefathers long ſince left their native country for want of ground and land to
"poſſeſs; and being driven to paſs through the moſt rough and difficult country of *Illyricum*,
"firſt came into *Pæonia* & afterwards travelled all over *Thracia*, fighting ever as they went with
"moſt fierce and cruell nations, untill at length they ſeized upon theſe parts and ſetled there. Af-
"ter (I ſay) they had been hardned and made more fell by ſo many travels and dangerous adven-
"tures, they were received in the end within ſuch a land, as through abundance of all good O
"things might feed and frank them up. All that the fierceneſs and ſavage nature of theirs which
"they had when they came firſt thither, is (no doubt) mollified by the goodneſs of the moſt fer-
"tile ſoil, by the ſweetneſs & pleaſure of a moſt temperat air, and laſt of all by the gentle and de-
"bonair nature of the inhabitants their neighbors. And even you alſo (in good faith) are to look
"unto it; (martiall men although you be, and the very off-ſpring of *Mars* himſelf) ye are (I ſay) to
"take heed and beware of theſe delights of *Aſia*, and betimes to get you forth from them. So

"forceable

A "forceable are theſe forrain pleaſures and delicat enticements, to quench and corrupt the riger of
"your ſpirits; ſo powerfull is the commerce and converſing with ſtrangers; ſo potent is the con-
"tagion (as it were) of their manners and diſcipline of neighbour inhabitants. Yet this one good
"turn ye ſhall have, that as againſt you they have not that courage which in times paſt they had;
"ſo among the Greeks here, they are of as great name as ever they were in ancient time. So that
"amongſt your allies, you ſhall win as great honour by your victory, as if you ſhould have conque-
"red the Gauls when they were at the height of their valour and proweſs. After the aſſembly diſ-
miſſed, and Embaſſadors ſent to *Epoſſognatus* (the only Prince in thoſe parts who perſiſted in amity with *Eumenes*, and had refuſed to aid *Antiochus* againſt the Romans) the Conſ. marched forward. The firſt day he came to the river *Alander*, and the morrow to a certain village which they
B call *Triſcon*. Hither repaired unto him the Embaſſadors of the Oroadians, craving to be accepted as friends; but they were enjoyned to pay two hundred talents: and when they requeſted leave to make relation and report hereof at home, they were permitted. From thence the Conſ. led his army to *Plitendum*; and after that he encamped at *Alyattos*. Thither returned they who had been ſent to *Epoſſognatus* together with the Embaſſadors of Prince *Compulſus*, requeſting the Romans not to war upon the Tectoſages; for that both himſelf and *Epoſſognatus* alſo, would go in perſon to them and perſwaded the nation to do whatſoever they ſhould be commanded. The Prince obtained his requeſt; and ſo from thence the army began to march through the land which they
C call *Axylos*: and well it might be ſo called, for it hath no wood at all in it, nor beareth ſo much as thorns, or any thing elſe to burn and maintain fire: cow-dung is all their burning, for want of other fewell. Whiles the Roman lay in camp before *Cuballum*, (a fortreſs of *Gallogræcia*) they diſcovered the Cavalry of the enemies coming toward them with a great hurrey and tumult: and they charged ſo fiercely and ſuddenly upon the *corps de guard* of the Romans, that they not only troubled and diſordered them, but alſo killed ſome of them. The alarm being given within the camp the Roman horſemen at once iſſued forth of all the gates, diſcomfited the Gauls, and ſlew certain of them in the chaſe. The Conſul perceiving now that he was come into his enemies
D country, marched not from thenceforth without ſending out his eſpials before, and kept his army together in battell array with great heed and carefulneſs. Thus he held on his journey continually until he came to the river *Sangarius*, where he purpoſed to make a bridge, becauſe there was not paſſage over at any foord. This *Sangarius* ariſeth out of the mountain *Adoreus*, and running through *Phrygia* it joyneth with the river *Thymbrus* near unto *Bithynia*, and ſo growing bigger by receiving a double current, keepeth his courſe through *Bithynia*, and diſcharged himſelf into *Propontis*; a river not ſo famous and noble for the greatneſs thereof, as becauſe it yieldeth fiſh abundantly to all the nations bordering and dwelling thereupon. When the bridge was finiſhed and the army paſſed over, as they marched along the bank ſide, the Galli or Prieſts of *Cybele* (the great mother of the gods) were come from *Peſſinus*, and with ſtreamers inſules and other ornaments met them: and in their fanaticall verſes (as men diſtracted of their wits) ſeemed to propheſie and foretell, that the goddeſs vouchſafed the Romans a fair way to war and victory, yea, and the conqueſt and ſeignory of that country. Hereat the Conſul ſaid, That he accepted their words for a preſage of good fortune, and thereupon in that very place he pitched his Tents. The
E next day he went as far as *Gordium*: a town verily it is none of the greateſt, but more frequented and reſorted unto for traffique and merchandiſe, then uſually ſuch dry towns are that ſtand far within the land. Three ſeas there be triangle-wiſe, of equall diſtance all from it. On the coaſt toward *Sinope*, it hath *Helleſpont* and the ſhores of the other tract, whereas the Cicilians inhabit by the ſea-ſide. Moreover, it bordereth upon the confines of many great nations, who for their mutuall need and commodity, have commerce of negotiation, and meet together in that one place. This town at that time they found altogether diſpeopled, by reaſon that the inhabitants were fled for fear: but well ſtored, and full of wares and goods of all ſorts. Whiles the Romans lay there encamped, there came Embaſſadors from *Epoſſognatus*, reporting unto them, that he had made a journey to the Princes of the Gauls, but could obtain no reaſon at their hands: alſo,
F that they were diſlodged out of the champain country, had quit their villages and lands in great numbers, and together with their wives and children drave before them and carried with them whatſoever they could: and were retired to to the mount *Olympus*, from whence they purpoſed to defend themſelves by force of armis and the ſtrong ſituation of the place. The Embaſſadours likewiſe of the Oroandians, gave more certain intelligence, to wit, That the whole people in generall of the Toliſtobogians had ſeized the hill *Olympus*; that the Tectoſages ſeverally by themſelves had taken another mountain called *Magana*; that the Trocmians had committed their wives and children to the guard of the Tectoſages, minding with a main army to aid the Toliſtobogians. Now at that time the Princes of thoſe three States were *Orgiago Combalomarus*, and *Gaulotas*. And the principall reaſon and means that theſe had to enterpriſe war,
G was this, That being poſſeſſed of the higheſt hills of that country, and having brought thither proviſion of all things to ſerve them for a long ſpace, they ſuppoſed to weary and wear out their enemies in proceſs of time. For this account they made, that they would never venture to march againſt them through ſo hard, ſo difficult and diſadvantageous places; and if they aſſayed to do, they might be empeached, repulſed back and beaten down with a ſmall company: again, if they would ſit ſtill in leaguer at the foot of thoſe frozen mountains and do nothing, they were never able to endure the cold and the ſcarcity which they ſhould find there.

* Woodleſs.

And

And notwithſtanding the very altitude and height of the places defended them, yet over and be- H
ſides they caſt a trench, and made other defences round about the tops of the mountains which
they held. Alſo for proviſion of darts and other ſhot, it was the leaſt of all their care, ſuppoſing
that the rough places would furniſh them with ſufficient ſtore of ſtones to fling. The Conſul fore-
caſting in his mind that he ſhould not deal with theſe enemies cloſe at hand-fight, but afar off
when he was to aſſail their holds, had made proviſion aforehand of great ſtore of darts, light veli-
tary javelins, arrows, bullets of lead, and ſmall ſtones that might be leveiled and ſent out of ſlings.
Thus being well appointed and furniſhed with ſuch kind of ſhot, he led his army toward the
mountain *Olympus*, and about five miles off he encamped. The next day he together with *Attalus*
advanced forward with 500 men of arms to view the nature and ſtanding of the mountain toge-
ther with the ſituation of the Gauls camp. But the enemies horſemen being double in number to I
them, iſſued out of their camp, and put them to flight, ſlew a few of them in the rout, and hurt
many. The third day he ſet forward with all his forces to diſcover the places, and by reaſon that
there came not one of them out of their defences and fortifications, he rode round about the moun-
tain in ſafety at his pleaſure, and perceived that on the South-ſide, there were certain little hils,
all of of clean earth without ſtones, and the ſame riſing up with an eaſie aſcent to a certain place;
but to the North were high rocks and the ſame in manner ſteep upright. And whereas all the reſt
were inacceſſible, three only waies and advenues he found, the one directly toward the midſt of
the mountain (where thoſe little mounts of earth ſtood) the other two were difficult the one ly-
ing Southeaſt, and the other Northweſt. After he had conſidered and viewed theſe places that
day he pitched his camp at the very root and foot of the hill. The morrow after he ſacrificed and K
finding by the firſt beaſts which he killed that the gods were pacified and favourable unto him, he
divided his army into three battaillons, and ſo advanced againſt the enemy, and himſelf in perſon
with the greateſt part of his forces mounted up the hill, whereas it yielded the eaſieſt aſcent. He
commanded his brother *L. Manlius*, from the Southweſt to get up the hill as the place would
permit with ſafety, giving him in charge that if he met with any dangerous places ſteep and hard
of aſcent, that he ſhould not wreſtle with the difficulties of the ground, nor ſtrive againſt thoſe
things which to force and overcome were unpoſſible; but rather to traverſe the ground, and re-
tire toward him, and ſo to joyn with his battaillon. As for *C. Helvius* he willed him with a third
part of the forces to wheel about by little and little, and fetch a compaſs at the hill foot and then
from the Northweſt to mount up. Likewiſe the aids of *Attalus*, he divided into three equall parts, L
and took order that the young Prince himſelf in perſon ſhould keep with him. The Cavalry and
the Elephants he left in the next downs beneath the hills, and charged the Captains thereof to
have a carefull eye and good regard to mark what was done in every place, yea, and to make haſte
to reſcue and ſuccour whereſoever need ſhould be. The Gauls making full reckoning that on two
ſides they were ſure enough, and the place that way to be inacceſſible; becauſe they would ſtop
the other advenue by force of arms on the South ſide, ſent forth about four thouſand armed men
to ſeize upon a certain hill within a mile of their camp, which hill commanded the way, ſuppo-
ſing there, as from a ſconce and fortreſs to debar them of paſſage. Which when the Romans per-
ceived they put themſelves in readineſs to fight. A pretty ſpace before the enſigns, marched the
skirmiſhers, together with the Candiot archers and ſlingers from *Attalus*; likewiſe the Triballi- M
ans of *Thrace*. The enſigns of the footmen followed ſoftly after (as well as they might) againſt the
hill, bearing their targets before them ſo, as they ſeemed to cover themſelves only to avoid the
ſhot, and meant not to enter into any fight hand to hand. The fight at firſt was equally performed
with ſhot a good diſtance off: for as the Gauls got the advantage of the ground, ſo the Romans
had the odds for variety and ſtore of darts. But as the skirmiſh continued and encreaſed, there
was no more equality ſeen. For the ſhields of the Gauls being made long, and not broad enough
for their bodies, and withall flat and plain without, hardly covered and defended them: and by
this time all their ſhot was ſpent; & weapon had they none but their very ſwords, whereof there
was no uſe at all, conſidering the enemy came not to cloſe fight. The only help they had was with
ſtones, and thoſe too big for their handling and not eaſie to weild by reaſon they were not pro- N
vided before, but ſuch as in that haſte came next to their hand without any choice. Moreover, be-
ing not uſed and exerciſed to flinging, they had neither the artificiall ſleight, nor yet ſuffi ient
ſtrength to help themſelves withall: but contrariwiſe, from all parts were pelted with bullets of
lead and galled with arrows & darts at unawares, which they could neither ward nor avoid: and
for that with anger & fear together their wits & underſtandings were blinded, they wiſt not what
to do, ſeeing themſelves ſurpriſed and overtaken in a kind of fight whereunto they were leaſt of all
fitted. For as in cloſe conflict hand to hand, where blows are dealt, where raps are given and taken
enterchangeably, choler kindleth courage: even ſo, when men are wounded aloof with light darts,
& from whence they know not they wot not upon whom to run & at whom to make in that blind
fit of theirs but they turn upon their own fellows without all reaſon at a venture, like wild beaſts O
galled with arrows ſticking in their ſides. Now, they receive not a wound but it is ſeen by reaſon
that they fight naked, and their bodies are fair ſlick and white, as being never bare but in battell:
by which means greater ſtore of bloud guſht out of the wounds in their fleſhy bodies, the ga-
ſhes appear greater and their white skin much more ſtained with black bloud. But they paſs not
ſo much for broad & wide flaſhes (for otherwhiles when the skin is cut away & the wound rather
broad than deep, they take more pride therein, & think they fight with greater honor. Many it is

happen

A happen at any time, that an arrow head or a bullet sticking within the flesh all hidden, put them to pain and torment, notwithstanding the hurt be small in appearance: yet when they seek to pluck out an arrow, and the head will not follow, then they take on and are stark mad, for shame that so small a prick should plagne them so, and be ready to kil them, insomuch as they cast themselves on the ground, and lie wallowing along every where. Others there be of them that ran full upon their enemy, and those were sticked with arrows and darts from all parts. & when they came near to hand, were by the skirmishers killed and cut in pieces with their swords. These souldiers use to cover themselves with a shield of three foot long, carrying in their right hand certain spears to use aloof, and wear by their side a Spanish sword. Now in case they come to hand fight, they shift their spear out of their right hand into the left, and take them to their swords. By this time there were
B but few of the Gauls left alive; who perceiving that the light armed skirmishers of the enemies were too good for them & seeing withall the ensigns of the legions to approach near unto them, took them to their heels on all hands, and began to flie amain toward the camp; which now was full of fear and trouble, as where women and children and a multitude of feeble folk (not fit to bear arms) were crowded and thronged together. The Romans following the train of their victory, seized the hils abandoned by the enemies that were fled. About the same time *L. Manlius* and *C. Helvius*, having mounted so far as they could find way, traversing the sides of the hill, when they were come to an end, where they could see neither way nor path, they turned to that quarter of the hill which only afforded a way, and both of them began to follow the Consuls battaillon, a pretty distance asunder, as if they had agreed beforehand so to do: and that which at first
C had been simply the best thing to be done, they were of necessity forced at last to put in execution. For in such difficulties and places of disadvantage, succours behind in a rereward, have oftentimes served in right good stead: that if those in the vanguard should chance to be beaten back, they in the second place might receive and protect them, and also begin freshly a new fight. After that the formost engns of the legions were come to those hills; which the light armed before had seized, the Consul commanded the souldiers to rest them awhile and breath themselves, and shewed them withall where the bodies of the Gauls lay dead along all over the mountains. And if (qd. he) the light armed skirmishers have made such a riddance of them, what is to be looked for at the hands of the legionary souldiers, armed all over in compleat harness? What will they do that carry the hearts of most noble warriors? Surely they must needs win the camp, into which
D the enemy is chased and driven by the light armed souldiers. Howbeit he commanded the light armed to go afore, who all the while that the legions rested themselves, spent not the time in vain, but employed it in gathering together the darts and javelins that lay about the hills, to the end that they might have sufficient shot. Now the Romans marched forward and approached the camp. The Gauls likewise for their parts, fearing lest their defences would not be able to defend them, stood armed before their trench and rampier. But afterwards being overcharged with all sorts of darts, they were driven in the turning of an hand within their hold, (for the more they were in number, and the thicker they stood, the less lighted any dart in vain) only they left strong guards about the gates and entrance into the camp. Moreover, among the multitude which was driven into the hold, there was discharged at random a mighty number of darts: and that many of
E them were hurt thereby, appeared by their cry mingled with the shrikes of women and children. Now against them that warded the gates, and took up the avenues with their guards the legionary souldiers in the forefront let flie their javelins. And albeit these were not wounded in their bodies, yet by reason that their shields & bucklers were pierced through, they were most of them entangled one within another, and stuck fast. Long they could not abide the violence of the Romans, insomuch as before that the victors could enter into the camp, the Gauls fled forth at all the gates wide open, and ran they wist not whither like blind men, as well through places which had no way, as those that were passable. No rocks so steep with downfals, no cliffs so rough with crags, could stand in their way: and nothing feared they affront; their enemies only at their heels affrighted them. And therefore most of them either fell headlong down a mighty height and brake
F their necks, or else for very feebleness lost their breath, were windless, and ready to die. The Cos. after he had taken their camp, would not suffer it to be ransacked, but commanded the souldiers every one to follow the chase hard: and whiles the enemies were thus affraid, to affright them throughly. Then came the other regiment with *L. Manlius*, but the Consul would not suffer them to enter the camp, but sent them forthwith to pursue the enemies. Himself also in person anon afterfollowed, when he had delivered the charge of keeping the prisoners, unto the military Tribunes of the army: for this reckoning and resolution he made, that the war was at a finall end, if in this tumultuous fright of theirs he might either kill or take prisoners a number of them. The Consul was no sooner departed, but *C. Helvius* came with his third regiment, but he could not hold his souldiers from the pillage of the camp, insomuch as the booty and prizes were most un-
G justly dealt among them who were at no end of the skirmish. The Cavalry stood all this while still and wist not of the fight, or that their fellows had gotten the victory: but afterwards they also espying the Gauls dispersed about the root of the mountains, made after them as well as their horses would mount against the hils: some they slew, and others they took prisoners. The just number of those that were slain cannot easily be counted, because they fled far and near among the cranks and windings of the mountains, where they were killed in blind corners. Many of them besides, having engaged themselves to the crags and rocks that had no way forward,

ward, tumbled down into the vallies of a monſtrous depth underneath. Yea, and ſome hapned to be killed in the woods amidſt the thickets & buſhes. *Claudius*, who writeth of two battels fought upon the mount *Olympus*, reporteth that there died there forty thouſand enemies. But *Valerius Antias*, who otherwiſe is wont to overreach and exceed in number, hath recorded not above ten thouſand. But without all queſtion the priſoners amounted to forty thouſand full, becauſe they went with a train of all ſorts and ages, more like men diſlodging and removing out of one country unto another, than going to war. The Conſul, after he had burned all the armour of his enemies in one heap, commanded his ſouldiers to bring forth the reſt of the pillage and ſpoil into one place, and either ſold and made money of that which was to come into the publike treaſury of the City, or elſe parted it amongſt the ſouldiers indifferently, with great regard, that every one ſhould have a juſt and even portion. Moreover, he commanded them all in open audience, and rewarded every one beſides with gifts according to their ſeveral deſerts. But above the reſt, and with the general accord of all, he both praiſed, and alſo recompenced *Attalus*. For ſurely that young gentleman ſhewed not only ſingular valour and forwardneſs in all travels and dangers, but alſo a ſpeciall modeſty and rare ſobriety.

There remained yet entire and whole the war with the Tectoſages, againſt whom the Conſul made an expedition, & upon the third day arrived at *Ancyra*, a noble City in thoſe parts, from whence the enemies were little more than ten miles diſtant. During the time that he lay there encamped, there hapned a memorable act, performed by a captive Lady. Among many more priſoners, there fortuned to be kept in ward, the wife of *Ortiagon*, a woman of ſurpaſſing beauty. The Centurion who had her perſon in ſafe cuſtody, was lecherous and covetous withall, as many of theſe ſouldiers are. Her he ſollicited and tempted firſt to commit folly: but ſeeing her altogether unwilling, and that ſhe abhorred to proſtitute her ſelf unto him, he did violence upon that body of hers, which fortune had made bond and thrall unto him. But afterwards to mollifie and aſſwage the indignity of this villany, he put the woman in good hope, and promiſed that ſhe ſhould return home again to her friends: mary, he would not do all for pure love alone and freely without ranſom, for he bargained to have a certain ſum of gold beſides. And to the end forſooth that no perſon belonging to him might take knowledge thereof, he permitted her to ſend one of the priſoners whom ſhe would her ſelf as meſſenger to her friends and kinsfolk, and appointed a place near unto a river, whither the next night following ſhould repair two and no more (of the ſaid captive Ladies friends, with the gold aboveſaid) for to receive her at his hands. It fell out ſo that among the reſt of the captives committed to his guard, there was a bondſlave of her own: this meſſenger at the ſhutting in of the evening the Centurion conducted without the *corps de guard*. The morrow night after came accordingly to the place appointed, both the two friends aforeſaid of the gentlewoman, and alſo the Centurion himſelf with his priſoner, where they ſhewed the gold, amounting to the full ſum of one Attick talent (according as it was agreed between them) and with that the woman ſpake unto them in her language and commanded them to draw their ſwords, and kill outright the Centurion as he was weighing the gold. Which done, ſhe cauſed his head to be ſtricken off, and wrapped it her ſelf within her garment, and ſo carried it home to her husband *Ortiagon*, who from *Olympus* had fled and eſcaped to his own houſe. But before that ſhe clipped and embraced her husband, ſhe threw down the Centurion his head at his feet. And when he wondred what mans head it was, and what act this might be, far paſſing a womans deed, ſhe confeſſed to her husband the injury that her body had ſuffered, and likewiſe the revenge for the abuſe of her chaſtity by force and violence: and (as it is reported) ſhe maintained the honour of this matronlike act ever after even to her dying day, in all ſanctimony of life and modeſt carriage of her ſelf like a chaſte dame.

Whiles the camp lay at *Ancyra*, the Orators of the Tectoſages ſhewed themſelves unto the Conſul, requeſting him not to diſlodge and remove from thence before he had parled with their Lords and Princes: ſaying withall, that they would accept any conditions of peace whatſoever, rather than war. The time was ſet down, even the next morrow, and a place likewiſe appointed, as juſt in the mid way (as it could be gueſſed) between the camp and *Ancyra*. The Conſ. thither came at the hour aſſigned, accompanied with a guard of five hundred horſe: but perceiving no Gaul at all there, he returned into the camp. And thither repaired the ſame Orators unto him the ſecond time, excuſing the default, and ſaying that their Princes could not come in perſon by occaſion of ſome ſcruple of conſcience that aroſe the while: howbeit, the chief perſonages beſides of the whole nation ſhould appear, by whom all matters might be compoſed as well as with themſelves. The Conſul made anſwer, that he likewiſe would ſend *Attalus* in his ſtead. So they came to this emparling from both parts. *Attalus* had three hundred men of arms about him for his guard: and certain conditions of peace were drawn and propounded: but foraſmuch as they might not grow to any finall concluſion in the abſence of their chief Commanders, accorded it was that the day following the Conſul and their Princes aforeſaid ſhould meet in that place together. Now the drift of the Gauls in making theſe delaies and trifling off the time, was this, that firſt they might gain ſome convenient ſpace to tranſport over the river *Halys* all that ever they had (which they would not hazard with their own perſons, together with their wives and children) and afterwards to lay a train of an ambuſh for the Conſul himſelf, who took ſmall regard, and was not provided for to prevent their villany intended under the colour of that conference. For that purpoſe, they choſe a thouſand horſemen out of all their cavalry, of eſpeciall valour and approved hardineſs,

A neſs, for the execution of this treacherous deſign. And ſurely this their fraud had taken effect, if fortune had not defended and maintained the law of nations, which to break and violate they had complotted. Certain ſouldiers of the Romans ſent out to purvey forrage and fewel, were directed to thoſe very quarters whereas the parly aboveſaid ſhould be kept. The Colonels thought it the ſurer place for them, becauſe they were to have the Conſuls guard alſo oppoſed for their defence againſt the enemy: howbeit, they ſet another *corps de guard* of their own, conſiſting of 600 horſemen nearer to the camp. Now by reaſon that *Attalus* aſſured the Conſul ſo certainly, that their Princes would come, and that the matter might be ſoon knit up and diſpatched, he departed out of the camp with the ſame guard of horſemen as before, and when he had marched almoſt five miles forward, and was not far ſhort of the place appointed, he diſcovered all of a ſudden the
B Gauls riding in full gallop againſt them in moſt furious manner as enemies; wherupon he ſtaid the march and made a ſtand: commanding the horſemen to make ready their weapons and reſolve to fight. The firſt charge and ſhock he received right valiantly, and ſtepped not back one foot: but afterwards as the multitude preſſed ſtill upon him, he began to give ground and retreat, but ſo as he brake not the ranks of his troops. But in the end, when they found more danger in longer ſtay, than commodity and help in keeping their arraies, they all at once turned their horſe heads and fled. When they were diſarraied once, the Gauls purſued hard and killed them: and no doubt a great part of them had died for it, but that the forragers guard of 600 horſe aforeſaid came in to reſcue them. For they hearing afar off the fearful cry of their fellows, made ready their armor and
C horſes, and being freſh & in heart, entred upon the fight that was given over by their wearied and diſcomfited companions: whereupon fortune quickly changed, and the fear turned from the loſers to the winners; for at the firſt encounter the Gauls were put to flight: and withall, the ſaid forragers and fewelers came running out of the fields, and from all parts made head and affronted the Gauls; inſomuch as they could neither flie readily nor eſcape ſurely, becauſe the Romans with their freſh horſes followed them in chaſe, and they themſelves were already tired: few therefore went away with life, and not one was taken priſoner, for the greater part by ods paid dearly by the loſs of their lives for violating of this their parly under the colour of truth and fidelity. The Romans whiles their ſtomacks were inflamed with anger, the very next day came againſt them with the puiſſance of all their forces. But the Cof. employed two whole daies himſelf in viewing and
D diſcovering the ſituation and nature of the hill, becauſe he would not be ignorant of any thing requiſit. Upon the third day, after he had firſt taken the auſpices and preſages of the birds, and afterwards killed a ſacrifice, he led forth his army divided into 4 battaillons. Two of them were to mount up the midſt of the hill & the other two he ſet in the ſides to flank the wings of the Gauls, and to march up againſt them. The Tectoſages and Trocmions, who were the whole flower and ſtrength of the enemies, made their main battel in the midſt, conſiſting of 50000 men; and becauſe there was no uſe of horſe among thoſe rough & uneven rocks, the cavalry alight on foot to the number of 10000, and thoſe they put in the right wing. The Cappadocians with *Ariarates*, & the auxiliary Morzians, who aroſe to the number almoſt of 4000 men, held the left. The Cof. (like as before in the mount *Olympus*) marſhalled his light armed for skirmiſh in the forefront of the vangard, & gave order to have ready at hand as great ſtore of darts & other ſhot of all ſorts as he had
E before. When they approached one another, all things anſwered both of the one ſide & the other, like as in the former conflict: ſaving that the courage of the victors increaſed in regard of their fortunat ſucceſs & the hearts of the enemies were much abated and danted. For albeit themſelves had not yet been foiled & vaquiſhed, yet they took the overthrow & loſs of their countrimen for their own. And therefore as the beginning of the battell was ſtable, ſo the iſſne was likewiſe. For the Gauls battell was overſpread & covered again as it were with a cloud of light ſhot. And not one of them durſt run forth out of his range, for fear he ſhould diſcover his whole body & lay it open to take all that came: and keeping ſtill together as they did, the thicker they ſtood, the fairer mark they were for the enemies to level at, & the more wounds they received. The Cof. perceiving they were already of themſelves troubled, and ſuppoſing that if he ſet forward & preſented unto them
F the enſigns of the legions, they would immediatly all of them flie, received the light armed looſe ſhot, & the reſt of the auxiliary ſouldiers within his own ranks and files, and then advanced his legions. The Gauls affrighted with the freſh remembrance of the late defeat and overthrow of the Toliſtobogians, carrying alſo about themſelves the darts ſticking in their bodies, weary beſides with long ſtanding a foot, and overcharged likewiſe with many a wound, could not abide ſo much as the onſet and ſhout of the Roman legions. Then began they to take their heels and flie toward their camp, but few of them recovered it, and got within the rampier and other defences. The greater number fled here and there on both hands, and diſperſed themſelves into all parts as it took them in the head, and as every man in this confuſed fright caught a way by himſelf. The Conquerors followed them ſtill even hard to the very camp, and all the way charged upon their
G backs and beat them down. Which done, they ſtaid and ſtuck ſtill in the camp for deſire of pillage, and there was not one that followed one foot after. The Gauls in the wings ſtood to it longer, by reaſon that it was later ere they were ſet upon but able they were not to abide the firſt charge and ſhot of the Roman darts. The Conſul, who could not poſſibly pluck thoſe out of the camp that were once entred in for greedineſs of ſpoiling and rifling the tents, ſent out thoſe immediatly that were in the wings to follow the enemies in chaſe ſtill forward. Theſe purſued them a certain ſpace: howbeit in this flight (for in truth it was no fight at all) there were not above eight thouſand

ſand that left their carcaſſes behind them, all the reſt recovered the other ſide of the river *Halys*. H
Many of the Romans remained that night within the enemies camp; the reſt the Conſul brought back again to his own. The next day he took account and ſurvey of the priſoners and prizes, which was ſo great as a man would conceive that a nation of all others moſt greedy of pilling and ſpoiling might poſſibly rake and heap together for ſo many years, as they held all thoſe parts within the mountain *Taurus* by force of arms. The Gauls thus ſcattered in flight, rallied themſelves into one place, as being many of them hurt or diſarmed, and ſtripped clean out of all they had, ſent their Embaſſadors unto the Conſul to treat for peace. The Conſul willed them to give attendance upon him at *Epheſus*: himſelf made haſte to remove out of thoſe cold quarters, by reaſon that the mountain *Taurus* was ſo near (for now it was the midſt of Autumn) and led back his victorious army to paſs the winter near the ſea ſide. I

Whiles the affairs thus paſſed in *Aſia*, all was quiet in the reſt of the Provinces. At *Rome* the Cenſors *T. Quintius Flamininus* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* made a new choice of Senators: and *P. Scipio Africanus* was choſen the Preſident of the Senat now the third time: four only were left out and diſcarded: but not one of them had born office of State, and had the honour to ſit in the Curule chair. The Cenſors ſhewed themſelves likewiſe paſſing mild in the review of the Cavalry and order of Knighthood. They put out to framing the foundations and ground works upon the Æquimelium in the Capitoll: and likewiſe they bargained for to pave the ſtreet with hard flint or pebble from the gate *Capena* to the Temple of *Mars*. The Campans demanded of the Senat, in what place they ſhould be aſſeſſed and enrolled: and thereupon a decree paſſed for their enrolment at *Rome*. The rivers were out, and great deluges hapned that year. The *Tyber* overflowed K his banks twelve times, and drowned *Mars* field and all the low parts of the City.

After that *Cn. Manlius* the Conſul had brought the Gauls war to an end in *Aſia*, the other Conſul *M. Fulvius* having utterly ſubdued the Ætolians paſſed over into *Cephalenia*; and ſent to all the Cities about the Iſland certain meſſengers, to ſound them whether they would rather yield themſelves unto the Romans or hazard the fortune of war? And ſo forcible was fear among them all, that there was not one perſon refuſed to ſurrender. And being enjoyned (according to the ability of the people who were but bare) to give hoſtages, the Neſiotes, Craniens, Peleuſians, and Samæans delivered twenty apiece. This peace no ſooner ſhone upon the Cephalenians beyond all their expectation, but ſuddenly one City of the Samæans revolted, and upon what cauſe it is not known: themſelves alledged and ſaid, That foraſmuch as their City was ſeated in a commodious L place they feared greatly to be diſpoſſeſſed and turned out of it by the Romans. But whether they only imagined this and put themſelves in fright, and ſo changed their quiet and repoſe for vain and fooliſh fear: or whether there had been queſtion hereof among the Romans, and upon much canvaſſing in mens mouth the rumour of ſuch a matter, ran unto them, it is not certainly known. Only thus much, after they had given their hoſtages, they ſhut their City gates upon a ſudden; and deſiſt they would not from their enterpriſe, for all the entreaty and prayers that their own hoſtages made, whom the Conſul had ſent (on purpoſe) even under their walls, to move their countrimen and parents to pity and compaſſion. When as therefore they would make no anſwer tending unto peace, the Conſul began to aſſault the City: and all the ordnance of artillery and engins of battery were under his hand, which had been brought from the ſiege of *Ambracia*. M And look what works and fabricks were needfull beſides to be made, the ſouldiers with great diligence and forwardneſs performed. So in two places at once they planted rams againſt the City and battered the walls. The Samæans on the other ſide for their part omitted and neglected nothing, that might either annoy the enemy or impeach the works. But two things there were principally wherewith they made reſiſtance and withſtood their violence: the one was, a countermure within the City, which they ever raiſed new inſtead of the old & ful as ſtrong as it was, that was demoliſhed and broken down: the other was, their often ſudden ſallies, one while upon the fortifications and fabricks, otherwhiles upon the *corps de guard* of the enemies: and for the moſt part in theſe skirmiſhes they had the better hand. But one mean there was deviſed, and the ſame of ſmall ſhew to ſpeak of, to reſtrain and keep them in from ſallying forth. The Ro- N
mans ſent to * *Ægeum*, * *Patræ*, and * *Dimæ*, for an hundred ſlingers. Theſe nations from their childhood uſed to exerciſe themſelves (after the manner of the country) to diſcharge out of ſlings into the open ſea certain round ſtones, which commonly the ſhore is overſpread with among the ſands: by reaſon of which exerciſe, they have more skill both to ſling farther from them, and alſo to ſtrike more ſurely and give a ſmarter rap and ſtroke than thoſe of the Baleat Iſlands: for their ſling is not made with one only cord as the Balearians are, and thoſe of other nations; but it hath three leather thongs hardned and made ſtiff with many ſutures and ſeames, leſt if the leathering were ſoft and gentle, the bullet and ſtone within ſhould wag to and fro and roll out in the delivery and hurling of it: but being ſetled and counterpoiſed (as it were) it went merrily away, and ſent and driven out of the nooſe of a ſtone-bow. And ſo well practiſed O they were in this feat, that they could a great way off levell a bullet through garlands, rings, and hoops of ſmall compaſs, and miſs not: nay, they would be ſure to hit, not only the head of an enemy, but any part of the face that they aimed at, point blank, and never fail. Theſe ſlings (I ſay) made the Samæans to pluck in their heads, that they durſt not ſally out neither ſo often nor ſo boldly as they did. Inſomuch as from the walls, they requeſted the Achæans for a while to go aſide and repoſe themſelves, and ſee them how they skirmiſhed with the *corps de guard* of

* *Viſliza.*
* *Patra*, or *Balubaſtra.*
* *Clarenſa*: all three towns of *Achæa.*

A of the Romans. Four months ſpace the Samæans endured the ſiege. Now when of that ſmall number which they had, ſome or other daily dropt away, and were either killed outright or wounded; and they that remained, were both tyred in body, and danted in courage; the Romans one night paſſed over the wall, by the fortreſs which they call *Cyrtus* (for the City where it boundeth upon the Sea, lyeth toward the Weſt) and entred ſo far as the market place. After that the Samæans perceived, that one part of the City was taken by the enemies, they fled with their wives and children into a greater fortreſs, and the next day yeelded: the Town was ranſacked, and they themſelves were all ſold in open market, to who would give moſt.

The Conſul having ſet the ſtate of *Cephalenia* in good order, and put a garriſon within *Samæa*, paſſed into *Peloponneſus*, having been called and ſent for to come thither a long time, principally B by the Ægians and Lacedæmonians. Time out of mind, and from the firſt beginning of the Diets of *Achæa*, the whole nation uſed to aſſemble and meet at *Ægium* ordinarily, were it for to grace and honour the City, or becauſe the place was commodious therefore. This ancient cuſtome *Philopœmen* that year began firſt to infringe, and went about to make a law and ordinance, That in all the Cities of *Achæa*, their Councels and Diets ſhall be holden in courſe and order at their times. And againſt the coming of the Conſul, when the Demiurges of the free Cities and ſtates ſummoned the Diet to be kept at *Ægium*, *Philopœmen* (Pretor for that time) came with a counter-ſummons and proclaimed it to be held at *Argos*. And when it was evident to be ſeen, that they all in manner minded thither to reſort; the Conſul alſo (albeit in affection he favoured the Ægians) came to *Argos*: where, after much debate, ſeeing the matter growing the other way, he C deſiſted from his deſign and gave over the cauſe. After this, the Lacedæmonians averted him from thence, and drew him away to the deciding of their controverſies and diſſentions. Certain baniſhed perſons they were who moſt of all diſquieted and troubled that ſtate: and many of them had their abiding place in the Caſtles coaſting along the frontiers of the Laconian territory toward the Sea, which was taken wholly from the City. The Lacedæmonians much diſcontented and offended hereat, entred one night a certain borough called * *Las*, ſurpriſed it unawares to the in- * *Vacbi.*
habitants, and kept it to their uſe; to the end, that if need were at any time to ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome* or elſe whither, they might have ſome free acceſs unto the Sea: and withal, be ſerved of a mart-Town for vent, and a place of receit for all forrain merchandiſe from ſtrangers to their neceſſary uſes. The Townſmen within, as alſo the exiles aforeſaid (there dwelling) were terrified at D the firſt with this ſuddain and unexpected occurrence: but afterward (before day-light) when they had once rallied themſelves together, with ſmall ado and skirmiſh chaſed forth the Lacedæmonians: howbeit, the fear ſpred over all the Sea coaſt, ſo that in one general accord, the Caſtles and Villages every one (yea, and the exiled perſons (as many as there inhabited) diſpatched their Embaſſadors to the Achæans. *Philopœmen* their Pretor (who ever from the beginning friended the cauſe of the baniſhed, and had alwaies adviſed and counſelled the Achæans to abate and take down the puiſſance and reputation of the Lacedæmonians) granted them at their ſuit and ſeeking, a Diet. In which (upon a motion by him made) there paſſed a decree in this form: That whereas *T. Quintius* and the Romans, had committed and delivered to the ſafeguard and protection of the Achæans, the fortreſſes, burroughs, and villages, ſituate along the Sea-coaſt of the B Laconians, and (by vertue of a covenant and accord) the Lacedæmonians had nothing to do therein, but ought to forbear them; and yet notwithſtanding, the Town *Las* was by them forced, and a great maſſacre there committed: therefore unleſs the principals and acceſſaries both of that outrage, were yeelded to the Achæans, they deemed the covenant and accord in that behalf provided, to be broken. Hereupon incontinently were Embaſſadors addreſſed to *Lacedæmon*, to challenge and demand the parties aboveſaid: but the Lacedæmonians took this for ſo proud a commandment, and thought it ſuch an indignity, that without all doubt, if they had been in as good eſtate then, as ſometimes they were, they would immediatly have taken arms. But nothing troubled and diſquieted their ſpirits ſo much as this, for fear leſt if once they received the yoke of ſubjection upon their necks, in yeelding obedience to their firſt demand, *Philopœmen* would effect and put in execution that which he long intended and went about: even to deliver the City *Lacedæmon* into the hands of the baniſhed aforeſaid. Enraged therefore with choler and anger, they fell upon thirty of that faction who were complotted in counſel with *Philopœmen* and the exiles, and ſlew them out-right; and withal made a decree, To renounce and reject all ſociety with the Achæans; and forthwith to ſend their Embaſſadors to *Cephalenia*, with commiſſion, to deliver *Lacedæmon* unto *M. Fulvius* and the Romans; and to beſeech him to take the pains to come into *Peloponneſus*, there to receive the City *Lacedæmon* under the obeiſance and protection of the people of *Rome*. When the Embaſſadors had made relation hereof to the Achæans, preſently war was proclaimed againſt the Lacedæmonians by common conſent of all the ſtates of that aſſembly and general councel: but the winter impeached them for entring into any action and preſent execution. Howbeit they made ſmall rodes into their frontiers, and waſted the ſame not only by Land, but alſo by Sea, after the manner of robbery and piracy, rather than of warlike hoſtility. Theſe troubles drew the Coſ. into *Peloponneſus*, and by his commandment a Diet was publiſhed to be holden at *Elis*; and thither were the Lacedæmonians ſent for to argue and debate their cauſe. Where there was not only much reaſoning and diſpute, but alſo wrangling and altercation. The Conſul who in other points bare himſelf nicely enough, and anſwered in doubtful terms, as one willing to entertain both parts, determined and ended the controverſie in one only

word, warning them both to put up their ſwords, and lay arms aſide, until they had ſent their Em- H
baſſadors to the Senate of *Rome*. So there were embaſſages addreſſed both from the one and the other to *Rome*. In likewiſe the baniſhed Lacedæmonians joined their cauſe and embaſſy with the Achæans. *Diophanes* and *Lycortas*, both Megapolitans, were the chief in the embaſſage of the Achæans, who as they jarred and diſagreed in the managing of State-affairs, ſo they accorded not but varied in the ſpeeches that they delivered. *Diophanes* referred the deciſion of all matters unto the Senat, as who were beſt able to compoſe all controverſies between the Achæans and Lacedæmonians. But *Lycortas*, inſtructed by *Philopœmen*, required that the Achæans might do and execute whatſoever they had ordained, according to the covenant, and the conditions therein compriſed; and that they would maintain their full liberty without abridging and empairing the ſame, according as they had received it at their hands. The nation of the Achæans in thoſe daies was in great I
credit and reputation at *Rome*, howbeit the Senate thought it not good to make any change and alteration in the State of the Lacedæmonians. In concluſion, they returned ſuch an intricate and doubtful anſwer, that both the Achæans might conſtrue it, as if they had permiſſion and free liberty to do what they would with *Lacedæmon*, and the Lacedæmonians again took it as though they had not ſo large a ſcope and abſolute power allowed them, as to do their pleaſure in every thing. But this authority and liberty whatſoever it was, more or leſs, the Achæans ſtretched beyond all meaſure and compaſs, and uſed it too proudly and inſolently. *Philopœmen* continued ſtill in place of ſoveraign government, and levied a power to be ready in the beginning of the ſpring, and ſo encamped upon the frontiers of the Lacedæmonians. This done, he ſent his Embaſſadors to demand the delivery of them into his hands, who were the authors of the revolt; promiſing withal, K
that if they would ſo do, their City ſhould remain in peace without any moleſtation, and they ſuffer and ſuſtain no harm, before they had anſwered for themſelves in open audience. All the reſt for fear kept ſilence and ſaid not a word, only they whom he had challenged by name, made offer of themſelves to go, under ſafe conduct received from the Embaſſadors, and faithful promiſe that no violence ſhould be done upon their perſons, until they had pleaded their anſwer. Accompanied they were with divers noble perſonages of great mark and name, both as advocats unto them in their particular quarrels, and alſo in regard of the Common-weal, as far as their private cauſe any way touched and concerned it. Never had the Achæans before time brought the Lacedæmonian exiles with them into the confins of *Lacedæmon*, becauſe they ſuppoſed that nothing might ſo much alienate and eſtrange the hearts of the whole City as that. But then the whole head, as it L
were, of the vanguard, were no other but thoſe baniſhed perſons. And as the Lacedæmonians aboveſaid were coming, who ſhould meet and affront them arranged in order of battel at the very gate of the camp, but they? At the firſt they welcomed them with chiding and railing, after that they fell to bitter words and brauls, and their bloud was up on both ſides, inſomuch as thoſe of the baniſhed crew who were of hotteſt ſpirit and ſharpeſt metal, made no more ado but ran upon the Lacedæmonians: whereupon they called the Gods to witneſs, and cried to the Embaſſadors for protection; who together with the Pretor himſelf came between, voided the preſs, and ſafeguarded the perſons of the Lacedæmonians, empeaching and ſtaying ſome of their hands who were already about to bind them and make them ſure. But the tumult ſtill encreaſed, and the multitude was all up on a hurrey. The Achæans ran firſt to ſee only what the matter was, and to M
be lookers on. But afterwards, when the exiles began with a loud voice to cry out, and report what wrongs and injuries they had ſuſtained, beſeeching them of their help, and avouching withall right confidently, that if they let ſlip this opportunity, they ſhould never have the like again, alledging moreover, That the league firſt made in the Capitol, after renued at *Olympia*, and laſt of all confirmed by a ſacred oath in the Caſtle of *Athens*, had been broken and diſanulled by them, and therefore the guilty and culpable parties were to be puniſhed accordingly before they entred into any bond of new accord. At theſe words the multitude was incenſed, and by occaſion of one mans voyce, who cried to ſtrike and knock them down, fell to flinging ſtones at them. And by this means ſeventeen of them, who during the garboil chanced to be tied in bonds, were ſtoned to death. The reſt, to the number of ſix and thirty, were the next morrow apprehended, whom N
the Pretor had ſhielded and protected from violence, not for any deſire he had to ſave their lives, but becauſe he would not have them miſcarry and periſh before they were heard. Theſe were preſented and expoſed as a prey to the unruly and angry multitude: and when they had made ſome ſmall ſpeech unto them, from which they turned away their ears, they were all condemned and delivered over to be led to execution. When the Lacedæmonians were once put in this fear, then they were commanded, *Imprimis*, To demoliſh and break down their walls. *Item*, That all forrain auxiliary ſouldiers, who were waged and ſerved for pay under the tyrants, ſhould avoid out of the Laconian countrey. *Item*, That all the ſlaves whom thoſe tyrants had ſet free (and of ſuch there was a great number) ſhould depart before a certain day; and that it might be lawful for the Achæans to attach the bodies, to ſell and carry away as many as ſtaied and remained behind. O
*Item*, That they ſhould aboliſh the laws, ordinances and cuſtoms of *Lycurgus*, and frame themſelves to live after the faſhions and manners of the Achæans, for ſo they ſhould be incorporate into one civil body, and better accord and ſort together in all things. They condeſcended to none of all theſe conditions more willingly and ſooner, than to the raſing of their walls; and nothing troubled them ſo much and vexed their heart, as the reſtoring of the baniſhed perſons. Howbeit there paſſed an act at *Tegea* for their reſtitution in a general Councel of all the Achæans there held,

In

A In which assembly, upon a report and mention made, that the mercenary strangers above specified, and the new unrolled Lacedæmonians called *Ascripti* (for so they termed them, who by the tyrants were enfranchised and endued with freedom) had abandoned the City, and were departed sundry waies into the countrey, it was thought good before the army was dissolved and cassed, that the Pretor should go with a company lightly armed and appointed to lay hold upon all that sort of people, and make sale of them, as of a prize and booty gained from the enemies. Many of them were apprehended and sold. And with the money raised of them, that porch or Gallery at *Megalopolis*, which had been ruinate by the Lacedæmonians, was by the permission of the Achæans reedified. Likewise the territory of *Belbina*, which the Lacedæmonian tyrants unjustly held in possession, was laid again to that City, according to an old decree of the Achæans, which was
B made during the reign of King *Philip*, son of *Amyntas*. The City of the Lacedæmonians by this means much enfeebled, continued a long time in subjection and thraldom under the Achæans. But their State received damage by no one thing so much, as by the abolishing of the discipline of *Lycurgus*, to which they had been used and accustomed for the space of 700 years.

Presently after the holding of this Diet, wherein the Achæans and Lacedæmonians debated their causes before the Consul, *M. Fulvius* repaired to *Rome* (for that the year was almost expired) against the solemn election of new Magistrats; wherein he created for Consuls, *M. Valerius Messala*, and *C. Livius Salinator*, and gave the repulse to *M. Æmylius Lepidus* his enemy, who that year made suit also to be Consul. This done, there were Pretors also chosen, to wit, *Q. Martius Philippus*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, *C. Stertinius*, *C. Catinius*, *P. Claudius Pulcher*, and
C *Lu. Manlius Acidinus*. When this election was ended, it was thought expedient that M. *Fulvius* should return into his former Province to the army there: and not only he, but his colleague also *Cn. Manlius*, had their commission revived, and they continued in government another year. The same year according to the direction of the Decemvirs, there was brought into the Temple of *Hercules* the statue of the same God: and within the Capitol were set up by *Cn. Cornelius* six steeds in gold drawing a chariot with this inscription, That he being Consul gave that present. Also *P. Claudius* and *S. Sulpitius Galba*, Ædiles Curule, hung up twelve brasen shields, made of the fines that certain corn-hoorders paid, for hoording up and keeping in their grain. Moreover *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* an Ædile of the Commons, erected two golden images raised of the mony that one guilty person was condemned in (for they commenced their actions severally by themselves.)
D As for *A. Cecilius* his companion, he condemned none. The Roman great games were set forth all throughout, thrice: and the Plebeian plaies exhibited likewise full and whole, five times.

After this, M. *Valerius Messala* and *C. Livius Salinator*, entred their Consulship upon the * 15. day of *March*, and proposed before the Senat as concerning the affairs of the State, touching their Provinces also, and the armies. As for *Ætolia* and *Asia*, there was no change at all. The Consul, by a decree of the Senat had the charge, one of *Pisa*, together with the Ligurians; and the other of *Gaul*: and they were commanded either to agree between themselves, or to cast lots for their Provinces. They were enjoyned also to levy new armies, and each of them to enrol two legions, and either of them to charge the allies of the Latine Nation with 15000 foot, and 1200 horsemen. Unto *Messala* fell the government of *Liguria*: and to *Salinator* of *Gaul*. After this, the
E Pretors likewise cast lots for their Provinces: the jurisdiction within *Rome* of citizens was allotted to M. *Claudius*, and of forainers to *P. Claudius*. *Sicily* to *Q. Martius*, *Sardinia* to *C. Stertinius*, high *Spain* to *L. Manlius*, and the low to *C. Atinius*. As for the armies, ordained it was, that the legions under the conduct of *C. Lælius* should be withdrawn out of *Gaul*, and made over to M. *Tuccius* the Propretor for to serve in the Brutians country. *Item*, That the forces which were in *Sicily* should be discharged: and that *M. Sempronius* the Vice-pretor there, should bring from thence the fleet to *Rome*. Ordained likewise it was, that either of the Provinces of *Spain* should have one legion, which at that time served there; and that both the Pretors should for supply levy of the allies three thousand foot, and two hundred horsemen apiece, and transport the same over with them. Now before that these new Governors went to their Provinces, by order from the
F whole colledge and society of the Decemvirs, there was published a general procession and supplication to be holden for 3 dayes in all the quarrefours or cross streets of the City: for that in the day time between the third hour and the fourth, there arose a general darknes which continued almost all that while. Moreover, a Novendial sacrifice was published to be celebrated for 9 dayes together, because on the Aventine hill it had rained stones.

The Campans, when as the Censors (by vertue of an act of Senate which passed the former year) compelled them to be enrolled at *Rome*, (for aforetime they knew not where to be enrolled) made petition now that they might contract marriages and take Roman citizens to their wives; and that whosoever had wedded any of them before, might keep them still; and what children soever they had born before that day, should be reputed legitimate and their rightfull
G heirs. Both suits were granted. As concerning the free burgesses of *Formiæ*, *Fundi*, and *Arpinum*, *C. Valerius Tappo* a Tribun of the Com. preferred a bill, that they might be priviledged to give their voices in *Rome*: for before that time, citizens in deed they were of *Rome*, (and that was all) for liberty of suffrages they had none. This bill was crossed and nipped by four other Tribuns, because it was propounded without the warrant and approbation of the Senate. But being afterwards beter advised and informed, that it appertained to the people and not to the Senate to give their voices where it pleased them, they gave over their enterprise, and opposed themselves

* Idibus Martiis

no more to hinder the proceeding thereof. So it paſſed; and enacted it was, That the Formians and Fundans ſhould give their voices in the tribe *Æmylia*; & the Arpinats in *Cornelia*: ſo in theſe tribes then firſt and never before, were they enrolled by an act of the ſame *Valerius*. *M. Claudius Marcellus* the Cenſor took a ſurvey of the City, and by lot obtained the pre-eminence thereof before his colleague *T. Quintius*. In which there were numbred 258308 polls of Roman citizens. This review being accompliſhed, the Conſuls took their journeys into their ſeveral provinces.

During that winter ſeaſon whiles theſe things thus paſſed at *Rome*, there reſorted Embaſſages from all States, Cities and Nations which inhabit on this ſide *Taurus*, unto *Cn. Manlius* firſt Conſul and afterwards Pro-conſul, whiles he kept his winter in *Aſia*. And as the victory atchieved over *Antiochus* was more honorable and glorious to the Romans, than that over the Gauls, ſo the conqueſt of the Gauls was more joyous and pleaſing to the Roman allies, than that other of *Antiochus*. For the ſervitude in which the King held them was more tolerable, than the cruelty of theſe ſavage and inhumane barbarians, and the doubtful fear and fright wherein they ſtood every day; as not knowing how far forth they would proceed, carried ſo (as it were) in a tempeſt to waſt and ſpoil them clean. And therefore as nations who by the defeat of *Antiochus* recovered liberty, and by the ſubduing of the Gauls enjoyed peace, they preſented themſelves not only to give thanks and ſhew their contentment in that behalf, but alſo brought with them certain coronets of gold, every one according to their ability. Likewiſe there came Embaſſadors from *Antiochus*, as alſo from the very Gauls, to have conditions of peace miniſtred unto them: yea, and from *Ariarates* King of the Cappadocians, who craved pardon, and offred to buy out his treſpaſs for mony, in that he had given aid unto *Antiochus*: and fined he was to pay 200 talents of ſilver. The Gauls had this anſwer returned unto them, That K. *Eumenes* when he came ſhould tender unto them articles of peace. The embaſſages of the other ſtates and cities were diſmiſſed with gracious anſwers, and went away better pleaſed and contented, than they were at their coming. The Embaſſadors of *Antiochus* were commanded to bring mony into *Pamphylia*, and corn likewiſe, according to the covenant made with *L. Scipio*: for thither the Conſul purpoſed himſelf to come with his army. After this, having taken a review and ſurvey of his forces, he ſet forward in the beginning of ſpring, and within 8 daies arrived at *Apamea*. There he ſojourned in camp for three daies: from thence he removed, and at the third daies end came to *Pamphylia*, whither he had given order to the Kings Embaſſadors to convey their mony and corn. There he received 1500 talents of ſilver which were tranſported unto *Apamea*. The corn was divided in the army. From thence he marched to *Perga*, which was the only country in thoſe parts held with a garriſon. When he approached, the Captain of the garriſon met him on the way requeſting 30 daies ſpace in which time he might know the pleaſure of K. *Antiochus* as touching the rendring of that City. The time was granted, and within that day the garriſon quit the place and departed. From *Perga* he ſent his brother *L. Manlius* with 400 ſouldiers to *Oroanda*, for to demand the reſt of the mony which by promiſe was due: and himſelf becauſe he was advertiſed that K. *Eumenes* and the deputies or commiſſioners were come from *Rome* to *Epheſus*, retired with his army alſo to *Epheſus*, and commanded the Embaſſadors of *Antiochus* to follow him thither. There, by the advice of the ten commiſſioners, a final league was concluded, and compriſed in theſe or ſuch like terms: There ſhall be amity and friendſhip between King *Antiochus* and the people of *Rome*, under theſe conditions enſuing. *Imprimis*, The King ſhall not ſuffer to paſs through any part of his realm, or their countries that are under his dominion, any army that intendeth to make war againſt the people of *Rome* or their aſſociats, nor aid them with victuals or any other ſuccour whatſoever. *Item*, The Romans and their allies ſhall do the like by *Antiochus*, and all thoſe that are under his ſubjection. *Item*, It ſhall not be lawful for *Antiochus* either to make war with thoſe that inhabit the Iſlands, or to paſs over into *Europe*. *Item*, He ſhall quit all Cities, Lands, Villages, and Fortreſſes on this ſide the mountain *Taurus* unto the River *Tanais*; and moreover from the foot and valley under the ſaid hill, unto that ridge thereof which bendeth toward *Lycaonia*. *Item*, Out of thoſe Towns, territories and Caſtles which he is to void, he ſhall carry away no armour: and if he have conveyed from thence any already, he ſhall duly reſtore the ſame to every place accordingly. *Item*, He ſhall receive neither ſouldier nor any other perſon out of the Kingdom of *Eumenes*. *Item*, If any citizens belonging to thoſe Cities which are diſmembred and cut off from his realm, chance to remain now with him they ſhall return all to *Apamea* within a certain day. *Item*, As many as appertain to the Kingdom of *Antiochus* and are now with the Romans or their allies, may depart home or tary ſtill at their pleaſure. *Item* All ſlaves, whether they be fugitives or taken captive in war; likewiſe all other perſons free of condition before, and afterwards either taken priſoners or revolted, he ſhall deliver again to the Romans and their allies. *Item*, He ſhall make delivery of all his Elephants, and ſhall provide himſelf of no more hereafter. *Item*, He ſhall yeeld up all his Gallies of war, with the tackling to them belonging: neither ſhall he keep above ten ſmall veſſels; and none of them ſhall have more than thirty oars to guide and row them; nor ſo much as one * Galley with a ſingle bank of oars to ſerve in any war that himſelf ſhall firſt begin. *Item*, He ſhall not ſail within the promontories of *Calycadnum* and *Sarpedon*, unleſs haply there be ſome ſhip that bringeth mony, Embaſſadors, or hoſtages. *Item*, It ſhall not be lawful for King *Antiochus* to levy and wage any ſouldiers out of thoſe nations which are ſubject to the people of *Rome*; no, nor to entertain ſo much as voluntaries from thence. *Item* What houſes and edifices belonging to the Rhodians and their allies, are now within the precincts of the realm of *Antiochus*, ſhall return to

H I K L M N O

the

A the ſaid Rhodians and their aſſociats, in as ſtood eſtate and tenor as they were before the war began. And if any mony or debts be to them due, they may demand and recover the ſame. *Item*, If ought have been taken from them, they ſhall have good law and right to ſearch, own, demand, and challenge it again. *Item*, If any of thoſe Cities which ought to be rendred, be held by thoſe unto whom *Antiochus* hath committed them, he ſhall withdraw the garriſons from thence, and take order that they be ſurrendred accordingly. *Item*, He ſhall pay within twelve years by even portions, 12000 Attick talents of good and lawful ſilver: provided, that every talent weigh no leſs than eighty pound after Roman poiſe; beſides 540000 modii of wheat. *Item*, He ſhall pay unto King *Eumenes* 350 talents within five years; and for corn according to the rate and proportion 127 talents. *Item*, He ſhall ſend unto the Romans 20 hoſtages, and change them for o-
B thers every three years: provided, that they be not under 18 years of age, nor above 45. *Item*, If any allies of the people of *Rome*, begin of their own motion to make war upon King *Antiochus*, it ſhall be lawful for him to revenge himſelf, and use forcible means to withſtand their violence; yet ſo, as he hold no City in right of war, nor receive any into amity: and all controverſies which ſhall ariſe between them ſhall be decided by law and juſtice; or if both parties be ſo pleaſed they ſhall trie the iſſue by force of arms. *Item*, it was compriſed alſo within the covenants of this accord, That he ſhould deliver into the Romans hands, *Annibal* the Carthaginian, *Thoas* the Ætolian, *Mnaſimachus* the Acarnanian, *Eubulus* likewiſe and *Philo* the Chalcidians. Finally, if ought hereafter hapned to be added moreover, or changed otherwiſe, the ſame in no caſe to prejudice any thing contained within the covenants aforeſaid. To this accord the Conſul ſware; and
C to receive the Kings oath likewiſe there went unto him *Q. Minutius Thermus* and *L. Manlius*, he who fortuned at that time to return from the Oroadians. And the Coſ. wrote his letters to *Q. Fab. Labeo* Admiral of the fleet, preſently to come to *Patara*, and what ſhips ſoever of the Kings were there, to hew them in pieces, and make a light fire of them. So he departed from *Epheſus*, and either brake into fitters or burnt, 50 covered ſhips belonging to the King. In the ſame voyage and exploit he ſurpriſed and won *Telmeſſus*, by reaſon that the Townſmen were ſo affrighted at the ſuddain coming of the fleet. Then forthwith he departed out of *Lycia*, and having given order to thoſe that were left behind at *Epheſus* to follow after, he croſſed the Seas (between the Ilands) over into *Greece*. After he had ſojourned ſome few daies at *Athens*, until the ſhips from *Epheſus* were entred into the harbor of *Pyræum*: from thence he brought back his whole armado
D to *Italy*. *Cn. Manlius* having received (among other things which were to be yeelded up of *Antiochus*) the Elephants alſo, and beſtowed them all freely upon *Eumenes*, gave audience to the controverſies of many Cities and States, amongſt whom (during theſe changes and alterations) there aroſe ſundry troubles and much variance. And *Ariarates* the King, who by the means and mediation of *Eumenes* (unto whom about that time he had affianced his daughter in marriage) was diſcharged and had acquittance for the one moity of the mony impoſed upon him, entred into amity with the people of *Rome*. When the differences of the Cities aforeſaid were debated and known, the ten Commiſſioners ſet down an order between them, reſpectively to their condition. To as many as had been tributaries to King *Antiochus*, and yet ſided with the people of *Rome* in affection, they granted franchiſe and immunity: but as many as took part with *Antiochus*, or were tri-
E butaries unto King *Attalus*, thoſe were commanded to pay their cuſtoms and duties to King *Eumenes*. Moreover, they freed and exempted from all task and tallage (expreſly by name) the Colophonians inhabiting *Notium*, together with the Cymeans and the Mileſians. Unto the Clazomenians (over and beſides the ſame freedom) they gave the Iland *Drymuſa*. To the Mileſians alſo the territory called *Sacer*: to the Ilians, they annexed *Rhæteum* and *Gergithus*, not ſo much for any freſh and late deſerts, as in memorial of their ancient beginning and foundation; which was the cauſe alſo that they ſet *Dardanus* free. Semblably the Chians, Smyrneans, and Erythræans, for their ſingular loyalty and devoir which they ſhewed in that war they not only indowed with fair lands and territories but alſo graced with all kind of honor and reputation above the reſt. Moreover, the Phocæans had both their own lands reſtored unto them which they enjoyed before the
F war, and alſo liberty to live under their ancient laws. As for the Rhodians, they had thoſe things now confirmed and eſtabliſhed unto them, which by a former decree were granted: and to better their eſtate, *Lycia* and *Caria* were beſtowed upon them, as far as the River *Mæander*, all ſave the City *Telmeſſus*. Unto the dominion of King *Eumenes*, they laid *Cherſoneſus* in *Europe*; and *Lyſimachia*, with all the Caſtles, Villages, and Lands thereto belonging, in as large terms and ample manner as *Antiochus* held the ſame: alſo within *Aſia*, the one and the other *Phrygia*, as well that which confineth upon *Helleſpont*, as the other which they call the Greater. Moreover, they reſtored unto him *Myſia*, which King *Pruſias* had taken from him: over and beſides, *Lycaonia*, *Mylias*, and *Lydia*; together with theſe Cities by ſpecial name, *Tralleis*, *Epheſus*, and *Telmeſſus*. As
G touching *Pamphylia*, ſome debate there was between the Agents of *Eumenes* and the Embaſſadors for *Antiochus*, becauſe one part thereof is ſituat on this ſide the mount *Taurus*, and the other lyeth beyond. The deciſion of this controverſy was wholly referred to the arbitrement of the Senat. *Manlius* having ſet down theſe covenants and decrees, departed with the ten Legates and all his army toward *Helleſpont*: and when he had cauſed the Princes of the Gauls thither to repair before him, he declared unto them in what terms and under what conditions they ſhould entertain peace with *Eumenes*: & therewith he gave them warning, to leave their manner of inroding and roving in hoſtile wiſe by force of arms, and to contain themſelves within the precincts and

bounds of their own territories. After this, having gathered into one place all the veſſels from H
the Sea coaſts, together with the entire flote of King *Eumenes*, which by his brother *Athenæus*
was brought from *Elea*, he tranſported all his forces into *Europe*. From whence he marched
through *Cherſonneſus* by ſhort & eaſy journies, becauſe his army was heavily charged with prizes
and booties of all ſorts; and encamped at *Lyſimachia*, purpoſing there to reſt a while, to the end
that his travelling beaſts of draught and cariage, might be freſh and in good heart to paſs through
*Thracia*, which was a voyage and journey commonly feared and abhorred. The ſame day that he
diſlodged from *Lyſimachia*, he came to the River which they call *Melas*, and from thence the
next day to *Cypſela*. When they were paſt *Cypſela*, they had for ten miles almoſt no other way, but
through wild woods, narrow ſtreights, and thoſe rough withal and uneven underfoot. For the
difficulty of which paſſage, the army was divided into two parts. The one he ſ commanded to march I
before, the other to come behind in the rereward a great diſtance after, and in the midſt between,
he beſtowed the carriages with bag and baggage, and amongſt them were waggons and wains,
loden with the publick treaſure, and other pillage of great price. As he thus marched through the
ſtreight paſs, there were about 10000 and not above, railed out of four nations of *Aſia*, to wit,
the Aſtians, Cœnians Maduarenes, and Cœletes, who beſet the ſtreights to debar them of paſſage.
It was ſuppoſed that King *Philip* of *Macedony* his hand was herein, and that they entred not into
this action without his privity and traudulent practiſe: who as he knew that the Romans could re-
turn no other way but by *Thracia*, ſo he was aware and wiſt well enough what a maſs of money
they carried with them. The Roman General himſelf was in the vanguard, careful only and trou-
bled about the difficulty of the way. All this while the Thracians ſat ſtill and ſtirred not, until the K
armed ſouldiers were paſſed by. But when they perceived once, that the vanguard was gotten out
of the ſtreights, and that the rereward was far enough behind, they fell in hand with the packs and
coffers of the carriages; and after they had killed the guards, ſome of them ranſacked and rifled that
which was in the waggons, others led away the pack horſes and other ſumpter beaſts with their
load and burden on their backs. Hereupon aroſe a cry and alarm, and was firſt heard of thoſe that
followed, but afterwards of them alſo in the foreward, & ſo from both ends they ran to the midſt,
and at one time in diverſe places, ſkirmiſhed without all order confuſedly. The Thracians heavily
charged and encumbered with pillage, and moſt of them without any weapon at all, becauſe they
might have the uſe of their hands more nimble and agile to ſnatch & catch unto them their prizes,
were by this means more expoſed to receive hurt, and ſoon killed. The Romans again L
were much diſtreſſed and annoied through the diſadvantage of the ground and the waies: which
the barbarous people were well enough acquainted with, and out of them would iſſue forth to
encounter, and otherwhiles lurk within hollow blind caves, and not be ſeen. The very packs like-
wiſe and the waggons, ſtanding and lying unto wardly in the way, ſometime of one, and ſometime
of other (as it hapned) troubled and hindred them much in their fight. So as here in one place
lay the theef dead, there in another the true man that purſued him. And according as the plot of
ground was good or bad, as well for the one ſort as the other, as their hearts and courages ſerved
or failed them and as the number was more or leſs, ſo the skirmiſh and fight was variable: and in
one word, of both ſides many a man ſay in the duſt and loſt his life. By which time the night ap-
proached, and the Thracians departed out of the conflict, not ſo much to avoid wounds and for fear
* *Diana.* of death, as for that they had ſped themſelves ſufficiently of prizes. The Roman vanguard encam- M
ped without the forreſt in the open ground about the Temple of * *Bendis*. The rereward remain-
ed ſtill behind in the midſt of the woods to guard their carriage, fortified within a double palliſado
of ſtrong ſtakes. The morrow after, when they had well diſcovered by their eſpials the way before
them, they joined themſelves with the vanguard. In this battel (over and beſides a great part of
their pillage loſt, and a number of camp-followers and lackies ſlain, with ſome ſouldiers alſo, for
that there was skirmiſhing every where throughout the chaſe) there died *Q. Minutius Thermus*:
and a right great loſs there was of him for he was a man of much valour and execution. That day
the army marched as far as to the River *Hebrus*. From whence they paſſed through the confines
of the Ænians, neer unto the Temple of *Apollo*, whom the inhabitants name *Zerynthius*. And there N
they met with another ſtreight paſſage about a place called *Tempyra*, as rough and cumberſome
under foot as the former. But for aſmuch as there were no woods about it, it yeelded no good
place for ambuſhes. Howbeit the Thrauſians (a people likewiſe of *Thrace*) aſſembled together,
hoping alſo to light upon the like booty. But by reaſon that the vallies lay naked and open ſo as if
any be et the narrow waies they might be diſcovered a far off, the Romans were leſs affraid and
troubled. For, ſay that they were to fight in ſome place of diſadvantage, yet they might arrange
themſelves in battel aray in open field, and join in cloſe fight hand to hand. Being therefore em-
battelled in Squadrons thick and ſtrong they charged the enemy with a great ſhout and cry, and at
the firſt ſhock forced them to retreat and loſe ground, and afterwards to turn back and flie. And
in the rout they were beaten down and killed; for even their own ſtreights which they ſeized O
for their vantage, empeached and hindred themſelves. The Romans having gotten the victory,
encamped neer a village of the Maronits, called *Sare*. The next day they marched through the
champain open countrey *Priaticus*, where they ſojourned three daies to take in corn, partly from
out of the fields of the Maronits, which willingly of themſelves they conferred upon them, and
partly out of their own ſhips, which followed after, well furniſhed with all kind of proviſion.
From this place they made but one daies journey to *Apollonia*, and ſo paſſing through the territory
of

A of the Abderits, they came to *Nestus*. All this way they journeied peaceably through the Colonies of the Greeks. But the reſt behind, if it were not dangerous unto them for any hoſtility, yet ſuſpected ſtill it was, all the whiles that they paſſed night and day through the midſt of the Thracians, until at length they came into *Macedony*. The ſame army conducted ſometime before by *Scipio* that very way, found the Thracians more gentle and tractable, for no other cauſe, but that they had leſs ſtore of pillage and booty with them to ſet their teeth on water, and fingers on itching. And yet even then alſo (as *Claudius* writeth) there were fifteen thouſand Thracians that encountred *Mutines* the Numidian, as he marched before the vanguard to diſcover the coaſts: and he ſaith, that he had in his company four hundred Numidian horſemen, and ſome few Elephants: alſo that his ſon, with an elect wing of a hundred and fifty horſe, brake through B the midſt of the enemies, who alſo within a while after, (when his father *Mutines* having placed the Elephants in the midſt, and the Horſemen in the flanks, joined in battel with his enemies, charged them upon their backs, and put them in great fear) by means of which ſtorm and tempeſt (as it were) of the Cavalry, they never came ſo far, as to deal with the battel of the footmen. *Cn. Manlius* led his army through *Macedony* into *Theſſaly*, and marching on by the way of *Epirus*, arrived at *Apollonia*, where he abode all winter. For he made not ſo light a matter of winter ſailing, that he durſt take the Sea, and hazard the paſſage at that time of the year.

The year almoſt expired, M. *Valerius* the Conſul returned out of *Liguria* to *Rome*, for the creation of new Magiſtrats, having atchieved no ſuch memorable exploit in his Province during the time of his government, as might have yeelded any colourable reaſon of his long ſtay, in that he C came more tardy (than the uſual manner was) to the aſſembly for an election of Conſuls: (for holden it was upon the * 12 calends of *March*) wherein were created, M. *Æmylius Lepidus* and *C. Flaminius*. The next day after, theſe Pretors were elected; namely, *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*, *Ser. Sulpitius Galba*, *Q. Terentius Culleo*, *L. Terentius* M *ſſuliota*, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, and M. *Furius Craſſipes*. After the election of Magiſtrats the Conſuls propoſed to the Senat as touching the Provinces and governments of the Pretors. And the LL. decreed, that two of them ſhould remain at *Rome*, to miniſter laws and execute juſtice: other two ſhould be employed out of *Italy*, in *Sicily* and *Sardinia*: two in *Italy*, to wit, at *Tarentum* and in *Gaul*. Immediatly before they entred into office they were enjoyned to caſt lots: and *Ser. Sulpitius* had the juriſdiction of the citizens, and *Q. Terentius* of ſtrangers and aliens: *L. Terentius* took the charge of *Sicily*, *Q. Fulvius* of *Sardinia*, *Ap. Claudius* D was to govern *Tarentum*, and M. *Furius* to rule *Gallia*. It fortuned the ſame year that *L. Minutius Myrtilus* and *L. Manlius* were delivered to the Carthaginian Embaſſadors, by the hands of the Fœcial heralds at the commandment of *M. Claudius* Pretor of the City for the time being, and tranſported over to *Carthage*, for that the voice and ſpeech went, That they had beaten the ſaid Embaſſadors. A bruit and rumour there was of a great war begun in *Liguria*, & which encreaſed every day more than other. Whereupon the Senat ordained to both the new Conſuls the Province of *Liguria* that day on which they propounded unto the Senat to conſult about the Provinces and the affairs of the Common-weal. But *Lepidus* the Conſul oppoſed himſelf againſt this their act and ordinance alledging, "That it was a ſhameful indignity, that both the Conſuls ſhould be ſhut up "and incloſed within the vallies of *Liguria*; whereas for two years already *M. Fulvius* and *Cn.* E "*Manlius* had raigned like Kings, the one in *Europe*, the other in *Aſia*, in ſtead of *Philip* and *An*"*tiochus*. And if (qd. he) it be the pleaſure of the Senat that there ſhould be armies maintained in "thoſe parts, more meet. I wot, it were, that Conſuls ſhould have the command & conduct there"of than thoſe privat perſons. As for them, they range about thoſe nations, terrifying them with "threats of war againſt whom there hath been none proclaimed: making merchandice and ſelling "peace among them for ſums of mony. Now if it be requiſit and needful to keep two armies for "the government and defence of thoſe Provinces, like as *M. Fulvius* and *Cn. Manlius* Conſuls, ſuc"ceeded M. *Acilius* and L. *Scipio* Conſuls: ſo C. *Livius* and M. *Valerius* the Conſuls ought to have "entred in place of *Fulvius* and *Manlius*. At leaſt wiſe now, when the Ætolian war is finiſhed and "brought to an end, *Aſia* recovered and conquered from *Antiochus*, and the Gauls vanquiſhed F "ſubdued, either ought Conſuls to be ſent unto their armies, or elſe the legions to be brought "back from thence, and at length delivered to the Common-weal. The Senat notwithſtanding they gave him the hearing, perſiſted ſtill in their reſolution that both Conſuls ſhould be imploied in the Province of *Liguria*. Yet thought good it was, that *Manlius* and *Fulvius* ſhould leave their Provinces, withdraw their forces from thence, and return to *Rome*. An old grudge there was and a cankred enmity between the ſaid M. *Fulvius*, and M. *Æmylius* the Conſul: and among other matters of diſcontentment, *Æmylius* gave out, that by the means of *Fulvius*, himſelf was created Conſul two years later than otherwiſe he ſhould have been. And therefore to work him deſpight and make him odious to the World, he cauſed the Embaſſadors of *Ambracia* (whom he had ſuborned and ſet on for to lay matters to his charge) to enter into the Senat-G houſe. Theſe being in place, complained that *M. Fulvius* had warred upon them at what time as they were in peace, performed all that other Conſuls before had impoſed upon them, and were alſo ready in all duty and allegeance to do the ſame unto him. "Firſt our lands and territories ſay "they were piteouſly ſpoiled and waſted: then were we terrified with the ſacking of our City, "and threatned with the killing of our people, that for very fear we were forced to ſhut our gates. "After wards we were beleaguered and aſſaulted, and againſt us all kinds of hoſtility practiſed, "by ſword, by fire, by ruinating and ranſacking our City. Our wives, our children, have been led

"and

* 18 of *Febru.*

" and haled into captivity and bondage; our goods violently taken from us (and that which a- H
" bove all went neereſt to our heart) our Temples throughout the whole City deſpoiled and
" robbed of their goodly ornaments: the images of our Gods, and finally our Gods themſelves
" plucked out of their ſhrines and places, and ſo carried away; yea, the very walls and pillars left
" bare and naked, ſo as the Ambracians have no Gods remaining amongſt them to adore and to
" whom they might make their prayers and ſupplications. As they poured out their complaints,
the Conſul of a mind to aggravat and heap more matter upon his adverſary, ceaſed not to propoſe
unto them many interrogatories (as it was complotted between them before) and drew them
on to ſpeak many things, as if with their good will they would not have uttered them. When the
reſt of the LL. were moved herewith, then the other Conſul *C. Flaminius* undertook the apologie
and defence of M. *Fulvius*, ſaying, " That the Ambracians trod in an old beaten way, and did no I
" otherwiſe than ſome before them had done. For even ſo was M. *Marcellus* accuſed by the Syra-
" cuſians, ſo was *Q. Fulvius* charged by the Capuans. And why by the ſame means ſuffered they
" not *T. Quintius* to be charged by King *Philip*, M. *Acilius* and *L. Scipio* by *Antiochus Cn. Manlius*
" by the Gauls, and the ſame *Fulvius* himſelf by the Ætolians and people of *Cephalenia*? That
" *Ambracia* was aſſaulted, battred, and forced in the end; that images and ornaments were
" taken from thence; that other acts were done and committed, which uſually follow upon the
" winning of Towns, think ye my LL. that either I in the behalf of *Fulvius* will deny, or *Fulvius*
" himſelf will diſavow? who, in regard of theſe worthy exploits and noble acts, is minded to de-
" mand at your hands the honor of a Triumph, who purpoſeth to carry before his triumphant
" chariot the portraiture of *Ambracia* as it was taken, the images which they accuſe him to have K
" caried away and other ſpoils of that City; yea, and to ſet them upon the poſts of his houſe for a
" memorial to poſterity? No reaſon there is that the Ambracians ſhould ſever themſelves from
" the Ætolians, and do more than they, for their caſe and condition is all one. And therefore let
" my colleague ſhew his rancor and malice, and bewray a feſtered enmity in ſome other cauſe: or
" if he will needs follow and purſue this forward, let him intertain and keep ſtill his Ambracians
" unto the coming of *M. Fulvius*. And for mine own part, I will ſuffer no act to paſs either of the
" Ambracians or the Ætolians, ſo long as *M. Fulvius* is abſent. *Æmylius* accuſed his enemy for ha-
ving a crafty head of his own, and for his ſuble fetches, as being notorious and well known to all
men for no better; ſaying, that full cunningly he would trifle out the time, and make delaies all the
year long, that he might not come to *Rome* ſo long as his adverſary was Conſul. Thus in this de- L
bate between the two Conſuls two dayes were ſpent and nothing elſe done. And it appeared evi-
dently, that ſo long as *Flaminius* was in place and preſence, nothing could be concluded and de-
termined. Whereupon a time was ſpied out when *Flaminius* chanced to be ſick, and by that oc-
caſion was away. Then upon a motion made by *Æmylius* there paſſed an act of the Senat, That
the Ambracians ſhould have all their goods reſtored unto them again; that they ſhould enjoy
their freedom and franchiſes, and live under their own Laws: and finally might take what cu-
ſtoms, toll and impoſts they would for portage, as well by Land as Sea: provided alwayes that
the Romans, and their allies the Latins, ſhould be exempted and free there from. As for the
images and other ornaments which they complained were taken out of their ſacred Temples, the
Senat ordained that when M. *Fulvius* was returned to *Rome*, the colledge of the Pontifies ſhould M
have the hearing and deciding thereof, and look what they awarded and ſet down, it ſhould ſtand
and be performed accordingly. And the Conſul not content with all this, took the vantage when
there were but few Senators in the houſe, and procured an other act of Senat in this form, That
they judged *Ambracia* not to be reputed a City forced by aſſault. This done, there was by vertue
of an order from the Decemvirs a ſolemn ſupplication holden three dayes for the health of the
people, in regard of a grievous peſtilence that diſpeopled both City and Countrey. After that the
Latine feaſts and holy-dayes were celebrated. When the Conſuls had accompliſhed theſe devo-
tions, and rid their conſciences of ſcruple, and withal made a full and compleat levy to furniſh
legions (for both of them were deſirous to have new ſouldiers) they departed into their Pro-
vinces, and caſſed all the old. N

After the Conſuls were ſet forward on their journey, the Pro-conſul *Cn. Manlius* returned home
to *Rome*. For whoſe ſake the Pretor *Servius Sulpitius* aſſembled the Senat in the Temple of *Bel-
lona*. Where after relation made of his deeds atchieved, he demanded that in conſideration
thereof, due honor and thankſgiving ſhould be rendred to the immortal Gods, and withal, that
himſelf might ride triumphant into the City. The moſt part of the Legats and Commiſſioners, who
had been with him gainſaid and denied the ſame, and above all the reſt L. *Furius Purpurio*, and
L. *Æmylius Paulus*, who ſtepped forth, and informed againſt him in theſe terms: " That they had
" been ſent in commiſſion to aſſiſt *Cn. Manlius*, for the making of a peace with *Antiochus*, and fi-
" niſhing of that accord and thoſe covenants and conditions, which were commenſed and begun
" between him and *L. Scipio*. Yet *Cn. Manlius*, ſay they, endevoured all that ever he could to trou- O
" ble that peace yea, and to have ſurpriſed and intrapped *Antiochus* by trains of ambuſh if he had
" ever come in his way, or within his reach. But the King being a ware of the Conſul his fraud and
" deceit, albeit there was made great means many a time to have caught him by colour of parley
" and conference, yet avoided evermore not only to have ſpeech and communication with him,
" but alſo to come within his ſight. And when *Manlius* would needs have paſſed over *Taurus*,
" hardly and with much ado could he be kept back, notwithſtanding all the commiſſioners prayed

" and

A "and beſought him to ſtay, and not to hazard himſelf and incur the danger of a notable loſs and
"overthrow, fore-told by the verſes and propheſies of *Sibylla* to light upon them that would paſs
"beyond the bounds limited by the fatal deſtinies. All this notwithſtanding he advanced forward
"and approached with his army, yea, and encamped neer the very pitch and top of the mountain,
"where all the water that falleth from above, runneth contrary wayes into divers Seas. And
"when he could find no quarrel there for which he might make war (becauſe the Kings people
"and ſubjects were ſtill and quiet) he turned the army about to the Gallogreeks, againſt which
"nation there was no war intended, either by warrant and authority from Senat, or by grant and
"commiſſion from the people. And what man was ever ſo hardy and bold, as to war upon his
"own head? The wars againſt *Antiochus*, *Philip*, *Annibal*, and the Carthaginians, are moſt freſh
B "in each mans remembrance: and of all theſe, the Senat was conſulted with, and the people gran-
"ted their ordinance. Embaſſadors many a time and often were addreſſed before: reſtitution and
"amends were by order demanded: and laſt of all, heralds were ſent, ſolemnly to denounce and
"proclaim war. Now tell me, *Cn. Manlius*, Which of all theſe things were done; that we may call
"this by the name of a publick war, allowed by the State of the people of *Rome*, and not rather a
"privat brigandage and robbery of your own? But contented you your ſelf with this, and did you
"no more? marched you directly forward, and took you nothing but that which was in your
"way; leading your army againſt thoſe only whom you took to be your enemies? or rather at
"all turnings and windings, nay, at every forked high way leading on both hands, when you
"were at a ſtand, followed not you like a mercenary and waged Conſul unto *Attalus* (King *Eu-*
C "*menes* his brother) with the Roman army, what hand ſoever he turned and marched? There
"was not a crank and nook but you viſited; there was not a corner that you left unſearched, in all
"*Piſidia*, *Lycaonia*, and *Phrygia*. There was not a tyrant, Prince nor Potentat there was not a Lord
"of any borough or caſtle, how far ſoever out of the way, but you had a ſaying to them to pill and
"poll them, and to pick pence out of their purſes. For what buſineſs had you with the Oroandi-
"ans? What had you to do with other nations, as innocent and guiltleſs as they? Now as con-
"cerning the war, (in regard whereof you demand a triumph) in what ſort managed you it?
"Fought you a battail either in place commodious, or time convenient? Surely, I muſt needs ſay,
"great reaſon you have and good cauſe, to require that honor and praiſe be given to the immor-
"mortal Gods: firſt for that their gracious will and pleaſure was that the army ſhould not ſmart
"for the temerity and raſhneſs of their chief leader, warring as he did againſt the law of nations:
D "then, in that they preſented unto us, not men indeed for enemies, but very beaſts and no better.
"For ye muſt not think, that it is the name only of the Gallogreeks, which is mingled and com-
"pounded; for long time before, both their bodies and minds have been mixed and corrupted,
"and the men themſelves baſtard and degenerate from their firſt nature. Had they been the ſame
"Gauls with whom we have fought a thouſand times in *Italy*, and with doubtful iſſue, and loſt as
"much as we won, and every foot received as good as we brought, think ye there would have re-
"turned one meſſenger from thence, to bring us news, for any good at leaſt-wiſe that our Gene-
"ral there did? Twice he came to conflict with them: twice he encountred them in place of diſ-
"advantage; mounting with his army againſt the hill, and ranged in the botome of the valley,
E "even under the enemies feet: in ſuch ſort, that if they had lanced no darts againſt us from the
"higher ground, but only come upon us with their naked and diſarmed bodies, they had been able
"to have overcome us and gone over our bellies. And what hapned hereupon? God-amercy the
"good fortune of the people of *Rome*: we may thank (I ſay) the great and terrible name of the
"Romans. The freſh renown of the late ruins and overthrows of *Annibal*, *Philip*, and *Antiochus*,
"amazed and aſtoniſhed (as one would ſay) theſe men with their ſo corpulent and mighty bo-
"dies; with ſlings and arrow-ſhot only were they diſcomfited and put to flight, ſo affrighted
"were they. There was not a ſword once bloudied in all this Gauls war: at the firſt twang of the
"bow and ſinging of the arrow they fled away, like ſwarms of bees with ringing of baſons. And
"yet believe me, even we the ſame and no other (as if fortune would admoniſh and ſhew what
F "had become of us if we had affronted an enemy indeed) in our return, when we fortuned to
"light upon certain petty robbers and theeves of *Thrace*, were ſoundly beaten, killed, and put to
"flight, and ſpoiled and well ſtript of our bag and baggage. *Q. Minutius Thermus* (by whoſe death
"we have ſuſtained a far greater loſs, than if *Cn. Manlius* had miſcaried, whoſe raſhneſs was the
"cauſe of all this calamity and misfortune) with many a tall and valiant man beſides, loſt his life in
"this skirmiſh. Our hoſt, bringing away with them the ſpoil and pillage of K. *Antiochus*, was diſ-
"membred and parted into three troops: the vanguard in one place, the rereguard in another, and
"the carriages in a third were fain to take up their lodging one whole night amongſt buſhes, bri-
"ars, and brambles, and lurk within the caves and dens of wild beaſts. Are theſe the brave and
"worthy exploits for which you demand a triumph? But ſay, that you had received in *Thrace*,
G "neither damage nor diſhonor; which be the enemies over whom you would needs triumph in
"all the haſt? I trow they be thoſe, whom the Senat & people of *Rome* deſtined & aſſigned to be your
"enemies: for ſo was triumph granted to this *L. Scipio* here in place: ſo likewiſe to that M. *Aculius*
"before him over K. *Antiochus*: ſo alſo erewhile to *T. Quintius* for the victory of *Philip*: and ſo to
"conclude unto P. *Africanus* for ſubduing *Annibal* the Carthaginians and K. *Syphax*. And when
"the Senat had ordained war, yet before they enterpriſed and began theſe high and hauty affairs,
"they made ſome doubt and pauſe in ſuch petty circumſtances as theſe, to wit, unto whom they
"ſhould

" ſhould ſend defiance and denounce the ſaid war: whether to the Kings themſelves in their own H
" perſon; or it were ſufficient to give intimation to one garriſon or other within their fortreſſes.
" And would ye now (my maſters) that all theſe obſervations and ceremonies ſhould be pol-
" ted and confounded, that the rights and laws of the Feciales and heralds ſhould be aboliſhed, &
" that there ſhall be no more Fecial at all. But let religion and divine ſervice (God forgive me if I
" ſeem to blaſpheme) be troden under foot: ſuppoſe the Gods were utterly forgotten of you, and
" their remembrance quite exiled out of your hearts; Is it your pleaſure alſo, and think ye it meet,
" that the Senat be conſulted no more for their advice in queſtion of war? or that a bill be not
" propounded to the people, in this wiſe: Pleaſeth it you or no, to ordain that war be levied a-
" gainſt the Gauls? The other day, and no longer ſince, the Conſuls were deſirous and earneſt to
" govern *Greece* and *Aſia*, yet when they perceived you to be reſolute and perſiſt ſtill in aſſigning I
" unto them both, the Province of *Liguria*, they were content and obeyed. Great reaſon ſhall
" they have therefore to demand a triumph at your hands, after they have atchieved an happy
" victory and finiſhed that war, which they firſt enterpriſed under your warrant and authority.
" After this manner as ye have heard, ſpake *Furius* and *Æmylius*. And *Manlius* again, as we find in
" record, anſwered thus, or much to this effect, as followeth: "Right honorable & my very good
" LL. the Tribuns of the Commons were ever wont afore-time, to repugn and croſs them that
" demanded triumph: and I take my ſelf much beholden unto them for this favour, that either in
" their love to my ſelf, or in regard of my great and notable exploits, they have not only by their
" ſilence given their conſent for my honor, but alſo ſeem ready and preſt to propound the ſame
" unto the people, if need had been. But now forſooth, whom have I (and God will) for mine ad- K
" verſaries, but even ſome of my ten adjacents or ſuffragans, whom our anceſtors thought good to
" give unto their Generals in the war, as a counſel both to aſſiſt and aid them, and alſo to counte-
" nance and grace them in their victory? L. *Furius* and L. *Æmylius* are the men and none but
" they, who inhibit and debar me for mounting up into the triumphant chariot; they are ready to
" pluck from my head the glorious and honorable crown that I ſhould wear: even thoſe (I ſay)
" whom (if the Tribuns had hindred and empeached my triumph) I would have reported my ſelf
" unto as witneſſes of my worthy acts. Certainly, (my LL.) far be it from me, that I ſhould envy
" and repine at the honour of any man: but I remember well, that of late daies when certain Tri-
" buns of the Common ſtate (men of great courage and action) went about to ſtay and forbid the
" triumph of *Q. Fabius Labeo*, ye by your authority diverted and ſcared them from that intended L
" enterpriſe; and he triumphed in the end notwithſtanding his adverſaries gave out and ſaid a-
" loud, not that he had fought a war unjuſtly, but in reprochful manner charged him, That he had
" not ſo much as ſet eye upon the enemy. And I, who have ſo often in ranged battel fought with
" an 100000 moſt fierce and warlike enemies, ſlain or taken priſoners more than 40000 of them,
" forced and won two of their camps: and left all places on this ſide the ridge of the mountain
" *Taurus*, more peaceable and quiet than is the Land of *Italy*, am not only fruſtrate and put beſide
" my triumph, but alſo ſtand here before your honors to defend my ſelf againſt the challenge of theſe
" mine own Counſel and Suffragans. Which accuſation of theirs, conſiſteth (as ye have heard my
" LL.) of two principal points: for objected they have, firſt, that I ought not at all to have made
" war with the Gauls; and ſecondly, that I conducted and managed the ſame raſhly and with- M
" out diſcretion. The Gauls (ſay they) were no enemies of ours; but being quiet in peace, and
" ready to do whatſoever they were charged, were by you abuſed and wronged. I will not require
" (my LL.) that ye ſhould have the ſame hard conceit of the Gauls which inhabit in *Aſia* as touch-
" ing their cruelty and mortal hatred againſt the Roman name, which ye know generally to be in
" the people of the Gauls: Do but conſider and judge of theſe Gauls as they be in themſelves
" ſimply without reſpect of the infamous name and odious opinion that goeth of the whole ge-
" neration: O that King *Eumenes* were here. Would to God that all the States of *Aſia* were pre-
" ſent in place, that ye might hear them rather what complaints they would make, than my ſelf ac-
" cuſing of them. Send but your Embaſſadors to all the Cities of *Aſia*, and enquire whether ſervi-
" tude were greater and more grievous, that which they were delivered from by the chaſing of N
" *Antiochus* beyond the mountain *Taurus*, or this whereof they are now eaſed by the ſubduing of
" the Gauls? Let them relate unto you, and make report how often their territories have been
" waſted by them, how many booties have been driven, and prizes carried away out of them, and
" how they were brought to ſo low a paſs, that they hardly could find means and make any ſhift
" to redeem their priſoners by ranſom. Let them tell you what they heard there beſides, how
" they killed men, yea, and their children, to ſacrifice, unto their Gods. But know ye now from
" me, that your allies yeelded tribut to the Gauls, yea, and ſhould have paied ſtill at this day, not-
" withſtanding they were by you delivered from their ſubjection under King *Antiochus*. If I had
" not beſtirred my ſelf the better. For the farther that *Antiochus* was removed from them the more
" proudly and outragiouſly would theſe Gauls have ruled like LL. over all *Aſia*, and whatſoever O
" lands had lien on this ſide the top of the mount *Taurus*, you ſhould have laid to the ſeignory of
" the Gauls and not annexed to your own Empire & dominion. All this is true will ſome one ſay,
" and what of all that? Theſe Gauls likewiſe once ſpoiled the temple at *Delphos*, reputed in times
" paſt the common Oracle of the whole world and ſituat in the very heart and midſt of the earth,
" & yet the people of *Rome* neither denounced nor made war for al that. Certainly, I alwaies would
" have thought there had been ſome difference to be made between thoſe daies, when as neither

" *Greece*

A "*Greece* nor *Asia* was under your jurisdiction and obedience (that you should need to take care
"and regard of what was done in those parts) & this present time, in which ye have set the moun-
"tain *Taurus* to be the bound & limit, whereunto your Empire extendeth: in which you give free-
"dom and immunity to Cities: in which ye enlarge the confins of some, and take in the precincts
"of others; fining these cities with forfeiture & loss of their territories, punishing those with taxes
"and tributs: in which I say, you augment and diminish realms, give and take away Kingdoms at
"your good pleasure: and in one word, in which ye judg it a matter that concerneth you, to pro-
"vide that there may be a general peace both on land and sea. Were you of opinion indeed, that
"*Asia* might not be counted free, unless *Antiochus* had withdrawn his garrisons which kept quiet
"within their fortresses and castles, and stirred not forth? and thought you withal, that your gifts
B "granted unto King *Eumenes*, might be assured unto him and the freedom likewise of the Cities,
"established unto them, if whole armies of Gauls might range all about to and fro in those coun-
"tries? But why stand I so much arguing and reasoning in this manner, as if I had not found the
"Gauls enemies, but rather caused them to be our enemies? O *L. Scipio* I call you here to witness,
"into whose charge and government I succeeded, whose vertue and felicity withal I besought the
"immortal Gods to vouchsafe unto me (and my prayer was not in vain:) and you likewise, O *P.*
"*Scipio*, who with the Col. your brother and in the whole army, had the room & place indeed of
"an adjoinct Lieutenant and no more, but carried the Majesty of a Collegue & joint companion;
"speak frankly both of you upon your knowledge, whether whole legions of Gauls served not in
"the army of *Antiochus*? Tell us, whether you saw them not in the field, marshalled in both the
C "points and flanks of the main battel, as the very flower and strength of the whole puissance of
"*Antiochus*? Say directly, fought ye not with them slew you them not, & carried away their spoils,
"as undoubted and lawful enemies? And yet both Senat decreed and people ordained war with
"*Antiochus* by name, and not with the Gauls. But I tro (or else I am much deceived) within this
"decree and ordinance, they included all those besides that came to aid and assist him. Of whom
"(excepting *Antiochus* himself, with whom *Scipio* had articled peace and alliance, and ye also had
"expresly given order therefore) they all were our enemies no doubt, who had born arms against
"us in the quarrel and behalf of the said *Antiochus*. Now albeit the Gauls above all others were
"comprised in this number, together with some petty Kings and Tyrants besides: yet I contracted
"accord and peace with others, (after I had forced them to suffer due punishment according to
D "their trespass) as far forth as I thought it expedient for the honour of your Empire: yea, and I
"assaied also to gain and win the hearts of the Gauls, if haply it had been possible to have dulced
"and reclaimed them from their inbred fierceness and natural cruelty. But when I perceived that
"they were untractable, untamed, and implacable, then and not before I resolved, that it was high
"time to bridle and bring them into order by violence and force of arms. Now that I have clee-
"red the former point of my accusation, as touching the enterprise of the war, it remaineth that
"I yeeld you an account of the conduct thereof. Wherein verily I would make no doubt to ap-
"prove mine innocence, and justify the goodness of my cause, if I were to plead, I say not, in the
"Senat of *Rome*, but even at the councel table of *Carthage*; where (as men say) they make no more
"ado, but truss up, hang, and crucify their Generals if they proceed to execution of any service in
E "war with bad advice and counsel, although the issue and event be never so good. But in that
"City, which therefore useth the name of the Gods both before they begin, and also when they
"proceed to the managing of all their affairs, (because no person should come to detract or de-
"prave that miliciously, which the Gods have once approved) and which City in the grant & or-
"dinance either of procession or triumph, useth this solemn form of words: *For that he hath well*
"*and happily administred and managed the weal publick*: In this City, I say, if I were unwilling, nay,
"if I reputed it an odious matter, and favouring too much of pride and arrogance to vaunt my self
"and boast of mine own proweis: yet if in regard of the happy success and felicity of my self and
"mine army, in that without any loss of souldiers, we vanquished and subdued so great and mighty
"a nation, I demanded first that due honour and thanksgiving should be rendred unto the im-
F "mortal Gods, and then, that I might my self ascend and mount up the Capitol in triumph, from
"whence I descended to take my voyage, after I had conceived and pronounced my vows, and
"made my prayers after the solemn and religious order; would ye deny both me and the immor-
"tal Gods also? Yes marry would you, and why? Forsooth I fought in a place of disadvantage.
"But tell me then, I pray you, in what ground I might have fought with better vantage? consi-
"dering the enemies were seized of the hill, and kept themselves within their strength and fort.
"I should have gone unto them, if I had been willing to have vanquished and overcome them.
"What? how if they had been there within a strong City? how if they had kept within the walls,
"and would not have issued forth? You must then have laid siege unto them and given the
"assault. Must I so indeed? And how I pray? Fought *M. Acilius* (I beseech you) at *Thermopyla*
G "in a place of advantage? Why? did not *T. Quintius* after this manner dispossess *Philip* of the high
"Mountains, which he held over the River *Aous*? In faith, I cannot yet devise what kind of ene-
"mies they either imagine to themselves they were, or would have you to take and esteem them
"to be. If degenerate, if effeminate, if enervate with the delights and pleasures of *Asia*, what
"danger was it to march up the hill against them with all disadvantage? If redoubted and terrible
"for fierce courage and bodily strength, deny ye triumph for so noble a victory? Envy (my
"good LL.) is blind, and can skill of nothing but to detract and defame vertues, to falsifie

and

" and corrupt the honors and rewards due thereto. Pardon me I beſeech your HH. and hold me H
" excuſed, if I have been over long and tedious. It is not, I aſſure you, any delight and pleaſure that
" I take to put forth and glorify my ſelf, but a neceſſity impoſed upon me (in mine own defence,
" to confute theſe crimes objected againſt me) which hath driven mine Oration out in length. To
" proceed, was it poſſible alſo that in *Thrace* I could make the paſſes within the forreſts large and
" wide, which naturally were ſtreight and narrow? the ground plain and ſmooth, which by na-
" ture was uneven and rugged? Could I make level downs of ſteep mounts? open champian and
" fair fields of woodland overgrown, and rough wylds. Lay it in me, to prevent thoſe Thracian
" theeves that they ſhould not hide themſelves within their lurking holes and ordinary covert
" thickets? Was it in my power, to impeach them that they might ſnatch and carry nothing of
" our baggage? Was I able to warrant that none of our laboring beaſts out of ſo great a number, I
" ſhould be driven and led away from their company? that no perſon ſhould be hurt? and finally,
" that *Q. Minutius* a brave and hardy knight, ſhould not die of his wound? My adverſaries preſs
" hard and much upon this misfortune, that it was our unlucky hap to loſe ſo worthy a Gentle-
" man: but they never think that if they would ſay nothing but ſuppreſs and conceal all, yet you
" ſhould know (ſince the whole army is here preſent to teſtify that which I ſay) That although
" the enemy aſſailed us in a narrow ſtreight, in an inconvenient place of great diſadvantage, yet
" both of our battaillons at once, as well the vanguard as rereward, compaſſed the army of the
" Barbarians buſy and occupied in rifling of our carriage, ſlew many thouſands of them that very
" day, and within few daies after either killed or took priſoners a greater number of them by far.
" Well, if I had not drawn a ſword in *Aſia*, if I had not ſeen an enemy there, yet I Pro-conſul had K
" deſerved a triumph well enough for thoſe two battels in *Aſia*. But enough hath been ſaid of
" theſe matters, and I am to requeſt you rather (my Lords all) to forgive me for my boldnes, if I
" have held you longer than my will and deſire was.

The accuſation that day had prevailed more than his own defence, but that they continued arguing and debating in the Councel-houſe until it was late in the evening. Then the Senat aroſe with this mind (as it ſhould ſeem) to deny him a triumph. The next morrow, the kinſfolk and friends of *Cn. Manlius*, laboured all that ever they could. Likewiſe the authority of the ancients ſtood him in great ſtead; who ſaid plainly that the precedent could not be found in any hiſtories, That a General who had vanquiſhed his enemies, accompliſhed the full time of government in his Province, and brought his army back, returned into the City as a private perſon, without the L honor of the triumphant chariot and the laurel garland. The very indignity and ſhame of this example, ſurmounted the malice of his adverſaries, in ſo much as the Senators in a frequent aſſembly granted his triumph.

The remembrance and memory of this debate, was afterwards drowned in a greater contention that aroſe with a far mightier and more noble perſonage. For as *Valerius Antias* hath recorded, the two *QQ. Petilii*, called *P. Scipio Africanus* into queſtion, and ſet him down a day peremptorily to make his appearance, and anſwer for himſelf. This action divers men conſtrued diverſly, according to their ſeveral diſpoſition and affection. Some blamed not ſo much the Tribuns of the Commons, as the whole City in general, for ſuffering ſuch an abuſe: diſcourſing in this wiſe: That the two chiefeſt States and Common-wealths in the World were become at one time unthankful, M but *Rome* more ungrateful of the twain. For *Carthage* being ſubdued, had baniſhed *Annibal* likewiſe vanquiſhed: but *Rome* a victreſs was about to expulſe *Africanus* a conqueror. Others again reaſoned thus: that in no State there ought to be a citizen ſo pre-eminent and high above the reſt, that he might not be under law, and brought to anſwer unto interrogatories accordingly. And nothing preſerveth iſonomy in a City, and maintaineth equal liberty more, than to have the mightieſt man to hold up his hand at the bar. For what may be ſafely committed to any man (and ſurely the ſoveraign rule of the ſtate leaſt of all other things) if he be not to yeeld an accompt of the managing of his affairs? And verily, he that can not abide to be equal unto others, to proceed againſt ſuch a one by rigor and force, is no injuſtice at all. Thus men commonly talked *pro & contra*, until the judicial day came of his perſonal appearance, and anſwer to be made. Never was N there man known before that day (no, not *Scipio* himſelf when he was at the higheſt, either Conſul or Cenſor) accompanied with a greater train of men of all degrees and qualities, than he that day was conducted unto the common place and court of Pleas as an accuſed perſon, there to plead his cauſe. Being commanded to ſpeak in his own defence, he began his oration without any mention at all of the imputations and matters with which he was charged, and entred into a diſcourſe of the acts by him atchieved; and that with ſuch a Majeſty and magnificence as it was well known and confeſſed, that never man was praiſed either better or more truly than he. For with what courage and mind he atchieved thoſe his brave exploits indeed, with the ſame ſpirit he delivered them in words. And no man thought him tedious and was weary to hear his ſpeech, becauſe all that he related was for his own defence in this his danger, and not upon vain glory and oſtentation. The Tribuns of the Commons his adverſaries, when they had laid open certain ſuppoſed O crimes committed of old, as touching his waſtful exceſs whiles he wintred in *Syracuſa*; as alſo the riot and outrage of *Pleminius* which hapned at *Locri*; they proceeded to charge him by preſumptions and ſuſpitions, rather than by direct evidences and proofs, for embezling and averting to his proper uſe certain treaſure gotten from King *Antiochus*; and namely, that his ſon being taken priſoner, was rendred unto him without ranſom: and that in all other things, *Scipio* was reſpected and

regarded

A alone had carried the Roman peace and war under his girdle. Alſo that he bare a ſtrong hand over the Conſul, more like, I wot, a Dictatator and abſolute commander, then a Lievetenant and aſsiſtant unto him, all the while he was in the province. Neither aimed he and ſhot at any other mark, when he went that journey, but that the ſame, which long before was notoriouſly known to *Spain, Gaul, Sicily*, and *Africk* might as evidently appear to *Greece*, to *Aſia*, and all to the Kings and nations of the Eaſt parts, to wit, that he was the only man, he was the chief, the head and pillar of the Roman Empire, that under the ſhaddow of *Scipio* his wing, that City which is the lady of the world, was covert and protected; that a beck and nod of his head, was as good as all arreſts of Senat and heſts of people. Thus when they could not touch him in life, nor faſten upon him any note of infamy, they charged him all that ever they could with matter to kindle envy. Thus with orations they ſpent the time untill night came, and the buſineſs was put over
B to another day: which being come, the Tribunes, only in the times in the morning were ſet in their pewes within the *Roſtra* [or common ple ding place] the defendant was called, who garded with a great company of his friends and followers, paſſed through the mids of the aſſembly, approached the *Roſtra*, and ſtood juſt under it. Then after an *oyez*; and ſilence made: "My "Maſters (quoth he) you that are Tribunes of the commons, and ye likewiſe Quirites, my neigh-"bors and citizens of *Rome*, upon this very day of the month it was that I fought a pight bat-tell againſt *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, with right fortunat and happy ſucceſſe; meet there-"fore and good reaſon ſince it is, that to day all pleas and actions ſurceaſe; I will go directly
C "and immediately from hence to the Capitol and preſent my ſelf before *Iup. Opt. Max.* before "*Iuno* and *Minerva*, with all the reſt of other gods and goddeſſes, preſidents and patrons of that "temple and fortreſſe, to perform my humble duty unto them, to ſalute and thank them, for that "they have vouch afed me that reſolute affection and powerfull means with ill, both on ſucha "day as this; and alſo many times beſides to perform my devoir well and truly unto the Com-"mon-weal. As many of you therefore (Quirites) as well may, go ye with me, and pray the "gods to ſend to you like governors to my ſelf, and no worſe. If I ſay (and not elſe) as you ever "ſince I was ſeventeen yeers of age, even to theſe mine old daies, you alwaies advanced me to "honors before the ordinary time of mine age, ſo I again advanced and prevented the ſaid honors "with good ſervice and noble deeds. This ſaid he departed from the *Roſtra* and aſcended up to the Capitol; whereat the whole audience there aſſembled turned at once and followed *Scipio*;
D in ſo much as at laſt the ſcribes and notaries, ye, and the very ſergeants left the Tribunes there alone, without any to bear them company but their own bondſervants and the common cryer, who ſtill from the *Roſtra* called and cited the defendant. *Scipio* not only viſited the temples upon the Capitoll hill, but alſo made a perambulation with the people of *Rome* throughout the whole city to all the churches and chappels of their gods and goddeſſes. This was in manner a more ſolemn day unto him in regard of the affectionat favour of men, and the eſtimation of his true grandeur indeed, then on which he rode into the City in triumph over King *Syphax* and the Carthaginians. But it was the laſt fair day that ever he ſaw: and never ſhone the ſun again pleaſantly upon *P. Scipio*. For after this, foreſeeing envy growing toward him, and what a life and how full of debates he ſhould have with thoſe Tribunes, upon a longer day granted for the proceſſe of
E law againſt him, he retired himſelf apart to *Liternum*, of ſet purpoſe to make default and not appear to plead his cauſe any more. He caried a greater ſpirit with him, his heart was too big, & uſed he had been to an higher degree of port & honor, then to take knowledg what it was to be accuſed: he could not skill to vale bonet and ſtoop ſo low, and to abaſe himſelf to the abject condition of thoſe that plead for themſelves at the bar. Now when the day was come, and that in his abſence his name began to be called, *L. Scipio* anſwered for him, and alledged ſickneſs to be the cauſe why he was away. But the Tribunes his accuſers, would not admit of that excuſe, replying and ſaying, "That upon the ſame pride of heart in which he avoided once before, his judiciall triall, and
"left the Tribunes and the whole aſſembly, he now alſo would not appear to make his anſwer.
"Even ſo triumphed he then over the people of *Rome*, when accompanied with thoſe whom he
F "led after him as priſoners (after he had once taken from them their power and liberty to give "their cenſure and doom of him) he ſequeſtred himſelf that day, by way of an inſurrection from "the Tribunes of the Commons into the Capitol. Well are ye now ſerved therefore (ſay they) and "juſtly puniſhed for that daies folly and raſhneſs. For lo how he himſelf now abandoneth you, "who was your motive and leader then, to forſake us. See how every day more then other our "courage is fallen and heart abated: and dare not we now ſend folk to fetch him (a privat per-"ſon and no more) out out of his farm and houſe in the country, and make him to appear and "plead his anſwer; unto whom not paſt 17 yeers ago, at what time as he was General of an ar-"my on land, & Admirall of the Armado by ſea, we were ſo bold as to ſend Tribunes of the Com.
G & an Ædile, to arreſt and bring him away with them to *Rome*? In the end, the reſt of the Tribuns of the Com. being called earneſtly unto by *L. Scipio* for their lawfull favour, ſet down his order & concluſion, that if ſickneſs were alledged for his excuſe, and that there were nothing elſe but it that occaſioned his abſence, it ſhould be received for good & lawful, and their colleagues ſhould adjourn his trial to a farther day. It fortuned at that time that *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* was one of the Tribunes between whom & *P. Scipio* there was ſome quarrel. He forbad expreſly that his own name ſhould be ſubſcribed to the inſtrument of the aforeſaid decree of his colleagues. And when every man looked to hear ſome heavier ſentence denounced againſt *Scipio*, he awarded

in this maner. "For as much as *L. Scipio* excuseth the absence of his brother by sickness, it is good H
" and sufficient in my opinion. And more then that, I will not for my part suffer *P. Scipio* to be ac-
" cused before he return again to *Rome*. Yea, and then also, if he call for my helping hand I will
" give him assistance, and stop the course of processe against him. And as to the main point of
" the cause, this is my resolution, that *P. Scipio* being advanced so highly as he is to that pitch of
" honor, by his noble and famous exploits, and by the dignities received at the hands of the peo-
" ple of *Rome*, as it both gods and men had consented to set him aloft, for him to come down
" now and stand pleading below at the bar beneath the *Rostra*, and there to have his ears glow
" and ring again with the checks and taunts of certain green heads and busie youths, were a grea-
" ter shame and disgrace to the people of *Rome*, then to himself. Nay, he staied not thus with
" this bare award, but sealed and set it on surely with words of indignation, testifying his offen- I
" tention ent for this course and manner of proceeding. And shall *Scipio* (quoth he, my master Tri-
" bunes) that renouned conqueror of *Africk*, stand under your feet at your devotion? Defeated
" he and put to flight in *Spain* 4 most brave and noble Generals of the Carthaginians, with their 4
" entire armies? Took he *Syphax* prisoner, vanquished he *Annibal*, subdued he *Carthage* and
" made it tributary unto us? Chased he *Antiochus* beyond the mountain *Taurus* (for it must be
" confessed, that in this glorious conquest *L. Scipio* had his brother copartner with him) and all
" for this, to be troden under foot of two *Petilii*? And that ye should seek to triumph over P. A-
" *fricanus*? Will it never be better? Shall great personages (with all the good deserts of their own
" for all the dignities and honors by you upon them conferred) never reach and attain to a strong
" fort and sure place of defence, wherein they may make account to be safe and past all danger, K
" and wherin their old age may rest and repose, if not with worship and honour, yet at least-wise
" in security, exempt from abuse and violent outrage? The sentence it self of *Gracchus* (enforced
" with such a speech especially) moved not others only, but also the very accusers themselves; who
" made no other rejoinder again but thus, That they would consider better what they might
by their place and what they ought of duty to do. When the assembly of the people was
was broken up, the LL. of the Senat began to sit in councell; where, the whole order of the Sena-
tors (but principally the ancients and as many as had been Consuls) highly commended and
thanked *Tib. Gracchus*, for that he had preferred the weal-publick, before privat grudges and
particular quarrels. But the *Petilii* were well shent and baited with reproachfull checks and bit-
ter rebukes, in that they would seem to rise by the fall of another, and so grace themselves with L
the disgrace of *Africanus*, and seek to triumph over him and be enriched with his spoils. Well, af-
ter that, there was no more words of *Scipio Africanus*. The rest of his life he passed at *Literum*
and never had mind to come to the City: there ended he his daies in a country village; and (as
they say) he charged his executors upon his death-bed, to inter him in that very place. And there
his tomb or monument was built, because he would not that so much as his funeral obsequies
should be performed at *Rome*, (his native country) so unthankfull as it was. A rare man he was
and worthy to be recommended to the memory of all posterity: howbeit the former part of his
life was more singular and memorable, as well for the conduct of martiall exploits in war, as the
governance of civill affairs in peace, then in his latter daies. For in his youth, he followed the
wars continually; whereas in his old age, as his body decaied and faded, so whatsoever he did, M
lost much of the wonted beauty and lustre. Besides, there was no matter presented, to employ
that wit and spirit of his. What odds was there between his former Consulship and the second, al-
though ye put his Censorship to it in the ballance? What comparison was there, and what sem-
blable thing in that lieutenancy of his in *Asia*? of so little or no employment was it by reason
of his own sicklinesse; and blemished withall, by the occasion of the misfortune of his son. And
afterward, his return home again was no lesse unfortunat, for the hard choice whereunto he was
driven, forced of necessity to abide the triall of a doubtfull issue in judgment, to quit withall his
native City for ever. Howbeit he alone went away with the honor above all other, of finishing
the punick war, as great and dangerous to the Romans as any that ever they made. N

When *Africanus* was once dead and his head laid, his adversaries and enemies were aloft: of
whom, *M. Porcius Cato* was the chief and principall: a man who was wont to bark (as it were)
and rail against him during his life in regard of his greatnes. And it is thought, that the *Petilii*
were set on by him, and procured through his perswasion, both in the life of *Africanus* to have
drawn out, and after his death to have preferred a bill in this form and manner following: May
" it please you to grant and ordein, that true search and diligent enquiry be made, what sums of
" money were taken in prize, carried away, and levied away of King *Antiochus* and those which
" were under his obedience and dominion; and that of as much therof as came not into the pub-
" lick treasury and chamber of the City, *Ser. Sulpitius* (the Pretor of the City) may propose unto
" the Senat, to know their advice and pleasure touching it: that whomsoever of all the Pretors O
" for the time now being, it shall please the Senat to appoint, he may sit in commission and inqui-
" sition thereof. This bill was first crossed by *Q.* and *Lucius Mummius*, who thought it meet and
reason, that the Senat alone (as at all times heretofore) should make one enquiry of the monies so
purloined and embezled: as is aforesaid, and not brought into the common chest of the City. The
*Petilii* charged the *Scipios* for being over great and mighty, and as it were KK. in the Senat, to carry
all before them. *L. Furius Purpureo* (a man that had been Consul, and one of the ten commissio-
ners in *Asia*, was of opinion, that the forsaid enquest should be granted in more large & ample terms,

namely,

A namely, as touching the mony not only taken from *Antiochus*, but also from other Kings and nations: covertly taxing herein *Cn. Manlius* his old enemy. *L. Scipio* on the other side stepped forth to dissuade this matter; albeit it was thought he would rather speak in defence of himself, then against the thing. He complained much and shewed his grievance, that such a bill as this should come forth now, and be set on foot after the death of his brother *Africanus*, the most valiant knight and noblest personage that ever was. As if it were not sufficient, that *P. Africanus* wanted the solemn Panegyrick oration at the *Rostra* after his death, but he must be accused also. Why? the very Carthaginians are contented with the exile of *Annibal*, and seek no more: but the people of *Rome* is not satisfied even with the death of *Scipio*, unlesse both his own good name after he is buried be wounded and mangled, and his brother also (to fill up the measure of mens malice and hatred) be killed and sacrificed upon his tomb. *M. Cato* spake in the behalf B of the bill, and perswaded that it might passe. His oration as touching the treasure of King *Antiochus*, it extant to be seen: and by the majesty of his authority, he diverted the two *Mammii* Tribunes of the Commons, clean away, from interposing themselves any more. When they once had renounced and given over their negative, all the tribes in general passed their voices affirmatively, *Vti rogastis*. After this, *Ser. Sulpitius* propoled unto the Senat, Whom they would appoint for this enquest according to the act *Petilia*? and the LL. of the Senat deputed *Q. Terentius Culleo*. This Pretor was so great a friend to the house of the *Cornelii*, that some authors, namely those, who report how *P. Scipio* both died and also was carried forth to be enterred at *Rome* (for that bruit also runneth currant) have written, How he went at his funeralls before C the bier and the mourners, with a cap of liberty on his head, like as he had done before in his triumph, and gave sweet wine or mede to all those that attended the convoy, as far as to the gate *Capena*. This honour he did *Scipio* at his death, for that among other prisoners in *Africk*, he was by his means recovered out of the enemies hand. But it should seem rather, that he was such an enemie to that family, that for the cankred rancour and malice which he carried against that name, he was by the adverse faction of the *Scipios*, chosen especially of purpose to sit upon & execute that inquisition. But certain it is, before this Pretor (all in his extremities, who either in love & friendship, or in hatred and enmity, kept no mean) information was given immediately against *L. Scipio*. Presentments were made likewise, and the names received of his lieutenants A. *Hostilius* and *L. Hostilius* both *Catos*: and of his treasurer besides, *C. Furius Aculeo*. And to the end that it D should appear to the world, that they were all attaint of this crime of purloining and robbing the publick treasure of the common-weal in one complot, there were two secretaries also and one of his sergeants called into question. But these three last mentioned, and *L. Hostilius* before-named, were found unguilty and acquit, before *Scipio* had his judiciall triall: howbeit *Scipio* and A. *Hostilius* his lieutenant, together with C. *Furius* were condemned. *Scipio*, for that he (as *Valerius Antias* writeth) to make a more easie peace to the contentment of *Antiochus*, received 6000 pound weight of gold, and 480 pound weight of silver more then he brought into the City chamber. *A. Hostilius*, for that he likewise deteined eighty pound weight of gold, and 483 pound of silver: and *Furius* the Questor for keeping back to his own use 130 pound of gold, and two hundred of silver. These sums I set down of gold and silver, as I find them gathered and registred by *Valerius Antias* in his Chronicle. As for the sum of gold and silver, which *L. Scipio* should embezle, I E would rather think that the clerk or secretary faulted with his pen in writing the copies, then the author lied so loud with his tongue in the first inditing of the Originall. For it is more likely of the twain, that the weight of the silver was more then of gold. As also for the fine wherein he was condemned, should amount but to forty thousand * *Sesterces*, then arise to two hundred and forty thousand. And I am rather induced thus to calculat, because it is said, that P. *Scipio* himself was required in the Senat to give his account but of such a sum; and when he had bidden his brother *L.* to fetch him that book of accounts, he took it of him, and there before the Senat, tare and rent it with his own hands, with indignation, that having brought into the Treasury two mili- F ons of *Sesterces*, he was called to his account for forty thousand. In which confident boldnesse of spirit and courage, when the Questors durst not (against the order of law) take forth mony out of the Treasury, he called for the keis, and said he would be so bold as to open the chests of the Treasury since he was the cause that they were locked. Many things besides are diversly reported of *Scipio*, especially as touching the latter end of his life, his trouble and accusation, his death, his funerals, and last of all, of his sepulchre and tomb, which distract me so, that I wot not what report to cleave unto, nor which records to beleeve. For they accord not as concerning his accuser. Some write it was *M. Nævius*, others againsay that they were the *Petilians* that called him to his answer. Neither agree they in the time when he was troubled, nor in the yeer, no, nor the place wherein he died, nor yet where he was enterred. Some affirm he ended his daies G and was buried at *Rome*, others at *Liternum*. And in both places there are monuments and Statues of his to be seen. For of *Liternum* there stood a tomb, and over the same tomb an image of his personage erected, which of late time we our selves saw overthrown in a tempest. At *Rome* likewise without the gate *Capena*, there be three statues upon the monument of the *Scipios*, whereof two are said to be of *Pub.* and *L. Scipio*, and the third of *Q. Ennius* the Poet. And this difference among authors is not touching his acts and affairs only, but also about the very Orations (if so be they were the orations indeed of P. *Scipio* & *Tiberius Gracchus*, which are commonly so taken and caried about, which disagree so much as they do. For the title of the oration that goeth for *P. Scipio*, hath the name of *M. Nævius*, a Tribune of the Commons: but through the whole

* *Sestertius*, is the forth part of a Roman *denarius*, three halfepence farthing cue.

Oration it ſelf there is no mention at all of that accuſers. He termeth him one while *Nebulo* H
[Knave] and another while *Nugator* [Couſiner.] In like ſort the oration of *Gracchus* maketh no
mention at all either of the *Petilii*, the accuſers of *Africanus*, or of the day aſsigned unto him for
his anſwer. And we muſt deviſe to tell the whole tale otherwiſe, it would have it to agree with
the oration of *Gracchus*: and follow we muſt thoſe authors; who write, that when L. *Scipio* was
accuſed and condemned for taking bribes of King *Antiochus*, his brother *Africanus* was Embaſſa-
dor in Tuſcany; and upon the news of his brothers misfortune, left his embaſſage and made haſt
to *Rome*. Where he took his way directly from the gate to the common place (for that it was
told him how his brother was going to priſon) and thruſt the ſergeant from his body, yea, and
when the Tribunes themſelves would have reſtrained him, he uſed violence againſt them, and ca-
ried himſelf in this action ſo, as he ſhewed more kindneſs and love to his brother, then maners
and civility otherwiſe. For thus complaineth *Gracchus* in his oration, that the Tribunes autho- I
rity and power was infringed and broken by a privat perſon. And in the latter end, when he pro-
miſed to aſsiſt *L. Scipio*, he knit up his ſpeech with theſe words, that it was a thing more tolerable
that both the Tribunitian puiſſance and the Common-weal ſhould ſeem overcome and ſurmount-
ed by Tribunes themſelves, then by a privat man. But he aggravated and enforced this one vio-
lence and exceſsive outrage againſt him, and made it odious in ſuch ſort, that in blaming him for
ſo much overſhooting himſelf and degenerating as it were from his own nature, he rehearſed the
commendable parts of his moderation and temperat carriage of himſelf aforetime, and that in
ſo good terms and ample maner, that thereby he made him ſome part of amends for the ſharp re-
prehenſion he uſed for the preſent. For he ſaid, that in times paſt he had rebuked and reproved K
the people, when they would have made him a perpetuall Conſul and Dictator; that he had for-
bidden expreſly, that any of his Statues in triumphant habit, ſhould be ſet up and erected in the
publick places of aſſemblies, as in the *Comitium* and *Curia*, in the Capitoll and chappell of *Iupiter*
*Opt. Max.* Theſe commendable reports of him, if they were uttered in an oration penned of
purpoſe for his praiſe, muſt needs teſtifie and ſhew a wonderful magnanimity of his, in the moderat
uſe of high honours according to a civil port; which an enemy by way of reproach and upbrai-
ding him, acknowledgeth and confeſſeth. But all writers accord, that *Gracchus*, took to wife
the yonger of his two daughters (for the elder without all queſtion was affianced and given in
marriage by his father to P. *Cornelius Naſica*. But it is not ſo certainly agreed upon, whether ſhe
was both betrothed and wedded alſo unto him, afters her fathers death or no. As alſo, whether L
it be true (as it is reported) that when *L. Scipio* was a leading to priſon, *Gracchus*, ſeeing none of
his own fellow Tribunes to ſuccour and reſcue him, ſware a great oath and proteſted that he was
an enemy ſtill to the *Scipioes* as much as ever he was, and would not do any thing to curry favour
with them, or to come into their grace; yet could he never endure that he ſhould be caried to that
priſon, into which he had ſeen his brother *Africanus* lead Kings, great generals and commanders
of enemies, captive. Moreover, that the ſame day the Senat fortuned to be at ſupper together in
the Capitol, and aroſe up all at once, and requeſted *Africanus* to affiance his daughter to *Gracchus*,
before the ſupper and banket was ended. Which eſpouſals being performed with all due comple-
ments accordingly, during the time of that ſolemn feaſt, *Scipio*, when he was returned home to
his houſe, ſaid unto his wife *Æmylia*, that he had fianced and beſtowed his daughter upon an hus- M
band. She then falling into a fit of choler like a woman, and chafing that he had not made her ac-
quainted with the matter, and taken her advice touching the maiden, who was as much her child
as his, brake out into theſe words withall, that if he had given her in marriage to *Tiberius Grac-*
*chus*, yet good reaſon it was that the mother ſhould have been at the making of the bargain.
Whereupon *Scipio* took great contentment and joy at this conformity of judgment in the choice,
and inferred ſtreight waies, that he was the man to whom ſhe was eſpouſed. Thus much I thought
good to relate of this worthy and noble perſon, albeit there is great variety of opinions, and di-
verſity of writings in that behalf.

After the Pretor *Q. Terentius*, had finiſhed the inquiſition and whole proceſſe thereof, *Heſti-* N
*lius* and *Furius*, who were attaint and condemned, that very day put in ſufficient ſureties to be
bound in recogniſance to the treaſurers of the City, for the paiment of their fines. But *Scipio* de-
bating the matter ſtill, & pleading that all the mony which he had received was in the City cham-
ber, & that he had purloined none of the publick treaſure, was laid hold on to be had away and com-
mitted to priſon. P. *Scipio Naſica* called unto the Tribunes for their help, and made a ſpeech full of
true praiſes and commendations, not in generall only of the whole name and family of the *Cor-*
*nelii*, but in particular alſo of his own houſe. And namely he alledged and ſaid, That himſelf and
P. *Africanus*, together with *L. Scipio* (who now was going to priſon) had to their fathers *Cn. Scipio*
" and *P. Scipio*, moſt noble and famous perſonages; thoſe who for certain yeers in the land of
" *Spain*, advanced the renoun and glory of the Roman name, maugre the heads of many captains O
" & armies, as well of Carthaginians as Spaniards; not only in martial feats of war, but alſo in this
" eſpecially, that they had given teſtimony and proof unto thoſe nations, of the temperat govern-
" ment, & faithful dealing of the Romans: and in the end both of them ſpent their bloud and loſt
" their lives in the quarrel of the people of *Rome*. And albeit it had been ſufficient for all their poſte-
" rity to maintein only & uphold the glory from them received, yet *P. Africanus* ſo far ſurpaſſed the
" praiſe worthy acts of his father, that it was verily beleeved he was not born of human bloud,
" but deſcended from ſome divine and heavenly race of the gods. As for *L. Scipio*, who now is in
" trouble, to ſay nothing of his worthy acts which he atchieved in *Spain* and in *Africk*, when he

was

A "was lieutenant there to his brother Conſul) he was both reputed by the Senat ſufficient, with-
"out any caſting of lots, to undertake the province of *Aſia* and the war againſt King *Antiochus*,
"and alſo eſteemed by his brother *Africanus* ſo worthy a perſon, that himſelf who had been Con-
"ſul twice, Cenſor once, and had ridden in triumph, thought not ſcorn to accompany him unto
"*Aſia* in quality of his lieutenant. In which province (to the end that the greatneſs & reſplendent
"glory of the lieutenant ſhould not dim the brightneſs of the Conſul, and ſo drown his vertues and
"good parts) it ſo fell out, that the very ſame day, on which *L. Scipio* vanquiſhed *Antiochus*
"neer *Magneſia*, *P. Scipio* lay ſick at *Elea*, a City diſtant certain daies journies. He defeated I ſay
"an army there, nothing inferior to that of *Annibal*, with whom his brother had encountred be-
"fore in *Africk*. In which battell among other great commanders and captains under the King,
B "*Annibal* was himſelf imploied in perſon, even he who had been the grand-General in the Pu-
"nick war. Which ſervice was ſo well conducted and managed, that a man poſsibly could not
"find fault ſo much as with fortune, or any accident that happned there. And now when the war
"is unblamable, there is picked matter of crimination in the peace: and it (they ſay) was bought
"and ſold for money. In which challenge the ten deputies and aſſiſtance in councel, are alſo touch-
"ed and noted with corruption, by whoſe adviſe the ſaid peace was granted and concluded. Well,
"of thoſe ten, there were ſome that ſtepped forth and accuſed *Cn. Manlius*: yet ſo far off was
"that accuſation of theirs from being credited that it did not ſo much as hinder and delay the ve-
"ry time of his triumph. But (beleeve me) in *Scipio* his caſe, the very conditions of peace ſavour
"ſtrongly of bribery and indirect dealing, for that they are advantageous, reſpective & favorable on
C "part of *Antiochus*. For his kingdom is left entire and whole unto him; now that he is vanquiſh-
"ed, he poſſeſſeth as much as before the war began: and *Scipio* having received from him a mighty
"maſſe of gold and ſilver, hath brought nothing into the common treaſury, but averted all from
"thence, and converted it to his proper uſe. Why? was there not caried in pomp at the triumph of
"L. *Scipio* (in the very ſight of all men) as much gold and ſilver, as in ten triumphs before (and put
"them all together) could not be ſhewed. For what ſhould I ſpeak of the confines and frontiers of
"his realm? Namely, that *Antiochus* before time held under his dominion all *Aſia*, and the marches
"alſo of *Europe* adjoining? & great a part of the world that is, which extendeth from the hill *Tau-*
"*rus*, and lyeth out ſo far as the Ægean ſea; how many not Cities only, but ſpacious countries
"and populous nations it containeth, all men know right well: as alſo that this countrey, bearing
D "out in lenghth more then 30 daies journey, and in bredth between two ſeas ten daies journey,
"even as far as to the top of the mountain *Taurus*, is taken from *Antiochus*, & he driven into the
"utmoſt angle and corner of the globe of the earth? What could he have been diſſeized of more
"in caſe his peace had coſt him never a penny of mony? When *Philip* was conquered, he had
"*Macedony* left unto him: when *Nabis* was ſubdued, he enjoied ſtill *Lacedæmon*: and no man
"ever went about to call *Quinctius* in queſtion for it. And why? mary he had not to his brother
"*Scipio Africanus*, for whoſe ſake the envy and malice of men hath defaced and hurt *L. Scipio*,
"whereas his brothers glory ought to have graced and helped him. Would any man of ſence and
"reaſon judg, that ſo much gold and ſilver was brought into the houſe of *L. Scipio*, as may not
"not poſsibly be raiſed, if all the goods he hath were ſold to the worth? What ſhould become of
E "all that gold of the Kings? Where be thoſe great purchaſes of lordſhips and inheritances that
"he hath made therewith? Certainly it cannot be, but in that houſe that hath not exceeded in
"ſuperfluous expenſe, there ſhould be ſeen ſome heap and mount of this new treaſure. But what
"care his enemies for this? That which cannot be made of the ſubſtance and goods of *L. Scipio*
"they will make good on his body and back; which they mean to torture (belike) and expoſe
"to contumely & villany, to the end that a man of the beſt mark and quality that ever was, ſhould
"be ſhut up in a dungeon among robbers by the high-way ſide, amongſt night theeves and cut-
"purſes, and there in the hard ſtocks and baleſull darkneſs render his laſt breath; and when he is
F "dead, to have his body caſt out naked at the priſon dore. But be it whenſoever it ſhall, this will
"be no greater Blot to the houſe *Cornelia*, then a ſhamefull reproach for ever to the City of
*Rome*. Againſt all theſe remonſtrances, the Pretor *Terentius* oppoſed and read the law *Petilia*, the
decree of the Senat, and the ſentence given of *L. Scipio*, and he for his own part ſaid, he could not
do withall, but if the ſum wherein he was condemned, were not brought into the common
Treaſurehouſe, he knew no other remedy, nor what elſe to do, but to command him (a condemned
perſon) to be apprehended again, and had away to priſon. Then the Tribunes went apart to con-
ſult and lay their heads together. And within a while after *C. Flaminius* pronounced aloud, ac-
cording to his own advice and the opinion of all his Colleagues (excepting only *Gracchus*) that the
Tribunes would not interpoſe themſelves, but that the Pretor might do and execute his office and
his authority to the full. But *Tib. Gracchus* ſet down his own decree in this form, That as touch-
G ing the ſum wherein *L. Scipio* was condemned, he would not be againſt it, nor impeach the Pre-
tor, but that he might uſe his power according to his place, and take it out of his goods, as far as
they would extend. But that *L. Scipio* who hath ſubdued the mightieſt and moſt puiſſant monarch
in all the world, who hath drawn out and extended the bounds of the Roman empire, as far as the
farthelt frontiers of the earth; who hath obliged and bound King *Eumenes*, the Rhodians & ſo ma-
ny Cities and States beſides of *Aſia*, and made them beholding to the people of *Rome* for favours
and benefits beſtowed upon them; finally, who hath himſelf laid up faſt in priſon many a General
captain over the enemies, after he led them in triumph: that he I ſay, ſhould lie in priſon & irons

among the enemies of the people of *Rome* he would never ſuffer: and therefore he commanded H
him to be releaſed and ſet at large. This decree was heard with ſo great applauſe, and all men
were ſo joious to ſee *L. Scipio* delivered, that hardly a man would have beleeved (unleſs he had
ſeen it) that there had been ſuch a judgement paſſed in the ſame City. Then the Pretors ſent
the Queſtors or Treaſurers, to enter and ſeize upon all the goods of *L. Scipio*, in the name and to
the uſe of the City: whereof there was not to be found, ſo much as any one token or mention of
the Kings money, no, nor ſo great a ſum could be raiſed, as the fine came to wherein he was con-
demned. The friends, kinſfolk, followers and wellwillers of *L. Scipio*, made ſuch a contribution
of mony for him, that if he would have accepted of it, he had been a richer man by odds, then be-
fore this croſſe and calamitie fell upon him. But he took never a denier. His neereſt kinſmen in I
bloud bought again and redeemed as much of his own goods, as ſerved for his neceſſary mainte-
nance and no more. And the envy and hatred of men intended againſt the *Scipios*, turned upon
the heads of the Pretor and his councell, together with the accuſers themſelves.

# The nine and thirtieth Book *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the nine and thirtieth Book. K

MArcus Æmylius *the Conſul after he had ſubdued the Ligurians, made the ſtreet or high way from* Piſaſance *to* Ariminum, *untill it met with the way* Flaminia. *In this book are reconnted the beginnings of riotous and diſſolute life brought in by the Aſian army. All the Ligurians on this ſide* Apennine *are tamed and brought under. The Bacchanales (a Greekiſh feaſt and celebrated in the night ſeaſon, the very ſemenary and nurſe-garden of all wickedneſs, being grown to this enormity, that therein was contrived a conſpiracy and complot of a mighty multitude) were now viſited and ſearched into by the Conſul, and put down with the puniſhment of many perſons.* L. Quintius Flaminius, *the brother of* T. Quintius, *was deprived of his Senators dignity by the Cenſors, to wit,* L. Valerius Flaccus, *and* Mar. Porcius Cato, *a right excellent man, as well for feats of arms as peace. The cauſe* L
*was this, for that whiles he was Conſul and governor in* Gaul, *at the requeſt of one* Philippus Pœnus, *a notorious wanton Ganymede whom he loved, he ſlew a certain Gaul with his own hand: or, as ſome have written, becauſe at the entreaty of an harlot, upon whom he was enamoured, he beheaded one of them that were condemned. The invective oration of* L. Cato *againſt him is extant.* Scipio *departed this life at* Liternum, *and (as fortune would have his funeral accompanied with the death at the ſame time of two moſt renowned and great perſonages)* Annibal *poiſoned himſelf. by occaſion that* Pruſias *King of* Bithynia *(unto whom he was fled for ſuccour after the defeat of King* Antiochus) *would have yeelded him into the hands of the Rom. who had ſent of purpoſe* T. Quintius Flamininus *to demand him. Likewiſe* Philopœmen *the General of the Achæans, an excellent man, was poiſoned by the Meſſenians, who took him priſoner in war. Colonies were ſent to* Pollentia, Piſaurum Mutina M
*and* Parma. *Over and beſides, this book containeth the proſperous affairs againſt the Celtiberians: alſo the beginning and cauſe of the Macedonian war, whereof the original ſpring aroſe from* Philip, *much diſcontented, that his Kingdom was empaired by the Romans, in regard that he was forced by them to withdraw his gariſons out of* Thrace *and other parts.*

## *The nine and thirteth Book of* T. Livius.

DUring the time that theſe affairs paſſed at *Rome* (if this were the year wherein they hap-
ned), both Conſuls made war againſt the Ligurians, a nation born as it were to maintain N
the military diſcipline of the Romans, and to find them occupied in all times of reſpit
and reſt from greater wars; neither was there any other province that gave a ſharper
edge to the valour of the ſouldiers, For *Aſia* with the beauty of their Cities, the abundance of all
commodities as well by ſea as land, the effeminat tenderneſſe of the enemies, and the roialty of
the Kings riches, had made their armies more wealthy then valiant: and eſpecially under the go-
vernment of *Cneus Manlius*, nuſled they were in much looſneſſe and neglegence. And thereup-
on it was, that finding the way in *Thrace* a little more rough and difficult then ordinary to travell
in, and an enemy better practiſed and exerciſed to deal withall, they received a great foil and
loſſe among them. Now in *Liguria*, they met with all things that might rouſe and awake ſlee-
py ſouldiers: the countrey rough and full of mountains, that much ado they had themſelves to O
ſeiz the ſame, and as great a labour they found to diſſeize the enemies, that were before poſſeſ-
ed of them: the waies, ſteep up-hill, narrow, and dangerous for ambuſhes: the enemy,
light, ſwift, nimble, and ſuddainly ſetting upon them, giving no time of reſt, no place of re-
poſe and ſecurity. Drven they were of neceſsity to aſſault ſtrong and fortifie Caſtles, with great
difficulty and danger both: the countrey poor and needy, which cauſed the ſouldiers to ſpare
and live hardly, and afforded them no opportunity of preys and prizes: and therefore no victual-
lers, ſcullions, ſouldiers boyes and lackies, followed the camp; neither the labouring beaſts for car-
riage, took up a length in their march: nothing there, but armour and men, repoſing all hope in
their

A their arms, and nothing elſe. And never wanted they ſome matter of quarrell, and ſome occaſion or other to make w r: for by occaſion of their bareneſſe and penury, they made rodes into the lands of their neighbours, but ſo, as they never ventured all at once, nor put the main chance in hazard.

*C. Flaminius* the Conſul having fought ſundry times with the Friniat Ligurians, and in many battels gotten the better hand over them, even at home in their own country, brought the whole nation by compoſition under the obedience. and diſarmed them: but becauſe in the delivery of their armor, they dealt not ſoundly and faithfully, and ſhould have been chaſtiſed therefore, they abandoned their villages & fled to the mountain *Anginus*; whither the Conſul purſued them hard at heels: howbeit, being disbanded and ſcattered again, and moſt of them diſarmed, they fled B into the valley through places where no wayes led, and over broken and cragged ſteep rocks, whereas the enemies could not poſsibly follow after, and ſo paſſed the other ſide of *Apennine*. But as many as kept ſtill within their hold, were beſet round about and overthrown. Then were the legions led to the further ſide of *Apenninus*, where the enemies for a ſmall while, defended themſelves by the hight of the place, but anon they yeelded. Then was their armor ſought for with more care and deligence then before, and they were diſfurniſhed and ſtript out of all. After this, was the war diverted and before turned wholly upon the Apuan Liguri ns, who had ſo overrun the territories of *Piſa* and *Bolonia*, that they could not be manured and tilled. The Conſul having ſubdued them alſo, granted peace unto the borderers: and now that he had brought the province into quietneſs and reſt; to the end that his ſouldiers ſhould not be idle and do nothing, he C made a cauſey or ſtreet-way from *Bononia* to *Aretium*.

The other Conſul *M. Æmylius*, ſet on fire the villages, and waſted the lands of the Ligurians, as well in the campain fields as the valleys, when the inhabitants themſelves were retired into the two mountains *Baliſta* & *Suiſmontium*, which they held. Afterwards he aſſailed them alſo who had taken the hils aforeſaid: and firſt wearied them with light skirmiſhes; afterwards, he forced them to deſcend into the plain, and there in a ſet battell vanquiſhed them: in which conflict he vowed a temple to *Diana*. Thus having ſubdued, all on this ſide *Apennine*, he then ſet upon thoſe that dwelt beyond the mountain; among whom were the Friſin t Ligurians, (ſo far as to whom C. *Flaminius* went not:) all thoſe, *Æmylius*, ſubdued deſpoiled them of their armour, he forced the multitude of them to forſake the mountains and come down into the plains. After he had D quieted the Ligurians, he led his army into the country of the Gauls, and made an high way from *Placentia* to *Arminum*, ſo as it met with the cauſey *Flaminia*: and in the laſt battell, wherein he fought with banners diſplaied againſt the Ligurians, he vowed a temple to Queen *Iuno*. And theſe were the exploits for that yeer, in *Liguria*.

*M. Furius* the Pretor in *Gaul*, ſeeking in time of peace for ſome pretence and colour of war, had taken from the Cenomans their armour notwithſtanding they were innocent and did no harm. The Cenomans made complaint hereof at *Rome* to the Senat, and were put unto the Conſul *Æmylius*, unto whom the Senat had directed a commiſsion of *oier* and *determiner*. After great debate with the Pretor, they overthrew him in the action, and had their armour delivered unto them again: and ſo the Pretor was commanded to give over his government and depart out of E the province.

After this, the Embaſſadors of the Latin nation, who aſſembled and reſorted in great number out of all p rts of *Latium*, had audience given them in the Senat. Theſe complained, that the great multitude of their own naturall citizens, were removed and gone to inhabit in *Rome*, and there were enrolled: whereupon a commiſsion was granted to Q. *Terentius Culleo* the Pretor, to make ſearch for ſuch: and look how many of them thoſe Latine allies could prove to have been enrolled (either themſelves or their fathers) in any City or corporation of theirs, either at the time that *C. Claudius* and *M. Livius* were Cenſors, or after their Cenſorſhip, to force thoſe to return thither again, where they had been entred or matriculated. By vertue of this inquiſition, to the number of 12000 Latins returned home again into their own country: for now the City of F *Rome* was overcharged and peſtered with a multitude of ſtrangers and forreiners.

Before that the Conſuls repaired to *Rome*, *M. Fulvius* the Proconſul returned out of *Ætolia*: who, after he had diſcourſed of his exploits performed in *Ætolia* and *Cephalenia*, before the Senat aſſembled in the temple of *Apollo*, requeſted of the LL. to judg it meet and requiſit, and accordingly to grant and ordein, that praiſe and thankſgiving might be rendred unto the immortall gods, and himſelf allowed to triumph, for that he had ſo well and happily managed the affairs of the common-weal. Then ſtept forth *M. Aburius* a Tribune of the Commons, and declared openly, That in caſe they went about to paſſe any decree in that behalf, before the coming of *M. Æmylius* the Conſul, he would croſſe it: for that the Conſul himſelf was minded to contradict G that proceeding, and had given ſtreight charge unto him, at what time as he took his journey to the province, that the conſultation of this matter ſhould be reſerved wholly untill his return home. And *Fulvius* (quoth he) ſhall loſe ſo much time: and when the Conſul himſelf is preſent in place to aſſiſt, then might the Senat move what decree it pleaſed them. Then anſwered *M. Fulvius* and ſaid, "If men were ignorant either of the grudg and quarrell between me and *M. Æmylius*, or "with what outragious ſpirit and Kinglike choler and indignation he purſued the ſaid enmity "and variance, yet it were not a tolerable thing and to be endured, that the abſence of the Con"ſul ſhould both impeach the honour due unto the immortall gods, and alſo hinder and ſtay the

triumph

"triumph which I have ſo juſtly deſerved: that a Generall (I ſay) who had ſo worthily atchie- H
"ved his ſervice, and an army ſo victorious, ſhould ſtay and give attendance without the City
"gates untill it pleaſed the Conſul to return home: who no doubt of very purpoſe and on let pur-
"poſe, upon this occaſion would make ſlow haſt and take his leiſure. But now conſidering that
"the enmity and heart-burning that the Conſul beareth to me is ſo notorious as it is, What indif-
"ferency and reaſonable dealing may a man look for at his hands? who taking the advantage of
"the time when a ſmall number of Senators were aſſembled, cauſed an act of the Senat to paſſe
"by ſtealth, and entred it in the treaſure houſe, conteining thus much in effect, that *Ambracia*
"ſhould not be reputed as a own forced by aſſault, notwithſtanding it were aſſailed with
"mantilets and platforms: where we were driven to erect new fabricks, and plant other en- I
"gins and ordance of war after the former were conſumed with fire: where we maintained fight
"about the wals, as well under the ground as above, for the ſpace of 15 daies together: where
"after that the ſouldiers had ſcaled and gained the wals, the conflict endured notwithſtanding a
"long time doubtfull, from morning to night; and where were ſlain above 3000 enemies. Now as
"touching the ſacriledg commited (after the City was forced) in ſpoiling the churches of the im-
"mortall gods what a ſlander think ye, hath he raiſed of me? what a matter hath he made thereof,
"and how he hath informed the Pontifies and Biſhops? unleſſe a man would ſay, that lawful it was
"not for the City of *Rome* to be garniſhed & beautified with the ornaments of *Syracuſa* & other
"Cities won by force; but the law of war extended it to this only City of *Ambracia*? I beſeech
"you therfore the LL. of the Senat, yea, and I requeſt the Tribuns, not to ſuffer me to be mocked
"and abuſed by a moſt inſolent and proud adverſary. Then at all hands they dealt with the Tri- K
bune, ſome intreated him, other rebuked and blamed him: but the ſpeech of *Tib. Gracchus* (one of his collegues) moved him moſt of all others: who ſhewed, that it was no good precedent and example, that men ſhould maintain and follow their own privat quarrels in time of magiſtracy and publick government, but a ſhamefull matter and a foul indignity it was, and much beſeeming the Tribuns of the Commons and their ſacred laws, that a Tribune ſhould be Proctor to other men and proſecute their actions and enmities. "Men ought (qd. he) according to their own diſcre-
"tion and judgment, either to love or hate the perſons, to like or diſlike the cauſe; not to depend
"and hang upon the countenance and beck of others, not to be carried to and fro with the wils,
"pleaſure, and appetites of other men. As for the Tribune of the Commons here, he accordeth and
"taketh part with a cholerick and teſty Conſul, and remembreth well what *M. Æmylius* left with L.
"him in privat charge; but forgetteth altogether that the Tribunſhip was commited unto him by
"the people of *Rome*: committed I ſay, and put into his hands for to aſsiſt privat perſons, and to
"maintein their liberties, and not to uphold the Kinglike rule and a roialty of a Conſul. Never
"ſeeth he thus much before him, that it will be written another day in the Annals and yeerly
"Chronicles, that of two Commoner Tribuns in the ſame fellowſhip and ſociety, one for the love
"of the Common-weal renounced and gave over his own privat diſpleaſure and enmity to a par-
"ticular perſon, and the other took charge as it were by way of Commiſsion, to purſue the quar-
"rell of another man. The Tribune could endure no longer theſe rebukes and checks, and there-
with departed out of the temple: then the Pretor *Ser. Sulpitius* propounded the bill the ſecond time; and ſo a triumph was granted to *M. Fulvius*. Who after he had rendred great thanks to the M
LL. of the Senat, added moreover and ſaid, that the very day wherein he forced the City *Ambra-*
*cia*, he had by vow promiſed, to the honor of *Iupiter Opt. Max.* for to exhibit the great and ſo-
lemn Rom. games. And to that effect the Cities of *Greece* had contributed towards the charges, a
hundred pound weight in gold: his petition was therefore, that the Senat would ordein that out
of that maſs of money which he was to carry and ſhew in triumph, and meant to beſtow and lay
up in the City Treaſury, the forſaid ſum of gold might be ſequeſtred and reſerved apart for the
proper uſe abovenamed. The Senat commanded, that the Colledg of the Prelats and Prieſts in
this caſe ſhould be conſulted with, and their advice demanded, whether they thought it neceſſary
that ſo much gold ſhould be ſpent and conſumed in the charges of the ſaid games? The Prelats N
made anſwer again, that it was not materiall to relegion and to the ſervice of the gods, to how
great a great a reckning ſoever the charges of the games ſhould ariſe. Whereupon the Senat per-
mitted *Fulvius* to defray what he would himſelf, ſo as it exceeded not the ſum of 80000 [Aſſes.]
He had propoſed to triumph in the month of *Ianuary*, but hearing that *Æmylius* the Conſul (who
was advertiſed by letters, that *Aburius* the Tribune of the Comons had renounced and let fall his
oppoſition which he commenſed) was coming in proper perſon to *Rome*, only for to hinder the tri-
umph, and ſtaid by the way ſick; he prevented the day, for fear he ſhould have had more anger
and trouble in his triumph, then during his war. So upon the 22 day of *December* he triumphed o-
ver the Ætolians and *Cephalenia*. Before his chariot there were born 100 crowns of gold, weigh-
ing 12 pound apeece: of ſilver 83000 pound weight: of gold 243 pound weight: of Attick Tetra- O
drachms 118000: of Philip peeces of gold coin 12422: images of braſſe 285: of marble 230.
Likewiſe of armor, as well defenſive as offenſive, and other ſpoil of the enemies, an huge deal, be-
ſides Catapults, Baliſts, and other engins and peeces of battery. Moreover, there went before him
27 captains either Ætolians and Cephalens, or elſe under King *Antiochus*, left by him in thoſe
parts. The ſame day before that he entred into the City, he beſtowed in the cirque *Flaminius*, many
military gifts upon many colonels, captains, horſmen and centurions, as well Romans as allies.
Generally to all the footmen he gave out of the pillage 25 Denarii apeece: twice as much, to the
centurions, and threefold to horſemen.

Now

A Now approached the time of the ſolemn aſſembly for the election of Conſuls, and becauſe *M. Æmylius* whoſe lot it was to be preſident thereof, could not be preſent at the day, *C. Flaminius* came of purpoſe to *Rome*. By whom were created Conſuls *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus*, and *Q. Martius Phillipus*. After that were Pretors elected, to wit, *T. Mœnius*, *P. Cornelius Sulla*, *C. Calpurnius Piſo*, *M. Licinius Lucullus*, *C. Aurelius Scaurus*, and *L. Quintius Criſpinus*. In the end of the ſaid yeer, after the magiſtrates were thus created, *Cn. Manlius Volſo*, the third day before the Nones of *March*, triumphed over the Gauls who inhabit *Aſia*. The cauſe why he triumphed ſo late, was this, for that he would avoid making his anſwe (according to the act of *Petilius*) whiles *Q. Terentius Culleo* was Pretor, fearing he ſhould burn in the flame of the ſame ſentence and judgment whereby L. *Scipio* had been condemned, or leſt the flame of another mans judgment,
B I mean the ſentence wherby *L. Scipio* had been condemned, would have been too hot for him, and caught hold of him likewiſe: conſidering that the jury and enqueſt were more incenſed and provoked againſt him then *Scipio*; for that he ſucceeeding after him, had ſpoiled and marred with all kind of licentious looſneſs, the military diſcipline, which *Scipio* had obſerved moſt preciſely and ſeverely. Neither was he noted and touched in name for thoſe things only which by bare hearſay were reported to have been done in the province, far remote from the view of men, but alſo of thoſe particular inſtances to be ſeen daily in the demeanor of his ſouldiers. For verily the forein exceſſe and ſtrange ſuperfluities took beginning from the Aſian army, who brought all with them into the City. They were the firſt with in *Rome* that took up the uſe of braſen tables of rich counterpoints, carpets, cupboord-cloths, hangings and curteins of ſundry kinds of tyſſue.
C Likewiſe of one footed ſtanding tables, buffets and cupboords, which in thoſe daies were counted magnificent and ſtately moveables. Then came up the maner of having at bankets ſinging miniken wenches, and ſuch as could play upon the dulcimers or other inſtruments of muſick, with dancers, jeſters and other paſtimes, and delightſome pleaſures and fits of mirth at the table. Then began the boord to be furniſhed and ſet out with more exquiſit & deinty viands, and of greater expenſe. Then Cooks, who in old time were reputed the moſt contemptible ſlaves, as well for calling as eſtimation, as for the uſe they were put unto, came to be in great requeſt: and that which before time was a mechanicall kind of manual ſervice, grew now to be accompted a ſcience of deep skill and underſtanding. And yet all theſe things that then bare ſo great a ſhew, were ſcarce ſo much as ſmall ſeeds and ſlips, to the exceſsive ſuperfluities that were to enſue.

D Well, *C. Manlius* caried in triumph two hundred crowns of maſsie beaten gold, weighing twelve pound a peece: of ſilver 220000 pound weight: of gold 2103 pound weight: of Attick Tetradrachms 127000; of Ciſtophors 250000; of Philip golden peeces 16320. Alſo much armor there was and ſpoils of Gauls carried in ſhew upon wagons: and 52 captains of enemies were led before his own chariot. Amongſt the ſouldiers he gave a donative of 42 denarii a peece, he doubled the ſame to every centurion. Alſo to every footman he gave double pay, and to every horſman triple. Many there were of all States and degrees, whom he rewarded with military preſents for eſpecial ſervice, and thoſe followed next after the chariot. The ſouldiers chanted ſuch ſongs and ſonnets, as a man might eaſily ſee they were compoſed to feed the humor of a General deſirous of glory, and one that made much of his ſouldiers eſpecially; whereby his triumph was more ho-
E nored with the affectionat favour of them, then otherwiſe recommended and celebrated with the hearty love of the people. Howbeit the friends of *Manlius* ſerved him in good ſtead to win the good will of them alſo, through whoſe ſolliciting & earneſt endevour, there paſſed an act of the Senat, that out of that mony which had been ſhewed in triumph, there ſhould be repaied unto the people that ſubſidy which had been levied among them for ſouldiers pay, and not yet contented back again. So the Treaſurers of the City made true and faithfull paiment with all diligence of 25 aſſes and d. in every thouſand [for the loan.]

About the ſame time two Colonels came out of both provinces of *Spain*, with letters from C. *Catinius* and *L. Manlius* the governors there: by which letters intelligence was given, that the Celtiberians and Luſitans were in arms, waſting and ſpoiling the lands of the Rom. confederats.
F The Senat referred the entire conſultation of this matter to the new Magiſtrates. During the time of the Roman games that yeer which P. *Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Aulus Poſthumius Albinus* repreſented, a certein maſt or high pole which ſtood not faſt in the ſhew place called *Circus maximus*, fell down upon the image of *Polleutia*, and overthrew it to the ground. The LL. hereupon made ſome ſcruple in conſcience, and ordeined, that the ſolemnity of thoſe games ſhould continue one day longer, and cauſed two images to be ſet up for that one, and that the new ſhould be all gilt. Likewiſe the Plebeian plaies were renewed one day more, by the Ædiles, *C. Sempronius Bleſus* & *M. Furius Luſcus*. The yeer following averted the Conſuls *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus*, & *M. Martius Philippus* from the army, from the regard I ſay of wars and government of provinces abroad,
G to the puniſhment of a certain inteſtine conſpiracy at home. The Pretors laſt coſts for their provinces. *T. Manius* had the juriſdiction of the citizens, and M. *Licinius Lucullus* between citizens & ſtrangers. Unto *C. Aurelius Scaurus* fell the governance of *Sardinia*, and to P. *Cornelius Sulla* of *Sicily*: *L. Quintius Criſpinus* was aſsigned to the hither *Spain*, and *P Calpurnius Piſo* to the farther. Both Conſuls were enjoined to make inquiſition into ſecret conſpiracies within the City.

There was a certain Grecian of baſe degree and condition, who came firſt in *Hetruria*; a man not endued with any of thoſe arts, whereof the nation (of all others moſt learned) hath brought many unto us, as wel for the erudition of our minds, as the triming of our bodies: but a ſacri-

ficing

ficing prieſt he was, and a divining wiſard withall. Neither was it one that made out-ward profeſſion of reaching men, and thereby getting a living openly, and ſo by an open ſhew of religion poſſeſſed their heads and minds with fear and horror; but the knowledge he had forſooth for certein hidden and ſecret ſacrifices. Theſe myſteries of his at firſt he taught but unto a few, howbeit afterwards they began to be communicated and divulged as well to men as women: and to this religion were added pleaſures and delights of wine and good cheer, to the end that more cuſtomers might be allured and enticed for to have a liking thereof. Now when wine had drowned and dulled the underſtanding: when the night ſeaſon, when the entermingling of men and women together one with another (and namely, they of yong and tender yeers, with thoſe of elder age) had clean put out and extinguiſhed all reſpect and regard of ſhamefaſt honeſty: there began firſt to be practiſed all ſorts of corruption, for every one had all pleaſures ready at commandment, and his choice of thoſe whereto by nature he was more prone and given to luſt after. Neither was there wickedneſs committed here, of one ſort, namely, the abuſing of mankind and womenkind one with another without diſtinction: but out of this ſhop and workhouſe proceeded falſe witneſſes, forging of ſeals, depoſitions, and teſtimonies; and more then ſo, wrong and untrue informations. From hence came the diveliſh caſt of poiſoning, and privy murders of the neereſt of kindred in one houſe; and the ſame ſo ſecret, that otherwhiles the bodies would not be found to be commited to the earth. Many ſinfull parts were there played by way of fraud, guile, and cuning couſenage; but more by apert force. As for violence, it was kept cloſe and hidden, by reaſon that with the hideous noiſes, with the ſound of tymbrels, tabors and cymbals, there could no voice be heard of ſuch as cried out, when either they were forced to villany and abuſe, or beaten to death. The infection of this catching poiſon of *Hetruria*, ſpred as far as *Rome*, like a contagious malady. At the firſt the ſpacious capacity of the City, having been uſed to wink and bear with ſome enormities, concealed all: at length revealed it was to the Coſ. *Poſthumius*, much after this maner.

The Bacchanals detected.

*P. Ebutius* (whoſe father had ſerved in the wars in quality of a gentleman of *Rome* with a City horſe) left an orphan, after that his guardians were likewiſe deceaſed, became ward to his mother *Duronia* and his father in law (her ſecond husband) *T. Sempronius Rutilus*, under whom he had his bringing up. Now as his mother was wholly devoted and obſequious unto her husband, ſo his father in law had ſo handled the matter in his guardianſhip, that he could make no good accompt thereof, and therefore his deſire was, that either the infant his ward ſhould be made away, or elſe obliged and enthralled unto him. The only way to compaſſe and bring this about, was the corruption and abuſe of the Bacchanals. The mother therfore upon a time called her ſon unto her, and told him, that ſhe had made a vow for him when he was ſick, that ſo ſoon as ever he ſhould recover and be well again, ſhe would preſent him to the prieſts of *Bacchus* to be conſecrated and profeſſed in their myſteries: and now, quoth ſhe, ſeeing that by the goodneſs of the gods thou art amended, and I thereby obliged by the bond of that vow, I will acquit my ſelf therof, and perform it accordingly. She bare him in hand therefore, that he muſt for ten dayes live chaſt, and not touch a woman, and at the ten dayes end after he had taken his ſupper, and was wel waſhed and purified after the manner, ſhe would bring him into the holy place of thoſe ſacred myſteries. Now there was a famous ſtrumpet, by condition a bondwoman enfranchiſed, named *Hiſpala Feſſenia*, too good, I wis, for that occupation which ſhe uſed while ſhe was a yong wench and bondſervant: but yet ſtill after that ſhe was manumiſed and in frank ſtate of a free denizen, ſhe maintained her ſelf by the ſame trade and manner of living. Grown ſhe was into familiar acquaintance with the foreſaid yong *Ebutius*, by reaſon they were neer neighbours, and dwelt not far aſunder: yet ſo, as ſhe endamaged not the youth one jot either in charging his purſe, or touching his credit. For ſhe it was that firſt was inamored upon him, and him ſhe woed: and for as much as he had but ſhort allowance every way from his mother and father in law, and by them kept hardly, he was maintained well by the bounteous liberality of this loving harlot. Nay, more than that, in continuance of time ſhe was ſo deeply ingaged in him, that when her own patron was dead, and her ſelf at the diſpoſition of none, ſhe ſued unto the Tribunes and the Pretor for another tutor, becauſe ſhe meant to make her laſt will and teſtament, wherein ſhe declared *Ebutius* her only heir in remainder to all that ſhe had. There paſſing thus between them theſe gages and pledges of love, and they uſing to empart the one unto the other the ſecrets of their hearts, the yong youth by way of mery and pleaſant talk, willed her one day not to marvell or think any thing in it, if for certain nights he lay away and parted beds with her: for that upon a religious zeal and devotion that he had, he was minded for to be profeſſed and conſecrated by the Prieſts of *Bacchus*, and all to be aſſoiled from a vow made in regard of his health. The woman hearing him ſay ſo, and troubled in ſpirit, Mary god forfend, (quoth ſhe) and I would not that for all the good in the world. And better it were for me and you too to die both at once, then ſo to do: and with that ſhe threatened, ſhe curſed and banded, wiſhing all miſchief and plague to light upon them that had put ſuch a thing into his head. The youth wondred much to hear her words, and to ſee her ſo to fare and take on beyond all reaſon and order, beſeeching her of all loves to be content, and to forbear thoſe curſed ſpeeches, and ſaid it was his own mother, by the conſent of his father in law, who had enjoined him ſo to do. And is it that father in law of yours, quoth ſhe, (for peradventure I ſhould not do well to blame your mother) that haſteneth you by this action of yours to make ſhipwrack of your honeſty and chaſtity, of your credit and good name, your hope another day, and laſtly, to hazard your very life? Hereat the yong man marvelled much more then before

A fore, and desired earnestly to know the depth of all this matter. Then after she had prayed all gods and goddesses to pardon her, if for tender love and affection that she bare unto him, she could neither will nor chuse but reveal those secrets that indeed were to be concealed, she set tale on end and said "That she her self once entred into that chappel, when as she waited on her mistresse, "but since that she was made free and at her own liberty, she never set foot within the doore. "And upon my knowledge (qd. she) it is the very shop and workhouse of all wickedness that "can be devised. And now for certain these two yeers last past, there is not one professed and "admitted to those mysteries there, who is above 20 yeers of age. So soon as any one is inducted "and brought thither, she or he is delivered to the priests as a very sacrifice to be killed: for they "lead them to a place which resoundeth with yelling and crying, with singing of divers tunes, B "with jangling noise of cymbals, with thumping & beating of tabers, to the end that the voice of "any one that cryeth and complaineth of force and violence done to the abuse of his or her body "might not be heard. Now I beseech you therefore, and of all loves I pray you, that in any case "by one means or other you avoid this, howsoever ye do: and plunge not your self headlong thi-"ther, where first you shall be sure to endure and suffer, and afterwards to perpetrat and commit "all abhominable wickedness not to be named. And never would she let the youth go from her, untill he had made her faithfull promise to abstein and forbear such mysteries and ceremonies. When he was come home, and that his mother was in hand with him, telling him what he must do this day and that day, and so forth; he flatly denied and said plainly, he would do neither the one nor the other, and at one word, professed and consecrated he would not be, whatsoever came of C it. His father in law was present and at one end of this resolute speech of his. His mother straightwaies cried out and said, that he could not find in his heart to lie apart from *Hispala* one ten daies, and that he was so far bewitched and envenomed with the charms & poisoned allurements and baits of that false serpent and perilous *Hydra*, that he had no respective regard either of his mother, or mothers husband, no, nor any reverent fear of the immortall gods. The mother railed him of one side, the father baited and courst him on the other, till in the end they hunted him out of dores with 4 bondslaves besides. The yong man betook himself to *Ebutia*, an aunt that he had by his father side, and shewed her the whole matter, why his mother had thrust him out of her house by the head and shoulders: which done, by her advice and counsell the next day he opened and declared the same in great secret, without the hearing of any earthly creature, to the D Consul *Posthumius*. The Consul commanded him to repair again unto him three daies after, and so for that time dismissed him. Then the Consul in the mean while enquired of his wives mother *Sulpitia*, a brave and sober matron whether she knew an old wife called *Ebutia* dwelling in the *Aventine*? Yes that I do qd she, and I know her to be an honest dame, and a woman of the old world, and few her like now adayes. I must needs speak with her (qd. he) and therefore I would have you send a messenger unto her, for to will her to come hither. *Ebutia* at the first sending came unto *Sulpitia*; and the Consul within a while sorted (as it were by chance) into their company, & began to find some talk of her brothers son *Ebutius*: with that the woman eyes stood full of water, and with tears she began to bewail the case and mishap of the yong man; who being spoiled of all his goods and patrimony (by those who of all others should least have done it) was now at E home in her house, chased and driven out of doors by his own mother: for that the honest good youth (God blesse us all and be mercifull unto us) was unwilling to be consecrated and admitted to certain filthy and detestable sacrifices (if all be true that is reported thereof.) The Consul had enough now, and was fully perswaded of *Ebutius*, that he had told him no lie. Then he gave *Ebutia* leave to go her waies home, and requested his mother in law *Sulpitia* aforesaid, to send likewise for *Hispala* from thence out of the *Aventine* to come unto her; a woman (qd. he) affranchised and well enough known to all the neighbours of that street: for that I have somewhat also to say to her. *Hispala* was somewhat disquieted at this message, to think that she should be sent for to so noble and honourable a dame, and knew no cause wherefore. But after that she saw the Lictors before the entry of the doore, the troop and train also belonging to the Consul, and with-F all the Consul himself in person, she was astonied and (in manner) half dead. The Consul taking with him his wives mother, had the woman into an inward room of the house, and said unto her, that she need not to be affraid, if to be she could find in her heart to tell the truth: and for assurance thereof, she should have the faithfull word and promise either of *Sulpitia* (a lady of so good credit and reputation) or of himself if need were. Only he would have her to utter and declare what it was ordinarily done at the grove of *Simila* in the Bacchanals, where they used to sacrifice in the night season. The woman had no sooner heard that word, but she fell into such a fear, trembling and quaking all over her body, that for a good while she was not able to open her lips and speak a word: but after she was come to her self again out of this trance, and by them G heartned and encouraged, she said, that when she was a very yong wench and a bond-maid, she, together with her mistresse, was there professed and consecrated: but for certain yeers of late, and namely since that she was affranchised and made free, she was not acquainted with the place, nor wist not what work was there. I conthee thanks for this yet (quoth the Consul) that thou denyest not how thou wert there entred into that profession; but say on and tell out the rest as truly and faithfully. She answered again, that she knew no more then she had already disclosed. The Consul replyed upon her and said, that in case she were taken in a trip, & that mother came forth to her face & reproved her, she should neither find the same pardon, nor have the like favour at his hands

as otherwise she might if of her self she confessed the thing, forasmuch as he who had all from H
your own mouth, hath already discovered the whole. The woman knew where he was then, and was perswaded verily (as it was indeed) that *Ebutius* was a blab of the tongue, and had revealed this secret: whereupon she fell down at the feet of *Sulpitia*; and first began in most humble manner to beseech her, that she would not suffer, that words of course passed between her an enfranchised woman and her paramour, should turn not only to earnest and importance, but also to a capitoll matter, to touch her as much as her life was worth: for what I said (quoth she) was but to fright him, and not for that I knew any such thing. *Posthumius* hereat was chafed, and fell into a fit of choler: What? (quoth he) thou thinkest belike that thou art jesting and cogging with thy lover *Ebutius*, and forgettest how thou art in the house of a right worshipfull lady, and in communication with a Consul. But *Sulpitia* on the other side, willed her to stand up, (affrighted I as she was) and withall, both exhorted her to be of good cheer, and also appeased the wrath of her son in law. In the end after she had taken a better heart unto her, she greatly blamed & found fault with the disloyalty and falshood of *Ebutius* for serving her so, and requiting her full badly again for so singular a good turn that she had done him, and then said, That she stood in great awe of the gods, whose secrets she should reveal and divulge; but in greater fear of men, who no doubt for bewraying these matters, would be ready to tear her in pieces with their very hands. And therefore she besought *Sulpitia*, and entreated the Consul to take some order for her, and to send her into some place out of *Italy*, where she might passe the rest of her daies in safety yet of her life. But of good cheer woman (quoth the Consul) let me alone for that, I will provide well enough, that thou shalt live at *Rome*, and that without all danger. Then declared *Hispala* the ori- K
ginall and first commencements of these sacrifices and solemnities. At the beginning (qd. she) it was priviledged place & consecrated for women only & they alone medled with those mysteries; neither was it the custome and manner, that a man should enter in among them: and three set holidayes they had in the yeer, during which time, the priests of *Bacchus* performed their ceremonies in the day time, and folk were admitted by them, to their religion and profession; and women they were all (and those matrons) who were created priests for that purpose, in their time & turn one after another. But *Paculla Minia* (a Campane woman) when she was the priest, changed all, as being advertised and admonished by the gods so to doe: for she was the first that sacred and admitted men, to wit, her own sons *Minius* and *Herennius* the Cerrinians: she altered the
solemnity from the day to the night; and for three daies in the whole yeer, she ordeined five in- L
very month, to serve for the attendance and ministery of these mysteries. Since which time that these sacrifices & ceremonies were thus divulged, & men and women intermingled together, & the licentious liberty of the night time also to help all forward, there is no act so wicked, no fact so filthy, but there it is committed: and more sinful & unnatural abuse there is, of mankind one with another, then there is of women. If any are either unwilling to suffer this foul filthinesse, or beslit themselves more dully in the beastly action and performance of that villany, such presently are to be killed and sacrificed as beasts. And this is supposed amongst them, the principall point and sum of their religion, to hold and beleeve that nothing is unlawfull whatsoever. The men shaking and wagging their bodies to and fro after a fanaticall fashion, as if they were distracted & out of their right wits, seem to divine and tell things to come. The women, attired like the she-priests of *Bac-* M
*chus*, with their heads unbound and their hair hanging loose about their ears, run down with flaming torches to the river *Tyber*; where they dip their torches into the water, and take them out again light burning still, because they are made with sulphur vive and quick lime: and they say that certain men are by the gods carried away from among them, no man knoweth whither; such as they bind fast to a certain engine or frame, and harry them out of sight into certain hidden caves: and those be such, as either would not swear to be of their conspiracy, or be partners with them in al their mischievous designments, or endure against kind to be abused. The number & multitude there assembled, is exceeding great, and grown now be another body of a people: and among them are some noble persons, as well men as women. But now for these two yeers last past, or- N
deined it is That none should be there professed and sacred above twenty yeers old; for such ages they lay for to serve their turn, as are soonest seduced and drawn to error, or most subject to be forced to suffer abuse and villany. When she had thus finished her information and discovered all, she fell down upon her knes again, and lay at their feet, and repeated her former supplication the second time, to wit, That he would send her away out of the countrey. Then the Consul intreated his mother in law to spare some void corner of her house, wherennto *Hispala* might retire her self, and there make her abode. So she allowed her an upper lodging in her house, and the and the staits that led towards the street were stopped up, and the entrance turned into the house. Then presently were all the moveable goods and houshold stuff of *Fessenia* removed, and her family sent for thither, and there entertained. Likewise *Ebutius* was commanded to go and lodge O
with a tenant or client belonging to the Consul. Thus when both the informers were forthcoming and under *Posthumius* his hand, he declared the whole matter to the Senat. And after he had laid every thing abroad in order, namely, what was reported unto him first, and what he had learned afterwards by enquiry, the Lords of the Senat were surprized with exceeding great fear, as well in regard generally of the commonweal, lest those conspiracies, nightly meetings and conventicles, might import some secret complot of mischief and danger: as also for doubt in in particular, that some of their own friends or family should be accessary and culpable.

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A The Senat yet were of this mind, that the Conſul was highly to be praiſed and thanked, for that
he had found out and brought to light ſuch a matter as this, both with ſo ſingular care & diligence,
and alſo without any tumult and uprore. Then they took order and ordained. *Imprimis*, That the
Conſuls ſhould have an extraordinary commiſſion to make ſeach and inquiſition into theſe Bac-
chanals and night-ſacrifices. *Item*, That *Ebutius* and *Feſſenia* the informers thereof ſhould not be
prejudiced thereby, nor come to harm for it, yea, and that a recompence and reward ſhould be
propounded to others that could give light and reveal the ſame. *Item*, That the Prieſts belong-
ing to theſe religions, be they men or women, ſhould be ſought out not only at *Rome* but in all
other markets towns, fairs and places of frequent reſort and convented before the Coſſ. to be and
remain at their diſpoſition. *Item*, That proclamation be made at *Rome*, and edicts ſent through-
B out all *Italy*, that no perſon whatſoever, who had been ſacred & profeſſed religious by the Prieſts
of *Bacchus*, reſort any more into aſſembly or conventicle for thoſe ſacrifices, nor yet do ought per-
taining to ſuch divine ſervice. And above all things, that information and preſentment be made
of all thoſe that had frequented ſuch meetings or conventicles, to commit whoredome or any
ſuch filthineſs and wickedneſs. And theſe were the ordinances of the Senat. The Coſſ. then gran-
ted their warrants out to the Ædiles Curule, to make diligent ſearch and enquiry for thoſe Prieſts
of that religion, and upon apprehenſion to keep them in free ward and large priſon forthcoming
for to be examined: alſo to the Ædiles of the Commons to look well, that no ſervice of the gods
be celebrated in ſecret. Moreover the Triumvirs capital were ſtraightly charged to ſet good watch
and ward throughout the City, and ſee to meetings by night, for fear that no ſcare-fire caught hold
C of any place. To thoſe three Commiſſaries or Triumvirs were five other Quinquevirs adjoyned aſ-
ſiſtants, who every one ſhould watch well and take charge of all the houſes of his quarter with in
*Tyberis*. Then the Coſſ. having ſet them about theſe their ſeverall charges mounted up the *Roſtra*
or place of publike audience. And when the people were aſſembled together, then the Conſul
after he had pronounced the ſolemn prayer which Magiſtrats are wont to uſe as a preamble, be-
fore they make ſpeech unto the people, began his Oration unto them in this wiſe. "Never in any
"of your aſſemblies O Quirites, was this ſolemn prayer unto the gods either ſo meet and conve-
"nient, or ſo requiſit and needfull as in this, to advertiſe and put you in mind, that thoſe be the
"true gods indeed whom your anceſtors ordained, that you ſhould honour, ſerve, worſhip, and
"pray unto, and not theſe here who prick & provoke (as it were) with goads of furies, your ſpirits
D "and minds tranſported and carried away with falſe and ſtrange religions to commit all wicked-
"neſs, miſchief & filthy luſt. Surely for mine own part I wot not either what I were beſt to con-
"ceal, or how far forth to ſpeak out and utter my mind. If you know not all, I doubt I ſhould give
"you occaſion to be negligent; again, if I diſcover all, I fear me that I ſhall affright & terrifie you
"too much. But what and how much ſoever I ſhall ſay, be ye ſure it will be far leſs than the great-
"neſs and enormity of the thing requireth. Yet endeavour will we ſo much to deliver, as may ſuf-
"fice to give you a warning and watch-word to take heed. This am I well aſſured of, that you un-
"derſtand not only by hearſay and bare report, but alſo by the ringing noiſes and yelling cries in
"the night ſeaſon that the Bacchanals have been a long time kept over all *Italy*, yea, and in many
"places throughout the City of *Rome*, which reſoundeth again therewith. But what manner of
E "thing it is, I am verily perſwaded there is not one of you that knoweth. Some beleeve that it is a
"certain worſhip and ſervice of the gods; others ſuppoſe it is ſome foolery and wanton paſtime
"tolerated and winked at. But be what it will be, they think there are but a few intereſſed & em-
"ployed therein. As touching the number and multitude of them, if I ſhould tell you that they
"were many thouſands, you cannot chuſe but ſuddenly be afraid, unleſs I alſo preſently ſhew, who
"they be and of what quality. Know ye therefore firſt and formoſt, that the moſt part of them are
"women (& from thence is ſprung the ſource of all this miſchief.) Then are there men indeed, but
"ſuch as for all the world reſemble women, ſo effeminat they are: ſuch I ſay, as have abandoned
"themſelves as well to be abuſed as to abuſe others: fanatical perſons and bereaved of their wits
"by reaſon of exceſſive watching paſt ſence & even aſtonied with bibbing of wine without mea-
F "ſure, with houting, hollowing & crying all night without intermiſſion. This conventicle of con-
"ſpirators is yet of no great force, howbeit it gathereth much ſtrength, in regard that they multi-
"ply ſtill, & their number is every day more than other. Your anceſtors in times paſt would in no
"wiſe admit that ye ſhould aſſemble together at a venture and without important and juſt occa-
"ſion, unleſs it were either by rearing a ſtandard or banner upon the fortreſs for to levy an army;
"or to gather the people together to give their voiced in elections of Magiſtrats; or that the
"Tribunes proclaimed a general congregation of the common people; or ſome of the Magiſtrats
"ſummoned them to an open audience for to hear an Oration: and whereſoever a multitude were
"thus met together there they ordained and thought meet to have a lawfull governour and over-
"ſeer of them. But what kind of night conventicles think ye firſt theſe might be & namely, where
G "men and women are met and thronged together pell mell one with another? In faith, if ye wiſt
"at what age they of the male ſex are profeſſed and made novices, ye would not only pity them,
"but alſo be aſhamed and diſmaied. Think ye my maſters Quirits, that young men thus profeſ-
"ſed & having taken this oath, are meet to make ſoudiers of? and that ye are to put weapons
"into the hands of ſuch as are taken out of that ſtinking and deteſtable Chappel? Shall theſe, thus
"ſtained polluted, and overwhelmed with filthy uncleanneſs, as well of their own kind as o-
"thers, fight for the pure chaſtity, for the honeſty (I ſay) of your wives and children? Leſs harm

The Oration of the Conſul *Poſthumius*, for the overthrow of the Bacchanals.

" had it been, if they could have reſted ſo, and become only effeminat by their own unchaſte im- H
" purity (for that had redounded moſt to their proper ſhame and diſhonour) and not have abuſed
" their hands to practice miſchief, and buſied their brains to contrive fraud and deceit. But never
" was there in Commonweal either ſo great and dangerous a malady, as touching more perſons,
" or reaching to farther matters of greater conſequence. For wot ye well this, that all the ſinfull
" parts committed for theſe late years, were it filthy luſt, crafty cozening, or any wickedneſs what-
" ſoever, proceeded & ſprung out of this one ungracious chappel and place of counterfeit holineſs,
" and no other. Yet have they not put in practice all their miſchiefs, which they have moſt curſed-
" ly complotted and ſworn to execute. Hitherto their impious & deteſtable conſpiracy hath bro-
" ken out, and paſſed no further than to particular and privat miſchiefs, becauſe they have not ga-
" thered force and ſtrength enough to invade and oppreſs the Common-weal. Howbeit, the evill I
" encreaſeth, and the malady ſpreadeth further daily, and by this time is grown ſo much, as it will
" not contain within the privat fortune and condition of particular perſons, but threatneth the
" very main State of the Common-weal, And unleſs (Quirits) ye take order to prevent it, theſe
" night-Congregations may ſoon be as frequent and great as this preſent aſſembly, ſummoned by
" order of Law and commandment of the Conſul in the open day time. Now are they (ſingled by
" themſelves apart) afraid of you, when they ſee you thus all aſſembled together, but ſo ſoon as
" you are retired either to your houſes within the City, or farms in the country, & by that means
" ſevered aſunder, they will ſurely meet together; deviſe they will and conſult both to ſave them-
" ſelves, and alſo to ruinat and deſtroy you at once. Then take heed to your ſelves; then ſhall you
" (ſingled one from another) be in dread and danger of them all in generall. It behoveth therefore K
" every one of you to deſire and wiſh that all they who belong any way unto your charge, be wiſe
" and well given. Then, if either fleſhly luſt or furious rage, have drawn & haled any one of them
" headlong into that gulph and ſink of ſin, to hold ſuch a perſon to be of their crue, with whom he
" hath thus ſworn and devoted himſelf to all ſin and abominable wickedneſs, and not reckon him
" of your own retinue and train any more. Moreover, careleſs I am not of your own perſons in
" this behalf, that none of you ſhould be ſeduced and led away with errour. For nothing is there
" in the world, that deceiveth more under fair ſemblance, than falſe religion. For when the name
" and Majeſty of the gods is pretended to cover and colour naughtineſs, ſuddenly there entreth
" into our mind a ſcrupulous awe, which doth captivate and poſſeſs our conſcience, for fear leſt
" in chaſtiſing and puniſhing human treſpaſſes, we violat and offend ſome divine right and power L
" therewith. But of this ſcrupuloſity diſcharged ye are, by an infinit number of Pontifical decrees,
" acts of the Senat, yea, and anſwers of divine Sages and Soothſayers. For how many a time and
" often in the daies of our fathers and grandfathers, hath commiſſion been granted to the Magi-
" ſtrats, To reſtrain and forbid expreſſely all forrain ſacrifices and ſtrange liturgies? To chaſe & ba-
" niſh all odd hedg-Prieſts, Wizards, Tellers of Fortune, and Magicians out of the common place,
" out of the ſhew place and theatre, yea, and quite out of the City? To ſearch out all their books
" of Magick and Propheſies, and to ſet a fire on them? Laſtly, to aboliſh all other order and man-
" ner of ſacrificing but according to the Canon, form, and order of *Rome*? For they judged (wiſe
" men as they were, and deeply ſeen in all divine and humane laws) nothing ſo forcible to ruinat
" and overthrow religion, as when divine ſervice is celebrated after ſome ſtrange and forrain fa- M
" ſhion, and not according to the ancient cuſtome of the place. Thus much I thought good by way
" of caveat to foretell you of, to the end that no ſuperſtitious opinion ſhould trouble your ſpirits
" when you ſhall ſee us to demoliſh and overthrow the Bacchanals, and ſcatter theſe unlawfull
" aſſemblies. For all this will we do with the good leave, favour, and grace of the gods. Who be-
" ing highly offended to ſee their divinity and godhead thus polluted with wicked and abomina-
" ble filthineſs, have diſcovered the ſame lying hid in darkneſs, and brought it to light: neither in
" their wiſdom and providence, was it their will and pleaſure, that ſuch enormities thus detected
" ſhould remain unpuniſhed, but be ſuppreſſed and extinguiſhed for ever. Now hath the Senat
" directed out unto me and my Collegue an extraordinary commiſſion and warrant to make due
" inquiſition hereinto: by vertue whereof, we for our parts will accompliſh our charge according- N
" ly with all diligence and expedition. As for the night-watch throughout the City, we have gi-
" ven order already to the inferior Magiſtrats to look unto it. Likewiſe, meet and reaſon it is,
" that every one of you according to his place and calling, quit himſelf well in whatſoever ſhall
" be impoſed and laid upon him: and eſpecially to endeavour and prevent that no danger or mu-
" tiny ariſe by the malicionſneſs of thoſe that are culpable and offenders. Then the Conſuls com-
manded the acts of the Senat in this behalf to be read openly: they propounded and promiſed
alſo rewards to all informers, that either convented and brought before them any ſuch perſons,
or preſented their names, if they were abſent and out of the way. And look whoſoever were thus
nominated and fled upon it, they would aſſign him a certain day to make his appearance: upon
which day, if he anſwered not to his name when he were called, he ſhould be condemned not- O
withſtanding his abſence. And if any of their names were preſented, who hapned at the time of
the information to be without the land of *Italy*, he ſhould have a longer term ſet down, to come
in and make his anſwer. After this, they publiſhed an Edict, forbidding (leſt any one ſhould be de-
ſirous to ſell or buy ought tending to flight and departure) to receive, conceal, aid, or maintain by
any means thoſe that were about to flie. After the aſſembly of the people diſmiſſed, great fear
there was over all the City: neither was it contained within the walls, liberties, and territory only

of

A of *Rome*, but in all parts of *Italy* they began to quake and tremble for fear; and namely, after that letters came from their friends and acquaintance, touching the ordinance of the Senat the ſolemn aſſembly of the people, and the Edict of the Conſuls aforeſaid. The next night following that day (wherein this matter was thus declared openly in audience before the people) many would gladly have ſtarted aſide and been gone, but apprehended they were and brought back again by the Triumvirs, who had ſet a good watch at every gate. Many preſentments were made, and certain perſons thus preſented, as well men as women, killed themelves. It is reported that there were found in this conſpiracy of both ſexes one with another above eleven thouſand. The principal heads were known for certain to be *M.* and *L. Cæcinius* Romans both, and by calling * not ſo good as Senators: *L. Opiternius* of *Falerii*, and *Minius Cerrinius* a Campane. Theſe were the ringleaders of the reſt, B from them aroſe all miſchief and villany whatſoever: these were the chief Prieſts (for ſooth) and the founders of this religion. To apprehend theſe perſons with all ſpeed, no poſſible means were neglected. And when they were brought before the Conſuls, they confeſſed all: and for any let in them, they might preſently have been condemned. But ſuch a number there was of them who fled out of the City, that becauſe the actions and goods of many men hereby were in danger to be loſt and periſh, the Prætors *T. Manius* and *M. Licinius* were conſtrained by the Senat to give thirty daies reſpit and delay for the pleas, until ſuch time as the Conſuls went through with their inquiſition. By occaſion of the ſame infrequency (for that they whoſe names were preſented, neither made anſwer nor could be found) the Conſuls were enforced to ride their circuit about market towns and places of reſort, and there to hold Aſſiſe and Seſſions for to make inquiſition, and C judicially to proceed in ſentence againſt the offenders. As many as they found to be only entred, and to have taken orders, namely, ſuch as according to a certain form of words endited and prompted by the Prieſt, had made their prayers ſaying after him (in which was contained a deteſtable ſacrament and oath that they took to commit all wicked acts and beaſtly filthineſs, and yet notwithſtanding had offered and done no ſuch act either in their own perſons, or in others, to which they were obliged by oath) thoſe I ſay they let ſtill in priſon and durance. But ſuch as were defiled with filthineſs of uſt, polluted with bloudy murders, ſuch as were attaint and ſtained with bearing falſe witneſs, with forging and oiſting of wills and teſtaments, with counterfeiting of ſeals, and other ſuch cozening cats, thoſe they executed with loſs of life, and the number of them that thus were put to death ſurmounted thoſe other that ſuffered only impriſonment. But D a wondrous multitude there was of both ſorts the one and the other, and thoſe as well women as men. As many of the women as were condemned they committed over to their next kinſfolk, or to thoſe guardians under whoſe tuition and ſubjection they were, that they might themſelves privatly at home puniſh them accordingly. But if there were none to be found meet to do the execution, then they ſuffered publikely abroad in the face of the world. After this a commiſſion was granted to the Conſuls, for to overthrow and pull down firſt at *Rome*, and then throughout *Italy*, all the places of theſe Bacchanals, unleſs in any of them there ſtood ſome old altar or image conſecrated. And for the time to come, by an act of the Senat a prohibition went out, that there ſhould be no Bacchanals any more either in *Rome* or in *Italy*. Moreover, If any perſon made ſome conſcience of this religion, and held it for a devout, ſolemn, and neceſſary inſtitution, and proteE ſted before the Prætor of the City that he could not lay away the ſame without prick, remorſe, and clog of conſcience: then the ſaid Prætor was to put the cauſe in queſtion before the Senat, and if the Senat (aſſembled in no leſs frequency than one hundred) would allow and permit the ſame, then might the party ſolemnize that devotion and divine ſervice: provided alwaies that there were not above five perſons preſent thereat, to aſſiſt him nor any common ſilver to be uſed in the miniſtery, nor Offer-maſter nor Prieſt. Over and beſides, another act of the Senat there was joyned unto this, and the ſame moved by the Conſul *Q. Martius*, That as touching thoſe perſons whom the Conſul had for the informers and revealers of this matter, the full authority in diſpoſing of them, ſhould be wholly referred to the Senat, ſo ſoon as *Sp. Poſthumius* had finiſhed his inquiſition, and was returned to *Rome*. As for *Cerrinius* the Campane, they ordained F that he ſhould be ſent to *Ardea* there to lie in priſon, and that the Magiſtrates of *Ardea* ſhould have a charge given them beforehand to look to their priſoner more ſtraightly, that neither he brake priſon and made an eſcape, nor yet might have means and opportunity to make himſelf away. After a certain time *Sp. Poſthumius* came to *Rome* again, and when he put to queſtion before the Senat, concerning the reward of *P. Ebutius*, and *Hiſpala Feſſenia*, for that by their means the Bacchanals were diſcloſed, there paſſed an act and decree, That the Treaſurers of the City ſhould deliver unto them out of the City Chamber 100000 aſſes apiece. Alſo that the Conſuls ſhould deal with the Tribunes of the Commons for to prefer a bill unto the people, as ſoon as poſſibly they might that *P. Ebutius* for ever might be exempt from ſouldiery, and have his penſion and fee, as if he had accompliſhed his term of ſervice by law required, ſo as he neither were comG pelled to go to warfare againſt his will, nor the Cenſors ſhould aſſign unto him a publike horſe of ſervice. Moreover, that *Feſſenia Hiſpala* might have the liberty and power to make a deed of gift or alienation of her goods unto whom ſhe pleaſed, yea, and ſpend the ſame, and do therewith what ſhe thought good. *Item*, That ſhe might be wedded out of her own family into what houſe ſhe would her ſelf, and make choice of her tutor and patron to her own liking and contentment, as if her husband by his will and teſtament had ſo ordained and ſet down. *Item*, That ſhe might be wedded to one of frank condition or freeborn, and that he who had eſpouſed and married her,



* *De Plebe.*

ſhould not thereby ſuſtain diſcredit, or receive damage. Finally, that not only the Conſ. and Prætors now in place, but alſo thoſe hereafter to come, ſhould provide and take order that no wrong be done to that woman, but ſecure her from all harm. This the Senat judged meet and requiſite to be done. All theſe things were likewiſe propounded unto the Com. and executed according to the ordinance of the Senat. Finally, as touching both the impunity and alſo the recompence of other the Informers, it was referred to the diſcretion of the Conſuls. H

By this time *Q. Martius* alſo having finiſhed the inquiſition in his circuit and quarter, made preparation to go into his Province of *Liguria*, after he had received for to ſupply and make up his legions 3000 foot, and 150 horſemen Romans, beſides 5000 footmen and 200 horſe of Latins. The ſame Province with the like number as well of horſe as foot, was decreed likewiſe unto his companion in government. Thoſe armies they took charge of which the former year *C. Flaminius* and *M. Æmylius* the Conſ. had: moreover, by an act of the Senat enjoyned they were to enroll two new legions beſides: and withall they levied of the Latine allies 20000 foot, and 3000 horſe; 3000 footmen alſo and 200 horſemen Romans. All theſe forces (ſetting aſide the legions) it was thought good to be led to furniſh out the army in *Spain*. And therfore the Conſ. whiles they were themſelves in perſon occupied about the foreſaid inquiſitions, gave commiſſion to *T. Memmius* for to take the muſters. And when thoſe enqueſts were performed and done as is beforeſaid *Q. Martius* took his journey firſt of the twain towards the Apuans in *Liguria*. But whiles in eager purſuit of them he engaged himſelf into the ſecret and blind paſſes, wherein at all times they had their lurking retreats and places of ſafe receit: within thoſe ſtreights and paſſages which the enemies had ſeized before, he was environed by them in a place of great diſadvantage: where he loſt 40 of ſouldiers, with three enſigns of the ſecond legion, and eleven banners of the Latine allies which were all taken by the enemies. Alſo, much armour and many weapons were thrown away here and there, by reaſon that they were encumbred therewith as they fled through the woody paths of the forreſt: neither did the Ligurians give over their chaſe, before that the Romans ended their flight. The Conſul ſo ſoon as he was eſcaped out of the enemies territory ſent his army away into divers parts of the peaceable country, to the end, that it might not be ſeen, how much his forces were empaired. yet could not he for all that ſuppreſs and smother the bruit that was blown abroad of his unfortumat journey, nor cancell the remembrance of the overthrow: for ever after, the forreſt out of which the Ligurians hunted him was called, The ſtreights of *Martius*. A litte before the news of the affairs in *Liguria*, the letters out of *Spain* were read, containing ſorrow mixed with joy: to wit, That *C. Catinius* (who two years before went as Prætor into that Province) fought a field with the Luſitan in the territory of *Aſta*, where, 6000 enemies fell upon the ſword; and the reſt were diſcomfited put to flight and driven out of their camp. Afterwards, he conducted his legions to the aſſault of the town *Aſta*, which he forced and won with no greater ado than before he gained their camp. But as he approached near the walls and took no good heed to himſelf, he was wounded, and of his hurt within few daies died. Upon the reading of theſe letters (importing the death of the Pro-Prætor:) the Senat was of advice to diſpatch a meſſenger (to overtake the Prætor *C. Calphurnius*) as far as the port of *Luna*, and give him to underſtand from the Senat that their advice was he ſhould make all the haſte he could in his journey, to the end, that the Province might not be without a governor there to command. The courrier which was ſent, within four daies arrived at *Luna*: and but few daies before, *Calphurnius* was departed and had put himſelf in his journey. I K L M

Moreover, *L. Manlius Acidinus* (who was gone into his Province at the ſame time that *C. Catinius* went) ſtruck a battell likewiſe with the Celtiberians in the hither Province of *Spain*. But they departed on both ſides out of the field with doubtfull victory ſave only that the Celtiberians the next night following diſlodged and removed from thence: whereby the Romans had liberty and time both to inter their dead, and to gather up the ſpoils of their enemies. And within few daies after, the ſame Celtiberians having raiſed a more puiſſant army, of themſelves gave the Romans battell near the City *Calagurris*. It is not ſet down in the hiſtory what ſhould be the cauſe why they were the weaker, conſidering their number was re-enforced: but foiled they were in fight and had the overthrow. Of the enemies there died upon 12000 and not ſo few as 2000 taken priſoners: and the Romans likewiſe were Maſters of the camp. And had not *Manlius* been empeached and reſtrained in this train of victory (which he hotly followed) by the coming of *Calphurnius* his ſucceſſor in government, the Celtiberians had been utterly ſubdued. The new Prætors withdrew both armies to their wintring harbors. N

At the ſame time that theſe news came out of *Spain*, the plaies called *Taurilia* were exhibited two daies together, in honour of the gods. And after them, *M. Fulvius* ſet out (with great furniture in ſumptuous maner for the ſpace of ten days) his plaies which he had vowed in the Ætolian war. And for to do him honour, and grace this ſolemnity, many cunning actors and players came out of *Greece*. This was the firſt time that there was repreſented at *Rome* the ſhew of champions and wreſtlers for the beſt game: then alſo was exhibited the paſtime of hunting and baiting Lions and Panthers: and in one word, theſe ſports were celebrated with as great magnificence and variety almoſt as the modern paſtimes and games in theſe daies. After all this was holden a Novendiall feaſt: during which, there was much ſacrificing, and all by occaſion that for three daies it rained ſtones in the Picene country: and becauſe it was reported, that the lightning in divers places, and in ſundry ſorts, had blaſted and lightly ſinged the garments eſpecially of many folk. O

To

A To the ſaid feaſt, there was adjoyned a ſupplication of one day, ordained by a decree of the Pontifices, for that the Chappel of the goddeſs *Ops* (ſtanding in the Capitol) was ſmitten with a thunderbolt. In regard of theſe prodigies, the Conſ. procured expiation by ſacrificing greater beaſts, and ſo they purged and hallowed the City. At the ſame time word was brought out of *Vmbria*, that there was an Hermaphrodite or Scrat found almoſt twelve years old. This was held for a deteſtable monſter; and therefore order was given, that it ſhould be kept out of the territory of *Rome*, and killed out of hand.

The ſame year, certain Gauls from beyond the *Alps* paſſed into the territory of *Venice*, without forraging, ſpoiling, and uſing any hoſtility; and not far from the place where as now *Aquileia* ſtandeth, they ſeized upon a plot of ground to build a City in. Certain Roman Embaſſadors were
B ſent about this matter beyond the *Alps*; where they received this intelligence and anſwer from the inhabitants of the country, That neither thoſe Gauls took that voyage and expedition by authority and warrant from the whole nation neither knew they what they did in *Italy*.

*L. Scipio* likewiſe about the ſame time, ſet out his plaies for ten daies together: for which he ſaid, that he had made a vow during the time of the war againſt *Antiochus*: & he defraid the charges thereof with the money contributed unto him by divers KK. and States for that purpoſe. *Valerius Antias* writeth, that after he was condemned, and his goods confiſcat and ſold, he was ſent in Embaſſage into *Aſia*, for to take up certain controverſies and differences between the two KK. *Antiochus* and *Eumenes*: and then it was (ſaith he) that the ſaid contribution was made, and many skilful artificers and plaiers gathered unto him out of all *Aſia*: and in the end, after this Em-
C baſſage, he moved the Senat for theſe games, becauſe he had made no mention nor words at all of them after the ſaid war: by occaſion whereof (by *Valerius* his ſaying) he vowed them.

The year being now at an end, *Q. Martius* in his abſence was to leave his Magiſtracy: & *Q. Poſthumius* having ſate upon the inquiſition aforeſaid, and with all fidelity and carefull diligence that might be, brought it to an end, held the ſolemn aſſembly for election of Magiſtrats: wherein were choſen Conſ. *Ap. Claudius Pulcher* & *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*. And the morrow after were elected for Prætors, *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, *A. Poſthumius Albinus*, *C. Fraxus Stellio*, *C. Actilius Serranus*, *L. Poſthumius Tempſanus*, & *M. Claudius Marcellus*. At the years end upon the relation of *Sp. Poſthumius* the Conſ. that in his viſitation about the enqueſts aforeſaid as he rode along the ſea coaſts of *Italy* on both ſides, he found certain Colonies diſpeopled and deſolate, to wit, *Sipontum* upon
D the Adriatick ſea, and *Buxentum* upon the *Tuſcan*. *T. Manius* the City Prætor (by vertue of an act of the Senat in that behalf) created three Commiſſaries, called Triumvirs, for to enroll and plant new inhabitants there, namely, *L. Scribonius Libo*, *M. Tucius*, and *Cn. Babius Tamphilus*.

The war againſt King *Perſeus* and the Macedonians, which now was a breeding, aroſe not upon that cauſe & occaſion which moſt men imagine, nor yet from *Perſeus* himſelf: for the firſt groundwork thereof was laid by *Philip*, who if he had lived longer, would have been ſeen in open action. One thing there was above the reſt which ſtung him, at what time as the Romans impoſed conditions upon him after he was vanquiſhed, to wit, That the Senat laid a bar for to be revenged of thoſe Macedonians who had revolted from him: which he deſpaired not but it had been poſ-
E ſible to have obtained at their hands, conſidering that *Quintius* in the capitulations of peace reſerved that point entire and excepted not againſt it. Now afterwards, when *Antiochus* was defeated in the battel of *Thermopylæ*, and that both *Philip* & the Conſ. entred upon the ſeverall exploits; *Acilius* went in hand to aſſault *Heraclea*, and *Philip* at the ſame time the City of *Lamia*. *Heraclea* was no ſooner forced, but *Philip* had commandment to levy his ſiege before *Lamia*, and the town was yielded to the Romans: and this he took to the heart. Howbeit the Conſ. appeaſed his choler for the time, in that making haſte in perſon to *Naupactum* (unto which town the Ætolians after their rout were retired) he ſuffered *Philip* to war upon *Athamania* and *Aminander*; to adjoyn alſo and lay unto his kingdom thoſe Cities which the Ætolians had taken from the Theſſalians. Now had *Philip* chaſed *Aminander* out of *Athamania*, and won certain Cities without any great
F ado, *Demetrias* alſo (a ſtrong City of great importance, and very commodious for all things) together with the nation of the Magnetes he brought under his obedience. After this, he forced certain towns in *Aſia*, which were troubled with the ſeditious variance of their principal and great perſonages by reaſon that they knew not how to uſe their new liberty, wherewith they had not been acquainted: he won thoſe Cities (I ſay) by taking part with thoſe, who in this civill diſſention were the weaker, and otherwiſe would have gone to the walls. By theſe means the wrath of the King againſt the Romans was well allaied for the preſent: nevertheleſs, he ceaſed not all the time of peace to bethink how he might gather more ſtrength, and be able to war again, whenſoever any good occaſion ſhould be preſented unto him. He encreaſed therefore the revenues of the Crown, not only by raiſing taxes out of all the fruits of the earth and ſetting impoſt and cuſtoms upon all merchandiſe brought into his Realm by ſea from forrain parts; but alſo revived
G the rents & iſſues of the old mines which had diſcontinued, yea, & in many places ordained new. Moreover, to repleniſh his country, which by many calamities following war, was diſpeopled, he not only took order that his ſubjects ſhould multiply by forcing them to get, breed, and bring up children, but alſo tranſlated a great multitude of Thracians into *Macedony*; and for a good time wherein he was in repoſe and reſt from the war, he bent his whole mind, and employed all his ſtudy how to make himſelf great, and augment the puiſſance of his kingdom. Then old matters and quarrels were renewed, which might whet his ſtomack, and kindle his anger againſt

the Romans. For the complaints which the Theſſalians and the Perrhœbians made for that their H
Cities were by him poſſeſſed, likewiſe thoſe grievances which the Embaſſadors of King *Eumenes*
laid abroad touching the Thracian Towns, which he ſeized and held by force, were heard by the
Romans; ſo as it evidently appeared, that they neglected them not. But that which moved the
Senat moſt, was this, That they had inteliigence how he intended to be Lord of *Ænus* and *Ma-*
*ronea*: as for the Theſſalians, they took leſs regard of them. Moreover, there came the Embaſſadors
of *Athamania*, who complained not for the loſs of ſome part of their territory, nor that he en-
croached upon their frontiers, but that all *Athamania* full and whole, was reduced under the ſub-
jection and jurisdiction of the King. The baniſhed perſons alſo of *Maronea*, who had been chaſed
out of the City by the Kings garriſon (for that they ſtood in defence and maintenance of liberty)
made relation, that not only *Maronea* was in the hands of *Philip*, but the City of *Ænus* alſo. Like- I
wiſe there came Embaſſadors from *Philip*, to purge him of all theſe matters laid to their charge,
who averred, That their King and Maſter had done nothing but by commiſſion and warrant from
the Roman General. They pleaded and alledged, that the caſe of the Theſſalian, Perrhœbian, and
Magneſian Cities, yea, and the whole nation of *Athamania* together with *Aminander*, was all one
with the Ætolians: namely, That after *Antiochus* the King was chaſed and expelled the Coaſt, him-
ſelf being emploied and occupied in beſieging the City of *Ætolia*, ſent *Philip* for to recover the
States abovenamed, which being vanquiſhed in war, were now ſubject unto him. Hereupon the
Senat, becauſe they would not determine and ſet down any thing in the abſence of the King, ſent
three Delegates or Commiſſioners, to decide theſe controverſies, to wit, *Q. Cacilius Metellus*, *M.*
*Bœbius Tamphilus*, and *T. Sempronius*. Upon whoſe arrival, there was publiſhed a generall Diet of K
all thoſe States that were at difference with the King to be holden at *Tempe* in *Theſſaly*. When
they were all ſet there in councill, the Roman Legats, as umpiers and judges, the Theſſalians, Per-
rhœbians, and Athamans as plaintiffs and accuſers, and *Philip* as defendant to hear and receive
the challenges and accuſations againſt him; the chief Embaſſadors from the ſaid Cities, pleaded
againſt *Philip* bitterly or mildly, more or leſs, according to the ſeveral diſpoſition of their natures,
and the proportion either of affectionate favour or malicious hatred which they bare to him.
Now all the queſtion and debate touching *Philippopolis*, *Tricca*, *Phaloria*, *Eurymenæ*, and other
towns about them was this: Whether thoſe pieces, conſidering the Ætolians won and held them
by force (& well known it was, that *Philip* had taken them from the Ætolians) belonged in right
to the Theſſalians or appertained of old time to the Ætolians? for *Acilius* had granted them un- L
to the K. upon theſe conditions, namely, if they were any of the appurtenances of the Ætolians,
and if they combined and took part with the Ætolians willingly of their own accord, and not by
conſtraint and force of arms. Upon like terms ſtood the controverſie of the Perrhæbian and Mag-
neſian towns. For the Ætolians had brought a confuſion in all their tenures, by reaſon that they
held and poſſeſſed thoſe Cities, by taking their vantage upon divers occaſions. Beſides theſe ſub-
ſtantiall points properly to be decided, the Theſſalians came in with their complaints alſo: "For
"that thoſe towns (in caſe they were out of hand delivered unto them, yet) he ſhould render
"them ſpoiled, naked, and deſolat. For over and beſides thoſe who miſcarried by caſualty of war,
"*Philip* had carried away into *Macedony* 500, even the principall flower of their youth, and abu-
"ſed them like ſlaves, in putting them to baſe miniſteries & ſervil drudgeries, and look whatſoe- M
"ver by compulſion he redelivered to the Theſſalians, he had taken order afore that they ſhould
"be good for nothing. As for example (ſay they) *Thebes* in *Phthia*, the only maritime City for
"much traffick and merchandiſe, was in times paſt gainful and commodious to the Theſſalians,
"and brought them great revenues and profits. But *Philip* had turned the ſtaple and all the trade
"and negotiation by ſea from thence to *Demetrias*, and having got hulks and hoys, cauſed them
"to baulk and paſs by *Thebes*, and direct their courſe for *Demetrias*. Nay, he could not ſo much as
"hold his hands from evill entreating their Embaſſadors, who by law of nations are inviolable.
"For he forelaied them in ambuſh, as they were in their journey to *T. Quintius*. By which means
"the Theſſalians all in generall were ſo over-awed by him, and put in ſuch fear, that there is not
"a man amongſt them dare open his mouth, either in their own Cities, or in any of the Diets and N
"Councils of the whole nation. For why? their patrons of whom they hold their liberty are far
"off, but an imperious Lord they have that ſitteth ever on their skirts, and pricketh them conti-
"nually in the ſides, and will not ſuffer them to uſe and enjoy the benefits granted them by the
"people of *Rome*. For take away from them the liberty of ſpeech once, what freedom have they
"left? And even at this preſent for all the aſſurance and confidence they have in the priviledge of
"Embaſſadors, they rather ſigh and groan out their words, than ſpeak frankly, and parley with li-
"berty. And unleſs the Romans provide better in ſome good ſort, that both the Greeks remain-
"ing in *Macedony*, may be void of fear, and *Philip* alſo curbed and kept ſhort for being ſo bold, it
"will be to no purpoſe at all, that either he was vanquiſhed, or they enfranchiſed. He is therefore
"to be held in with a rougher and harder bit in his mouth, like an headſtrong and unruly horſe, O
"that will not be ruled with a gentle ſnaffle. In this ſharp and eager manner dealt the laſt, where-
"as the former had uſed fair language to appeaſe and mollifie his anger, beſeeching his grace to
"pardon them in caſe they ſpake their minds for their liberty, to lay down the rigor of a Lord and
"Maſter, to bear himſelf like a kind ally and loving friend, & to take example of the Romans, and
"them to imitate, who choſe rather to gain aſſociats by love, than conſtrain them by fear. After
"audience given to the Theſſalians, the Perrhæbians came in place, and alledged that *Gonnocondy-*

"*lus*

A "*Ius* (a City which *Philip* named *Olympias*) belonged in right to *Perrhæbia*: & earneſt they were,
"that it might be reſtored unto them. They demanded alſo to have *Malla* and *Ericinum* again.
"Then the Athamans put in, and ſpake for their liberty, and to have the forts of *Athenæum* and
"*Poetneum* rendred unto them. *Philip* becauſe he would ſeem more like a plaintiff than a defen-
"dant & to accuſe rather than to be accuſed, began himſelf alſo with complaints. He found him-
"ſelf grieved, that the Theſſalians had won by force of arms the City *Menelaus* in *Dolopia*, part of
"the appurtenances belonging to his kingdom. *Item*, That the ſame Theſſalians and the Perrhæ-
"bians together had forced *Petra* in *Pieria*. As for *Xyniæ* (an Ætolian town without all queſtion)
"they had indeed laid it unto his ſeignory, but *Parachelous*, which ſhould be under *Athamania*,
"by no right in the world was annexed to the Theſſalians & compriſed within their charter. For
B "as touching the matters (quoth he) charged upon me ſo odiouſly, namely, of laying await for the
"Embaſſadors of frequenting thoſe port-towns or abandoning thoſe: the one is a meer mockery
"and ridiculous thing: namely, for me to give account what havens, merchants and mariners ſail
"unto or arrive at; the other is clean adverſe & contrary to my nature & that which I never could
"abide to practice. For theſe many years (qd. he) Embaſſadors have never ceaſed and given over,
"to inform grievous matters againſt me to the Roman Generals, and to the Senat at *Rome*: and
"which of them ever to this day hath had ſo much as a foul word given again unto him from me?
"Suppoſed & objected it is that once they were forlaied by the way as they were going to *Quin-*
"*tius*, but it is not ſaid withall what hapned unto them. This manner of dealing & accuſation ſa-
"voureth of quarrellers that fain would have ſomewhat to ſay, be it never ſo falſe, when they can
C "find no matter of truth to charge a man withal. Theſe Theſſalians beyond all meaſure abuſe the
"kindneſs & indulgence of the people of *Rome*, & taring as men who had endured a long drought,
"they drink over-greedily, pouring in ſheer liberty & nothing elſe to it, and know not when to
"make an end, and to break their draught: Like, for all the world to bondſlaves ſuddenly ſet at
"freedom beyond their hope and expectation whoſe manner is to break out into broad terms
"and licentious language, and cannot contain but revile and rail at their very Maſters. And at laſt,
"in a furious fit of choler he burſt forth into theſe words, That the ſun was not ſet and gone to
"bed for ever, but would one day riſe again. This minatory ſpeech of his not only the Theſſalians
took to themſelves but the Romans alſo conſtrued as a glance at them. Upon theſe words aroſe
ſome bruit and murmuring in the aſſembly, but being in the end appeaſed & ſtilled, he anſwered
D the agents for the Perrhæbians and Athamans in this wiſe, "That the caſe and condition of thoſe
"Cities for which they ſtood, was one and the ſame namely, that the Coſ. *Acilius* and the Ro-
"mans paſſed them unto him by a deed of gift as having aforetime belonged to their enemies.
"Now if they who have given, will alſo take away the ſame, then (qd. he) I muſt needs quit my
"hold, and loſe them: but in ſo doing they ſhall to gratifie their fickle, inconſtant and vain allies,
"men of no regard, and good for nothing, do mere and manifeſt wrong to a far better and more
"faithfull friend. For nothing is there in the world more thankleſs and leſs while accepted than li-
"berty, eſpecially with them who know not how to uſe it, & by abuſe thereof will ſoon ſpill the
"grace of ſuch a benefit. Then the Roman Delegats having heard the reaſons and allegations of
both parties pronounced ſentence, That the Macedonian garriſons ſhould quit the Cities above-
E ſaid, and the Realm of *Macedony* be confined within the ancient bounds and limits. As touching
the injuries which they complained to have been reciprocally offered from one to another, there
was a form and courſe of law to be ſet down which ſhould contain a proceſs and manner, how
the matters between the Macedonians and the other nations might be reformed and compoſed.
Hereat the King was highly offended and diſpleaſed, but the Delegats went their waies toward
*Theſſalonica*, to viſit likewiſe the Cities of *Thrace*, and to hear their cauſes; where the Embaſſa-
dors of King *Eumenes* made a ſpeech to this effect.

"If the pleaſure of the Romans be, that the two Cities *Ænus* and *Maronea* ſhall be free, it is not
"for us in modeſty to ſay any more, but advertiſe & admoniſh them to leave the ſame in reall and
"not in verball liberty, and not ſuffer a gift by them granted to be impeached or intercepted by
F "another. But if they have leſs care and conſideration of the Cities and States planted in *Thrace*,
"yet more meet and reaſon it is, that thoſe places which ſometimes were ſubject unto *Antiochus*,
"ſhould fall to *Eumenes* rather than to *Philip*; by way of recompence for war-ſervice, in regard
"as well of the merits of his father *Attalus* during the war againſt *Philip*, as of his own deſerts,
"who during the war with *Antiochus*, was perſonally preſent in all travels & dangers both by ſea
"and land. And to this effect, he hath beſides an award of the ten Delegats paſſed already before-
"hand, who in the grant and donation of *Cherſonneſus* & *Lyſimachia*, have no doubt given *Ma-*
"*ronea* & *Ænus* likewiſe to be as dependants of a greater gift, conſidering the near vicinity and
"neighborhood of thoſe other Cities. For, as concerning *Philip*, what hath he deſerved at the
"hands of the people of *Rome*? What right of ſeignory can he pretend, why he ſhould plant gar-
G "riſons in theſe Cities ſo far remote & diſtant as they be from the frontires of *Macedony*? I wiſh
"ye would call for the Maronits, and hear what they can ſay, who are able to enform you more
"fully and certainly in all reſpects of the whole ſtate of theſe Cities. Then were the Embaſſadors
of the Maronits called in: who affirmed "That the King had a garriſon not in one place only of
"their City (as he had in other Cities beſides) but in many quarters thereof at one time; ſo as
"*Maronea* was peſtered full with Macedonians. And therefore (ſay they) the Kings favorits and
"flatterers are they that rule all and bear the ſway: they and none but they, may be allowed to

"ſpeak

"ſpeak both in Senat at the Council-table, and in general aſſemblies before the people: they go H
"away with all honours & dignities, & either are inveſted therein themſelves, or elſe confer them
"upon whom they pleaſe. The beſt men, who ſtand either for defence of freedom, or in mainte-
"nance of the laws, either are driven their country and baniſhed, or ſit a cold & blow their nails,
"for any advancement they come unto; & being ſubject and thrall to perſons of no worth, ſtand
"like cyphers and hold their peace. Somewhat they ſaid moreover as touching the right of their
limits, to wit, That *Q. Fabius Labeo*, at what time as he was in thoſe parts, confined *Philip* within
the bounds of the old Kings-ſtreet or high way, which directly leadeth to *Paroreia* in *Thrace*, and
in no place declineth toward the ſea: but *Philip* afterwards had made a new cauſey, and drawn it
with a compaſs about, within which he empaled and took in the Cities & territories alſo of the
Maronits. To theſe challenges *Philip* began far otherwiſe, than he did of late againſt the Theſſali- I
The Oration of King *Philip*. ans and Perrhœbians, and in this wiſe he ſpake: "I have, quoth he, no matter to debate either
"with the Maronits or *Eumenes*; but now at this preſent I am to conteſt even with you (my Ma-
"ſters of *Rome*) at whoſe hands I have ſeen thus long that I can obtain no reaſon and equity. I
"thought it meet and right, that the Macedonian Cities, which had revolted from me during the
"time of truce, ſhould be rendred again unto me: not for any great encreaſe of ſeignory that
"thereby ſhould have accrued unto my kingdom (for ſmall towns they are god wot, and ſituat up-
"on the utmoſt frontiers) but becauſe their precedent and example might have imported much,
"to retain the reſt of the Macedonians in their duty and alleageance. In no wiſe it would be gran-
"ted. During the Ætolian war, I was enjoyned by the Conſul *Acilius* to beſiege and aſſault the
"City *Lamia*: and after I had been toiled out and wearied with maintaining skirmiſhes, raiſing K
"fabricks, planting ordnance and engins againſt it, even when I was at the very point to ſcale
"the walls and force the City, the Conſul reclaimed and called me away, yea, and compelled me to
"levy the ſiege, and withdraw my forces from thence. And for to make me ſome part of amends
"for this wrong done, permitted I was to win again and conquer certain ſmall piles and forts,
"rather than Cities of *Theſſaly*, *Perrhœbia*, and *Athamania*. And even thoſe alſo, I may ſay unto
"you *Q. Cæcilius*, ye have taken from me within theſe few daies. And now forſooth of late, the
"Embaſſadors of *Eumenes* alſo (and God will) have preſumed upon this as a thing granted and
"without all queſtion, That more reaſon it is for *Eumenes* to have & enjoy that which belonged
"to *Antiochus*, than for me. But my judgment is far otherwiſe. And why? *Eumenes* could never
"have continued in his Realm, unleſs the Romans, I will not ſay, had vanquiſhed K. *Antiochus*, L
"but ſurely if they had not waged war againſt him. And therefore is he endebted unto you, and
"you no waies beholden unto him. As for my kingdom, ſo far was it off, that any part or quarter
"of it ſhould be in hazard and jeopardy; that when *Antiochus* of his own meer motion offered
"to buy my ſociety with three thouſand talents, and fifty covered ſhips of war, together with
"all thoſe Cities in *Greece* which I held in poſſeſſion aforetime; I refuſed all, and diſdained his
"alliance, yea, and I profeſſed openly, even before that *M. Acilius* came over with his army into
"*Greece*, that I was his enemy, and together with that Conſul, was employed in what part ſoe-
"ver of the war, which he charged and laid upon me. Alſo when *L. Scipio* the Conſul his ſuc-
"ceſſor, determined to lead his army by land to *Helleſpont*, I not only gave him leave to paſs
"peaceably through my Realm, but alſo cauſed the high waies to be paved and gravelled, bridges M
"to be made againſt his coming, yea, and furniſhed him with proviſion of victuals. And this did
"I, not in *Macedony* alone, but alſo throughout all *Thrace*, where among other matters, this
"was not of leaſt importance and conſequence, to reſtrain thoſe barbarous nations there, from
"running upon them, and to keep them in peace and quietneſs. In conſideration now of this
"kind affection of mine (If I may not call it a good deſert) unto you, whether ought ye Romans
"in reaſon to give me ſomewhat to that I have, to augment and encreaſe my dominion by your
"largeſs and munificence or, to take from me (as you do) that which I have either in mine own
"right, or by gift from you? The Macedonian Cities, which you confeſs to have been parcels of
"my kingdom are not reſtored unto me. *Eumenes* on the other ſide, he comes to make ſpoil of
"me, as if I were *Antiochus*, and (mark I pray you the device of it) he pretendeth a decree of the N
"ten delegats to colour his moſt ſhameleſs impudent & cautelous falſhood; even that by which
"himſelf may be moſt refuted and convicted. For in very expreſs and plain terms it is thus writ-
"ten, That *Cherſonneſus* & *Lyſimachia* are given to *Eumenes*. Where I pray you, and in what cor-
"ner of the inſtrument and patent ſtand *Ænus*, *Maronea*, and the Cities of *Thrace*? Shall he ob-
"tain that at your hands, and by your means, as given and granted from thoſe ten Delegats, which
"he never durſt ſo much as once demand and reuiqre of them? Tell me (if the thing be worth ſo
"much) in what place ye would range and reckon me? If your purpoſe be to perſecute me as an
"enemy and mortall foe, ſpare not, but go on ſtill as ye have begun: but if you reſpect me as a
"King, as your ally and friend, I beſeech you, repute me not worthy of ſo notorious and mani-
"feſt a wrong. This Oration of the King in ſome meaſure moved the Commiſſioners, and there- O
fore by framing a mean and indifferent anſwer, they held the matter ſtill in ſuſpence undecided.
"If (ſay they) the Cities in queſtion were given to *Eumenes*, by vertue of a decree ſet down
"by the ten Delegats, we will not change nor alter any thing therein. But in caſe *Philip* acqui-
"red them by Conqueſt and force of arms, he ſhould have held them as the guerdon of his
"victory. If neither, we are of opinion, That the hearing and deciſion of this difference ſhall
"be referred over to the Senat: and to the end, that all may remain entire, the garriſons in
those

A "thoſe Cities ſhall be withdrawn and depart. Theſe, I ſay, were the cauſes that principally eſtranged the affection of *Philip* from the Romans, and wrought diſcontentment in his heart; inſomuch, as evident it is, that the war was not enterpriſed by his ſon *Perſeus* upon any new quarrels and freſh occaſion, but upon theſe motives left unto him by his father to be purſued.

No ſuſpition was there at *Rome* of a Macedonian war. *L. Manlius* the Pro-Conſul was returned out of *Spain*: and when he demanded a triumph of the Senat aſſembled in the Temple of *Bellona*, the ſame in regard of his noble and worthy exploits might have been obtained, but for example ſake it was not granted. For an order it was in *Rome*, by ancient cuſtome of their forefathers, that no man might triumph, who brought not his army back with him unleſs he left unto his ſucceſſour the Province fully ſubdued and ſetled in peace. Howbeit, *Manlius* was allowed an indiffe-
B rent honour, namely, to enter into the City by way of Ovation. In which ſolemnity he had born before him in a pompous pageant two and fifty coronets of gold. Moreover, in gold a hundred thirty two pound weight, and in ſilver ſix thouſand three hundred. Alſo, he pronounced aloud in the Senat, that *Q. Fabius* the Queſtor was coming, and brought with him ten thouſand pound weight more of ſilver, and eighty of gold, which he meant likewiſe to bring into the Chamber of the City.

That year a great commotion and inſurrection there was of bondſlaves in *Apulia*. *L. Poſthumius* the Prætor had the government of *Tarentum*, and he ſat in inquiſition upon a damned crew of certain herdmen and graziers, who had conſpired together and uſed to rob by the high-way
C ſide, and in the common paſtures belonging to the City; which Commiſſion he followed with ſuch ſeverity and rigor, that he condemned 7000 of them. Many eſcaped and fled, but many were executed and ſuffered death. As for the Conſuls long were they kept in the City of *Rome*, about the levy of ſouldiers, but at length they went into their Provinces.

The ſame year, *C. Calphurnius* and *L. Quintius* the Prætors in *Spain*, having in the beginning of the Spring led forth their armies out of their wintring holds, and joyned their forces together in *Bauria*, advanced forward into *Carpetain*, (where the enemies were encamped) with a reſolution to manage and conduct the war with one joint mind and common counſill together. Not far
D from the Cities *Hippon* and *Toletum*, there began a skirmiſh between the forragers of both parts, that were gone forth to make proviſion: ſeconded they were from the one camp and the other, by means whereof, the whole armies of both ſides by little and little, came forth into the field to ſtrike a full battel. In this tumultuary skirmiſh the enemies had the vantage, as well of the ground wherein they were embattelled, as of the manner of fight and ſervice. By reaſon whereof, both the Roman armies were diſcomfited and driven back into their camp; but the enemies preſſed not upon them, notwithſtanding they were put in great fright and much diſordered. The Roman Prætors doubting leſt their camp the morrow after ſhould be aſſailed, diſlodged in the night be-
E tween, in great ſecret and ſilence, without any ſound of trumpet, and departed. In the morning by break of day, the Spaniards in ordinance of battell approached the trench and rampier: and being entred within the camp (which they found void and empty beyond their hope and expectation) they rifled and ranſacked all that the Romans left behind them, whiles they made haſte away in the night ſeaſon: from whence the enemies returned to their own camp, and there for certain daies abode in ſtanding leaguer and ſtirred not. In that battell and in the chaſe together, there were ſlain of Romans and allies 5000: and with the ſpoiles of their bodies, the enemies armed themſelves: from thence they marched to the river *Tagus*. The Roman Prætors in the mean ſeaſon employed all that time to levy and aſſemble new forces out of the Confederat Cities of *Spain*, and in comforting and encouraging the hearts of their own ſouldiers after their fright, upon this adverſe conflict and unlucky foil. Now when they had gathered (as they thought) a ſufficient
F power, and took themſelves ſtrong enough, and that the ſouldiers alſo deſired to be doing with the enemy, for to raſe out and cancell the former ignomy and diſgrace, they encamped twelve miles from the river *Tagus* aforeſaid: and about the third watch of the night advanced their ſtandards, and marching in a four ſquare battell by day light they were come to the bank of the river (now were the enemies lodged upon a little mount beyond the water:) and incontinently in two places (where the river ſhewed a foord) they waded through with their arms, *Calphurnius* on the right hand, and *Quintius* on the left. All this while the enemies continued quiet and mo-
G ved not: but in the mean time, while as they wondred at their ſudden coming, and deviſed how to trouble and diſorder the ſouldiers as they ſhould make haſte to paſs the river, the Romans had tranſported over themſelves, and their bag and baggage alſo; yea, and brought all together into one place. And becauſe they perceived by this time the enemy to ſtir and remove, and had no time to fortifie their camp, they put themſelves in battell array. In the midſt ſtood the fifth legion of *Calphurnius*, and the eighth of *Quintius*, which was the very flower and ſtrength of the whole army. Now they had a fair open plain all the way between them and the enemies camp, ſo as there was no cauſe to fear any ambuſh. The Spaniards ſo ſoon as they eſpied two armies of their enemies upon that ſide of the bank which was next to them all at once iſſued out of their camp, and ran to battell; to the end that they might ſurpriſe and empeach them before they could joyn and range themſelves together. The fight was ſharp and hot in the beginning: for the Spaniards of the one ſide were puffed up with the conceit and pride of their late victory: and the Romans of the other, were galled and incenſed for anger of a diſhonour received, which they were not uſed unto. The battell in the midſt (conſiſting of two moſt valiant

and

and hardy legions) fought right couragiously: which the enemies, seeing that they could not o- H
therwise forch to retreat and give ground, began to charge upon them with a battaillon in coin-
fashion close together; and still they pressed hard upon them in the midst more & more in num-
ber, and euer thicker ranged. *Calphurnius* the Prætor seeing this battell distressed and in danger,
sent with all speed *L. Quintilius Varus*, and *L. Iuventius Talva*, two Lieutenants, to either of the
legions severally, to encourage and exhort them to stick to it like men, and to make remonstrance
and relation. "That in them alone consisted all the hope of conquering and keeping *Spain*: if
"they never so little yielded back & lost their ground, there was not one of the whole army that
"should ever see *Italy* again no, nor so much as the farther bank of *Tagus*. As for himself, he took
with him the Cavalry of two Legions, and when he had wheeled a little about and set a compass
with them, he charged hotly upon the flank of the foresaid strong battaillon of the enemies, which I
assailed and urged still the main battell. *Quintius* also with his Cavalry flanked the enemies on the
other side; but the horsemen of *Calphurnius* fought more fiercely by odds than the other, and the
Prætor himself in person was formost of them all; for he was the first that drew bloud of an ene-
my & so far engaged himself within them that hardly a man could know of which side he fought:
by his singular valour, the horsemen were mightily animated; and by the valour of the Cavalry
on horseback, the Infantry also were enkindled to fight on foot. The principall Centurions were
abashed and ashamed to see the Prætor in person among the pikes and swords of his enemies:
and therefore every man for his part did his best, put forward the port-ensigns, willing them to
advance their banners, to the end that the souldiers might follow hard after. Then began they on
all hands to set up a fresh and lusty shout; they took their bier and charged upon them as from K
the vantage of an higher ground: by reason whereof they disarrayed them first, and like a forcible
stream they bare them down before them, so as they could not stand upon their feet and sustain
this violence of theirs, but fell one upon another. As many as fled toward the camp, the horse-
men pursued, and so intermingled themselves among the rout of the enemies, that they entred
pell-mell with them into their hold; where they that were left for the guard thereof, renewed
the fight, so that the Roman horsemen were forced to light from their horses: and whiles they
maintained the conflict, the first Legion came to second them, and consequently more and more
succours as they possibly could ran to them: down went the Spaniards and were massacred in all
parts of the camp; and not above 4000 of them all, fled away and saved themselves: of which
number, about 3000 (who still kept their armour) seized upon a hill near adjoyning: the other L
thousand being for the most part armed by the halfs, were scattered all over the fields. The ene-
mies were at first above 35000, but after this battell see how few of them were left: and from
them were won 123 ensigns. Of Romans and Allies, there died few above six hundred; of auxi-
liary souldiers from out of the Province, about 150. Five martiall Tribunes were lost, and cer-
tain Roman Gentlemen whose death especially, made it seem a bloudy victory. After which
the army abode within the enemies camp, for that themselves had no time to fortifie their own.
The next morrow *C. Calphurnius* in an open audience, highly praised the horsemen, and rewarded
them with rich harnes and trappings, declaring aloud, That by means of their good service
principally the enemies were discomfited and their camp forced. As for *Quintius* the other Prætor,
he bestowed upon his men of arms, small chains and buttons of gold. The Centurions M
likewise of both armies received gifts at their hands, and namely, those who fought in the main
battell.

The Consuls having finished the levy of souldiers, and accomplished all things requisite to be
done in *Rome*, led the army into their Province of *Liguria*. *Sempronius* departed from *Pisa*, and
made a journey against the Apuan Ligurians; where, by wasting their territories and burning their
towns and fortresses, he made way into the forrest and opened the passages as far as to the river
*Macra* and the port of *Luna*. The enemies took a certain mount (an ancient hold) where their
ancestors sometimes had seated themselves: but from thence they were by force disseized, by rea-
son that the Romans overcame the difficulties of the avenues thereto. *Ap. Claudius* likewise for
his part, was equall in valour and good fortune to his Collegue, as having fought certain prospe- N
rous battels with the Ligurian Inguames. He forced besides six towns of theirs, and took many
thousands of prisoners within them. Of the chief authors of that rebellion, he caused three and
forty to lose their heads.

Now approached the time of the solemn assembly for election of Magistrats at *Rome*: and albe-
it *Sempronius* his lot it was to hold the said assembly, yet *Claudius* returned first to *Rome*, because
*P. Claudius* his brother made suit to be Consul. He had for his competitors, *L. Æmylius Q. Fabi-
us Labeo*, and *Servius Sulpitius Galba* all four of the Nobility. Old suitors they were all, and be-
cause they had suffered the repulse aforetime, they renewed the suit for this dignity, as being so
much the rather due, because it had been once denied them. And this was the cause that these
four followed & pressed the harder for to obtain the same, because it was not lawful for any more O
than one of the *Patritii* at once to be created Cos. There were also of the Commoners certain per-
sons well beloved and of good reputation that stood in election for the place, to wit *L. Porcius*,
*Q. Terentius Culleo* and *Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus*: they also had taken repulse beforetime, and were
put off still in hope one day yet to obtain that honourable dignity. *Claudius* of them all was only
the new Competitor. Now men thought verily without any doubt & question, yea, and destined
in their conceits, *Q. Fabius Labeo*, and *L. Porcius Licinius* to be Consuls. But *Claudius* the Consul,

together

A together with his brother beſtirred himſelf, and without his Uſhers attending upon him, travelled and laboured hard in all parts of the common place: notwithſtanding the adverſaries, yea, and the moſt of the Senators cried out upon him, and ſaid, That he ought to conſider and remember rather that he was the Conſ. of the people of *Rome*, than brother to *P. Claudius*; why then ſat he not ſtill in the Tribunal either as preſident and judge of the court aſſembled, or elſe as a beholder and ſpectator only, without ſaying any word himſelf? Howbeit, he could not poſſibly be reclaimed from this diſordinate affection of his which he ſhewed in labouring for his brother. This election was divers times alſo troubled with the great debates and contentions cauſed by the Tribuns of the Commons: whiles ſome of them ſpake againſt the Conſ. others again maintained his ſuit, and took part with him. But in the end, *Fabius* took the foil, and *Appius* went away with the game, for B his brother. So *P. Claudius Pulcher* was created Conſ. beyond his own hope, and more than others looked for. *L. Porcius Licinius* held his own, and obtained the ſecond place in his courſe; for that the Commoners went moderatly to work, & ſhewed not ſo much affection and forcible means as *Claudius* did. After this, was holden the election of Prætors. And choſen there were, *C. Decimius Flavus*, *P. Sempronius Longus*, *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, *Q. Navius Matho*, *C. Sempronius Blæſus*, and *A. Terentius Varro*. Thus much concerning the acts atchieved both at home in the City, and abroad in the war, that year wherein *App. Claudius* and *M. Sempronius* were Conſuls.

In the beginning of the next year, in which *P. Claudius* and *L. Portius* bare the Conſulſhip, when as *Q. Cæcilius*, *M. Babius* and *T. Sempronius* (who had been ſent to hear and decide the C controverſies between the two Kings, *Philip* and *Eumenes*, and the States of *Theſſaly*) had made report of their embaſſages; they permitted likewiſe the Embaſſadors of the ſaid Princes and Cities, to enter into the Senat. Who related the ſelf-ſame things again, which had been alledged before in the preſence of the foreſaid Legats in *Greece*. After this, the LL. of the Senat addreſſed another new embaſſage into *Macedony* and *Greece*, whereof *App. Claudius* was the chief for to viſit and ſee, whether the Cities adjudged and aſſigned to the Rhodians, Theſſalians, and Perrhæbians were delivered unto them accordingly. They alſo had in charge to cauſe the garriſons to quit *Ænus* and *Maronea*, and to look that all the ſea-coaſt of *Thracia*, were freed from the ſubjection of *Philip* and the Macedonians. They were enjoyned moreover to go into *Peloponneſus*, from whence the former embaſſie was departed in more doubtfull terms than if they had never gone thither. For over and beſides other things they were ſent away without any anſwer for their diſpatch: and al- D beit they requeſted the Achæans for to aſſemble their generall Diet, they might not obtain it. For which, when as *Q. Cæcilius* found himſelf diſcontented and grievouſly complained, and the Lacedæmonians withall made pitious moan, that the walls of their City were demoliſhed and raſed, their common people lead away in captivity into *Achæa*, and there ſold, and the laws of *Lycurgus* taken from them, under which their City and Common-weal untill that day had been maintained and governed: the Achæans excuſed themſelves moſt of all for the imputation of refuſing to hold a Council; and to that purpoſe they rehearſed a Law and Ordinance, whereby they were forbidden expreſſely to call and publiſh a Diet, unleſs it were in the caſe of levying war and contracting of peace, upon occaſion that any embaſſadors came directly unto them from the Senat of *Rome* with letters, or commiſſion in writing. But for that this manner of excuſe ſhould not ſerve their E turn again afterwards, the Senat gave them plainly to underſtand, that they ought to take care and order that the Roman Embaſſadors might at all times have means of free acceſs to their Councils, like as they alſo reciprocally ſhould have a Senat held for their ſakes, as often as they would themſelves.

After theſe embaſſages were departed, *Philip* was advertiſed by his Embaſſadors, that there was no remedy but he muſt abandon thoſe Cities, and withdraw his garriſons: and herewith being mightily offended & angred againſt all, yet he diſcharged his choler only upon the Maronits. Unto *Onomaſtus*, warden of the ports and ſea-coaſts, he gave commandment to kill the chief of the adverſe part. And he by the means of *Caſſander*, one of the Kings ſuppoſts and favorits who a long time had dwelt in *Maronea* procured certain Thracians to be let into the town by night & there F he committed murder and maſſacre, as if it had been a City won by force of arms. And when the Roman embaſſadors made complaint to him, namely of ſuch outrages committed ſo cruelly againſt the guiltleſs Maronits, and ſo proudly and inſolently againſt the people of *Rome*; in that they ſhould be killed and cut in peeces as enemies, unto whom the Senat had ordained reſtitution of their freedom he made anſwer and ſaid, that neither himſelf, nor any of thoſe who belonged unto him, could do withall: but it was long of themſelves and their variance one with another; whiles ſome of the Citizens drew to him, and others enclined to King *Eumenes*. Which ye may (qd. he) ſoon know to be a truth, if ye will but ask the Maronits themſelves: for this account he made, that whiles they were all terrified with ſo late and freſh a maſſacre, there durſt not one of them open his mouth againſt him. *Appius* replied again, and ſaid, That they were not to make G an enquiry in this ſo evident and notorious a fact, as if it were in any reſpect doubtfull: but if he would diſcharge and clear himſelf as innocent of the action, he ſhould ſend to *Rome Onomaſtus* and *Caſſander*, who were named to have committed the outrage, that the Senat might examine them upon interrogatories. This word at the firſt ſo troubled and daſhed the King that his colour went and came in his face, & he knew not how to keep his countenance. But after he was come again to himſelf, he made anſwer, That (if they needs would) he cared not much to ſend *Caſſander*, for that he had dwelt & continued in *Maronea*; but as for *Onomaſtus*, who neither was at *Maronea*,

nor

nor ſo much as in any quarter near unto it, how poſſibly could he be charged or touched with the matter? Now as he ſpared *Onomaſtus* the rather of the twain, and was loath to have him come in queſtion, as being his more dear and honourable friend: ſo he feared him much more than the other, leſt he ſhould bewray and diſcloſe the thing; for that himſelf had conferred with him thereabout; and beſides, he had ſerved his turn divers times as a Miniſter to execute, and been privy unto him as a complice to plot ſuch like deſignments. *Caſſander* alſo, as it is verily thought, was poiſoned and made away, by certain that were ſent of purpoſe to accompany him through *Epirus* to the ſea ſide; and all becauſe the villany ſhould not be detected and come to light. Thus the Legats departed from the parley and conference with *Philip*, as ſhewing in their countenance, that they were nothing well pleaſed: and *Philip* on the other ſide went his waies as reſolute to levy war again: but foraſmuch as his forces as yet were not ſufficient to do any exploit, and becauſe he would delay the time between, he determined to ſend his younger ſon *Demetrius* to *Rome*, both to purge his father of thoſe matters wherewith he was charged, and alſo by humble requeſt to appeaſe the anger of the Senat; ſuppoſing, that this young gentleman, who had been left as an hoſtage at *Rome*, and there had ſhewed a good teſtimony of a Princely nature and royall diſpoſition, might much avail in the cauſe. In the mean while himſelf under colour of aiding the Bizantins, but in very truth to ſtrike ſome terrour into the Princes of *Thrace*, made an expedition againſt them: and when he had in one battell diſcomfited them, and taken priſoner their chief Captain *Amadorus*, he returned into *Macedony*, having ſent certain meſſengers to ſollicit the barbarous nations inhabiting near the river *Iſter*, for to enter and invade *Italy*. In *Peloponneſus* alſo the coming of the Roman Legats was expected, who by this commiſſion were enjoyned to paſs out of *Macedony* into *Achæa*: againſt whom becauſe the Achæans would not be to ſeek what to ſay, *Lycortas* their Prætor ſummoned a publike Councill aforehand. In which there was parly as touching the Lacedæmonians, namely, how that of enemies they were become informers and accuſers, and danger it was, leſt when they were vanquiſhed they would be more to be feared, than all the time that they waged war. For during the wars, the Achæans found the Romans to be their good aſſociats, but now the ſame Romans are more friendly to the Lacedæmonians, than to the Achæans, ſeeing that *Areus* and *Alcibiades* (baniſhed perſons both out of *Lacedæmon*, and by the means of the Achæans reſtored again to their place) had undertaken to go in embaſſage to *Rome*, againſt the Achæan nation, which had ſo well deſerved at their hands; and there gave ſo hard language againſt them, as if they had been chaſed and driven out of their country and not reſtored thereunto by them. Hereupon aroſe a great outcry from all parts of the aſſembly, for to put to queſtion, what ſhould be determined expreſſely of them by name; and in this fit, where all went by choler, and nothing by counſel, condemned they were to die. Some few daies after came the Roman Embaſſadors, for whoſe ſake a Councill was holden at *Clitore*, a City in *Arcadia*. But before any matter was treated on the Achæans were ſurpriſed with exceeding fear, conſidering and thinking how this deciding of matters was not like to be managed and carried with any indifferency for their behoof; foraſmuch as they ſaw *Areus* & *Alcibiades* (condemned by them in the laſt Councill) to be in the company of the ſaid Embaſſadors, and no man durſt open his lips and ſpeak a word. *Appius* declared, That the Senat was much diſpleaſed at thoſe matters whereof the Lacedæmonians had made complaint, namely, That firſt in a tumultuary fray and conflict, they were murdered, who had been called forth by *Philopœmen*, and came to plead and ſpeak in their own cauſe: Then, after they had exerciſed their cruelty thus againſt their perſons, to the end, that in no part their inhumanity ſhould be wanting, they had raſed the walls of a right noble and famous City, aboliſhed their moſt ancient laws, and put down the diſcipline and government of *Lycurgus*, ſo renowned throughout all nations. When *Appius* had made an end of his ſpeech then *Lycortas*, both in regard that he was Prætor, and alſo becauſe he took part with the faction of *Philopœmen* (who was the author of all that had been done at *Lacedæmon*) made anſwer in this wiſe: "More hard it is for us now, O *Appius*, to ſpeak before you, than of late it was "in the preſence of the Senat. For then we were to anſwer the Lacedæmonians, who accuſed us: "but at this preſent we have you to be our accuſers before whom, as competent judges we ſhould "plead in our own defence. Howbeit, we have ſubmitted our ſelves, and undergone this unequal "and hard condition, preſuming upon this hope, that you will lay aſide that accuſatory heat "which not long ſince you uſed, and put upon you the perſon of a Judg to hear with indifference "and equity. For mine own part, conſidering that you erewhile have but related thoſe matters "which the Lacedæmonians both here in place before *Q. Cæcilius* of late, and alſo at *Rome* afterwards complained of, I would think that I am to anſwer therefore not unto you, but unto them "in your hearing. You charge us with the murdering of them who being called out by the Prætor "*Philopœmen* to plead their cauſe were killed. This crime I hold that it ought not to be objected "againſt us by you Romans, no, nor ſo much by any other in your audience. And why ſo? becauſe "it was expreſſely ſpecified in your own treaty and accord of covenants, that the Lacedæmonians ſhould have nothing to do with the maritime Cities. At what time as the Lacedæmonians "took arms, and ſeiſed by force in the night thoſe Cities, which they were preciſely forbidden "to meddle withall; *T. Quintius*, if the Roman army had been in * *Peleponneſus*, as aforetime no "doubt we muſt needs think, that being thus ſurpriſed and evill entreated, they would have had "recourſe thither for ſuccour. But ſince ye were ſo far off, whither elſe ſhould they flie and retire themſelves, but to us your allies, whom they had ſeen before to help and ſuccour *Gytheum*? "whom

* *Morea.*

A "whom upon the like cauſe they knew to have aſſailed *Lacedæmon* together with you? It was in
"your quarrel therefore that we enterpriſed a juſt and lawful war. Which being an act of ours, by
"others commended, and which ought not by the very Lacedæmonians to be condemned, and
"conſidering that even the Gods themſelves have approved thereof in that they gave us victory,
"how cometh it then to paſs, that you bring thoſe matters into queſtion which are by right of
"law warranted? And yet a great part thereof in no reſpect toucheth and concerneth you. That
"we cauſed them to come forth to anſwer their cauſe, who had raiſed a commotion of the multi-
"tude, who had forced the maritime Cities, who had ranſacked them, who alſo had maſſacred
"the principal citizens, we are to anſwer therefore, and to us that properly appertaineth. But
"that they were murdered in the way as they came into our camp, was nothing to us, but your
B "deed O *Areus* and *Alcibiades*, who now (forſooth) are become our accuſers. The baniſhed La-
"cedæmonians (of which number thoſe two alſo are, and who at that time were with us, for that
"they choſe the coaſt Towns to retire into for their habitations) ſuppoſing that their own death
"was ſought, and that there would have been outrage committed upon them, they ran upon
"thoſe, by whoſe means they were driven out of their countrey; even upon an indignation that
"they might not ſo much as paſs their old age in baniſhment with ſafety. They were the Lace-
"dæmonians then and not the Achæans that ſlew the Lacedæmonians: whether juſtly or unjuſtly,
"that is not the queſtion, neither skileth it. But what ſay ye to this O Achæans, how can ye deny
"but that ye are culpable, in that ye have aboliſhed the Laws and the moſt ancient diſcipline of
"*Lycurgus*? and withal raſed the walls of *Lacedæmon*? And how is it poſſible that both theſe
C "points ſhould be objected unto us by the ſame men? conſidering that thoſe walls were never
"built by *Lycurgus*, but contrary-wiſe (and not many years paſt) for to overthrow and anull the
"diſcipline inſtituted by *Lycurgus*? For the tyrants of late daies built them to ſerve as a fortreſs
"and bulwark for themſelves, and not for a defence unto the City. And if *Lycurgus* at this day
"ſhould riſe again from death to life, he would take joy in their ruins, and ſay that he acknow-
"ledged now his own native countrey and ancient *Sparta* indeed. You Lacedæmonians ſhould
"not have expected *Philopœmen* nor the Achæans but your ſelves ought with your own hands to
"have pulled down and deſtroied all the tokens and memorials of tyranny. Thoſe walls were the
"very marks and as a man would ſay the unſeemly and deformed ſcars of your thraldom and ſer-
"vitude. And you who without walls for the ſpace almoſt of 800 years had lived in freedom,
D "yea and for a certain time alſo had been maſters of *Greece* became ſlaves during a hundred years,
"enlocked and reſtrained within walls, as if ye had been fettered by the feet. Now as touching the
"laws, which ye pretend to have been taken away by us, I ſuppoſe verily that the tyrants they
"were, who deprived the Lacedæmonians of their ancient laws: and that we have not taken from
"them theirs (for none they had of their own) but rather have given them ours: neither have
"we done otherwiſe than well by them, but regarded much the good of their City and Common-
"wealth, in that we have united them in our ſolemn court of Parliament, and incorporated them
"unto us: to the end, that in all *Peloponneſus*, there ſhould be but one body, one State, and one
"Counſel. Then (I wot well) they might have juſtly complained to have been wronged, then
"they might have grieved and ſaid they had not been well uſed, in caſe we our ſelves had lived
E "under one kind of laws, and put them to be ruled by others. I know full well, O *Appius*, that
"all my ſpeech hitherto is neither beſeeming allies to uſe unto their allies, nor decent and meet
"for a nation that is free but rather (to ſpeak more truly) fit for ſlaves debating before their ma-
"ſters. For if that ſound of the trumpet, if that voice of the publick crier were not in vain, where-
"by ye ordained and declared, That we Achæans before all others ſhould be free; if the confede-
"ration ſtand firm and ſtable; if our alliance and amity be entertained and obſerved equally and
"indifferently; why demand not I of you Romans what you did after the winning of *Capua*? See-
"ing you will have us Achæans to make account unto you, what we did to the Lacedæmonians
"whom we conquered by war? Set caſe that we cauſed ſome of them to be killed. What of that?
F "Commanded not you (I pray) that the Senators of *Capua* ſhould loſe their heads? We have
"demoliſhed the walls indeed, but ye have not only ruinated their walls, but wholly turned them
"out of City and territory. But (you will ſay) the confederation in behalf of the Achæans is equal
"and indifferent in outward apparence, and in truth and effect their liberty dependeth upon the
"good will and pleaſure of the Romans, who indeed have the pre-eminence of the ſeignory and
"dominion beſides; I know it *Appius*, as well as you can tell me, yea and (although it behoveth
"me not ſo to be) I am not overmuch offended and diſcontented therewith. But this I beſeech
"you, let there be as great odds and difference as ye will between us Achæans and you Romans:
"provide this only, that your enemies and ours be not with you in as good regard and account,
"nay, that they be not in a better degree and condition than we your allies and aſſociats. For,
"that they ſhould be equal to us, we have been the cauſe: in that we granted them our own laws,
G "in that we admitted them to be incorporate in the general Diet of the Achæan State and com-
"monalty. But will ye have the truth? the conquered have not ſufficient to content and ſatisfie
"the conquerors: enemies demand more than allies have and enjoy: and thoſe things which are
"confirmed by oath, ratified and conſecrated by monuments and inſtruments of writings, cut and
"engraven in ſtone, for a perpetual memory to all poſterity, they would force and wreſt from us
"even with our perjury. True it is, O Romans we honour and revence you; yea and if you will
"needs have it ſo, we dread and fear you alſo: but yet ſo, as we both honour and alſo fear the im-

" mortal Gods more than you. Audience he had with the accord and conſent of the greater part: H
and all men judged, that he had ſpoken like a Magiſtrat indeed, and for the dignity and Majeſty of
his place: in ſuch ſort, as it was eaſily ſeen, that they were never able to hold their dignity and
maintain their authority with the Romans, in caſe they went coldly to work and proceeded in
mild terms with them. Then *Appius* anſwered and ſaid, " That he would gladly adviſe and per-
" ſwade them, all that he poſſibly could, to be reconciled unto the Lacedæmonians, whiles they
" might do it with full contentment; for fear leſt ſoon after they ſhould be conſtrained and forced
" to ſeek unto them againſt their wills and maugre their hearts. At this word they all ſighed and
groned again; but affraid they were and durſt not refuſe to do that which they were commanded.
This petition only they made unto the Romans, that as touching the Lacedæmonians they would
change & alter what they thought good, and not force the Achæans to ſin againſt their conſcience, I
in diſanulling thoſe things which they had eſtabliſhed and ratified with a ſolemn oath. So the ſen-
tence of condemnation only (lately paſſed againſt *Areus* and *Alcibiades*) was reverſed.

In the beginning of this year (when at *Rome* they had ſitten in conſultation about the Provinces
of Conſuls and Pretors) *Liguria* was aſſigned unto the Conſuls for their charge and government,
becauſe there was no war in any other place. Then the Pretors caſt lots for theirs. To *C. Decimius*
*Flavus* fell the juriſdiction of the City: and to *P. Cornelius Cethegus* that other between citizens
and forrainers: *C. Sempronius* had the government of *Sicily*, and *Q. Nævius Matho* of *Sardinia* with
commiſſion alſo to ſit upon the inquiſition in caſe of poiſoning. *A. Terentius Varro* was deputed
L. Governor of high *Spain*, and *P. Sempronius Longus* of the low. Out of thoſe 2 Provinces it fell
out ſo, that there came much about the ſame time two Lieutenants, L. *Juventius Talva* and *T.* K
*Quintilius Varus*; who having related before the Senat how great a war was now diſpatched and
finiſhed in *Spain*, required withal, that there ſhould be rendred praiſe and thanks to the immortal
Gods for the happy ſucceſs in the wars, and likewiſe that the Pretors might be permitted to bring
away their armies. So there was a ſolemn proceſſion ordained to be holden two dayes: but as
touching the reducing of the armies, they gave order to refer it wholly to be debated, at what time
as there ſhould be queſtion about the armies of Conſuls and Pretors together. Some few dayes
after, it was ordained, that the Conſuls ſhould have with them into *Liguria* two legions apeece,
which *Ap. Claudius* and M. *Sempronius* had the conduct of. As touching the Spaniſh forces, great
contention there was between the new Pretors and the friends of *Calpurnius* and *Quintius* in
their abſence. Both ſides had Tribuns and both had Conſuls to take part with them. The Tribuns L
threatned to croſs the act of the Senat, if they ordained that the armies ſhould be brought home.
The Conſuls again proteſted, that if the Tribuns thus oppoſed their negative, they would not ſuf-
fer any other decree and ordinance to paſs. In concluſion, the reſpect of thoſe that were abſent,
was of leſs importance: and an act of the Senat was entred, That the Pretors ſhould enrol 4000
footmen of Romans, and 400 horſemen: likewiſe 5000 foot and as many horſe of Latine allies, to
conduct with them into *Spain*. And when they had thus enrolled theſe four full legions, look what
ſurpluſage there remained over and above 5000 foot and 300 horſe in a legion, they ſhould give
them their congie and diſmiſs them of ſouldiery; firſt, as many as had ſerved out their full time,
and then thoſe who had born themſelves moſt valiantly in the war under *Calpurnius* and *Quin-*
*tius*.

After this debate and variance was appeaſed, there aroſe another in the neck of it, occaſioned M
by the death of *P. Decimius* the Pretor. *Cn. Licinius* and L. *Puppius* (who had been Ædiles the laſt
year before) likewiſe *C. Valerius* the Flamin of *Jupiter*, and Q. *Fulvius Flaccus*, laboured to be in
his room late deceaſed. As for the laſt of theſe rehearſed (becauſe he was Ædile Curule) he
ſhewed not himſelf in his white robe; but he made more means and laboured above all the reſt,
having to his adverſary and concurrent the Flamin aboveſaid. At the firſt he ſeemed equal only
unto him in the ſuit, but afterwards when he began to have the better of him, certain Tribuns of
the Commons ſtood upon this point, and alledged, That his name was not to be accepted as eli-
gible; for that one and the ſelf-ſame perſon might neither take nor exerciſe at one time, the fun-
ction of two Magiſtracies; and namely, both Curule or of State. Others again ſaid, that it was N
meet and reaſon that he were diſpenſed with and exempt from the Laws in that behalf, to the end,
that the people might be at liberty to elect whom they would for Pretor. L. *Porcius* the Conſul
was firſt of this reſolution, not to admit his name: and afterwards, becauſe he would ſeem to do
by warrant and authority of the Senat, he aſſembled the LL. together and ſaid that he propoun-
ded and put to queſtion before them, That for aſmuch as an Ædile elect ſued to be Pretor with-
out all right, or any precedent tolerable in a free-ſtate; for his own part he was minded (unleſs
they were of a contrary opinion) to hold the general aſſembly for the election according to law.
Then the LL. gave their advice, that L. *Porcius* the Conſul, ſhould commune and treat with Q.
*Fulvius*, that he would be no hinderance, but that the aſſembly for the ſubſtitution of a Pretor in
the room of *C. Decimius* departed, might be holden by order of law. As the Conſul was thus in O
hand with him according to the act of the Senat *Flaccus* made anſwer, That he would do nothing
unfitting his own perſon. By this doubtful and indifferent anſwer of his, he put thoſe in good hope
(who expounded and conſtrued as they would have it) that he would accommodate and apply
himſelf to the authority of the LL. of the Senat: but at the time of the election he ſued more
earneſtly than before; complaining of the Conſul and Senat, That they wrung and wreſted out of
his hands the benefit of the people of *Rome* intended unto him; and to bring him into ill will and
obloquy

A obloquy of the people, they made much ado about two offices and a double dignity: as if all the world saw not, that after he were declared and pronounced Pretor, he would incontinently resign up the Ædileship. The Consul perceiving both him fully resolute and set upon a pitch in the suit, and also the favor and affection of the people enclined more and more toward him, brake up the assembly aforesaid, and called a Senat: where, in a frequent session of Senators it was ordained, That for as much as *Flaccus* was little or nothing moved with the authority of the LL. of that honorable court, he was to be dealt withal in a general assembly before the body of the people. When the people were met together at the summons of the Consul, he proposed the matter unto him before them. *Flaccus* relented never a jot, but persisted still in his opinion, and gave the peo-
B ple of *Rome* thanks for their favour, in that they shewed themselves willing to elect him Pretor, so often as they had time and place wherein they might testify and declare their love to him: which affectionate kindness of his fellow citizens, he never meant to reject and abandon. This constant and resolute speech of his, kindled and enflamed so great love and affection in them toward him, that past all peradventure he had been chosen Pretor out of hand, in case the Consul would have received his name. Much strife and debate there was amongst the Tribuns, one against another; yea and between them and the Consul, until at length the Consul held a Senat, and there a decree passed in this wise. That forasmuch as the wilfull stubbornes of Q. *Flaccus* of one side, and the inordinat affection of men on another side, was such, as the solemn assembly for subelecting of a Pretor in the place of the deceased, could not be holden according to the laws, the Senat agreed and resolved, that there were already Pretors enough, and *P. Cornelius* should administer
C and execute both jurisdictions in the City, and exhibit the playes and games in the honour of *Apollo*.

After this troublesome debate about the election, was by the sage wisdome and valorous courage of the Senat suppressed, there arose another far greater by how much the thing was of weightier importance, and the persons agents therein more in number and for quality and place mightier. There stood in election to be Censors (and that with earnest endeavour and exceeding heat of contention) L. *Valerius Flaccus*, *P.* and *L.* both *Scipiones*, *Cn. Manlius Volso*, and *L. Furius Purpureo*, all *Patritii*. And of commoners, M. *Porcius Cato*, M. *Fulvius Nobilior*, *T.* and *Marcus* both *Sempronii*, the one surnamed *Longus*, the other *Tuditanus*. But *M. Porcius* over-went them all by many degrees, as well those of the Patricians as also of the commons, notwithstanding they were
D come of most noble families. This man carried with him so vigorous a spirit and pregnant wit, that howsoever he were born and descended, it seemed he was able to make way of himself to advancement and honour. He wanted no Art and skill meet and requisit for the managing either of private busines of his own, or publick affairs of state: cunning he was in country husbandry, as well as in civil policy. Some are advanced to the highest dignities and most honourable places, by their deep knowledge in the law: others attain to promotion by eloquence: and there be again, who have risen and become great through martial prowess and feats of arms. But this man was by nature so trainable and pliant to all alike, that whatsoever he addicted and gave himself unto, a man would have said, he had been born and framed even from his mothers womb to it and to nothing else. In war a most hardy and valiant souldier: and in many foughten fields highly re-
E nowned. Being mounted once to high places of honorable calling, a right excellent commander he proved, and General of an army. In peace again, for sound counsel in the civil law, passing well learned: for pleading at the bar and making orations, most eloquent. Neither carried he himself so, that his tongue flourished only whiles he lived, as leaving no monument behind him of his singular eloquence; but it liveth, nay, it flourisheth still, immortalized as it were and recommended to posterity in all kind of writing. Orations of his there be extant many, which he penned and pronounced as well in his own cause as for the defence of his friends, yea, and invectives also against others: for able he was to put down and weary his adversaries, not only by declaiming and accusing them, but also by pleading his own cause. Factious quarrels and enmities there were exceeding many, that tormented him; and he plagued others with as many: and hard it is to say or set
F down, whether he were urged and pressed upon by the nobility, or himself coursed and baited them more. Doubtless, by nature he was austere and rigorous, his speech was sharp biting, and beyond measure plain and free: but he carried a mind with him that stooped to no desires and lusts whatsoever: his life so severe and precise, as it was untouched and without all spot of blame: despising all fawning favours, and contemning earthly riches. In thrift and frugality, in sobriety, in patience, in sufferance of travail and danger, his body was steel to the very back. And as for his mind and courage, it was such, as very age and time (which abateth and consumeth all things else) was not able to break and daunt: when he was fourscore years old and six, he pleaded at the bar for others: he made orations for his own defence, and wrote books: and in the nintieth year of his age, he convented *Sergius Galba* before the people to receive his judgment by them. As all his
G life time before, the nobility was set against him, so when he stood now to be Censor, they pressed hard upon him: insomuch as all his competitors (excepting *L. Flaccus*, who had been his colleague in the Consulship) complotted together, how they might give him the repulse and put him besides the Cushion: not only for that their own teeth watered, and they were desirous themselves rather of that honor; nor because they repined to see a new risen Gentleman, and one of the first head to be a Censor: but also because they looked for no other but that his Censorship would be rigorous and prejudicial to the name and reputation of divers men; considering how he had been

The commendation of *M. Porcius Cato.*

crossed and hurt by very many, and was desirous himself to wait them a shrewd turn, and be meet H with them again. For even then, whiles he laboured and sued for the place, he used minatory speeches, and gave out, that they only were opposed against him, who feared they should have a Censorship sharply exercised without partiality and respect of persons. And herewith he maintained and upheld the suit of *L. Valerius* with him, saying that if he had but him of all others to be his colleague, he should be able to repress the wicked enormities newly come up and rife in the City, and to bring in request again the ancient manners and fashions of the old world. Men were much moved in these respects and considerations; and so maugre the heads of the nobility, they not only created him Censor, but also adjoyned unto him *L. Valerius* for his companion in that government.

After the election of Censors was ended, the Consuls and Pretors took their journies into their I several Provinces, all save Q. *Nævius*; who before that he could go into *Sardinia*, was staied behind no less than four months, about certain inquisitions of poisoning: whereof, he sate upon many without the City of *Rome*, in corporate burroughs, market Towns and places of great resort, for that he thought that manner of proceeding more convenient. And if we list to believe *V. Antias*, he condemned two thousand persons.

Semblably, *L. Postumius* the Pretor, (unto whom the government of *Tarentum* by lot fell) did good justice upon great conspiracies made by certain grasiers; and with great care and diligence followed the enquest of the Bacchanals, and dispatched the reliques thereof quite and clean. Many of them who were adjourned and made not appearance, but gave the slip and left in the lurch their sureties bound body and goods for them, and lurked in that quarter of *Italy*; he either K judged and condemned as guilty and convicted, or caused them to be apprehended and sent to *Rome* unto the Senat; who were all cast in prison by *P. Cornelius*.

In the farther part of *Spain* all was quiet, by reason that the Lusitans were in the last war subdued: but in the nither part, *A. Terentius* forced *Corbio* a Town of the Suessetans, which he assaulted with mantilets and other fabricks of war, and sold all the prisoners: which done, he passed the winter peaceably in that higher part of *Spain* also.

The old Pretors, *C. Calpurnius Piso* and *L. Quintius* returned to *Rome*; and both of them were with great accord and consent of the LL. of the Senat allowed to triumph. And first *C. Calpurnius* triumphed over the Portugals and Celtiberians. In which triumph, he carried in shew 83 coronets of gold, and 12000 pound of silver. Within few dayes after, *L. Quintius* triumphed over L the same Portugals and Celtiberians. In which solemnity, there was represented in shew, as much gold and silver as in the former.

The Censors, *M. Porcius* and *L. Valerius*, whiles men hung in suspence between fear and hope what they would do, held a review and a new choice of the Senate. Seven Senators they displaced and deposed from that dignity: amongst whom, there was one of mark, for his nobility of birth and honorable offices which he had born, namely, *L. Quintius Flamininus* who had been Consul. An ancient order (they say) it was in time of our fore-fathers, That when the Censors had put any out of the Senat, they should note them directly for those faults which they had committed: and at this day, extant there be divers sharp orations of *Cato*, against them whom either he caused and displaced out of Senat, or from whom he took away horses of service: but of all others, the foulest and bittrest is that of his, against this *L. Quintius*; which if he had pronounced M as an accuser before he had noted him with that disgrace, and not as Censor after the said note, his very own brother *T. Quintius* (if he had been then Censor) could not possibly have kept *L. Quintius* in the state of a Senator. Among other grievous matters he articled against him, That he had trained with him from *Rome* into his Province of *France* (in hope of many great rewards) one * *Philippus Pœnus*, a notorious and costly Ganymede. This boy, as he was fooling and playing the wanton with the said *Quintius* then Consul, used to upbraid him with this, That he was had away from *Rome*, against the very time that the shew of sword-players at utterance was to be exhibited: and this he said, to shew how ready he was to satisfy the pleasure of him his lover. Now it chanced as they were making good cheer together, and having taken their wine liberally N were well heat therewith, news came and reported it was in the banket time, That a certain noble man of the Boians was arrived, with his children, as a renegat from the adverse part; and was desirous to speak with the Consul, for to have assurance from his mouth of safe-conduct: who being brought into the pavilion began to parly with the Consul by a truchman or interpreter. And in the midst of his speech: How saist thou (quoth *Quintius* to that wanton deinty, his Catamite) because thou hast missed and lost the sight of those sword-players at *Rome*, wilt thou see presently here this Frenchman die in the place before? He made not any great semblance unto him in good earnest of his desire that way: but the Consul at the first beck of that beastly filth and baggage, caught the naked sword which hung over his head, and first gave the poor Gaul a wound in his sconce as he was speaking unto him, and afterwards as he made shift to flie from him, and called upon the protection of the people of *Rome*, and the assistance of those that were present, *Quintius* ran him quite through the sides. *Valerius Antias*, who never had read the oration of *Cato*, but gave credit to a flying fable only, without any head or author, telleth the tale with some other circumstance howbeit much like in substance of matter, as touching his lecherous lust and bloody cruelty. He writeth, that *Quintius* whiles he abode at *Plaisance*, sent for a famous courtesan (upon whom he was enamored) to a banket; and as he courted and made love to this strumpet, vanting himself unto

* This *Philip* I take to be no Carthaginian. The name soundeth not like others of that nation: but both it and *Pœnus* are Roman proper names.

A nnto her, among other discourses he recounted with what rigor he had followed certain inquisitions; what a number of prisoners he had in irons condemned to death; and how many of their heads he minded to chop off. Then this harlotry sitting next beneath him, said, That she had never in all her life seen any man to cut ones head off, and it was a sight that of all other she would fainst see. Wherupon, this kind amorous knight, to gratify the quean, caused one of those poor souls condemned to die, to be set out of prison into the banketting room, and presently to be beheaded before her face. A cruel fact it was & inhuman, whether it were committed as *Cato* hath objected in his Oration, or as *Valerius* hath written in his story, that any human creature should be thus massacred like a sacrifice, and the table besprinkled with his blood, amid the cups standing full of wine and the dishes furnished with viands, where and when the manner and custome was to tast
B and take the first essay in the honor of the Gods, and that devoutly with grace and good prayers; and all to content and feed the eye of a wanton and shameless Harlot, lying in the bosome of the Consul. In the end of *Cato* his Oration, this condition was offered unto *Quintius*, That if he would plead unguilty, and deny this fact and others which he charged him with, then he should put in a real caution, and stand to his defence and trial: but if he confessed himself guilty then he willed him to consider whether he thought any man would grieve and be sorry at the ignominie which he was to receive, who being transported beside his understanding with wine and women, made but a sport and pastime to shed mens blood at a very banket. In taking a review of the Cavalry or Gentlemen of *Rome*, *L. Scipio Asiaticus* had his great horse of service taken from him. This Censorship was likewise executed with severity and rigor to all sorts and degrees, and namely, in
C the prising and valuation of their goods. For *Cato* commanded the Sergeants to take a note of all the ornaments, jewels, and apparrel of women, also of their chariots and coaches if they amounted to the sum of 15000 asses, and to enrol the same in the Censors book. *Item*, all bondslaves under twenty years of age, sold after the last tax or assessment for 10000 Asses or upward, that they should be valued at an higher price by ten fold than they were esteemed worth: and that for all these things they should pay and contribute to the City chamber after three in the thousand. These Censors cut off all water either running out of any common stream into a privat house, or derived into particular fields and grounds. And all houses either built by private persons upon common ground, or any wayes encroaching and leaning to publike places they caused to be demolished and pulled down within thirty dayes. After this, they set out divers peeces of work to
D be wrought at a price, of that money which was ordained to that purpose; namely, to pave certain pools with stone, to scoure the draughts and sinks where need was: and in the mount *Aventine* and other parts where none were already to make new. And particularly of themselves *Flaccus* caused the causey or wharf to be made against the waters called *Neptunia*, that the people might pass to and fro that way: and also a street-way through *Formianum*. And *Cato* for his part built two galleries, * *Mœnium* and *Titium*, in the Mineries; and bought four shops for the City: he built there also the stately Hall or Palace called *Porcia*. As for the City revenues, they did set and let them forth to farmers, at an exceeding racked rent: but all the City works they put out to undertakers by the great, at as low a reckoning as they could. These leases and bargains aforesaid being once cancelled by order from the Senat, and new made at the importunat suit and that with
E outcries and tears of the Publicans, as well farmers as undertakers: then the Censors by proclamation commanded those to avoid fat from the subhastation, who had disanulled the former leases and bargains, and with some little abatement and easing of the former rents, they demised the same profits and revenues again to others. This was a censorship of great note, full of rapine, ill will, and heart-burning, which troubled and molested M. *Porcius* as long as he had a day to live, for that he was reputed and held to be the author of that severity and rigor exercised therin.

* Quarries. * Latumiæ.

The same year two Colonies were erected and inhabitants sent from *Rome*, to wit, *Pollentia* into the Picene territory, and *Pisaurum* into the Gauls country. Six acres of land were assigned to every one of the coloners. And the same Triumvirs, namely, *Q. Fabius Labeo*, M. *Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Q. Fulvius Nobilior*, were they that both parted the said lands, and also had the leading and plan-
F ting of the foresaid Colonies.

The Consuls that year atchieved no memorable exploit at all, neither at home in City, nor abroad in war. Against the year following they created Consuls *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *Q. Fabius*, who upon the fifteenth of *March*, on which day they entred into their government, put to question as concerning the Provinces, as well their own as the Pretors. For there had been chosen Pretors *C. Valerius* the Flamin of *Iupiter* (who also the year before was in election for the place) *Sp. Posthumius Albinus* and *P. Cornelius Sisenna*, also *L. Puppius*, *L. Iulius*, and *Cn. Sicinius*. Unto the Consuls was assigned the province *Liguria*, together with the charge of the same armies which *P. Claudius* and M. *Porcius* had conducted. As for both the Provinces in *Spain* [as well beyond as on this side *Iberus*] they were reserved with their ordinary forces, for the Pretors of the
G former year by special commission without casting any lots at all therefore. The new Pretors were enjoyned for to dispose and part their governments, that *C. Valerius* the Flamin of *Iupiter* might exercise one of the jurisdictions of *Rome*. So he was L. chief justice for the forrainers, and *Sisenna Cornelius* over the citizens. Unto Sp. *Posthumius* fell *Sicily*, to *L. Puppius Apulia*, to *L. Iulius Gallia*, and to *Cn. Sicinius Sardinia*. As for *L. Iulius* he was enjoined to make hast and set forward on his journey: for the Transalpin Gauls (beyond the mountains) had passed over by the streights of the forrests and waies unknown beforetime, into *Italy*, as hath been beforesaid, and were building them

a Town in that territory, which at this day is called *Aquilienſis*. This Pretor had in charge to impeach them in that enterpriſe, ſo far forth as he might poſſibly without war and force of arms: and if there were no other remedy but that they muſt of neceſſity uſe violence, then to certify the Conſuls therof: for agreed it was that one of them ſhould lead the Legions againſt the Gauls. In the end of the former year there was a general aſſembly holden for the chuſing of an Augur: wherin *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus* was created in the room of *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* late deceaſed. But in the beginning of this preſent yeat P. *Licinius Craſſus* the arch-Pontify departed out of this world, in whoſe place *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* was inveſted for the Biſhop. But *C. Servilius Geminus* was created the arch-prelat or high-prieſt aforſaid. In the honor of P. *Licinius* at his funerals, there was given a dole of fleſh; and a ſhew exhibited of 120 ſword-fenſers fighting at ſharp: likewiſe there were repreſented funeral plaies and games, which continued three dayes: and after that ſolemnity, a feaſt was holden; during which, when the tables were ſet & ſpred accordingly all over the grand-place of the City, ſuddainly there aroſe a tempeſt with great ſtorms, which forced moſt men to erect tents and booths there: but after a while when the weather was fair again, they were taken down and had away: and men commonly gave out and ſaid, That wheras the Prophets & wiſards had foretold among other their fatal preſages, that they ſhould be forced to quarter & pitch tents in the market place of *Rome*; now that propheſie was fulfilled, and they were freed and excuſed from farther danger. And no ſooner were they eaſed and delivered of that ſcruple, but they were troubled with another; for that it had rained blood two daies in the court-yard of *Vulcan*: and the Decemvirs publiſhed a ſolemn ſupplication for the expiation of that prodigious ſign.

Before that the Conſuls departed into their provinces, they brought into the Senat for to have audience, the embaſſages come from beyond Sea. And never before that day were ſo many men of thoſe forrain parts ſeen at *Rome*. For from the time that the bruit was blown abroad amongſt the nations bordering upon *Macedony*, that the Romans gave no deaf ear to the complaints and accuſations commenſed againſt *Philip*, and that many had ſped well by complaining; every City and State in their own behalf, yea, and many privat perſons in particular (for an ill neighbour he was to them all) repaired to *Rome*, in hope either to be righted and eaſed of their wrongs, or to diſcharge their ſtomacks and be moned and comforted for their miſeries. Likewiſe from King *Eumenes* there arrived an embaſſage accompanied with his own brother *Athenæus* to make complaint, as finding themſelves grieved that the garriſons were not withdrawn out of *Thracia*: as alſo to inform that *Philip* had ſent certain aids into *Bithynia* to *Pruſias* who made war upon *Eumenes*. Now *Demetrius* (*Philip* his ſon) at that time a very yong Gentleman, was to anſwer to all theſe challenges: and an eaſy peece of work it was not, either to bear in mind all the matters objected; or to think upon the points of every anſwer accordingly. For over and beſides, that the articles were many in number, moſt of them were of very ſmall conſequence and importance; namely, ſtrife about limits and land-marks, about carying away men and raviſhing women; of driving of cattel, of miniſtring juſtice partially and with affection, or elſe of none miniſtred at all: of ſentences given and judgments paſſed in cauſes either by force or for favour. The Senat perceiving that neither *Demetrius* could ſpeak to theſe points and give them good evidence, nor themſelves be well informed and clearly inſtructed by him; being moved alſo and grieved to ſee the youth ſo raw a ſcholer in theſe affairs, and therwith much troubled in ſpirit, gave order to enquire and demand of him. Whether he had received any notes in writing from his father, as touching the premiſſes? And when he anſwered and ſaid, Yea, they thought the firſt and principal thing for them to do was, to ſee and hear what were the anſwers of the King to every ſpecialty and particular. And thereupon they preſently called for that book of his fathers, and then permitted him to read the contents therof. Now therein were ſet down certain brief abſtracts of pleas and defenſes, to each ſeveral point; ſhewing *Imprimis*, that ſome things he had done according to the decrees & awards of the Roman Delegats and commiſſioners. *Item*, Wheras he had left ſomwhat undone, the default was not in him but in the very parties that accuſed him. He had interlaced between, certain grievances and complaints, as touching the iniquity and hard penning of thoſe decrees; and how matters were not ſcanned and debated before *Cæcilius* with that indifferency and equity as was meet and requiſit: and namely that without deſert of his part, all men were ſet againſt him and inſulted over him. The Senat collected hereby good arguments, how the heart of *Philip* was wounded and galled againſt the Romans. But when the yong Prince excuſed ſome of theſe matters, and for the reſt promiſed and undertook, that all ſhould be done to the uttermoſt as it pleaſed the Senat to order and ſet down; then it was thought good to deliver this anſwer unto him, That his father had in nothing done better nor more to the contentment of the Senat than that he ſeemed willing (howſoever matters were paſſed already) to make ſatisfaction to the Romans by the means of his ſon *Demetrius*. As for the Senat, they could diſſemble, forget, put up and endure many things done and paſt; yea, and were perſwaded verily in their hearts, that they might believe and truſt *Demetrius*: as knowing aſſuredly, that although they ſent his body again to his father *Philip*, yet they had his heart and affection with them ſtill, as a ſure pledge and hoſtage: and that he was a friend to the people of *Rome*, ſo far forth as his reverent duty to his father would permit and give him leave: letting him withal to underſtand, that for to do him honor, they would ſend Embaſſadors into *Macedony*: to the end that if ought had not been ſo fully effectuated as it ſhould have been, it might be done yet in good time, without imputation of fault and blame, or pœnal ſatisfaction to be made for any thing hitherto omitted: yea, and deſirous they were, that *Philip* ſhould underſtand, that by the

A the mediation of *Demetrius* and for his ſake, he ſtood yet in good terms of peace and friendſhip with the people of *Rome*. Theſe things intended and done for the increaſe of credit and reputation, preſently turned to the diſpleaſure of the yong Gentleman, and in the end to his utter ruin and overthrow.

Then were the Lacedæmonians admitted to audience in the Senate. They moved many petty matters and trifling controverſies; but thoſe that principally touched the main point were theſe; to wit, Whether they ſhould be reſtored again whom the Achæans had condemned, or no? *Item*, Whether they were juſtly or unjuſtly killed, whom they murdered? Moreover, they put to queſtion, Whether the Lacedæmonians were to be compriſed within the general aſſembly and Councel of *Achæa*; or, that this State (as before-time) ſhould have their rights and franchiſes apart by
B themſelves from all others in *Peloponneſus*? The Senat ordained and awarded: *Imprimis*, That they ſhould be reſtored. *Item*, That the ſentences pronounced againſt them, ſhould be reverſed. *Item*, That *Lacedæmon* ſhould do ſervice to that high court and publick Diet of *Achæans* and finally, that this accord and award ſhould be engroſſed, ſubſcribed, and ſigned as well by the Lacedæmonians as Achæans.

*Q. Martius* was ſent Embaſſador into *Macedony*: who alſo had direction and order given him by the ſame commiſſion, to viſit the ſtate of the allies in *Peloponneſus*: for there alſo remained ſome troubles after the old quarrels and variance; yea, and the Meſſenians refuſed to appear at the general councel of *Achæa*. Now if I would ſet in hand to record the cauſes and circumſtances of that war, I ſhould forget my purpoſe in the beginning of my work, wherein I reſolved not to touch at
C all any diſcourſe of forain hiſtories, no farther than they were linked to the Roman affairs. Howbeit one memorable occurence there hapned, which I cannot paſs by, namely, that albeit the Achæans had the better hand in war, yet it chanced that *Philopæmen* their Pretor was taken priſoner by the Meſſenians, as he made an expedition to ſeize upon *Corone* by prævention, which the enemies were deſirous to be maſters of. Surpriſed he was in a valley of great diſadvantage, and ſome few horſmen with him. It is reported, that by the help of the Thracians and Candiots, he might have fled and eſcaped: but for very ſhame to abandon thoſe men of arms, which were the nobleſt Gentlemen of that nation, & whom he lately had made choice of, he had not the power to do otherwiſe, but ſtay to ſee the laſt. For whiles he came himſelf behind in the rereward, becauſe he was deſirous to make means for their evaſion through the ſtreights of that paſs, and to that purpoſe va-
D liantly received the charge of the enemies, his horſe fell and caſt him at once; ſo as with his own fall and his horſe lying upon him, he had like to have gone away in a ſwoon: a man now threeſcore years old and ten; and withal, newly crept abroad and recovered of a long and lingering diſeaſe, which had mightily waſted and conſumed the ſtrength of his body. Well, thus lay he along, and the enemies ran over him; and ſo ſoon as they knew who he was, they reared him upon his feet from under his horſe, no leſs reſpective than if he had been their own General in regard of a reverence they bare unto the man, and in remembrance of his noble exploits: they brought him again to himſelf; and forth of that by-valley ſtanding out of the paſs, they carried him into the high way: and were ſo far poſſeſſed and overcome with joy ſo unexpected, that they could not well believe their
E own eyes that they had gotten him. Some diſpatched van-courriers to *Meſſene* with the news hereof; namely, that the war was brought to an end, conſidering that *Philopæmen* was taken and was their priſoner. At firſt the tidings ſeemed ſo incredible, that the formoſt meſſenger was held not only for a vain liar, but alſo for one not well in his wits: but after that there came one after another, and all with one voice verified and affirmed the ſame at length it was believed. And then, ſee what they did! before they knew for certain that he approached neer unto the City; they all ran forth of the gates by heaps to ſee the man: all (I ſay) bond as well as free, women and children one with another. In ſo much, as the gates were choaked up with the thruſt and throng of
F the preſs: for no man could believe aſſuredly it was true, the thing was ſo ſtrange unleſs he might ſee him with his own eyes. They that had the charge of bringing him, found much ado to put by the multitude whom they encounted, and to enter in at the gate: and ſo thick they ſtood in the preſs, that they took up all the wayes beſides, ſo as he could not be brought forth to be ſeen. Now becauſe the moſt part of the people might not poſſibly have a ſight of him, they gat up all at once into the Theatre, which ſtood neer unto the way, and peſtered it full; and with one voice they cried aloud, That he might be brought thither and preſented unto the view of the whole people. The Magiſtrats and principal citizens, fearing leſt the compaſſion that might ariſe in mens hearts upon the beholding of ſo worthy a perſonage, would raiſe ſome trouble and commotion; whiles
G ſome comparing the reverence of his former authority and Majeſty, with his preſent condition and calamity: and others calling to remembrance his manifold deſerts and paſſing good turns, might haply be touched with pity; ſet him a far off in the open ſight of them all, and then at once took him haſtily out of their view: for their Pretor *Dinocrates* gave out openly and ſaid, That the Magiſtrats were to enquire and demand certain points of him as touching the main ſum of the totall war. Then he was brought into their Councel-Chamber, where their Senate aſſembled and began to conſult about him. It was now well toward evening; and ſo far off they were from reſolving in other matters, that they could not bethink themſelves and agree, in what place they might keep him that one night in ſafeguard. Aſtonied they were and amaſed, to conſider and think upon the greatnes of his eſtate paſt, and of his noble vertue and valour: and no man durſt receive the charge and cuſtody of him in his own houſe, nor truſt any one beſides with

his

his keeping. At length ſome there were, that put them in mind of the publick treaſury of the H
City, vaulted under the ground like a dungeon, and walled all about with ſtrong ſquare ſtone.
Into it was he let down bound as he was, and a mighty huge ſtone (being the cover of the vault)
was by an engin laid over, to encloſe him ſure. Thus repoſing more truſt for his ſafe cuſtody in that
place than in any perſon, they waited and attended the next morning. When morrow day was
come, the whole entire multitude in general, recommending the benefits and good turns done
of old by him to their City, were of mind to pardon and ſpare him, and by his means and media-
tion, to ſeek for remedies and redreſs of their preſent diſtreſſes and calamities. But thoſe perſons
by whoſe motive and inducement the Meſſenians had revolted (and ſuch were they as ruled all
the common-weal) conſulted apart in ſecret, and concluded with one conſent to put him to
death: only the doubt and queſtion was, whether they ſhould do the thing with ſpeed, or by I
delay. But thoſe prevailed in the end, who were more greedy of preſent revenge, and ſo they ſent
one unto him with a draught of poiſon. When he had taken the cup in his hand (by report) he
gave not a word, but only asked, whether *Lycortas* (the other General of the Achæans) were eſca-
ped alive, and the foreſaid horſmen ſafe? When anſwer was made, that they were in ſafety; That is
happy, (quoth he) and therewith drunk off every drop in the cup right heartily, and a while after
yeelded up his vital breath. But long joyed they not of his death who were the bloody authors
of this cruelty: for the City of *Meſſene* being conquered by force of arms, among other capitulati-
ons, delivered theſe malefactors into the hands of the Achæans, who demanded preſently to have
them. The bones and reliques of *Philopœmen* were likewiſe rendred unto them, and interred he
was by the general Councel of all *Achæa*, in ſuch ſolemn wiſe, that in heaping upon him all ho- K
nours that could be deviſed for an earthly man, they forbare not alſo to adore him as a God im-
mortal. The Hiſtoriographers, as well Greek as Latine, attribute ſo much unto this man, that ſome
of them have recommended to poſterity (as a memorable thing of all others that hapned this
year:) to wit, that in this one year there died three renowned Captains, *Philopœmen*, *Annibal*,
and P. *Scipio*. See how they have matched him in equality with the greateſt warriors and nobleſt
Generals of the two moſt puiſſant nations in the whole world!

Then came *T. Quintius Flamininus* in embaſſage to King *Pruſias*, whom the Romans had in ſu-
ſpition and jealouſy, both for that he had received *Annibal* after the flight of *Antiochus*, and alſo
becauſe he made war upon *Eumenes*. Now, were it that among other matters *Flamininus* charged
*Pruſias*, that he entertained in his court the moſt ſpightfull enemy of all men living, unto the L
people of *Rome*; who firſt ſollicited his own native countrey to take arms againſt the Romans,
and after the force and power thereof was abated and defeated, perſwaded King *Antiochus* to do
the like: or rather that *Pruſias* of his own accord to gratify *Flamininus* there preſent, and to do
the Romans a pleaſure, had a meaning and intent either to kill *Annibal*, or to deliver him alive
into their hands. I wot not how it came about, but upon the firſt communication and confe-
rence between them, there were ſouldiers ſent incontinently to beſet and guard his houſe. *Anni-
bal* evermore forcaſt in mind ſome ſuch iſſue and end of his life, ſeeing the deadly and inexpiable
hatred that the Romans bare unto him; repoſing beſides no confidence at all in the fidelity of
theſe Kings, and having withal ſome experience already of the inconſtancy and levity of King *Pru-
ſias*. Moreover, he had in horrour this coming of *Flamininus*, as fatal unto him, and a mean to M
work his final deſtruction. To the end therefore he might be ever provided aforehand againſt
thoſe inconveniences and dangers, wherewith on all ſides he was encumbred, and have a ready
way of evaſion to ſave himſelf, he had deviſed and cauſed to be made ſeven dores for egreſs out
of his houſe, whereof ſome were very privy and ſecret vaults, becauſe they ſhould not be envi-
roned with guards. But Kings commandments are of that force, that whatſoever they would
have to be ſearched out and diſcovered, cannot lie long hidden. For the guards ſo compaſſed and
encloſed the whole circuit of the houſe, that it was unpoſſible for any to get forth and make an
eſcape. *Annibal* being advertiſed that the Kings ſouldiers were at the gate, aſſaied to ſteal away
at a poſtern, which ſtood furtheſt out of the way, and whereof the conveiance was moſt ſecret, but
perceiving that the ſouldiers had beſet it too, and lay for to encounter and receive him that way, N
and that every place was inveſted with a ſet guard, he called for the poiſon which he had of long
time before ready prepared for all ſuch occurrent occaſions, and uttered theſe words withal, "Let
"us rid theſe Romans of this their continual fear and pain wherein they have been all this while,
"ſince that they think it ſo long to ſtay for the death of one old man. *Flamininus* ſhall obtain no
"great nor memorable victory of me, diſarmed thus as I am, and betraied into his hands. But this
The end of *Annibal*. "very day ſhall prove and teſtify, how far the people of *Rome* are degenerate and changed from
"their ancient manners. Their foreſathers (qd. he) advertiſed King *Pyrrhus* their enemy armed
"in field, and lying with an hoſt of men againſt them in *Italy*, they gave him warning I ſay to take
"heed of poiſon: but theſe living at this day, have ſent their Embaſſador, even one that hath
"born the dignity of a Conſul, to adviſe and counſel *Pruſias* wickedly to take the life away of his O
"own gueſt. Then after he had curſed the perſon of *Pruſias* and his whole realm, and called upon
"the Gods, protectors of the law of hoſpitality, to bear witneſs how he had violated his faith
"and broken promiſe with him, he ſet the cup of poiſon to his mouth, and drank it off. This was
the end of *Annibal*, *Polybius* and *Rutilius* write, that *Scipio* alſo died this year. But I, accord neither
with them nor with *Valerius*. From them I ſquare, becauſe I find that when *M. Porcius* and *L. Vale-
rius* were Cenſors, the ſame *L. Valerius* being Cenſor, was elected Preſident of the Senat, where-
as

A as *Africanus* had been Preſident for ten years ſpace together, during the time of two reviews by Cenſors next before. And ſo long as the ſaid *Africanus* lived, there would have been no other choſen Preſident in his room, unleſs himſelf were to have been caſſed and deprived of the Senators dignity, of which diſgrace and note of infamy, there is not one that maketh any mention. And as for *Valerius Antias*, he is ſufficiently refuted by *M. Nævius* a Tribun of the Commons, againſt whom there is an Oration extant, and the ſame penned by *P. Africanus*, and bearing his name. This *Nævius* is recorded in the rols and regiſters of Magiſtrats, by the title of Tribun of the Commons, in that year when *P. Clodius* and L. *Porcius* were Conſuls, but he entred into his office during the Conſulſhip of *App. Claudius* and *M. Sempronius*, the tenth of *December*. From which time to the fifteenth of *March* are three months, upon which day *Pub. Clodius* and *L. Porcius* be-
B gan their Conſulſhip. So, it ſeemeth that he was living during the Tribunſhip of *Nævius*, and that he might well commenſe an action againſt him, and call him to his anſwer, but he departed this life before that *L. Cato* and *M. Porcius* were Cenſors. But in my conceit the death of theſe three (the moſt renowned perſonages each one of their own nation) are not to be compared one with the other in this regard, that they hapned all juſt at one time, more than for this, that none of them all had an end correſpondent and anſwerable to the portly ſtate and glorious luſtre of his life. For firſt and formoſt in this they all jumped together, that they neither died nor were entered in their native countrey. Again, *Annibal* and *Philopœmen* were both poiſoned. *Annibal* was baniſhed and betraied by his own friend and hoſt, *Philopœmen* was taken priſoner, and left his life in priſon and irons. As for *Scipio*, although he was neither exiled nor condemned, yet making default of appa-
C rance at the day aſſigned unto him, and being cited to his anſwer in his abſence, willingly baniſhed not himſelf only for his life time, but his corps and funerals alſo after his death.

Whiles thoſe affairs paſſed in *Peloponneſus* (from whence our pen hath a little diverted and digreſſed) the return of *Demetrius* and the Embaſſadors into *Macedon*, diverſly wrought in mens minds, and amuſed them ſome in one thing, and ſome in another. The common people of *Macedony*, who were mightily afraid that the Romans would make war upon them, highly affected *Demetrius*, and caſt a favourable aſpect upon him as the author of peace, and withal they deſtined him without all doubt to the Kingdom, after the deceaſe of his father. For albeit he were yonger than his brother *Perſeus*, yet men thought and ſpake, that he was begotten in matrimony by *Philip* of his lawful wife, whereas he had *Perſeus* by a concubin, who carried no token and mark of
D a certain father, as having to his mother a woman that was nought of her body and common. Whereas *Demetrius* reſembled his father *Philip*, and was as like him as might be. Moreover, men ſaid, That the Romans would place and eſtabliſh *Demetrius* in the Royal throne of his father, but *Perſeus* was in no credit and reputation among them. Thus folk ſtuck not to give out abroad in their common talk. Whereupon not only *Perſeus* was in care and doubt, that the preeminence of age only would little boot and advantage him, conſidering in all reſpects elſe he was inferiour to his brother, but *Philip* alſo himſelf, ſuppoſing verily that it would hardly lie in his power to leave the inheritance of the crown to whom he pleaſed, thought that his yonger ſon was a mote in his eye, and troubled him more than was for his eaſe. Offended otherwhiles he was, that the Macedonians reſorted unto him ſo much as they did, and highly diſpleaſed that there ſhould be
E any more royal courts than one in his realm, during his life. And to ſpeak a truth, the young Prince himſelf returned from *Rome* more puffed up, no doubt, with pride, than was beſeeming; as who preſumed and grounded much upon the opinion that the Senat had of him, perceiving that they had granted thoſe things to him which had been denied unto his father before: but look how much favor and honor (in reſpect of the Romans) he won among the reſt of the Macedonians, ſo much envy and ill will he procured himſelf thereby not only with his brother, but with his father alſo: and eſpecially after that other Roman Embaſſadors were arrived and that *Philip* was forced to part with *Threcia* and withdraw his garriſons, and to do other things either by vertue of the old award of the firſt commiſſioners, or by a new ordinance of the Senat. Well, he per-
F formed all, but with an heavy heart and many a deep ſigh and grone, and ſo much the rather, becauſe he obſerved and ſaw how his ſon *Demetrius* converſed more with the Embaſſadors, and frequented their company oftner than his. Howbeit he obeied, and did whatſoever was enjoined him by the Romans, becauſe he would miniſter unto them no occaſion of levying war againſt him out of hand. And ſuppoſing it was good policy to avert their minds from all ſuſpition that he minded any ſuch deſigns tending that way, he led his army into the midſt of *Threcia* againſt the Odryſians, Danthelets, and Beſſians. He won the City *Philoppopolis* abandoned by the inhabitants who were fled, and had retired themſelves with their whole families to the high mountains next adjoining: and after he had waſted the Lands and territories of the Barbarians that inhabited the champain countrey, he received them under his ſubjection by compoſition. Afterwards, having left a garriſon at *Philippopolis*, which ſoon after was chaſed and expelled by the Odryſians, he de-
G termined to build a Town in *Deuriopus*, a region of *Paonia* neer the river *Erigonus*, which iſſueth out of *Illyricum*, and keeping his courſe through *Paonia* diſcharged it ſelf, and falleth into the river *Axius*. Not far from *Stobæ* the old City, he built a new, and cauſed it to be called *Perſeis*, thereby to do honour to his eldeſt ſon *Perſeus*.

During the train of theſe affairs in *Macedony*, the Conſuls took their journey into their ſeveral Provinces. *Marcellus* ſent a meſſenger before him to *L. Porcius* the Pro-conſul, to give him to underſtand that he ſhould preſent his legions before the new Town of the Gauls. But at the firſt

approach

approach of the Conſul, the Frenchmen yeelded the place. Twelve thouſand they were that bare H
arms and moſt of them had by force gotten their armour out of their country villages, which was
taken from them maugre their hearts, with all things elſe, that either they had gotten out of the
country by pilling and robbing, or brought with them of their own. Whereupon they addreſſed
their Embaſſadors to *Rome*, for to make complaint of theſe abuſes and wrongs: who having au-
dience given in the Senat by C. *Valerius* the Pretor, declared, how by occaſion that *Gaul* was ſur-
charged with a multitude of people, they were conſtrained as well for want of ground and poſſeſ-
ſions, as alſo for need and poverty, to paſs over the *Alps* and ſeek themſelves ſome place of habi-
tation. And where they ſaw any quarters forlet, deſart, and unpeopled, there they had planted
themſelves, without offering injury to any perſon: where alſo they had begun to build a Town,
which might be a good proof and argument, that they came not to do violence upon any City or I
country Village. And now of late *M. Claudius* had ſent unto them a meſſage, that unleſs they ſub-
mitted and yeelded, he would war upon them: whereupon they preferring certain peace (al-
though it were leſs honorable) before the doubtful hazard & adventures of war, ſurrendered, rather
to be in the protection and ſafeguard, than under the ſubjection of the people of *Rome*. But a few
daies after, they were commanded to quit both City and Country. And thereupon reſolved in
their mind to depart in ſilence and ſaying never a word into what place ſoever they could, there
to ſeek their fortune: but then they were diſarmed, yea, and ſpoiled and ſtript of all that ever they
had, and nothing left, that either they drave before them, or carried about them. In regard where-
of, they were humble ſuppliants to the Senat and people of *Rome*, that they would not proceed in
more rigour and cruelty againſt them, harmleſs perſons as they were, and ſubmitting themſelves K
unto them, than againſt profeſſed enemies. To this Oration of complaint the Senat cauſed this an-
ſwer to be returned: That neither they had done well in coming into *Italy*, and preſuming to
build them a City upon other mens territories without permiſſion of the ſoveraign Roman Ma-
giſtrat, who had the government of thoſe parts: nor yet the Senat was well pleaſed, that they
ſhould be thus deſpoiled, conſidering they had yeelded. And therefore minded they were to ſend
with them their Embaſſadors to the Conſuls to command them in their name, to ſee that all their
own goods ſhould be reſtored again unto them, ſo that they made return thither from whence
they came: who alſo ſhould go forward immediatly over the *Alps*, to give the States of *France*
warning to keep in their people with them, and hold them in their native country: for aſmuch as
the *Alps* were the frontier limits ſtanding in the mids to confine between them, and therefore L
thoſe mountains neither ought nor might be paſſed of one ſide or the other: and to make account
of this, that they ſhould ſpeed no better now in tranſgreſſing their bounds, than at what time as
they firſt made a way and paſſage over them into *Italy*. The Embaſſadors emploied about this
buſineſs were *L. Furius Purpurio*, *Q. Minutius*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*. Thus the French, after re-
ſtitution made unto them of all that was their own by good right, and without wrong of others,
departed out of *Italy*. Now when theſe Roman Legats were come, they had good words and cour-
teous anſwer from the Tranſalpine nations. And thoſe amongſt them that were more ancient
than the reſt, blamed the people of *Rome* for their overmuch lenity, in that they let thoſe perſons
go, who without warrant from the whole State, durſt be ſo bold as to take a voyage to ſettle upon
any lands belonging to the Signory of *Rome*, and were ſo hardy as thereon to build a Town. For M
ſurely they deſerved not leſs than to abide grievous ſmart for their raſh demeanor. Moreover and
beſides, whereas the Romans have given them their own goods again, they feared much that ſo
great indulgency of theirs, would induce and encourage others to enterpriſe the like. So they
friendly entertained and as kindly accompanied the Embaſſadors, yea, and liberally preſented them
with rewards.

*M. Claudius* the Conſul having thus expelled the Gauls out of his Province, began to lay the
ground of the Iſtrick war, and for this purpoſe wrote his letters unto the Senat, for a warrant and
commiſſion to paſs with his legions into *Iſtria*. The Senat was therewith contented. But whereas
they were in queſtion and conſultation about conducting a Colony to inhabite *Aquileia*, they
could not agree whom to ſend, whether Latins or Roman citizens. But in concluſion the LL. N
thought it better to plant there a Colony of Latins. The Triumvirs for to effect this, were created
*P. Scipio Naſica*, *C. Flaminius*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*.

The ſame year were two Colonies of Roman citizens erected at *Mutina* and *Parma*: and two
thouſand perſons were to either place tranſlated out of the territory which lately was occupied
by the Boians, and before time had been in the tenure of the Tuſcans. They of *Parma* were en-
dued with eight acres of land, and thoſe of *Mutina* with five a peece. The Triumvir-Commiſſi-
oners who had the diſpoſing and managing of the buſineſs, were *M. Æmylius Lepidus*, *T. Ebutius
Carus*, and *L. Quintius Criſpinus*. Likewiſe the colony *Saturnia* conſiſting of Roman citizens, was
brought into the territory of *Caletra*, by the conduct of *Q. Fabius Labeo*, *C. Afranius Stellio*, and
*T. Semp. Gracchus*, deputed Triumvirs therefore: who ſet out for every man ten acres of ground. O

The ſame year *A. Terentius* the Pro-pretor, not far from the River *Iberus* in the Auſetans coun-
try, fought fortunatly againſt the Celtiberians, and forced certain Towns which they had forti-
fied. *Baſe Spain* beyond *Iberus* was quiet this year, becauſe both *P. Sempronius* the Propretor lay
ſick of a long diſeaſe, and alſo the Luſitanians (as good hap was) reſted ſtill and quiet, as being by
not man provoked to ſtir. Neither was there any memorable exploit atchieved in *Liguria* by *Q.
Fabius* the Conſul. *M. Marcellus* was called home out of *Iſtria*: and after he had diſcharged his

army,

A army, returned to *Rome* for to hold the election of the Magistrats. For Consuls he created *Cn. Babius Tamphilus* and *L. Æmylius Paulus*. This man had been Ædile Curule together with *M. Æmylius Lepidus*, who was Consul five years before; and yet the same *Lepidus* suffered the repulse twice ere he was created Consul. Then were Pretors chosen, to wit, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, *M. Valerius Levinus*, *L. Manlius* the second time, *M. Ogulnius Gallus*, *L. Cæcilius Denter*, & *C. Terentius Istra*. In the very end of the year there was a solemn supplication holden by occasion of certain prodigies: for men believed verily that in the court yard of the goddess *Concordia* it rained blood for the space of two daies: and reported it was not far from *Sicily*, that a new Land was discovered out of the Sea, where never any was before seen. *Valerius Antias* writeth that *Annibal* died this year: and that to compass and work his death, there were sent in embassage to *Prusias*, *L. Scipio Asiaticus*, and *P. Scipio Nasica*, besides *T. Quintius Flaminius*, who in that action is named most.

# The fortieth Book
## *Of the Histories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the fortieth Book.

C *When* Philip *had given commandment to make streight search for the children of those whom he kept in prison (and personages they were of most noble birth) for to put them to death:* Theoxena *fearing the King his malicious intent and wicked lust, in the behalf as well of her own children as of her sisters, little ones (God wot) and very yong infants, brought forth and offered unto the said children naked keen swords, and a cup of deadly poison, perswading with them to avoid the imminent shame and dishonour, by present death: which after she had obtained and seen effected, she likewise plaied her own part, and slew her own self. Moreover in this book are related the debate and variance between* Perseus *and* Demetrius, *the two sons of* Philip *King of* Macedony: *and how* Demetrius *came to his death by poison, through the mischievous practise of his brother* Perseus: *who devised false crimes and raised slanders against him: and principally among the rest, charged him that he intended to kill his own father, and meant to usurpe* D *the Kingdom; & last of all, because he was a friend to the people of* Rome: *by which means after the death of* Philip Perseus *obtained the crown. Also it containeth the happy exploits atchieved by many and divers commanders in* Liguria, *and in* Spain *against the Celtiberians. The books of* Numa Pompilius *were by certain husbandmen as they laboured in the ground of* L. Petilius *a Notary, under the* Janiculum, *found enclosed within a coffer of stone, and written both in Latine and Greek. And when the Pretor of the City, to whom the books were brought, had perused them, and found therein many points tending to overthrow religion and the divine service of the Gods, he swore before the Senat, that it was dangerous for the State and Common-wealth, that they should be read and preserved: in such sort, that by an Act of the State, they were burned within the* Comitium *or Hall of publick assemblies. The Colony* Aquileia *was now erected.* Philip *exceedingly displeased with himself and pricked with remorse of conscience for that* E *he had caused his son* Demetrius *to be poisoned, upon the false suggestions and accusations of his other son framed against him, devised to punish* Perseus, *and rather to confer the Kingdom upon* Antigonus *his friend, than that his son should succeed him: but in this designment and purpose of his he suddainly died: and so* Perseus *took the crown and Kingdom upon him.*

### *The fortieth book of* T. Livius.

IN the beginning of the year next ensuing, the Consuls and Pretors cast lots for their several governments. As for the Consuls, there was no other Province to employ them in but *Liguria*. The civil jurisdiction among citizens fell to *M. Ogulnius Gallus*: and the forrein over strangers F to *M. Valerius*. High *Spain* was assigned unto *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*: and the Nether-land thereof to *P. Manlius*. *L. Cecilius Denter* had the governance of *Sicily*, and *C. Terentius Istra* of *Sardinia*. The Consuls were enjoyned to take musters: for Q. *Fabius* had written out of *Liguria*, that the Appuans inclined to rebellion, and greatly to be feared it was, that they would break out and make rodes into the territory of *Pisa*. And well they knew already, that of the two Provinces of *Spain*, the higher parts were in arms, and the war with the Celtiberians was still in train: and as for the lower, the military discipline there, was clean corrupt and gone, by reason of riotous pleasures and idlenes where unto the souldiers were wholly given, by occasion that the Pretor lay so long sick. For these causes thought good it was, that new armies should be levied and enolled: to wit, four legions for *Liguria*, and every one of them to contain 5200 foot and 300 horse: unto which, G there was an addition of 15000 footmen, and 900 men of arms from out of the Latine allies. And these two armies were to serve the Consuls. But over and besides they were commanded to enrol 7000 foot, and 600 horsemen of Latine allies, and them to send into *France* to M. *Marcellus*, who was to continue still in place of command, after the term of his Consulship expired. Likewise they had in charge to levy of Roman Citizens 4000 footmen and 200 horse, and of allies 7000 of the one, and 300 of the other to be conducted into both Provinces of *Spain*. And Q. *Fabius Labeo* had his commission of government renewed for one year longer, with the charge of that army which he had in *Liguria*.

The

The ſpring ſeaſon that year was very ſtormy and tempeſtuous. On the * even of the feaſt *Palilia* about noon-tide, ſuddainly there aroſe a mighty bluſtring wind, which overthrew many edifices as well ſacred as profane. It caſt down the braſen ſtatues and images in the Capitol: it caught up the wicket of the dore belonging to the Temple of the * *Moon*, (which is in the Aventine) caried it away and ſet it faſt to the back wall of the Temple of *Ceres*. It overturned and laid along other ſtatues in the great cirque or ſhew-place called *Circus Maximus*, together with the pillars upon which they ſtood. The lanterns and pinnacles it rent and tare after a ſtrange ſort from the roof and top of certain Churches, and carried them clean away. And therefore this tempeſt was held for a prodigious token, and the Aruſpices gave order for the expiation and ſatisfaction thereof. Likewiſe the ſame proviſion was made in regard of a report from *Reate*, that a mule was foled with three feet: and from *Formiæ*, that the Chappel of *Apollo* (and namely at *C j ta*) was ſtriken I with lightning. For theſe prodigies, there were twenty greater beaſts killed for ſacrifice; and a ſupplication holden one whole day. And about the ſame time, intelligence was given by letters from *A. Terentius* the Pretor, that *P. Sempronius* having continued above a year ſick was departed this life in the farther Province of *Spain*; which was the cauſe that the Pretors were willed to make more haſt, and ſo much the ſooner to paſs into *Spain*.

* 19 of *April*: for the feaſt unto the goddeſs *Pales* was ſolemnized *an. XI. calend. Mai.* which was, *Natalis dies urbis Romæ*; the birth day (as it were) of *Rome*.

* *Luna*.

After this, the embaſſages from beyond the Sea had audience given them in the Senat. The firſt was that of the two KK. *Eumenes* and *Pharnaces*, and alſo of the Rhodians, who complained for the great loſs and overthrow by the Sinopians received. And about the ſame inſtant arrived alſo Embaſſadors from *Philip* from the Achæans and Lacedæmonians who had their anſwer and diſpatch, after a ſpeech made by *Martius*, who had been ſent to viſit the eſtate and affairs of *Greece* K and *Macedony*. But as touching the foreſaid Kings of *Aſia*, and the Rhodians this ſtood for their anſwer; namely That the Senat would ſend their Embaſſadors and Commiſſioners to take knowledge and ſee to all things there in place. But as concerning *Philip*, *Martius* had ſo told his tale, that he put the LL. of the Senat in more fear and perplexity: for in his declaration he confeſſed, that *Philip* indeed had accompliſhed the will and pleaſure of the Senat, but in ſuch ſort, as it was evident to be ſeen, that he would do ſo no longer than he were held thereto and compelled of neceſſity; for apparant it was, that he minded to make war again, conſidering that what ever he either did or ſaid, tended to no other end. For firſt and formoſt he cauſed all the multitude to be removed and tranſlated (with their whole families) out of the cities by the Sea-coaſt, into

* *Petiotidia*.

that quarter which now is called * *Emathia*, and in times paſt was named *Paonia*; and gave thoſe L Cities aforeſaid to the Thracians and other barbarous nations to inhabit; ſuppoſing that this kind of people would be more faſt and faithful unto him in his wars againſt the Romans. And verily this deed of his bred a great diſcontentment and murmuring throughout all *Macedonia*: inſomuch, as few there were of them, who thus left their native habitations together with their wives and children, that could bite in and contain their ſecret grief and heart-burning, and ſay nothing: but being pricked and netled more to anger than curbed and bridled with fear, they brake out, and were heard to curſe and cry out upon the King as they went along the way in troops and companies. Hereupon his fell ſtomack by nature was ſo galled that he had all men in jealouſy, and no time nor place there was, but he ſuſpected. In the end he began to give it out openly, that he could not make account to be in ſafety and ſecurity unleſs he apprehended and kept in priſon the M children of thoſe perſons whom he had before-time killed, for to diſpatch and make away them alſo (in time) one after another. This cruelty in it ſelf hainous enough and enormous, the calamity and woefull miſery of one houſe made more odious and deteſtable. Murdered he had many years before *Herodicus*, a noble man and a Prince of the Theſſalians: and ſome time after, he ſlew alſo his ſons in law, who had married his daughters. Theſe Gentlewomen being left Widows, had each of them by their Husbands a little Son: and the names of theſe women were *Theoxena* and *Archo*. As for *Theoxena* ſhe would in no wiſe marry again, albeit ſhe had many ſuiters that woed her: but *Archo* was wedded to one *Poris*, the very principal and nobleſt perſonage of the Ænean Nation: and when ſhe had born him many children ſhe died, and left them all very yong. Then afterwards *Theoxena* likewiſe was married to the foreſaid *Poris*, to the end, that ſhe might N have the bringing up of thoſe her ſiſters children with her own hands: and in truth ſhe was not more kind to her own pretty ſon than to thoſe her ſiſters children; but ſo tenderly regarded them all alike, as if ſhe had born them of her own body. Now when ſhe heard once of the Kings edict and proclamation which was gone forth, for the apprehenſion of all thoſe infants whoſe fathers before had been put to death; ſuppoſing that theſe children ſhould be expoſed not only to the abuſe and ſcornful mockery of the King but alſo to the luſt and villany of his guard ſhe conceived in her mind an horrible deſignment: yea, and ſhe ſtuck not to ſay, That with her own hand ſhe would rid them of their lives, rather than they ſhould come within the clutches of *Philip*. But *Poris* her husband (who abhorred the very naming of ſo abominable a fact) ſaid that he would conveigh them out of the way as far as *Athens*, to certain truſty friends of his there, and O would himſelf in proper perſon accompany them all the way thither, and take part with them of that exile and baniſhment. So they put themſelves in their journey all together [he and his wife and children] from *Theſſalonica* toward *Ænea*, unto a ſolemn ſacrifice and feaſt which yearly they uſe to celebrate with much ceremonious pomp, in the honor of *Æneas* their firſt founder. Now when they had ſpent that day in feaſting full ſolemnly, about the third watch of the night (when all others were found aſleep) they were embarked in a ſhip prepared aforehand by *Poris*;

making

A making ſemblance, as if they would return to *Theſſalonica*; but indeed purpoſing to cut over to *Eubœa*. But when they had laboured and wrought to no purpoſe upon the wind, which was full againſt them, they were overtaken and prevented by the day-light before they were far from the Land, and paſt ſight. And being diſcovered by the Kings officers who had the charge and keeping of the haven, there was a pinnace or foiſt (well appointed with armed men) ſet out to fetch in that veſſel, with expreſs commandment (as they would anſwer to the contrary at their utter peril) not to come again without it. Now as they approached neer, *Peris* verily for his part was very earneſt with the rowers, mariners, and ſailers, to plie their buſineſs and make way from them; otherwhiles ſtretching out his hands up to heaven, calling and praying unto the Gods to help them in this their hard diſtreſs. But the couragious lady his wife all the while (turning again
B to execute that deſignment of hers long before purpoſed) tempered and mixed a potion of poiſon, and brought forth certain ſwords withal. Now when ſhe had ſet the poiſoned cup before the children in their very eye, and drawn the ſwords naked: Death (quoth ſhe) is the only means we have to ſave our liberty; lo here the wayes that lead to death: now as every ones heart ſtandeth to this or that, take thereto, and avoid the cruelty and pride of the King. Come on lads and jolly ſtriplings, lead you the way firſt that are the bigger and elder; take ſword in hand, fall thereupon and work the feat at once: or if ye liſt rather to be long a dying, drink here of this cup. What ſhould they do? the enemies were faſt upon them ready to boord their veſſel, their mother on the other ſide, encouraging them inſtantly to take their death. In ſuch wiſe, that to conclude, ſome dying the one way and ſome the other, were all caſt headlong over ſhipboord, when they
C were but half dead. Then ſhe for her part embracing her husband about the middle (becauſe ſhe would dye with him for company) threw her ſelf and him both together into the Sea. Thus the Kings men ſeized upon the ſhip, when the maſters thereof were gone.

The horrible example of this fact kindled more coals, and ſet the malice and hatred kindled againſt the King as it were on a light and flaming fire anew, inſomuch as now commonly in al places they fell to open curſing of him and his children. Which maledictions and execrations it was not long but all the Gods liſtned and gave ear unto, and cauſed that he likewiſe exerciſed cruelty even upon his own fleſh and blood. For *Perſeus* ſeeing his brother *Demetrius* to ariſe every day more than other in favour, greatneſs, and reputation with the whole Macedonian people, and to grow alſo in credit and grace among the Romans, ſuppoſing with himſelf how he had
D no other hope left him of attaining to the crown, but by the means of ſome wicked practiſe bent all his thoughts and ſtudies that way, and aimed only at that mark. But believing verily that he was not ſtrong enough and ſufficient alone, to execute and bring forth ſo much only, as within that unmanly and womaniſh mind of his he had deviſed and conceived, he practiſed with his fathers friends, and eſtſoons ſounded their hearts one by one apart, caſting out ambiguous and doubtful ſpeeches. And at the firſt verily ſome of them ſhewed countenance, as if they could not abide to hear of any ſuch thing, becauſe they repoſed more hope in *Demetrius*. But afterwards, as the hatred of *Philip* grew daily greater againſt the Romans, which *Perſeus* ſtill foſtered and maintained, whereas *Demetrius* with all his might laboured againſt it; they fore-ſeeing in their mind the unhappy end of *Demetrius*, who lay too open and was not heedful enough to guard himſelf
E againſt the fraudulent and miſchievous plots of his brother, ſided with *Perſeus*; making this account in policy, to ſet that agoing and help it forward, which in the end would take effect, and namely to entertain and advance the hope of the mightier. For the execution of the reſt they reſerved every thing to a meet and convenient time therefore. As for the preſent, the beſt courſe they thought upon was this, to incenſe the King all that ever poſſibly they could againſt the Romans, to induce and put him forward ſtill to think of nothing but war, whereto of his own accord his mind ſtood well enough and was enclined. And withal (to the end that *Demetrius* might be from day to day more and more ſuſpected) they entred of purpoſe (as before they were agreed) into ſpeech, as touching the hope and great port of the Romans: whereat when ſome of them would ſeem again in ſcornful wiſe to debaſe their manners and faſhions, others to de-
F prave their deeds and acts, ſome ſcoffing in general at the very form and making of their City, how it was not yet embeliſhed & beautified either with ſtately edifices in publick places, or with fair houſes of private men; others mocking and having in deriſion the principal and chief perſonages of the City in particular; the inconſiderat yong Gentleman, carried away as well with an affectionat love to the Romans, as with a deſire to croſs his brother, would anſwer to al thoſe points in the defence and maintenance of the Romans: by which means he brought himſelf both into more jelouſy with his father, and alſo to be ſubject & expoſed to ſlanderous imputations. Whereupon his father acquainted him no more with any counſel as touching the Roman affairs, but wholly relied upon *Perſeus*, and with him conferred thereabout, imparting unto him both day and night all his projects and deſigns whatſoever. By this time were they returned whom he chanced
G to ſend to the Baſterns for to levy ſuccors and aid-ſouldiers, and brought they had with them from thence certain noble yong Gentlemen, and ſome among of royal blood. One of them promiſed to give his ſiſter in marriage to one of *Philip* ſons, inſomuch as the aſſociation by way of affinity with that nation ſet the Kings heart alſo aloft. But *Perſeus* brake out into theſe words: "What ſerves "all this for (qd. he) ſince we have not ſo much help and ſafety by aids from abroad, as harm and "danger by a miſchief and malady at home. We keep here and foſter in our boſome, I dare not ſay "a traitor, but I aſſure you a very dangerous ſpie and no better; whoſe body verily the Romans

" have ſent us again, but his heart and ſoul they are poſſeſſed of, ever ſince he was an hoſtage at H
" *Rome*. All the Macedonians in a manner have their eies upon him ſet, him they court, and give
" out in plain terms, that they will no other King than whom the Romans ſhall ſet up. Old *Philip*
was of himſelf badly enough affected in his mind, but upon theſe ſuggeſtions buzzed into his head,
he was the worſe, and more diſquieted and ſet out of frame: he entertained theſe ſurmiſes, and ſet
them neerer to his heart than he made fair in outward ſhew and countenance. Now it fortuned
that the time was come of the ordinary review of his army, the ſolemnity wherof was uſually per-
formed in this manner. They cut a dog overthwart the midſt in two halfs, the head and foreparts
together with the entrals were ſet on the right hand of the high way; the hind parts on the left.
Between this ſacrifice thus divided, the companies in their armour paſſed in a ſhew. Before the
front of the vanguard were carried the coats of arms and royal enſigns of all the Macedonian Kings I
that ever had been from the beginning. Then followed the King himſelf in perſon with his chil-
dren. Next marched the Kings guard and cohort, with the ſquires of his body. And laſt of all, in the
reregard behind came the reſt of the multitude and commons of the Macedonians. Of either ſide
of the King went his ſons, two luſty Gentlemen. *Perſeus* was about 30 years old, and *Demetrius*
five years yonger; the one in the mids and beſt of his age and ſtrength, and the other in the very
prime and flour thereof. An happy father had he been for ſo fair iſſue, ſeeing this proof, this matu-
rity and perfection of theirs, if the grace of God had gone withal, and that they had been well diſ-
poſed and affected in mind. The manner and cuſtome of this review and ſolemn ſight was (after
the ſacrifice duly accompliſhed) for the whole army to jouſt and tourney in this wiſe, that being
divided into two battailons, they ſhould one charge the other, and repreſent the ſhew of a very K
conflict and ſet field. And who ſhould be the chief leaders and captains in this brave paſtime, but
the Kings two ſons? But believe me they jeſted never a whit, nor made a vain ſhew for diſport,
but went to it roundly in good earneſt, as if they would determine now who ſhould be King a-
nother day? Foul work they made with their woodden waſters and headleſs pikes; many were
wounded, and nothing wanted there but ſharp iron, of a very bloody battel indeed. That regiment
which *Demetrius* commanded, had the upper hand by ods. *Perſeus* ſhewed himſelf highly diſplea-
ſed and angry thereat; but contrary-wiſe his friends and favourits of the wiſer ſort rejoyced at it,
and made remonſtrance, That this was the only thing to miniſter juſt occaſion unto him for to
challenge and accuſe his yonger brother. Now the ſame day, the one as well as the other feaſted
their companions, who had thus performed the jouſts and tournaments of either ſide with them. L
*Perſeus* was invited by his brother to ſupper, but he refuſed and denied to come. Howbeit ſuch
was the good fellowſhip amongſt them, and ſo merry were the yong gallants and luſty Cavaliers,
that they paſſed the feaſtival day in all joy and mirth, either part with their Captain, and plied the
wine full liberally. Then in their cups they fell to diſcourſing freely of their running and paſtime,
and began to caſt out merry conceits and broad jeſts at their adverſaries of the contrary ſide, in-
ſomuch as they forbare not to glance at the very Captains themſelves. Now had *Perſeus* ſent a
privy ſpie, one of his gueſts, to liſten what good talk there was at his brothers boord, but he de-
meaning himſelf & walking not ſo circumſpectly as he ſhould, was encountred by certain youths,
that chanced to come forth of the hall or parlor where they ſate at ſupper, and was evil entreated
and well beaten for his labour. *Demetrius* nothing aware thereof, among other table talk, Why M
go we not (qd. he) and banket with my brother? and if there remain any anger and diſpleaſure be-
hind after our jouſting in jeſt, appeaſe and mitigate the ſame in ſimplicity of heart and mirth-mak-
king? Mary, no better, cried they all again with one voyce, ſave only thoſe that feared to be met
withal preſently and ſerved alike for miſuſing & knocking the forſaid ſpie. *Demetrius* would needs
draw even them alſo with him; whereupon they carried weapons hidden under their apparel, for
fear of the worſt, that they might defend themſelves, if any violence were offred. But what can be
carried ſo ſecret, but out it will, where there is inteſtine diſcord in one family? All was full of ſpies
and falſe knaves, as well in the one houſe as the other. For there ran a pick-thank and tale carier
before unto *Perſeus*, and declared unto him that there were coming with *Demetrius* four yong men
with privy skeins by their ſides. And albeit he wiſt well enough what was the cauſe thereof (for N
he had heard that one of his gueſts was by them beaten) yet to aggravate the matter and make it
more odious, he commanded the dore to be faſt locked, and from the upper rooms and loſts of the
houſe and out of the windows to the ſtreet ſide, he kept off and repelled thoſe (that came to ban-
ket and be merry with him) from approaching the dore, as if their coming were for no other pur-
poſe but to murder him. *Demetrius* after he had for a time cried out in the ſtreet and taken on
for this diſgrace and indignity, ſaying it was long of the wine and nothing elſe that he was thus
excluded, returned again to his own houſe to make an end of the banket there: and all this while
knew nothing what the matter was. The morrow after, *Perſeus*, ſo ſoon as ever he thought he
might have acceſs to the ſpeech of his father, came to the court; and in the ſight of the King, ſtood
afar off with a troubled countenance and heavy cheer, and not a word with him. How now (qd. O
" his father) what is amiſs with you? is not all well? Ah, my good lord and father (qd. he) I would
" you knew, that it is the fair giſt & grace of God that I am a liveſman at this hour. That brother
" of mine, goeth not about us any more by way of ſecret practiſes and hidden ambuſhes: for the
" night that was, he came with armed men to ſet upon me in mine own houſe, and to take away
" my life. I was driven (father) to ſhut the doors againſt him, and to ſave my ſelf from his furious
" rage, within the defence of the walls thereof. When he had thus poſſeſſed his father with fear

and

A and aſtoniſhment together: Nay (qd. he) I will prove all plainly before your face, that you ſhall know it is a truth that I ſay, if your grace can be content to give me audience. Audience? (qd. he) yes mary will I and that with patience: and immediatly he commanded *Demetrius* to be called before him. And withal, he ſent for two of his old friends to aſſiſt him, and to take their adviſe, to wit, *Lyſimachus* and *Onomaſtus*, who wiſt nothing of the quarrel and variance between the two brethren, for that they had been ſtrangers a long time at the court. In the mean while, he walked up and down alone, attending their coming, courſing and diſcourſing many matters in his head, and his ſon *Perſeus* ſtood ſtill aloof. After word was brought that the parties were come, he retired aſide with thoſe two friends, and as many of his guard into an inner room, and permitted his ſons to bring with them into the place, three friends a piece unarmed. And when he was ſet, thus be-

B gan he to ſpeak.

"Here ſit I a moſt wretched father, to be a judg between my two ſons, the one plaintif, the other "defendant in the caſe of parricides: and to find among thoſe of mine own houſe and blood, the "foul ſtain of that felonious crime, either falſly forged or indeed committed. Certainly long a- "go I feared ſuch a ſtorm and tempeſt toward: and I ſaw it riſing afar off, when I perceived your "unbrotherly looks one toward another: when I over-heard ſome unhappy words to paſs be- "tween you. Yet other whiles I was in good hope that the heat of your anger might evaporate "and ſlake, and the ſuſpicions and jealouſies be cleered and paſs away: conſidering that even pro- "feſſed and mortal enemies, have laid down arms, concluded peace, and become friends at laſt: yea, "and great quarels and enmities between private perſons have had their end. I hoped that one C "time or other, ye would remember how ye were natural brethren, that ye would call to mind, "how ye were little children together, and had conferred with all ſimplicity & ſingleneſs of heart "familiarly in your infancy: and finally, that ye would think upon my good leſſons and precepts "unto you which now I fear me much that I have ſounded to your deafears in vain. How often "have I blamed and deteſted in your preſence and hearing the examples of brethren at diſcord and "variance, recounting unto you the ſtories of the fearful ſequel and horrible iſſue thereof? namely, "how they have thereby undone themſelves and their race, overthrown their own houſes, yea & D "utterly ſubverted whole Kingdoms? On the other ſide, I laid before you better patterns and pre- "cedents to follow, and namely of the concord agreement and unity between the Lacedæmonian "KK. that raigned two by two together to their own good and the publick weal of their country "for many hundred years: but the ſame City fell ſoon to decay and ruin, when the faſhion once "was taken up, to uſurp the tyranny and ſoveraign rule every man for himſelf alone. Moreover, I "ſet before your eyes theſe two brethren hereby *Eumenes* and *Attalus* who at the firſt began with "ſo little that they were in manner abaſhed and aſhamed to take upon them the title and ſtyle of "Kings: and at this day are equal in graundeur of dominion to my ſelf to *Antiochus*, and to any E "Kings of this age living: and that by no other means in the world, more than by brotherly love "and mutual concord. Nay, I ſtaid not ſo but diſcourſed unto you and recited ſundry examples of "certain Romans which either I had learned by hear-ſay, or obſerved by mine own eye-ſight and "experience: and namely, the two *Quintii*, *T.* and *L.* who warred both againſt me. The *Scipios* "likewiſe, *P.* and *L.* who vanquiſhed and ſubdued *Antiochus*: their fathers alſo and uncles, who "were brethren, and whoſe concord and unity all their life long was ſuch, as it was not disjoyned "in their very death. But neither the wickedneſs of thoſe firſt recited, and a ſemblable end corre- "ſpondent to their ungracious life, was able to ſcare you from outragious diſcord; nor yet the "good heart & meaning of the later ſort together with their happy fortune draw & induce you to "be wiſe. During my natural life, whiles my breath is within my body, both twain of you, ſeduced "by fooliſh hope & diſordinat deſire, are ready to take poſſeſſion of my Kingdom over my head. "And ſo long only would ye have me to live, until that I ſurviving the one of you, might preſent- "ly by my death put all out of queſtion, and make the other (as ſole heir apparant) undoubted "King. Sick ye are I ſee well of father and brother, ye can abide neither the one nor the other. "There is no goodnes in you at all: nothing is there that ye hold deer, nothing that you count holy F "and inviolable: but in lieu and ſtead of all, there is crept and entred into you an unſatiable deſire "to raign, and that hath wholly poſſeſſed your hearts. Come on therefore now grieve and wound "your fathers ears with your ungracious tales and wicked words; debate and diſpute the matter "with reciprocal accuſations, you that ſhortly will decide and determine it by dint of ſword: ſay "on and ſpare not; ſpeak out all that either you can alledge truly, or liſt to deviſe & invent falſly. "Mine ears are now wide open, but ſhall hereafter for ever be cloſe ſhut, againſt all ſecret ſlanders "that ye ſhall whiſper and report one againſt the other. When he had breathed out theſe words with great indignation the aſſiſtants there began all to weep much and ſhed tears, and for a good time there was ſad cheer and not a word: until at length *Perſeus* began and ſaid: "I ſhould belike "have opened the dore in the night that I ſhould and received into my houſe armed gueſts to G "banquet with me, yea and held out my throat unto them for to be cut: ſince that nothing is be- "hoofful unleſs the deed had been done and diſpatched: ſince that the ſame is ſaid unto me (who "have been forlaid and whoſe life hath been ſought) which were more beſeeming to ſpeak unto "a wood-keep and robber by the high way ſide: It is not for nought I ſee well that theſe here, "give out abroad and ſay That you have no more ſons but *Demetrius* and call me a baſtard and a "ſuppoſed ſon of yours as begotten of a concubine. For if you held and avowed me legitimate, if "you vouchſafed me the place, the degree and love of a ſon, you would never faſe and ſtorm a-

*The ſpeech of Philip to his two ſons.*

*Vultu ſæpe ſedium pietas.*

*The accuſatory Oration of Perſeus againſt his brother Demetrius.*

"gainſt me ſo as you do, for diſcovering the ambuſh ſet for me, and complaining thereof; but a- H
"gainſt him rather that laid in wait to ſurprife me: neither would you ſet ſo light and make ſo
"ſmall account of my life, as to be moved neither for the danger paſt wherein I was, nor at the
"peril to come, if ſuch wait-laiers may eſcape unpuniſhed. Now if there be no remedy, but that we
"muſt die and ſay nothing, let us hold our tongue and be mute: let us only pray to the Gods be-
"fore that this intended miſchief begun in me, may alſo take an end in me alone, and that you be
"not he, who is to be wounded and pierced through my body. But in caſe (like as by the very in-
"ſtinct and ſuggeſtion of nature, they that are aſſailed and ſet upon in a deſart wilderneſs, be
"taught to implore and call for mens help and ſuccour, although they neither ſaw nor knew of
"any before) in caſe (I ſay) it be lawful for me likewiſe to open my mouth and ſpeak, when I ſee
"the naked ſword drawn upon me: then I beſeech you for your own love, even for the love of I
"your good ſelf, and the name of a father (which whether of us twain have more eſteemed and
"regarded, you have full well known long ago) to give me audience, and to hear me, as if you had
"been awakened at my cry and pittiful lamentation in the laſt nights riot, and came in the way
"where I was forced to call, Help, Help: and as if you had taken *Demetrius* in the manner, with-
"in my gate, in the very entry of my dore, accompanied with armed men at an undecent and un-
"due hour of this night paſt. Thoſe plaints and mones which then I would have uttered by way
"of diſordered and confuſed cries in that ſuddain affright of mine upon the deed doing the ſame
"I now make the morrow after. Ah brother, we have lived now a good while, not (I wot) as
"brethren that ſhould banket and make merry one with another. It is the crown that you look
"after, that is certain and paſt peradventure: but your hope to attain unto it, is croſſed divers K
"waies. My birthright and mine eldership is a block in your way between you and it: the law of
"nations is againſt it; the ancient cuſtome of the Macedonians checketh it; and finally, the will,
"pleaſure and judgment of our father is oppoſite unto it. Mount you cannot poſſibly ſo high, but
"by the effuſion of my heart blood. You go to work, you aſſay all means, you leave no ſtone un-
"rolled, and nothing unattempted to effect that: but to this day either mine own wary diligence
"or happy fortune hath guarded me and withſtood your wicked parricide. Even yeſterday, du-
"ring the time of the ſolemn review and purging of the army, during the time of running at tilt
"and jouſting in time of the ſhew and paſtime reſembling a skirmiſh, you miſſed very little of ma-
"king a bloody battail of it and a deadly conflict indeed; and nothing elſe ſaved me from death,
"but this, that I ſuffered my ſelf and my men to go by the worſe and be overcome. From this mar- L
"tial combate, as if it had been no more but a game and ſport among brethren, you would needs
"have trained and drawn me to a ſupper. Why? think you father, that I ſhould have ſupped a-
"mong thoſe gueſts unarmed, who came in arms to banket with me? Do you believe, that I ſhould
"have been in no danger of their naked ſwords of ſteel at night; who in the day time and within
"your ſight, laid on ſuch load with * wooden ſwords and baſtons, that they had like to have kil-
"led me? To what end elſe came you, brother at that time of the night? why came you as an ene-
"my, conſidering I was in choler and my blood was up? or, wherefore came you accompanied with
"tall fellows privily armed and with ſhort ſwords under their garments? I durſt not venture to ſit
"at ſupper with you: ſhould I have received you then, coming as you did with armed men to ban-
"quet with me? Father, if the dore had been opened; whereas you hear me now to make my com- M
"plaints, you ſhould have been by this time buſied about my winding-ſheet, herſe, and funerals.
"I lay not forth and urge matters in ſlanderous manner, after the faſhion of theſe accuſers at the
"bar: neither collect I bare conjectural preſumptions to enforce & conclude any doubtful points:
"for what need I ſo to do? Denieth he that he approached my dore with a troop of men? or that
"he had in his train a company, ſuch as wore weapons covertly under their apparel? Do but ſend
"for them whom I ſhall name. But in faith, what will not they dare to do, that can do this? and
"yet I trow, they will never be ſo hardy and ſhameleſs as to deny it. If I had taken them in the
"manner with their weapons about them within mine entry, and ſo brought them before you,
"then you would ſay it were a plain caſe and out of all doubt. If then, they confeſs as much with
"their mouth, hold them as culpable as if they had been ſurpriſed in the act doing. Now curſe N
"(and ſpare not) the greedy appetite and thirſt after a Kingdom; now fall to raiſe and call up the
"furies out of hell to ſet brethren together by the ears: but good father, let not your curſes and
"execrations thus flie at blind random: make ſome diſtinction yet and difference, between him
"that lyeth in await, and the party who is forelaid. Let him be holden guilty that ſought to kill
"his brother, let him feel withal the gods of his father to be his enemies and angry againſt him.
"But as for him who was in danger to loſe his life through his brothers miſchievous practiſe, let
"him have his refuge and recourſe to the mercy and juſtice of his father. For alas, whither elſe
"ſhould I flie for ſuccour? ſeeing that neither the ſolemn review and purging of your army, nor the
"running and jouſting of the men at arms, neither mine own houſe nor my table, nor yet the very
"night ſeaſon (which nature hath given to mankind for covert & repoſe) affordeth me ſafety and
"ſecurity? If I go to my brother (being bidden to ſupper) die I ſhall: if I receive my brother with-
"in my dores (coming to banquet) die I muſt. So that whether I go or ſtay all is one; I cannot a-
"void but fall into trains and ambuſhes, laid for to take away my life. To what place ſhall I retire
"and betake my ſelf? None have I regarded nothing have I relied upon, but the gods & your good
"ſelf, father. As for the Romans I ſtand in no ſuch terms with them of grace and favour as to truſt
"upon their ſuccour: nay, they all wiſh me hanged, becauſe I take the wrongs done unto you by
them,

* *Sudibus*, or *Rudibus*. The ſame I ſuppoſe that μαχαίρας ξυλίνας, Polyæn. Like as in the end of the 26 book, where, *Præpilatis miſſil bus jacular*, I take to be all one with ἐσφαιρωμένοις γέισοις ἀκοντίζειν, in Polyæn, when either ſome round ball of wood is faſtned to the end of the dart or javelin, after the manner of foils: or elſe it is turned round in the head like a bird-bolt. For ſo *Xenophon* meaneth in his book of Horſmanſhip, ἐσφαιρωμένα τὰ ἔχων ἀκόντια: of σφαῖρα, even as *Præpilata*, of *Pila*, a ball.

A "them, to the heart; because I shew my self discontented and touched with the indignity that so
"many Cities, so many nations are plucked from you; and namely, that of late they have despoiled
"and bereaved you of all the maritime parts and sea coasts of *Thrace*: and so long as either you or
"I live, they never look to enjoy *Macedony*. But if by the mischievous practise of my brother, I
"might once be rid out of the way; and withal, if old age had made an end of you, yea, and peradventure before that day came, (which they would never stay so long for) then they know well
"and make full account, that both the King and Kingdom of *Macedony*, will be theirs sure enough.
"Indeed if the Romans had spared any piece at all without *Macedony*, I should have thought and
"made reckoning, that it had been a place of retreat and refuge left for me. But what need that, so
"long as I have strength enough among the very Macedonians. You saw your self yesterday how
B "violently the souldiers charged upon me: what wanted they but the sharp sword and edged
"weapons? well, that which they failed and missed of in the day time my brothers banquetters met
"within the night. For to what should I speak of the greater part of the nobility? they have grounded and built all their hopes of dignity, promotion, and advancement, in the Romans, and namely, in him who now can do all in all with them and is of greatest reputation. And surely, to
"speak a truth, him they prefer not only before me his elder brother, but also they go within a
"very little to set him before your self, his liege King and natural father. For this is he, for whose
"love and in favour of whom the Senat hath remitted and pardoned you that penalty which you
"had incurred. This is he, who now protecteth you from the force of Roman armies; who deemeth it meet and reason that your old age should be obliged and beholden to his youth. For him
C "stand all the Romans with him take part all those Cities which are delivered and free from your
"subjection: of him hold the Macedonians that wish for peace with the Romans, and take contentment therein. Now for me, father, what hope or help can I have elsewhere, but in you alone?
"Whereto think you send those letters of *Quintius* sent lately unto you; wherein he writeth, That
"you did passing well for your own estate, in sending *Demetrius* to *Rome*: and exhorteth you withall, to send him again the second time, accompanied with more Embassadors, and those the very
"principal and best of all the Macedonians? This *T. Quintius* (if you will needs know the reason)
"is the man, who leadeth, induceth, and directeth him at this present in all things: he is his counsellor and school-master. And *Demetrius* hath rejected and cast you off his own father, & hath
"put him in your stead. There it is, where all these privy plots have heretofore been first contrived
D "and set a hatching: and at this present in willing you to send more in embassage, and those the
"chief personages of the Macedonians with him, he seeketh nought else but helpers and assistants
"to put those designs in execution. As many as go from hence to *Rome*, be they never so sound &
"uncorrupt at their setting out, be they loyal subjects and acknowledging no other but *Philip* for
"their King, return from thence tainted and infected with the alluring enticements of the Romans. *Demetrius* alone is altogether in their books. They are all for him, and pass for none else.
"Him they call their King, during the life of his own father. Now if I seem to be touched, offended and grieved herewith, by and by I am sure to have it charged reproachfully on both sides of
"mine ears, not only from others, but also from your mouth father, that I aspire and seek to be
"King. For mine own part, I would both they and you knew, that if the diadem and crown were
E "here set between us both, I would none of it. For who is he, that I should need to undermine &
"supplant, for to step into his place and succeed? None there is at all but my father before me, and
"long may he so be, I pray God, and I wish to survive him no otherwise, but if I be worthy and
"deserve that he should likewise desire the same. If my father will make me his heir and inheritor
"of the Kingdom, I will accept thereof. He indeed coveteth to be a King, yea, and ungraciously coveteth it, who hasteneth to make pace forward, and to step before the course of nature, the order
"of age, the custom of the Macedonians, and the law of nations. But what imagineth *Demetrius*,
"suppose ye? Mine elder brother (thinketh he) stands in my way between me and home: to him
"appertaineth the Kingdom by right and by my fathers will: Let us rid him out of the World.
"What? I am not the first that sought to be a King by murder of a brother. As for my father, he is
F "aged, he is desolat, and bereaved of a son; he will have more care to look to his own person, than
"mind to revenge the death of his son. The Romans, they will rejoyce, they will approve and
"maintain my fact. These be nice points, and these be tickliſh and doubtful hopes, but believe me
"father, they are not altogether vain and frivolous. For thus stands the case, and this is the sum of
"all: Well may you preserve me out of danger, now whiles I am alive, by inflicting punishment
"upon those who take weapon in hand to kill me; but let their enterprise speed once, and take ef-
"fect, you shall never be able to pursue them to the purpose and revenge my death.

When *Perseus* had made an end of his speech, they that were present in place cast their eyes wistly upon *Demetrius*, as if he would have made answer immediatly, and so were all silent a long time, and said not a word: for they perceived evidently that he could not for weeping open his mouth:
G but in the end he was urged by them to speak, and then after that necessity had surmounted his grief, thus he began; "My father, all those means of help which were ever wont to serve the defen- The Oration of *Demetrius* in his own defence, before his father.
"dant in good stead, I am prevented and disappointed of, by the plaintif my accuser. By those false
"and fained tears of his, wrung out and shed to work the ruin and undoing of another, he hath
"made my true tears suspected, which gushing out of mine eyes, proceed from a melting & wounded heart within. And whereas himself hath not ceased, (ever since that I returned from *Rome*)
"to practise secretly with his consorts and complices both night and day to lay wait for my life,

" now he begins first with me, and will needs put upon me the visor, and have the world believe H
" that I play the part not only of a secret and cunning wait-laier, but of an open thief and a noto-
" rious murderer and cut-throat. He seemeth to fright you with his own danger, that he might
" make even you the very means and instrument to hasten forward the death of his innocent bro-
" ther. He saith that he hath no place of refuge in the whole world: to the end that I might have
" no parcel at all of hope left, so much as in you. Thus circumvented as I am, left alone forlorn, de-
" stitute and void of all succour, he chargeth me with being in favour and grace with forrain stran-
" gers: a thing I wis, that doth me more harm than good. Moreover, see how he proceedeth like a
" practised and cunning barrister, in that he inserteth and mingleth the last nights work together
" with the blame of my former life: to the end that he might make more suspitious by the course
" of mine other years passed, this criminous matter also (the simple truth whereof you shall know I
" anon) and withal confirm and maintain this vain surmise and slander, of my hopes, my will, and
" intended designs by this subtile invention of his, by the fained & forged fable I say of that which
" was pretended the night that was. He hath not failed moreover to make you believe that this
" accusation of his was not premeditat and studied upon beforehand, but framed *ex tempore*, and
" occasioned only upon the suddain fright and trouble overnight. But in good faith, *Perseus*, if I
" had been a traitor to the King my father & the realm if I had complotted with the Romans and
" other of my fathers enemies, me thinks you shold not have waited for this nights devised fable,
" but you ought to have accused me before this time, of treason. And if that imputation were vain
" and frivolous without this surmise, and served to discover and bewray your envy & spight which
" you bear against me, more than it detecteth any crime which is in me: yet you should have let K
" me alone and forborn this day, or put it off until another time; that it might have been cleerly
" seen whether of us twain laid wait for the other, you or I, upon a strange & extraordinary man-
" ner of hatred. As for me (so far forth as I possible can, in this suddain trouble of my spirits) I will
" endeavour to speak severally of each point, which you have heaped up together so disorderly,
" and reveal I will the ambushes and trains of this night, yours or mine, fall out as it shall. He
" would have it thought that I practised to kill him, for this intent forsooth, that when mine elder
" brother were once made away, unto whom the inheritance of the crown appertained by the law
" of nations, by the custom of the Macedonians, and also, as he saith, by your judgment; I the yon-
" ger might step into his place, and succed him whom I had killed. What meaneth then, and
" whereto serveth that other part of his Oration, wherein he saith, that I have been so respective to L
" the Romans, and that upon the affiance that I have in them, I hoped to be King? For if I were
" perswaded thus of the Romans, that they could set up whom they pleased to be King of *Mace-*
" *donie*, & if withal I presumed so much of their good grace and favor to me-ward, what need had
" I then to commit a parricide? Was it because I had a mind to wear a diadem embrued with my
" brothers blood by me murdered? and was I desirous to make my self odious & execrable among
" them, with whom either for mine honesty indeed, or at least-waies for a counterfeit shew ther-
" of, I have won some credit, such as it is, if haply it be any at all? Unless perhaps, you think that
" *T. Quintius* (by whose vertue and counsel, you reproach me that I am ruled) advised me to kill
" my brother, *Quintius*, I say, who is so kind unto his own brother, and liveth with him so loving-
" ly. This plaintif & accuser of mine hath collected not only the affection of the Romans which M
" they bear unto me, but also the opinion which the Macedonians have of me, yea, and in a manner
" the consent of all Gods and men in my behalf; in which regards all, he took himself not able to
" match me in this quarrel and difference about the Kingdom: and yet see, how the same man
" laieth to my charge, that as if I were in all other respects, inferior unto him, I was fain to have
" recourse to this last shift of practising mischief and wickedness. Will you have this to be the case?
" Will you be content to join issue in this point? That whether of us twain feared the other to be
" reputed worthier of the Kingdom, he should be judged & condemned to have sought and con-
" ceived the death of his brother? But let us discuss and examine in some sort or other, the order
" and manner of this pretended and devised crime. He hath burdened me, that I have laid for him
" many and sundry waies: yet hath he knit up all these means and conched them together in one N
" daies work. I purposed to kill him (saith he) in the open day-light, after the solemn review and
" assoiling of the army, even when we jousted together, and seemed to charge one another in bat-
" tel-wise: yea, upon the very day (God he knoweth) of the said solemnity. I intended I wis (be-
" lieve him if you will) when I invited him to supper, to make him away with a cup of poison. I
" would have stabbed him (what else?) or run him through with my sword, when I came to ban-
" ket with him, & was accompanied with some of my train armed and having weapon about them.
" You see, father, what proper and choice opportunities I had picked out to commit this preten-
" ded murder; namely, the very day of disports, the time of supper, of banket and collation. As for
" the day, let us examine it and the manner thereof: was it any other than that, wherein the army
" was surveied and solemnly purged? when between a sacrifice cut in twain, the royal coats of all O
" the arms of Macedonian Kings that ever had been, were carried aloft in a stately shew; and we
" alone your two sons (father) marched on either side of you before the rest, and the whole Ma-
" cedonian army followed after. When I was thus cleansed and purified by this expiatory sacrifice
" (if haply I had committed any sin before that deserved expiation) and especially at the very
" same instant when I beheld before mine eyes (on either side of the way) the parcels of the beast
" sacrificed: entertained I then in my thoughts the practise of poison, & the handling of swords pre-
" pared

A "pared aforehand against the banket, to perform a parricide? that afterwards I might with some
"other sacrifices expiat and cleanse my conscience thus stained & defiled with all kind of wicked-
"nes? A likely matter surely. But a spirit corrupt & blinded with the humour of slandering ano-
"ther, upon a desire to gather matter and make al suspicious, careth not to huddle one thing upon
"another confusedly. For if I meant to have poisoned you at supper, what was there more unfit
"to set forward that designment, than to provoke you to anger, by running so eagerly upon you &
"fighting with you so roughly, that thereby you might take good and just occasion to refuse be-
"ing requested, for to come to supper? And when in your choler you had once denied to sup with
"me, was it not the next way for me then, to endeavour how to appease you, and seek some other
"opportunity, since I had prepared the poison for that present only? But I must leap from that de-
B "signment to another, even to the killing of you by the sword, and that upon the very same day,
"under a pretence of banquetting with you? If I thought that for fear of death you forbare my ta-
"ble at supper time, how comes it that I imagined not semblably, that for the said fear you would
"avoid my company at banquet after supper? There is no cause why I should be ashamed, Father,
"if upon such a festival day as it was I drank wine liberally, and took perhaps a cup too much a-
"mong my companions. Nay, I would it might please your majesty to enquire with what mirth,
"and meriment I feasted yesterday at home in my house, and this joy set us the farther out, be-
"cause in that warlike pastime of lusty youths, our side went not by the worse. But this misery &
"unhappy fear upon that our mirth, hath well delaied and cooled the wine: spent it hath the
"strength thereof fuming up into our heads: which if it had not come between, we as great laiers
C "await as we were, had to this hour lien sound asleep in our beds. Well, if I had minded to assail
"and force your house, and that done, to murder you the master thereof, would I not think you,
"have for born for my part one day to bib and quaff wine so freely? and likewise kept my souldiers
"from drinking drunk? But because I should not alone plead my simplicity and make my excuse
"thereby, this my good brother also, who God wot is none of these naughty and suspitious crea-
"tures, comes in with his vie and saith, I know nothing, I charge no body, neither wot I what to
"say else, but that they came armed to banquet with me. If I might be so bold as to ask how you
"came to that knowledge, you cannot chuse but confess that either my house was full of your
"spies, or those armed men of my train took their weapons so openly, that every one saw them.
"And because he would have you believe, that neither himself made any enquiry before, nor at
D "this time pursueth the matter with any accusatory spirit, he willed you to demand of them whom
"he named, whether they had not their swords about them? to the end that after you had sought
"into it as a matter doubtful, and found them to confess it, they might thereby be held convicted.
"But why rather will you not, that examination should be taken in this manner; whether they
"took their swords with them to kill you or no? And whether they did so by my warrant, directi-
"on, and privity? For this is it that you (brother) would make the world believe, this is it which
"you would have to appear, and not that which my men confess. But the case is plain, yea, & they
"will be known no other, than that they were armed in their own defence. Whether it were well
"or ill done, they are of age to make account and render a reason of their doings. Do not you
"mingle my cause with that action of theirs, which interesseth it nothing at all. But rather de-
E "clare, whether we meant to assail you openly or secretly? If openly, why were we not all armed?
"why was there none of us besides those persons that did beat your spie? If secretly, what was the
"train and order of the execution of that design? After the banket ended, and I the setter of the
"banket retired from thence, should those four have staied behind to fall upon you when you
"were asleep? How could they have caried it so close as not to be spied, for that a litle before, they
"had been seen in a braul? And say, they had killed you; by what means could they escape them-
"selves? Was it possible that your house should be forced and kept with four swords? Fie, fie
"*Perseus* speak no more for shame of this night, but come again to that rather which galleth you
"at the heart, which kindleth your envy, and setteth you on fire. How cometh it to pass, O *Deme-*
"*trius*, that men speak abroad that you shall be King? why should you be deemed of some more
F "worthy than my self, to succeed the royal estate of my father? How is it that I am in doubt of my
"hope, which, but for you, were sure & certain? These are the secret thoughts of *Perseus*, although
"he saith nothing: these make him of a brother to become an enemy: these cause him to be mine
"accuser: these conceits they be that fill your palace, your court and your realm, with surmises, slan-
"ders, and suspicions. But for mine own part, father, like as I ought neither to hope for your roial
"crown, nor at any time peradventure, to make words and dispute about it; because *I* am the
"yonger, and because it is your will and pleasure, that *I* should give place unto mine elder bro-
"ther: so, it became me not heretofore, neither doth it become me yet, so demean my self so in any
"action, that *I* should seem unworthy to have you for my father, but to be capable of all dignities
"whatsoever. The one point *I* should attain unto by indirect courses and wicked vices, in not
G "yeelding unto him, as right and reason would: but the other, by my good carriage and sober be-
"haviour. You reproach me with the Romans, brothers, and those things which in right ought to
"turn to my praise and glory, you blame and reprove me for. It was no seeking of mine, that I was
"delivered to the Romans as an hostage, or sent to *Rome* as Embassador: but when I was ap-
"pointed by you, father, *I* refused not to go. At both times, such was my demeanor, that *I* had an
"eye still and good regard, not to discredit either your highness, or your Kingdom, or the Mace-
"donian nation. And therfore you were the cause, father, of that friendship which *I* have with the
"Romans,

"Romans. As long as you and they are at peace, I ſhall be well affected to them: begin war once;
"I that was an hoſtage and Embaſſador among them, and (though I ſay it) not unprofitable for
"you my father, even I, will become a moſt ſpiteful and mortal enemy unto them. Neither do I at
"this day require, that the favour I have among the Romans might ſtead me any way; only I be-
"ſeech you, that it may not prejudice and harm me. It began not by occaſion of war, neither is it
"reſerved for the time of war. For aſſurance of peace, I was a pledge and hoſtage: for maintenance
"of peace I was emploied in embaſſage. Content will I be, by the one and the other, in caſe I nei-
"ther purchaſe fame nor incur blame. If I have committed any impiety againſt you father, if I have
"done or deſigned any wicked part againſt my brother, I refuſe no puniſhment, I crave no pardon
"or favor. If I be innocent, I deſire only and humbly beſeech your grace, that I be not over-
"weighed with the heavy load of envy and ill will, ſince I can be overthrown by no crime juſtly I
"objected unto me. This is not the firſt day, that my brother hath accuſed me: but this is the
"firſt day, that he is ſeen to be my accuſer: and full little have I deſerved it at his hands. If my fa-
"ther had been diſpleaſed and angry with me, I would have thought that you of all others, being
"the elder brother, ſhould have been a mediator and interceſſor for me (the yonger) to my father,
"and a means to purchaſe a pardon for my folly and the error of tender youth: but ſee! where my
"ſuccour and refuge ſhould have been, there contrary-wiſe is my ruin and overthrow. From my
"feaſting and banquetting, from my mirth and good cheer, by his means have I been haled hither
"not half waked, but with mine eyes full of ſleep, to anſwer in the caſe of parricide: and forced I
"am to plead mine own cauſe without my counſel, without my proctor or advocate. If I had
"been to ſpeak in the defence of another, I would have taken time to ſtudy premeditat and frame K
"an oration. And yet, what was I to hazard there, but the reputation of wit and learning. Inſtead
"thereof I, not knowing for what cauſe I was ſent for, heard your Majeſty firſt (wroth and angry
"as you were) to command us to plead our cauſes: and then my brother, who hath ſtood up to ac-
"cuſe me. As for him, he hath pronounced an Oration ſtudied for, and deviſed long before hand:
"but I was allowed no longer time (than whiles I heard my ſelf accuſed) to be think me what to
"plead or to examine and take knowledg of the matter that he hath laid forth againſt me. In that
"preſent moment of time, could I, think you (ſo ſuddainly taken as I was) either give ear to my
"accuſer, or conſider and think duly of mine own plea? ſtonied ſo I was, with that ſuddain trouble
"and unexpected occurrent, that much ado I had, to underſtand what I was charged with: ſo far
"was I from deviſing what to ſpeak in mine own defence. What hope ſhould I have now? and in L
"what caſe were I, if I had not my father for my judge? at whoſe hands (albeit I am not ſo well be-
"loved as mine elder brother is, yet ſince I am the party defendant, I ought at leaſt wiſe to find as
"much pitty and compaſſion. For I beſeech you (O father) to ſave me, in regard of my ſelf and
"you: but he requireth you to take away my life, only for his own aſſurance and better ſecurity.
"And what will he do againſt me think you, after you have made over the crown and ſcepter
"into his hands; who now already thinketh it meet and reaſon, to diſpoſe of my blood at his good
"pleaſure? In uttering of theſe words, the tears guſhed forth ſo abundantly, that they ſtopped his
mouth ſo, that he could neither ſpeak or draw his breath. Then *Philip* after he had commanded
them to go apart, and communed a while with his friends, ſpake and ſaid, That he would not de-
cide their cauſe upon theſe words of theirs, nor upon one hours debating, but by enquiry into M
both their lives, and obſerving their behaviour in deed and word, as well in great matters as in
ſmall. Hereby they all ſaw well enough, that the accuſation of the precedent nights act, was ſuffi-
ciently refuted and evicted & the only thing in *Demetrius* to be ſuſpected, was the over-great fa-
vour that the Romans bare toward him. This was the very ſeed of the Macedonian war, ſowed as
one would ſay, during the life of *Philip*, but the war was after to be waged moſt of all againſt *Per-
ſeus*.

The two Conſuls took their journy into *Liguria*, the ſole conſular Province of them both; and
becauſe they had atchieved their exploits fortunatly there, ordained there was a ſolemn proceſſion
for one day. It fortuned that there came two thouſand Ligurians or thereabout, to the utmoſt fron-
tier of the Province of *Gaul*, where *Marcellus* lay in leaguer, requeſting to be received under his N
protection. *Marcellus* after he had commanded the ſaid Ligurians to give attendance upon him
in the ſame place, required by his letters the advice of the Senat. The Senat gave order to *M. Ogul-
nius* the Lord chief juſtice of the City, to write back again unto *Marcellus* to this effect, That it
was more meet that the Conſuls, unto whom that government appertained, ſhould give order
and determine (as touching the Ligurians who yeelded and ſubmitted) what was expedient for
the common-weal in that behalf, than the Senat. As for them, if they were to give their opinion,
they thought it not good to accept of the Ligurians ſurrender: and being once received then to be
diſarmed: but they were of this mind and advice, that it was requiſit they ſhould be ſent and re-
ferred over to the Conſuls.

The Pretors at the ſame time arrived in their Provinces, to wit *P. Manlius* in baſe *Spain*, where
he had been Governor before during his former Pretorſhip; and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* in the higher
where he received the army of *Terentius*; for that other ſide of *Spain* beyond *Iberus*, had been left
without a Lord Deputy, by occaſion of the death of *P. Sempronius* the Pro-pretor. Whiles *Ful-
vius Flaccus* aſſaulted a Town in *Spain* named *Ilibicula*, the Celtiberians made head and came
upon him; where many and ſundry hot skirmiſhes paſſed, and wherein many Roman ſoul-
diers were both hurt and ſlain. Howbeit *Fulvius* held ſtill his reſolution, and by no for-
cible

A cible means whatsoever, could be brought to levy the siege. The Celtiberians toiled out of heart with divers combats, retired and departed. The City then seeing their succours dislodged and gone, within few daies was forced and ransacked; and the Pretor gave the pillage thereof to his souldiers. Thus *Fulvius* after he had gained this Town, and *P. Manlius*, when he had retired and rallied his forces into one place, which had been dispersed, without any other memorable act performed, brought their armies within the wintering harbours. And these were the exploits in *Spain*, during that summer season. *Terentius* who was departed out of that Province before, entred the City of *Rome* in a petty triumph by way of ovation. He carried before him in shew, eight thousand three hundred and twenty pound weight of silver, and fourscore of gold: besides two golden coronets weighing 67 pound.

B The same year the Romans were chosen Arbitrators between the people of *Carthage* and King *Masanissa*, as touching their territories: and came personally to see the place in controversy. And thus stood the case: *Gala* the father of this *Masanissa*, had won the ground in question from the Carthaginians. *Syphax* afterward disseized *Gala* thereof: and consequently to gratify *Asdrubal*, his wives father, freely gave the same to the Carthaginians, and set them in possession again. Now last of all, even this very year, *Masanissa* had dispossessed the Carthaginians of the same. This matter was debated by the parties of both sides in the presence of the Romans, with no less courage and fervency of spirit, than at other times when they tried the issue by dint of sword in open field. The Carthaginians laid claim and put in their plea. For that first it appertained to their ancestors in right of inheritance, and afterwards was conveighed to them by the free gift and dona-

C tion of *Syphax*. *Masanissa* counterpleaded again and alledged, that he had both recovered the said territory, as parcel of his fathers realm, and also held it by the law of nations: and that the case was cleer on his side, in regard as well of the just title as also of the present possession wherein he was; saying, that in his cause he doubted nothing else but that the modesty of the Romans should prejudice him, for fear lest they might be thought to be partial in the cause and respective to him, a King their ally and good friend, and in favour of him to give up their award against the common enemies both to him and them. The Commissioners and arbitrators would not infringe and alienat the right of possession, but left all as they found it, and referred the entire decision of the matter to the Senat of *Rome*.

Nothing was there done after this in *Liguria*: for first, the enemies were retired for safety into

D their wilds and forrests out of the way: and afterwards they casted their army, and slipt away every man to their own villages and castles. The Consuls likewise were willing to break up and dismiss their forces; and thereupon sent to the LL. of the Senat to know their pleasure in that point; who advised the one of them to discharge his own regiments, and repair to *Rome* for the election of Magistrats the next year: and the other, with his legions, to winter at *Pisa*. A rumour there ran, that the Transalpine French put their youth and serviceable men in arms: but it was not known what quarter of *Italy* this multitude thus levied would invade. But the Consuls thus agreed together, that *Cn. Bœbius* should be present at the general assembly at *Rome*, for the election aforesaid, because *M. Bœbius* his brother sued to be Consul. Then was the assembly holden for the creation of Consuls, and elected there were, *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *M. Bœbius Tamphilus*. This done,

E the Pretors also were chosen, namely, the two *Quintii Fabii*, the one *Maximus*, and the other *Buteo*; *T. Claudius Nero*, *Q. Petilius Spurinus*, *M. Pinarius Posca* and *L. Duronius*. When these were entred into their magistracy, the Provinces were by lot after this manner disposed. The Liguran sell to the Consuls: as for the Pretors, *Q. Petilius* was Lord chief Justice for the citizens pleas, and *Q. Fabius Maximus* for the strangers: *Q. Fabius Butco* had the government of *Gaul*, *T. Claudius Nero* of *Sicilia*, *M. Pinarius* of *Sardinia*, *L. Duronius* of *Apulia* together with the Istrians; for that the Tarentins and Brundusins had given intelligence, that the sea-coasts were much troubled and annoied by the robberies of pirats and men of war from beyond Sea: and the like complaints were made by the Massilians, of the Ligurian navy. For these causes order was given, and warrants went out for to levy armies: that the Consuls should have four legions between them, containing in every one 5200 Roman footmen and 300 horse: also to enrol 15000 footmen and 800 horsemen of Latine allies. In the Provinces of *Spain* (both the one and the other) the old Pretors continued still in their government, with the charge of those armies which they had already: and for a supplement to reenforce and make up their broken companies, there were appointed 3000 foot and 200 horse of Roman citizens together with 6000 of the one and 300 of the other, from out of the Latine nation. All this while they forgat not their navy at Sea. And the Consuls had in charge to chuse for that purpose, two wardens called Duumvirs, who after they had out of the Arsenal shot into the Sea twenty ships, and set them aflote, should furnish them with mariners, and those Roman citizens, such as had been slaves and were enfranchised: and that natural Romans free-born should only be Captains and have the conduct of the said vessels. These two

G Duumvirs so parted and ordered betwixt them the defence of the maritime coasts with ten ships apeece; that the Cape of *Minerva* should be as it were the middle point and mark between them: so as the one should guard that part on the right hand as far as to *Massilia*; and the other the left side, even to *Barium*.

This year were seen at *Rome* and reported from forrain parts many uncouth and strange prodigies. In the Church-yards belonging to *Vulcan* and *Concordia*, it rained sheer blood: and the Bishops made relation, that the Spears [of *Mars*] shook and moved of their own accord.

Also

Alſo at *Lanuvium* the image of *Juno Sospita* ſhed tears. Moreover, the plague reigned ſo hot in H
the contrey villages market Towns marts and places of frequent reſort yea, and within the City
of *Rome* ſo that they were not able to furniſh the funerals accordingly and inter the dead. The LL.
of the Senat, being in great anguiſh and trouble, in regard of thoſe tearful tokens and the loſs of
their people, ordained, That as well the Conſul ſhould kil greater beaſts for ſacrifice unto what
Gods they thought good, as alſo the Decemvirs ſhould viſit and peruſe the prophetical books of
*Sybylla*. And by vertue of their decree there was publick ſupplication proclaimed at *Rome* for one
whole day, at all the altars and ſhrines of the gods and goddeſſes. By their counſel alſo and di-
rection both the Senate adviſed and the Conſuls alſo publiſhed throughout all *Italy* for three
daies ſpace, ſolemn litanies and devour holy-daies. The rage of this peſtilence was ſo great, that
whereas there paſſed an act by the Senate to enrol 8000 footmen and three hundred horſe from I
out of the Latins (in regard that the Ilanders of *Corſica* were revolted and the Iolians up in arms
within *Sardinia*) with which power *M. Pinarius* the Pretor was to ſail over into *Sardinia*: the
Conſuls made report again unto them, that ſuch numbers of people were dead already, and ſo
many lay ſick, that it was not poſſible to levy that proportion of fighting men. So the Pretor had
commiſſion to furniſh out that defect of ſouldiers, with a ſupply which he was to receive of *Cn.*
*Fabius* the Pro-conſul, who then wintered at *Piſa*; and from them directly to take the ſeas and
paſs over into *Sardinia*.

L. *Duronius* the Pretor (unto whom the Province of *Apulia* was allotted) had a commiſſion be-
ſides to make inquiſition for the Bacchanals, for there remained yet ſome ſeeds of the former enor-
mities which began already the former year to ſprout and bud forth. But *L. Pappius* the Pretor K
laſt before had entred into the enquiry and ſearch of the matter, rather than effected ought and
brought it to a final end: and therefore the LL. gave order to this new Pretor to cut off this miſ-
chief in the ſpring and breeding thereof before it gat more head a ſecond time. and upon growth
ſpred ta ther. Moreover the Conſuls by the advice and authority of the Senat, preferred certain
* *Lex de am-* laws unto the people, as touching the * inordinat ſuit and ambitious ſeeking after offices of go-
*bitu.* vernment. After all this they brought into the Senat the forrein embaſſages; and gave audience
firſt to them that came from the KK. to wit *Eumenes*, *Ariarathes* the Cappadocian, and *Pharnaces*
of *Pontus*. But no other diſpatch and anſwer they had than this That they would tender certain De-
legats and commiſſioners to hear decide and determine their controverſies. After them the
Embaſſadors of the Lacedæmonian exiles, and of the Achæans were admitted into the Senat L
houſe. The baniſhed perſons aforeſaid were put in ſome good hope, that the Senat would write
their letters to the Achæans for their reſtauration. The Achæans declared as touching the reco-
very of *Meſſene* and the pacification of all troubles there, with the great contentment of the LL. of
the Senat. There arrived moreover two Embaſſadors from *Philip* King of the Macedonians, na-
mely *Philocles* and *Apelles*, about no ſuit that they had to the Senat, but ſent rather as ſpies to un-
der-prie and to learn ſomwhat as touching thoſe points that *Perſeus* had charged *Demetrius* with,
and namely of certain ſpeeches that he ſhould have with the Romans, and eſpecially with *T. Quin-*
*tius*, againſt his brother about ſucceſſion in the Kingdom. Theſe twain were choſen by the King
as indifferent perſons, and nothing affectionat either to the one brother or the other: howbeit
they were the miniſters, conſorts, and complices of *Perſeus*, in his intended miſchievous plot a- M
gainſt his brother. *Demetrius* (as one ignorant of all deſignments againſt him but only of the late
wicked prank of *Perſeus* which laſt brake out) at the firſt was neither in great hope, nor yet in
utter deſpair to be reconciled unto his father. But afterwards, he had leſs confidence every day
than other in the good affection of his father toward him, ſeeing his brother continually to buz
into his ears many matters, and poſſeſs his head with tales againſt him. And therefore he looked
circumſpectly about him that he trode not awry and namely, that he let no words fall or did any
thing that might be offenſive and breed more jealouſy: and above all, he wholly forbare confe-
rence and commerce with the Romans; in ſuch ſort that he would not have them ſo much as to
write any letters unto him: knowing full well, that his fathers heart would be exaſperated againſt
him by ſuch imputations and informations eſpecially. N

*Philip* becauſe he would provide that his ſouldiers and men of action ſhould not degenerate
and wax worſe through idlenes and diſuſe of arms and that under one he might avert from himſelf
all ſuſpition that he intended any war againſt the Romans, appointed the City *Strobi* for the *Rendez-*
*vous* of his army and marched into the quarters of *Medica*. A great deſire he had to mount up the
* *Catena mundi,* creſt & top of the hill * *Æmus* becauſe there was an opinion commonly received & which he had
*or, Mane ar-* given credit unto that from thence a man might diſcover within one proſpect the * Pontick and
*gentato.* Adriatick ſeas, the river * *Iſter* alſo, and the *Alps*: for thus he thought, that the view of theſe places
* *Mar. mainre.* would ſtand him in no ſmall ſtead in projecting & plotting the war againſt the Romans. When af-
* *Danubius*, Do- ter diligent inquiry of them that knew thoſe quarters well, as touching the aſcent of that moun-
*naw.* tain, he had learned and found it cleer and certain, that there was no way at all for to conduct an O
army thither and that a few men & thoſe nimble and lightly appointed, ſhould find enough to do
and exceeding much difficulty to paſs, he taketh his yonger ſon apart, whom he was reſolved not to
have with him in that expedition; and becauſe he would ſeem to dulce and mollify his diſcontent-
ed mind with ſome familiar and private ſpeech, firſt he demanded of him conſidering ſo great diffi-
culties of the journey preſented unto them, whether he were better to hold on the way ſtil and
" follow his deſign, or give over? But if I ſhould go forward (qd. he) I cannot forget that which

" befel

A "befell to *Antigonus* in the like caſe, who being upon a time much toſſed at Sea in a boiſterous
"tempeſt, and having with him in the ſame ſhip all thoſe that were of his bloud, is reported
"to have given this good advertiſement and leſſon to his children, that they ſhould alwayes re-
"member; and alſo give their poſterity warning, never to venture all their goods in one bottome,
"nor to engage themſelves together with their whole race and off-ſpring in any peril and danger.
"Remembring therefore (qd. he) this good precept and counſel of his, I will not hazard both my
"ſons at once in this preſent jeopardy which I ſee before mine eyes: but for aſmuch as I propoſe
"to take mine elder ſon with me, I will ſend my yonger back into *Macedony*, for to uphold and
"maintain the hope of my poſterity, and for the defence of my Kingdom in the mean while. *De-*
*metrius* found him ſtreight, and wiſt well enough that he was ſent away for no other intent but
B that he ſhould not be preſent in counſel, when upon the view of thoſe places aboveſaid, he was
to deviſe and conſult in what coaſt lay the neereſt and ſhorteſt way to the Adriatick Sea and to
*Italy*, and what courſe they ſhould plot for the management of the war. But there was no reme-
dy: he muſt not only then obey his father, but alſo ſooth him up and ſeem to approve and like well
of that which he ſaid, for fear leſt it might be thought, that it went againſt his ſtomack to yeeld
obedience unto him: and ſo be held in more jelouſy and ſuſpition than before. Howbeit, to the end
that he might paſs into *Macedony* with ſafety, *Didas* one of the Kings Deputies and L. Governor
under him of *Paonia*, was commanded to accompany and conduct him with a mean guard and
convoy. Now was this *Didas* one of thoſe conſpirators that had ſworn the death of *Demetrius*,
whom *Perſeus* had made ſure to his part, like as he had many other of his fathers friends, even ſince
C that men began to make no doubt, unto whom *Philip* in affection was enclined, and whom he
meant to make the heir apparent of the crown. And at this very inſtant *Perſeus* had charged him
and given him inſtructions, by all obſequious ſervices to inſinuate and wind himſelf into moſt fa-
miliar talk, and to come ſo neer within him, that he might draw from him all his ſecrets, & diſco-
ver the very inward and hidden thoughts of his heart. Thus departed *Demetrius* attended with a
train about him more dangerous to his perſon, than if he had travelled alone without any com-
pany. *Philip* firſt paſſed through *Mædica* and then forward over the deſarts lying between *Mædica*
and *Æmus*, and at the ſeventh daies march was come as far as to the foot of the mountain. Where
after he had reſted and ſtaied one day, to make choice of thoſe whom he minded to take up with
him: the morrow after he ſet forth & put himſelf in his way. At the firſt, the labour was not great,
D nor the pains much to overcome the nethermoſt hills; but the farther they went and the higher
that they advanced, the more wild and woody ſtill they found every place; yea, and they met with
many that had no paſſage at all. At length they were mounted to a paſs or way ſo ſhadowed and
dark, that for the trees ſtanding ſo thick together, and their boughs plaited and interlaced one
within another, ſcarcely or hardly could a man ſee the skie through them. But when they approch-
ed once the pitch and creſt of the mountain, behold (a thing not lightly ſeen in other parts) they
light upon ſo groſs and thick a miſt, which overſpread and covered all, that they had as much ado
to march forward, as if they had travelled in the dark & mid-night. At laſt by the third daies end,
they gained the very top of the mountain. Now when they were come down from thence again,
they made no leſs report thereof than the common opinion was that went of it; which I believe
E verily they did of purpoſe, becauſe they would not be mocked and ſcorned for this their fooliſh
and vain voiage, rather than for that they could indeed within the ſame proſpect and from one
place, view ſeas, mountains, and rivers, ſituat and diſtant ſo far aſunder. Much moiled they were all,
and ſore toiled in this untoward way; but the King above the reſt, by reaſon that he was far ſtept
in age, and unweldy of body. Well, after he had done ſacrifice there upon two altars conſecrated to
*Jupiter* and the Sun, he deſcended in two daies, whereas he had made three of it in aſcending: and
that which he feared moſt, was the cold nights, which there in the beginning of the dog-daies
were like to thoſe of midwinter in other places. Many difficulties he wreſtled and ſtrove withal
during thoſe daies, and being returned into his camp, he found no better. Nothing was there but
extream want & penury, as being pitched in a place compaſſed about on every ſide with deſarts and
F wilderneſs. And therefore when he had ſtaied there but one only day to reſt and repoſe his men,
whom he had taken with him in that journey, he haſtned away, and in a running march, as if he
had fled in rout, entred the countrey of the Denthelets. Theſe Denthelets were his own confederat
allies, but the Macedonians (ſuch was their need and neceſſity) pilled and ſpoiled their confines,
no leſs than if they had been profeſſed enemies. For firſt they waſted & deſtroied their holts, gran-
ges, and farm houſes, afterwards certain wicks and villages alſo, robbing and rifling as they went,
to the great diſhonor of the King; who could not chuſe but hear the piteous complaints & mones
of his aſſociats crying to the Gods, Patrons of alliances, and calling upon his name for help, but
could have no redreſs and remedy. When he was purveyed of corn from thence, and returned into
the countrey *Mædica*, he began to aſſail a City which they call *Petra*. Himſelf in perſon lay encam-
G ped in the avenue and ready way upon the plains, but he ſent his ſon *Perſeus* with a ſmall company
to fetch a compaſs and give the aſſault from the higher places that commanded the Town. The
Townſmen thus hard beſted with terror on every ſide for the preſent yeelded upon compoſition,
and gave hoſtages: but after the army was rerired, they forgetting their pledges, abandoned the
City and fled for refuge into certain forts, fenced places, and high mountains. *Philip* having wea-
ried his ſouldiers with all manner of travel to no effect, and withal entertained more jelouſie and
ſuſpition of his ſon *Demetrius*, by the lewd practiſe and falſe ſuggeſtions of *Didas* (the Governor

of

of *Paonia*) returned into *Macedony*. This *Didas* (as hath been ſaid before) ſent to conduct *Demetrius* home, abuſed the ſimplicity of the yong Gentleman, who was nothing circumſpect and wary, but ſeemed diſcontented and complained to him (as good cauſe he had) of thoſe that were neereſt in nature and blood unto him; he, I ſay, by flattering, by ſoothing him up, and ſeeming withal to be offended and grieved for his part at ſuch hard vſage, laid ſnares and grins, and ſet traps for him; and in concluſion, by his double diligence, and offering his voluntary ſervice to do him pleaſure, proteſting alſo to be true and faſt unto him, yea, and to keep his counſel, fetched out of him the very ſecrets of his heart. Now had *Demetrius* a purpoſe with himſelf to flie to *Rome*, and to effectuate this deſignment of his, he was perſwaded, that of a ſpecial grace and favour the Gods had ſent and offered unto him this *Didas* the Pretor of *Paonia* to be his helper and aſſiſtant; for through his Province he conceived ſome hope to paſs and eſcape with ſecurity. This intent and plot of his was both immediately diſcloſed to his brother *Perſeus*, and alſo by him declared to his father. And firſt were letters hereof brought unto him, whiles he lay at the ſiege of *Petra*. Afterwards *Herodorus* (the principal friend that *Demetrius* had) was committed to ward, and withal, order was taken to watch and obſerve *Demetrius* that he ſtarted not aſide; but all underhand and cloſe, without ſemblance of any ſuch matter. Theſe occurrents above all others, cauſed the King to have a dolorous and heavy return into *Macedony*. Theſe new accuſations thus preſented, troubled him much: howbeit he thought good to expect the return of thoſe whom he had ſent to *Rome* as ſpies to hear all and find out the truth. In the anguiſh and agony of theſe cares and perplexities, when the King had continued certain months, in the end thoſe Embaſſadors came home; who at firſt ere they ſet foot out of *Macedony*, had deviſed and framed before hand what reports they would make from *Rome*. Theſe meſſengers, to make up the full meaſure of all their wicked and divelliſh practiſes, delivered alſo into the Kings hand a falſe and forged letter, ſealed with a counterfeit ſignet of *T. Quintius*. The ſaid letter was indited to this tenor and effect, That *Quintius* ſhould ſeem for his own excuſe to ſay, that albeit yong *Demetrius*, carried away with an inordinat deſire to be King, had ſlipped a little, and treated with him about ſome ſuch matter, yet would he do nothing to prejudice any one about K. *Philip*, neither would he be thought or found a man, to give any ungodly and ungracious counſel. Theſe letters ſtruck it dead ſure, and made the King believe, that all the former imputations faſtned upon *Demetrius* were true and paſt all peradventure. Whereupon *Herodorus* preſently was put to the rack and examined, but after he had endured intolerable pains a long time, and confeſſed nothing, he died in the end under the tormentors hand. *Perſeus* accuſed *Demetrius* again before his father, for that he intended and provided to take his flight through *Paonia*. And there came forth certain to teſtify againſt him, ſaying, that he had corrupted, inveigled, and induced them to accompany him in that journey. But that which made moſt of all againſt him, was that ſame deviſed letter of *T. Quintius*. Howbeit there was no grievous ſentence pronounced openly againſt him, to the end, that rather by ſome covert and cautelous practiſe, he might come to his death: and this, not for any fear that he had of him, but doubting leſt ſome open puniſhment executed upon him, might reveal and diſcover his ſecret deſignment, of making war upon the Romans.

*Philip* himſelf taking his journy from *Theſſalonica* to come to *Demetrias*, ſent *Demetrius* his ſon to *Æſtreum*, a City in *Paonia*, and the ſame *Didas* ſtill to accompany him: but *Perſeus* he addreſſed to *Amphipolis*, for to receive the hoſtages of the Thracians. Now it is reported, that when *Didas* took his leave of him and departed, the King gave him in charge to kill his ſon *Demetrius*. *Didas* then, either purpoſing indeed or making ſemblance to ſacrifice, invited *Demetrius* to the celebration and feaſt thereof, whereupon he came from *Æſtreum* to *Heraclea*. And (as men ſay) at this ſupper he met with a cup of poiſon. He had no ſooner drunk it, but immediatly he felt that he was ſped; for within a while it began to work extreamly, and for very dolour and pain, he was forced to riſe from the Table and retire into his bed-chamber: where he pitiouſly complained of the hard heart and cruelty of his father, of the murderous mind of the parricide his brother, and of the trecherous villany of *Didas*: and all this while endured deadly wrings and torments in his belly. But afterwards there were ſent into the chamber, one *Thyrſis* a Stuberæan, and *Alexander* of *Berrhæa*, who enwrapped his head and throat with the bed-cloaths, carpets and counterpoints of tapiſtry, and held them ſo hard, that they throtled and ſmothered him, and in the end ſtopped his breath that he died. Thus was this poor innocent yong man piteouſly made away; whoſe enemies one ſingle kind of death could not content and ſatisfy, but needs they muſt kill and murder them twice.

*Demetrius murdred.*

Whiles theſe things hapned in *Macedony*, *L. Æmylius Paulus*, who continued ſtill in government after his Conſulſhip expired, marched with his army againſt the Ligurians Ingaunes in the beginning of the ſpring. So ſoon as he was entred into the confines of his enemies country, and there encamped, there came Embaſſadors unto him under colour of ſeeking peace, but indeed only to eſcout and ſpie. *Paulus* made them anſwer, That he could contract no accord with them, unleſs they yeelded firſt: which they ſeemed not ſo much to refuſe, but ſaid, That they needed ſome time to perſwade their nation unto it, being a rude and uncivil kind of people. And when they had ten daies truce allowed to effect this, they requeſted moreover, that the Roman ſouldiers might not paſs over the next hills adjoyning, either for fewel or forage, for aſmuch as thoſe lands were the only tilled and well manured grounds of their appurtenances and territory. When they had obtained ſo much, they aſſembled all their forces on that ſide of the hills, from whence they had

A had averted the enemies, and ſuddainly with a mighty multitude charged upon the Roman camp, and aſſaulted all the avenues and gates thereof at once. With all forcible means they continued the aſſault in ſuch ſort, as the Romans had not ſo much as either time enough to ſet forth and diſplay their enſigns, or room ſufficient to put their army in order of battel: but were compelled to defend their camp more by ſtanding thick thronged together againſt the enemies in the very gates then otherwiſe by hardy fighting. But about the going down of the ſun, when the enemies were retired, *Paulus* diſpatched two light horſemen with letters to *M. Babius* the Conſul, as far as *Piſa*, that he ſhould come away with all ſpeed to ſuccour him, being in time of truce beſieged. But *Babius* had delivered up his army before to *M. Pinarius*, the Pretor, as he went into *Sardinia*. Howbeit he both certified the Senat by his letters, that *L. Æmylius* was inveſted by the B Ligurians, and he wrote alſo to *M. Cl. Marcellus*, whoſe province was next adjoining, to bring over his forces (if he thought ſo good) out of *Gaul* in to *Liguria*, and deliver *L. Æmylius* from ſiege. But alas, theſe ſuccours ſhould have come all too late; for the Ligurians the very next day returned and advanced againſt the camp *Æmylius*, albeit he not only knew that they would come, but alſo might have brought his power forth into the field and ranged them in array, yet he kept himſelf ſo cloſe within the ſtrength of his rampiar, minding to hold off and not to fight, untill *Babius* might with his army come from *Piſa*. Now the letters of *Babius* cauſed great fear at *Rome*: and ſo muce the more, for that *Marcellus* being returned to the City, ſome few daies after he had made over his army unto *Fabius*, put them out of all hope, that the army which was in *France* could not poſſibly paſſe into *Liguria*, by reaſon of the war with the Iſtrians, who impeached the planting C of the colony at *Aquileia*; againſt whom *Fabius* was gone, and might not poſsibly retire from thence, now that the war was once begun. The only hope they had therefore of aiding *Æmylius* was this, (and yet the ſame ſeemed to be with the lateſt, conſidering the urgent neceſsity of the time) in caſe the Conſuls made haſt to go into their privinces: which to do all the LL. of the Senat called aloud and earneſtly unto them. But the Conſuls denied flatly to ſtir one foot before the levy of ſouldiers was fully finiſhed; alledging that it was not their ſlackneſs, but the violence of the plague, which cauſed it to be ſo late ere it were performed. Yet for all this, ſuch was the general accord and conſent of the Senat, that they could neither will nor chuſe but go forth of the City in their rich coats of arms, and by proclamation to aſsigne a certain day, upon which all the ſouldiers whom they had enrolled ſhould ſhew at *Piſa*: and commiſsion they had to take up D ſubitary ſouldiers, all the country over as they went, to preſſe them forth preſently and have them away. Moreover, the Pretors, *Q. Petilius* and *Q. Fabius* were both of them commanded, the one, namely, *Petilius*, to enrol in haſt two tumultuary legions of Roman citizens, and tender the military oath to all that were not above fiftie yeers old: and *Fabius*, to levy of the Latine allies fifteen thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſemen. The two Duumvirs or Wardens for the navy and the ports were created, namely, *C. Matienus* and *C. Lucretius*, who were ſoon provided of ſhips ready rigged, trimmed and furniſhed to their hands. And *Matienus*, who had the charge of the coaſts upon the gulf of Gaul, was commanded to bring his fleet with all ſpeed poſsible along, to to the tract of the Ligurians, if haply he might any way lead *L. Æmylius* and his army. *Æmylius* after he perceived that no aid appeared from any place, ſuppoſing verily that the two horſe men E above-ſaid, were intercepted and ſtaied by the way, thought good to put off no longer, but alone with his own forces to trie the fortune of a fight. And thereupon before the enemies came (who now already began more coldly and heavily to aſſail them then before) he put his men in battell array at the four gates of the camp, to the end that upon the ſignall given, they ſhould at once from all parts ſally forth. To the four extraordinary cohorts, he adjoined two other, under the conduct of *M. Valerius* a Lieutenant, and commanded them to break forth at the falſe poſtern gate called *Extraordinaria*: within the gate *Principalis* on the right hand, he embattelled the Haſtati or Iaveliners of the firſt legion, and the principes of the ſame legion in the rearguard to ſecond them, commanded both by *M. Servilius* and *L. Sulpitius*, Knights marſhals, or Tribunes military. The third legion he marſhalled full againſt the other gate *Principalis* on the left hand. This change F only was here, for that the Principes were ſet in the front, and the Haſtati behind in the tail of them. Sex. *Iulius Cæſar* and *L. Aurelius Cotta*, two military Tribunes had the leading of this legion. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* a Lieutenant, having the conduct of the right wing, was placed at the gate *Queſtoria*. Two cohorts and the Triarii of two legions had commandment to ſtay behind for the defence of the camp. The Generall himſelf in perſon rode all about from gate to gate, exhorting and encouraging his men: uſing all the forcible means he poſsibly could deviſe, to provoke and whet the ſtomacks of his ſouldiers, and to give a poinant edge to their courage and choler: one while reproaching his enemies for their falſhood and treachery, who having craved peace and obtained truce; during the time of the ſaid truce, againſt all law of nations were G "come to aſſail the camp: another while ſhewing and declaring unto them what ſhame and "indignity it was for the Roman army to be beſieged by the Ligurians, who more truly may "be accounted theeves and robbers, then go for warlike enemies. If (quoth he) you ſhould eſcape "from hence, not by your own vertue and valour, but through the help and ſuccour of others, "with what face ſhall any of you be able to meet. I ſay, not thoſe ſouldiers who have vanquiſhed "*Annibal*, defeated *Philip*, and ſubdued *Antiochus*, the mightieſt King, and greateſt comman- "ders of our age: but even them who many a time have hunted and chaſed the very ſame Liguri- "ans like bruit beaſts, over the wilds and forreſts as they fled, and hewed them in peeces in the end?

" That which the Spaniards, that which the Gauls, that which the Macedonians and Carthaginians H
" dare not enterprise, namely, to approach and enter upon the rampier of the Roman camp; shall
" a Ligurian enemy adventure to do? shall he of his own accord presume to besiege and
" assail our camp, whom heretofore when we beat all the blind bushes, by-woods and thickets,
" to start him out, we had much ado to find, he lay so close and lurked so covertly? At these words
the souldiers set up a consonant crie in token of applause, and answered him with a general shout,
saying, there was no fault on their part, seeing that no man had given them the signal to issue
forth and make a sally. For let him but once say the word to sound the trumpet, he should see
and find, that both Romans and Ligurians were the same still as before-time. Now the Ligurians
kept two camps on the neer side of the mountains affront the Roman leaguer; from whence
(for the first daies so soon as the sun was up) they used to advance their ensigns, and march forward I
well armed and ranked in battell array: but then they put no armor upon their backs, nor took
weapon in hand, before they had filled their bellies well with meat and their heads with wine:
they came forth (I say) dispersed and out of order; as who hoped and trusted assuredly, that the
enemies would not march under their ensigns without their rampier. Against them (coming thus
in disarray) the Romans issued forth at once, out of all the gates in one instant with a mighty
shout, which not only they who were within the camp set up, but also the lackies, scullions, lan-
derers, and other drudges that follow the camp redoubled. This was such an unlooked for occurrent
to the Ligurians, that they were set in as great an affright therewith, as if they had been surprised
& beset all about with suddain ambushments. For a smal while there was some shew of a conflict,
such as it was; but anon they took their heels and fled for life; but as they fled, they left their lives K
behind them in every place. Then the men of arms had the signall given to mount on horseback,
to pursue them & not suffer one to escape alive: & so in this fearful rout they were driven to take
their camp for safety: but in the end were disseized and turned out of it also. That day were
slain of the Ligurians not so few as fifteen thousand, and 2500 taken prisoners. Within three
daies after, the whole nation of the Ligurian Ingaunes, yeelded absolutely, and put in their hosta-
ges. A search was made for all the pilots and mariners, who had exercised piracy on the sea, and
they were all laid up fast in prison. Sembably *C. Matienus* one of the Duumvirs or wardens of
the navy met with two and thirty ships of that sort, belonging to men of war upon the coast of
*Liguria*, and boorded them. To carry these news to *Rome*, and letters to the Senat, *L. Aurelius*
*Cotta*, and *C. Sulpitius Cotta* were sent to *Rome*: who also were to require that *L. Æmylius* (when L
his time was expired) might depart out of his province, and bring his souldiers from thence with
him, and so discharge them of service. Both these demands were granted by the Senat, and a
solemn procession besides was ordeined in all churches and chappels, and at every shrine and al-
tar for three daies space. The Pretors also were commanded, *Petilius*, to casse and dimisse the le-
gions of the City; and *Fabius*, to remit the Latine allies the levying and mustering of their soul-
diers. Also there was order given to the Pretor of the City, for to write unto the Coss. and give
them to understand, that the Senat thought it meet and reason, that the subitary souldiers (who
were enrolled in hast for the suddain tumult and alarm) should with all speed be licensed to depart.

The same yeer the colony of *Graviſca* was planted in the territory of *Tuscany*, which in times
past was conquered from the Tarquinians; and five acres of land was set out to every man. The M
Triumvirs who had the charge thereof to distribute these lands, were *C. Calpurnius Piso*, *P. Clau-*
*dius Pulcher*, and *C. Terentius Istra*. A yeer it was of note, in regard of the drought that hapned,
and the dearth of corn and all other fruits of the earth. For recorded it is, that in six month space
it never rained one drop.

The same yeer it fortuned, that as certain plow-men and labourers plowed and digged some-
what deep within the ground, in the lands of *L. Petilius* a secretary, (which lands lay under the
hill *Janiculum*) there were found two coffers of stone, each of them about eight foot long and
four foot broad, the lids and covers whereof were bound and sodered with lead. Both these
chests had a superscription upon them in Greek and Latine letters to this effect, That in the one of N
them lay buried *Numa Pompilius* the son of *Pompo*, sometime King of *Rome*: and in the other,
were bestowed the books of the said *Numa*. The owner of this ground opened these coffers by
the advice and counsel of his friends: and that which carried the title and inscription of the
Kings sepulture, was found empty, without any shew or token of the reliques of a mans body
or any thing else, by reason the bones and all were rotten and consumed, in continuance of time
after so many yeers past. In the other were found two fardels, wrapped within wax candles (or
cear-cloths) conteining either of them seven books; which were not only whole and sound, but
also seemed very fresh and new. One seven of them were written in Latin, as touching the Pon-
tificiall law: the other seven in Greek, entituled, *The discipline or doctrine of Philosophie*, such as
those daies might afford. *Valerius Antias* saith moreover, That they were the books of *Pythagoras*; O
according to the common received opinion of *Numa*, that he was the disciple of *Pythagoras*;
herein giving credit to a probable lie, resembling a truth. These books were first read by those
friends of his who were present at the place where the chests were opened; but afterwards as
they came into more mens hands to be read, it chanced that *Q. Petilius* the lord chief justice of
the City, desirous to peruse those books, borrowed them of L. *Petilius*, with whom he was famili-
arly acquainted, by reason that the abovenamed *Quintus Petilius* had chosen the foresaid *Lucius*
into the decury of the Scribes and secretaries. Who after he had read the titles with the summaries

and

A and contents of every chapter, and finding the moſt part thereof, tending directly to aboliſh the ſtate of the religion then eſtabliſhed, ſaid unto *L. Petilius*, that he purpoſed to fling thoſe books into the fire; before he did ſo, he would permit him to uſe what means he thought by order of law, or otherwiſe would ſerve his turn to recover the ſaid books out of his hands, and good leave he ſhould have to take that courſe without his diſpleaſure, or any breach of friendſhip between them. The Scribe or notary aforeſaid goeth to the Tribunes for their aſsiſtance, the Tribunes put the matter over to the Senat, before whom the Pretor ſaid plainly, that he was ready to take his corporall oath, if it were to put to it, that thoſe books ought neither to be read nor kept. Whereupon the Senat judged, that for ſuch a matter the offer only of the Pretors oath was ſufficient, and that the books ſhould be burned with all ſpeed poſſible in the open place of aſſemblies called B *Comitium*: but they awarded withall, that they ſhould be paied unto *Q. Petilius* the right owner as much mony for the books, as the Pretor and the more part of the Tribunes of the Commons eſteemed them worth. The Scribe would touch none of mony: but his books were burnt in the foreſaid place before all the people in a light fire, made by the ordinary ſervitors attending upon the ſacrifices.

The ſame ſummer there aroſe ſuddainly a great war in the higher *Spain*. The Celtiberians had gathered a power of five & thirty thouſand men, a number more then lightly at any time before they had levied. Now was *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* lord Deputy of that province. He for his part, becauſe he was advertiſed that the Celtiberians put their youth in arms, had raiſed and aſſembled as great aids of the confederats, as he could, but nothing came he neer to the enemie in numbers C of ſouldiers. In the beginning of the Spring he led his army into *Carpetania*, and encamped before the town *Ebura*, after he had plainted a mean garriſon within it. A few daies after the Celtiberians pitched their tents within two miles from thence under a little hill. When the Roman Pretor perceived they were come, he ſent his brother *Marcus Fulvius* with two companies of the horſemen of allies in eſpial, to view the enemies camp, willing him to approach as neer to the trench and rampier as he could, and to ſee what compaſſe the camp took, but to forbear skirmiſh, and in any hand to retire, in caſe he perceived the Cavalry of their enemies made out againſt him. According to this direction, in did in every reſpect. And ſo for certain daies together, there was nothing done, but only theſe two companies of horſemen ſhewing firſt, and afterwards retiring backſo ſoon as the Calvalry of the enemies iſſued out of their camp. At length the Celtiberians D alſo came forth and advanced forward withall their power, as well horſe as foot, and having ſet them in ordinance of battell, ſtaied as it were in the midſt between. The whole ground was a ſmooth and even plain, fit to join a battell in. There ſtood the Spaniards (I ſay) expecting their enemies: But the Roman Pretor kept his men within the rampier four daies together; and they likewiſe of the other ſide held the ſame place ſtill in battell array. The Romans all that while ſtirred not a foot. The Celtiberians then ſeeing the enemies refuſed fight, held themſelves quiet alſo within their camp: only the horſemen rid forth; and they kept a *corps de guard*, to be in readineſs if peradventure the enemies ſhould be buſie and come abroad. Both of the one ſide and other, they went out of the back ſide of their camp to purvey forage and fuel, and impeached not one another. The Roman Pretor, ſuppoſing now that after ſo many daies reſt, the enemies were E born in hand and hoped fully, that he would never begin firſt, commanded *L. Acilius* to take with him the left wing of the Cavalry, and ſix thouſand of the provincial auxiliaries, and to fetch a compaſſe about the hill which ſtood behind the enemies; and from thence ſo ſoon as they heard a Cry, to run down amain and charge upon their camp. And becauſe they might not be diſcovered, in the night time they departed. *Flaccus* the next morning by peep of day, ſent out *C. Scribonius* (a colonel of the allies) againſt the enemies camp, with the extraordinary horſemen of the left wing: whom when the Celtiberians beheld both approaching neer toward them & alſo more in number then uſually they had been, they put forth all their Cavalry at once out of the gates: & withal, gave the ſignal to the Infantry alſo to come abroad. *Scribonius*, according to the direction given, ſo ſoon as ever he heard the firſt noiſe and ſhout of the horſemen, turned the head of his F horſe and retired back full upon the camp: therewith the enemies followed more freely: firſt the horſmen, and within a while the footmen alſo, making full account to be maſters of the Roman leaguer that day, and verily now were they put paſt half a mile. When *Flaccus* ſuppoſed that they were trained far enough from their camp, for ſuccouring it, he iſſued forth at once in three places, with his army arranged before in order of battell within, and cauſed them to ſet up a mighty cry, not only to animat the ſouldiers to the combat, but alſo that their fellows behind the hill might hear it. Who made no ſtay, but preſently ran down and ſet upon the enemies camp as they had in charge, where there were left in guard not above five hundred armed men. By reaſon therefore, that they within were ſo few, the enemies without ſo many, and G the enterpriſe ſo ſuddain and unlooked for, they were mightily terrified, and ſo in manner without any skirmiſh and reſiſtance at all, their hold was forced and won. *Acilius* ſet on fire that part alſo, which might eaſieſt be ſeen of them that were fighting in the plain. Now the Celtiberians which ſtood behind in the rereguard, were the firſt that diſcovered the flame, but afterwards it was noiſed and went current through the main battel, that their camp were loſt and all on a light fire. The enemies were greatly amated, but the Romans much more animated. For now they might hear the ſhout of their fellows, having the upper hand, now might they ſee the tents of their enemies burning with bright flames. The Celtiberians for a while ſtood in ſuſpence,

doubtfull what to do ; but afterwards, perceiving they had no place of safe retear, if upon their H
discomfiture they should fall to running away, they saw no other hope but in fighting it out, and
so they began to renew the skirmish afresh, with more resolution then before. Fiercely they were
encountred and charged in the midst of their battel by the fist legion : but against the left flank and
wing, where they saw the souldiers of their own nation ranged (who came to aid the Romans)
they made head, and advanced their ensignes with more boldnesse and confidence. And verily
that left wing of the Romans was at the point to have retreated, but that the seventh legion se-
conded and succoured them : and withall they that were left within *Ebura* in garrison, came from
the town in the very midst and hottest of the conflict ; and *Acilius* from another part plaied
on their backs. Down went the Celtiberians along time, and were cut in peeces between. As
many as remained, made shift to flie and escape on all hands into every quarter. The Cavalry was I
sent out after them two waies in severall bands : who also committed great slaughter and execu-
tion. That day were slain of the enemies about 23000. 4800 taken prisoners, with five hundred
horse and above ; besides 88 military ensignes gotten from them and carried away. A great victory
this was, but not without bloudshed of the Romans part : for of two legions there died somewhat
more then two hundred, but of Latine allies 830 ; of forrein aids, much about 2400 lost their lives
in the field. The Pretor then retired with his victorious army into his own camp. *Acilius* was
commanded to abide still in that of their enemies, which he had forced and won. The next mor-
row they fell to gather up the spoils of their enemies : and those who had born themselves valiant-
ly in that service among the rest, were rewared with gifts in a full and frequent assembly of the
whole army. After this, when the hurt and maimed were brought back into the town *Ebura*, the K
legions were led through the countrey *Carpetania*, towards *Contrebia*. This City when it was
once besieged sent to the Celtiberians for succour ; but they came not in time : not for any slack-
nesse of their part, but because after they were departed from home, & had entred on their journey,
the foul waies hindred and staid them, which they were not able to pass for the continuall rain
that fell : over and besides, the waters were out and the rivers swelled so high, that possibly they
could not come forward : whereupon the besieged inhabitants being in dispair of help, from their
friends, rendred the town. *Flaccus* likewise was forced by the storm and tempestuous waether
to put his army into the same City. Now the Celtiberians, who were on foot in their journey,
and not aware that their friends had surrendred, at length having passed over the rivers (when
the rain gave over and the weather took up) came to *Contrebia* ; but seeing no camp without the L
wals, and supposing that it was either removed to the other side, or the enemies dislodged and
gone, they approached the town, and marched loosely and retchlesly forward in disarray. The
Romans sallied out upon them at two gates, fell upon them (disbanded as they were) and put
them to the rout. But see what hapned ! that thing which hindred them that they could not make
head, resist, and settle themselves to begin fight (namely, because they came not together in one
entire band, nor yet by great companies about their colours) the same stood them in good stead
to save many of their lives that fled. For they ran so scattering, and were so spread all over the
plaines, that in no place could the enemy meet with them in any number thick together, to com-
pass them about on every side. Howbeit 12000 of them were killed, & above 5000 taken prisoners,
besides 400 horse, 62 ensigns of war won from them. Those who after their straggling flight re- M
tired homeward, met with another troop of Celtiberians coming forward, unto whom they re-
counted the yeelding up of *Contrebia* and their own misfortune : by which means they caused
them to turn and goe back againe, who immediately slipt away in their villages and forts.
Then *Flaccus* departed from *Contrebia*, and conducted his legions through *Celtiberia* wa-
sting and spoiling as he went : where he forced many castles untill the greater part of that coun-
trey was reduced under his obedience. These affairs passed in high *Spain* that year. As for
the lower province, *Manlius* the Pretor fought fortunatly in certain battells against the Portu-
gals.

The same yeer a Colony of Latins was planted in *Aquileia*, within the territory of the Gauls, N
and thither were conducted three thousand footmen, and every one of them were endowed
with fifty acres of land. The Centurions besides had a hundred, and the horsemen a hundred and
forty acres apeece given unto them. And the Commissioners for this conduct and distribution
were P. *Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, C. *Flaminius*, and L. *Manlius Acidinus*. In which year also
two Temples were dedicated, the one to *Venus Erycina* neer the gate *Collina* (which L. *Porcius*
*Licinius* the son of *Lucius* dedicated, being a Duumvir deputed for that purpose, and had been
vowed before by L. *Porcius* the Consul in the Ligurian war) the other to the goddesse *Piety*, in the
herb market : and of this chappell M. *Acilius Glabrio* the other Duumvir, had the dedication ;
where, he erected and set up in the honor of his father *Glabrio*, a guilt statue, which was the first
gilded image that ever was made in *Italy*. This *Glabrio* the father was he, who had vowed to
edifie the said Temple that very day on which he fought the battell against K. *Antiochus*, at *Ther-* O
*mopylæ*, and by warrant from the Senat, had bargained for the building thereof at a price. In those
daies wherein these holy houses were consecrated, L. *Æmylius Paulus* the Proconsul, triumphed
over the Ligurians Ingaunes. He had born before him in shew five and twenty golden Coronets,
and besides them there was no gold or silver else carried in that triumph. But many principal Li-
gurians, men of mark, whom he took captive ; were led before his chair. He dealt among his
souldiers, 300 Asses apeece. The fame of this triumph of his, was much more renowned by

this

this occasion, that the Ligurian Embassadors craved to have a perpetuall peace with the Romans
A "saying, That their whole nation were resolved, never to take arms again, but by commandment
"and licence of the people of *Rome*. Q. *Fabius* the Pretor, returned this answer unto them by the
"advice of the Senat, That it was no news to hear this language from the Ligurians; but it stood
"them upon and was beseeming rather, to carry a new mind, and the same agreeable to their
"speech: and therefore they should go to the Consuls, and do by them which they were enjoined:
forasmuch as the Senat would beleeve none but the word only of the Consuls in the behalf of the
Ligurians, as touching their true and sincere meaning to observe peace. Thus was peace con-
cluded with the Ligurians: but there was a battel fought in *Corsica* with the Islanders there;
in which *M. Tinarius* the Pretor slew 2000 of them in the field: which defeat compelled them
to give hostages, and besides 100000 pound weight of wax. From thence the army was conduct-
B ed into *Sardinia*, where passed some fortunat battels against the Ilians, a nation at this day not ful-
ly quieted & appeased. In this very yeer also were the hundred hostages rendred back again to the
Carthaginians; with whom the people of *Rome* made and maintained peace, as well for their own
part, as in the behalf of K. *Massinissa*, who at that time with an armed garison, held the possession
of that territory which had been in question. The Consuls in their province sat still and had nothing
to do. *M. Bœbius* was sent for to *Rome*, against the generall assembly for the election of magi-
strates: who created Consuls, *A. Posthumius Albinus Luscus* and *C. Calpurnius Piso*. After this,
were elected Pretors *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, *A. Posthumius Albinus*, *P. Cornel. Mamercus*,
*T. Minutius Mollicubus*, *A. Hostilius Mancinus*, and *C. Manius*; and they all entred into their
magistracy upon the 15 day of *March*.

C In the beginning of that yeer wherein *A. Posthumius Albinus*, and *C. Calpurnius Piso* were
Consuls: *A. Posthumius* the Consul brought into the Senat those persons who were come from
*Q. Fulvius Flaccus* out of the hither province of *Spain*; to wit *L. Minutius* his Lieutenant ge-
nerall, and the two colonels, *T. Manius* and *L. Massaliota*. These men after they had made report
of two fields fortunatly fought against the Celtiberians, of their countrey yeelded and brought un-
der their subjection; and that the term of government in that province was expired, and no more
left to to be done there; so as there was no need either of the ordinary mony which was wont
to be sent for souldiers pay, or of corn to be caried unto the army for that yeer: requested of the
Senat first, in regard of their happy successe, to yeeld honor and praise to the immortall gods:
and then, that *Q. Fulvius* might depart and come his waies out of the province, and bring with
D him that army of his from thence, whose valiant service, both himself and also many Pretors be-
fore him had used: which (say they) was not only meet and convenient, but also requisit and
needfull in a manner to be done: forasmuch as the souldiers were so stiffnecked and obstinat, that
it seemed unpossible to hold them any longer in that province, but that they would be gone and
depart without licence, if they were not dimissed: or else break out into some dangerous fire
of a mutiny, if a man should go about to keep and hold them back by strong hand. The Senat gave
order that *Liguria* should be the province for both Consuls: which done, the Pretors also cast
lots for theirs. To A. *Hostilius* fell the civill jurisdiction over the citizens: and to *Minutius* o-
ver the forrainers; *P. Cornelius* had the government of *Sicily*: *C. Manius* of *Sardinia*. Unto *L.*
*Posthumius* was allotted the farther part of *Spain*, and to *Tib. Sempronius* the hither. This *Sem-*
E *pronius* (because he was to succeed *Q. Fulvius*) fearing his province should be left naked and
disfurnished of the old souldiers, "I demand (qd. he) of you, O *L. Minutius*, since you bring word
"that there is no more trouble behind of that province, whether you think that the Celtiberians
"will continue fast in their allesgeance for ever, so as, that province may be protected and held
"in obedience without any army at all? And if you cannot undertake to assure us of the faith and
"loyalty of these Barbarians & do advise us in any hand to maintain an army in those parts, whe-
"ther you will give counsell to the Senat, for to send a supply into *Spain*, that they only should be
"cassed and discharged, who have served out their full yeers required by law, and so that new and
"raw souldiers be mingled with the rest of the old? or that the old legions should full and whole
"be removed out of the province, and new legions enrolled, and sent thither in their stead? con-
F "sidering that the small account that usually is made of such fresh and untrained souldiers, were
"enough to induce and move even the more quiet and peaceable sort of Barbarians to rebel and
"make war again? Soon said it is, but not so easily done, to have made an end of all troubles in
"such a province, especially where the people are naturally inclined to war, and prone ever and
"anon to make insurrections. Some few Cities, as far as I can hear, and namely, those which be-
"ing neer unto the souldiers lying in winter garison, were by them held in aw and kept down,
"have yeelded and are become subject: but they that were farther off, be in arms still and have
"weapon in hand. Which being so, I tell you (my LL) even now before hand, that I will per-
"form my service to the Commonweal, with the help of that army which is there already at this
G "present: but in case *Flaccus* bring away those legions with him: I will chuse those quarters which
"are in peace, to winter in, and not hazard my yong and new souldiers among them, to be pre-
"sented to the devotion and mercy of most fierce and warlike enemies. The Lieutenant answer-
"ed to these demands in this maner, That neither himself nor any man else was able for his life, to
"divine and foredeem what was in the hearr of the Celtiberians now, and what they would
"mind and intend to do hereafter: and therefore he could not deny, but the better policy it was
"to send an army among these Barbarians (peaceable though they seemed to be at this present) be-

"cauſe as yet they are inured to government, and cannot well skill of being ſubjects. But whether H
"it be more expedient to employ new forces, as the old, it is for him to ſpeak and ſet down, who
"upon his knowledg can ſay, how loyally the Celtiberians wil carry themſelves in time of peace,
"and is withall aſſured, that the ſouldiers will hold them content and quiet, if they be detained
"any longer in the province. But if a man may conjecture and give a gueſſe what they think in
"their heart, either by their grumbliug words ſecretly one to anorher; or their ſpeeches uttered
"in the preſence and hearing of their General, when he maketh orations to them in publick audi-
"ence: I tell you truly they have cryed out with open mouth, that either they will keep their Ge-
nerall with them in the province, or home they will with him into *Italy*. This debate between
the Pretor and the Lieutenant, was interrupted and broken off, by a new matter propounded be-
fore the Senat by the Conſuls, who thought it meet and reaſonable, that order ſhould be taken for I
their own furniture and ſettn g forth with men, mony, and munition to their provinces, before
any thing were ſpoken or treat of as touching the Pretor his army. So, ordained it was, that the
Coſſ. ſhould have their entire army of new ſouldiers, to wit, each of them two legions of Rom.
citizens with their cavalry, together with the uſuall and accuſtomed number at all other times
of Latine allies, namely, 15000 foot and 800 horſe. And with this power they had in charge to
make war againſt the Ligurian Apuans. As for P. *Cornelius* and *M. Bæbius*, they continued ſtill
in place of command: and were willed to hold their provinces, untill the Conſuls were thither
come. Then they were commanded to diſcharge the army which they had, and ſo to return to
*Rome*. After this, ſpeech there was concerning the army of *Tib. Sempronius*; and the Conſuls had
warrant to enroll one new legion, conſiſting of five thouſand and two hundred foot and 400 K
horſe: ove: and beſides, 1000 footmen, and 50 horſe of Roman citizens. Likewiſe the Latine na-
tion was charged with a levy of 7000 foot and 300 horſe. With which army it was thought good,
that *Tib. Sempronius* ſhould go into the higher province of *Spain*. As for *Q. Fulvius*, he was per-
mitted to bring back with him (if he thought well thereof) all thoſe ſouldiers, as well Romans as
allies, which had been tranſported over into *Spain* before the Conſulſhip of *Sp. Poſthumius* and
*Q. Martius*: and more then that (after a new ſupply was come) the ſurpluſage in two legions a-
bove 1400 foot, and 600 horſe, and the over-plus of 12000 footmen of Latins, and ſix hundred
horſemen; and namely, thoſe whoſe valorous ſervince *C. Fulvius* had tried and found in two bat-
tels againſt the Celtiberians. Moreover, ſolemn proceſsions and thanksgiving were by authority
ordained, for his happy managing of the affairs of the Common-weal; & then the reſt of the Pre- L
tors were ſent into their provinces, *Q. Fabius Buteo* had his commiſsion renewed to govern *Gallia*
ſtill. Thus it was agreed in the Senat-houſe, that there ſhould be eight legions maintained and kept
in pay that yeer, over and above the old army in *Liguria*, which was in good hope ſhortly to be
diſmiſſed. Howbeit even th ſe forces (being no greater then they were) hardly could be made
full and compleat by reaſon of the peſtilence which now three years had raigned, and diſpeopled
the City of *Rome*, and all *Italy*. During which plague the Pretor *T. Minutius*, and not long after
him, the Conſul *C. Calpurnius* died: with many other brave and famous perſons of each degree
and quality. So, as at length theſe men began to hold this depopulation and calamity for a prodigi-
ous token and ſtrange wonder. Whereupon *C. Servillius* the Arch-biſhop was charged, to ſearch
out means for to appeaſe the wrath and anger of the gods; and the Decemvirs likewiſe to peruſe M
the books of *Sibylla*: the Coſ. to vow certain preſents and oblations, to *Dan Apollo*, *Æſculapius*
and Lady * *Salus*, and to ſet up their images garniſhed with gold: which he vowed and erected
accordingly. The Decemvirs proclamed ſupplications & praiers two daies together for the health
of the people, throughout the City, and in all market towns and places of frequent reſort and aſ-
ſembly. Al above twelve yeers of age, wore chaplets & garlands of flours upon their heads, & bare
branches of lawrell in their hands, whiles they were at their praiers & devotion. Moreover, there
was crept into mens heads a ſuſpicion that ſome deviliſh and wicked hand might be the cauſe of
all this. Wherupon by an act of the Senat, a commiſsion was granted out unto *C. Claudius* the Pre-
tor (who was ſubſtituted and choſen in the room of *T. Minutius*) to make ſearch and diligent in-
quiſition after all confections of poiſon, & the practiſers therof, within the City, & for the compaſs N
of ten miles about it every way: In like maner, to *C. Manius*, for to ſit in the enquiry therof (be-
fore he croſſed over-ſea into his province of *Sardinia*) in all the mart-towns and places of aſſem-
bly which were more then ten miles off, from *Rome*. Of all others, the Conſul his death was moſt
ſuſpected. For given out it was, that *Quarta Hoſtilia* his wife, had murdered him: but when he
was ſeen once, that her own ſon *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, was declared Conſul in place of his father in
law and mothers husband, the death of *Piſo* the Conſul began to be more infamous and ſuſpicious
a great deal then before. And witneſſes there came forth ready to depoſe, that after *Albinus* and
*Piſo* were pronounced Conſuls (in which election the ſaid *Flaccus* was rejected and ſuffered a re-
pulſe) his mother reproached him therewith, and laid it in his diſh, that this was the third time
that he ſued for the Conſulſhip and gone without: adding moreover, and willing him to be rea- O
dy to ſtand for it again, for that ſhe would work and bring it about, that within two months he
ſhould be Conſul. Among other teſtimonies and depoſitions making for the cauſe and tending to
the tame, that ſpeech of hers alſo, taking effect too truly and ſo juſt within the time, was thought
ſufficient to condemn *Hoſtilia*.

In the beginning of this ſpring, whiles the levy of ſouldiers ſtaied the new Conſul at *Rome*,
whiles the death of the one and the chooſing of the other into their place, cauſed all thing there

to

A to go more ſlowly forward; in the mean time *P. Cornelius*, and *M. Babius* who had done nothing worthy of the remembrance during the Conſulſhip, led their armies againſt the Ligurian Apuans. Theſe Ligurians, who before the coming of the Conſuls into the province looked for no war, were ſurprized at unawares, and to the number of 12000 of them yeelded: whom *Cornelius* and *Babius* reſolved (upon advice had firſt with the Senat by letters) to tranſport from the mountains, into plains and champian countrey from their own home; to the end they ſhould have no more hope to return, for otherwiſe they ſuppoſed the Ligurian war would never have an end. Now there was in the Samnits country a certain territory belonging in common to the people of *Rome*, which ſometimes had been in the tenure and poſſeſsion of the Taurаſins. In which place they being deſirous to plant the Ligurian Apuans, publiſhed an edict, That they ſhould deſcend down
B the mountains *Anidos*, together with their wives and children, and bring away with them all that ever they had. But the Ligurians ſent their Embaſſadors oftentimes to intreat, that they might not be forced to abandon their domeſticall gods, the place of their nativity, and the ſepulchres of their anceſtors; and therewith promiſed to deliver up their armor, and to put in hoſtages. Howbeit, ſeeing they could not prevail, and having not ſtrength and power enough to wage war again, they obeyed the edict and proclamation. So there was tranſlated from thence at the publick charges of the City, to the number of four thouſand perſons free born, together with their women and children: and unto them was allowance made of 150000 Seſterces, toward the building of new houſes. And for to diſtribute and divide land among them, the ſame men (to wit, *Cornelius* and *Babius*) had commiſsion; who alſo removed them into thoſe parts. Howbeit at
C the requeſt of theſe twain, there were Quinquevirs or five commiſsioners aſsiſtants granted unto them by the Senat, by whoſe advice they might manage all. Theſe affairs being finiſhed, after they had brought with them to *Rome* their old army, they obtained of the Senat a grant to triumph. And theſe were the firſt that ever triumphed & made no war before. Only the enemies were led in ſhew before their chariot; for nothing had they gained and won for to be caried or led in pomp; neither was there ought to be ſeen in their triumphs, which might be dealt and given among the ſouldiers.

The ſame yeer *Fulvius Flaccus* the Pretor in *Spain*, by occaſion that his ſucceſſor ſtayed long ere he came into the province, brought forth his army into the field out of his wintring camp, and began to waſt and ſpoil the farther parts and territories of *Celtiberia*: from whence the inhabi-
D tants came not in to ſubmit and do their homage and fealty. By which deed of his, he rather provoked and angred the barbarous people, then terrified them: for when they had ſecretly gathered together certain forces and companies, they beſet and barred the paſſage *Manlianum*, by which they were aſſured that the Roman army would paſſe. As *L. Poſthumius Albinus* was upon his journey into the nether province of *Spain*, *Gracchus* his colleague charged him to advertiſe *Quintus Fabius* for to bring his army to *Tarracon*, for that he propoſed there to diſcharge his old ſouldiers, to diſtribute the ſupply which he brought, & to range in order all his army by companies. Notice alſo was given to *Flaccus* of the very day (which was neer at hand) upon which his ſucceſſor would come. This new occurent cauſed *Flaccus* to lay aſide thoſe enterpriſes which he intended, and in all haſt to withdraw his forces out of *Celtiberia*. The barbarous people knowing not the
E cauſe hereof, but ſuppoſing that he had ſome inkling of their revolt, and how they had in ſecret taken arms, and that thereupon he was ſore affraid, guarded and ſtopped the paſſage ſo much more ſtreightly. Now ſo ſoon as the Roman army was entred into the paſſe one morning betimes at the break of day, the enemies aroſe ſuddainly at once out of two parts, and charged the Romans: which when *Flaccus* perceived, he gave commandment by the miniſtery of the Ceturions, that every man ſhould keep his place and ſtand his ground, to have his arms and weapons in readineſſe; by which means he appeaſed the tumult and affright in his hoſt. Then after he had brought all his labouring beaſts with the baggage, unto one place, he embattelled and put in array all his bands and companies, partly by himſelf in perſon, and partly by his Lieutenants and colonels, according as the ground and the time required, ſhewing no ſign at all of fear, but putting
F his men in mind of the enemies, in theſe terms: "Ye have (quoth he) to do with thoſe that "twice already yeelded have yeelded unto us, who are inured and practiſed ſtill in wickedneſs & "perjury; not bettered in vertue and courage: thoſe (I ſay) who are like to make our return home "honorable and glorious, which otherwiſe would have been obſcure and nothing memorable: ſo "as we ſhall carry to *Rome* for a triumph, our ſwords all bloudy and newly bathed in the green "wounds and freſh maſſacre of our enemies; and beare away the ſpoils of their bodies, all em-"brued and ſtill dropping with their bloud. Time would not permit him to ſay any more, for now the enemies advanced forward, and the charge was already given in the utmoſt skirts of the army, and anon the main battels encountred and joyned conflict. The fight was hot and cruell alike in all
G parts, but the fortune divers: for the Roman legions in the main battell fought valiantly, and the two wings of either hand did their devoir as bravely. The auxiliary ſtrangers had to deal with enemies armed in deed at all points like to themſelves, but better ſouldiers by ods then they were; in ſuch ſort, as they were over-charged by them, and could not make good their ground. The Celtiberians perceiving they were not able to match the legions in ranged battell and cloſe hand-fight, caſt their companies into a pointed and coin-formed battaillon, for to pierce perforce and enter upon their enemies: in which maner of fight they are ſo ſtrong, that it is not poſsible to withſtand them, whereſoever they give their violent charge. And then the legions alſo were put in diſarray,

and

and the whole main battel after a ſort, was disbandoned and broken. Which diſorder and fear- H
full trouble when *Flaccus* perceived he rode a gallop to the legionary men of arms: What? (qd. he unto them) is there no help at all in you? and ſhall this army here be thus defeated utterly and come to nought? Whereat they cryed on all hands to him to give direction and ſpeak only the word what he would have done, & he ſhould ſee how they would beſtir themſelves in the execution of his command. "Mary (quoth he) double your troops, you that are the horſemen of two "legions, and run your horſes with full carrier againſt that wedge-formed battailon of the ene- "mies, wherewith they preſſe upon our men; and this ſhall you perform with the more violence of your horſes, if you disbridle them and let them have full head, and ſo let ſpurs and ruſh in a- "mong them: which we have read in ſtories, that the Romans many a time have practiced to "their great praiſe and honour. No ſooner ſaid, but done it was; pluckt were the bridles over I
their horſe heads; twice they ran through the mids of them to and fro from one ſide to another, brake all their lances upon the enemies, overthrew them, and made foul work and ſlaughter among them. When this pointed battaillon of the Celtiberians was once broken, (even the whole and only hope they had;) then they began to fear and tremble, then were they at the point to quit the fight, and to look about them which way to take their flight. The extraordinary Cavalry in the out-wings (ſeeing ſo brave a ſervice performed by the Roman horſmen) were enkindled and incenſed by their valorous example, and of their own accord without attendance of any mans commandment, charged upon their enemies, thus diſordered and in diſarray already. Then the Celtiberians ran away and fled on all hands. The Roman General ſeeing them once turn back and ſhew their hin-parts, vowed to build a chappell to *Fortuna equeſtris*, and to exhibit games K
in the honor of *Iup. Opt. Max.* The Celtiberians, thus disbandoned and ſcattered in the rout all over the length of the ſtreight paſſage, were killed and cut in peeces. It is recorded that there died that day ſeventeen thouſand enemies, and were taken priſoners alive more then three thouſand, together with 27 field enſigns, and well neer eleven hundred horſes. For that day, the victorious army lodged within no camp at all: yet was not this victory ſo cleer, but it coſt them the loſſe of ſome ſouldiers: for of the Romans were ſlain four hundred ſeventy and two; of allies (and namely of Latins) 1019; and together with them, aid ſouldiers three thouſand. Thus the army having by this good hand recovered their ancient honor and glory, was conducted to *Tarracon.* *Tib. Sempronius* the Pretor, (who was arrived two daies before) went out to meet *Fulvius* in the way as he came, and ſhewed how he rejoyced on his behalf, for this good man ging and L
happy atchieving the affairs of the commonweal: which done, they agreed together with great accord as touching the ſouldiers, namely, whom to caſſe and ſend away, and whom to retain ſtilin ſervice. Then *Fulvius* having ſhipped the ſouldiers that were diſcharged, took his journey to *Rome*: and *Sempronius* conducted the legions into *Celtiberia.*

Both the Conſuls led their forces into *Liguria*, and entred the countrey in two divers quarters. *Poſthumius* with the firſt legion and the third, beſet and inveſted the two mountains *Baliſta* and *Suiſmontium*, and ſo ſtreightly he kept the narrow paſſes of thoſe parts with his garriſons, that he cut them off from all victuals, and tamed them with extream ſcarcity and want of all things. *Fulvius* with the ſecond legion and the fourth, after he had aſſailed the Apuan Ligurians from the coaſt of *Piſa*, received ſubmiſsion and homage of as many of them as inhabited about the river M
*Macra*; and when he had embarked upon ſeven thouſand of them, he ſent them over to *Naples*, coaſting along the Tuſcan ſea. From whence they were brought into the Samnits countrey, and a certain territory aſsigned them to inhabit amongſt the reſt of thir countrymen. As for *A. Poſthumius*, he cut down the vineyards, and burnt the corn of the Ligurian mountainers, ſo long untill they were driven by all maner of calamities following war, to come in and ſubmit, yea, and to deliver up their armor and weapons. From thence *Poſthumius* departed and took the ſea, becauſe he would viſit the coaſts of the Ligurian Ingaunes and Intemelians. Now, before that theſe Conſuls came to the army which was appointed to meet at *Piſa*, it chanced *A. Poſthumius* & *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, the brother of Q. *Fulvius*, were the commanders, and had the conduct thereof. N
This *Fulvius* was a Colonell of the ſecond legion, who during the time of thoſe months, wherein by turn he had the command and charge thereof, dimiſſed that legion, having bound the Centurions by an oath, that they ſhould make paiment back of their wage-mony well and truly to the Queſtors in the chamber and treaſury of *Rome*. Notice hereof being given to *Au. Poſthumius* at *Placentia*, (for thither it hapned that he was gone) he rode after thoſe caſſed ſouldiers, and purſued them with a company of light horſemen. As many of them as he could overtake, after he had checked and rebuked them for their fault, he brought to *Piſa*; of the reſt he gave information to the Conſul. Who put the matter to queſtion, and after it had been debated in counſel, an act of the Senat paſſed againſt the ſaid *M. Fulvius*, that he ſhould be confined and ſent into *Spain* beyond new *Carthage*. And letters he had given him to carry from the Conſul to P. *Manlius* into the far- O
ther province of *Spain*. As for the ſouldiers, they were commanded to return again to their colours, and for an ignominious diſgrace of that legion, ordained it was, that for a full years pay they ſhould be content and take up with ſix months wages. And look what ſouldiers repaired not to the army accordingly, the Conſul had warrant and commiſsion to make ſale of him and all that he had.

The ſame yeer L. *Duronius*, who was returned with ten ſhips to *Brunduſium* from out of *Illyricum* (where he ſat as Pretor the former yeer) leaving his ſhips there in the rode, came to *Rome*: where

A where, in discoursing of the acts by him done, he laid the whole fault of all the recovery and piracy at sea upon *Gentius* the King of the Illyrians, saying, that all the ships which had lien upon the coast of the Adriatick sea, came out of his realm. For which he had sent Embassadors to complain, but they could never find means to speak with the King about it. Now they were Embassadors arrived at *Rome* from *Gentius*, who avouched, that when the Romans came for to parle with the King, he hapned to be sick in the most remote parts of his kingdome: and therfore *Gentius* their King and master requested the Senat, not to give credit to those false accusations and forged slanders which his enemies had raised and informed against him. But *Duronius* alledged moreover, that divers and sundry persons, as well citizens of *Rome* as Latine allies within his dominion, had received many wrongs: yea, and by report certain Roman citizens were staied and
B detained at *Corcyra*. Whereupon it was in councell thought good that they should be brought to *Rome*, and that *C. Claudius* the Pretor should have the hearing of the matter, before such time no answer would be given unto King *Gentius* or his Embassadors.

Among many others that the plague this yeer consumed, certain priests and prelats also died, and namely, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, a bishop, in whose room was chosen *Q. Fabius Labeo*. Also *P. Manlius* one of three Triumvirs for the celebration of the holy feasts. In whose stead *Q. Fulvius* the son of *Marcus* was elected Triumvir. He was at that time very* young, and not out of his embrodered *Prætexta*. But as touching the King of sacrificers, who was to be chosen in place of *Cn. Cornelius Dolobella*, there was debate between *C. Servilius* the Archbishop, and *Cornelius Dolobella* one of the Duumvirs for the navy. For when the bishop would have had him to resign that office, that he might consecrate and inaugurat him the King sacrificer, he refused so to do. For
C which cause the bishop set a round fine on the Duumvir his head. Then *Dolabella* appealed to the people; and before them it was to be tried, whether the said fine should be taken off or paied? Now when most of the tribes called into the rails for to give their voices, advised the Duumvir to obey the bishop, and warded the fine to be pardoned and remitted, in case he would give over that office which he had, behold it lightned at the very instant from heaven, which is the only ominous sign that interrupteth the assemblies of the people. Whereupon the Colledg of the bishops made scruple of conscience to inaugurate *Dolabella*, but they consecrated *P. Clælius Siculus*, who had been sacred in the second place. In the end of the year *C. Servilius Geminus* likewise the Archbishop himself departed this world, who also was one of the ten Decemvirs deputed for the holy ceremonies. And *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, was by the colledg of the bishops, elected bishop in his
D room. But *M. Æmylius Lepidus* was created the sovereign Pontifee, notwithstanding many noble persons made suit therfore. Likewise *Q. Marcius Philip* a Decemvir for the holy mysteries, who chosen in his place. Moreover, there deceased *Sp. Posthumius* an Augur, in whose stead *P. Scipio* the son of *Affricanus* was elected by the Augurs. The same year granted it was to the inhabitants of *Cumes*, at their own request and petition, that they might commonly speak Latine: as also to the publick criers, to make port sale of goods in the Latine tongue. The Senat gave thanks to the Pisans for the offer they made of lands, wherein to plant a Colony of Latins. And three Triumvirs or Commissioners for that business were created, namely, *Q. Fabius Buteo*, *Marcus* and *Publius*, both named *Popilius*, and both surnamed *Lanas*. Letters were brought from *M. Mœnius* the Pretor (who having the government allotted unto him of *Sardinia*, had commission also to
E enquire after the practise of poysoning in all places, not within ten miles of the City of *Rome*) importing thus much, that he had condemned already 3000 persons, and that the informations and presentments multiplied daily, by reason of new matters discovered still, and therfore either he was to give over that inquisition, or to resign up his province *Sardinia*.

*Q. Fulvius Flaccus* returned out of *Spain* to *Rome* with great honour for his acts there atchieved. Who remaining yet without the City, because of his triumph, was created Consul with *L. Manlius Acidinus*, and within few daies after, rode triumphant into *Rome*, accompanied with his souldiers, whom he had brought home with him. He carried in triumph a 120 * golden coronets. Moreover in gold 31 pound weight, besides 173200 peeces of coin in Oscan silver. He dealt to his souldiers fifty Denarii peeces out of the booty and pillage which he had gotten. To
F every Centurion he gave it double, and to the gentlemen of *Rome* that served on horseback, triple. The like he did by the Latin allies, and to all in general he paied double wages. This year was the law first proposed by *L. Iulius* a Trib. of the Com. as touching the yeer of the age requisit and meet for to sue for any publick office, or to exercise the same. And hereupon it came, that the whole race of that family was surnamed * *Annales*. Many yeers after there were created four Pretors according to the law *Bebia*, which provided that there should be each other year four chosen. And these were they who were first elected, namely, *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, *L. Valerius Lævinus*, *Q.* and *M.* both named *Mutii*, and both surnamed *Scævola*.

Unto the Consuls *Q. Fulvius* and *L. Manlius* the government of the same provinces was or-
G dained, which to those of the former years, with like numbers of horse and foot, as well citizens as allies. In both provinces of *Spain*, *Tib. Sempronius* and *L. Posthumius* continued still to have the command and conduct of the same armies which they had. And for to furnish them out, the Consuls were enjoined to enroll three thousand footmen, and three hundred horsemen of Romans, likewise five thousand foot of Latin allies and four hundred horse. *P. Mucius Scævola* by lot had the civil jurisdiction within the City of *Rome*, and commission to enquire into the devillish art of poysoning both within the City, and within the compasse of ten miles, *Cn. Cornelius Scipio* was lord chief justice in forrain pleas and causes, *Q. Mutius Scævola* was lord deputy of *Sicily*, and

* *Prætextatus*. It appeareth that he was under 17. yeers of age, and so *Livy* useth this word in the end of the 22 book: for *Pretexta* was *Puerile habitus* *Tacitus* 12. lib. and upon this it should seem *Lex Iulia annalis*, or *annua* for the redresse of the that disorder.

* Which were sent unto him from princes and Cities, to set his triumph these were called *Corona triumphales*, & hereof cometh the gold *Coronarium*.

The law it selfe called *Annaria* or *Annalis*.

and *C. Valerius* in *Sardinia*. *Q. Fulvius* the Conſul, before that he went in hand with any af- H
fairs of State, ſaid he would both diſcharge himſelf and alſo the City of the duty to Godward, in performing the vowes which he had made. He declared that on that very day wherin he fought his laſt battell with the Celtiberians, he had made a vow to exhibit games to the honour of that moſt mighty and gracious god *Jupiter*, and likewiſe to build a temple to *Fortuna equeſtris*: and how thereto the Spaniards had contributed certain ſums of mony. So a decree paſſed, that thoſe plaies ſhould be ſet forth: and two Duumvirs choſen, to give order and bargain for the edification of the ſame temple. Likewiſe there was ſet down a certain ſtint of mony to be diſburſed for the defraying of the charges: to wit, not exceeding that ſum in the ſolemnity of the plaies, which was allowed unto *Fulvius Nobilior*, when he exhibited the like ſports after the end of the Ætolian war. *Item*, that for theſe games he ſhould not ſeek or ſend for, gather and raiſe, receive or do I
any thing, contrary to the Act of the Senat, which in the time of *L. Æmylius* and *Cn. Babius* Conſuls was made as touching ſuch paſtimes. This decree the Senat ordeined, by occaſion of the ſuperfluous and exceſsive expenſes employed about the plaies of *T. Sempronius* the Ædile; which were very chargeable not only to *Italy* and the Latine allies, but alſo to forrain provinces. The winter this year was very ſharp, by reaſon of ſnow, and all manner of tempeſtuous weather. The trees that were tender and ſubject to froſt and cold, were all blaſted and killed: beſides the winter ſeaſon continued much longer then ordinary in other yeers. And thereupon the feſtivall ſolemnity of the Latine holidaies were ſo troubled and diſordered by a ſuddain and inſupportable ſtorm and tempeſt upon the hill [*Alba*] that by an ordinance of the Biſhops, it was celebrated again the ſecond time. The ſame tempeſt caſt down certain images in the Capitol, and diſfigu- K
red very many places with thunderbolts and flaſhes of lightning. It overthrew the temple of *Jupiter* in *Tarracina*, the white temple at *Capua*: *Item*. the gate there called *Romana*, and the battlements of the wals in divers places. Among theſe wondrous prodigies it was reported alſo from *Reate*, that a mule was foaled with three feet. For this cauſe the Decemvirs were commanded to go to the books of *Sibylla*: and out of that learning they ſhewed to what gods ſacrifice ſhould be made, & what number of beaſts was to be killed. And becauſe many places were with lightning defaced, they ordained that a ſolemn ſupplication ſhould be holden one whole day in the temple of *Jupiter*. This done, the foreſaid games and plaies which *Q. Fulvius* the Conſul had vowed, were with great magnificence exhibited for ten daies together. After this followed the election of the Cenſors, wherein *M. Æmylius Lepidus* the Arch-biſhop, and *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, who had triumphed over the Ætolians, were created. Now between theſe two men, there L
had been notorious enmity, oftentimes teſtified and ſhewed in many ſharp and bitter debates, both the Senat, and alſo before the people. When this election was ended, the two Cenſors according to the ancient uſe and cuſtome, ſat upon their ivory chairs of eſtate in *Mars* field, neer the altar of *Mars*. To whom there ſoon repaired thither, the principal Senators, accompanied with a troop beſides of citizens: and among the reſt, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* made a ſpeech to this effect.

The Oration of *Metellus*, to the Cenſors.

"My maſters, you that are Cenſors, we have not forgotten that you ere-while were choſen by "the univerſal body of the people of *Rome*, to be ſuperintendents and wardens over us for our man- "ners and behaviors and that it becometh us to be taught, admoniſhed, & directed by you, and not "you by us. Howbeit we ought to tell and declare, what there is in you, that either is offenſive M
"to all good men, or at leaſtwiſe which they wiſh were amended. When we behold and con- "der you ſeverally part, either you, *O* M. *Æmylius*, or you *M. Fulvius*, we have not this day in the "City of *Rome* any men, whom if were called to a new ſcrutiny for to paſſe our voices again, we "would prefer before you to this office and place of dignity. But when we ſee you both together, "we cannot chuſe but much doubt and fear that ye are very badly matched and coupled as com- "panions in government: & that the common-weal ſhall not receive ſo much good by this, That "ye pleaſe and like us all ſo well; as ſuſtain harm in this, That you diſpleaſe and diſlike one ano- "ther. Theſe many yeers together, there hath been great heart-burning and much malice be- "tween you and the ſame muſt needs be grievous and hurtfull unto your ſelves: but now it is to "be feared that from this day forward, that rancor will be more prejudicial to us & the common- N
"weal, then unto you. Vpon what motives and cauſe we are thus fearfull, much we could ſay, "but that peradventure your irreconcible anger is ſuch, as hath ſnared and poſſeſſed wholly your "ſpirits and minds already. Theſe quarrels, jars, and grudges of yours, we all in generall would "requeſt you heartily to end this day, and in this very temple wherin we are aſſembled: and "ſince the people of *Rome* by their voices have conjoyned you in one office; ſuffer your ſelves "by us to be linked & reconciled in perfect atonement. With one mind and accord, with one heart "& counſel chuſe the Senat; review the Cavalry and Knighthood of *Rome*; number the citizens; "aſſeſſe their goods; purge and cleanſe the City; & finally conſummate the ſolemnity of the cenſe "with a ſacrifice. And whereas in all your praiers well-neer, ye ſhall uſe this ordinary form of O
"words, *That this thing, or that, may fall out in the end well and happily, to my ſelf and to my co-* "*league*, See that you wiſh the ſame truly, ſincerely and from the very heart, that whatſoever ye "ſhall pray unto the gods for, we men may beleeve and all the world ſee, that you deſire the ſame "to be effected indeed. *T. Tatius* & *Romulus* in this very City reigned together with great unity & "concord, in the midſt whereof even in the very market place, they had encountred and joined "battell together as mortal enemies with their cruell armies. What! not enmities only have an "end, but wars alſo. And many a time moſt venemous and ſpiteful foes become faithfull allies,

yea,

A "yea, and otherwhiles neer neighbors and fellow citizens. The Albans after their ſubverſion and "and utter ruin of their City, were brought over to inhabit *Rome*. The Latins & Sabins both, were "endenizen'd Romans. An old ſaying it is, and not ſo old as true, and for the truth become a "common proverb, that enmities ought to be tranſitory and ſoon die, whereas friendſhip ſhould "continue & live for ever. At theſe words, there aroſe a confuſed bruit, among them there aſſembled, in token of their conſent and approbation: and anon were heard the diſtinct voices of them all in general, craving and requeſting of the Cenſors the ſame; which making one entire ſound, brake off the ſpeech of *Metellus*. Then *Æmylius* among other matters complained that M. *Fulvius* had twice put him beſides the Conſulſhip, which otherwiſe he was ſure of. And *Fulvius* on the other ſide found himſelf grieved, that he evermore by *Æmylius* had been provoked, and that he B had waged law by ſtipulation againſt him to his dihonor and diſgrace. Yet both of them made fair and ſhewed, that if the one were as willing as the other, they would relent and be over-ruled by ſo many honorable perſonages of the City. So, at the inſtant requeſt of all them that were preſent, they ſhook hands and thereby aſſured one another to forgive and forget all matters paſt, and truly to make an end of malice, and be perfect friends again: whereupon they were much commended by the whole aſſembly, and conducted by them into the Capitoll. Where the Senat approved and highly praiſed, as well the careful induſtry of the principal citizens, in effecting this ſo weighty a matter, as alſo the good nature and flexibility of the two Cenſors. Who afterwards when they required to have a certain ſum of of mony aſsigned unto them for to employ in the publick edifices and other works of the City, were allowed by their decree, the full rent and revenues of one whole yeer.

C The ſame yeer *L. Poſthumius* and *Tib. Sempronius* the Pro-Pretors in *Spain* agreed ſo together that *Albinus* ſhould make an expedition againſt the *Vaccei* through *Luſitania*, and ſo return from thence into *Celtiberia*. But *Gracchus* went as far as the utmoſt quarter of *Celtiberia*, for that in thoſe parts there was the greater war. And firſt he forced the City *Munda*, which he ſurpriſed ſuddainly in the night at unawares. Then, after he had received hoſtages, and put a garriſon there, he went forward aſſaulting forts and burning the villages, untill he came to another City of exceeding ſtrength, which the Celtiberians call *Certima*: where, as he was about to approach the wals with his engins of battery, there came unto him orators out of the City; who like good plain men of the old world, made a ſpeech unto him, nothing diſſembling but that they would war and be revenged, if their ſtrength and forces were ſufficient. For they requeſted leave to paſſe D to the Celtiberian camp, there to receive aid and ſuccour: but if they could not ſpeed, then they would conſult apart by themelves what to do. Good leave they had of *Gracchus*; and ſome few daies after, they brought with them ten Orators more. About noone-tide it was of the day, and the firſt thing that they craved at the Pretor his hand was this, That he would make them to drink before they parled. When they had once quaffed and carowſed round, they called again for more: whereat, all that were preſent and ſtood about them, laughed heartily, to ſee them ſo rude and uncivil, and altogether without good manners. But afterwards, the eldeſt man of the company began in this wiſe: We are ſent (quoth he) unto you from our nation, to know what aſſured means hath induced you to levy war againſt us? To this demand *Gracchus* anſwered, That he came with the confidence that he had in a brave and valiant army; which (if they were ſo deſi- E rous) he would do them the favour to ſee, that they might be able to make more certain report to their countrymen upon their own knowledge. And with that, he commanded the colonels and knight marſhals, to put in arms and embattell all the bands and companies, as well foot as horſe; and then armed as they were to charge one upon another in manner of a battel. Theſe Embaſſadors after they had once ſeen this ſight, were ſent away: who went directly to the Celtiberians their neighbors, and frighted them for ſending any ſuccour to the City beſieged. The townſmen within having in vain ſet fire-lights in the night time aloft upon their turrets (which was the ſignal agreed upon between them) and ſeeing themſelves deſtitute of the only hope they had of aid, yeelded by compoſition. So they were enjoined to make paiment of four and twenty hundred thouſand Seſterces; and to deliver forty of their nobleſt gentlemen and beſt men of arms; not by way F of hoſtages (for commanded they were to ſerve in the wars); and yet in truth, they ſtood for a pawn of aſſurance for their fealty. From thence anon he marched to the City *Alco*, where the Celtiberians lay encamped, and from whom of late the Embaſſadors aforeſaid came: whom, for certain daies he provoked to fight, making ſmall skirmiſhes, by ſending out againſt their *corps de guard* his light-armed vancurriers, to the end that ſcuffling together every day more then other he might train them all forth of their camp at length. And when he perceived once that his deſign had taken effect, he commanded the captains of the auxiliary ſouldiers, that after ſome ſhort skirmiſh, they ſhould make ſemblant as if they were overcharged with numbers, and ſo at once turn their backs, and flie as faſt as they could to their own camp: himſelf in the mean while G put his men in battell array within the rampier at every gate. Long it was not, but he might ſee his own bands and companies retiring back on ſet purpoſe, and running away, and after them the barbarous enemies following as hard as they could in chaſe. Now had he his army embattelled for the purpoſe, and ready to receive them: and therefore he made no longer ſtay then only to ſuffer his friends and allies to enter at liberty into the camp, but he ſet up a loud cry, and at one inſtant iſſued forth at all the gates. The enemies were not able to endure this unexpected violent charge: and ſo they that were come to aſſail the camp of others, could not ſo much as de-

fend

ſend their own: for preſently they were diſcomfited and put to flight; and within a while driven for very fear into their hold, and in the end turned out of it alſo. That day 9000 of the enemies left their carkaſes in the field, 320 were taken priſoners, together with 112 horſe, & 73 field enſigns. Of the Roman army, there died not above 109. Preſently after this battel, *Gracchus* marched with his legions to waſt and ſpoil the country of *Celtiberia*: and as he made havock in all places as he went, with driving booties, & with harrying & carying all that ever he could come by; the Cities and States of the country, ſome ſubmitted willingly of their own accord; others for conſtraint & fear received the yoke of ſubjection; ſo as in few daies ſpace he became maſter of an 103 towns that yeelded unto him. A mighty rich pillage he gat in this expedition. After this, he marched back again towards the City *Alce* from whence he came, and began to beſiege and aſſail the town. The inhabitants endured the firſt aſſault of the enemies, but afterwards ſeeing their town not only aſſailed by force of arms, but alſo ſhaken with engins and inſtruments of battery, diſtruſting the ſtrength of the City, they retired all within their fortreſſe: from whence alſo to the end, (having ſent their Orators before-hand) they & all that ever they had, were at the devotion of the Romans. A great booty there was gotten, and many noble gentlemen taken priſoners: amongſt whom were two ſons and one daughter of *Thurrus*. This *Thurrus* was a prince and great lord of thoſe parts, and ſimply the mightieſt potentat of all the Spaniards by many degrees, who being advertiſed of the hard hap and calamity fallen upon his children, ſent unto *Gracchus* into the camp for a ſafe-conduct, and thither he came himſelf in perſon. And firſt he demanded, Whether he could grant unto him and his their lives? The Pretor anſwered, That they ſhould live. Then he demanded again, if he might bear arms and ſerve under the Romans? and when *Gracchus* permitted that alſo; Then will I follow you (quoth he) againſt mine old friends and allies, ſince they diſdain to reſpect and regard me. From this time forward he took part with the Romans: and in many journies he bare himſelf loially and valiantly in their wars, and much advanced the Roman State. After this, *Ergavica* (a noble, rich and mighty City) affrighted at the calamities of other neighbor towns and States about them, ſet the gates open for to receive the Romans. Some Authors have written, that theſe towns and Cities yeelded not *bona fide* and in ſincerity of heart: but that ſo ſoon as he had withdrawn the legions out of any quarter, ſuddainly from that part they revolted: alſo, that afterwards, he fought a cruell battel neer the mountain *Cannus* with the Celtiberians, from the break of day untill noon: in which conflict there were many ſlain both of the one ſide and the other: neither did the Romans any other great deed (as they ſuppoſe) at *Ergavica* that day to teſtifie their victory, but kept the field, and challenged them out of their camp to fight. Moreover, that the next morrow all the day long, they gathered up the ſpoils of the dead: & on the third day ſtrook a ſecond battel, which was greater than the other: & then at length, the Celtiberians without all doubt loſt the field cleer; inſomuch as their camp was ranſacked. Furthermore, that there died of the enemies that day 22000, and not ſo few as 300 taken priſoners, and wel-neer as many horſe, beſides the winning of 72 military enſigns: and ſo the war came to a ſmall end, the Celtiberians made peace indeed, continued faſt and firm therein with all loyalty, and were not ſo fickle & unconſtant as before. They write moreover, that the ſame ſummer *L. Poſthumius* fought a brave battell with the *Vacces* in the farther province of *Spain*, where he put to the ſword 35000 enemies, & forced their camp. But it ſoundeth more like a truth, that he came not timely enough into that province, for to perform any ſuch exploits during that ſummer ſeaſon.

The Cenſors made a review and new choice of Senators in good concord and faithfull unity: for the preſident of the Senat was choſen, *M. Æmylius Lepidus* the Cenſor himſelf, who alſo was the high prieſt or Arch-biſhop. Three Senators were caſſed and deprived their places: but *Lepidus* held ſome in, whom the colleague over-paſſed and left out. Of that portion of mony, which out of the main allowance was divided between them, they cauſed theſe works following to be made. *Lepidus* for his part raiſed the great cauſey or wharf at *Tarracina*, which was a peece of work nothing acceptable to the people, for that he had himſelf lands and poſſeſsions there of his own, and ſeemed to eaſe his privat expenſes, under colour of doing a publick work with the Cities mony. He built a Theatre, a fore-ſtage or a vant-ſcaffold neer the temple of *Apollo*. He bargained with the Publicans or Undertakers for the poliſhing, blanching and whiting of the temple of *Iupiter* in the Capitol, and likewiſe of the pillars about it. From theſe pillars he removed the Images and Statues, which ſeemed to have been unhandſomly ſet one againſt another, and out of all order. Likewiſe he took from thence, the targets and field-enſigns of all ſorts, that were there ſet up and faſtned. But *M. Fulvius* put forth to making more works in number, and thoſe of better and greater uſe; To wit, a peer, and certain main piles within the river *Tyberis*; upon which piles, certain yeers after *P. Scipio Africanus* and *L. Mummius* being Cenſors, took order for arches to be founded and erected. *Item*, a ſtately hall or place behind the new ſhops of the banquers. *Item* A fiſh market, with others ſhops round about him, which he ſold to particular perſons. *Item*, a market place, and a porch or gallery without the gate *Tergemina*, and another behind the arſenall, and neer the temple of *Hercules*. *Item*, neer *Tyber*, and behind the church of the goddeſſe *Hope*, he cauſed to be built the chappell of *Apollo* the Phyſitian. Now they had beſides another ſtock of mony in common, which they employed in taking order for water to be conveighed into the City; and certain vaults to be made. But this work was impeached by *M. Licinius Craſſus*, who would not ſuffer the water to paſſe through his ground. Over and beſides theſe ſame Cenſors, inſtituted certain rents for portage, & pondage, & divers other impoſts. Many chappels & publick

places

A places in the tenure and occupation of privat persons, they took order to be reduced to the use of the people in common, and to be set open for all comers. They changed the order of giving voices, and caused to enroll the tribes according to sundry quarters and divisions, having regard withall of the degrees of men, of their trades, mysteries and occupations. Also the one of the Censors *M. Æmylius* sued unto the Senat, that allowance should be made unto him of money for the games and plaies at the dedication of the Temples of Queen *Juno* and *Diana*, which in the Ligurian war he had vowed eight years before; and assigned there was unto him twenty thousand Asses. So he dedicated both those Temples within the cirque or shew-place of *Flaminius*. Also he exhibited Stage plaies three daies together after the dedication of the Temple of *Juno*, and two daies after the other of *Diana*: and every of those daies within the cirque *Flaminius*.

B The same Censor dedicated in *Mars* field a Chappell to the sea-gods, vowed by *L. Æmylius Regillus*, eleven years before, in a navall battell at sea against the Captains of K. *Antiochus*. Over the gates of which Chappel there was fixed a table with this title. [*For the appeasing and composing of a great war between two Kings, * the head, * to subdue * * for to make peace * *. This conflict, * when* L. Æmylius Regillus *the Prætor, the son of* M. *Under the charge, command, and government, happy fortune, and conduct of him between* Ephesus, Samos, *and* Chios, *the fleet of King* Antiochus *the eleventh daies before the Kalends of* February *was vanquished, discomfited, shaken, battered, and put to flight, and there upon the same day two and forty Gallies were taken, with all the mariners and servitors within them. After which fight King* Antiochus *and his Realm * * * *. In consideration hereof vowed a Temple to the Sea-gods, assistants unto him in atchieving the navall victory.*] Another table likewise, *Antiochus* and *Enmenes.* This place is defective in the Latine.

C with the very same inscription, was set up and fastned over the gates of the Temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitoll. Within two daies after that the Censors had chosen a new Senat, *Q. Fulvius* the Cos. made an expedition against the Ligurians: and after he had passed with his army over wilds and mountains, where no tracts led them, through straights and passes of forrests, he fought a pitcht battell with the enemies, and not only won the field, but also in one and the self-same day forced their camp. Whereupon three thousand and two hundred of the enemies, and all that quarter of *Liguria* yielded unto him. Then the Consul placed these that had surrendered, in the plains and champain country, and planted garrisons upon the mountains. Letters hereof with great speed came to *Rome*: whereupon there were ordained processions for three daies. During which time of procession the Prætors celebrated sacrifices, and killed forty greater beasts. But the other Consul

D *A. Manlius* did no exploit worth remembrance in *Liguria*. Three thousand Transalpine Frenchmen passed over the *Alps* into *Italy*, in peaceable manner marching without any hostility or harm doing, and requested of the Consul and the Senat a territory to inhabit, where they might remain quietly under the seignory of the Romans. But the Senat commanded them to avoid out of *Italy*; and gave the Consul *Q. Fulvius* in charge to make search and enquiry into this matter, yea, and to proceed against them who had been the captains and counsellers to perswade them to pass over the *Alps*.

This very year died *Philip* King of the Macedonians, worn away to nothing, partly, for age, and partly, with grief of heart after the death of his son [*Demetrius*.] It fortuned that he kept his winter in *Demetrias*, tormented with anguish of mind for the loss and miss of his son, disquieted with

E remorse and repentance for his cruelty against him, which stung and pricked his guilty conscience. Besides, he saw his other son (who now was the undoubted heir apparant of the Crown, as well in his own opinion as in the conceit of others) how all men turned their eyes and courted to him. He considered withall, how his old age was despised and forlorn; whiles some expected his death, others did not so much as look for it; which was the greatest grief and trouble of all other. And together with him, there was *Antigonus* the son of *Echecrates*, bearing the name of his uncle *Antigonus* by the fathers side, who had been guardian to *Philip*. This *Antigonus* the elder had been a man of princely port and regall majesty; renowned also for a brave conflict and noble battell against *Celomenes* the Lacedæmonian. And him the Greeks for distinction sake from other KK. of

N that name, surnamed * *Tutor*. His nephew or brothers son (I say) *Antigonus*, of all the honourable * Guardian or Protector.

F friends that *Philip* had, was the only man that continued fast and firm unto him without all corruption. But this his loyall fidelity and truth caused *Perseus* to be no friend of his, but rather the most mortall enemy that he had in the world. This said *Antigonus* forecasting in his spirit, in what dangerous terms he should stand, when the inheritance of the kingdom were devolved upon *Perseus* waiting his first time and opportunity; when he perceived that the Kings mind was troubled, and that now and then he fetched deep sighs for sorrow that his son was dead; one while would give ear only to the Kings words, otherwhiles also would find some talk and minister occasion to speak of the act so rashly and unadvisedly committed. Oftentimes he followed and seconded him in his moans and complaints, and would be thought to lament with him for company. And (as *Truth* useth alwaies to give many signs and tokens of her self coming to light) he would en-

G force and help forward every small thing what he could, to the end that all might the sooner be discovered and break forth. The chief ministers and instruments of this villanous fact, were *Apelles* and *Philocles*, who were the Embassadors sent to *Rome*, and had brought those pernicious letters, under the name of *Flaminius*, which wrought the death of *Demetrius*. For commonly it was given out through all the Kings Court, that those were falsified letters, forged by his Secretary, and sealed with a counterfeit signet. But the thing being rather deeply suspected, than apparantly detected, it chanced that *Antigonus* upon a time met with * *Xychus*, and laying hold upon him, * This seemeth to be the Secretary.

arrested his body, and brought him into the Kings house; and when he had left him in the safe H
custody of certain persons, he went himself directly to *Philip*. "It should seem to me, & if it please
"your grace (quoth he) by many words which I have observed, that you would spend a great
"deal to know the whole truth as touching your two sons, and be resolved whether of them
"twain it was that laid wait to take away the life of the other. Now the only man of all other
"that can undo the knot and clear this doubt, is in your hands forth coming, and that is *Xychus*.
Herewith he advised the King to call before him the said party, since that (as it fell out) he was al-
ready brought into the Court. Sent for he was and presented before the King; and being asked
the question, he denied every thing at the first, but with such inconstancy, as it appeared evident-
ly, that upon some little fear of torture offered unto him, he would be ready to bewray all: for at
the very sight of the tormentor and the scourges, he relented. Then he disclosed and shewed in or- I
der the whole proceeding and manner of this wicked practice and villany, how it was wrought
as well as by the embassadors, as also by his own self their minister. Immediatly there were some
of purpose sent to apprehend the said embassadors. And *Philocles* who was present in the way, they
surprised and took of a sudden: as for *Apelles* (who had been sent to pursue one *Chæreas*) being ad-
vertised how that *Xychus* had bewraied & told all, sailed over into *Italy*. As concerning *Philocles*,
there is no certainty known. Some report, that at the beginning he denied the matter stoutly: but
after that *Xychus* was brought to his face and confronted him, he stood no longer in it. Others
say again, that being put to torture, he endured the pains, and continued still in the deniall. *Phi-*
*lips* sorrow and grief was by this means renewed and redoubled, reputing himself more unhappy
in his sons, and his misery the greater, in that one of them was now dead and gone. *Perseus* being K
certified that all was discovered, took himself for a greater and mightier person, than to fear and
think it needfull for him to flie upon it. And therefore he sought only to keep far enough out of
the way, purposing to stand upon his guard all the while that his father lived, and avoid the fla-
ming fire (as it were) of his burning choler. *Philip* seeing that he could not possibly come by his
person for to execute justice, thought upon that which only remained to be done, and studied how
*Perseus* besides impunity, should not be recompensed and rewarded also for that his wickedness.
He called therefore *Antigonus* before him, unto whom he was bounden and beholden already,
for bringing to light the unnaturall murder committed upon *Demetrius* his son; and of whom
he conceived this opinion, in regard of the fresh and late glory of his uncle *Antigonus*, that the Ma-
cedonians should have no cause to be ashamed or repent, if they had had him for to be their K. L
And in this wise he brake with him: "Since my unhappy fortune is such (quoth he) O *Antigonus*,
"that I ought (contrary to all other fathers) to wish my self childless, I have a mind and purpose
"to make over unto you that kingdom, which I received at the hands of your uncle, which he
"preserved and kept, yea, and augmented for my behoof during the time of my nonage, & where-
"in (whiles I was under his guardianage) he bare himself not only valiant, but also true and faith-
"unto me. No man I have but you, whom I can esteem worthy to wear the Crown; and if I
"knew of none at all, yet had I rather that both it and the Realm perished and were extinct for
"ever, than *Perseus* should enjoy it as the guerdon of his ungracious & devillish fact. I shall ima-
"gine yet that *Demetrius* is risen from death to life, I shall think that I have the fruition of him
"again, if I leave you in this place, you, I say, the only man of all others that wept for the death M
"of the poor innocent young man, and lamented for my unhappy errour and unfortunat trespass.
After this speech with *Antigonus*, he never ceased to entertain and grace him in the face of the
world with all kind of honour that he could devise. For seeing that *Perseus* was in *Thrace*, *Philip*
went in progress to every City of *Macedony*, and recommended *Antigonus* to all the Princes and
and States thereof. And without all doubt, if God had given him longer life but a little, he would
have enstalled him in full possession of the kingdom. Well, to return again unto *Demetrias*, where
he wintered (as before is said) he departed from thence, and sojourned a long time in *Thessalo-*
*nica*. From thence after he was come to *Amphipolis*, he was surprised with a grievous malady.
Howbeit, certain it was and very apparant, that he was more sick in mind than body; and that e-
ver and anon the remembrance and object, the apparition and ghost of his son, whom he caused I
(innocent as he was) to be put to death, followed and haunted him so continually with care and
grief, that he was out of all sleep, and could not lay his eyes together: yea, it drave him into ra-
ving, cursing, and execration of *Perseus* his other son; and so he ended his daies. But although
*Philip* died somewhat with the sooneſt for *Antigonus*, yet he would have gone very near to have
stept into his thron, if either the Kings death had immediatly been divulged abroad, or that *Anti-*
*gonus* had then been about the Court that he might have had intelligence thereof. For *Calligenes*
the Kings Physician, who had the cure of him, staid not untill the breath was fully out of the
Kings body; but so soon as he perceived that his state was desperat, upon the first deadly signs
that he observed, sent messengers post to *Perseus*, who were set of purpose in places convenient,
according as it was complotted between them twain: but he concealed the Kings death from all
them that were not of the houshold, untill he was come. By which means *Perseus* surprised them
all before they looked for him, or knew abroad that the King was departed, and thus he took the
Crown upon him by policy, which he had purchased with mischief.

The death of *Philip* fell out very well to give some delay and respit, and to gather more forces
for the waging of war: for the nation of the *Bastarnæ*, having been a long time sollicited thereto,
departed out of their own country, and with a great power as well of foot as horse, came on this
side

A side the river * *Ister*. Now there were arrived before to advertise the King hereof, *Antigonus* and *Cotto*. This *Cotto* was a nobleman among the Bastarnians. And *Antigonus* was full against his will joyned in embassage & sent with *Cotto* to raise the Bastarnians. Howbeit, not far from *Amphipolis* they met with news (but very uncertain) of the Kings death: which occurrence troubled the whole course of their designs. For thus it was complotted, that *Philip* should give the *Bastarnæ* safe passage through *Thrace* and find them victuals: to the effecting and performing whereof, he had entertained the peers and principall States of those quarters with presents, and assured them upon his fidelity, that the Bastarnians should pass through their country peaceably without any harm-doing. Now his intent and full purpose was, to extinguish utterly the nation of the Dardanians, and to plant the Bastarnians in their country. Hereby he aimed at a twofold commodity: B the one was this; that the Dardanians (a people most malicious ever to the Macedonians, and who alwaies in time of the troubles and adversities of the KK. took their vantage to annoy them) might be rooted out: the other, that the said *Bastarnæ* leaving their wives and children in *Dardania*, might be sent to waste and spoil *Italy*. Now were they to pass to the Adriatick sea and so to *Italy* by the way of the Scordiscians (for other way there was none to lead an army) and soon would they, thought he, grant passage unto the Bastarnians: for they differed not at all, either in language, or manners & fashions: and more than that, they were like enough to joyn with them in the expedition, seeing they went to the conquest and pillage of a most rich and wealthy nation. These designments were accommodated and fitted to what events soever should happen. For in case the Bastarnians should happen to be defeated by the Romans and put all to the sword; yet C this would be a comfort again; that the Dardanians were consumed from the face of the earth, that he should meet with a booty of that which the Bastarnians left behind them; and finally, have the possession free and entire to himself of all *Dardania*. But in case their fortune were to have the upper hand, then whiles the Romans were averted from him, and amused upon the war with the Bastarnians, he should be able to recover whatsoever he had lost in *Greece*. These had been the designs projected by K. *Philip*. So they entred peaceably and marched without hostility, under the word and promise of *Cotto* & *Antigonus*. But shortly after that news came of the death of *Philip*; neither were the Thracians so tractable and easie to be dealt withall in commerce and traffick: nor the Bastarnians could be content with that which they bought with their money, or be kept in order as they marched, but that they would break their ranks & turn out of the di- D rect way. Hereupon they began to do wrong & injury on both sides one unto another: which encreasing daily more & more to outrages, kindled the fire of an open war. In the end, the Thracians not able to endure the violence & multitudes of these enemies, leaving their villages in the plains beneath, retired to an exceeding high mountain, called *Donuca*. To which place, when the Bastarnians would have gone: behold notwithstanding they approached to the tops and ridge of the hils, they were surprised with a storm, much like to that wherewith the Gauls (as it is reported) perished at what time as they were a spoiling and pilling the Temple at *Delphi*. For they were not only drenched first with showers of rain pouring upon them, pelted afterwards with thick storms of hailstones strucken with great cracks of thunder, and blasted with gleams of lightning that dazled their eye-sight: but also the lightning flashed so upon them on every side, that it seemed they E were charged and shot directly against their bodies: so as not only the common souldiers, but also the principal leaders and captains themselves were smitten down therewith and overthrown. Whereupon when they were scattered & would have fled down the hill, from the exceeding steep rocks they tumbled down they knew not how with their heads forward. And albeit the Thracians pursued them thus scared and affrighted, yet they had nothing in their mouth, but That the gods forced them to run away, and that the sky fell upon them. Being thus disparkled with this tempestuous storm, and returned as it were out of a shipwrack into the camp from whence they set forth & most of them but half armed, they began to debate in councill what to do. Hereupon arose some dissention among them: whiles part were of opinion to return back into their own country, and part advised to follow the way still and pierce forward into *Dardania*. About 30000 F persons went through under the conduct of *Clondicus*: the rest of the multitude returned the same way they came into the parts beyond * *Danubius*. *Perseus* being possessed of the kingdom, commanded *Antigonus* to be put to death: and whiles he was setting the States in order, and establishing himself in his own seat, he sent embassadors to *Rome* as well to renew the amity that his father had with the Romans, as also to request that he might be stiled with the name of King by the Senat of *Rome*. And these were the affairs in *Macedony* that year.

* *Danubium.*

* *Donaw.*

*Q. Fulvius* the other Cos. triumphed over the Ligurians: and known it was for certain, that this triumph was granted unto him more for favour, than for any great exploit of his that might deserve such honour. He carried in shew a mighty deal of the enemies armor: but little or no money at all. Howbeit he dealt among his souldiers thirty Asses apeece: to every Centurion he gave G twice as much, and to each Gentleman serving on horseback, the same threefold. There was nothing in this triumph more memorable and worthy the noting, than this, that as it fell out, he triumphed now the very same day that he had the year before upon his Prætorship. After his triumph he published the general assembly for the election of Magistrats: wherein were created Coss. *M. Junius Brutus*, and *A. Manlius Volso*. This done, when there had been three of the Prætors elected a sudden tempest brake up and dissolved the assembly. The morrow after which was * four daies full before the Ides of *March*, the other three were chosen, namely, *Marcus Titinius*

* *Ante quartum Idus Martii*, i.e. the 11 of March.

*Curvus*, *Titus Claudius Nero*, and *T. Fonteius Capito*. The Roman games were exhibited again the H
ſecond time, by the two Ædiles of the Chair *Cn. Servilius Capio*, and *Ap. Claudius Cento* by occaſi-
on of certain prodigies that hapned: for there was an earthquake; and in the publike pavilions
and tabernacles, where the ſacred beds of the gods were ſolemnly ſpread, the heads of the gods
which were laid in thoſe beds, turned away of their own accord, and the wooll together with the
other coverlets which were laid before *Jupiter* fell down. It was taken alſo for a prodigious won-
der, that the mice and rats had gnawn and taſted before of the olives upon the table [ of *Jupiter* :]
for the ſatisfaction and expiation of which prodigies, nothing elſe was done, but the ſolemnizing
of thoſe games and plaies again, as is aforeſaid.

I

# The one and fortieth Book *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the one and fortieth Book.

*THe fire in the Temple of* Veſta *went out*. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus *The Pro-Conſul, vanquiſhed* K
*the Celtiberians, and received their ſubmiſſion, and for a memoriall of the worthy deeds by him ac-
chieved, he built a town in* Spain *called* Gracchuris. Poſthumius Albinus *the Pro-Conſul, ſubdued the
the Vacceans and Luſitans: and both of them triumphed.* Antiochus, *the ſon of King* Antiochus, *whom
his father had given in hoſtage to the Romans, after the death of his brother* Seleucus, *who ſucceeded
his father late deceaſed, was ſent from* Rome *into the Realm of* Syria. *The Cenſors held a review and
numbring of the Citizens, and ſolemnly purged the City. There were enrolled in their books, of Roman
Citizens* 273244. Q. Voconius Saxa, *a Tribune of the Commons, publiſhed a Law, That no man ſhould
make a woman to be his full heir.* M. Cato *was the man that perſwaded and ſpoke for this Law, and his
Oration is extant. Moreover, this book containeth the wars and exploits of many Captains againſt the
Ligurians, Iſtrians, Sardinians, and Celtiberians: alſo the occaſions and cauſes of the Macedonian war,* L
*which* Perſeus *the ſon of* Philip *began: for he had ſent an embaſſage to the Carthaginians, which they
gave audience unto in the night ſeaſon. Other States alſo and Cities of* Greece *he ſollicited. This* Perſe-
us *ſetting religion aſide (for many ſtately and magnificent Temples he built in divers places, and name-
ly, at* Athens, *to* Jupiter Olympius: *and at* Antiochia, *to* Jup. Capitolinus) *was otherwiſe a King of
moſt baſe demeanour and carriage.*

## *The one and fortieth Book of* T. Livius.

THe beginning of this book, and the greater part thereof immediatly enſuing, is loſt. *Im-* M
*primis*, As touching the diſpoſition of the Provinces by lot, as well of Conſuls as Prætors;
and namely, how the government of *Gaul* fell to *A. Manlius*, and of *Liguria* to *M. Junius*: and how of the Prætors *M. Titinius* was aſſigned to the hither Province of *Spain*, and
*T. Fonteius* to the farther; *Nero* to *Etruria*, *T. Ebutius* to *Sardinia*. *Item*, as concerning the fire of
* Celtiberia. *Veſta*, the exploits of *T. Gracchus* and *L. Albinus* in * *Biſcai* and * *Portugal*: the ſurvey and taxing
* Luſitania. of the City of *Rome* holden by the Cenſors; the Law *Voconia*, as touching the inheritance of
women, mentioned in *Cicero* in *S. Auguſtine de Civitate Dei*, and others: finally, of the acts atchieved by *M. Junius* about *Genoway*. And thus it ſheweth a prærupt and broken front as ye ſee.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

To have armed the ſame, which in peace he had received of his father: and for that cauſe it is ſaid, N
That he was paſſing well beloved of the youth and luſty gallants, who deſired nothing more than
to ſpoil and raiſe booties.

Now when the Conſul was in deliberation with his councill, as touching war in *Iſtria*, ſome
were of opinion, to proceed thereunto incontinently, before that the enemies could aſſemble
their forces; others advifed to conſult firſt with the Senat: but their counſel imported, who were
for ſpeedy expedition. So the Conſul diſlodged from *Aquileia* and encamped near the Lake *Timavus* which lieth hard by the ſea. Thither came *Caius Furius* (one of the navall Duumvirs) with ten
ſhips: for two ſuch Duumvirs or wardens had been choſen to make head againſt the Illyrian fleet:
who with twenty ſhips in all, keeping the upper ſea, were to guard the ſea-coaſts ſo as they had
*Ancona* (as it were) the middle center between: for *L. Cornelius* took the charge of all that lay on O
the right hand thereof as far as to *Tarentum*; and *C. Furius* of the left, unto *Aquileia*. Theſe ten
veſſels (I ſay) were ſent to the next port, againſt the marches of *Iſtria*, with other ſhips of burden
fraughted with ſtore of victuals and proviſion. The Conſul followed after with his legions, and
pitched his camp five miles from the ſea. And within a ſhort time there was a good and frequent
market kept in the port, from whence there was conveyed all manner of proviſion into the camp.
And to the end that this might hold in more ſecurity, good guards were ſet about the camp
on.

A on every ſide. Toward * *Iſtria* there was one ſtanding frontier garriſon, conſiſting of a cohort of Placentins, levied on a ſudden, oppoſed and lodged between the ſea and the camp. And to the end the ſame might ſerve for a guard to defend them that watered at the river *M. Ebutius* (a Colonell of the two legions) was commanded to adjoyn two ſquadrons of ſouldiers out of the ſecond legion. *T.* and *C.* both *Ælii* (Colonels likewiſe) had led the third legion, by the way that goeth to *Aquileia*, which ſhould guard the forragers and fewellers. From which quarter about a mile diſtant was the camp of the French. And a certain petty King there was among them, one *Carmelius*, having the conduct of three thouſand armed ſouldiers, or ſomewhat more. So ſoon as the Romans were approached, the lake * *Timavus* with their camp the Iſtrians ſet them down ſecretly in a cloſe place behind a little hill; and from thence followed the Roman army as it marched, B by croſs and crooked waies, eſpying and lying for all advantages that might be preſented: for intelligence they had of all that was done either at ſea, or by land. And when they perceived upon a time the *corps de guard* before the camp feeble and weak, and that there was a great number of unarmed Merchants between the camp and the ſea, without any defence at all either from land or water, they ran at once upon the foreſaid guards, to wit, the Placentine cohort, and alſo the ſquadrons of the ſecond legion. Now their enterpriſe at the beginning was covered and hidden by occaſion of a morning miſt, which at the firſt warmth of the ſun brake and ſcattered away, and then began ſomewhat to appear through it: but the light was not yet clear and come to the full; by reaſon whereof every thing (as commonly in ſuch a caſe) ſhewed far bigger than it was. And this at that time mightily deceived the Romans, cauſing the army of the enemies to ſeem the C greater by many degrees. At which fight, the ſouldiers of the one guard as well as the other being affrighted, fled into the camp with a great tumult and alarm, and there cauſed far more fear than they brought with them: for neither were they able to tell why they fled thus as they did, nor give a ready anſwer to thoſe that asked them the queſtion. Over and beſides, a great noiſe they heard from the camp gates, as where there was no ſufficient guard to ſuſtain the firſt aſſault. Beſides, their running thus in a throng together in the dark, while one tumbled upon another, made ſuch a confuſion, that they knew not whether the enemy was within the rampier or no. No other cry was heard but this; To ſea, To ſea. For by occaſion that one ſouldier at adventure began to ſet up that note, all the camp preſently rung again therewith, from one end to the other. Whereupon at firſt, (as if they had been commanded ſo to do) to the ſea they ran, ſome few ar- D med but the moſt part without any armour or weapons: afterwards more, and conſequently at laſt in manner all; yea, and the Conſul himſelf, ſeeing that he laboured in vain to reclaim them, back he fled, and could prevail neither by command nor authority, nor yet with prayers in the end; only *M. Licinius Strabo* (a Tribune or Colonell of the third legion, abandoned of his own legion) remained behind with three enſigns and no more. The Iſtrians finding him alone, (for no man elſe was ſeen in arms to make reſiſtance) entred joyntly into the camp, ran upon him (& as he was embattelling his ſouldiers and encouraging them in the quarter about the Prætor his lodging) ſurpriſed, and with numbers over-charged him. The skirmiſh and fight was more cruell, than for proportion of ſo few defendants; and not ended, before that the Tribune himſelf and thoſe about him, were ſlain every man. The Generall his pavilion and all about it, was overthrown: which E when the enemy had ranſacked and rifled of all that was there, they went as far as the treaſurers lodging, the market place, and to the gate * *Quintana*: where they found abundance of all things ſet out ready for their hands, and within the treaſurers pavilion the tables ſpread and covered with good cates and meat upon them. Then their chief Lord & Leader (the petty King aforeſaid) made no more ado but ſate him down, fell to his victuals and made good chear; and anon all the reſt following his example, did ſo likewiſe, and never once thought of arms, or of enemies; and like to thoſe who were not wont to fare ſo well and feed liberally, they greedily overcharged their bellies with wine and viands: but the Romans all the while ſtood in far other terms. They trembled, they went haſtily to their buſineſs both on land and ſea. Down went the ſhipmen and ſailers with their tilts and booths; and look what proviſion of victuals or other things F were ſet forth to ſale upon the ſtrand and ſhore, they harried and hurried a ſhipboord: the ſouldiers all affrighted ran amain to the ſea-ſide, for to be embarked. The mariners fearing leſt their veſſels ſhould be overcharged, ſome put back the preſs and withſtood them for coming in, others ſhove off from the wharf; and lanched into the deep. Hereupon began a braul and broil, and from that they fell together by the ears, ſouldiers and mariners, one with another: ſome went away with knocks and wounds, and others left their lives behind them; untill at length, by the Conſul his commandment the fleet was retired far from the land. Which done, he began to ſort the armed and unarmed apart. And hardly were there (of ſo great a multitude) twelve hundred found with armor about them, and very few horſemen that had brought their horſes with them. All the reſt were a confuſed and diſordered company, reſembling the raſcall ſort of camp- G followers, as victuallers, launders, ſcullions, and lackies: who had been a ready booty to have preyed upon in caſe the enemies could have thought upon any feats of arms. Then at laſt came a meſſenger to recall the third legion and to ſurpriſe the guard of the Gauls; and with that, from all parts they began to return again toward their own camp, for to recover it, and wipe away and blot out the ſhameful ſtain and diſhonour which they had received. The Colonels of the third legion commanded the ſouldiers to throw down upon the ground their forrage and fewell, they charged the Centurions to ſet the elder and unweildy ſouldiers two and two upon the horſes and

* *Sclavonia.*

* *Timavo*, or *Larchia.*

* By that gate was the market ſerved, and it led directly to it.

labouring beasts which they had discharged of their load; and willed the horsemen to take up be- H
hind them every one a young lusty footman; shewing what an honour it would be to the third legion, for to regain by their valour the camp, which had been lost by the cowardice and fear of those in the second: and easily (say they) may it be won again, if the Barbarians, whiles they are encumbred with the pillage, might be surprised at unawares, and be taken themselves, like as they overtook others before. This exhortation was received with great alacrity and contentment of the souldiers. Aloft were the ensigns born and advanced apace, neither staid the port-ensigns one whit for the souldiers. Howbeit the Cos. and those companies which were brought from the sea, came first to the rampier. *L. Atius* a principall Centurion of the second legion, not only encouraged the souldiers, but made remonstrance unto them, That if the Istrians these victories, had ever meant to guard and keep the camp with the same force of arms by which they had won it, they I would at the first have pursued the enemies to the sea, so soon as they had turned them out of their tents; and afterwards have set a good *corps de guard*, at least wise before the rampier and the avenues thereof: but like enough it is (saith he) that with guzling wine they were dead asleep like beasts. And herewith he commanded *A. Baculonius* his own ensign-bearer, a man of approved valour and singular prowess to advance his banner forward. Mary, that I shall (quoth he) full soon, if you will follow me alone that the thing may be done more quickly. With that he forced his whole strength and having flung the ensign over the trench into the camp, he was the first himself that entred at the camp gate. On another part likewise *T.* and *C.* both *Ælii*, and Coloners of the third legion, were come with their Cavalry: then presently followed those also whom they had horsed two by two upon the labouring jades and wagons of carriage, and after them the Cos. K with his whole army. But of the Istrians some few there were (such as were not stark drunk) whose wits and memory served them to run away; the rest were dead asleep indeed, and never awoke again. So the Romans recovered all their goods, save only the wine and victuals which was devoured and consumed. The Roman souldiers who were crazy and sick, and had been left in the camp, after they perceived their own fellows within the rampier, found their hands again, caught up weapons, and made a great slaughter and execution. But above all others *C. Popilius*, surnamed *Sabellus*, a Gentleman and Cavalier of *Rome*, bare himself most bravely that day, who being left in the camp (because he was hurt and maimed in one of his feet) slew the greatest number of the enemies by far. Eight thousand Istrians fell upon the edge of the sword, and not one taken prisoner alive: for the choler and despiteous indignation of the souldiers was such, as they had no L mind at all of prizes and booties. Howbeit, the K. of the Istrians, drunk as he was, had so good fortune as to be taken from the very boord where he sat, and hastily mounted on horseback by his men, and so fled away and escaped. Of the winners there perished in all two hundred thirty seven souldiers: and of them, more died in their morning flight than in the recovery of their camp. Now it chanced so, that *Cn.* and *L.* both named *Gavilii*, new Coloners and inhabitants of *Aquileia* as they came with victuals, had like to have stumbled ignorantly upon the camp, when it was taken & possessed by the Istrians. They being retired back in great haste to *Aquileia*, leaving their carriage behind them, set all on a fright & uproar not only at *Aquileia* but also at *Rome* within few daies after: for thither was the rumour run, That not only the camp was forced by the enemies, and (which was true indeed) the Romans put to flight, but that all was lost, and the army utterly M defeated. Whereupon, as the manner was in all sudden tumults and alarms, writs went forth for musters and levies of souldiers extraordinarily, not in the City only, but also throughout all *Italy*. Two legions of Roman Citizens were enrolled, and the Latine allies were commanded to set out 10000 foot with 300 horse. *M. Junius* the Cos. had commandment to pass over into *Gallia*, and to levy of the Cities and States of that Province, as many as they were able to make and furnish. It was ordained withall, that *T. Claudius* the Prætor should make proclamation, that the souldiers of the fourth legion, and of the Latine allies five thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse, should meet together at *Pisæ*; and that in the absence of the Cos. he should defend that Province: also that *M. Titinius* the Prætor should appoint the *Rendezvouz* at *Ariminum*; that the first legion, and the like number of allies, as well foot as horse, should there assemble. Then N *Nero* took his journey clad in his rich coat of arms, toward *Pisa* his Province. And *Titinius* having to *Ariminum Catus Cessius* a Colonel, to take the conduct of the legion there, took musters at *Rome*. *M. Junius* the Cos. passed out of *Liguria* into *Gaul* and arrived at *Aquileia*, having levied aid-souldiers as he went of all the Cities of *Gaul* and the Colonies, to be in readiness out of hand. There he was certified that the army was safe and sound: whereupon he dispatched his letters to *Rome* to advertise them that they should not trouble themselves any more in this false alarm, and himself after he had discharged the Gauls of those aids which he had imposed upon them, went to his companion in government. Great was the joy at *Rome*, coming thus as it did unlooked for. The musters were laid aside, the souldiers discharged who were enrolled and had taken their military oath, and the army visited with the plague at *Ariminum* was dismissed and sent home. The O Istrians albeit they were encamped with a great strength of armed men, not far from the Cos. his camp, after they heard once that the Consul was come with a new army disbanded and slipt every man away on all sides to their severall Cities, and the Consuls retired with their legions to *Aquileia*, there to winter.

When these troubles of *Istria* were thus at length appeased, there went forth an act of the Senat, That the Coss. should agree between themselves, whether of them twain was to return to *Rome* for

A for to hold the assembly for election of Magistrats. At what time as *A. Licinius Nerva*, and *C. Papyrius Turdus*, two Tribunes of the Commons, in all their Orations to the people, inveighed bitterly against *Manlius* in his absence, and promulged a Law to this effect, That after the Ides of *March* (for the Coss. had their governments already prorogued for one whole year) he should continue no longer in place, to the end that so soon as he was out of his office, he might presently be called to his answer judicially. *Quintus Ælius*, one of their Collegues, withstood this bill by them proposed, and after much debate and contention prevailed so much, that it passed not.

About the same time *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *L. Posthumius Albinus*, being returned out of *Spain* to *Rome*, had audience given them by the Prætor *M. Titinius* in the Temple of *Bellona*, there to discourse of the acts by them atchieved, to demand their deserved honours, to the end
B that praise and thanksgiving also should be rendred to the immortall gods. Moreover, at the very same time intelligence was given by letters from *T. Ebutius* the Prætor, which his son brought and shewed to the Senat, of great troubles in *Sardinia*: Namely, that the Ilians, joyning unto them the strength of the *Balari*, had invaded the province standing in peaceable terms: neither was he able to make head against them with so feeble an army as he had; & the same wasted and consumed much with the pestilence. The same news related the Embassadors likewise of the Sardinians, making humble suit to the Senat, to relieve and succour their Cities at least wise, for that their villages and country towns were already past help. This embassage, with all other matters concerning *Sardinia*, put over to the new Magistrats; as pitifull an embassage also was presented unto them from the Lycians, who complained grievously of the Rhodians, unto whom they had been annexed and
C made subjects by *L. Cornelius Scipio*: "Indeed (say they) we lived sometime under the seignory of "K. *Antiochus*, but that servitude of ours under the K. compared to this present state and condi-"tion wherein we now are seemed unto us an excellent liberty: for not only are we now yoaked "and kept under publike authority in generall, by taxes, levies, and impositions, but every one in "particular endureth meer bondage and slavery. Our selves are abused, yea, and our wives and "children suffer villanies before our eyes: upon our bodies, our backs and sides they work upon "and discharge their humour of cruelty: in our good name (an indignity unsupportable) we are "distained, depraved, and defamed: yea, openly in the face of the world, they cease not to com-"mit outrages against us, even to usurp and extend their authority over us, and to try masteries "upon us with extremity: to the end that we Lycians might be put of all doubt, that there is no
D "difference between us and slaves bought and sold for silver in open market. The Senat moved with these remonstrances by the Lycians addressed their letters to the Rhodians to this effect, that it was no part of their meaning and intent, that the Lycians should be slaves to the Rhodians: or that any other born free, should be enthralled by any person: but their will was, that the Lycians should in such terms live under the government and protection of the Rhodians, that both States, the one as well as the other, might range and frame themselves like good associats under the Dominion and Empire of *Rome*.

After this followed two triumphs over *Spain*, one immediatly upon another: first, *Sempronius Gracchus* over the Celtiberians: and the morrow after, *L. Posthumius* [*Albinus*] over the Lusitanians and other Spaniards of those parts. *Tib. Gracchus* carried in shew 40000 pound weight of
E silver: and *Albinus* twenty thousand. Both of them divided among their souldiers twenty five Denarii apeece, to each Centurion the same double, and trebble to every horseman. Thus did they also by allies as well as by Romans.

It fortuned about that time, that *M. Junius* the Consul, came out of *Istria* to *Rome*, by occasion of the election which was to be holden: and when the two Tribunes of the Commons, *Papyrius* and *Licinius*, had in the presence of the Senat baited and wearied him with interrogatories, as touching the affairs passed in *Istria*, they brought him forth also before the body of the people. "To which questions, after that the Consul had answered, how he had not been above 11 daies "in the Province: and as for the things that hapned in his absence, he knew no otherwise than
F "they did, only by the common bruit and report: then they went on urging him still, and asking "how it came to pass, that *A. Manlius* rather came not to *Rome*, to give account unto the State, "why he passed out of *Gaul* (which was his allotted Province) into *Istria*? and to shew, when it "was that either the Senat decreed, or the people of *Rome* granted by their voices to enterprise "that war? But haply it may be said (qd. he) that albeit the war was undertaken only upon his own "head alone: yet no doubt, executed it was right worthily with policy and valour. Nay, I wis, but "far contrariwise: and hard it is to say, whether it were begun more lewdly, than managed incon-"siderately. Two entire *corps de guards* were on a sudden at unawares surprized by the Istrians: the "Roman camp was forced & taken, with all the strength of horse and foot that was therein: the "rest scattered without arms, and the Cos. himself was the formost man that ran away to the sea
G "side unto the ships: and surely he should render an account of all these matters, when he is a "privat person again, since that he should not do it being Cos. This storm past, the generall assembly for the Magistrats election was holden: wherein were created Coss. *C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*. The next day following were the Prætors chosen: to wit, *P. Ælius Tubero* the second time, *C. Quintius Flamininus*, *C. Numisius*, *C. Mummius*, *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Valerius Lævinus*. The civill jurisdiction of the City fell to *Tubero*, the forrain to *Quintius*. The government of *Sicily* was allotted to *Numisius*: of *Sardinia* to *Mummius*. Howbeit, this Province by reason of the great war therein became the charge of the Cos. And by lot it fell to *Gracchus*:

but

but *Istria* to *Claudius* his Collegue. *Gaul* was divided into two Provinces; whereof *Scipio* by lot H
obtained one, and *Lavinus* the other.

Upon the Ides of *March*, on which day *Sempronius* and *Claudius* entred their Consulship, moved it was only in the Senat, as touching *Sardinia* and *Istria*, and the enemies to both those Provinces, who there had levied war. But the morrow after, the Embassadors of the Sardinians being referred over to the new Magistrats, and *L. Minutius Thermus* who had been Lieutenant to the Consul *Manlius* in *Istria*, entred into the Senat-house. By them the Senat was informed how dangerous the wars were in those Provinces. Moved likewise were the Senators by the embassies of the Latine allies, who in the end were admitted into the Senat, after they had importuned the Censors and Consuls of the former year: the sum of their complaint was this, That their own Citizens being once enrolled at *Rome*, were most of them departed and removed thither to I
dwell: which if it might be suffered, within few reviews and cessings it would come to pass, that their Cities should be dispeopled and desolat, their villages and fields desart and waste, and able to set out no souldiers for the wars. Semblably the Samnits and Pelignians complained, that four thousand housholds were gone from them, and retired to *Fregellæ*; and yet neither the one nation or the other, were set at a less proportion of souldiers in all their levies. Two cautelous means and devices there were brought up, whereby men changed thus their Cities at pleasure. The Law granted this indulgence to the allies of the Latine nation, as many as left issue of their race behind them in their house, That they should be reputed Citizens of *Rome*. By abusing this Law, some did injury to their allies, other wronged the people of *Rome*: for, both they that were to leave such issue at home, gave their children, as it were, in villenage to some Roman Citizen K
or other whom they liked of; with condition to manumise and make them free, that they might be Tribes or enfranchised Citizens. And they also who wanted issue to leave behind them, were held as Citizens of *Rome*. But in process of time without any of these colourable pretences of right, without regard of law and respect of issue, they crept in and had the benefit of the Burgesse and freedom of *Rome*, by their transmigration thither to inhabit, by enrolment in the reviews. To meet with these practises, the embassadors craved a remedy for the time to come: as also that they would peremptorily command all their allies to repair again to their own Cities: with an expres inhibition, that no man should receive any other to be his vassall and villain, and so to alienat him, with intention by that means to change the City wherein he lived: and that whosoever became Citizens of *Rome* after that manner, should not be counted for a Citizen. These L
petitions were granted by the Senat. Then were decrees passed for those provinces of *Istria* and *Sardinia* which were in arms; to wit, for the enrolling of two legions into *Sardinia*, having either of them five thousnd and two hundred foot, and three hundred horse, besides twelve thousand footmen, and 600 horsemen of the Latine allies; and ten quinquiremes or galleaces, with five banks of oars, in case the Generall would warp them out of the arsenall. The like number as well of the Infantry as Cavalry, was assigned for *Istria*. The Consuls also were enjoyned to send to *M. Titinius* in *Spain*, one legion with three hundred horse, besides 5000 footmen of allies, and 250 horsemen.

Before that the Consuls cast lots for their Provinces, certain prodigies were reported. Namely, that in the territory of *Crustumium*, there fell from heaven a stone in the lake of *Mars*: That in M
the territory of *Rome*, there was an infant born like a very stump, without head, feet, or hands: and a snake or serpent seen four-footed. That in the market-place of *Capua*, many houses were smitten with thunderbolts and lightning. Also at *Puteoli* two ships were set on fire by lightning, and burnt. Whiles these prodigious wonders were by others related, there was seen a wolf also in the day time at *Rome*, which having entred at the gate *Collina*, after much coursing and hunting, with much ado and noise of them that followed the chace, escaped away from them all, and passed through the *Esquiline* gate. In regard of these strange tokens, the Coss. killed greater beasts for sacrifice: and for one whole day, a solemn supplication and prayers were made at all the shrines and altars of the gods. These sacrifices done and past, accordingly as it appertained, the Coss. cast lots for their provinces: and to *Claudius*, befell *Istria*, to *Sempronius*, *Sardinia*. N

After this, *C. Claudius* published a Law by vertue of an ordinance of the Senat, in favour of allies; and proclaimed, That those allies, and namely, of the Latine nation, who either themselves or their ancestors, had been enrolled among the Latine allies, during the Censorship of *Marcus Claudius*, and *Titus Quintius*, or any time afterwards, should make return every man into his own City, before the first day of *November* next ensuing. And *Lucius Mummius* the Prætor had in commission to enquire and search for those that returned not accordingly. To this Law and Edict aboveseid of the Consul, an act also of the Senat was adjoyned, That the Dictator, Consul, Interregent, Censor, and Lord chief Justice in the Common Pleas for the time being, should endeavour and take order, that whosoever were manumised and made free, should take an oath, That he who manumised or enfranchised him, did it not with an intent, for to ex- O
change the City wherein he was: and look who would not thus swear, him they thought not worthy to be manumised. But his charge and jurisdiction was afterwards committed to *C. Claudius* the Consul.

Whiles these affairs passed at *Rome*, *M. Junius* and *A. Manlius*, who had been Consuls the year before, having wintered in *Aquileia*, in the beginning of the Spring entered with an army into the frontires of *Istria*. Where, as they made waste and spoil far and near as they went, the

Istrians

A Iſtrians entred into a commotion and took arms, rather upon grief of heart and indignation to ſee their goods thus pilled and ranſacked, than for any aſſured hope they had of their ſufficience to make head againſt two armies. Having therefore raiſed a concourſe of their able youth from all their Cities and States, they aſſembled in haſte a ſudden and tumultuary army, which at the firſt gave battell, and fought more in heat of courage, than with perſittance of reſolution. In conflict there were ſlain of them to the number of four thouſand; the reſt abandoned all war, and fled here and there into their Cities. From thence they ſent embaſſadors firſt into the Roman camp to crave peace, and then the hoſtages which were demanded. After intelligence given at *Rome* of theſe news by the letters of the Pro-Conſuls, *C. Claudius* the Conſul fearing leſt this occurrence might put him by the government of his Province and the conduct of the army, without ſo-
B lemn prayers and vows made, without his Lictors clad in their coats of arms, departed ſuddenly in great haſte (all of the head) by night towards his Province, and made no man privy thereto, but only his Collegue. His voyage thither was not ſo raſh and inconſiderat, but his carriage there was more fooliſh and undiſcreet: for being thither come, he aſſembled a generall audience; where after he had very unſeaſonably reproached *Manlius* for his running away out of the camp, (to the great diſcontentment of the ſouldiers, who were the firſt that fled;) and with opprobrious terms ſhaken up *M. Junius* alſo for taking part in this diſhonour with his companion: in the end he commanded them both to avoid out of the Province. Whereupon the ſouldiers made anſwer again and ſaid, That they would then obey the Conſuls commandment, when (according to the ancient cuſtome of their fore-fathers) he had made his ſolemn vows within the Capitoll;
C and then taken his leave and departed out of the City, accompanied with his Uſhers in their rich coats of arms, warlike. Hereat he was ſo far enraged with anger, that he called upon the treaſurers deputy belonging to *Manlius*, for chains and gyves, and menaced to ſend *Junius* and *Manlius* both bound to *Rome*. But the deputy likewiſe made as little reckoning of the Conſuls commandment: and the more animated he was to diſobey the Conſul, by reaſon that he was backed by the whole hoſt round about him; who as they ſupported the cauſe of their Captains and Leaders, ſo they hated the Conſul at the heart. In concluſion the Conſul being loaden and wearied with the contumelious and railing behaviour of every one in particular, and with the ſcrumps and taunts of the multitude in generall (for they ſtuck not over and beſides to mock him and make a laughing ſtock of him) he went his waies again to *Aquileia*, in the ſame ſhip wherein he came.
D From thence he wrote unto his Collegue by an Edict, to charge thoſe new ſouldiers who were enrolled for *Iſtria*, to meet at *Aquileia*: to the end that no buſineſs ſhould keep him at *Rome*, but that with all ſpeed he might depart from the City in his coat of arms, and after he had conceived and pronounced his vows accordingly. His companion in office was well content, and did all theſe things requiſit full willingly: and a ſhort day was aſſigned for the aſſembling of the ſouldiers at the *Rendezvouz* abovenamed. But *Claudius* was at *Rome* well-near as ſoon as his letters; where, at his firſt coming, he made an Oration in the publike audience of the people, as touching the demeanor of *Manlius* and *Junius*: and having ſtaid no longer than three daies at *Rome*, he ſet out with his Lictors formally in their coat-armour, when he had made his vows ſolemnly in the Capitol, and ſo departed into his Province again with as much celerity and haſte (if not more) as he
E came from thence.

Some few daies before, *Junius* and *Manlius* began to aſſault by all forcible means the town *Neſtium*, into which the principall perſons of the Iſtrians, and *Æpulo* their King, were retired. *Claudius*, with his two new legions, preſented himſelf before the town; and after he had diſcharged the old armies and their commanders, laid ſiege unto it, and intended to force it with mantlets and engins of battery. The courſe alſo of the river which ran along beſide the walls, and not only empeached the aſſailants but yielded water unto the beſieged, he diverted into another new channell, and beſtowed many daies work thereabout. This mightily affrighted the barbarous people, to ſee how they were cut off from water. Howbeit, they never thought of peace for al this, but fell in hand to kill their wives and children; and when they had ſo done (becauſe they would
F preſent to the view of their enemies, ſo horrible a fact and fearfull ſpectacle) they maſſacred them upon the walls openly in their ſight, and then threw them headlong down. Whiles the ſilly women and poor infants (amidſt their pitious and lamentable cries) were thus cruelly murdered, the Roman ſouldiers mounted over their walls and entred into the City. Their King when he once perceived (by the fearfull outcries of thoſe who fled) that the town was loſt; for fear he ſhould be taken alive ſtabbed himſelf with his dagger to the heart. All the reſt were either taken priſoners or killed. After this, two other towns, *Mutila* and *Faveria*, were won by aſſault and raſed. The pillage was greater than a man would have looked for in ſo poor a nation: which was beſtowed every whit upon the ſouldiers. Five thouſand ſix hundred and two and thirty perſons were ſold out-right in port-ſale under the guirland. The Captains of this war were firſt ſcourged with
G rods and then beheaded. Thus *Iſtria* by the ruin of three towns and the death of their King, was appeaſed: and all the Cities and States thereof from every quarter, came in with their hoſtages, made ſubmiſſion, and did fealty and homage to the Romans.

The Iſtrians war was no ſooner ended, but the Ligurians began to complot for to take arms and enter into rebellion. *T. Claudius* the Pro-Conſ. (who the former year had been Prætor) was governour and commander at that time of *Piſæ* with a garriſon of one legion. The Senat being advertiſed thereof by his letters, thought good to ſend the very ſame letters to *C. Claudius* (for the other

Conſul

Conſul was already paſſed over into *Sardinia*:) and withall, a decree was granted out to this effect, That conſidering he had performed his commiſſion in *Iſtria*, ſo as there remained no more for him to do there, he ſhould (if he thought ſo good) tranſport his army into *Liguria*. Moreover, upon the Conſul his letters, wherein he wrote what exploits he had atchieved in *Iſtria*, there was ordained a ſolemn proceſſion for two daies together. Semblably, the other Conſul *Tib. Sempronius*, managed his affairs as happily in *Sardinia*: he entred with an army into the country of the Sardinian Ilians. Great aids were come from the Balarans to relieve and ſuccour thoſe Ilians: with both theſe nations he fought a battell in pitched field. The enemies were diſcomfited and put to flight, turned out of their camp, and 12000 armed men ſlain. The morrow after, the Coſ. commanded all their armor and weapons to be gathered together and laid on an heap; and this he burned as a ſacrifice to the honour of *Vulcan*. Which done, he retired with his victorious army into the aſſociat Cities, there to paſs the winter.

*C. Claudius* likewiſe, upon receit of the letters of *T. Claudius*, and the commiſſion directed from the Senat, marched with his legions out of *Iſtria* into *Liguria*: where, the enemies were come down into the plains, and lay encamped near the river *Scultenna*. In which place there was a battell fought: 15000 of them were put to the ſword, and not ſo few as 700 taken priſoners, either in the conflict, or within the Camp; for that alſo was forced and won: beſides, 51 enſigns they loſt. The Ligurians, as many as eſcaped the execution, fled on all ſides to the mountains for refuge; and notwithſtanding that the Conſul ſpoiled and waſted their champain country, there was not one man made ſhew of arms. Thus *Claudius* having in one year vanquiſhed and ſubdued two nations, and in one Conſulſhip (a rare felicity in any other man) reduced other two Provinces into quietneſs and peace, returned to *Rome*.

Certain prodigious and monſtrous ſights were that year reported, to wit, in the territory of *Cruſtumium*, a certain ſoul, called *Sangualis*, with her bill pierced into a ſacred ſtone. In *Campain* a Beef ſpake: at *Syracuſa* a bull that ſtraied out of the fields from the herd, lept the brazen cow there in the City, and did his kind. In the territory of *Cruſtumium*, there was a ſupplication and proceſſion holden one day long in the very place of the foreſaid prodigious ſign. In *Campain*, the beef or cow aforeſaid, was put out to be kept and fed at the charges of the City. Laſt of all, the prodigy of *Syracuſa*, was expiat by a purgatory ſacrifice, by direction from the ſoothſaiers to what gods, ſupplications & ſacrifice ſhould be made. That year died *M. Claudius Marcellus* the Biſhop, who had been Coſ, and Cenſor. In his ſtead *M. Marcellus* his ſon was conſecrated Biſhop. Likewiſe in the ſame year, there was a Colony of 2000 Citizens of *Rome* planted at *Luca*. The Triumvirs or the Commiſſioners who had the conduct and placing of them, were *P. Ælius*, *L. Egilius*, and *Cn. Sicinius*: one and fifty acres of land and an half was ſet out for them apiece to occupy, out of the territory late conqnered from the Ligurians, and which had been ſometime the poſſeſſion of the Tuſcans, before it was holden by the Ligurians.

Then came the Conſul *C. Claudius* to the City of *Rome*, where after he had diſcourſed before the Senat, as touching the proſperous execution of his affairs, as well in *Iſtria* as *Liguria*, & thereupon demanded a triumph, he ſoon obtained that honour; and during his Magiſtracy triumphed at once over thoſe two nations. In which ſolemnity of his triumph, he carried in ſhew 307000 Deniers and * 85702 Victoriats. He gave to every common [Roman] ſouldier fifteen Denarii apeece, a double proportion to the Centurions, and thrice as much to every horſeman. But upon the allies he beſtowed leſs by the one moity than to natural Citizens: and therefore as they followed his chariot, they were ſilent and ſaid never a word: a man that had ſeen them would have ſaid they were malecontent.

* *Victoriatus*, the ſame that *Quinarius*, *i. e.* half *Denarius*. It had the Image of *Victory* ſtamped upon it.

During the time of this triumph, the Ligurians perceiving that not only the Conſul his army was brought home to *Rome*, but the legion alſo at *Piſa* diſcharged by *T. Claudius*: thinking now all fear paſt and overblown, ſecretly levied a power; and having paſſed over the croſs frontiers, by traverſing the waies through the muontains, deſcended into the downs, and waſted the demains of *Modena* and by ſudden aſſault ſurpriſed the very Colony. The news hereof was no ſooner arrived at *Rome*, but the Senat commanded *C. Claudius* the Conſul to hold the high Court for the ſolemn election, with all convenient ſpeed: that ſo ſoon as new annuall Magiſtrates were created, he might return into his Province, and perforce recover this Colony out of their hands. So accoreing to the advice and ordinance of the Senat the ſaid aſſembly was holden: wherein were elected Conſuls *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hiſpalus*, and *Q. Petilius Spurinus*. Then were the Prætors afterwards choſen, to wit, *M. Popilius Lenas*, P. *Licinius Craſſus*, *M. Cornelius Scipio*, *L. Papyrius Maſo*, *M. Alburius*, and *L. Aquilius Gallus*. The Conſul *C. Claudius* had his Patent ſealed again for one year longer, to continue in command of the army, and government of the Province *Gallia*. And for fear leſt the Iliſtrians likewiſe ſhould follow the example of the Ligurians, he had commiſſion to ſend thoſe allies of the Latine nation, whom he had brought out of his Province for to ſolemnize his triumph.

Upon that very day, on which the Conſuls, *Cneus Cornelius* and *Quintus Petilius* entered their Magiſtracy, and ſacrificed each of them an oxe as the manner was, in the honour of *Jupiter*: In that beaſt which *Q. Petilius* cauſed to be ſlain, the liver was found headleſs. When he had reported this accident unto the Senat, he was enjoyned to ſacrifice another beef for to appeaſe the wrath of the gods. Moved then it was in the Senat houſe as concerning the Provinces, and a decree paſſed, that both Conſuls ſhould be ſent to *Piſa*, and againſt the Ligurians: but order was given, that

A that whether of them had the charge of *Pisæ* allotted unto him, he ſhould (when the time came) repair to *Rome* againſt the election of yearly Magiſtrats. Moreover, there was another branch of this decree, that either of them ſhould enroll two new legions, and three hundred horſemen, and levy of the Latine allies ten thouſand foot apiece, and ſix hundred horſe. And *T. Claudius* continued ſtill in full command, untill ſuch time as the Conſul was arrived in his Province. Whiles theſe matters were thus debated and paſſed in the Councill-Houſe, *Cn. Cornelius* was called forth by a bailiff or Uſher. And within a while after he was gone out of the Temple, he returned thither a-
B gain with an heavy and diſmaied countenance, and declared unto the LL. of the Senat, that the liver of that oxe which he alſo had killed for ſacrifice, a beaſt of ſix years old and well liking, was conſumed and come to nothing; and when he hardly beleeved the Miniſter attending upon the ſacrifice, who told him hereof, that himſelf cauſed the water to be poured forth of the pot wherein the tripes and inwards were ſodden, where he ſaw the reſt of the tripes and entrales full and whole, but all the liver waſted away, after a wonderful and miraculous manner, not to be ſpoken. The LL. were much terrified and amazed at this prodigious object: and the more perplexed were they, for that the other Conſul likewiſe related unto them, how in regard that in his ſacrifice the liver wanted an head, he had killed three oxen more, one after another, and yet could not procure the favour and grace of the gods. Hereupon the Senat commanded him ſtill to ſacrifice theſe greater beaſts, untill ſuch time as he had his deſire, and the gods were pleaſed again. Now it is ſaid, that all the other gods were well enough contented, and their ire mitigated and appeaſed, only the goddeſs * *Salus*, *Petilius* could not be reconciled unto, for all that ever he might do. Then * Health.
C the Conſl. and Prætors committed the diſpoſition of their Provinces to the arbitrement of the lots. *Piſæ* fell to *Cornelius*, and *Liguria* to *Petilius*. As for the Prætors, *L. Papyrius Maſo* was Lord chief Juſtice by lot appointed, within the City of all Citizens pleas, and *M. Aburius* had the juriſdiction over ſtrangers: *M. Cornelius Scipio Maluginenſis* had the charge to govern the lower *Spain*, and *L. Aquilius Gallus*, *Sicily*. The two Prætors behind, requeſted earneſtly that they might not be ſent into their Provinces, and namely, *M. Popilius* into *Sardinia*: alledging, that *Gracchus* was able to quiet that Iſland; and the rather, for that *T. Ebutius* the Prætor was by the Senat adjoyned to him for aſſiſtance: neither was it good to interrupt courſes begun, the continuity whereof is the moſt effectuall means to exploit any great important affairs. For what with deli-
D vering up the ſword by the old L. Deputy, and receiving it by the new ſucceſſor (whom it were more meet firſt to be trained up in knowledge of the State, than to be put to the managing of State-matters) oftentimes the good opportunities of atchieving brave enterpriſes paſs by and are loſt. This excuſe of *Popilius* was held for good, and ſo approved. Then comes P. *Licinius Craſſus*, and he for his part made allegations why he might not go into his Province: namely, by occaſion of the ſolemn ſacrifice, that he was to give his attendance upon. Now the higher part of *Spain* was allotted unto him. But commanded was he either to go into his Province, or elſe to take oath in a frequent and full aſſembly of the people, that the ſolemn ſacrifice (as he pretended) was the thing that hindered him, and nothing elſe. This order being ſet down and thus paſſed in the behalf of P. *Licinius*: then ſteps me up *M. Cornelius*, and required them to take an oath of him likewiſe, that he might not go into the nether Province of *Spain*. So both theſe Prætors were
E ſworn according to one and the ſame form of oath. Whereupon *M. Titinius* and *T. Fonteius* were commanded to remain in quality and place of Pro-Conſuls within *Spain*, and retain ſtill the ſame authority and power of command: and order was granted, that for to ſupply their forces, there ſhould be ſent unto them three thouſand Citizens of *Rome* with two hundred horſe, and alſo five thouſand Latine allies, and three hundred horſemen.

The ſolemnity of the Latine holydaies began the * third day before the Nones of *May*: where- * 5. of *May*.
in, becauſe at the ſacrificing of one beaſt the Magiſtrate of *Lanuvium* in his prayer left out theſe words [ *Populi Romani Quiritium* ] and prayed not for the good eſtate of the people of *Rome*, and the Quirits, it bred a ſcruple. The matter was moved in the Senat, and the Senat referred it over to the Colledge of the Biſhops and Prelats of the Church. And they pronounced this award, That
F foraſmuch as thoſe Latine feaſts were not ſolemnized as they ought, they ſhould begin again anew: and that the Citizens of *Lanuvium*, by whoſe default they were thus to be renewed, ſhould be at the charges of all the beaſts for ſacrifice. Moreover, to breed more fearfull ſcrupulosity in mens minds, it fortuned that *Cneus Cornelius* the Conſul as he returned from that ſolemnity out of the Alban mountain, fell down in a fit of Apoplexy: which turned into an *Hemiplegia* or dead palſie all the one ſide of his body, and ſo he was conveyed to the bath and hot waters at *Cumes*: where, by occaſion that his diſeaſe grew upon him ſtill, he departed this life; from whence he was brought to *Rome*, and there carried forth in all magnificence of funerall obſequies, and right honourably interred. He had been Biſhop alſo as well as Conſul. *Q. Petelius* the other Conſul, being commanded to hold an aſſembly for the ſurrogation of a Collegue unto him, (ſo ſoon as poſſi-
G bly he might be warranted by the auſpices and approbation of the ſacred birds) and withall, to proclaim and publiſh the Latine feaſts and holydaies aforeſaid; ſummoned the election againſt the * third day before the Nones of *Sextilis*: and the Latine ſolemnity, the third day likewiſe be- * 3. of *Auguſt*:
fore the * Ides of the ſame month. * 13 of *Auguſt*.

Whiles mens minds were much poſſeſſed already with religion, and ſet upon their devotions, word was brought moreover of certain fearfull prodigies: to wit, that at *Tuſculum* there was ſeen a burning flame in the ſky: that at *Gabes*, the Temple of *Apollo*, and many private mens houſes:

houſes: likewiſe at *Graviſcæ* the town wall and one of the gates were ſmitten with thunderbolts. H
For the procuration whereof, the LL. of the Senat ordained that the Biſhops ſhould give order according to their diſcretion.

Whiles the Conſuls were thus ſtaid, firſt both, by their own ſcrupulous holineſs; then one of them by the death of the other; and afterwards by occaſion of the new election and the renewing of the Latine feſtivall ſolemnity: *C. Claudius* in the mean time approached with his army to *Modena*, which the Ligurians the year before had won. He had not continued the ſiege full three daies, but he forced the Colony: and having thus recovered it from the enemies, he reſtored it again to the former inhabitants. Eight thouſand Ligurians died there within the walls upon the ſword: and immediatly he diſpatched his letters to *Rome*, wherein he not only declared the ſimple news, but glorified him and made his boaſt, That through his fortitude and fortune, I both the Romans had not an enemy that durſt ſhew his head on this ſide the *Alps*; and that he had conquered ſo much land as might ſerve for to be divided by the poll, among many thouſands. *Tib. Sempronius* likewiſe at the ſame time, fought many fortunat battels in *Sardinia*, and utterly tamed and ſubdued the Iſlanders: 15000 enemies he there ſlew: all the States of that nation which had revolted, were reduced to obedience under the people of *Rome*: the old tributaries had an impoſition and exaction laid upon them of a double tribute, which they ſurely paid: the reſt were put to a contribution of corn. After he had ſet the Province in quietneſs, and received out of the whole Iſland two hundred and thirty hoſtages, he ſent certain Lieutenants as meſſengers to make report at *Rome* of all his proceedings: who alſo in his behalf ſhould make ſuit unto the Senat, That in regard of the happy ſucceſs in thoſe exploits, under the charge, conduct, and fortune K
of *Tib. Sempronius*, firſt, due honour, praiſe, and thankſgiving might be rendred to the immortall gods; and then, that himſelf might be allowed at his departure out of the Province, to bring away his army with him. The Senat gave audience to the meſſengers aboveſaid within the Temple of *Apollo*: and upon their relation ordained a generall proceſſion for two daies: commanding the Conſſ. to ſacrifice 40 head of greater beaſts: and withall, enjoyned *Tib. Sempronius* the Pro-Conſul to continue that year with his army in that Province. Then the election which had been pub-

* The third of *Auguſt.* liſhed againſt the * third day before the Nones of *Sextilis* for the ſubſtitution of one of the Conſſ. was the ſame day accompliſhed. And *Q. Petilius* the Conſ. created for his Collegue, *M. Valerius Lævinus*, for to enter immediatly into his Magiſtracy. This *Lævinus* had been a long time deſirous to be employed in ſome Province or other: and fitly it fell out for his longing deſire, that letters L
came, importing how the Ligurians rebelled and were gone out again in arms. So after he once

* 5. of *Auguſt.* heard the contents of theſe letters, he made no longer ſtay, but upon the very * Nones of *Sextilis* all goodly to be ſeen in his warriors coat of arms, he commanded the third legion (by occaſion of this alarm) to go into *France*, to *C. Claudius* the Pro-Conſul: alſo the Duumvirs or two wardens for the ports and navy, to go to ſea, and with a fleet to make ſail for *Piſa*, & from thence to coaſt about all *Liguria*, and thus by hovering upon the ſeas, to terrifie the enemies that way alſo. *Q. Petilius* likewiſe the Conſ. had appointed a day for his army to meet in the ſame place. Moreover, *C. Claudius* the Pro-Conſul, advertiſed of the Ligurians revolt, over and beſides thoſe forces which he had about him at *Parma*, levied in haſte a ſtrength of more ſouldiers; and ſo with his compleat army approached the borders of the Ligurians. The enemies upon the arrivall of *C.* M
*Claudius*, by whoſe conduct they well remembred how late they had been diſcomfited and put to flight near the river *Scultenna*, minding to ſeek for defence rather by the ſtrength of advantagious places than force of arms, againſt that power of his which to their coſt they had before tried,

* L'*Alpi del Pelegrino.* ſeized the two hils, * *Letus* and *Baliſta*, about which they raiſed a mure alſo for their better ſafety. But ſuch as lagged behind and quit the champain plaines and lower grounds with the lateſt, were ſurpriſed and cut ſhort, to the number of fifteen hundred. The reſt kept within the mountains: who albeit they were in fear and danger of their own parts, yet forgot not their inbred cruelty; but ran upon the booties and prizes which they had taken at *Modena*, their poor priſoners whom they held captive they pitiouſly mangled, and killed moſt villanouſly: as for the beaſts in the Temples every where, they rather hacked, hewed, and cut in peeces butcher-like, than ſacrifi- N
ced in decent, ſeemly, and religious manner. Thus being ſatisfied with the bloud and maſſacre of living creatures, they took all their breathleſs things they had, and reared and ſtuck them upon the wals; and namely, implements of all ſorts, made rather for uſe and neceſſity than ornament and ſhew. *Q. Petilius* the Conſul, for fear leſt the war would be ended in his abſence, diſpatched his letters to *M. Claudius*, to haſte away with his army into *France*, for he would attend his coming upon the plains called *Macri*. Upon the receit of which letters, *Claudius* diſlodged out of *Liguria*, and delivered unto the Conſul his army at the ſaid plains called *Macri*. Few daies after came *Caius Valerius* the other Conſul thither alſo. There they divided their forces, and before they departed one from the other, they both together made a ſurvey and review of their ſeverall armies. This done, they caſt lots into what quarters they ſhould either of them go, for that they O
held it not good policy to charge the enemy both of them joyntly in one part. Now certain it is, that *Valerius* received his lot according to the auſpices, in that he was within the precinct of the Temple or proſpect by the Augur aſſigned. But *Petilius* herein made default (as the Augurs pronounced afterwards) and namely the error was herein, becauſe he being himſelf without the compaſs aforeſaid, had put the lot into the caſket, which was carried afterwards within the circuit of the ſaid Temple. This done, they went into divers quarters: *Petilius* encamped affront that

bank

A bank and rising of the hill between *Baliſta* and *Letus*, which by a continual ridge uniteth and joyneth the one mountain to the other. There, as he was exhorting his ſouldiers in open audience, he let fall (by report) an ominous word, preſaging his own death, never thinking of the ambiguity and duple conſtruction thereof: ſaying, that he would that very day * *capere Letum*. In two ſeveral places at once he began to mount up the hills. That regiment wherein he was himſelf, advanced forward couragiouſly: but the other was repulſed and beaten back by the enemies: whereupon the Conſul rode full gallop to help that ſide which went down: and in very truth reclaim his men he did from running away; but whiles without good regard of his own perſon he kept before the enſigns in the forefront, he chanced to be ſhot through with a dart, and ſo fell down dead in the place. The enemies were not aware of the Generals death: but ſome few of his own men who
B ſaw him fall, made haſt (as knowing well that in it conſiſted now the main victory) to cover his body. So the reſt of the multitude, as well cavalry as infantry, captainleſs as they were, diſſeized the enemies and were maſters of the mountains. Of Ligurians there were ſlain 3000: of the Roman army not above two and fifty. Now beſides this evident iſſue and event which fell out upon ſo heavy and deadly a preſage by the * omen aforeſaid, the pulletier alſo was heard to ſay, that all was not well in the auſpices of the birds; neither was the Conſul himſelf ignorant thereof.

* *capere Letum*, thus written with a capital *L*. ſignifieth, To gain the hill *Letus*: but with the litle *l*. (which the ear cannot diſtinguiſh) importeth, To take his death.

* *Valerius Maximus* reporting the ſame ſtory, calleth this *Omen* of his (which I commonly interpret [Oſſe] *fortuitum vocis jactum*; When a man caſteth forth a word at a venture, and ſpeaketh more truly than he is aware. For want of a proper tearm to expreſs the Latine [*Omen*] all tranſlators hitherto, French, Italian, and Engliſh, have been put to their ſhifts, and help themſelves with [Præſage.] Which in mine opinion is not appropriat to the thing, but common: as comprehending other tokens; of birds, whether they be *auguria* or *auſpicia*; of beaſts inwards; of lightning and the reſt: or rather implying εφορμητικὸν, i. the *fore-deeming* by thoſe ſigns, yea, and extendeth to the fore-giving of the mind. Where-
C as that other word [Oſſe] is very ſignificant, and in analogie æquivalent to [*Omen*.] I marvel much therefore, why it is thought either ſtrange and new (ſeeing it is Engliſh, uſed no doubt commonly in times paſt, and at this day currant in the North parts, where the people haply are more obſervant of ſuch preſages) rather than many other forrain words, brought into our language, and ranged with the Engliſh: or why it ſhould be condemned as abſonant and not pleaſing to the ear, more than ὄσσα in Greek, which commonly betokeneth (a voice) and more properly in *Plato* (as *Budæus* hath well obſerved) is taken for [*Omen*] like as ὀσσεύειν for *ominari*, & ευμαντικὸς [*divinare*] as *Euſtathius* noteth upon *Homer*, Iliad. ξ. From whence, who ſeeth not that [Oſſe ma Offing both] are derived? The word then being not baſely born, but deſcended from the mother of all learning, the Greek tongue, and enfranchiſed in this Iſland time out of mind (howſoever it hath been confined into the North) would not be exiled clean, but rather reduced and received for a free denizen, *quaſi poſtliminio*.

*C. Valerius* having heard * * * * * * [The great clerks and deep
D divins, thoſe alſo were profoundly ſeen in the common law, gave it forth. That ſeeing the two ordinary Conſuls (*Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hiſpalus*, and *Q. Petilius Spurinus*) of that year, were both dead, the one by ſickneſs, the other by the ſword, it was not lawful for the other Conſul (*C. Valerius Levinus*) ſubrogued in the place of the deceaſed, to hold the aſſembly general for the election of new Magiſtrats.] * * * * * * * * * This within theſe marks [] the Latine copies have not, but is partly ſupplied out of *Priſcian* in his 17 book.

* conducted. On this ſide the Apennine were the Garuls, Lapirins, and Hercatians: beyond the Apennine were the Briniats. Againſt them that had pilled and ranſacked *Piſa* and *Luna*, *Q. Mutius* made war within the compaſs of the River *Audena*: and when he had brought them in ſubjection, he took from them their arms. For which exploits atchieved in *France* and *Liguria*, under the conduct and happy fortune of the two Conſuls, the Senate ordained that there ſhould be pu-
E blick proceſſion for three daies, and commanded to ſacrifice forty greater beaſts. And thus verily the tumultuous wars of the French and the Ligurians, which aroſe in the beginning of the year, were in ſhort time and without any great maſtry daſhed and appeaſed.

But now in lieu thereof, great care was taken for the Macedonian war, by occaſion that *Perſeus* ſowed the ſeeds of debate and quarrel between the Dardanians and the Baſtarnians. Beſides, the Roman Embaſſadors who were ſent into *Macedony*, to ſee in what terms things there ſtood, were now returned to *Rome*, and had brought word, That in *Dardania* they were up in arms. With them there came alſo from King *Perſeus* certain Orators to make excuſe in his behalf, and to cleer him in the action, namely, that the Baſtarnians neither were by him ſent for nor entred into any execution by his motive. The Senat would neither acquit the King as unguilty, nor yet directly
F accuſe him as culpable in that point. Only they required, that he ſhould be advertiſed and admoniſhed, to be very well adviſed and careful to keep that league and accord inviolable, which he would ſeem to entertain with the Romans.

The Dardanians ſeeing that the *Baſtarnæ* were ſo far off from departing out of their countrey (as they well hoped they would) that they endamaged and endangered them ſtill every day more than other, as bearing themſelves bold upon the ſuccours of the Thracians neer neighbours, and the *Scordiſci*; thought it their beſt courſe in policy, to adventure upon ſome hardy enterpriſe, although it were raſh and inconſiderate: whereupon they aſſembled all in arms, and from every quarter of their countrey ſhewed and advanced before the next Town, to the camp of the Baſtarnians. Winter time it was, a ſeaſon of the year which they made choice of, that the Thracians and
G the *Scordiſci* might be retired home into their own countries: which when they were advertiſed of, and that there remained none but the *Baſtarnæ* alone, they divided their forces in two parts: with the one, to march directly forward and openly to make head againſt them affront; with the other, to fetch a compaſs through by-waies and blind forreſts, and ſo to charge upon their backs. But before they could wheel about the enemies camp, the battail was begun: wherein the Dardanians had the overthrow, and were driven to put themſelves within their City, which was almoſt twelve miles diſtant from the camp of the *Baſtarnæ*. The conquerors followed the train of victory,

and incontinently inveſted the Town, making full account, that the next day either the enemies H
would yeeld, or elſe they ſhould be able to win the place by mere force. In the mean time, the
other regiment aboveſaid of the Dardanians, which caſt about, knowing nothing at al of their fel-
lows defeat, began to aſſail the camp of the Baſtarnians, left without a ſufficient guard for defence.

There wanteth the beginning of a diſcourſe as touching the demeanor of K. *Perſeus.*

* * * As the manner of the Kings was, he ſate in a ſtately throne of Ivory, to hear pleas and
decide controverſies of the ſmalleſt and moſt trifling matters. So tranſported was he and caried
away with an humor of levity and ſpirit of inconſtancy, ſo diſtracted & wandering in all the courſe
of his life, that he was never ſetled and well contented in any condition or ſtate whatſoever: in
ſuch ſort, as neither he knew his own ſelf, nor any man elſe wiſt well what to make of him. He
would not ſeem to ſpeak unto his friends, and hardly was ſeen to laugh familiarly among thoſe of
his neereſt acquaintance. He made a fool of himſelf, and mocked others likewiſe; ſuch was his in- I
ordinate and irregular munificence. To men of honor ſtanding highly upon their worth and repu-
tation, his manner was to beſtow childiſh trifles, as ſugar-plums to eat or to play withal, toyes and
gewgawes inſtead of great and pretious preſents: others again that looked for nothing, thoſe he
enriched. And therefore ſome deemed that he knew not what he did: others gave it out that he
did all in plain mockage: and there were again that let not to ſay, how he was out of his right
wits, and clean beſides himſelf. Yet in two things, which were both great and laudable, he carried
with him a Princely and Royal mind indeed; to wit, in adorning Cities with ſtately gifts, and ho-
nouring the Gods with divine worſhip. He promiſed the Megapolitans in *Arcadia* to raiſe a wall
about their City; and in truth the better part of the money to defray the charges thereof, he ſent
unto them. He went in hand to build a magnificent Theatre of marble at *Tegæa*: at *Cizicum*, he K
gave freely to the *Prytaneum* (a fair hall by it ſelf in the heart of the City, where, at the common
charges, certain had their diet of free-coſt) by way of honourable reward, a cupbord of golden
plate ſufficient for the furniture and ſervice of one table. As for the Rhodians, I cannot ſay, what
one ſpecial gift ſingular above the reſt, he beſtowed upon them; ſo liberally minded was he to
them-ward, and his hand ever open to give them of all ſorts whatſoever they needed or required.
Now, his magnificence in honoring the Gods, what it was (if there were nothing elſe) the Tem-
ple of *Iupiter Olympius* begun by him in *Athens* (ſo anſwerable every way to the Majeſty of that
great God, that the like to it is not to be found again in the whole world) may teſtify ſufficiently.
Moreover, he beautified *Delos* with goodly ſea-enſigns, and with a great number of ſtatuts and
images. Likewiſe he promiſed to edify at *Antiochia*, a ſtately Temple in the honor of *Iupiter Capi-* L
*tolinus*; not only arched above-head with a golden embowed roof, but ſeeled all over the wall ſides
with plates of gold: beſides many other things in divers places, which by reaſon that he reigned
but a very ſhort time, he could not finiſh and perform. In magnificence alſo of playes, publick
ſhews, and pageants of every ſort, he over-went all the Kings his progenitors before him, as well in
regard of Grecian actors and gameſters, whereof he had many about him, as of the reſt who were
acquainted with the faſhions of his own countrey. He repreſented the fight of ſword-players at
the ſharp with unrebated ſwords, after the cuſtome of the Romans; with greater terror and fear
at firſt, than pleaſure and delight of men, who were not uſed to behold ſuch ſights; but afterwards
by often exhibiting the ſame, in ſuch manner, as ſometime they drew blood one of another, yea and
otherwhiles gave not over ſo, but fought to the uttermoſt, even to death, he made it a familiar M
exerciſe & a pleaſant ſpectacle to the eye; and thereby ſet an edge upon the courage of many yong
gallants, and emboldned them to embrace chivalry and follow feats of arms. So as in proceſs of
time, he that was wont at the beginning to ſend as far as *Rome* for theſe fenſers, and to hire them
for great wages and reward, now with his own * * * L. *Cornelius Scipio* (had the juriſdicti-
on) over forrainers. To *M. Attilius* the Pretor, the government of *Sardinia* by lot was fallen, but
he was enjoyned to paſs over into *Corſica* with the new legion which the Conſuls had enrolled,
conſiſting of 5000 foot and 300 horſe. And during the time that he ſhould be employed there in
the wars, *Cornelius* had commiſſion to continue in his charge and place of command, within *Sar-*
*dinia*. Unto *Cn. Servilius Capio* for low Spain, & *P. Furius Philus* for the higher, were aſſigned 3000
Roman footmen and an 150 horſe; but of Latine allies, 5000 of the one and 300 of the other. N
As for I. *Claudius*, he was appointed to *Sicily* without any ſupply at all. Moreover, the Conſuls had
commandment to enrol two legions beſides, with the full number as well of foot as horſe and to
charge the [Latine] allies, with the ſetting out and maintenance of a 1000 footmen & 600 horſe.
This levy and taking of muſters, the Conſuls went through with, in more difficulty, by reaſon of a
great mortality, which beginning the year before with a murrein of kine & oxen, turned this year
into peſtilent *epidemical* diſeaſes of men. Look who fell ſick once, lightly they died before the ſe-
venth day: and thoſe that overlived and eſcaped that *criſis*, lay long ſick by it, and commonly of
the quartan ague. The moſt that went of this malady were ſlaves, whoſe breathleſs carkaſſes lay
ordinarily along every ſtreet unburied: and more than that, * men were not able to inter ſo much
as the dead bodies of free perſons they died ſo thick; in ſuch ſort, as they putrified and rotted a- O
bove ground: for neither hungry dog nor greedy gripe, would once touch them. And for certain
it was known and noted, that neither all that year nor in the former, during the mortality of man
and beaſt, there was not a vultur or gripe any where to be ſeen. Divers Prelats and Prieſts of State
dropt away of this plague, and namely, *Cn. Servilius Capio* a Biſhop, the father of the Pretor: *Tib.*
*Sempronius Longus* the ſon of *Titus* one of the Decemvirs for ſacreed rites and divine ſervice: P.
*Ælius Pætus* the Augur: *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, C. *Attelius Æmylius* the chief ſuperintendent

* *Libitina non ſufficiebat.*

of

A of all the parish-priests, and *M. Semp. Tuditanus* a Bishop. These were substituted Bishops in place of the dead, to wit, C. *Sulpitius Galba* in stead of *Tuditanus*. * * For Augurs were subordained, *T. Veturius Crassus Sempronianus* in the room of *Gracchus*; *Q. Ælius Pætus* for *P. Ælius*. Decemvirs over holy rites were elected, C. *Semp. Longus*; and C. *Scribonus* surnamed *Curio*, supplied the want of the grand superintendant aforesaid. Still continued the pestilence; whereupon the Senat ordained, That the Decemvirs should have recourse to the books of *Sibylla*: by whose order and direction, publick supplications held for one day long: and after a devout manner, the people conceived and made a solemn vow in the common-place, according to that form of words which *Q. Martius Philippus* indited and prompted unto them to this effect: That if this malady and pestilent disease, were removed out of the territory of *Rome*, they would for two daies space solemnize
B a feast, go in procession and pour out their prayers with all devotion. In the Veientian countrey a man child was born with two heads; and another at *Sinuessa* but with one hand. At *Oximum* a maid child came into the world with teeth in the head: and over the Temple of *Saturn* (standing in the market place of *Rome*) there was seen in the skie a bow full bent all the day long, if the air were cleer and the weather fair: and at one time there shone out three suns. Also in one night, there evidently appeared many flaming lights and fire-drakes shooting along in the air. The men of *Lanuvium* and *Cære* affirmed plainly, That within their Town they saw a Serpent with a crest and mane, yea, and the same marked all over with yellow spots like gold: and it was held for certain that in the territory of *Capua* an oxe spake.

Now were the Embassadors returned out of Affrick by the * Nones of *June*, those I mean who
C went to *Carthage*, after they had been with King *Masinissa*, and spoken with him. But better & more certain intelligence they had by this King, than from the Carthaginian themselves as touching the affairs that had passed in *Carthage*. Howbeit, thus much they reported upon their assured knowledge, that Embassadors came from King *Perseus*, and had audience in the Senat secretly by night within the Temple of *Æsculapius*. Also both the King affirmed flatly, and the Carthaginians themselves but faintly denied, that Embassadors likewise had been sent from *Carthage* into *Macedony*. Whereupon the Senat was of advice and resolved to dispatch their Embass. also into *Macedony*. And these three were sent, to wit C. *Lælius*, *M. Valerius Messala*, and *Sext. Digitius*.

During this time, *Perseus*, by occasion that certain Dolopians obeied him not, and of some matters in controversy and difference referred the audience and decision to the Romans, and refused
D the arbitrement of the King led forth an army against them, and reduced the whole nation under his obedience and jurisdiction. From thence he passed over the Oetæan mountains, and upon certain religious motions arising in his mind he went up to *Delphos*, for to visit the Oracle. Being thus on a suddain seen in the very heart and midst of *Greece*, he struck a terror not only into the cities next adjoining, but also the bruit of this tumultuous alarm was blown as far as to K. *Eumenes*. After he had staied at *Delphi* nor above 3 daies he returned into his own realm, by the way of *Phthiotis*, *Achaia* and *Thessaly*, without any dammage done or wrong offered to the territories through which he passed. Neither thought he it sufficient thus only to win the love and favor of those Cities & states through which he was to journey, but he addressed either Embassadors or wrote his letters, praying them to bear no longer in mind the enmities which had been between them and
E his father, for asmuch as they were not so bitter and deadly but they might well enough, yea, and ought to end and die with him: as for himself, he saw no let or hindrance in the world to empeach them for entertaining a faithful amity with him. But above all others he sought means to be reconciled to the Achæans, and to reenter into grace and favor with them. This nation alone of all *Greece*, together with the City of *Athens*, were grown into those terms of despight and malice against the Macedonians, that they debarred them from once setting foot within their confines. And hereupon it came that when certain slaves fled out of *Achaa*, they retired into *Macedony* for refuge, and there remained: and because the Achæans had forbidden the Macedonians to come within their liberties, they durst not likewise for their parts enter into the marches and frontiers of his Kingdom to recover their bondmen. Which when *Perseus* perceived he caused all those fugi-
F tive slaves to apprehended and he dispatched his letters unto the Achæans, wherein he wrote, That he would right courteously send back their slaves home again, although they were run away from them unto him; advertising and advising them to beware and look well unto it, that there were no more any such escapes and runnings away of their bond servants hereafter. When these letters were read by *Xenarchus* their Pretor, who sought to curry some favor and to wind himself into grace with the King, most of them that were present judged the letters to have been written right graciously and with great government and moderation, but principally those persons, who beyond their hope were to recover and receive their slaves whom they had lost. But *Callicrates* one of them who were fully perswaded, that the safety of their whole estate depended upon the loiall observance and inviolable maintenance of the accord contracted with the Romans, spake
G thus or to this effect following. "It may seem to some here (qd. he) my masters of *Achaa* that we "are in question at this present of a small matter and of mean importance: but I for my part am "of opinion, that we are not now in hand to treat but have already debated, and after a sort con-"cluded, one of the greatest affairs and of most consequence that we know. For we who have in-"terdicted the KK. of *Macedony* and the Macedonians to come within our borders, and have de-"creed that this edict may stand firm and irrevocable, and that for this intent especially, Because "we would admit neither Embassadors nor messengers from the KK. for fear lest by entercourse

The oration of *Callicrates* the Achæan.

" of them, the hearts of ſome among us might be ſollicited and tempted to novelty and alterati-
" on: we now are content to hear the King, although abſent in perſon, preaching in ſome ſort to
" us, yea, and more than that (God ſend us good luck) approve and applaud his Oration. And H
" whereas the very wild beaſts refuſe (for the moſt part) the meat which is laid for a bait to de-
" ceive and hurt them, yea, and have the wit to ſhun and avoid the ſame; we, blind beetles that we
" are, ſuffer our ſelves to be caught and fed with the vain apparence and colorable ſhew of a little
" kindneſs, and for hope to recover ſome poor ſlaves (a matter of ſmall worth & reckoning) ſuffer
" our own freedom to be undermined, and in danger of ſubverſion. For who ſeeth not, that the
" overture is made, and the way laid open for entrance into confederacy with the King, only to
" violate and break our aſſociation with the Romans, wherin ſtandeth all our weal and welfare?
" Unleſs ſome man peradventure will make a queſtion, whether the Romans muſt levy war againſt I
" *Perſeus*? & no doubt therof now after *Philip* is dead which in his life time was expected and by
" his death only interrupted? Two ſons, ye know full well, K. *Philip* had, *Demetrius* and *Perſeus*.
" For nobleneſs of parentage by the mothers ſide, for vertue, for wit, for the love and affection of
" the Macedonians, *Demetrius* far ſurpaſſed his brother. But for that the father intended ever &
" meant, that whether of his two ſons hated the Romans, he ſhould have the crown after him for
" recompence he cauſed *Demetrius* to be murdered, for no other crime in the world that could be
" laid to his charge, ſave only that he was entred into amity with the Romans: but *Perſeus* he
" made the King, whom he knew that the people of *Rome* judged more worthy to ſuffer puniſh-
" ment than to inherit a Kingdom, And this *Perſeus*, what other thing hath he done elſe after his
" fathers deceaſe, but made preparation for war? Firſt and formoſt, he procured the Baſtarnians, to K
* *Servia*, as ſome think. " the terror of al the world for to invade * *Dardania*: who if they had ſettled there, *Greece* ſhould
" have had more troubleſome neighbors of them than *Aſia* hath of the Galatians. And albeit he
" was diſappointed of this hope yet he gave not over to deſign and plot for war; nay, if we will
" ſpeak a truth, he hath already begun the war. *Dolopa* he hath ſubdued by force of arms & could
" not abide to hear that the determination of certain provinces which were debatable and liti-
" gious, ſhould be referred to the award of the people of *Rome*. From thence having paſſed over
" the mountain *Oeta*, that all upon a ſuddain he might ſhew himſelf in the very centre of *Greece*,
" he aſcended up to *Delphi*. And to what end, think ye, hath he taken this diſwonted voiage and
" unaccuſtomed expedition? After this he made his progreſs all over *Theſſaly*: And what if he an-
" noied and hurt none of them all, whom he hated in his heart? I fear me ſo much the more this L
" manner of dealing, and that it is a bait to catch them withal. Then forſooth, he ſendeth his letters
" unto us, with a goodly ſhew of a bon-preſent, and willeth us to think eftſoons how to prevent
" from henceforth, that we never had need again of the like bounty of his. What is that, but to
" annul and repeal that edict of ours, wherin the Macedonians are debarred from ſetting foot with-
* *Morea*. " in * *Peloponneſus*? and to bring about, that we may have again the Kings Embaſſadors to come
" unto us, that we may entertain mutual hoſpitality between their Princes and ours? and anon
" after, ſee the Macedonian armies, yea, and the King alſo in perſon to croſs from *Delphi* (for a ſmal
" arm of the Sea lieth between) ſtreight over into *Peloponneſus*? and finally, that we band and com-
" bine with the Macedonians, when they ſhall take arms againſt the Romans? As for me, this is
" mine advice, to make no new ordinance, but to let all alone in their entire order, as they now M
" ſtand until ſuch time as we are come to ſome certain terms. Whether we have cauſe to be afraid,
" or fear only our own ſhadows? If the league ſhal continue firm and ſure between the Romans &
" the Macedonians then may we have entercourſe of friendſhip, of commerce and traffick with
" them. But for this preſent to think & conſider hereof in my ſimple judgment, is a nice and tick-
" liſh point & beſides, out of ſeaſon untimely and ſomewhat with the ſooneſt. When he had thus
" ſaid, *Arco* brother to *Xenarchus* the Pretor diſcourſed in this manner following. " *Callicrates*,
The Oration of *Arcbo*. " (qd. he) hath cauſed both me and all of us beſides, who are of contrary opinion to him for to find
" the more difficulty in ſpeaking our minds to the cauſe in queſtion. For whiles in maintenance
" of the aſſociation which we have with the Romans, he ſaith that it is diſturbed and troubled,
" (albeit there be no man about either to diſturb or trouble it) he hath wrought cunningly and N
" contrived, that whoſoever ſeemeth to gainſay him, may be thought to oppoſe and ſet himſelf a-
" gainſt the Romans. In the firſt place, as if he had been a man, not converſing here among us, but
" one come from the Senat of *Rome* or ſome inward ſecretary and of the privy councel to the KK.
" he knoweth forſooth, and uttereth all that in great ſecrecy hath been done. Nay, he foretelleth
" like a wiſe man what would have enſued, in caſe *Philip* had lived longer: & namely, how it came
" about that *Perſeus* thus inherited the crown: what the Macedonian deſigns are: and what the
" Romans intend to do. But we, who know neither for what cauſe, nor in what manner *Demetrius*
" came by his death nor yet what *Philip* meant to have done if he had lived ſtill, muſt accommo-
" date & frame our counſel to thoſe occurrents which have openly paſſed in the view of the world.
" We take knowledge, that *Perſeus*, after he was inveſted in his throne and crowned King, repair- O
" ed to the Roman Embaſſadors; and we know likewiſe that he was intituled by the people of
" *Rome* with the ſtyle of (King *Perſeus*.) We hear beſides, that Roman Embaſſadors came to the
" King, and were by him well received and graciouſly entertained. If I have any judgment, theſe
" be all ſigns of peace and not of war neither can the Romans take offence, if, as we followed them
" when they bare arms ſo we follow them now likewiſe, as the authors of peace. And verily I ſee
" no reaſon why we alone of all other Greeks, ſhould make ſo mortal and inexpiable war againſt
" the

A "the realm of *Macedony*. What! is it becauſe we are ſo neer unto the Macedonians, and by that
"vicinity expoſed to all dangers from thence? or that we are the weakeſt of all the reſt, and like to
"the Dolopians, whom *Perſeus* of late hath ſubdued? Nay I wis, it is far otherwiſe and clean con-
"trary. Sure enough we are for any harm they can do us, in regard either of our own forces (which
"the Gods of their goodneſs have vouchſafed us) or of the diſtance of place ſo far remote. But
"ſet caſe we be as much ſubject as the Theſſalians and Ætolians: Say, we are of no more credit and
"authority among the Romans (albeit we have been alwaies their aſſociats and friends) than the
"Ætolians be, who were their open enemies but the other day: Then, what right, what priviledg
"and commerce, the Ætolians, the Theſſalians, the Epirots, and in one word all *Greece* beſides,
"have and uſe with the Macedonians, we alſo may have and hold the ſame. How is it then, that we
B "alone like curſed and damned creatures, ſhould thus practiſe to abandon the common law of
"men, and (as it were) renounce all human ſociety. Be it that *Philip* (when time was) did ſome-
"what, and gave us juſt cauſe, armed as he was and ever warring upon us, to paſs this decree and
"edict againſt him: what hath *Perſeus* deſerved? *Perſeus* (I ſay) the new King, a harmleſs Prince that
"never did us injury; nay, who is willing and ſeeketh by courteſies and good turns to cancel and
"raſe out all former quarrels and enmities of his father? why are we the only enemies that he
"hath in the world? And yet, I might full well & truly ſay, that from the former Kings of *Macedony*
"we have received ſo great favors and benefits, that in regard thereof we ſhould put up and for-
"get the wrongs of *Philip* alone (if haply he have done us any) at leaſt wiſe now after he is dead
"and his head laid. Indeed, at what time as the Roman fleet rid in the harbor of *Cenchrea*, and the
C "Conſul lay encamped with his army before *Elatia*, we ſat in counſel three daies together, deba-
"ting and deviſing, Whether we ſhould band with the Romans or ſide with *Philip*? And albeit the
"preſent fear of the Romans before our eies, might have made us in our opinions to encline
"ſomewhat and lean toward them: yet there was ſomething in it doubtleſs, that it was ſo long ere
"we could reſolve: and to ſay a truth, it was the ancient acquaintance and amity that we had with
"the Macedonians, and the great benefits which in old time we had received from their Kings.
"Why then me thinks, thoſe ſelf ſame regards ſhould be of ſome force and efficacy to move us if
"not to be their ſpecial and beſt friends, yet at leaſt wiſe not to be their principal and greateſt ene-
"mies. Let us not, *Callicrates*, make ſemblance and ſhew of that which we are not in hand with-
"all, and is no point of this preſent queſtion. There is no motive made of a new ſociety: there is
D "no perſon about to draw any capitulations of a new alliance; wherein we ſhould raſhly enwrap
"and entangle our ſelves, and be tied to any inconvenience. Only let there be a mutual commerce
"between us, and an alternative intercourſe of yeelding and demanding right to and fro, as ap-
"pertaineth: let us not by interdicting and forbidding them to enter and traffick within our coun-
"try debar our ſelves likewiſe from all negotiation and dealing with them in their Kingdom: that
"by this means our ſlaves may have no place of retreat and refuge to flie unto. And what preju-
"dice is this to the Roman confederacy? Wherfore make we thus of a ſmall thing and evident, ſo
"great a matter and ſuſpicious? Wherfore raiſe we ſuch troubles of nothing? Wherefore ſeek we to
"draw others into jelouſy and hatred with the Romans, and all this to find means of courting &
"flattering them? If there will be war, *Perſeus* (ye may be ſure) maketh no doubt but that we alto-
E "gether will follow the Romans: yet ſo long as the peace holdeth, ſurceaſe and ſuſpend we in ſome
"ſort our malice and hatred for the while; if ended for ever it may not be. When the ſame men
who had conſented to the Kings letters before, gave their accord now alſo to this propoſe, the
chief and principal perſons among them took great indignation and diſdain that *Perſeus* ſhould
ſeem to demand and obtain that by a few lines in writing, which he deemed was not worth the
ſending an embaſſage. Whereupon the time was deferred and no decree paſſed at this Seſſion. Af-
terwards were Embaſſadors addreſſed unto them from the King: at what time as a Diet was hol-
den in *Megalopolis*: but the ſide which was for the Romans, and feared to give them occaſion of
diſpleaſure and offence, did what they could to debar them of acceſs and entrance into the Coun-
cel. And much about this time, by reaſon of theſe jars the Ætolians grew enraged among them-
F ſelves, and by diſcharging their mutual fury in killing one another, had like to have brought the
ſtate to a final ruin and deſolation. But being weary thereof, they in the end as well of the one ſide
as the other, ſent their Embaſſadors to *Rome*, and alſo laboured at home to have the quarre taken
up, and to be made friends and reconciled together. Howbeit this was croſſed by a new miſchief
that came between, which alſo rubbed the former galls and freted the old ſores. For whereas cer-
tain Hypateans, exiled perſons, and being of the faction of *Proxenus*, were promiſed liberty to re-
turn home again into their country, with ſafe conduct alſo granted by *Eupolemus* one of the chief &
principal men of the City: ſo it was, that fourſcore of them, men of mark and quality (whom to
meet upon the way as they returned, *Eupolemus* himſelf went out with the multitude) after they
had been friendly received with courteous greetings, ſalutations, and ſhaking of hands, had no
G ſooner entred within the gare of the City, but they were maſſacred notwithſtanding they pleaded
the faithful promiſe of protection, and called the Gods to witneſs, but all in vain. By this occaſion
the civil war between them waxed much hotter than before, and turned in the end to a light fire.
Now there arrived *C. Valerius Lævinus*, *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*, *C. Memmius*, *M. Popilius* and *L. Cæ-
cilius*, as ſent from the Senat of *Rome*. Before theſe commiſſioners the Embaſſadors from both factio-
ons appeared at *Delphi*, and debated the matter with great earneſtnes and vehemency where *Pro-
xenus* ſeemed to have the better hand as well in right of the cauſe, as through his eloquent tongue:

*Proxenus* (I ſay) who within few daies after, drank a cup of poiſon of his wives tempering, wherof H
he died: & ſhe condemned therefore, departed into exile. The like madneſs haunted the Candiots alſo & diſtracted them with inteſtine diſſention. But upon the coming of *Q. Mutius* the Lieutenant General, who was ſent accompanied with a fleet of ten ſail, to appeaſe their debates, they fell to ſome terms of peace and attonement. There had been a truce alſo before of ſix months, but afterwards the war flamed out much more terrible. The Lycians likewiſe at the ſame time, were infeſted & plagued with war by the Rhodians. But my meaning is not neither is it any part of my purpoſe, to deſcribe the wars of forain nations, nor to diſcourſe of the circumſtances how to proceeded: for enough I have to do, & more than I can wel diſcharge, to write the acts only of the people of *Rome*.

The Celtiberians in *Spain*, who being tamed by force of arms, had ſubmitted to *T. Gracchus*, remained quiet all the time that *M. Titinius* the Pretor continued there in government. But imme- I
diatly upon the arrival of *Ap. Claudius* they revolted: and began to ſhew themſelves in open action of rebellion, by giving a ſuddain aſſault upon the Roman camp. It was about the break of day, when the ſentinels upon the rampier and *Corps de guard* about the gates, might diſcover enemies coming a far off, and ſo they gave the alarm. *Ap. Claudius* having put out the ſignal of battail, & in few words exhorted his ſouldiers to fight and play the men, led them forth at three gates at once. The Celtiberians made head and oppoſed their forces as they iſſued forth. At the firſt the skirmiſh was equal on both parts: for that by reaſon of the ſtreights of the paſſage, all the Romans could not fight: but after that one had put forward another, and followed ſtill apace, they were all at length gotten without the trench, ſo as they were able now to diſplay their battaillons & to confront their enemies from one point of their battail to the other, wherewith before they were en- K
vironed: and then they made ſo forcible a ſally upon them, that the Celtiberians were not able to endure their violence. For before the ſecond hour of the day, they were diſcomfited: and 15000 of them either died in the place, or yeelded their bodies priſoners: 32 military enſigns they loſt, and were turned out of the camp the ſame day: and here is an end of that war. For as many as eſcaped the conflict gat them home to their own towns & quietly afterwards bare the yoke of ſubjection.

That year were created Cenſors, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* & *A. Poſthumius Albinus*: who made a review of Senators and choſe new. For Preſident of the Senat they elected *M. Æmylius Lepidus* the Archbiſhop. Nine they put out of the Senat-houſe. The principal perſons noted and diſgraced, were theſe, M. *Corn. Maluginenſis*, who two years before had been Pretor in *Spain*; L. *Corn. Scipio*, Pretor for the time being, and L. chief Juſtice of the common pleas, as well among citizens as aliens; and L
L. *Fulvius*, who was whole brother to the Cenſor himſelf, & as *V. Antias* reporteth, equal in degree of calling, and his fellow every way. The Conſuls alſo after they had made their vows within the Capitol, went forth to their Provinces. The one of them, (to wit, M. *Æmylius*) had in charge given him by the Senat, to appeaſe the ſedition of the Padoans in *Venice*, who as their Embaſſadors made report, by factious ſiding and part-taking, were all on a fire with civil war.

The Embaſſadors who were gone into *Ætolia* for to pacify the like troubles, brought word back, That it was not poſſible to bridle and reſtrain the furious rage of that nation. But the coming of the Conſul made all whole among the Padoans and cured the malady: who having nothing elſe to do in the province, returned to *Rome*.

Theſe Cenſors were the firſt that cauſed the ſtreets of *Rome* to be paved with hard flint and M
pebble ſtone within the City; and the high waies and cauſeys without to be raiſed with gravel, & the ſides therof to be wel banked and kept in reparations: alſo bridges to be made in divers places: a ſcaffold beſides for the Ædiles and Pretors to behold the games & plaies. Moreover, the barriers in the race, from whence the horſes begin to run, and the [Ovales] to mark and ſcore up the number of courſes * * * Over and beſides the goles, beyond * * * the iron gates and cages * * * and at the feaſts in the mount Albane for the Conſuls. They took order beſides all this, for the paving with flint of the cliff or deſcent from the Capitol, and from the gallery or porch before the temple of Saturn looking toward the Capitol, unto the place called *Senaculum*, and the court *Hoſtilia* above it. Alſo the merchants Hall or burſe without the gate *Tergemina* they paved with ſtone, and fenced it about with ſtrong ſtakes and poſts of wood. The gallery alſo *Æmylia* they cauſed to be N
repaired; and made an aſcent by ſtairs from the *Tyber* to the burſe or merchants Hall aforeſaid. Without the ſame gate alſo, they paved with pebble ſtone the gallery or walking place into the *Aventine* * * * from the Temple of *Venus*. The ſame Cenſors bargained for the making of walls about *Calatia* and *Oxymum*: and having made ſale of ſome publick edifices there, they employed the mony raiſed therof, in making of ſhops & ſtalls round about both the market places. The one of them, that is to ſay, *M. Fulvius*, (for *Poſthumius* ſaid plainly, that unleſs it were by vertue either of an act of the Senat, or grant of the people of *Rome*, he would put forth no works to be made with diſpenſe of their money) agreed upon a price for the building of a Temple to *Iupiter* at *Piſaurum* & at *Fundi*: alſo make a conduit, for water to be conveighed to *Pollentia*; and at *Piſaurum* for a way to be paved, and *Sinueſſa* * * * In theſe colonies, he cauſed alſo a ſink or vault to be made O
about them, to carry away all filthineſs into the river: alſo the market place to be enclоſed with porches, galleries, and ſhops: and three ſtately halls called *Iani*, with quarrefours or four throughfares, and as many fronts. For theſe works one of the Conſuls diſburſed the money, and bargained with the Publicans and undertakers. In which regard, the inhabitants of thoſe colonies above-named, gave him great thanks. Theſe Cenſors were likewiſe ſevere and preciſe in exerciſing their office, for the redreſſing and reformation of mens maners: for many Gentlemen had their horſes of ſervice taken from them, which were allowed them by the City. A

A A little before the years end, there was a ſolemn proceſſion holden one whole day for the happy atchievement of the affairs in *Spain*, under the conduct and good fortune of *Appius Claudius* the Pro-conſul; and twenty head of great beaſts were killed in ſacrifice. And the morrow after they went in another proceſſion with ſupplications, at the Temples of *Ceres*, *Liber*, and *Libera*: for that there was reported from the Sabines countrey, a mighty earthquake, which over-turned many houſes.

After that *App. Claudius* was returned out of *Spain* to *Rome*, the Senat ordained, that he ſhould enter the City with the pomp of an Ovation. And now approached the time for the election of new Conſuls. Much ado there was and hard hold at this aſſembly, by reaſon of the multitude of competitors: but in the end, *L. Poſthumius Albinus* and *M. Popilius Lanas* were elected Conſuls: B which done, the Pretors alſo were created, to wit, *Cn. Fabius Buteo*, *M. Matienus*, *C. Cicereius*, *M. Fur. Craſſipes*, *A. Attilius Serranus*, & *C. Cluvius Saxula*, theſe three laſt rehearſed, the ſecond time.

This buſineſs and ſolemnity finiſhed *Ap. Claudius Cento* entring with Ovant pomp into the City for his victory of the Celtiberians, brought into the common treaſury 10000 pound weight of ſilver, and 5000 of gold. *Cn. Cornelius* was conſecrated the Flamin of *Jupiter*.

The ſame year there was ſet up a painted Table in the Temple of the goddeſs *Matuta* with this inſcription, *Under the conduct and happy government of* Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, *Conſul, the legion and army of the people of* Rome, *ſubdued* Sardinia. *In which Province, there were ſlain and taken priſoners* 80000 *enemies. Which* Gracchus (*after he had managed the affairs of ſtate moſt fortunatly, delivered many captives out of bondage, and recovered the tributes and cuſtomes to the* Common-weal) C *brought home with him his army ſafe and ſound, charged with an exceeding rich booty, and reentered the City of* Rome, *in a ſecond triumph. In memorial of which exploit, he cauſed this table to be ſet up as a preſent in the honour of* Jupiter.

Now this table contained the portraiture of the Iland *Sardinia*, and the picture alſo and reſemblance of ſundry battails. Moreover, in this year were repreſented to the people certain paſtimes and ſhews of ſword-players, whereof ſome were ſmall and of no account: but one above the reſt, exhibited by *T. Flaminius*, ſurpaſſed. And this he did in honour of his father deceaſed: with a dole of fleſh among the people, a great publick feaſt beſides, and ſtage-playes for four dayes together. But the principal matter in this feſtival ſolemnity, was this, That in three daies ſpace there fought at utterance with unrebated ſwords, threeſcore and fourteen champions,

D

# The two and fortieth Book
## *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the two and fortieth Book.

E Fulvius Flaccus *the Cenſor uncovered the roof of the* Church *of* Juno Lacinia, *which was ſclated with marble, and all to cover a Temple which he had dedicated. But by an act of the Senat he was forced to beſtow the ſclates there again.* Eumenes *the King of* Aſia *complained in the Senat, of* Perſeus *King of* Macedony. *His iniuries done to the people of* Rome *are here reported: for the which, defiance was ſent, and war proclaimed againſt him.* P. Licinius Craſſus *the Conſul, unto whom the Province of* Macedony *was aſſigned, paſſed over thither, and in certain light expeditions, fought ſundry battels with* Perſeus *in* Theſſaly, *all by horſe-ſervice, but with bad ſucceſs. The Senat appointed a day of hearing between* Maſaniſſa *and the Carthaginians, touching the territory in queſtion. Embaſſadors were ſent to the aſſociat Cities and States, and to the confederat Kings, to requeſt them to continue loial and faſt in* F *friendſhip, by reaſon that the Rhodians ſtood in doubtful tearms. The Cenſors took a review and numbred the citizens of* Rome, *wherein were enrolled in the ſubſidy books* 257231. *Moreover, this book containeth the fortunat exploits againſt the Iſlanders of* Corſica *and the Ligurians.*

## *The two and fortieth Book of* T. Livius.

AFter that *L. Poſthumius Albinus* and *M. Popilius Lanas* the Conſuls had before all other things propoſed unto the Senat as touching the government of the Provinces & conduct of the armies, ordained it was, that *Liguria* ſhould be the charge as well of the one of them as the other. Alſo that both of them ſhould levy new legions, (and two a peece they G were allowed to have) therewith to defend the ſaid province and keep it in obedience beſides 10000 footmen and 600 horſe of Latine allies. Moreover to enrol 3000 foot, and 200 horſmen of Romans for a ſupply in *Spain*. Laſt of all, commanded they were to preſs 1500 footmen and a 100 horſe of Roman citizens: with which ſtrength, that Pretor unto whom *Sardinia* fell, ſhould paſs over into *Corſica*, there to war, and *M. Attilius* the old Pretor, in mean time to ſee unto the government of *Sardinia*. This done, the Pretors went to caſt lots for their provinces. *A. Attilius Serranus* had the place of Lord chief juſtice within the City, and *C. Cluvius Saxula* the juriſdiction between

between citizens and forrainers. Unto *Cn. Fabius Buteo* fell the higher *Spain*, to *M. Matienus* the lower. *M. Furius Craſſipes* was to govern *Sicily*, and *C. Cicereius Sardinia*. H

Before that theſe Magiſtrats took their journey, the Senat was of advice, that *L. Poſthumius* the Conſul ſhould go into *Campain*, for to limit out the City-lands apart from the grounds of private perſons: for that it was ſeen and known, that particular men letting out their bounds and encroaching by little and little upon the Commons, in proceſs of time held a great part of it in their own poſſeſſion. This Conſ. was angry and offended with the Prænetins, for that upon a time when he went thither amongſt them (in quality then of a priv at perſon) to offer ſacrifice in the temple of *Fortune*, they did him no honor neither in publike nor private. Wherupon, before he departed now from *Rome*, he addreſſed his letters before him to *Præneſte*, that the chief Magiſtrate ſhould come and meet him upon the way, provide him a lodging at their Cities charges, and at his departure from thence to ſee that there were ſumpter horſes and beaſts of cariage ready for him. Now I before this mans Conſulſhip the Magiſtrats of *Rome* had never been chargeable to their allies nor put them to coſt for any thing whatſoever: and therefore allowed they were from the City their mules, ſet out they were with tents and pavilions, and all other furniture and proviſion for the wars, to the end that they ſhould not lay upon the allies any ſuch burden. Privat lodging they had in friends houſes, which they entertained courteouſly & liberally with reciprocal hoſpitality. For at *Rome* likewiſe their houſes were open to receive thoſe hoſts of theirs, with whom they were wont before to have kind uſage and who had bidden them welcome. In like maner Embaſſadors (if they were ſent by chance to any place of a ſuddain) impoſed upon the town & cities through which they were to paſs, one ſumpter horſe only: to farther expence were no allies put for any Roman Magiſtrats. This revenge of the Conſul for a diſcourtely offered (due & juſt though it were, K yet not to have been exerciſed during his magiſtra y) and the ſilence of the Prenetins (proceeding either of too much modeſty or over-great fear) gave occaſion to the magiſtrats ever ſince to take it for a priviledge and cuſtome to do the ſemblable, yea, and to charge their allies with more grievous impoſitions every day than other in the ſame kind, as if the precedent example had been approved.

In the beginning of this year, the Embaſſadors who had been ſent into *Ætolia* and *Macedony*, made report, That they might not come to the ſpeech of K. *Perſeus*, for that ſome ſaid he was abſent: others, that he was ſick: and the one as falſe, as the other was untrue: howbeit, they might evidently perceive and ſee, that preparation was made for war, and that he would delay no longer, L but enter into arms. In like ſort they related that in *Ætolia* the civil diſſention and ſedition grew daily more and more: neither could the captains of theſe factious diſcords be repreſſed and held in awe by their countenance and authority.

As the City of *Rome* was amuſed upon the continual expectancy of the Macedonian war, before any enterpriſe thereof begun, thought good it was and requiſite, that order firſt ſhould be taken for the expiation of prodigies and the pacification of the Gods by way of humbly praiers, ſuch as were repreſented and delivered unto them out of the fatal books of *Sibylla*. For at *Lanuvium* were ſeen, as the common voice went, certain ſhews and reſemblances of a mighty great navy. *Item*, At *Privernum* there grew black wooll out of the earth. Alſo in the Veientian territory, neer a Town called *Remens*, it rained ſtones. Moreover all the countrey *Pomptinum* was overcaſt with M clouds of Locuſts: and within the Land of *Gallia*, there were ſeen certain fiſhes to leap from under the clots of earth, that were turned with the plow as it took ſtitch and made furrow. For theſe ſtrange and fearful ſights, the foreſaid books were looked into and peruſed, and out of them the Decemvirs declared and pronounced both unto what Gods ſacrifice ſhould be offered, and what beaſts were to be ſlain therfore: moreover, that the one ſupplication ſhould be holden, as propitiatory for thoſe prodigious tokens: as alſo the other, which the year before had been vowed for the health of the people, ſhould now be performed, and holydaies kept therefore. So the ſacrifices were accompliſhed according to the order and form ſet down in writing by the Decemvirs.

The very ſame year was the Church of *Juno Lacinia* uncovered, upon this occaſion: *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the Cenſor was building of a temple to *Fortuna equeſtris*, which he had vowed during the N war againſt the Celtiberians, when he was Lord Pretor in *Spain*. His deſire and earneſt endevor was to ſtrain himſelf, that there might not be in *Rome* a temple of more ſtate and magnificence than this. And ſuppoſing that it would be a great beauty and ornament unto it, in caſe the roof were covered with tiles of marble: he went into the Brutians countrey, & there he was ſo bold with the Church above ſaid of *Juno Lacinia*, as to untile the one half thereof, making full account, that ſo much would ſerve for to cover that temple which he was a building. Boats and Barges he had ready for to receive and carry away the ſaid tiles or ſlates, without being empeached or controlled for this ſacriledg by the allies, whom he held in awe and frighted by his Cenſorian authority. Now after the Cenſor was returned to *Rome*, thoſe marble ſlates were diſbarked out of the foreſaid veſſels and conveighed to the temple. And albeit no words were made upon whence they came, O yet concealed it could not be. And herupon aroſe much muttering in the Senat, and from all parts thereof they called hard upon the Conſuls to have the matter put to queſtion and debated of. The Cenſor was ſent for, who was no ſooner entred into the Senat but both all in general, & alſo every one in particular had a fling at him: and much more ſharply reproached him to his face in theſe terms: That he could not be content to abuſe and violat the moſt holy and ſtately Church in thoſe parts, which neither *Pyrrhus* nor *Annibal* ever offered violence unto, unleſs he uncovered it alſo in foul

foul sort, and in manner laid it ruinat. The lantern thereof was taken away and gone the roof left bare and naked, exposed and open to rain and foul weather, and thereby subject to rot: that he being chosen Censor for to reform the manners of other; to whom it appertained by his office to see that the Temples were close and covert; to call upon, that all publick places be kept wind-tight and water-tight, and in sufficient repair that he (I say) of all others should range over the Cities of allies & confederat States pulling down their Temples as he goeth & uncovering the roofs of the sacred edifices, and in demolishing the Churches of the immortal Gods, commit that, which if he did but practise upon the privat houses of allies, might seem an unworthy act and a great indignity: and finally, by rearing one Temple with the ruin of another, oblige the people of *Rome* with the very guilt of his own crime: as if (I wis) the immortal Gods were not the same in all places, but that we must honor and adorn some of them with the spoil of others. Now as it was apparent (before the matter was put to the censure of the Senate) which way the LL. enclined in opinion: so immediatly upon the proponing thereof, they all opined and gave one sentence, That order should be taken with the publicans of the City works, for the carrying back again of the same slates to the former Temple, and that certain propitiatory sacrifices should be offered for the pacification of *Iuno*. As for all ceremonies requisit toward the divine service aforesaid, they were with all complements performed accordingly: but the farmers who had undertaken at a price to recary to recary those tiles, brought word that they had landed them in the churchyard and there left them, because they might not meet with any workman who could devise with all the skill and cunning he had, how to bestow them as they were laid and couched before.

Of those Pretors who were gone into their Provinces, *M. Fabius* as he was in his journey toward high *Spain* died at *Massiles* by the way: and therefore upon intelligence given thereof by the Massilian Embassadors, the Senat ordained that *P. Furius* and *Cn. Servilius* whom to succeed others were to be sent should cast lots between themselves, whether of them should continue still in government, and have the charge of high *Spain*. And the lot fell out very well and fit that the said *P. Furius* who had ruled the said province before should there remain.

The same year, by occasion that a good part of the Ligurians and Gauls territory won by conquest lay void and was not as yet in the tenure and occupation of any man there passed an Act of the Senat, that it should be divided by the poll. So, *A. Attilius* the L. chief justice of the City of *Rome*, by vertue of a decree granted out of the Senat, created ten Decemvirs or commissioners for that purpose, to wit, *M. Æmylius Lepidus*, *C. Cassius*, *T. Ebutius Parrus*, *C. Tremellius*, *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, *Q.* and *L.* both named *Apuleius*, M. *Cæcilius*, *C. Salonius*, and *C. Mynatius*. To every Roman citizen they set out ten acres apeece: and to the Latine allies three.

About the same time that these affairs passed at *Rome* there arrived thither Embassadors out of *Ætolia* about their own civil discords and seditions. Likewise there came others from *Thessaly* reporting what was a doing in *Macedony*. For *Perseus* (casting now in his mind how to compass that war which during his fathers life he devised and thought upon) endevoured to draw and win unto him not only all the nations but the cities of *Greece*, by sending his embassages among them, & promising liberally more than he performed. Howbeit the hearts of the most part were inclined to him and favoured his designs, yea and much more affectionat than to K. *Eumenes*: notwithstanding that all the States of *Greece*, and most of the principal personages were obliged unto *Eumenes*, and in fee as it were with him, in regard of many courtesies and gracious favours received at his hands: & that he carried himself so in his own realm that the cities which were subject unto him, were not willing to change their condition with any of the free States whatsoever. Whereas contrarywise the bruit went, that *Perseus* after his fathers decease, killed his wife with his own hands: and likewise secretly murdered *Apelles* whose ministry and service in former time he had used in taking away the life of his brother *Demetrius*: for which cause he lived in exile, because *Philip* made search after him for to have him punished accordingly; him (I say) he murdered after he had sent for him upon his fathers death, and procured him to come unto him, with great promises to recompence him highly for the execution of the foresaid fact. Yet as infamous as he was with these domestical murders, and for no good part and worthy desert otherwise commendable; he was commonly better regarded of the States of the country than King *Eumenes*, a Prince so kind and good to his kinsfolk, so just and righteous to his subjects, so bounteous and effective to all men; whether it were that they, possessed aforehand with the fame and majesty of the Macedonian Kings, despised the rising of this new Kingdom: or that they were desirous of novelties and alterations: or lastly, that they wished and had a desire that he should make head against the Romans.

Now were not the Ætolians only together by the ears among themselves by reason they were dived so deep in debt, but the Thessalians also: and this pestilent malady as it were by catching and infection was spred as far as *Perrhæbia*. But after that the Senat was advertised that the Thessalians had taken arms, they sent *App. Claudius* as Embassador to see and appease those troubles: who having rebuked and chastised the Captains of both sides, eased and striken off a great part of the debt, which grew burdensome and grievous by excessive usury, and that with consent of the most of the creditors who had thus overcharged their debtors he parted the paiment of the due debt and principal, by even portions for certain years. The troblesom state of *Perrhæbia* likewise was reduced into good terms of quietnes, by the self-same *Appius*, and after the same order. And at the very same instant *Marcellus* visited the Ætolians & took knowledg at *Delphi* of their troubles and commotions which proceeded from very hostile hearts & minds, enemy-like, & were pursued with

with civil war. And when he ſaw that they contended and ſtrove much to ſurpaſs one another in H raſh courſes and audacious; he would by his decree neither charge nor diſcharge the one party more than the other: but he requeſted them indifferently on both ſides to abſtain from war, to make an end of diſcord and diſſention, and bury all that was paſt in perpetual oblivion. Whereupon they were reconciled: and this their attonement was ratified with the aſſurance of pledges interchangeably given: and accorded it was, they ſhould meet at *Corinth*, there to beſtow their hoſtages. From *Delphi* and that general diet of *Ætolia*, *Marcellus* croſſed the Seas into *Peloponneſus*. where he had appointed and publiſhed a ſolemn aſſembly and councel of the Achæans. Wherein he highly praiſed and commended the whole nation, for obſerving ſo ſtedfaſtly their old decree, whereby they debarred and excluded the Macedonian Kings out of their confines; he declared evidently and preſented to the view of all the world, what malice and hatred the Romans I bare to *Perſeus*. And that it might break out the ſooner into open wars, King *Eumenes* came to *Rome*, and brought with him a note or abſtract of all the preparations for the war, which with diligent ſearch and enquiry into particulars, he had gathered.

Much about the ſame time, the five Embaſſadors ſent unto K. *Perſeus* for to ſee into the affairs of *Macedony*, were commanded to take a voyage as far as *Alexandria*, for to renew the old amity with King *Ptolomæus*. The names of them were theſe, C. *Valerius*, Cn. *Lentulus*, C. *Cæcilius Cæcus*, Q. *Bæbius Sulca*, M. *Cornelius Mammula*, and M. *Cæcilius Denter*. And even then or not much after, there came Embaſſadors from King *Antiochus*: and the chief and principal perſon among them, one *Apollonius* was admitted to come into the Senat, where he excuſed the King his maſter for many good and juſt reaſons in that he had not ſent his tribute & made paiment ſo ſoon as he ought by K the day appointed: but now (he ſaid) that he had brought it all, to the end that the King ſhould be to them beholden for nothing but the reſpite of time only. And beſides that they were come with a preſent of certain plate of gold, weighing 300 pound. That the King his petition was, That the ſociety and friendſhip which had been contracted between his father and them, might be renued alſo with him: promiſing, that if the people of *Rome* would impoſe any thing upon him to be done, which were meet to be laid upon a good and faithful ally, he would not fail in his devoir to perform all offices whatſoever. For why, the Senat had ſo well deſerved of him, at what time as he ſojourned in *Rome*, and ſuch courteſy he found among the flour of the Roman yong Gentlemen, that of all degrees and ſorts of men, he was reputed and uſed more like a King indeed, than an hoſtage for the time. Theſe Embaſſadors received a gracious anſwer: and withal, *A. Attilius* L the Pretor of the City was enjoyned to renew the league with *Antiochus*, which had been concluded with his father. As for the tribute, the treaſurers of the City received it: and the Cenſors took all the golden veſſels aforeſaid, who had the charge to beſtow the ſame in what Temples they thought good. Unto the chief Embaſſador was ſent a preſent in money, amounting to the ſum of one 100000 Aſſes: who alſo was allowed an houſe to lodg in at his pleaſure of free-coſt: and all his charges were defrayed by the City, during the time that he made abode in *Italy*. The Embaſſadors who had been in *Syria*, gave this report of him. That he was a man in great favour and highly honoured with the King: and beſides, ſingularly well affected to the people of *Rome*. Now concerning the affairs of the provinces for that year thus much as followeth.

C. *Cicereius* the Pretor fought in ranged battail with the enemies in *Corſica* wherein 7000 of M the Iſlanders were ſlain: and 1700 and better taken priſoners. In that conflict the Pretor had vowed to build the Chappel of *Juno Moneta*. After this was peace granted to the Corſians at their own ſuit and ſeeking: but they were compelled two pay to hundred thouſand weight of wax. *Cicereius* having thus ſubdued *Corſica*, paſſed from thence over into *Sardinia*. A field alſo was fought in *Liguria*, within the territory of the Statellats, neer the Town *Cyniſtus*: for thither aſſembled a great army of the Ligurians. At firſt upon the arrival of M. *Popilius* the Conſul they kept cloſe within the walls: but afterwards ſeeing the Romans at the point to give aſſault and to lay battery to the walls, they iſſued forth of the gates and embattailed themſelves. The Conſul for his part forſlowed not to come to hand-fight, the only thing he ſought for in threatning to give aſſault. The conflict continued above 3 hours, and the hope of victory hung in equal ballance: N which when the Conſ. perceived, namely, how the Ligurian enſigns removed not and gave no ground: he commanded his Cavalry to mount on horſeback, and to charge with all their force and violence upon their enemies in three ſeveral places: many of theſe horſemen pierced quite through the midſt of the battail, and paſſed ſo far, that they charged the enemies upon the back as they fought. Whereupon the Ligurians were much terrified and began to flie from all parts: very few retired back into the City, by reaſon that the horſemen made head againſt them that way moſt: beſides many of the Ligurians were left dead in the place; ſuch was their reſolute perſiſtance in fight: killed alſo they were every where as they fled. Ten thouſand (by report) fell upon the edge of the ſword, above ſeven hundred taken priſoners in one place or other, and 82 military enſigns were caried away. And yet was not this victory without effuſion of Roman O blood: for there died of them not ſo few as three thouſand ſouldiers by reaſon that the formoſt of both ſides fought ſo manfully in the forefront and while they would not give ground one to the other, were ſtriken down and ſlain without mercy. After this battail the Ligurians rallied themſelves into one place, out of all parts where they were ſcattered in the rout: and ſeeing that more of their men were loſt than left behind (for in all they were not above ten thouſand) they yeelded ſimply without any compoſition: howbeit in good hope they were, that the

Conſul

A Consul would not deal worse by them nor in more rigorous manner than other Generals before him. But he disarmed them all, rased their Town, sold their bodies & all that they had, and sent letters to the Senat of these exploits of his. Which when *A. Atilius* the Pretor had read in the Senat, (for the other Consul *Posthumius* was absent, by occasion that he was employed in the survey and visiting of the Lands in *Campania*) they thought it a very hard and cruel course, that the Statellats, who only of all the Ligurians had not born arms against the Romans, who were then assailed first, when as they began not of their own accord to make war, who also put themselves into the protection of the Romans, should be thus rigorously intreated, thus torn, dismembred and consumed in most cruel manner: that so many thousands of frank condition, innocent persons, and imploring the mercy of the Romans, should be thus sold out-right, (a most dangerous example,
B that never hereafter any one will venture to submit himself again:) and finally, that they should be distracted and carried away into all parts, to live in slavery under them, who having been sometimes professed enemies of the Romans, now enjoy peace and repose. In regard hereof, there passed an arest or act of the Senat, that *M. Popilius* the Consul should pay back the price unto the buyers, and restore the Ligurians to their former liberty; to take order also that their goods (asmuch as possibly might be recovered) should be rendred unto them: also that armour should be made in that nation with all speed possible, and that the Consul so soon as he had reestablished the Ligurians (upon their submission) in their former estate, should depart out of the Province: forasmuch as the honour of victory consisted not in exercising cruelty upon the poor and afflicted, but in vanquishing the obstinat. But the Consul, as he bare himself proud and cruel against the Ligurians, so
C he shewed as great frowardnes and disobedience to the Senat. And having sent away the legions to winter in *Pisa*, he returned to *Rome*, carrying a fell and angry stomack against the LL. and as spightful and malicious a mind to the Pretor: where immediatly he assembled the Senat in the Temple of *Bellona*, and ratled up the Pretor in broad and gros terms. For that he, whose part it had been to have moved the Senat for thanksgiving to the immortal Gods, in regard of the happy atchievement of the wars, in stead thereof passed an act of the Senat against him and in favor of the enemies, for to put him by his victory and to give it away from him to the Ligurians; and finally, being no better than a Pretor, would have had the Consul yeelded in manner up into their hands. Whereupon he said that he would be so bold as set a fine on his head: and withal, he required the LL. of the Senat to command and ordain, That the arest devised against him might be
D reversed; and to give order, that the processions which in his absence they ought to have decreed (upon his letters sent of his good succes) might now be holden; in consideration first of the honour due to the immortal Gods, and then respectively in some measure for his own desert. But after he was checked by some of the Senators to his face, and that in no milder tearms than he had been rebuked in his absence, he went his waies into his Province again, and obtained neither the one suit nor the other.

The other Consul *Posthumius* having spent the whole summer in surueying the Lands only, and never so much as seen his own Province, returned to *Rome* against the general assembly for election, and created Consuls *C. Popilius Lænas*. Consequently were Pretors elected, to wit, *C. Licinius Crassus*, *M. Iunius Pœnus*, *Sp. Lucretius*, *Sp. Cluvius*, *Cn. Sicinius*, and *C. Memmius*, the second
E time. In that year was holden a review of the City and the number taken of citizens, (when as *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* and *L. Posthumius Albinus* were Censors:) wherein were found and enrolled of Roman citizens 269015. The number was somewhat the less, by reason that *L. Posthumius* the Consul had proclaimed in a publick audience, That no person of those Latine allies, who were to return into their own Cities (by vertue of an edict made when *C. Claudius* was Consul) should be enrolled into the subsidy book at *Rome*, but every man in his several City. This Censorship was administred with concord and unity, yea and to the good and profit of the common-weal. What Senators soever they deposed from their place and dignity, and so many Gentlemen of *Rome* as they took their Horses from, they made them all no better than contributaries to pay all scot and
F lot, yea, and displaced them out of their tribes. And look whomsoever the one of them noted with disgrace and ignominy, he was not relieved nor allowed again by the other. This *Fulvius* dedicated the Temple of * *Fortuna equestris*, now six years after he had vowed the same in a battail which he fought with the Celtiberians, at what time as he was Pro-consul in *Spain*: likewise he exhibited the stage-plaies for four daies together, and one day in the cirque or shew-place. *Corn. Lentulus* (a Decemvir for the holy rites and sacrifices) that year died; in whose room was substituted *A. Posthumius Albinus*. There were such mighty drifts and clouds as it were of locusts, brought suddainly at once by a wind from the Sea into *Apulia*, that with their swarms they overspread all the fields far and neer. For the riddance of which noisome vermine consuming the fruits of the earth, *Cn. Sicinius*, Pretor elect, was sent with his full commission of command into *Apulia*, who assembled a mighty number of people for to gather them up, and emploied much
G time thereabout.

* The fortune of horse-fight.

In the beginning of the year ensuing, wherein *C. Popilius* and *P. Ælius* were Consuls, the remnant of the debates which arose the year before, was set on foot again. The LL. of the Senat would have had the matter proposed & debated again as touching the Ligurians, and the ordinance of the Senat in that behalf renewed. But, as *Ælius* the one Consul put up a bil therof, so *Popilius* the other was an earnest suiter, & besought both his collegue & also the Senat in the behalf of his brother; nay he proceeded so far, that he gave the house to understand, in case they went about any such decree

decree prejudicial unto him, he would croſs and revoke the ſame: by which countenance of his he affrighted his colleague; but the LL. were offended ſo much the more and ſtormed againſt both the Conſuls, yea, and perſiſted ſtill in their enterpriſe. And therefore when it was debated in counſel as concerning the Provinces, albeit the Coſſ. made means to be ſent into *Macedony* (becauſe the war of *Perſeus* was ſo neer at hand) yet *Liguria* was aſſigned to both of them: for the LL. proteſted and ſaid, That they would not paſs a decree for the government of *Macedony*, unleſs the caſe of *Popilius* were propounded, and an act thereof entred. Afterwards, when they demanded a warrant to enrol new armies, or at leaſt-wiſe to levy a ſupply for making up the old, both the one motion and the other was denied. The Pretors alſo, who required to have a ſupplement with them into *Spain*, had a nay: and namely, *M. Junius* into the hither province, and *P. Lucretius* into the farther. As for *C. Licinius Craſſus*, to him there fell by lot the juriſdiction within the City over citizens, and to *Cn. Sicinius* that other over forrainers. *C. Memmius* was allotted to *Sicily*, and *Sp. Clavius* to *Sardinia*. The Conſuls for theſe cauſes being highly offended and angry with the Senat, cauſed the Latine feaſts and holydaies to be publiſhed againſt the very firſt day that poſſibly they might, with an intimation that they would go ſtraight into their province, and not attend the managing of any affairs touching the State, but only that which directly pertained to their government.

*Valerius Antias* writeth, that in theſe Conſuls year, *Attalus* the brother of K. *Eumenes* came in embaſſage to *Rome*, to inform criminous matter againſt *Perſeus*, and to give the particulars of the preparation that he made for war. But the Annals of many other writers (more worthy of credit than he) deliver unto us, that K. *Eumenes* preſented himſelf in proper perſon: where he was received with ſuch honor, as the people of *Rome* thought not only meet & agreeable for his deſerts, but alſo fit and ſurable to their own favours and benefits, which they had in ample manner conferred and in great number heaped upon him. And then he had audience given him in the Senate, where he ſhewed the cauſe of his coming to *Rome* what it was; namely, "(beſides a fervent deſire that he had to ſee thoſe gods and men by whoſe grace favour he enjoyed ſo good eſtate as better he durſt not wiſh) becauſe he gladly would advertiſe the Senat by word of mouth, to prevent and withſtand the deſigns of *Perſeus*. And beginning his ſpeech with the platforms and enterpriſes of *Philip*, he recounted withal, how it coſt his ſon *Demetrius* his life, for that he ſtood againſt the war with the Romans: moreover, how he had cauſed the whole nation of the Baſtarnians to quit their own countrey where they were born and bred, to the end that by their aid he might paſs over into *Italy*: but whiles (qd. he) theſe matters he projected and caſt in his head, his time was come, and arreſted he was by death: but he left his Kingdom to him, whom he knew to be the moſt ſpiteful enemy that the Romans had. And therefore *Perſeus* having received this war (as a man would ſay) by way of inheritance left him by his father even together with the crown and ſcepter, from the very firſt day of his raign, doth nought elſe but entertain, foſter, and promote the ſame by all the means and devices that poſſibly he can. Mighty and puiſſant he is beſides in number of yong, luſty, and able men for ſervice, who during the time of long peace have ſprung up and multiplied exceedingly. In wealth and riches a great potentat he is, and beſides in his flouriſhing years and the beſt time of his age, which as it is accompanied with the very ſtrength and vigor of his body, ſo his ſpirit and mind is inured and hardned with ſkilfull experience and long practiſe of martial feats. For from his very infancy nuzled hath he been in the field and camp, converſing ordinarily within the royal tent and pavillion of his father, acquainted with the wars, not only waged againſt neighbour nations, but alſo againſt the Romans; and that which more is, employed by his father in many and ſundry expeditions and executions of ſervice. But ſince that himſelf entred upon the Kingdom, and ſwaied the regal ſcepter in his own hand, he hath exploited & accompliſhed many things with marvellous felicity and ſucceſs, which his father *Philip* before him could never compaſs and effect, notwithſtanding he tried and aſſaied all means, as well of open force as ſecret fraud. To augment this greatneſs of his, he hath purchaſed already that authority and reputation in the world, which others hardly in continuance of long time, and by many favors and ample benefits attain unto: and namely, throughout the States of *Greece* and *Aſia*, all men reverence his majeſty. For what good turns, for what pleaſures done for what bounty of his they ſhould thus do and honour him ſo much, neither ſee I, neither can I ſay for certainty; whether it happen by a ſpecial gift and fortune that he hath of his own, or that (which I am my ſelf afraid to ſpeak) it be the deep malice and hatred which he hath conceived againſt the Romans, which is the cauſe that he is of that countenance and ſo gracious among them. Nay, with the very Kings and Princes of other nations he is highly eſteemed and of paſſing authority. The daughter of *Seleucus* he hath taken to wife, without any ſuit of his own but being earneſtly woed and requeſted thereunto. And to *Pruſias* he hath given his own ſiſter in marriage, after much ſeeking and inſtant intreaty. Theſe two weddings were ſolemnized with the exceeding joy and innumerable preſents of infinite embaſſages: and who ſhould be preſent to celebrat the Auſpices and complements, yea and give thoſe ſpouſes in marriage, but the nobleſt and moſt renowned States that were? The Bœotian nation had been much ſollicited by *Philip*, yet could never be induced to draw or pen any covenants of accord and amity with him: but now there is to be ſeen a league engroſſed, yea, and engraven in three ſeveral conſpicuous places, the one in *Thebes*, a ſecond at *Sidemus*, within a moſt holy, ſacred and renowned Temple, and the third at *Delphi*. What ſhould I ſpeak of the general Councel of the Achæans? wherein, had not the deſign been daſhed by ſome there in place, who intimated and alledged

The Oration of *Eumenes*.

A "alledged hard the seignory and empire of the Romans, it would have gone very hard, but that he
"should have set forth even within *Achaia*. But contrariwise I assure you my due and deserved
"honors (unto whom it is hard to say, whether they be more bounden and obliged for privat
"pleasures or publick benefits) are either forlent through retchlesse disuse and negligence, or else
"annulled and abolished of wilfull malice and hostile hatred. As for the Ætolians, who knoweth
"not, that in his civil broils, and seditions they fought to *Perseus* for to relieve and succour, and
"not to the Romans? Being thus upheld with societies and amities, he hath provided such furni-
"ture of his own, and made that preparation for war at home, as he needs none from abroad. Of
"himself he is thirty thousand strong in foot & 5000 in horse. For ten years he is stored with corn
"aforehand, so as for that kind of purveiance he may spare his own territories, and also forbear
"his enemies. As for mony in ready coin, he hath such abundance, that over and above the forces
B "of naturall Macedonians, he wageth 10000 mercenary souldiers, and hath wherewith to make
"pay for as many years, besides the yeerly customes & profits that arise out of their Kings mines.
"Now for armour, he hath gathered together into his arcenals and armories, sufficient to furnish
"three such armies. What should I speak of the youth and serviceable men of war? Set the case
"that *Macedony* failed him and were not able to find enough; all *Thrace* is subject unto him, from
"whence he may serve his turn as out of his ever running fountain and living spring. The rest of
his speech he knit up with a exhortation in this manner. "I relate not these things (qd. he) my
"L.L. of *Rome*, as blown abroad and vented by headlesse heartsay and doubtfull rumors; neither
"have I been so ready to beleeve them, as a man desirous that such criminous imputations
"should be verified upon my enemy; but as undoubted and certain reports upon my own know-
"ledg, as if I had been sent by you of special purpose to be a spie: and declared that and no more,
C "which I had seen with mine eyes and not otherwise. Neither would I have left mine own realm
"wherein (by your meanes and goodnes) in glorious and magnificent State I sit warm enough,
"for to sail, over so large a sea as I have done and to carry vain tales and untruths to you, thereby to
"crack my credit with you for ever hereafter. But I tell you these eies of mine have seen the most
"renowned and noblest Cities of *Asia* and *Greece* discovering more and more from day to day,
"what they intend and what their meaning is: who if they be let alone and permitted to run on as
"they begin, would be engaged so far, as they might not possibly return again & save themselves
"by any repentance. Beheld I have *Perseus* (I say) how he containeth not within the realm of
"*Macedony*, but one while seizeth upon this by force of arms, another while gaineth and getteth
"that by favour and good will, which with violence he could never have conquered. I perceived
D "and considered well how unequall the match and condition is, whiles he upon you prepareth
"war, and you again perform to him security of peace. Although in my conceit, and so far as I
"could see into it, he made no more any preparation thereof, but was already upon action and
"execution. For he chased *Abrupolis*, a confederat prince and friend of yours, forth of his King-
"dom. And *Artetaurus* the Illyrian, another of your allociats and allies, he killed outright, be-
"cause he found that he had written some letters unto you. As for *Eversa* & *Callicrates*, both The-
"bans, & two principal States of that City, for no other reason, but because in a Parliament of the
"Bœotians, they had spoken their mind against him too frankly, and avowed that they would re-
"peat unto you what things had passed, he caused to be murdered. The Bizantines he suc-
"coured against the order taken in the accord: upon *Dolopia* he levied war: *Thessaly* and *Doris*
E "both he invaded and overran with his army, to the end, that in some intestine and civil war, by
"the help of most parts he might afflict and plague the better. He shuffled all together, and made
"a very confusion of the State in *Thessaly* and *Perrhabia*, upon the hope and cancelling all bonds
"and crosing out all debt books; that thus by a power and multitude of bankrupts, such as were
"over-deeply engaged, and whom he had obliged and bound to himself, he might depresse and
"oppresse the great men and principall personages. Having wrought these practises uncontrolled,
"whiles you sit still looking on and suffring all, he seeing you to let him do with *Greece* what he
"list, making full account, that no man will put him on arms and make head against him, before he
"be passed over into *Italy*. How safe this may be to you, nay, how this can stand with credit, see you
F "to that and be advised. For my self, I assure you, I thought it meer shame and very villany, that
"*Perseus* your enemy should enter into *Italy* to make war upon you, before that I your friend and
"allie, came to give your warning for to take heed and stand upon your guard. Now since I have
"in this maner performed my devoir, done that office which I was bound upon necessity, and in
"some measure acquit my self and discharged my bounden duty and obligation of fidelity; what re-
"maineth behind for me to do, but to be your beadsman to all the gods & goddesses, to vouchsafe
"you that grace, that you may provide for your own Common weal, and also for us your friends and
"allies, who depend wholly upon you? In this last speech he came neer unto the LL. of the Senat.
But for the present no man might know any thing, but only that the K. had been in the Senat, so si-
G lent were they al, & kept the councel-house close shut with secresie. But after the war was brought
to an end, then came abroad, both what the K. spake, and what answer was returned to him again.

Some few daies after, the Senat set to give audience unto the Embassadors of King *Perseus*:
but having their minds and ears both, possessed aforehand by King *Eumenes*, all the defence that
the Embassadors made, and all the entreaty they used, was rejected. Besides, the stoutness used
by *Harpalus* (the principal person of the embassie) moved their patience and exasperated their sto-
macks. For he said, that indeed the KK. desire & endevour was, to be credited and beleeved in his

Apology and and defence, that he neither had ſaid nor done any thing ſounding to hoſtility: many H
"in caſe he perceived and ſaw, that they came upon him thus, and would needs pick quarrels and
give occaſion of war, he would ſtand upon his guard, and defend himſelf with a reſolute and va-
"liant courage. For the hazard of the field was common, and the iſſue of war uncertain. Now,
all the Cities of *Greece* and *Aſia* both, would rather then their lives have known what the Em-
"baſſadors of *Perſeus*, and what *Eumenes* had done in the Senat: for in regard of his coming, moſt
of the ſtates (ſuppoſing verily that he would ſtir coales and make ſome work) had ſent their Em-
baſſadors to *Rome*, pretending colourably other matters in ſemblance, but indeed to liſten after
news: and among the reſt, was the Embaſſage of the Rhodians, and the chief thereof was one
*Satyrus*, who made no queſtion nor doubt, but that *Eumenes* had done their errand, and put their
City and *Perſeus* together in all their criminall matters laid to his charge. And therefore he made I
all the means that poſsibly he could by the mediation of patrons, friends, and acquaintance, to de-
bate the matter with King *Eumenes* before the body of the Senat: which when he had obtained,
his tongue walked at large, and overbold he was and too round with the King, in broad invectives
and intemperat termes; namely, that he had ſollicited and ſtirred up the nation of the Lycians a-
gainſt the Rhodians, and was an heavier friend unto *Aſia* then *Antiochus* had been. Which ſpeech
of his, as it was plauſible enough and pleaſing to the States of *Aſia* (for they likewiſe by this time
inclined to affect and favour *Perſeus*) ſo it was unſavory altogether and odious to the Senat, and
nothing profitable to themſelves and their City. But contrariwiſe, this banding and conſpiracy
againſt *Eumenes*, wan him the more grace and favor among the Romans; ſo as they did him all
they honour they could, gave him moſt rich and coſtly preſents, and endowed him with a curule K
chair of eſtate, and a ſtaffe or ſcepter, both of ivory.

After theſe embaſſages had their diſpatch and were diſmiſſed, *Harpalus* returned into *Macedony*
in all ſpeed and haſt poſsible, relating unto the King, how he had left the Romans not preparing
as yet for war; but ſo far out with him and ſo highly offended, that it appeared evidently it would
not be long ere they began. And *Perſeus* again for his part, beſides that he looked for no other,
was well enough pleaſed therwith, preſuming upon the flour and ſtrength of his forces. But above
all other he maliced *Eumenes* moſt: with whoſe bloud he laid the firſt foundation of the war: for
he ſuborned one *Evander* a Candiot and captain under him of certain auxiliary ſouldiers, and
three Macedonians beſides (whoſe ſervice and miniſtry he had uſed in the like feats) to
murder the King. He gave them letters addreſſed to one *Praxo* an hoſteſſe of his, a jolly dame in L
*Delphi*, and of greateſt credit and wealth among them. For aſſured he was, that *Eumenes* minded
to go up to *Delphi*, there to ſacrifice unto *Apollo*. Theſe traitors together with *Evander* let for-
ward; and to execute this their deſigned enterpriſe, they looked all about and ſought for nothing
but the opportunity of ſome place or other. Now, as men aſcend from *Cirrha* to the temple,
before they come to any place much peopled and frequented with houſes, there ſtood a mound
or mud-wal on the left hand of the path or way, riſing ſomewhat higher than the foundations and
ground-work; along which wall there was paſſage for one by one and no more; for on the right
hand the earth was broken down and fallen, and breach made of ſome a good depth. Behind that
mound aforeſaid, theſe traitors had hidden themſelves, and raiſed ſome ſteps like ſtairs; to the end
that from above, as from the top of a wal, they might diſcharge their ſhot upon K. *Eumenes* as he M
paſſed by. Before him there marched from the ſea, at the firſt a ſort of his friends and followers,
together with his guard intermingled one with another; but afterwards as the way grew more
ſtreight and narrow, the train waxed thinner. But when they were one come to the place where
they could not go but by one at once, *Pantaleon* one of the States and princes of *Ætolia*, with
whom the King had begun ſome communication, entred firſt into the narrow path aforeſaid:
with that the knaves that lay in wait behind, roſe up and rolled down two huge ſtones, wherof
the one ſmote the King upon the head, the other aſtoniſhed his ſhoulder. And verily all the reſt of
his friends and followers, ſeeing him fall with the blow, fled ſome one way, ſome another: only
*Pantaleon* ſtaid behind all, fearleſſe, to protect and guard the King. The murderous villaines might
have fetched a ſhort compaſs about the wall, and ſoon run to the King to make ſure work and diſ- N
patch him quites but they ſuppoſing they had done the deed already, fled to the pitch of the mount
*Parnaſſus*, and made ſuch haſt, that when one of the companie hindred and ſtaied their running,
becauſe he dragged behind and could not keep pace and follow them hard at heels through thoſe
ſteep and blind waies, they made no more ado but killed him out-right, for fear leſt if he were ta-
ken, he ſhould bewray and diſcloſe the whole treaſon. The body of the King lay along on the
ground: and firſt his friends came running about him, then his guard and houſhold ſervants. When
they reared him up, they found him aſtonied with the ſtroke and altogether ſenſeleſs in a trance:
howbeit, by ſome heat remaining, and the beating of his heart, they perceived there was ſome
life, but little or no hope they had that he could eſcape and live. Some there were of his guard and
penſioners about him, that made purſuit after theſe murderers by their tracts: and when they had O
held on their chaſe as far as unto the creſt of *Parnaſſus*, wearying themſelves to no purpoſe,
they gave over and returned as wiſe as they went. The Macedonians as they had begun an auda-
cious enterpriſe inconſiderately, ſo they left it undone as fearfully and without advice. Now by
this time was the King come again to himſelf. And the morrow after, his friends conveighed him
to his ſhip: from thence to *Corinth*; & from *Corinth* along the ſtreights *Iſthmus* they brought their
veſſels, & croſsed over to *Ægina*: where his cure was caried ſo cloſe & ſecret, without admitting

any

A perſon to come unto him, that the rumor ran into *Aſia* how he was dead. And *Attalus* his brother (by your leave) gave good ear thereto, & beleeved the news ſooner then was beſeeming brotherly love and unity. For he entred into ſuch talk both with his brothers wife, and alſo with the captain of the caſtle, as if he had been the undoubted heir and aſſured inheritor of the crown. All this *Eumenes* knew full well afterwards: who albeit he purpoſed to diſſemble the matter, and to put it up at leaſtwiſe with ſilence; at their firſt encounter and meeting together, he could not hold, but reproved and reproached his brother, for being ſo forward and over-haſty to court and wooe his wife. The bruit alſo was blown to *Rome*, and a report there was of the death of K. *Eumenes*.

About the ſame time C. *Valerius* was returned out of *Greece*, who had been ſent thither as Embaſſador to look into the ſtate of the countrey; to mark alſo and obſerve the plots and proceedings
B of *Perſeus*. He reported all things ſutable and agreeable to the intelligences given by King *Eumenes*, and withall, brought with him from *Delphi* dame *Proxo*, in whoſe houſe thoſe villanous traitors were lodged and harboured: alſo one *L. Ramnius* a Brunduſian, who informed moreover and gave evidence as followeth. This *Ramnius* was one of the principall citizens of *Brunduſium*, and uſed to lodg and entertain in his houſe, not only of the Roman captains when they came to town, but alſo the Embaſſadors of forrein nations, ſuch as were of greateſt mark, and principally thoſe that were ſent from any Kings. By this meanes, acquainted he grew with *Perſeus*, albeit they never had ſeen one anothers face. And being invited by the King his letters, wherein he was promiſed great hope of ſome neer and inward friendſhip above others, and conſequently of great preferments thereby, he made a journey unto him. Within a ſhort time he was wound into very familiar acquaintaince with the King, and drawn into privat conference and diſcourſe of ſecrets,
C farther, I wis, then himſelf was willing or liked of. For the King dealt with him, yea, and importuned him with inſtant praiers and large behеſts of rich rewards, that foraſmuch as the Roman captains and Embaſſadors uſed to take his houſe for their Inne, he would cauſe as many of them as he writ for, to be poiſoned. Now for that he knew it was a right difficult and dangerous matter to come by ſuch a poiſon and compaſſe this project, eſpecially if many were party and privy to him: and beſides, the event uncertain, either in the effect of the drug it ſelf to be ſtrong, quick and foreible enough to do the feat: or in the ſecret working thereof, leſt it ſhould be found and ſpied; he would therefore put into his hands ſuch a poiſon, as neither in the giving, nor after it was given, might be known by any ſign whatſoever. *Ramnius* fearing leſt if he refuſed & denied, he ſhould be the firſt man to make aſſay and make experiment of the poiſon, promiſed ſo
D to do, & then departed. But return to *Brunduſium* he would not before he had ſpoken with C. *Valerius* the Embaſſador, who then ſojourned (as he heard ſay) about *Chalcis*. Firſt unto him he revealed this plot, and by his commandment came along with him to *Rome*: where being brought into the Senat, after audience given, he laid abroad in every point all that had paſſed. This new matter, over and beſides thoſe which *Eumenes* had reported, was the cauſe that *Perſeus* was the ſooner taken for an enemy, and ſo declared: the rather becauſe they ſaw him not only about to make open war war of a princely and royall mind, but alſo to practiſe and execute privily all kind of miſchief, by way of covert brigandage, theeviſh ſtealth, and ſecret poiſon. The managing of this war was put off and referred to the new Conſuls: howbeit for the preſent ordained it was, that Cn. *Cicinius* the Pretor who had the juriſdiction between citizens and ſtrangers,
E ſhould levy and enroll ſouldiers who being conducted to *Brunduſium*, ſhould with all convenient ſpeed commit to ſea, and ſail over to *Apollonia* in *Epirus*, for to ſeiz upon the maritime Cities: to the end that the Conſul unto whom the Province of *Macedonia* ſhould be allotted, might arrive there with his veſſels in ſafety, and ſet his forces on land with eaſe.

*Eumenes*, after he had been kept a long while at *Ægina*, during the time of his hard and dangerous cure, ſo ſoon as ever he might go ſafely abroad, went to *Pergamus*; where, over and beſides the old hatred ſetled in his breaſt, being pricked alſo with this freſh and bleeding villany practiſed by *Perſeus*, he prepared war with all his power to the uttermoſt: and thither repaired unto him Embaſſadors from *Rome*, to teſtifie their joy for his evaſion and eſcape out of ſo neer and
F great a danger.

When the Macedonian war was delaied and put off for one year, and the reſt of the Pretors gone already into their provinces, *M. Junius* and *Sp. Lucretius* (unto whom befell the government of *Spain*) after that they had importuned and wearied the Senat, in ſuing ſo long for one thing, obtained at the length a commiſsion for a ſupply of ſouldiers to make up the army; by vertue whereof they enrolled 3000 foot, and 150 horſe for the legions: and levied 5000 foot and three hundred horſe for the army of the allies. Theſe forces were tranſported into *Spain* with the new Pretors.

The ſame year, after that a great part of the Campain territory, which privat perſons here and
G there held in occupation without regard of lawful title & tenure, was (upon diligent ſurvey made by *Poſthumius* the Conſul) recovered again for the publick uſe of the City of *Rome*; *M. Lucretius* a Tribune of the Com. preferred a law, that the Cenſors ſhould let out to farm, the Campain lands to tenants for yeerly rent. A thing that had not been done for many yeers after the winning of *Capua*, namely, that particular men ſhould be ſo greedy as to encroach thus beyond their bounds upon the common waſt.

The Macedonian war being now concluded, but not as yet publiſhed and proclaimed, whiles the Senat was in doubtful expectation what KK. would friend them, & who would ſide with *Perſeus*:

there came to *Rome* Embaſſadors from *Ariarates*, bringing with them the Kings ſon, a very H
child. The ſpeech they made was to this purpoſe, that the King their maſter had ſent his ſon to
*Rome*, thereto have his education; to the end that being there brought up, might from his infan-
"cy be acquainted with their faſhions, and converſe with the people of *Rome*. His ſuit & requeſt to
"them was, that they would vouchſafe unto him not only the ordinary entertainment and pro-
"tection that privat perſons afford to their gueſts, but alſo to take the charge of publick tuition,
"and as it were the guardianage of him. This embaſſage of the K. was well taken of the Senat &
pleaſed them highly. Whereupon they ordained, that C. *Licinius* the Pretor, ſhould ſet out a man-
ſion houſe with all the furniture, wherein the yong prince and his train might keep their reſidence.

The Thracian Embaſſadors likewiſe preſented themſelves before the Senat, to debate their own
controverſies in their hearing, and withall deſired their friendſhip and amity. They obtained I
their ſuit, and beſides there was ſent unto them by way of preſent, the ſum of 2000 Aſſes a peece.
Glad were the LL. of the Senat that theſe States were received into their ſociety, by reaſon
*Thracia* lyeth hard on the back ſide of *Macedony*: but to the end that they might have perfect in-
telligence and notice how all things went in *Aſia* and the Ilands, they ſent thither C. *Claudius Ne-
ro*, and *M. Decimius* in embaſſage: whom they commanded alſo to viſit *Crete* and *Rhodes*; and
withall, both to renew the amity, and alſo ſpie and obſerve whether the hearts of thoſe allies had
been ſollicited and tempted by K. *Perſeus*.

As the City was thus in doubtfull ſuſpence and expectation of the event of this new war, be-
hold in a tempeſt that roſe in the night, a certain column or pillar, garniſhed and ſet out with the
beak-heads of war ſhips (which had been erected in the Capitoll during the firſt publick war by K
*M. Æmilius* the Conſul, who had for his companion in government *Serg. Fulvius*) was by a
clap of thunder and lightning rent and cloven from the very baſe to the chapter. This was taken
for a prodigious token, and report thereof was made to the Senat. The LL. gave order, that the
Aruſpices ſhould be conferred with about it, and their advice taken: likewiſe they commanded
the Decemvirs to look into their books of *Sibylla*. The Decemvirs for their part declared, that the Ci-
ty ſhould be purged and hallowed, publick ſupplications and praiers made to the gods, and greater
beaſts killed for ſacrifice, as well at *Rome* in the Capitoll, as in Campain neer the promon-
tory of *Minerva*. Alſo that with all convenient ſpeed, there ſhould be plaies ſolemnly exhibited
for ten daies together, in the honour of moſt gracious *Jupiter*. All this was done with diligence
accordingly: but the Aruſpeces aforeſaid, made anſwer out of their learning, that this prodigy L
portended good and ſignified the advancement of their own territories: together with the deſtru-
ction of their enemies; for that thoſe beak heads which the ſtorm overthrew, had been the ſpoils
of ſhips won from the enemies. There hapned other occurrents beſides to encreaſe the ſcrupulous
religion & devotion of men: for reported it was, how at *Saturnia* within the town it rained blood
three daies together. *Item*, at *Calatia* an aſſe was foled with three feet; and a bull together with
five kine were ſtrucken ſtark dead with one thunderbolt and flaſh of lighting: laſt of all, at *Oxi-
mum* there was a ſhowr of very earth and nothing elſe. In regard of theſe wonders alſo, ſacrifices
were celebrated, ſupplications made, and one day kept holiday and all ſhop-windows ſhut.

Yet were not the Conſuls departed into their provinces, becauſe they neither would obey and
condeſcend unto the Senat in propoſing the matter as touching *Popilius* at the councel table; and M
the LL. were as reſolut for their parts to let no decree paſſe, before that were done. The ſpight
and heart-burning they bare againſt *M. Popilius*, grew the more by occaſion of his own letters,
wherein he wrote and gave them to underſtand, that being Proconſul, he had now a ſecond time
fought with the Statellats in *Liguria*, and put ten thouſand of them to the ſword, by reaſon of which
hard courſes and extreamities of war, the other nations likewiſe of the Ligurians were entred into
arms. At which news not only *Popilius* was blamed behind his back of making war againſt all law
and equity upon them that had yeelded, and thereby provoking thoſe who before were quiet, to
go out and put themſelves in action of rebellion; but the Conſuls alſo were checked to their faces
in the Senat, becauſe they ſet not forward to their charge and government. *M. Martius Sermo*
and *Quintius Martius Scylla*, two Tribunes of the Commons, ſeeing the LL. of the Senat thus N
drawing all in a line, took heart unto them, and both menaced the Conſuls to fine them, unleſs they
made more haſt unto their province; and alſo recited in the Senat a law which they had drawn
and framed, and were upon the point to promulge, as touching the forſaid Ligurians who had
ſubmitted. The tenor whereof ran in this form, *That what perſon ſoever of* Statellæ *had yeelded
himſelf and was not reſtored to Liberty and freedom before the calends of* Sextilis *next enſuing,
the Senat upon their oath ſhould ordain one ſpecial commiſſioner to make inquiſition by whoſe fraud,
covin, and notice he was in villenage and puniſh the party accordingly.* Then by authority and appro-
bation of the Senat they publiſhed this for a law. Now before that the Conſuls took their
journey, The Senat aſſembled in the Temple of *Bellona* in regard and favour of C. *Cicereius* the
Pretor of the former yeer. Where audience was given him: and after he had declared what
exploits he had performed in *Corſica*, thereupon demanded triumph: which when he
could not obtain, he made no more ado, but rode triumphant in the Albane hill, for now
it was taken up and grown for a cuſtome ſo to do, and aske the authority and the State no
leave.

* 1 of *Auguſt.*

The ſorſaid law propoſed by the *Martii* the commons with a generall conſent by their voices
granted

A question in the Senat, Whom they would have sit upon their inquisition according to the form of the said law. And the LL. ordained himself to be the inquisitor. Then at length and not afore, the Consuls put themselves in their way toward their province, and received the charge of the army from *M. Popilius*. This *Popilius* durst not yet return to *Rome*, for fear he should be called in question and put to his answer before that Pretor and supreme judg, who had required the advice of the Senat as touching that enquest framed and drawn of purpose against him: knowing full well how the Senat was not well affected to him, and the people much more maliciously bent and set against him. But the Tribunes of the Commons thought they would prevent and meet with this flinching of his and absenting himself, by intimation of another act and law provided in that behalf, namely, that if he entered not into the City of *Rome* before the * Ides of *November* imme-
B diatly following, it should be lawfull for *C. Licinius* to proceed in judgment, and give sentence against him in his absence. This cord towed and haled him to *Rome* with a witnesse; and when he was returned and entred into the Senat, they were upon his top, and gave him such a welcome thither, as testified their displeasure and hard conceit of him. After he had been well baited and shaken up among them, an act of Senat was entred in this wise, that so many of the Ligurians as had not been enemies, after the time that Q. *Fulvius* and *L. Manlius* were Consuls, those the Pretors, *C. Licinius* and *Cn. Sicinius*, should restore and establish in their former state of freedom, and that the Consul *C. Popilius* should set them out lands to occupy and possesse beyond the *Po*. By vertue of this arrest, many a 100 were set free and enfranchised, who being transported over the river Po, had land assigned unto them accordingly. Now *M. Popilius* upon the law *Martia* (promulged by the two *Martii*, Tribunes of the Com.) answered for himself judicially twice before
C *C. Licinius*. At the third time, the Pretor overcome with a respective grace and favour to the Cos. absent, and the earnest praiers of the whole name and house of the *Popilii*, adjourned the defendant to make appearance into the court upon the * Ides of *March*: on which day the new magistrats were ot enter into their offices: and this he did, because himself by that time should be a privat person again & therfore not to sit upon the bench as judg to hear pleas and to determine. Thus the aforesaid act as touching the *Ligurians*, finely shifted and cunningly avoided, came to just nothing. * 13. of Novem. * 15. of March.

At that time the Carthaginian Embassadors were at *Rome*, with *Gulussa* the son of *Masanissa*; between whom hard hold and much debating there was in the Senat. The Carthaginians complained, that over and besides the lands (about which there had been sent commissioners from
D *Rome* before time, to view the place and to enquire into the cause) *Masanissa* within the last two yeers and by force and arms possessed himself of more then threescore and ten towns and castles within the Carthaginian dominion and territory, and an easie matter was it for him so to do, who made reckoning of nothing, nor had regard of any person; whereas the Carthaginians were so tyed and obliged by their capitulations to the good-abearing, that they held their peace: for, inhibited they were to bear arms without their own countrey. And albeit they knew assuredly, that they should war within their own confines, if they dissiezed the Numidians of those peeces, yet feared they that one expres article of the accord, where they were debarr'd in plain terms to wage against the associats of the people of *Rome*. Howbeit, the Carthaginians could no longer endure this pride, cruelty, and avarice. Sent therefore they were unto the Senat as humble orators that it might
E please them to grant one of these three requests: to wit, That either they might debate with indifferent audience before them (being allies to both alike) as touching the right of the one and the other: or that they would permit the Carthaginians to defend themselves by just and lawfull arms, against unjust and ungodly force: or else finally (if partiall favour swayed more with them then the truth of the cause) to set down at once what their pleasure was should be given away out of their own, to *Masanissa*. For they yet, would have some gage of their hand, and know what they gave; whereas he himself had no stay, nor would ever see to make an end; so unsatiable was his lust and appetite. But in case they might obtain none of these points, and that there could be found any fault or trespass of theirs, commited since the peace granted unto them by *Scipio*;
F then, that they rather then any other would chastise them. For rather they had to live in servitude under the sigenory of Romans with safety, then enjoy such a liberty as should be exposed to the injuries of *Masanissa*. And better it were for them to perish and die once for all, then to live and languish under the yoke of a most cruell and bloudy butcher. At which words the tears trickled down their cheeks, and down they fell at their feet. Lying thus prostrate upon the the ground, as they moved pity and compassion to themselves, so they procured despight and malice against the King. Then thought good it was to demand of *Gulussa*, what he had to answer as touching these matters? or else (if he had so rather himself) to declare before, for what cause and upon what occasion he was come to *Rome*. *Gulussa* made answer, that neither it was easie for him to deal in those points, wherof he had no commission from his father: nor for his father
G to give him any such charge, considering that the Carthaginians, shewed not unto him of what business they would treat; nor yet made him so much as privy of their coming to *Rome*. This only was known, that there was a close councel holden for certain nights, by the principal States of *Carthage* within the Temple of *Æsculapius*, from whence Embassadors were dispatched to *Rome* with hidden messages. And this was the cause that his father had sent him to *Rome*, to beseech the Senat not to give credit to the slanderous accusations that should be preferred against him by those that were common enemies as well to them as him; who hated him for no other cause but

for that he had continued ſo conſtant in his fealty and allegeance to the people of *Rome*. The Senat thus having heard what they could ſay of both ſides, ſat in councell as touching the demands of the Carthaginians: and at length commanded this anſwer to be returned, how their advice and pleaſure was, that *Maluſſa* ſhould preſently depart and go into *Numidia*, and give his father to underſtand from them, that with all ſpeed he ſend his Embaſſadors to the Senat, as concerning thoſe complaints which the Carthaginians had made of him: alſo to give intimation and knowledg unto the Carthaginians, that they repair likewiſe thither to debate their controverſies & differences between them. And if it lay in their power to effect ought for the honor of *Maſaniſſa*, they would be as willing to do it hereafter, as they had been ready heretofore. Mary, to miniſter juſtice for favour and affection, that they would not do it in any wiſe. Willing they were that every man ſhould know and hold his own, and keep him within compaſſe; neither minded they to ſet out new limits, but to obſerve the old bounds. Indeed they had granted to the Carthaginians, after they were conquered, both towns to inhabit, and territories to poſſeſſe; not to this end, that in time of peace they ſhould pluck that away by wrong and outrage, which during the wars they could not take from them by martial law and force of arms. Thus was the yong prince, together with the Carthaginians, diſmiſſed. Preſents were given both to the one and the other, according to the order, and other courteſies of hoſpitality were friendly obſerved.

Much about the ſame time *Cn. Servilius Capio*, *App. Claudius Centho*, and *T. Annius Luſcus*, Embaſſadors ſent into *Macedony*, for to demand amends and reſtitution, and withall to diſclaim and renounce the Kings amity, returned to *Rome*. Who having related in order what they had ſeen and heard, enflamed the Senat more againſt *Perſens*, who were alreay of themſelves enkindled enough. They made report, "That through all the cities of *Macedony* they ſaw prep ration "for war in all forcible manner; that when they came to the court, for many daies they could "find no means of acceſſe to the ſpeech of the King; and in the end, after they were departed "from thence homeward (as being paſt all hope of parley with him) then and not afore, they were "called back again out of their way, and ſo brought unto his preſence: that the ſum of their embaſſage and ſpeech unto him was this, namely, to put him in mind of the league firſt contracted "with *Philip*, & afterwards renued with himſelf ſince the death of his father; wherein by expreſs "words he was inhibited to bear arms without his own frontiers, and likwiſe debared to levy "war upon any confederat allies of the people of *Rome*: after this, that they had recounted and "laid abroad from point to point thoſe ſpecialties, which they themſelves had lately heard King "*Eumenes* to declare and diſcourſe, which were all apparent truths, upon his own aſſured knowledg. Moreover, that the King held a ſecret councel for many daies together, with the Embaſſages of the Cities of *Aſia*: in regard of which injuries, that the Senat thought it reaſon and equity that he ſhould make ſatisfaction, yea, and reſtore back both to them and alſo to their aſſociats, whatſoever he held contrary to right, contained in the accord. That the King hereupon at the firſt fell into a fit of choler and indignation, and gave them hard terms, reproaching at every other word the Romans for their covetouſneſs and inſolency. And as for their Embaſſadors that came unto him one after another, he ſaid they were but ſpies, to liſten and ſee what he did or ſaid; & no marvel, for they thought it meet that he ſhould conform and frame himſelf in "all his words and deeds, according to their beck and commandment. At the laſt, when he had in "this wiſe diſcharged his choler with high words & broad ſpeeches for a long time, that he commanded them to repair again unto him the next morrow, for that he would give them their "anſwer in writing: and then he delivered unto them a ſcript to this effect as followeth. Firſt, as "touching the accord & covenant concluded with my father, that is nothing to me at all. If I ſuffered it to be renued, it was not for any liking or approbation therof, but becauſe I being new come "to the crown, and lately poſſeſſed of the Kingdome, I was to bear and endure all things whatſoever. But in caſe they will enter into a new league with me, requiſit it is that a treaty and agreement paſſe firſt of the conditions. And if they could be content that a covenant were drawn "with equall and indifferent capitulations, yet I will ſleep upon it and be well adviſed what to do "for the beſt, as I doubt not but they likewiſe will have a good regard to the profit of the Commonweal. And herewith, that he ſuddainly flung away from them, and we all began to avoid "out of the pallace. Whereupon we proceeded according to our commiſsion to abandon and "diſavow his amity and ſociety. At which word of ours, he ſtaied in great wrath and fury, and "with a loud and ſhrill voice, warned us upon our own perill and hazard, to be gone out of the "marches of his realm within three daies: finally, in this maner we departed and put our ſelves "in our journey, and found neither friendly welcome at our firſt coming, nor any courteous entertainment while we were there, nor yet a kind farewell at our departure. When they had once done, the Theſſalian and Ætolian Embaſſadors had audience.

The Senat, to the end that they might know out of hand, what captains and commanders the commonweal was to employ, thought good to write unto the Conſ. that the one or other of them (who firſt might) ſhould repair to *Rome* for the creation of new magiſtrats. And no great matter to ſpeak of, as concerning the ſtate, was that yeer done by the Conſ. But more expedient it was thought for the commonweal, to ſuppreſſe and appeaſe the Ligurians, whoſe bloud was up and chafed againſt them, conſidering that the Macedonian war was in daily expectance.

Moreover, the Embaſſadors of *Iſſa* gave occaſion, that *Genthius* alſo King of *Illyricum* was had in jealouſie: who at one time both complained of him, that now twice he had waſted to their

A their country: and also made report, how the Macedonian and Illyrian Kings were all one, and so great together, that with once consent and common counsel they prepared to war upon the Romans: finally, that the Illlyrians were now at *Rome* in shew and semblance of embassage, but indeed and very truth, no better then spies, addressed on purpose by the motive and advice of *Perseus* to hearken and learn whereabout they went at *Rome*. These Illyrians were sent for into the Senat house, and when they had said, that they were employed in embassage from King *Gentius*, to answer unto those accusations which it might be the Issians framed against him: it was again demanded of them, How it hapned that they went not directly nor shewed themselves in such sort to the magistrat, that according to the maner and custome, they might have had their lodging provided and presents given them, with the ordinary allowance of the City, meet for them during
B their abode, that thereby knowledg might have been taken as well of their coming, as also of their businesse and errand? But being taken tripping and failing in their answer, they were commanded to void out of the Councel-chamber. For thought it was not meet, to give them their dispatch as Embassadors, since they made no means to present themselves unto the Senat: but rather they were of advice, to dispatch Embassadors of their own to the King, to signifie unto him, which of his associats had complained unto the Senat, how he had burnt their villages within their territories: yea, and to tell you it plainly, that it was not well done of him, that he could not forbear but do wrong to his own allies. In this embassie were sent, *A. Terentius Varro*, *C. Pletorius*, and *C. Cicereius*.

Likewise those Embassadors, whose commission was visit the associat Kings, returned out of *Asia*, and reported that in the said *Asia* they had communication with *Eumenes*; in *Syria* with *An-*
C *tiochus*, and in *Alexandria* with *Ptolomaus*: who all of them had been sollicited by sundry embassies of *Perseus*, howbeit they persisted firm and fast in their professed fealty, and promised to perform whatsoever the people of *Rome* would command them. Also that they went to the confederat states, whom they found true and loiall enough, excepting the Rhodians only, whom they perceived to be floting & wavering, as altogether infected & poisoned with the counsel of *Perseus*.

Now were the Rhodian Embassadors come to answer those things which they knew were commonly bruited aboad touching their City: howbeit the Senat was not of mind to give them audience, before the new Consuls entred into their office. But they were all of advice to delay no longer the preparation for war. *C. Licinius* the Pretor had in charge, out of the old Quinqueremes which were laid up in the docks and harbors, to repair as many as might serve at sea; to
D rig also and prepare a fleet of 50 sail. But if he could not come to make up that full number, then to write unto his colleague *C. Memmius* in *Sicily*, for to repair, calk and trim those ships which were in *Sicily*, that with all speed possible they might be sent to *Brundusium*. The said Pretor C. *Licinius* was commanded to enroll of Roman citizens (and those, Libertins, such as of bondmen born, had been enfranchised) for mariners and sailers, as many as might serve 25 ships: and Cn. *Licinius* had commission to levy as many of Latine allies for the like number of ships; also the Pretor was enjoined to charge the Latine allies with 8000 foot, and 400 horse. *A. Atilius Serranus*, who had been Pretor the yeer before, was chosen to receive these forces at *Brundusium*, and to conduct them over into *Macedony*: and Cn. *Sicinius* the Pretor was appointed to have the army in readines for to be transported. As for C. *Licinius* the Pretor, he by authority
E from the Senat, wrote to C. *Popilius* the Consul that he should command the second legion, which had been longest employed in *Liguria*, and consisted of the most experienced souldiers, together with four thousand footmen and two hundred horse of the Latine allies, to be ready at *Brundusium* upon the * Ides of *February*. With this fleet of ships and forces of souldiers, Cn. *Sicinius* 13 of *Novem-*
was commanded to keep *Macedony*, untill one were appointed to succeed him; and for this purpose his charge of command was continued for a yeer longer. All these directions of the Senat were put in execution with great diligence and expedition. Eight and forty Quinqueremes were set aflote out of their docks: and L. *Porcius Licinius* was ordained to conduct them to *Brundusium*: the other 12 were sent out of *Sicily*. Three Embassadors were dispatched into *Apulia* and *Cala-*
F *bria*, to wit, *Sex. Digitius*, *T. Iuventius*, and *M. Caecilius*, for to buy corn to serve the fleet and the army. Now when all things were provided and in readines, C. *Sicinius* the Pretor departed from the City in his warlike coat of arms, and arrived at *Brundusium*. About the end of the year C. *Popilius* the Consul returned to *Rome*, somewhat latter then the Senat had ordained; who was commanded to take the first time, and withall speed to creat new magistrats, considering that so great a war approached so neer. And therefore when the Consull discoursed in the temple of *Bellona* as touching his exploits in *Liguria*, the LL. of the Senat were nothing well pleased to hear him: but in stead thereof, they muttered every where, and asked him oftentimes, Why he had not restored to liberty those Ligurians, who were oppressed through the wicked proceedings of his
G father? The election of the Consuls was holden upon the twelfth day before the Calends of *March* according to the writs that went out: wherein were created Consuls, *Pub. Licinius Gracchus* and *Caius Cassius Longinus*. The morrow following, the Pretors were elected, to wit, *Caius Sulpitius Galba*, *L. Furius Philus*, *L. Canulius Dives*, *C. Lucretius Gallus*, *C. Caninius Rebilus*, and *L. Villius Annalis*. To these Pretors the provinces were assigned in this manner: that two of them should sit as LL. chief justices in *Rome* for civil jurisdiction: three other to have the government of *Spain*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*: so as the fixt only should remain not allotted to any place, but to be employed whereseever the Senat would think good and ordein. The Consuls elect

were

were commanded by the Senat, upon the ſolemn day when they were to enter into their magi- H
ſtracy, after they had ſacrificed greater beaſts, as it appertained, to pray in this form, that the gods would vouchſafe the war which the people of *Rome* intended now to enterp Conſul ſhould well and come to happy iſſue. The ſame day the Senat decreed, that *C. Popilius* the ſet out plaies for ten daies together in the honor of *Iup. Opt. Max.* and the offerings ſhould be made at all the ſhrines and altars, if ſo be commonweal continued for ten yeers in the ſame good eſtate as now it ſtood. And as the Senat ordained, the Conſul vowed into the Capitoll, that the ſaid plaies ſhould be exhibited, & offrings were preſented of as great value as it pleaſed them to ſet down. This vow was pronounced by the Conſul in the preſence of no fewer then 150 Senators, and according to that form of words which *Lepidus* the high-prieſt or ſoveraign Biſhop indited. That yeer died certain Prelats of State, to wit, *L. Æmilius Pappus* one of the Decem- I
virs or ſuperindents over the holy rites, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* a Biſhop, who the yeer before had been Cenſor. This man had a il end. It fortuned that news came unto him of his two ſons, who then ſerved in the wars of *Illyricum*, how the one was departed out of this life, and the other lay ſick of a grievous and dangerous malady. The ſorrow for the one, and the fear for the other, happning ſo juſt at one time, brake his heart and oppreſſed his ſpirits: inſomuch as the next morning, when his ſervants entred betimes in to his bed-chamber, they found him hanged by a cord, and ſtrangled. It was thought abroad, that he had never been his own man, ſince he was Cenſor, and commonly it was ſpoken, that *Juno Lacinia* in wrathfull diſpleaſure againſt him for ſpoiling her temple, bereſt him of his right wits. In the room of *Æmilius*, *M. Valerius Maſſala* was ſubſtituted Decemvir: and in ſtead of *Fulvius* there was elected Archbiſhop, *Cneus Domitius* K
*Ænobarbus*, who to ſay the truth was very yong to be made a prieſt.

In the year wherein *P. Licinius* and *C. Caſſius* were Conſuls, not only the City of *Rome*, and the whole land of *Italy*, but all the Princes and States of *Europe* & *Aſia*, were amuſed reſpectively upon the war between the Macedonians and Romans. *Eumenes* (King of *Aſia*) not only carried an old cankred malice againſt *Philip*, but alſo was pricked forward with new deſpite and anger upon a freſh occaſion, in that by the wicked practiſe of *Perſeus*, he had like to have been ſacrificed at *Delphi*. *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, was reſolved not to enter into arms, but attend the iſſue of the war. For he thought it not reaſon and ſeemly for him to take arms in the defence of the Romans againſt his wives brother; and this account was made, that if *Perſeus* hapned to have the better, he might ſoon obtain pardon at his hands by the mediation of his ſiſter. *Ariarates* King L
of the Cappadocians, over and beſides that he had promiſed aid to the Romans in his own name, ever ſince that he had linked in affinity to *Eumenes*, drew the ſame way which he went, and joyned with him in all his counſels both of war and peace. As for *Antiochus* [King of *Syria*] his teeth watered verily at the Kingdome of Ægypt, as he, who deſpiſed as well the childhood of the yong King in his nonage, as the weakneſſe and negligence of his guardians: and conſidering there was ſome controverſie about the title of *Cœloſyria*, he ſuppoſed that he ſhould have good occaſion to levy war, to manage alſo and exploit the ſame without empeachment, whiles the Romans were buſied in the Macedonian war; howbeit as well by his own Embaſſadors ſent unto the Senat, as alſo unto theirs addreſſed unto him, he promiſed ſtoutly to be for them. *Ptolomæus* [the yong King of Ægypt] being yet under age, was at the diſpoſition of others: his tutors and M
protectors, as they prepared to wage war againſt *Antiochus* for the recovery of *Cœloſyria*, ſo they promiſed the Romans withall to do their devoir in the Macedonian war. *Maſſaniſſa* [King of the Numidians] was altogether for the Romans; he furniſhed them with coin, and intended to ſend his ſon *Miſagenes* with aids both of men and elephants in that ſervice. Howbeit he ſo diſpoſed of his deſigns, as might ſerve his turn which way ſoever the world went: for if the victory fell to the Romans, he ordered that his affairs ſhould remain ſtill in the ſame ſtate; and better he was not to look for, becauſe the Romans would not ſuffer any violence to be offered unto the Carthaginians; but in caſe the Romans went down and had the overthrow (who then protected the Carthaginians) then he made full reckoning of *Aſia* to be his own. *Gentius* [King of *Illyricum*] had ſo demeaned himſelf, that he was ſuſpected of the Romans; yet was he not fully reſol- N
ved which ſide to take unto: and it ſeemed he would joyn to one or the other, more upon a fit as it took him in the head, than with any diſcretion or advice. *Cotys* the Thracian, King of the Odryſians, took part evidently with the Macedonians. In theſe terms (I ſay) ſtood the KK. as touching this preſent war. As for the free Cities and States beſides, the common people every where (as alwaies lightly it is ſeen) enclined to the worſe part, and ran with the K. & the Macedonians: but the principal perſons and men of quality, a man might perceive affected diverſly. Some went with the Romans all upon the head, inſomuch as they greatly empaired their authority in exceſsive favour to them: few of them were induced by the juſt and upright government of the Romans, but the moſt part were carried away with the ſtrong conceit, that the more they emploied themſelves for them, the greater men they ſhould be at home in their own Cities. Another O
ſort there were of the Kings flattering favorits, who being deeply drenched in debt, and deſpair of bettering their fortune (if the preſent ſtate held ſtill) abandoned and gave themſelves over to entertain all changes and innovations. And ſome there were beſides, poſſeſſed with a vain humor of their own, becauſe *Perſeus* ſeemed to have more favour of the common people. A third ſort there were (and thoſe of the beſt and wiſeſt of all other) who if it had lyen in their hands to determine

A they would have to be greater lord, wiſhed to have been under the Romans rather then the K. Mary if they might have had their liberty to be chuſers ſimply of their fortune, by their good wil they would not have had the one part advanced by the depreſſion and ſubverſion of the other: but that the forces and puiſſance of them both remaining entire and unfoiled peace therby might be entertained: and ſo between them both, the ſtate of the Cities ſhould continue in the beſt caſe, when as the one part might ever protect the weaker ſide from the injuries of the mightier. And thoſe that ſtood affected thus, held them quiet & ſaid not a word; but being ſafe themſelves, beheld the behaviour and deportments of thoſe that were the partakers and favourers of either ſide.

The Conſuls that day wherein they entred their government, when they ſacrificed (according to the ordinance of the Senat) with greater beaſts in all the temples and chappels, wherein (for B moſt part of the yeer) the ſacred beds and couches for the gods were prepared; and thereby had preſaged by good tokens, that their praiers were acceptable to the immortall gods, made report unto the Senat, That their ſacrifices were as they ought to be, as alſo their praiers, which they conceived as touching the war. The Bowell-priers likewiſe by their learning declared, that if they went about any new enterpriſe, they ſhould make ſpeed; for why? all did prognoſticate victory, triumph, and enlargement of their ſeignory. Whereupon the LL. of the Senat commanded the Conſuls to propoſe to the people the firſt day of the general aſſembly of the Centuries in this maner: *In the name of God, and to the welfare and happineſſe of the Commonwealth: whereas* Perſeus *the ſon of* Philip K. *of* Macedony, *(againſt the accord and covenant concluded with his father firſt, and after his death renewed with him) hath levied war upon the allies of the people of* Rome, *waſted their territories, ſeized their Cities, complotted to enter into arms againſt the people of* Rome, *and to* C *that end hath provided armor, ſouldiers and a fleet: unleſſe he make ſatisfaction, pleaſeth it you that war be enterpriſed and waged againſt him.* This bill paſſed by all the ſuffrages of the people. Then was there an act of the Senat likewiſe entered, that the Conſuls ſhould either agree together, or elſe caſt lots for the provinces of *Italy* and *Macedony*: and look whoſe lot fell to *Macedony*, he ſhould perſecute with fire and ſword K. *Perſeus*, and all that ſect and faction which took his part, unleſſe they made amends to the people of *Rome*. It was concluded alſo, that four legions ſhould be newly enrolled, for either Conſul twain: with this preheminence and advantage to the province of *Macedony*, that whereas to the legions of the other Conſul (according to the ancient cuſtome) there went but five thouſand foot and two hundred horſe apeece, there ſhould be enrolled for *Macedony* ſix thouſand foot and three hundred horſe equally to a le- D gion. Alſo for the one of the Conſuls in the army of the allies, the number was augmented, ſo as beſides thoſe ſix hundred horſmen which *Cn. Sicinius* had conducted already, he ſhould of thoſe allies tranſport over into *Macedony*, ſixteen thouſand footmen and eight hundred horſe. As for *Italy*, twelve thouſand footmen of allies and ſix hundred horſe were thought ſufficient. Moreover this prerogative had the Province of *Macedony*, that for Centurions and ſouldiers the Conſul might enroll of the elder ſort whom he thought good as many as were not above fifty yeers of age. In chooſing of Tribunes military and colonels, the old maner was this yeer changed, in regard of the Macedonian war; to wit, that the Conſuls (by advice and authority of the Senat) ſhould move unto the people, that the ſaid Tribunes might not that year be elected by voices of the people, but that their elections ſhould be referred to the judgment and diſcretion of the E Conſuls and Pretors. The charge of command was thus divided among the Pretors as followeth. That Pretor whoſe lot fell to go whither it pleaſed the Senat to ſend, was aſsigned to take his journey to the fleet at *Brunduſium*, and there to ſurvey and reviſe the ſea-ſervitors, and look how many he thought not meet for ſervice, them to diſcharge, & to make up the number with choſen Libertines; and in any wiſe to order it ſo, that two third parts conſiſted of Roman naturall citizens, and the other third of allies. Item, That proviſion of victuals for the navy and the army, ſhould be brought out of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. And the Pretors of thoſe two provinces had in charge to exact a double tenth of the Sicilians and Sardinians, and this grain to be conveighed into *Macedony* for the army. Now *Sicily* fell to *C. Cauninus Rebulus*, *Sardinia* to *L. Furius Philus*, F and *Spain* to *L. Canuleius*. *C. Sulpitius Galba* was L. chief iuſtice for the citizens of *Rome*, and *L. Iunius Annalis* for the ſtrangers: but *C. Lucretius Gallus* his lot was to go where the Senat would employ him. Between the two Conſuls there was ſome jar and wrangling, rather then any great debate about their province. *Caſſius* for his part ſaid, That he was by the right to war in *Macedony* without any caſting of lots for the matter, foraſmuch as his colleague might not enter into lot with him, and ſave his oath. For he being Pretor, had ſworn ſolemnly in a frequent aſſembly of the people (becauſe he would ſhift off and not go into his province) that he had occaſion to celebrate ſacrifices in a certain place and upon ſet daies, which could not be performed (as they ought) if he were at ſea. And the ſame (as I take it) cannot be well done during his abſence now G that he is Conſul no more then whiles he was Pretor. Howbeit, if the Senat be of opinion and judg, that more conſideration is to be had to ſatisfie *Caius Licinius* his will now in the Conſulſhip, then regard of the oath he took before in the Pretorſhip, yet will I notwithſtanding accommodat my ſelf to the pleaſure of the Senat. The LL. were conſulted with hereabout, who judging that it were a proud part to deny him the government of a province, unto whom the people of *Rome* had granted the dignity of a Conſulſhip, commanded the Conſuls to caſt lots. Thus *Macedony* fell to **P.** *Licinius*, and *Italy* to *C. Caſſius*. Then they put to lottery alſo the conduct

and

and employment of the legions: whereby the first and third were to be transported into H
*Macedony*, the second and fourth to remain in *Italy*. In the mustering and choise of souldiers, the Consul went more neerly and streightly to work by far, then customably they used at other times. As for *Licinius*, he enrolled the elder sort also, as well for souldiers as centurions; and many there were who voluntarily entred their names, because they saw how those thrived well and grew rich, who had served either in the former Macedonian war, against *Antiochus* in *Asia*. Now when as the marshal Colonels called forth the centurions by name one after another, and the principall first, there hapned to be three and twenty centurions of them, who beforetime had been * *Primipalares*, had led in the chief and best place, and when they were cited, they called unto the Trib. of the Com. for to be relieved by their lawfull assistance. But two of that fellowship and society of Tribunes, namely, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, and I
*M. Fulvius Marcellus*, referred them to the Consuls, alledging, that by right, the knowledg of these matters pertaining to those who had plenary commission to take musters, and to manage the war-affairs. But all the rest of the Tribunes avowed that they would assume it into their own hands, and determine of that for which they were called unto as competent judges; yea, and if iniurie were offered to their fellow-citizens, they would not fail but help and succour them. All this was debated in the Tribunes-court. Thither was *M. Popilius*, a Consular man, called to the hearing of this matter, and thither repaired the centurions and the Consul also. And when the Consul required that the case should be heard and decided in a generall assembly, thereupon the people was summoned to meet in publick together. In which solemn congregation *M. Popilius* who had been Consul two years before, spake in behalf of the centurions to this effect. "These martiall K
"men (quoth he) have accomplished their full time of service required by law; they carry about "them bodies as well spent and crasie for age, as broken by continuall travels: howbeit refuse they "will nothing, but are ready to do their devoir unto the Commonweal. This only they humbly "crave and request, that they may not be assigned to baser places of command, then wherein they "have been employed already when they bare arms. Then *P. Licinius* the Consul commanded, the act of the Senat to be openly read: wherein it was ordeined first to levy war upon *Perseus*; then to enroll as many as they could of the old experienced Centurions for that war; and last of all exempt none from souldiery but such only as were above fifty years of age. "After this he ear- L
"nestly besought them in this new war so neer to *Italy*, and against a Prince so puissant, neither to "hinder the Colonels in levying souldiers, nor forbid the Consul but that he might appoint to each "man what place and degree was thought to stand most for the good of the Commonweal. And in "case there arose any doubt and difficulty in this business, to submit the decision thereof to the Se- "nat. After that the Consul had delivered his mind, *Sp. Ligustinus* one of them who had appea- led to the Tribunes of the Commons, requested both the Consul and the Tribunes to give him leave for to speak a few words unto the people: who having liberty granted with all their good wils, made a speech unto them in this wise. "My masters, you Quirites, I *Spurius Ligustinus* of
The oration of *Sp. Ligustinus*. "the tribe *Crustumina*, am descended from the Sabins. My father left me an acre of land and a lit- "tle cottage to it, wherein I was born, bred and brought up, and whereupon at this day I dwell. "So soon as I was come to mans estate, my father gave me to wife my cousin german, his neece M
"by the brother, who brought nothing with her former marriage-good, but freedom of birth, ho- "nesty of life, and therewith fruitfulnesse of womb, as much (I may say to you) as a rich man of "some wealty house may well maintain. Six sons God hath sent betweenus, and two daughters "to them, both maidens marriageable. Four of our sons are men grown, and have put on their "mans robe; two are boies still in their *Pretexta*, under seventeen years old. I my self was prest "to the wars, the year when P. *Sulpitius* and C. *Aurelius* were Consuls. In that army which "passed over sea into *Macedony*, I served in quality of a common souldier for the space of two "years against King *Philip*. In the third year *T. Quintius Flamininus*, in regard of my forward- "nesse assigned me the tenth place of leading among the Hastati in the vanguard. After that *Phi-* "*lip* and the Macedonians were vanquished, and we brought over again into *Italy* and discharged, "I went immediatly as a voluntary servitor into *Spain* with *M. Porcius* the Consul. And there N
"is not a commander alive at this day, who saw farther into a souldier, and could judg better of "vertue and valour then he: as they know full well, who by long warfare have had experience both "of him and also of other leaders. He being my captain reputed me worthy to have the first place "and leading of the formost century of the Hastati. A third time I became a voluntary again in "the expedition against the Ætolians and K. *Antiochus*; and *M. Calius* advanced me to the Cap- "tainship of the Principes, in the very first place of the formost centurie. When King *Antiochus* "was chased and the Ætolians subdued, we were brought back again into *Italy*, and two years "together I was in pay of the legions that received yeerly wages and allowance. Twice after "this, I bare arms and served in *Spain*, once under Q. *Fulvius Flaccus*, a second time under *Tib.* "*Sempronius Gracchus* the Prætor. By *Flaccus* I was brought home among others, whom for their O
"valour and prowesse he thought good to have in train for the honour of his triumph: and at the "request and entreaty of *Tib. Gracchus* I accompanied him into the Province. Where within few "years space I had the leading of the first company of the Pilani or Triarii in the rereguard. Four "and thirty times have I been rewarded with presents at my Gereral hands, in token of vertue "and prowesse. Six civick coronets have I received: two and thirty years full have I followed the "wars & neither fifty years old I am. Now if neither I had served out all the years required by

law,

* The Centurions in the rereward over the *Triarii* who are called also *Pilani*. For so besides many other, witnesseth *Ovid. 3 Fast.* in these verses.
*Inde pares centum denos secrevit in orbe*
*Romulus, Hastatos instituitque decem: Et totidem Principes totidem Pilanus habebat*
*Corpora legitimo quisque merebat equo.*
And that it was the chiefest place of of Centurions in the legion, appeareth by *Ligustinus* in his oration following.

A "law, nor might plead exemption and immunity by mine age, yet seeing I am able to shew four
"souldiers for one, my four sons [I say for my self alone] me thinks it were reason, O *P. Licinius*, that I were now freed and discharged. And all this I pray you take, as spoken for the be-
"hoof of my cause. Now as touching my person thus much. So long as any man who hath autho-
"rity to enroll souldiers, shall judg me sufficient and able to bear arms, I will not go about to ex-
"cuse and shift it off. And look what place the Colonels and Marshals shall suppose me worthy
"of, it lyeth in his good will and pleasure to assigne me unto it: but to perform that no one per-
"son in the whole army surmount me in valor, that shall be my own indeavor; like as not only
"my captains, but those also who have served with me are able to testifie, That I ever had so car-
"ried my self and performed as much. And you likewise my fellow souldiers, albeit you practise
B "and keep in ure the privileg and benefit of appealing to the Tribunes, yet meet and reason it is,
"since in your youthfull daies ye never did ought in any place against the authority of the Senat
"and the Consuls, ye now also in your declining age be at the disposition of the Senat and the
"Consuls; yea, and to esteem all places worshipfull, wherein you shall defend and maintain the
"Common weal. When he had thus said, the Consuls highly commended him, and from before the people brought him into the Senat. And there also by the advice and authority of that honorable house, thanked he was, and the Marshal-Colonels, in regard of his vertue, appointed him to be the principall Centurion of the Pilani in the first legion. So the rest of the Centurions renouncing their appeal to the Tribunes, yeelded obedience in the muster and levy abovesaid.

To the end that the Magistrats and great commanders might go more timely into their governments, the Latine feasts and holydaies were published to be holden upon the Calends of *June*.
C Which solemnity being finished, *C. Lucretius* the Pretor took his journey to *Brundusium*, having sent before all necessary furniture and provision for the fleet. Besides, those armies which the Consuls levied, a commission was directed out to *C. Sulpitius Gala* the Pretor, to enroll four legions of Roman citizens, with the ordinary full proportion of infantery and cavalry, and to chuse out of the body of the Senat four Colonels to command them. Also to levy Latin allies 15000 foot, and 1200 horse, and to take order that his army should be ready to go whithersoever the Senat thought good. *P. Licinius* the Cos. at his own instant request (that over and above the armies of citizens and allies, he might have an addition of auxiliaries) obtained of Ligurians 2000 of Candiot archers an uncertain number, namely, as many as the Candiots upon request would send. Moreover, certain Numidian horsemen and elephants: for which purpose *L. Posthumius Albinus*, *Q. Terentius Culleo* and *C. Aburius* were sent in embassage to *Masanissa* and the Carthaginians. Sem-
D blably it was thought good to send three Embassadors into *Crete*, to wit, *A. Posthumius Albinus*, *C. Decimius*, and *A. Licinius Nerva*.

At the very same time there arrived Embassadors from King *Perseus*. But suffered they were not to enter into the City; considering that both the Senat had ordained, and the people assented already to make war upon their King and the Macedonians. So, admitted they were into the Temple of *Bellona* before the Senat, where they delivered their message in this manner: That King *Perseus* marvelled why there were armies transported over into *Macedony*? And if the Senat might be intreated so much, as to recall them home, the King would make satisfaction for the wrongs done unto their allies, in such sort as the Senat in their discretion would appoint. Now there was
E in the Senat-house at that time *Sp. Carvilius*, sent back for that very purpose out of *Greece* from *Cn. Sicinius*. He made report and remonstrance, how *Perrhœbia* was forced by arms, and certain Cities of *Thessaly* won: with other exploits that King *Perseus* had either performed, or else was in hand to enterprise. To which challenges the Embassadors were commanded to make answer. But after they were seen once to falter in their speech, saying they had no farther commission then that they had delivered already; they were willed to relate unto the King their master, that P. *Licinius* the Consul would shortly be in *Macedony* with an army, unto whom the King might address his Embassadors, if he minded to do as he said and to make amends. As for sending any more to *Rome*, there was no need nor cause, for almuch as they would not suffer any of them to pass through *Italy*. When they were dismissed with this short dispatch, P. *Licinius* the Consul had in charge, to command them to go out of *Italy* within 11 daies, and to send *Spurius Carvilius* for to guard them all the way to the sea-side untill they were shipped. These occurrents passed in *Rome* before the Consuls were gone into their provinces.

Now by this time *Cn. Sicinius* (who ere that he left his magistracy, was sent before as far as to *Brundusium* to the fleet and the army) having put over into *Epirus* 5000 foot and 300 horse, was encamped before *Nymphæum* in the territory of the Apollonists. From thence he sent certain colonels with 2000 souldiers, to seiz the forts and castles of the Dassaretians and Illyrians, by occasion that they of their own accord made meanes and sent for garrisons, to the end they might be better guarded & secured from the violence and invasion of the Macedonians bordering upon their confines.

Some few daies after, *Q. Martius*, *A. Atilius*, P. and *Ser.* both *Cornelii* and *Lentuli*, together with *L. Decimius*, who all had been sent in embassie into *Greece*, brought them to *Corcyra* one thousand footmen; where they both parted between themselves their several quarters whither they would go, and also their souldiers. *Decimius* was sent to *Gentius* King of the *Illyrians*, with commandment, If he saw him any waies coming on and enclined to entertain amity with the Romans, to sound him and give the assay; yea, and to draw him into the association of this war.

The

The two *Lentuli* were ſent into *Cephalenia*, from thence to traverſe and croſſe over into *Peloponneſus*, and before winter to fetch about and compaſſe the coaſt of the Weſt-ſea. *Martius* & *Atilius* were aſsigned to viſit *Epirus*, *Ætolia* and *Theſſalis*. From thence they were enjoyned to have an eye into *Bœotia* and *Eubœa*, and ſo to ſail into *Peloponneſus* where they appointed to meet with the *Lentuli*. But before that they departed from *Corcyra*, letters were brought from *Perſeus*, wherin he demanded what reaſon the Romans had either to tranſport any forces into *Greece*, or to ſeiz upon the Cities? thought good it was to return him no anſwer by writting, but only by word of mouth thus much to ſay unto the meſſenger that brought the letters, That the Romans did it for the defence and ſafeguard of the ſaid towns. The *Lentuli* as they rode their circuit viſiting the Cities and towns of *Peloponneſus*, exhorting the States and commonalties thereof indifferently one as well as another, To aid the Romans at this preſent againſt *Perſeus*, with ſemblable courage and like fidelty as they had ſtood with them firſt in the war againſt *Philip*, and afterwards in that with *Antiochus*; might here in their publick aſſemblies much muttering and grumbling therat. The Achæans (who from the very beginning of the Macedonian war had been altogether for the Romans, and during the war againſt *Philip*, enemies to the Macedonians) took it in diſdain that they were reputed in the ſame ranke with the Meſſenians and Eleans, and no better then they who had born arms againſt the people of *Rome*, for *Antiochus* their enemie: and who but the other day, being enrolled into the commonality and counſell of the Achæans, complained that they were delivered unto the victorious Achæans, as the recompence and guerdon of their conqueſt. *Martius* and *Atilius* as they went up to *Gitana* a town of *Epirus*, ten miles from the ſea, in a generall Councel holden there of al the *Epirots*, had audience with great contentment of them al. Four hundred of their yong and able luſty men they ſent into the Oriſtians countrey to lie in garriſon for defence of thoſe Macedonians who by them were ſet at liberty. From thence, they held on their progreſs into *Ætolia*; and after they had ſojorned there ſome few daies (whiles a new Pretor was elected in the room of him that was deceaſed, and *Lyciſcus* appointed the governor, a man known for certain to favour the Romans) they paſsed over into *Theſſaly*. Thither repaired the Embaſsadors of the Acarnanians and the baniſhed perſons of *Ætolia*. The Acarnanians were enjoyned to utter and declare before them what they had committed and done againſt the people of *Rome*, being inveigled and deceived by the promiſes of the two Kings *Philip* and *Antiochus* during the wars againſt the one and the other; ſince occaſion was now preſented unto them, for to make amends and ſalve all that was amiſs. For if upon their ill demerits towards the people of *Rome*, they had made triall and taſted of their clemency, they might now by good deſerts prove their boundy another while. As for the Bœotians, they were reproved and upbraided for entring into aſsociation with *Perſeus*: and when they ſeemed to lay the whole fault upon *Iſmenias* a captain of one of the two factions, and certain Cities and States which being of a different opinion were drawn to the ſide; Say ye ſo? (quoth *Martius* again) and that ſhall ſoon appear, for we all permit every commonalty and City to anſwer apart and ſeverally for themſelves the beſt they can.

Now was the Diet of the Theſſalians holden at *Ariſſa*: where, as the Theſſalians took good occaſion and found ample matter of thankſgiving the Romans, for the liberty which by their goodneſs they had obtained: ſo as the Roman legats had as copious an argument to render them thanks, for that firſt in the war with *Philip*, and afterwards of *Antiochus*, they had been ſo mightily aided by the Theſſalian nation. Thus by this mutuall rehearſall of pleaſures and good turns given and taken, the hearts of the multitude were enkindled with a fervent zeal to decree and ordain whatſoever it pleaſed the Romans to deſire. After this councell was diſſolved, there came Embaſsadors from K. *Perſeus* unto *Martius*, upon a ſpeciall affiance of the privat friendſhip and hoſpitality which had paſsed between his father King *Philip*, and the ſaid *Martius* [and his father.] Theſe Embaſsadors began the ſpeech with a commemoration of the ſaid familiar and inward acquaintance, requeſting him to permit the K. for to have acceſs unto him, and to commun together. *Martius* anſwered, that he alſo had heard his father ſpeak of the amity and mutuall hoſpitality between him and K. *Philip*: in regard and remembrance of which neer bond of familiarty he was the more willing to take upon him the charge of that embaſsage and commiſsion. As to the parly, he would not have deferred it at all, if he might commodiouſly have wrought it: & now for this preſent he promiſed (ſo ſoon as he poſsibly could) to ſend his coutriers before to advertiſe the King, that they might come to the river *Peneus*, whereas the paſsage lieth from *Olimolium* over to *Dium*. And verily at that time, *Perſeus* was retired from *Dium* into the inland quarters of his realm, and had gathered ſome prety gale of hope, in that *Martius* had given out, how for love of him he had undertaken this embaſsie. After ſome few daies they repaired to the place appointed. This King accompanied with a great train as well of his friends, as his courtiers and penſioners which guarded his perſon. The legats likewiſe were attended upon with no leſſe a troop, by reaſon as well of many that followed them from *Ariſſa*, as alſo of divers embaſsages from the States which aſsembled at *Ariſſa*, and were deſirous to carry home with them certain news of the ſequel, which they ſhould hear. Every man had an inward deſire ſetled in his heart to ſee the maner of the meeting of this noble K. & theſe high commiſsioners from the ſoveraign ſtate and mightieſt people of the whole world. Being come to the enterview one of another, they ſtood ſtill on either ſide of the river, which only parted them aſunder. For a while there paſsed entercourriers between: whiles they made it ſtrange on both parts, who ſhould paſs the river firſt; for the Macedonians ſtood ſomewhat upon the roiall majeſty of a King; & the Romans were as reſpective

A respective to the reputation of the people of *Rome*, considering withall, that *Perseus* sought the means & made first motion for this parley. Whereupon, to end this controversie, *Martius* cast out a merry word, What needs all this (qd. he) let the younger come to the elder without more ado, and the son to the father: this he spake, for that himself also was surnamed *Philip*. The K. soon condescended thereunto. But then arose another doubt and difference, namely, with what number he should pass over. The K. thought it meet & convenient to come with his whole train: but the legats would have had him either to bring over with him three persons, and no more; or else if he were minded to pass with so great a company, to put in hostages for assurance, that during the time of the parley no outrage should be committed. So *Perseus* sent as pledges, *Hippias* & *Pantanchus*, the principal and most especial friends that were about him, whom also he had employed
B in the embassage. Now were these hostages required, not so much for a gage & pawn of security, as that it might appear unto the allies there present, that the K. in meeting and communing with the Roman Commissioners, should not keep state comparable with him, but abate somewhat of of the port and majesty which they carried. Their mutual greeting and salutation was nothing strange, as between enemies; but kind and amiable, as among familiar friends. Which done, they sat them down upon their chairs set ready for them. After they had thus sitten a while in silence and said nothing, *Martius* began in this manner: "You expect (I suppose qd. he) that we should "answer to your letters which you sent to *Corcyra*, wherein you demand, Why we are come in "embassie and commission after this manner with armed souldiers, and plant garrisons as we do "in every City? To which question of yours not to answer at all, I fear me you would take it to
C "be pride in me; and again, to answer a truth, I doubt it will be too harsh and unpleasant to your "ears. But seeing that he who breaketh a covenant must be chastised either by word or sword, "(like as I had rather that any other but my self should have commission to make war upon "you:) so I will be so bold (however it fall out) to speak rough and tart unto you as to my friend: "and herein will I follow the manner of Physicians, who for the health of their patients, other- "whiles minister bitter medicins and apply stinking corrosives. Since time that you first attained "unto the crown, the Senat thinketh you have done but one only thing of all that you ought to "have done, namely, that you sent your embassadors to *Rome* for to renew the league; and yet "they judge you had done better in not renewing it, than after it was renewed, to violate the "same. Chased you have out of the Realm * *Abrupolis*, a confederat and friend of the people of
D "*Rome*. The murderers of *Artetarus* you have received and entertained, yea, and given the world "thereby to understand, that you were well pleased (to say no worse) with his death: and killed "they have a Prince most fast and faithfull to the Romans, of all others in *Illyricum*. Thorough "*Thessaly* and the territory of *Malia*, you have marched with an army against the tenor of the "league, as far as to *Delphi*: and more than that, contrary unto the said accord, sent you have aid "and succour to the Byzantins. With our allies the Bœotians, you have entred into a secret asso- "ciation and bound the same with an oath, which by right you ought not to have done. Who it "was that murdered the Theban embassadors *Eversa* and *Callicritus* who came directly from us, "I had rather enquire than charge any man and declare. The civill wars in *Ætolia* the massacres "of their Princes & States, unto whom may they be imputed in any likelihood, but to your peo-
E "ple? As for the Dolopians, wasted they were by your self in person and by no other. It grieveth "me and goeth to my heart, to speak who it is that K. *Eumenes* challengeth and burdeneth with "this, That in his return from *Rome* into his own kingdom, he was like to have been killed as a "beast for sacrifice & that at *Delphi*, in a sacred and hallowed place, even before the altars. As for "the secret practices which your host of *Brundusium* hath disclosed and set abroad, I know right "well that not only you have received letters thereof from *Rome*, but your own embassadors also "have told you all by word of mouth. You might have soon avoided all this, and heard nothing "thereof from me, if you would have forborn only to ask & demand, Wherefore our forces were "transported over into *Macedony*, & why we sent garrisons into our confederat Cities? But since
F "you would needs put out such a question, more pride it had been in us to have held our peace, "than to utter the plain truth as we have done. Verily, for mine own part, in regard of the hospi- "tall and friendly curtesies that have passed between your father and us, I favour you, and will "gladly make the best of your cause: and would to God I had some good occasion ministred from "your self, to solicit and further your suit before the Senat.

The Oration of *Martius Philippus* to King *Perseus*.

* *The King of the Sapeans.* σαπέων τὸν βασιλέα ἀβρόπολιν. *Pausanias in Achaicis.*

To these challenges and imputations, the K. framed his answer in this wise: "Content I am to "plead my cause before you, the parties appellants and judges both, which would be found (I "doubt not) good, if it were debated and handled in the presence of indifferent and equall arbi-
G "trators. And first, as touching those matters which are objected against me, they are such as in "part, I wot not well whether I may not glory in them, or at least wise not blush in the confessing "and avowing thereof. As for the rest, as they are charged upon me in bare words, so plain words "may serve flatly and simply to deny them. For say, that this day I were subject unto your laws, "and by them to have my triall, what can either that promoter of *Brundusium*, or K. *Eumenes* in- "form against me. but it will appear, that they accuse me not so much with matter of truth, as ex- "hibit only slanderous and reproachfull terms? A like matter, I wis, it is, that neither *Eumenes* had "had any other enemy but me, (he, I say, who hath done such wrong and injury to so many both "in common and also in particular:) nor I could find a fitter person to serve my turn in the exe- "cution of my projects but this *Rammius*, a fellow that I never had seen before, nor was ever like

The answer of King *Perseus*.

"to ſee again hereafter. I muſt (forſooth) give account for the Thebans, who as it is well known, H
"periſhed by ſhipwrack: as alſo for the murder of *Artetarus*; and yet therein I am no deeper
"charged than thus, that the murderers of him lived in exile & were ſhadowed within my realm.
"Now ſurely this hard concluſion and unreaſonable condition I will not refuſe to undergo, in caſe
"you alſo will be content to take upon you and avow all thoſe crimes and facts, for which they
"ſtand condemned, who as baniſhed perſons have fled either to *Rome* or into *Italy*: but in caſe
"both you and all other nations will diſavow that, I alſo will be one among the reſt. And in good
"faith, to ſpeak uprightly, to what end ſhould any man be baniſhed from one country, if he may
"not find a place in another, and be permitted there to live in exile? And yet (ſo ſoon as ever I
"found by advertiſement from you that they were within *Macedony*) I for my part, made diligent
"ſearch untill I had them, and then I commanded them to depart out of my kingdom, yea, and ex- I
"preſſely forbad them for ever ſetting foot again within my dominions. And thus much verily
"concerning the criminal matters objected unto me as a defendant pleading at the bar. Now let
"us argue and debate the reſt, inforced and laid againſt me in quality of a King, namely, which
"concern and touch the accord contracted between me and you. For if the words run in this ſort
"and are thus written in the foreſaid covenants of accord, That I may not be ſuffered to defend
"my ſelf and my realm, no, not if any enemy of mine levy war againſt me; then I muſt confeſs
"indeed, that the league I have broken, in that I ſtood upon my guard and defence by force of
"arms againſt *Abrupolis*, an aſſociat of the people of *Rome*. But if it were lawfull for me ſo to do
"by warrant of the accord, and allowed alſo by the law of nations, by force to repell force; what
"ſhould I leſs, nay, what could I elſe have done I pray you? When *Abrupolis* had laid waſte the K
"frontiers of my kingdom even as far as to *Amphipolis*, led into captivity many perſons free-
"born, carried away a mighty number of ſlaves, and driven before him many thouſand head of
"cattell; ſhould I have ſitten ſtill and ſuffered him untill he had come armed to *Pella*, even unto
"my royall palace? But ſome man may haply ſay. You did well indeed and juſtly, in making head
"and purſuing him by force of arms, mary, vanquiſhed he ſhould not have been, neither ought he
"to have ſuffered thoſe calamities which follow men vanquiſhed. Why? if I have endured the for-
"tune therof, provoked as I was to war, how can he juſtly complain of taſting the like, being him-
"ſelf the cauſe and firſt motive of all? I will not uſe the ſame manner of defence (O Romans) to
"this, that by force of arms I have repreſſed the Dolopians: for if I have not done by them accor-
"ding to their demerits, yet I am ſure I have dealt by the vertue of the right I have over them, be- L
"ing as they are of mine own kingdom, under my obeyſance, and made ſubjects to my father even
"by a decree of your own drawing. And yet, were I to render a reaſon of my proceedings againſt
"them, I ſay, not unto you nor unto my allies, but even to thoſe who like not of any cruel com-
"mand ſo much as over bondſlaves; can I be thought to have exerciſed more rigor againſt them,
"than equity and reaſon would bear? For, *Euphranor*, whom I deputed governor over them, they
"killed in ſuch ſort, that death is too good for them, and the leaſt puniſhment of all others that
"they have deſerved. And as I marched forward in my progreſs from thence to viſit the Cities of
"*Lariſſa*, *Antron*, & *Pylleon*, I aſcended up to *Delphi*, there for to ſacrifice, to the end that I might
"diſcharge my conſcience & pay thoſe vows which I had of long time owed. Now, to aggravate
"matter in this alſo againſt me, it is ſaid moreover, that I was there with my army, and intended M
"(no doubt) for to ſeiz Cities into my hands, and put garriſons into fortreſſes; for which at this
"preſent I complain of you. Call the States and Cities of *Greece* together to a generall aſſembly,
"through which I paſſed. Let any one man come forth & make complaint of the leaſt harm done
"by any of my ſouldiers; then will I not refuſe to be reputed for one who under pretence of di-
"vine ſacrifice, went about another thing. We ſent indeed garriſons to the Ætolians and Bizan-
"tins, yea, and with the Bœotians we contracted amity. But theſe things, in what ſort & for what
"purpoſe they were done, my embaſſadors have not only declared, but alſo excuſed oftentimes
"before your Senat: where I found ſome Umpires to hear and decide my cauſe, although not ſo
"indifferent and favourable to me-ward, as your ſelf are, O *Martius*, my fathers old friend and fa-
"miliar. For as yet *Eumenes* my accuſer was not come to *Rome*, who by falſe ſuggeſtions, wreſting N
"at his pleaſure every thing to the worſt, to make all ſuſpicious and odious unto you, went about
"to make you beleeve that *Greece* could not poſſibly be reſtored to freedom, & enjoy the fruit of
"your gracious benefit, ſo long as the kingdom of *Macedony* ſtood entire and upright. Well, the
"world you ſhall ſee, will turn about; and anon one or other will be here, to make remonſtrance
"and prove, That to no purpoſe *Antiochus* is removed and confined beyond the mountains of
"*Taurus*; that *Eumenes* is become much more grievous and unſupportable to all *Aſia* than *An-*
"*tiochus* ever was: and that your allies cannot be at reſt nor live in quiet, ſo long as he keepeth
"his royal court in *Pergamus*, a Cittadel (as it were) overlooking and commanding all the neigh-
"bour Cities bordering thereupon. Right well I know, O *Q. Martius*, and you *A. Attilius*, that
"whatſoever either you have objected againſt me, or I anſwered for my defence & purgation, is O
"ſuch as the ears and affections are of the hearers; neither what I have done, nor what mind and
"intention I have carried in mine actions will be ſo much regarded, as how you take every thing
"either done or intended. Mine own conſcience beareth me witneſs, that willingly I have not
"faulted; now, if for want of knowledge and foreſight I have been overſeen and done ſomewhat
"amiſs it may be corrected and amended by this preſent chaſtiſement. This I am ſure, my treſpaſs
"is not incurable, neither have I committed ought that you ſhould deem worthy to be purſued

"by

A "by war & force of arms. And if ye do, then ſurely it is for nought, that there goeth this name a-
"broad thoughout all nations of your clemency and gravity both, if I ſay for ſo ſlight occaſions
"which hardly are worth the complaint and the reaſoning about, you be ready to enter into arms
"and levy war upon your confederat Princes. *Martius* for that time accorded to his ſpeech, and moved him to addreſs embaſſadors to *Rome*, being of advice and opinion himſelf to try all means to the very laſt point, and to let ſlip nothing whereof ſome hope of good might ariſe. It remained only to be debated in councill, how embaſſadors might paſs in ſafety. And to this purpoſe, when it was neceſſary for the K. to requeſt a ſurceaſe of arms, albeit *Martius* himſelf was willing and deſirous thereof (for that his drift was to nothing elſe by all this conference and parley) yet he ſeemed to make a hard matter and difficulty of it, and to do a ſpeciall favour and pleaſure unto *Perſeus* in
B granting his petition. The truth was, the Romans yet were not ready nor throughly appointed at this preſent for the war; they had neither army puiſſant enough, nor captains ſufficient: whereas *Perſeus* (but that he was blinded in all his councils with a vain hope of peace) had all things prepared and in readineſs, and might then have begun to wage war, as in the beſt and moſt opportune ſeaſon for himſelf, ſo the worſt and unfitteſt of all other times for his enemies.

After this parley and the abſtinence of war aſſured faithfully on both parts, the Roman Commiſſioners were appointed and reſolved to go into *Bœotia*, where there was begun already ſome trouble and commotion, by reaſon that certain States of the Bœotians were departed from the ſociety of the common Councill, ever ſince it was reported back, how the Roman Legats made anſwer that it ſhould appear and be ſeen, what Cities they were indeed which took no pleaſure
C to have any aſſociation with the King. And firſt, the embaſſadors from *Cheronea*; afterwards, from *Thebes* encountred them upon the way, who aſſured them that they were not preſent in that Diet and Councill, where this aſſociation was concluded. To theſe embaſſages no anſwer for this time was made, but willed they were only to give their attendance and follow them to *Chalcis*.

At *Thebes* great variance there was, which aroſe by occaſion of another ſtrife and debate. In their ſolemn aſſembly for the election of the Prætor of the Bœotians that part which had the repulſe, in revenge of that injury and diſgrace, aſſembled the multitude and made a decree at *Thebes*, That the Bœotarches ſhould not be received within their Cities: in ſuch ſort, as like baniſhed men they retired to *Theſpium*: from whence (for received there they were incontinently without any ſtay) being called again to *Thebes* upon better adviſement and change of mind, they made
D an ordinance, That if to the number of twelve privat perſons held any conventicle or publike meeting together, they ſhould be condemned to exile. After this, *Iſmenias* the new Prætor, a noble perſonage and of great puiſſance, by vertue of a decree adjudged them in their abſence for to loſe their lives. To *Chalcis* they were fled, and from thence to the Romans at *Lariſſa* they went: where they declared that *Iſmenias* was the cauſe of their aſſociation with King *Perſeus*. Upon that foreſaid difference, they grew to hot contention, yet embaſſadors from both parts came to the Romans, as well the baniſhed perſons and accuſers of *Iſmenias*, as alſo *Iſmenias* himſelf. But ſo ſoon as the Roman Legats were come to *Chalcis*, the States and heads of other Cities (who every one by a ſpeciall decree of their own had renounced aſſociation with King *Perſeus*) joyned with the Romans; whereat they took exceeding great contentment and joy. *Iſmenias* thought
E it meet and reaſon that the Bœotian nation ſhould be committed to the protection of the Romans. Whereupon aroſe a tumultuous fray & but that he fled into the Tribunall of the Legats to ſave himſelf, he had eſcaped narrowly from being killed by the ſaid exiled perſons, with the help of their ſupports and favorits.

Alſo the City of *Thebes*, which is the capitall place of State within *Bœotia*, was in great trouble and uproar; whiles ſome drew to the K. others enclined to the Romans. Beſides, there was a multitude of Coronæans and Haliartians gathered together to maintain the ordinance and decree as touching the aſſociation with the K. But ſuch was the reſolute perſiſtance of the principall and chief men, who ſhewed by the late calamities of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, how great the forces, and how happy the fortune was of the Roman empire, that the ſame multitude relented, and being
F overruled, paſſed a new decree, to reverſe and cancell the former confederacy with the King; ſent thoſe that were the motives and perſwaders of contracting that amity to *Chalcis* for to ſatisfie and content the Roman Legats; yea & to conclude, were of advice to recommend the City to the faithfull patronage of the ſaid Commiſſioners. *Martius* & *Attilius* took great pleaſure to hear the Thebans ſing this note, they perſwaded with them ſeverally apart, and gave them counſell to ſend embaſſadors to *Rome* for the renewing of this amity: but before all things they took order for the reſtoring of the baniſhed perſons: as for the authors of the confederacy contracted with the K. they by their own decree condemned. Having thus by this means infringed and made fruſtrat the Diet of the Bœotians (the thing which above all they moſt deſired) they took their journey to *Peloponneſus*, together with *Ser. Cornelius*, whom they had ſent for to *Chalcis*. For their ſakes a
G Councill was holden at *Argos*, where they demanded nothing elſe of the Achæan nation but only to furniſh them with 1000 ſouldiers. This garriſon was ſent to the defence of *Chalcis*, untill the Roman army were tranſported into *Greece*. *Martius* and *Attilius* having thus diſpatched all the affairs that they had to do in *Greece*, in the beginning of winter returned to *Rome*.

Then was there ſent from thence about the ſame time an honourable embaſſie to the Iſles in *Aſia*. Theſe Embaſſadors or Legats were three in number, to wit, *T. Clandius*, *P. Poſthumius*, and *M. Junius*. They in their circuit and viſitation exhorted all their allies to take arms againſt *Perſeus*,

for the Romans. And the mightier and more wealthy any City was, the more earneſtly travelled they there; becauſe the interior States were like to frame and ſort themſelves ſutable to the example and authority of the greater and ſuperior. Now of all others the Rhodians were reputed of moſt import and conſequence every way, for that they were able not only to favor with their countenance, but alſo aid and maintain with their forces this war: and by the perſwaſion of *Hergeſilus* they had got together a fleet of forty ſail. "This *Hergeſilus* their ſoveraign Magiſtrate "(whom they call *Prytanis*) had by many reaſons prevailed with the Rhodians, to abandon the "hope they had by entertaining theſe KK. (which they had found by often experience how vain "it was) and to hold themſelves to the ſociety and alliance of the Romans, the ſureſt hold of all "others at that time in the world, as well for ſtrength of forces as truſty aſſurance and fidelity. "There is intended war by them (qd. he) againſt *Perſeus*, and no doubt the Romans will require "of us the ſame proviſion and furniture of ſhips and ſea-forces, which they have ſeen in their war "lately againſt *Antiochus*, and before that, againſt King *Philip*: and then you will be to ſeek, and "forced in great haſte to provide a fleet, when it were more time it ſhould be ſet out and ſent "forth, unleſs ye begin betimes to repair and rig your ſhips, unleſs, I ſay, you ſet in hand to furniſh "the ſame with ſailers and mariners. And with ſo much more endeavour ought ye thus to do, "that by your deed and effectuall employment, you may refute and diſprove the falſe imputations "wherewith *Eumenes* hath charged you. By theſe remonſtrances induced they were inſomuch as at the arrival of the Roman Legats aforeſaid, they were able to ſhew unto them an armado of 40 ſhips ready rigged and well appointed, that they might know and ſee, they looked not for to be exhorted thereunto. And this embaſſage was of great moment and importance alſo to gain the hearts of the States in *Aſia*. Only *Decimius* returned to *Rome* without any effect of his errand and commiſſion, nay, he ran into an ill name and obloquy, upon ſuſpition that he had received certain bribes of the Princes in *Illyricum*.

*Perſeus* upon the conference and communication had with the Romans, retired into *Macedony* and ſent his Embaſſadors to *Rome*, to treat about the conditions of peace begun already with *Martius*: to other Embaſſadors alſo of his he gave his letters to carry to *Byzantium* and *Rhodes*: the tenor of which letters was one and the ſame directed to them all: namely, That he had communed with the Roman Legats, but he had ſo placed and couched as well what he heard as what he ſpake, that it might ſeem he gave not one foot unto them, but gained the better hand in that diſpute & debating with them. Theſe Embaſſadors added moreover, and ſaid unto the Rhodians, "That they hoped aſſuredly there would be a peace, for that they by the motion and advice of "*Martius* and *Attilius* were addreſſed in embaſſie to *Rome*. Now if the Romans, ſay they, againſt "the covenants of accord proceeded to levy war, then the Rhodians were to endeavour with all "the credit and power they have, to reunite the peace again; but if with all their prayer and entreaty they might not prevail, then they were to look about and labour this one point, That the "might and puiſſance of the whole world were not devolved into the hands of that one people. "And as this imported and concerned all the reſt, ſo the Rhodians eſpecially, who ſurmounted "other States in dignity and wealth, both which ſhould be obnoxious and enthralled, if there "were regard and reſpect made of none but the Romans. The letters of the King and words of the Embaſſadors, were entertained with friendly audience, other effect they took none to change their ſetled minds: for now the authority of the better part began alſo to carry the greater ſway. But this anſwer was returned to them, & that by way of decree, That the Rhodians wiſhed peace with all their hearts: but if it ſhould come to war, their King and Maſter was neither to expect, nor yet to exact any thing at their hands, to disjoyn the ancient amity which they held with the Romans, and which they had acquired by many and great deſerts, as well in war as in peace. In their return from *Rhodes*, they went to the Cities of *Bœotia*, and namely, to *Thebes*, *Coronea*, and *Haliartus*, from whom it ſeemed a thing extorted forcibly againſt their will, that they were diſbanded from the King & clave to the Romans. The Thebans ſtood firm and immoveable, although they were ſomewhat diſcontented with the Romans, both for condemning their chief and principall Citizens, and alſo for reſtoring the baniſhed perſons. But the Coronæans and Haliartians upon an inbred and ſetled favour by kind unto the Kings, ſent Embaſſadors into *Macedonia*, requeſting a garriſon for their defence againſt the exceſſive pride of the Thebans. To this embaſſage the King thus anſwered, That a garriſon he might not ſend, by reaſon of the truce made with the Romans: howbeit, he adverтiſed them to maintain and guard themſelves againſt the injuries of the Thebans all that ever they could: but yet ſo, as they gave the Romans no cauſe to be their heavy friends, and ſo to proceed in rigour againſt them.

*Martius* and *Attilius* being come to *Rome*, made report of their embaſſie within the Capitoll, in ſuch manner, as in nothing they gloried more, than in deluding and deceiving the K. by means of a ceſſation from arms, and a pretended hope of peace. For ſo well appointed was he and furniſhed with all proviſion for war, and they contrariwiſe ſo unprovided every way, that he might eaſily have poſſeſſed himſelf of all places of opportunity and advantage, before that their army could paſs over into *Greece*. But now having this reſpit and time of the truce, as the King would come nothing better provided, ſo the Romans might begin the war, more fully furniſhed with all things convenient. Moreover, they related how they by their coming diſtracted and ſet a jar in the generall Council of the Bœotians, ſo as by no means any more hereafter they can be rejoyned to the Macedonians by conſent and accord. The greater part of the Senat approved this ſervice of theirs

A theirs as performed with ſingular diſcretion and dexterity: But the old Senators and thoſe that held in remembrance the ancient manner and cuſtome of the Romans, ſaid plainly, "That in all "the courſe of that embaſſie, they could ſee no Roman practice and dealing at all. Our anceſtors "(ſay they) were wont to war not by wait-laying and ſecret ambuſhes, nor by skirmiſhes in the "night-ſeaſon, nor yet by falſe ſemblant of running away and ſudden turning their face again at "unawares upon their unprovided enemies; neither ſought they to glorifie themſelves by ſubtill "ſlights more than by true vertue and valour: Their uſe and manner was, to intimate and publiſh "wars before they made any: yea, and to denounce and proclaim the ſame; otherwhiles alſo to "aſſign and appoint the very place where they went to ſtrike a battell. According to this plain and "faithfull dealing, they detected and diſcloſed unto K. *Pyrrhus*, the Phyſician that would by poy-
B "ſon have taken away his life: by the ſame they delivered bound unto the Faliſcians the villanous "traitor that would have betraied the children of their K. Theſe are the Roman faſhions (ſay "they) not to uſe the cunning caſts and ſlie ſhifts of the Carthaginians, nor the crafty policies of "Grecians, who ever reputed it more glorious and honourable by fraud to compaſs than by force "to ſurpaſs the enemy. Indeed otherwhiles for the preſent time, more good is done and greater "matters are effected by guile and policy, than by valour and vertue: but to ſay a truth the cou-"rage of that enemy is for ever conquered, who is forced to confeſs, that he was vanquiſhed not "by cunning nor by venture, but in juſt and lawfull war by main ſtrength and cloſe fight at handy "gripes. Thus ſpake the ancients, who had no great liking to the new-found devices of theſe poli-ticians. Howbeit, that ſide of the Senat which made more reckoning of profit than of honeſty, car-
C ried it away and imported ſo much, that not only the firſt embaſſie of *Martius* was approved, as well performed, but alſo himſelf was ſent back again with certain Quinqueremes, with a mandat alſo & commiſſion to deal in the reſt according as he ſhould think to ſtand with the good of the Common-weal. They diſpatched likewiſe *Aul. Attilius* to ſeiz *Lariſſa* in *Theſſaly*; for fear leſt if the term of truce were expired, *Perſeus* ſhould ſend a garriſon thither, and hold in his hand the ca-pitall City of *Theſſaly*. The ſaid *Attilius* had a warrant to receive 2000 footmen of *Cn. Sicinius* for to effectuat that enterpriſe. Alſo *P. Lentulus* lately returned out of *Achæa* was allowed the con-duct of 300 ſouldiers of the Italian nation, to the end that at *Thebes* he ſhould endeavour to bring all *Bœtia* under the obedience of the Romans. When all things were ſet in this forwardneſs, albeit they were at a point and fully reſolved to make war, yet thought good it was to give audi-
D ence unto the embaſſadors of *Perſeus* in the Senat; who rehearſed and related in manner the ſame reaſons which were delivered by the King in the late conference and parley. Much ado they made and laboured hard, to acquit the King of the imputation laid to his charge, for ſeeking the death of *Eumenes*; but with ſmall probability or none at all: for the thing was too too apparant. In the end they fell to prayer and intreaty: howbeit, no ear was given unto them, with any ſuch mind and heart, as could be either inſtructed or inclined. Inſtead thereof, warned ſtraightly they were to depart immediatly forth of the liberties of *Rome*, and within thirty daies out of *Italy*.

After this, *P. Licinius* the Coſ. who was charged with the Province of *Spain*, had commandment given him to aſſign unto the army the ſooneſt day that he could, for to meet in one certain place. *C. Lucretius* the Prætor who had the conduct of the fleet, took his leave of the City with forty
E Quinqueremes: for adviſed it was, that the reſt of the ſhips which had been repaired, ſhould be ſtaid at home for to be employed otherwiſe about the City. And the Prætor ſent his brother *Lu-cretius* before with one Galeace or Quinquereme & commiſſion to receive of the allies that ſhip-ping which by covenant they were to find; and with them near the Iſland *Cephalenia*, to joyn with the reſt of the armado: to wit, from the Rhegins one trireme gally, from the Locrians twain, from the Urits 4. With which he coaſted along *Italy*, and having doubled the utmoſt point of *Calabria* within the * Ionian ſea, he arrived at *Dyrrhachium*. There he found 19 gallions or barks of * *Adriatick.*
the Dyrrhachians, 12 of the Iſſæans, and 54 belonging to K *Gentius*: which he took all with him along, making ſemblance that he ſuppoſed they were provided of purpoſe for the ſervice of the Romans: with this fleet by the third day he fell with the Iſle *Corphu*: and ſo forward he made ſail
F and arrived at *Cephalenia*. *C. Lucretius* the Prætor, having looſed to ſea from *Naples*, croſſed the ſtraights of *Sicily*, and on the fiftieth day cut over likewiſe to *Cephalenia*. Then the fleet ſtruck anchor, expecting as well the arrivall of the land-forces, as alſo that the hulks and veſſels of carri-age which were ſcattered upon the ſeas from the reſt of their company, might overtake them.

It hapned about this time, that *Pub. Licinius* the Coſ. having conceived and ſolemnly made his vows within the Capitoll, departed in his coat of arms from the City. A ſolemnity at all times ve-rily this is, done with much dignity and majeſty: but eſpecially with exceeding great pleaſure and contentment of the beholders; when the Coſ. is accompanied with a ſtately train at his firſt ſet-ting forth, to encounter ſome great and famous enemy, renowned as well for vertue as quality and fortune: for at ſuch a time men aſſemble and gather together, not only in regard of duty to acquit
G themſelves of their devoir, but alſo upon a deſire they have of the very ſhew and ſight preſented unto their eyes; namely, to ſee their captain to whoſe conduct and counſell they have committed the managing and defence of the Common-weal. Moreover, they took occaſion thereby to think of the hazard of war, how adventurous is the event, and how doubtfull the iſſue of battell in the field. They call to mind the alternative courſe of good fortune and bad; and namely, how by the blind ignorance or the unadviſed raſhneſs of leaders, many foils and overthrows have hapned; and contrariwiſe by politick wiſdom and hardy courage, great matters have been effected, and

happy victories atchieved. And what mortall man is he that knoweth, of what mind and carriage good or bad, how fortunat or unlucky the Cos. is, whom they send forth to war: whether he be like soon to be seen again, in triumphant wise with his victorious army mounting up the Capitoll unto those gods, of whom now he taketh his leave: or shall give occasion to the enemies in the same manner to rejoyce? As for *Perseus* the K. (against whom this expedition and journey is taken) a Prince he is, highly renowned both by the Macedonian nation (so famous for fears of arms,) and also by his father *Philip*) who among other fortunat atchievements of his, was ennobled by his war against the Romans. Moreover, the very name of *Perseus* himself (since time that first the diadem was set upon his head) was in every mans mouth, and no talk continually but of him and the expectation of this war. With these and such like cogitations (I say) a mighty number of men of all sorts and degrees attended and accompanied the Cos. at his departure. With him were sent two Colonels or knight-marshals above the rest, who had been Coss. namely, *C. Claudius* and *Q. Mutius*: also three brave and lusty young gallants, to wit, *P. Lentulus* and the two *Manlii*, both surnamed *Acidini*, the one son to * *M. Manlius*, and the other to *L. Manlius*. The Cos. thus accompanied, first went to *Brundusium* to the army, and from thence passed the seas to *Nymphæum*, and so encamped in the territory of *Apollonia*.

*Perseus* some few daies before, upon the return of his embassadors from *Rome*, who had clean put him out of all hope of peace, held a councill; wherein for a good while the matter was debated with great variety of sundry opinions. Some were of mind, that in case the Romans enjoyned them either to yield a tribute, or to forgo some of their lands; yea, if they imposed upon them some fine by way of amends and satisfaction: in brief, whatsoever else they set down and ordained, to do and suffer all for to redeem their peace, and not to refuse any condition were it never so hard but to take heed and provide in any wise, that *Perseus* put not himself nor the realm upon the dangerous hazard of so great a jeopardy. For if he held still the main point and continued in quiet possession of his kingdom, in time and space much good might happen; by means whereof he should be able not only to lick himself whole and recover his losses, but also become hereafter dread and terrible even unto those of whom now he standeth in fear. But the far greater part carried with them a more couragious spirit and gave advice accordingly. For they affirmed, "That if *Perseus* parted with ought and yielded never so little, he must make account withall to "quit the free-hold of his whole kingdom soon after. For, it is neither money nor land (say they) "that the Romans want; but this they wot full well, That as all things else in the world, so espe- "cially great monarchies & empires are subject to many accidents and casualties: right well they "know also, how they have quelled and bruised the puissance of the Carthaginians, and for "to yoak their necks and hold them down, have set up a mighty King to be their neighbour and "to command them; yea, and that *Antiochus* and all his race is removed and chased beyond the "mountain *Taurus*. There remaineth only now the realm of *Macedony*, which is both seated in a "near region, and also (if the fortune of the people of *Rome* should hap to fail) seemeth able to "give heart and courage to her Kings at this day, answerable to that of their noble progenitors "in former times. And therefore whiles the State standeth entire and unfoiled, *Perseus* ought to "resolve, whether he had rather by forgoing one thing after another, strip himself in the end of all "his goods and lands, & so turned clean out of his kingdom, be driven to request at the Romans "hand either *Samothracia* or some other such petty Isle, where, in quality of a privat person he "may survive his royall estate, and live to old age in base contempt and needy poverty: or else to "take arms in the defence and maintenance of his royall place and dignity, like a Prince of valour "and courage; and either abide all hazards whatsoever the fortune of the field shall plunge him "into; or after victory atchieved deliver the whole world from the dominion and imperious "seignory of the Romans. And no greater wonder and miracle is it to hunt the Romans out of "*Grecce*, than it was to chase *Annibal* out of *Italy*: neither see we in good faith (say they) how by "any reason it can well stand, that he who resisted with all his might and main his own bro- "ther, that would have made himself K. against all right and law, should now to strangers and ali- "ens render the possession thereof, which he came so well and truly by, and wherein he is so right- "fully invested? Finally, in war and peace howsoever men make questions, disputing and argu- "ing to and fro, yet this conclusion they all grant and agree upon, That as there is nothing more "shamefull and dishoneſt, than to abandon and lose a kingdom without battell, so there is no- "thing more glorious and honourable than for the maintenance of Princely dignity and regal ma- "jesty to hazard all fortune whatsoever. This Councill was holden at *Pella*, the ancient Palace wherein the Macedonian KK. kept their royall court. Why then (qd. he) on Gods name since you are of that mind and resolution, let us take arms & to the field: whereupon he sent his letters into all parts to his gallants and captains, and assembled & drew all his forces to *Citium*, a town of *Macedony*. Himself in person after he had performed a magnificent sacrifice (like a K.) of 100 head of beasts to the honour of *Minerva*, surnamed *Alcida*, he departed accompanied with a number of his courtiers, pensioners, and yeomen of the guard to *Citium*. To which place were gathered already all his forces, as well Macedonians as auxiliary strangers. He pitched his camp before the town and embattelled all his armed men in the plain. He was in all forty thousand strong; whereof one half well-near consisted of those whom they call Phalangitæ, and those were commanded by one *Hippias* of *Berrhæa*. Besides, there were two choice companies (for the flower of age and strength of body) selected out of the whole number of targettiers, called *Cetrati*. This regiment, them-

* This *M. Manlius* seemeth to be *plebeiæ gentis*: for that there passed an act long before, That no *Manlius Patritius* might be named *Marcus*: and that there were *Manlii utriusque gentis*, *Fulvius Ursinus* that learned Antiquary hath well collected out of *Cicero* in 1. *Philip.*

A themſelves called by the name of The legion; and the ſame was under the conduct of *Leonatus* and *Thraſippus* both * *Eulyeſtanes*. The reſt of the targettiers to the number of three thouſand or very near, were led by *Antiphilus* of *Edeſſa*. The Pæonians, thoſe alſo of *Paeoria* and *Peſtrinzonia* (places ſubject to the Thracian) and the Agrians, together with ſome inhabitants of *Thracia* intermingled among them, amounted alſo to the number of three thouſand. *Didas* of *Pæonia* had levied and armed them, even the man that murdered young *Demetrius*. There were beſides two thouſand Frenchmen in arms under the leading of captain *Aſclepiodorus*. From *Heraclea* likewiſe out of the Sintians country, there were three thouſand Thracians, free-men born, under a leader of their own. The like number well-near of Cretenſians followed their Commanders, *Suſus* of *Phalaſarna*, and *Syllus* of *Gnoſos*: alſo *Leonides* the Lacedæmonian, had the charge of five hundred
B out of *Greece*, but a mixt company they were of divers nations. This *Leonides* was ſaid to have been of the bloud royall, a baniſhed perſon, condemned in a frequent aſſembly and Councill of the Achæans, for certain letters which he ſent to *Perſeus*, and were intercepted. The Ætolians and Bœotians, who in all made not above five hundred, were conducted by *Lyco* an Achæan. Theſe auxiliaries or aid-ſouldiers of ſo many ſtates and nations mixt and blended together, grew faſt upon the number of 12000 armed men. As for the Cavalry, he had levied out of all *Macedony* 3000 horſe or thereabout. *Cotys* King of the Odryſians, the ſon of *Seuthes*, was thither come with 1000 choſen men of arms, and almoſt as many footmen. In ſum, the whole army aroſe to the number of 39000 foot, and 4000 horſemen. And this was held for certain, that the like army was never raiſed by any King of *Macedony*, unleſs it were that again, with which *Alexander* the Great
C paſſed over into *Aſia*. Twenty years now and ſix were come and gone, ſince time that peace was granted unto *Philip* at his own ſuit and requeſt: during which ſpace between, *Macedony* being in reſt and quietneſs, had brought forth a goodly fry of freſh youth: a great part whereof was of ſufficient age to bear arms; and by the continuall skirmiſhes which they maintained with the Thracians their neighbours, were rather whetted than weakned, and more enured than wearied; and, in one word, lived ever in practice of martiall feats: whereby it came to paſs, that all things were preſt and in readineſs for the war, which *Philip* firſt, and *Perſeus* afterwards projected to wage againſt the Romans.

This army ſtirred and advanced a little, not in manner of a full march as to a preſent battell; but only for this, that they would not be ſeen to have ſtood ſtill in their arms: and thus armed as
D the ſouldiers were, *Perſeus* called them to an audience, intending to make an Oration unto them. Being mounted up to his Tribunall, he ſtood there with his two ſons about him, one of either hand, whereof the elder (named *Philip*) he adopted to be his child, whereas indeed by nature he was his brother; but the younger (whom they called *Alexander*) was his own naturall ſon. Then and there he exhorted his ſouldiers to fight manfully, and laid before them what wrongs and injuries the people of *Rome* had done both to his father and alſo to himſelf. "As for my father (qd. "he) forced he was by all kind of indignities to enter into arms and begin war again; but in the "very preparation thereof, he was ſuddenly ſurpriſed and ſtricken with death. To my ſelf at one "time were embaſſadors from them ſent to treat of peace, and armed ſouldiers alſo for to ſeiz up-
E "on the Cities of *Greece*. Afterwards, by a deceitful ſhew of a parley under colour of reconcilia-"tion and peace making, we were born in hand and drawn out a whole winter, to the end that "they might gain time to prepare for war. And now is the Conſul coming with two Roman legions, "having either of them ſome 300 horſe beſides, and with a proportionable number (and that is "the moſt) of allies, as well foot as horſe. And ſay that the KK. both *Eumenes* & *Maſaniſſa* joyn "with their aid-forces, yet can they not amount above the number of 7000. Now that ye have "heard what the ſtrength is of the enemies, regard and compare your own army, namely how far
F "both in number, as alſo in goodneſs and quality of ſouldiers, you ſurpaſs them; being your ſelves "from your childhood and infancy warriors trained in practice of arms and warfare wrought, "framed, and hardned in ſo many battels: where as they be new & raw ſouldiers taken up in haſte, "and enrolled now the firſt time againſt this preſent ſervice. As for the auxiliaries of the Romans, "what are they but Lydians, Phrygians, and Numidians? but we to ſet againſt them have to aid us "Thracians and Gauls, the moſt couragious nations under heaven. For harneſs and weapons, they "have no other than ſuch as every poor ſouldier is able to provide for himſelf: but the Macedo-"nians are furniſhed out of the Kings royall armory and arcenal with ſuch armors of proof, as my
G "father in many years cauſed to be made with great care, & to his no ſmall expence. The Romans "be far from their proviſions, and the ſame expoſed to all the caſualties of the ſea: but we beſides "the revenues and iſſues out of the mines of metal, have laid by both coin and corn ſufficient to "ſerve for ten years. The Macedonians have ſtore and plenty in great abundance of all things ne-"ceſſary, & be provided as well by the gracious favour of the gods, as the careful diligence of a K. "It remaineth now that ye carry that mind and courage with you, which your noble progenitors
H "bare before you, thoſe I ſay, who after they had conquered & ſubdued all *Europe* paſſed into *A-*"*ſia*, and by force of arms made way & diſcovered that part of the world that was never heard of "before, and gave not over to win ground ſtill and make more conqueſts, untill they were barred "by the red ſea, & could find no more land to conquer. But now beleeve me, fortune hath denoun-"ced a triall by war, not for the purchaſe of the utmoſt bounds & marches of *India*, but for our free "hold and poſſeſſion for our inheritance even of *Macedony*. Theſe Romans, when they warred a-"gainſt my father, pretended a goodly title, & made a glorious ſhew to the world, as though they

"would

* Or, *Elymeots*, according to *Turneb.* in *Adverſariis*.

*Perſeus to his ſouldiers.*

" would deliver *Greece*, and eſtabliſh it in freedom: but now in open and plain terms they ſhoot H
" at *Macedony*, intending to bring it into ſervitude; to the end there might be no K. near neigh-
" bor to the Roman ſeignory, nor any nation renowned for martiall proweſs, permitted to bear
" arms and have weapon in hand. For theſe things and no leſs, forced ſhall be to part with, and
" deliver up theſe proud LL. together with King and kingdom, in caſe ye ſurceaſe war; and to do
" whatſoever they will command you. All the while that he delivered this ſpeech, there might be
heard ſecret ſuccłamations oftentimes, ſufficiently teſtifying the generall aſſent of them all: but at
theſe laſt words they liſt up their voices and cried out aloud part for anger & indignation, mena-
cing the enemy, part for courage and reſolution, exhorting the King to be of good chear and take
a good heart; inſomuch as he was conſtrained to give over, and make an end of his Oration: only
he commanded them to be ready for the remove, & to put themſelves in the journey againſt the I
enemy: for by this time advertiſed he was that the Romans were diſlodged from *Nymphæum*. Af-
ter this aſſembly was diſmiſſed, he gave audience to the embaſſages from the States of *Macedony*:
for, come they were to make promiſe and offer both of money & grain to maintain this war, every
one according to their ability. Thanked they were each one, and releaſed of all that charge, with
this anſwer, that the Kings proviſion was ſufficient. Only he commanded them to find wains and
carts for carriages of the pieces of ordnance, the engins of battery, the darts, quarrels and other
ſhot, whereof a mighty deal he had provided; and in ſum, all the inſtruments & furniture of war.
Then he ſet forward with his whole army marching toward *Eordea*, and near unto the lake which
they call *Begarites*, he encamped. The next morrow he advanced to *Elymea* upon the river *Haliac-
mon*. After this, having paſſed over the mountains named *Cambunii* through a ſtraight and narrow K
paſſage he deſcended to thoſe that inhabit *Azorus*, *Pythous*, and *Doliche*, which quarter is called
*Tripolis*. Theſe three towns ſtaid ſome while in ſuſpence, by reaſon that they had given their ho-
ſtages to the Lariſſæans: but in the end, overcome with the fear preſented before their eyes, were
content to yield themſelves into his hands. *Perſeus* uſed gracious words to this people, making this
account that the Perrhæbians would do the like: & in very deed he entred upon the City (which
ſurrendered at his firſt arrival) without any doubt or ſtay at all made by the inhabitants within. As
for the town *Cyretiæ*, he aſſaied to batter it, and the firſt day he was repulſed in a ſharp skirmiſh at
the very gates made by the townſmen that put on arms, drew to an head, and made reſiſtance. But
the morrow after, when he had aſſailed the City with all his forces, they ſubmitted all to his
mercy before night. The inhabitants of the next town to it *Mylæ*, preſuming upon their fortifica- L
tions, and ſtanding upon this, That their City was impregnable, were ſo proud and luſty, that they
could not be contented to ſhut the gates only againſt the King, but moſt rudely and malapertly
ſpared not to caſt out reproachfull taunts and gibing terms againſt his own perſon and the Mace-
donians. Which manner of dealing, as it envenomed the enemies and edged them the rather to en-
force and follow the aſſault, ſo it kindled themſelves the more (upon deſpair of all pardon & mer-
cy) to maintain and make good their place & ſtand more reſolutely in their own defence. Where-
upon for three daies together the town was aſſailed by one part, and defended by the other with
mighty courage right valiantly. The Macedonians were ſo many in number, that by turns they re-
lieved the aſſault without any difficulty, and entred one in the place of another. But the townſmen
who ever more day and night guarded the walls, without any change & new ſupply, were not only M
overcharged with many wounds, but alſo wearied and enfeebled with continuall travell and want
of ſleep. The fourth day, when at one inſtant the ſcaling ladders were reared againſt the wals in e-
very quarter, and the gate aſſailed with greater force and violence than before, the inhabitants be-
ing driven from the curtain and battlements ran all to ward the gate, and made a ſudden ſally up-
on the enemies: which proceeding more upon inconſiderat and blind anger, than any true and aſ-
ſured confidence of their own ſtrength, cauſed them (few in number and wearied) to be diſcom-
fited & put to flight by the enemies freſh and in heart, who entred pell-mell with them into the
ſaid gate ſtanding wide open. Thus was this City taken and ranſacked. The bodies alſo of the free
born perſons, as many as remained after the bloudy execution, were ſold in market. *Perſeus* after
he had raſed, ruined, and burred a great part of the town, diſlodged and departed from thence to N
*Phalanna*, and the next day following went onward, and marched to *Gyrtone*. But being adverti-
ſed that *T. Minutius Rufus* and *Hippias* the Prætor of *Theſſaly* were entred thither with a garriſon,
he paſſed beſides the the town, and never made offer of any aſſault. But he ſurpriſed *Elatia* and
*Gonnus*, by reaſon that the townſmen were ſtrucken with exceeding fear upon his ſudden arrivall.
Theſe two towns are ſituat upon the very ſtraight which leadeth to *Tempe*, but *Gonnus* eſpecially.
And therefore he left it guarded with a ſtrong garriſon both of foot and horſe, as alſo fortified
with a trebble trench and rampier. Himſelf in perſon went onward ſtil to *Sycurium*, minding there
to attend the coming of the enemy: and withall he commanded his army to forrage and purvey
corn every way all over the territory of the enemies lying under him. For *Sycurium* is ſeated upon
the hanging of an hill toward the very foot of the mountain *Oſſa*, having upon the South ſide the O
plain champian of *Theſſaly* under it, but behind on the back *Macedony* and *Magneſia*. Over and
above theſe commodities, the place is very healthfull and plenteous of all good things, watered
alſo with many quick and running ſprings round about.

The Roman Conſul having his army on foot about that time marching toward *Theſſaly*, at
the firſt found good way and ready paſſage through *Epirus*: but afterwards, when he was paſſed
over once into *Athamania*, he met with a rough country & rugged ſoil, & in manner inſuperable:

ſo

A ſo as with exceeding great difficulty and by ſhort journeys he had much ado to reach unto *Gomphi*. And if at that time, whiles his men and horſes were encumbred and tainted, the King had made head in battell arranged, taking the vantage of time and place againſt him, leading as he did an hoſt compoſed but of rude and untrained novices, the Romans themſelves cannot deny, but it would have gone very hard with them, and a great overthrow they muſt needs have received in that conflict. But when they were come once to *Gomphi* without any skirmiſh, beſides the joy which they conceived, for that they had eſcaped and overcome that dangerous paſſage, they began alſo to contemn their enemies, for that they knew not their own good, and were ſo ignorant of the opportunities which they had. The Conſul after he had duly ſacrificed (as it appertained) and diſtributed the allowance of corn among his ſouldiers, ſojourned there ſome few daies
B for the reſt and repoſe both of man and beaſt: where, hearing that the Macedonians ranged and over-ran the country of *Theſſaly*, waſting and ſpoiling the territory of the Roman allies, he led his ſouldiers now ſufficiently refreſhed unto *Lariſſa*. And having marched from thence within three miles of *Tripolis* (which they call *Scea*) he pitched his tents, and lodged upon the river *Peneus*.

At the ſame time *Eumenes* arrived by ſea at *Chalcis* together with two of his brethren, *Attalus* and *Athenæus*, leaving at *Pergamus* a third brother *Philetærus* for the defence of his Realm. From thence, accompanied with *Attalus* and a power of four thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe he came to the Conſul, and left at *Chalcis* two thouſand footmen commanded by *Athenæus*. Thither alſo repaired other aids which came in to the Romans from all the States of *Greece*, but moſt of
C the particulars were ſo ſmall as now they are grown out of remembrance. The Apolloniats ſent 3 hundred horſemen, and a hundred footmen. From the Ætolians there came a Cornet of horſemen, even the whole Cavalry that the ſaid nation could make. Likewiſe all the Cavalry of the Theſſalians which exceeded not the number of three hundred that ſerved in the Roman camp & quartered apart. The Achæans ſent one thouſand men of their youth armed for the moſt part after the Candiot manner. And much about this time *C. Lucretius* alſo the Prætor, who had the conduct of the ſhips that anchored in the rode of *Cephalonia*, after he had given charge to *M. Lucretius* his brother, to make ſail with his fleet beyond the Cape of *Malea*, & ſo to paſs to *Chalcis*, himſelf went aboord unto a trireme galley, & ſailed toward the gulph of *Corinth*, for to be ſeized
D firſt of the country of *Bœotia*, and to prevent all matters there. He made way but ſlowly becauſe of the infirmity and weakneſs of his body. *M. Lucretius* being arrived at *Chalcis*, and advertiſed that *P. Lentulus* lay againſt the City of *Haliartus*, ſent a meſſenger commanding him in the name of the Prætor to raiſe the ſiege and diſlodge from thence. The lieutenant notwithſtanding he had ſet into that ſervice with the help of the youth of that part of *Bœotia* which took part with the Romans retired from before the walls. The levying of this ſiege gave occaſion of a new enterprize: for incontinently *M. Lucretius* beſieged and inveſted *Haliartus* with his own ſea-forces to the number of 10000 fighting men together with 2000 ſouldiers from K. *Eumenes* whereof *Athenæus* had the charge: and as they were now upon the point to give an aſſault, the Prætor came in unto them
E from *Creuſa*. And very near to that time there arrived alſo at *Chalcis* certain ſhips from the allies, namely, two Quinquereme galeaces of *Carthage*, two trireme gallies from *Heraclea in Pontus*, four from *Chalcedon*, as many from *Samos*, and five quadrireme gallies of *Rhodes*. All theſe veſſels the Prætor ſent back again to the allies, and eaſed them of that charge becauſe there was no ſea-ſervice to be performed in any place. *Q. Martius* alſo came by ſea to *Chalcis*, after he had won *Halops*, and aſſaulted *Lariſſa* called *Cremaſte*.

This was the State of *Bœotia*, when *Perſeus* (as hath been ſaid before) lay encamped at *Sycurium*: who after he had from every coaſt thereabout got together all the grain that he could come by, ſent certain companies to give the waſte unto the territory of the Phocæans ſuppoſing th Romans might be ſurpriſed, when they ſhould be drawn far from their own camp to the ſuccouring of their diſtreſſed aſſociats. But perceiving that they ſtirred never the more for all that tumult:
F he dealt among his ſouldiers all the prey, but only of men and women: now the booty ſtood moſt upon cattell, wherewith they made good chear. After this, but near about one and the ſame time, the Coſ. & K. *Perſeus* both debated in their councill, how and where they ſhould begin the war. The K. had taken great heart and courage by occaſion that the enemy ſuffered him to make ſuch havock and do his pleaſure in the Pheræans territory. And therefore his reſolution was to march directly againſt the Roman camp without giving more time and making any further delay. The Romans likewiſe for their parts were of opinion, that all forſlacking now would greatly prejudice their reputation among the confederats, who took it exceedingly to the heart, that they had not ſuccoured the Pheræans. As they ſate conſulting what to do, (now *Eumenes* and *Attalus* both were preſent at this Councill) there came a meſſenger in poſt haſte with news that the enemy approached near at hand with a mighty army. Whereupon the Councill brake up, and preſently the
G ſignall was given to arm. And adviſed it was in the mean while, that there ſhould go forth 100 horſe, and as many darters and foot out of King *Eumenes* his companies.

*Perſeus* about the fourth hour of the day being come within a mile and ſomewhat more of the Roman leaguer commanded the enſigns of the footment to ſtand. Himſelf in perſon with the men of arms and light armed ſouldiers advanced forward, and ſo together with King *Cotys* and the Captains of the other auxiliaries, they two marched before. Now when they were within half a mile from the camp, they might diſcover the horſemen of their enemies. Two Cornets they were,

both

moſt part Gauls, under the conduct of *Caſſignatus*; beſides the looſe and light armed forlorn hope, to the number well-near of a hundred and fifty, and thoſe were partly Myſians and partly Cretenſians. Hereat the King made a ſtand, not knowing well the number of the enemies: and anon out of the regiment that he had with him he drew two wings of Thracian horſe, and as many Macedonians; likewiſe two Cohorts of Cretenſian, and as many Thracian footmen. Hereupon enſued a skirmiſh: but foraſmuch as they were marched even in number, and no ſuccour came in to reſcue from the one part or the other, it ended likewiſe in doubtfull ballance of victory. Of *Eumenes* his part there died about thirty: in which number *Caſſignatus* the Commander of the Gauls was ſlain. So for that time *Perſeus* retired his forces to *Sycurium*: but the next morrow the King marched with them again to the ſelf-ſame place, and much about the foreſaid hour. Certain carts and wains laden with water followed after: and by reaſon that for a dozen miles ſpace, all the way was waterleſs, and full of duſt withall, hardly beſtead (as it ſhould ſeem) they had been for very drought and thirſt, in caſe they had been charged and put to skirmiſh, at the time when they were firſt in fight. But conſidering that the Romans kept quiet, yea, and had reduced their *corps de guard* within their rampier, *Perſeus* likewiſe retired with his forces into his camp. This did the enemies for certain daies together, hoping ever that the Roman Cavalry would charge upon the tail of the rereguard in their retreat: and when by that occaſion the skirmiſh was once begun and that they had trained and drawn them far from their camp; then they might with eaſe whereſoever they were, turn upon them and make head, having the odds of them in horſemen and light armed ſouldiers. But the King ſeeing this would not ſpeed, encamped nearer unto the Romans, and fortified the compaſs of half a mile. From whence betimes in the morning by the break of day, after he had embattelled his infantry in the uſuall place, he led all his Cavalry and light-armed men toward the camp of his enemies. The Romans ſeeing a greater duſt raiſed by more in number, and the ſame nearer than ordinary it had been, were mightily afraid within their camp. But at the firſt they would hardly beleeve the meſſenger that brought the news: for that continually all the former daies the enemy uſed not to be ſeen untill the fourth hour of the day, and now the ſun was but newly riſen. Howbeit, afterwards (I ſay) when about their gates there were thicker alarms given and more and more running from thence, and that now there was no doubt at all of the matter, there grew an exceeding trouble & hurliburly. The Marſhals, Colonels, Captains, and Centurions, betook themſelves into the quarter about the Prætors pavilion: and the ſouldiers ran every man to his own tent. *Perſeus* had embattelled his men leſs than half a mile from the rampier about a little hill which they call *Calicinus*. King *Cotys* had the charge of the left wing, with althoſe of his own nation. The ranks of the cavalry ſtood marſhalled aſunder one from the other by reaſon that the light armed ſouldiers were beſtowed between. In the right wing were placed the Macedonian horſemen, and the Cretenſians likewiſe intermingled among them. *Milon* of *Berrhæa* led theſe light armed ſouldiers: but *Meno* of *Antigonia* commanded the horſemen, and the whole regiment of that part. Next to thoſe wings the Cavalry of K. *Perſeus* was arranged together with the ſelected aid-ſouldiers of many and ſundry nations: and the ſame were conducted by *Patrocles* of *Antigonia*, and *Didas* the governour of *Pæonia*. In the midſt of all was the King himſelf: having about him a band called *Agema*, and certain cornets of horſemen named [*The ſacred wings*] Before him he planted the ſlingers and darters, who both together amounted to the number of 400: and over them he appointed for to be their leader one *Ion* of *Theſſalonica*, and *Timanor* the Dolopian. In this manner as is beforeſaid, ſtood the Kings forces embattelled. The Conſul, having put his Infantry in order of battell, ſent out his Cavalry likewiſe with the light armed companies, who were ſet in array before the camp. *C. Licinius Craſſus* the Conſuls brother had the leading of the right point, with all the Italian horſemen and the footmen lightly appointed intermingled among them, *M. Valerius Lævinus* in the left, commanded the horſemen of the greek aſſociats, together with the light armed ſouldiers of the ſame nation. *Q. Mutius* conducted the battaillon in the midſt with certain extraordinary choſen men of arms. Before their Guidons, 200 horſemen of the Gauls ſtood in ordinance: and of the auxiliaries of K. *Eumenes*, 300 Cyrtians, and 400 Theſſalian horſe. Not far from thence were ranged, ſomewhat above the left point King *Eumenes* himſelf and his brother *Attalus*, with all their power were planted behind, even between the rereward and the trench. Thus ſtood both battels much after this manner arranged, and having of either ſide a like ſtrength in manner of horſemen and light-armour, they encountred and charged one another; and then the conflict was begun by the forlorn hope of looſe ſhot to wit, the ſlingers and darters that went before. And firſt of all others the Thracians, faring like wild and ſavage beaſts, who had heen long pent up within ſome grates and cages, with a mighty cry advanced forth and ran upon the Italian horſemen in the right wing, to the end that they might trouble and amaze them; being otherwiſe a nation fearleſs, as well by nature as for long experience and practiſe of war * * * The footmen with their ſwords aſſaied to cut off the heads of their pikes; and one whiles they hought their horſes, and another whiles they ran them into their flanks. *Perſeus* rode into the midſt of the battell, and at the firſt ſhock forced the Greeks to turn ſide and give way: and when the enemy preſſed moreover hard upon them behind, behold, the Theſſalian horſemen who were placed in the rereguard for ſuccour, and ſtood ſomewhat apart and ſevered from the left wing, who at firſt were beholders only of the fight (as keeping without the danger of the charge) afterwards ſtood them in very good ſtead, even as they were at the point to go down & have the worſe. For as they retired leiſurely without breaking

breaking their ranks, after that they once joyned with the aids of *Eumenes*, they both yielded the opportunity to their allies who were disbanded in the rout, to retire in safety within their ranks: and also espying their own vantage, when the enemies pursued not so thick in troops, they adventured to put themselves forward beyond, and so staid many of those their allies whom they encountred and received in their flight. Neither durst the Kings men, being now also disarraied and dispersed here and there in following the chase, come to hand-fight and joyn battell with those, continuing so well in order as they did, and marching firm and strong together; whereas the matter had been dispatched and the war brought to a finall end, in case the King who won the better in horse-fight, had never so little come in with help and succour. For as he encouraged his souldiers to fight, there came in place very fitly and in passing good time, the * *Phalanx*, which *Hippias* and *Leonatus* (because they would not be behind-hand in this hardy enterprise) brought of their own accord in great haste so soon as ever they heard of the winning-hand of the Cavalry. A strong battaillon of footmen,

"And "whiles the K. wavered in doubtful suspence, between hope and fear of this so great an adventure, "*Evander* the Cretensian, whose service *Perseus* had used in the await laid for K. *Eumenes* at *Del-*"*phi*, seeing that main battell marching heavily armed under their ensigns, ran unto the King and "earnestly advertised him to take heed, lest that presuming too much and bearing himself over-"confident of this good speed of his, he brought not unadvisedly the main chance of all his estate, "into a needless and unnecessary hazard. For if (quoth he) you can be content with the happy "fortune of this fair day and so rest, either you shall have the means to make an honourable "peace, or else (if you had rather prosecute the war) to win exceeding many allies to bear arms "with you in the field; who, no doubt, will follow the train of your good fortune. To this way stood the Kings mind ever, and thither he soon enclined. Therefore having commended *Evander* for his good advice, he commanded the ensigns to retire, and the footmen to return into the camp: likewise to sound the retreat unto the Guidons of the men of arms. In this battel 200 Roman horsemen that day lost their lives, and no fewer than 2000 footmen, and neer upon 200 of the Cavalry were taken prisoners. Of the Kings side there died not past 200 horsemen and forty of the other.

After that the victorious enemies were upon their return into the camp all were jocund & glad in general, but above the rest the Thracians shewed themselves in joy for this their victory, over insolent: for they returned singing full merrily, and carried the heads of their enemies fixed upon their spear-points. But the Romans were not only sad and heavy for this unfortunat journey, but fearfull also lest the enemy should forthwith assail their camp. *Eumenes* gave counsell to dislodge and remove to the other side of the river *Peneus*, that it might serve them instead of a defence and bulwark, untill such time as the amated souldiers had recovered their spirits and taken heart again. The Cos. was ashamed and abashed to bewray his fear; howbeit, over-ruled with reason, he set his army over the river in the dead time of the night, and encamped on the farther bank. K. *Perseus* the morrow after advanced forward to bid the enemies battel, but perceiving they were lodged in safety beyond the river, he confessed that he had faulted indeed, for that he had not followed his victory the day before; but more overseen a good deal he was in lying still and taking repose that night: for without troubling any else of his own men, he might have sent out the light armed souldiers only to set upon the enemies as they passed over the river in haste and fright, and so defeated a great part of their forces. Now the Romans shook off their fear for the present, considering they were encamped in a sure place: but among other damages, the blot especially of their honour and name grieved and troubled them. And as they sate in Councill before the Consul, every man for his part laid all the blame upon the Ætolians, who first began to be affraid and run away; and whose example of fear the other allies of the Cities of *Greece* followed: for it was said, that five principall men of mark among the Ætolians, were seen and noted first of all other to have turned their backs. But the Thessalians were praised in a full assembly of the whole army; and their Captains for their vertue and valorous service were honoured with presents. The spoils of the enemies were brought before King *Perseus*; out of which he bestowed freely upon some, brave and gorgeous armours; upon others goodly great horses; and finally, certain were rewarded with the prize of good prisoners. Targets there were above a thousand and five hundred, cuirasses and corslets not so few as a thousand; besides, a far greater proportion of murrions swords, "and shot of all sorts. Great matters these were, considered in themselves; but much more amplified and set out by the King himself with a speech that he made in a frequent audience of his army assembled together, after this or the like manner, "You see already by this (quoth he) "what you may judge before-hand of the finall issue of this war: discomfited ye have the bet-"ter part of your enemies, to wit, the Roman Cavalry, wherein they took themselves to be in-"vincible. For their horsemen are the very gallants and bravest of their youth; their Gentlemen "of arms (I say) are the seminary and nurse-garden of their Senat. From them they chuse their "Nobles and Peers to make Consuls of, yea, and Generals of the field another day. And the spoils "of these we have erewhiles divided among us. Neither is the victory less which ye have gai-"ned of the Infantry and legions, who although by night they made an escape from you, yet in "hasting to pass over the river, they resembled a sort that had suffered shipwrack at sea, and in "fearful haste for their lives have swom & overspread the river every where with their bodies. Soo-"ner shall we & with greater ease I trow, get over *Peneus*, to chase them thus already overcome, "than they did, making such haste for fear: and being once set on the other side, we shall out of

"hand

" hand aſſail their camp, which we might have forced and won this day, but that they took them H
" to their heels and fled. But if they will come to a field and try the quarrel by the ſwords point,
" look ye for no other iſſue of the conflict with footmen, than was before of the other with
" horſemen. Theſe words, both the horſemen (who bare upon their own ſhoulders the ſpoils of their enemies lying ſlain before their eyes in open view) heard with great pleaſure and contentment, as meaſuring the hope of the future ſpeed by the fortune paſſed; and alſo the footmen enflamed now with the glory of others (and namely, thoſe that were of the Macedonian Phalanx) wiſhed with all their hearts to have the like occaſion offered unto them, wherein they might not only ſhew their valiant ſervice before the K. but alſo win ſemblable glory of their enemies. Thus the aſſembly was diſſolved, and the morrow after the King marched forward and encamped upon *Mopſelus*, which is an hill ſituat in the mid way between *Tempe* and *Lariſſa*. The Romans remo- I
ved their camp into a place of more ſecurity, howbeit, not far from the bank of *Peneus*. Thither repaired *Maſſagenes* the Numidian, with 1000 horſe and as many foot, beſides 22 Elephants. Now as K. *Perſeus* during theſe daies, ſat in Council what courſe to take as touching the main conduct of his affairs, when his courage was now well abated and not ſo luſty for his late victory, ſome of his friends were ſo hardy as to adviſe him to uſe this good fortune of his for the obtaining and compaſſing of ſome honourable peace, rather than upon a vain hope to carry his head aloft, and engage himſelf and his whole ſtate into ſome hazard & jeopardy, out of which he ſhould not be able to recover and retire into ſafety. For to keep a mean and moderation in proſperity, and not over-confidently to truſt upon the preſent flattering fortune, is the part (ſay they) of a wiſe man indeed and truly happy. And therefore the beſt courſe is, to ſend certain men of purpoſe unto the K
Cof. for to renew the league upon the ſame conditions, with which your father *Philip* had accepted peace heretofore of *T. Quintius* the conqueror. For neither (ſay they) can the war be taken up with greater honour and reputation, than after ſo memorable a battel; nor ever will there be preſented more firm and aſſured hope of a peace to continue for ever, than upon this occaſion, which will work and mollifie the Romans as a man would have them, to come on and aſſent to any accord, conſidering they are well tamed with the infortunity of this battell. But in caſe the Romans upon an inbred peeviſhneſs and engraffed pertinacity of theirs, ſhould not hear reaſon but refuſe an indifferent end, then both God and man ſhall be witneſs, as well of the moderation of *Perſeus*, as of their pride & inſolent frowardneſs. The K. was willing enough to give ear to this, and indeed never miſliked ſuch diſcourſes; and therefore the advice was approved by the aſſent L
of the moſt part; whereupon embaſſadors were ſent to the Cof. & in a frequent Council aſſembled, had audience given them. Peace they demanded, and promiſed that *Perſeus* ſhould pay unto the Romans as great a tribute as *Philip* had covenanted for; and likewiſe quit the ſame Cities, coaſts, and territories, which *Philip* had given up and ſurrendred. To this effect ſpake the embaſſadors; who being retired aſide, the Romans debated in Council, and in the end Roman conſtancy imported and had the upper hand: for in thoſe daies the manner and uſe was, in time of adverſity to bear all out and ſet a good countenance, but in proſperity to hold an even hand and to uſe governance. So agreed it was to return this anſwer, That peace might be granted with this condition, That K. *Perſeus* ſhould permit full and free power to the Senat of *Rome*, for to diſpoſe both of his perſon and the kingdom of *Macedony* at their good pleaſure. When the Embaſſadors M
had made relation hereof, this conſtant reſolution and invincible perſiſtance of the Romans made them to wonder again, as being not acquainted with their manners and faſhions: and moſt of them forbad to make mention any more of peace, ſaying, That the Romans would be glad ſhortly to ſeek for that of their own accord, which now at this preſent they loathed & rejected when it was offered. But *Perſeus* mightily feared, that this arrogant ſpirit of theirs, proceeded from the confidence they had in their own forces; inſomuch as he gave not over ſo, but aſſaied to tempt the Cof. if haply by augmenting the ſum of money, he might buy peace at any price & reckoning whatſoever. But ſeeing him nothing to come down, nor to alter one jot from the firſt anſwer; in deſpair now of all peace, he returned to *Sycurium* from whence he came, purpoſing once again to try the hazard of the field. Now the fame of this late fight of cavalry was flown over all *Greece* N
and diſcovered the minds and affections of men: for not only they that took part with the Macedonians rejoyced to hear this news, but alſo very many of them who were obliged and beholden unto the Romans for benefits and favours received at their hands, and ſome likewiſe who had taſted of their violence and proud government. And this they did for no other reaſon at all, but only upon a fooliſh and perverſe affection, like to that wherewith the common people ordinarily is carried away in the beholding of diſports and triall of maſteries, even to favour evermore the weaker and him that taketh the foil.

At the ſame time *Lucretius* the Prætor had with moſt forcible means aſſaulted the City of *Haliartus* in *Bœotia*: and albeit the beſieged defendants within were relieved by no forrain aid, but only the youth of the Coronæans (who at the beginning of the ſiege entred the City) nor hoped O
for any to come; yet they ſtood out and made reſiſtance with courage of heart more than with ſtrength of hand: for they iſſued forth many times, and ſallied upon the fabricks and engins of the enemy, yea & when the ram approached hard to the wall, they let fall thereupon a mighty weight and counterpoiſe of lead and ſo depreſſed and drave it down to the ground. And if haply the enemies who ran with the ram againſt the wall, avoided the device of theirs, laid battery, and ſhook it in ſome other place; the townſmen within, raiſed preſently with great ſpeed another mure,

piling

piling up haſtily the ſtones one upon another, which they found lying among the very ruins of the breaches. The Conſul ſeeing this manner of ſervice by way of ordnance and battery, to become ſlow and tedious, commanded to divide ladders amongſt every company, and purpoſed to inveſt the City round about with the Eſcalado; ſuppoſing that the number which he had would be ſufficient to exploit this enterpriſe, becauſe on that ſide whereas the Town is encloſed with a mariſh, it was bootleſs (or rather unpoſſible) to aſſault it. Himſelf in perſon preſented 2000 elect ſouldiers before that part, whereas two turrets, and all the wall between was beaten down and overthrown: to the end that in the very inſtant, whiles he aſſaied to enter at the breaches the townſmen ſhould run all thither to repulſe him, and in the mean while the walls void of defendants might in ſome part or other be ſcaled and won. But they within beſtirred themſelves luſtily to give him the repulſe. For having piled in the very open breaches a mighty number of faggots made of drie vine cuttings and ſuch ſmall bruſh, they ſtood ready with flaming firebrands and burning links, threatning ever and anon to kindle the ſame and ſet all on fire, to the end that being defended from the enemy by the means of fire between, they might have time to oppoſe an inner countermure againſt them. But by miſchance this device and enterpriſe of theirs was empeached. For there poured down on a ſuddain ſuch a mighty ſhower of rain that the fewel would not eaſily take fire, and look what was ſet a burning, it ſoon was quenched again. By which means not only the paſſage was made open between the ſmoking faggots drawn apart one from another here and there, but whiles they all intended wholly the defence of that one place the walls were taken at one inſtant by ladders reared up againſt many and ſundry parts thereof. In the firſt heat upon the winning of the City, old and yong, ſuch as chanced to come in their way, without any reſpect at all of age were put to the ſword. The armed ſouldiers fled into the Caſtle and the next day being paſt hope to make good the place, they yeelded and were all ſold under the garland in portſale, to them that would bid moſt, to the number of 2500 men or very neer. The ornaments and beauties of the City, as ſtatues, images, painted tables and pictures, and whatſoever was found in the pillage to bear a better price, was caried to ſhipbord, and the Town it ſelf raſed from the very foundations, and laid even with the ground. From thence the army was conducted to *Thebes*: which being won without any reſiſtance he put into the hands of the baniſhed perſons, and thoſe that took part and ſided with the Romans: but thoſe of the contrary faction, ſuch as favoured the King and the Macedonians, he ſold by whole families in open market to the beſt chapmen. Having performed theſe exploits in *Bœotia*, he retired himſelf to the Sea ſide to his ſhips.

Whiles theſe affairs paſſed thus in *Bœotia*, *Perſeus* lodged for certain daies in camp at *Sycurium*. Where being advertiſed, that the Romans made great haſt to inn the corn newly reaped down, and to cary it from all parts of the fields unto the leaguer, and that every ſouldier before his tent cut and ſhred off the ears as they lay bound in ſheaves, to the end they might thraſh and drive out the cleaner corn, by which occaſion they had made great heaps of ſtraw throughout all parts of the camp, he ſuppoſed it was an eaſy matter to ſet all their tents and pavilions on fire. Whereupon he commanded to provide torches, links and balls made of tow beſmeared with pitch and tar: thus provided and furniſhed, he ſet out at midnight, that by the dawning of the day, he might put this device in execution without being deſcried before. But all came to nothing: for the foremoſt *corps de guard* although they were ſurpriſed with this ſuddain coming by their trouble and affright awakened and raiſed all the reſt, and immediatly the alarm was given; ſo as at one inſtant the ſouldiers were ready and well appointed at the gates, and upon the rampier bent and preſt for to defend the camp. *Perſeus* likewiſe incontinently turned about with his enſigns, putting his fardage and carriage before, and then commanded the infantry to march after: himſelf with the cavalry and light-armors ſtaied behind to fortify and guard the rereward, ſuppoſing (as it fell out indeed) that the enemies would make after to charge upon the tail of the march. His light armed ſouldiers had ſome ſhort skirmiſhing eſpecially with the forlorn hope and looſe avant-courriers, but the horſe and footmen both retired without any impeachment into the camp. Thus when all the corn was cut down about thoſe quarters, the Romans diſlodged and removed into the territory of *Crannon*, which as yet was not endammaged. Whiles they lay encamped in ſecurity and miſtruſting nothing (becauſe the enemies were ſo far off, and by reaſon that the way between *Sycurium* and *Crannon* was ſo difficult for want of water;) behold all on a ſuddain early in the morning by day light, the Kings cavalry and light armed ſouldiers ſhewed themſelves upon the hills that overlooked them from above, and put them into great trouble. Departed they were from *Sycurium* at noon the day before, and had left the infantry behind about the break of day upon the plain next thereto. For a while he ſtood upon thoſe ſaid hills, hoping that the Romans might be trained forth to an horſe-fight. But perceiving them not to ſtir at all, he ſent one on horſeback to command the footmen to retire again to *Sycurium*, and himſelf in perſon followed ſtreight after. The Roman horſemen made after a prety diſtance off, if haply they could ſpie any vantage in one place or other to charge upon them, diſbanded and ſtragling aſunder. But when they ſaw that in their diſmarch they kept cloſe together following their guidons and keeping their ranks they alſo returned into the camp. After this, the King weary of making ſo long journies diſlodged and removed to *Mopſium*. The Romans for their part likewiſe having mowed down all the corn of *Crannon*, paſſed into the territory of *Phalannæum*. The King having intelligence by a renegate revolt, that the Romans were ſcattered all over the fields and reaping the ſtanding corn without any guard of armed men, made a rode with 1000 horſe & 2000 Candiots & Thracians:

who marching with as great haſt as poſſibly they could, ſet upon the Romans at unawares all un- H
provided; where he took a thouſand carts or thereabouts, together with their teams, moſt of them laden, and upon 600 men beſides. The guard and convoy of this booty into the camp he committed to the charge of 300 Cretenſians. Himſelf having rallied his cavalry diſperſed here and there buſy in execution, and reunited with all the reſt of the footmen, led them to the next *corps de guard* or garriſon of the enemies, ſuppoſing that with little ado they might be ſurpriſed and vanquiſhed. *L. Pompeius* a Colonel had the command of them, who ſeeing his ſouldiers affrighted with this ſuddain coming of the enemies, retired with them to an hill neer at hand, for to defend himſelf by the vantage and ſtrength of the place, conſidering that otherwiſe in number and forces he was too weak. Where after he had caſt his men into a ring, for to ward againſt the ſhot of arrows and darts by a roof and fence of targets couched cloſe together over their heads: *Perſeus* having envi- I
roned the hill round about with armed men, commanded ſome to mount up and aſſay to win the place on all parts, it poſſibly they could, and then to fight cloſe hand to hand: others he charged to lance their darts and ſhoot their ſhafts thick at them a far off. The Romans were beſet with a double fear; for neither could they maintain skirmiſh and fight cloſe together becauſe of thoſe who laboured to climb the hill: and ſay they had broke any ranks with excurſions and outrodes upon them, yet were they expoſed and lay open to the ſhot of arrows and darts. Moſt hurt they had by certain weapons called *Ceſtroſphendonæ* [ſling-darts.] A new kind of dart this was and lately deviſed in the time of this very war. It had a ſharp head of iron the length of two hands breadth, and the ſame ſet faſt in a ſteel which was half a cubit long, and about the thicknes of a mans finger: for to flie direct and ſtreight, three feathers it had about it in man of a ſhaft: the K
ſling from the middle part had two cords of an unequal ſize: now when as the ſlinger ſwung it about, as it lay even poiſed in the greater capacity of the leather thong out flew the dart and was driven with violence like a bullet. Many of the ſouldiers being very ſore wounded as well with this weapon as all other ſorts of ſhot, ſo as now for wearines they were not able to bear their own armour: the King was earneſtly in hand with them to yeeld and ſubmit, aſſuring them upon his faithful word their lives, yea and otherwhiles promiſed them rewards and recompences. But there was not a man whoſe heart enclined once thereto. Now as they ſtood thus ſtiff and reſolut to die there ſhone upon them a little comfort and ſome hope of evaſion beyond all their expectation. For certain of the forragers and corn purveiors, who hapned to flie for refuge unto the camp, brought word unto the Conſul, that the *corps de guard* aforeſaid was beſieged round: wher- L
upon being moved with the jeopardy wherein ſo many citizens ſtood (for about 900 they were, and all citizens of *Rome*) he went forth of the camp with the cavalry and light armed ſouldiers, and unto them joyned certain new ſuccours of the Numidians as well horſe as foot, together with the Elephants: and gave commandment to the martial Colonels, that the enſigns of the legions ſhould follow after. Himſelf in perſon marched before toward the hill aforeſaid taking with him a certain number of skirmiſhers, for to ſtrengthen the light armed auxiliaries. *Eumenes Attalus*, and *Maſagenes* alſo the King of the Numidians, flanked the Conſ. on either ſide. When as the beſieged Romans had a ſight once of the formoſt enſigns of their friends and fellows, they took comfort and courage again upon their former extream deſpair. *Perſeus*, who had purpoſed in the firſt place not to ſpend any long time in laying ſiege to this *corps de guard* but to content himſelf with M
the fortunat ſucceſs which at a venture hapned, in that he had taken and ſlain ſome of the forragers: ſecondly (when he was in ſome ſort entred into that action) to depart (whiles he had means thereof) without any damage received, as knowing that he had no ſtrength, to ſpeak of, about him: yet puffed up and caried as it were above the ground with the conceit of his late good hand, both ſtaid in perſon to attend the enemies coming, and alſo ſent out in all haſt for the [Macedonian] Phalanx. Which coming later than the preſent neceſſity required (albeit in great haſt they hurried) it fell out ſo, that they were to encounter (troubled and diſordred as they were in running) their enemies that were well appointed and provided aforehand. And the Coſ. who had prevented them preſently welcomed them with battail. At the firſt, the Macedonians made reſiſtance; but afterwards being in no reſpect equal unto the enemies after they had loſt three hun- N
dred footmen with four and twenty of the moſt forward and braveſt horſemen out of that cornet which they call *Sacra* (amongſt whom *Antimachus* alſo their leader died) they endeavoured to retire and be gone. But the way by which they were to paſs, was more troubleſome to ſpeak of, than the skirmiſh and battail it ſelf. The Phalanx being ſent unto by a meſſenger in haſt, and conducted as haſtily, encountred affront in a certain ſtreight a troop of priſoners, and likewiſe the waggons charged with corn. Who being laid at to give way, thereupon aroſe a great trouble as well of the one part as the other; whiles no man took heed how to march in order: but the armed ſouldiers caſt down and overthrew the heaps of fardage and baggage. for otherwiſe there could no way be made: and the draught-beaſts being pricked and provoked forward, raged and made foul work in the preſs and throng. Hardly and with much ado were they diſengaged and O
rid of this confuſed and diſordered company of captives, when they met with the King his company and the horſemen diſcomfited. In which place, the noiſe which they made crying unto the Phalanx. Back again Back again made a fright among them as if there had been ſomething ready to fall upon their heads: in ſuch ſort as if their enemies durſt have entred into the ſtreight and purſued farther after them, no doubt they had received a great overthrow. But the Conſul contenting himſelf with a mean good hand, in that he had reſcued and recovered his *corps de guard* from off

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A the hill, retired with his forces into the camp. Some write that there was a great battail fought that day, and how 8000 enemies were ſlain; and among them *Sopater* and *Antipater* two of the Kings Captains. Alſo that there were taken priſoners about 2400: and military enſigns 27 caried away. Neither was the victory eaſily gotten but coſt blood, for not ſo few as 4300 were ſlain of the Conſul his army, and five guidons of the left wing loſt. This journey recomforted the Romans, but danted and quailed *Perſeus* in ſuch ſort, as after he had ſtaid a few daies at *Mopſelum*, eſpecially about enterring the bodies of his dead ſouldiers, and left a ſufficient garriſon at *Gonnos*, he retired his army into *Macedony*, leaving alſo at *Phila* one of his own Captains named *Timotheus*, with ſome ſmall forces, whom he commanded to aſſay the Magneſians and the borderers adjoyning. When he was come to *Pella*, he diſmiſſed his army out of the field, and ſent them to their
B wintring harbors, but himſelf together with King *Cotys* went to *Theſſalonica*.

Thither news came, that *Atlesbius* a petty King of the Thracians, and *Corragus* a Captain under King *Eumenes*, had invaded the marches of *Cotys*, and were maſters of the country which they call *Marene*. And therefore ſuppoſing that he muſt needs diſcharge *Cotys* to look to the defence of his own realm, he beſtowed rich preſents upon him at his departure: and gave him 200 talents for ſix months wages of his cavalry, whereas at the beginning he purpoſed to be at the charge of a whole years pay.

The Conſul after he heard that *Perſeus* was gone, approached with his army neer to *Gonnos*, and there lodged; if haply he might force and gain that alſo. Situat it was over againſt *Tempe*, at the very mouth and gullet of the ſtreights, and is the very frontier Town yeelding both a moſt aſſured
C defence and ſtrength to all *Macedony*, and alſo a commodious paſſage for the Macedonians to enter into *Theſſaly*. And being a place impregnable, as well for the naturall ſite thereof, as the ſtrong garriſon therein planted, he gave over the enterpriſe. So turning and bending his way into *Perrhæbia*, after he had forced *Mallæa* at the firſt aſſault and put it to the ranſack; and received *Tripolis* with the reſt of *Perrhæbia*, yeelded by compoſition, he returned to *Lariſſa*. And then having ſent *Eumenes* and *Attalus* home into their own country, and beſtowed *Maſſagenes* and the Numidians in divers Cities of *Theſſaly* neer at hand to remain there for the winter time, and diſtributed part of his forces throughout all *Theſſaly*, in ſuch ſort, that not only they had all commodious wintring, but alſo ſerved in ſtead of garriſons to the Cities. *Q. Mutius* his Lieutenant he ſent with a regiment of 2000 men to guard *Ambracia* and keep it in obedience. All the confederats of the
D Greek Cities, ſave only the Achæans he licenſed to depart. With one part of his army he went into *Theſſaly* in *Phthia*, where he raſed down to the ground *Pteleum*, abandoned of the inhabitants. But *Antrona* he won with the good will of the Townſmen. Then afterward he approached before *Lariſſa* with his forces. The City was left deſolat, for all the people were retired into the forteſs, the which he began to aſſault: and firſt the Kings garriſon of Macedonians quit the place: of whom the Townſmen being forſaken and left to themſelves, ſubmitted incontinently. Then he ſtood in doubt whether he ſhould aſſail *Demetrias* firſt, or have an eye and look into the troubles and ſtate of *Bœotia*. For the men of *Thebes* being grievouſly moleſted and annoied by thoſe of *Coronæa*, had ſent for him into *Bœotia*: at whoſe praiers, thither he conducted his army; and beſides, *Bœotia* was a country more commodious to winter in than *Magneſia*.

E

# The three and fortieth Book
## *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the three and fortieth Book.

F *Divers Pretors were judicially condemned, for demeaning themſelves with cruelty and avarice in the adminiſtration of their Provinces.* P. Licinius Craſſus *the Pro-conſul, won by force many Cities in* Greece, *and cruelly rifled them. For which rigour of his, the captives whom he had ſold under the garland in open market, were by an order directed out of the Senat, reſtored afterward to their former eſtate. The Admirals of the Roman fleets committed many outrages and enormities againſt their allies. Beſides, there are compriſed in this book, the proſperous affairs of King* Perſeus *in Thrace, after he had vanquiſhed the Dardanians and ſubdued* Illyricum, *whereof* Gentius *was King. The troubles which began in* Spain *by means of* Olonicus, *were appeaſed by his death.* M. Æmylius Lepidus, *was by the Cenſors created preſident of the Senat.*

G
## *The three and fortieth Book of* T. Livius.

THe ſame ſummer, wherein the Romans wan the victory with horſe-fight in *Theſſaly*, the Lieutenant being ſent into *Illyricum* from the Conſul, compelled by force and arms two rich Towns to yeeld; unto which nevertheleſs he gave all their goods again, to the end that by an opinion of this clemency, he might win the hearts of the inhabitants of

*Carnus*, that ſtrong City. But when he ſaw that he could not conſtrain them to render, no more than force them by ſiege; becauſe his ſouldiers ſhould not ſeem to have been wearied for nought in the beſieging of two Towns, he fell to rifle and ranſack that, which before he left untouched. The other Conſul *C. Caſſius* neither performed any memorable exploit in *Gaul*, which was his Province by lot; and having endeavoured to conduct his legions through *Illyricum* into *Macedony*, all his deſignment came to no effect at all. That the Conſul was entred upon this journey, the Senat was certified by the Embaſſadors of the Aquileians: who complained that their colony newly erected was feeble, and not as yet well ſecured among thoſe fierce nations of Iſtrians and Illyrians: and withal they made ſuit, that the Senat would provide and take order, that the ſaid colony might be fortified: and when the queſtion was put unto them, Whether they would be content that commiſſion ſhould be directed unto *C. Caſſius* in that behalf? they anſwered, That the ſaid *Caſſius*, having aſſembled his army at the *Rendez vous* in *Aquileia*, was departed through *Sclavonia* into *Macedony*. This at firſt was thought incredible, and every man ſuppoſed verily, that he had been gone to levy war, upon the Carnians haply or the Iſtrians. The Aquileians were able to reply no farther, nor affirm more upon their knowledge than this, That allowance of corn was made for the ſouldiers to ſerve thirty daies, and that guids were ſought and brought out, who knew the waies out of *Italy* into *Macedony*. Hereat the Senate (ye may be ſure) took great ſnuff and was highly diſpleaſed, that the Conſul ſhould be ſo hardy as preſume to leave his own provin.e for to paſs into that which belonged to another, and to lead his army an unknown and new way, and the ſame dangerous, through ſtrange and forrain countries, thereby to open paſſage as it were, for ſo many nations to come into *Italy*. Whereupon in a frequent aſſembly of the Senators, there paſſed a decree, That *C. Sulpitius* the Pretor ſhould nominat three Embaſſadors out of the body of the Senat, for to depart out of the City that preſent day, to make all the haſt they poſſibly could to overtake the Conſul whereſoever he was, and to give him warning to levy no war againſt any nation without direct warrant from the Senat. And theſe Embaſſadors went, namely, *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, *M. Fulvius*, and *P. Martius Rex*. The preſent fear as touching the Conſul and the army, was the occaſion that the care of fortifying *Aquileia* was deferred for that time.

After this, were the Embaſſadors of certain States in both Provinces of *Spain* admitted to come into the Senat: who complained of the covetouſnes and pride of the Roman Officers and Governors among them; humbly beſeeching the Senat upon their knees, Not to ſuffer them (being allies and confederats) to be more ſhamefully pilled and ſpoiled than the very enemies. Among other indignities for which they ſhewed themſelves aggrieved, notorious it was, that the ſaid Magiſtrats had taken bribes, yea, and uſed extortion in wringing mony from them. Whereupon a commiſſion was granted to *L. Canuleius* the Pretor (unto whom *Spain* by lot was faln) to ordain five judges or commiſſioners (and thoſe out of the rank and degree of Senators) for every perſon of whom the Spaniards claimed to recover ſuch monies; and likewiſe to permit the plaintifs to take unto them what Advocats and Counſel they would. Then, after thoſe Embaſſadors were called again into the Senat, this decree and act of the Senat was read unto them, and willed they were to nominat their Advocats; who named four, to wit, *M. Porcius Cato*, *P. Cornelius Scipio* the ſon of *Cnæus*, *L. Æmylius Paulus* the ſon of *Marcus*, and *C. Sulpitius Gallus*. And firſt they took commiſſioners to proceed againſt *M. Titinius*, who had been Pretor in the hither Province of *Spain*, when *Au. Manlius* and *M. Junius* were Conſuls. Twice was the cauſe of the accuſed party adjourned to a farther time, but at the third ſeſſion he was quit and found unguilty. Then aroſe ſome variance and diſſention between the Embaſſadors of thoſe two Provinces. The States of this higher *Spain*, took for their patrons and Advocats, *M. Cato* and *Scipio*; they of the farther and lower *Spain*, made choice of *L. Paulus* and *Gallus Sulpitius*. They of high *Spain* convented before the delegate judges, *P. Furius Philus*; the other of the baſe *Spain*, *M. Matienus*. *Philus* had been L. Deputy there three years paſt, when *Sp. Poſthumius* and *Q. Mutius* were Conſuls; but this *Matienus* two years before, during the Conſulſhip of *L. Poſthumius* and *M. Popilius*. Charged they were both of them with right grievous matters and imputations, and a farther day granted of a final judgment: but when they were to anſwer judicially again, they made default, and for excuſe it was alledged, that they were both out of the country; and ſo they departed into voluntary exile, *Furius* to *Præneſte*, and *Matienus* to *Tyber*. The voice went, that the patrons of the plaintifs would not ſuffer them to follow proceſs ſtill againſt ſuch noble and great perſonages: and the ſuſpition hereof was more pregnant, by reaſon that *Canuleius* the Pretor let this matter fall, and began to take muſters and levy ſouldiers for the war; and ſo forthwith directly went into the Province, to the end that no more men ſhould be brought into queſtion and troubled by theſe Spaniards. By this means, all former matters paſt were buried in ſilence and no more ſpeech made of them; but for future time, the Senat took order and provided for the Spaniards ſo well, that they obtained an immunity, That no Roman Magiſtrate ſhould have power and authority to ſet the price upon any grain, nor force the Spaniards to ſell the *Viceſimes* at what rate he pleaſed to ſet down: alſo that there ſhould be no commiſſioners appointed within their Towns for the gathering and receiving of the revenues and mony iſſuing from thence. Beſides, there came another embaſſy of a ſort of people out of *Spain*, after a new and ſtrange manner: for there were above four hundred perſons, avouching themſelves the children of Roman ſouldiers and Spaniſh women not joyned in wedlock: who appeared before the Senat and beſought them, for

to

A to allow them a City to inhabit. Wherupon ordained it was, That they ſhould enter their names and be matriculated before their Pretor *L. Canuleius*: and look whomſoever of them he affranchiſed and made free, thoſe they thought meet to be ſent to *Carteia* neer the Sea ſide, and there planted: alſo that thoſe Carteians, who were willing ſtill to keep home and remain there, ſhould be priviledged as Coloners and ſo enrolled, and to enjoy beſides a portion of Lands aſſigned unto them. This was a Latine colony, and was called the Colony of the Libertins.

At the ſame time there came as Embaſſador out of *Africk*, *Guluſſa* the ſon of *Maſaniſſa*, and likewiſe the Carthaginian embaſſage. *Guluſſa* firſt was brought into the Senat; who declared what his father had ſent unto them againſt the Macedonian: promiſing withal, that if it pleaſed them to impoſe more upon him, he would be ready to perform the ſame in remembrance of the benefits
B received from the people of *Rome*: finally, he gave the LL. of the Senat a caveat by the way to take heed that the Carthaginians deceived them not in the end: for that reſolved they were, and went in hand to prepare a great navy, under pretence of ſending it to the Romans againſt the Macedonians; which if it were once ready rigged and furniſhed, it was in their choice then, to make whom they would either friends or foes. * * * * * * * * *

Being entred the camp and ſhewing the heads aloft, they ſtruck ſuch a fear, that if immediatly the army had come forward and advanced againſt them, the camp might have been won: and yet even then as it was, they fled amain: and ſome there were who gave their opinion, to ſend Embaſſadors to treat and with praiers to intreat for peace. Upon the news reported hereof, many Cities ſubmitted and were ſurrendred. Such as made excuſe, and laid the fault upon the folly of two
C perſons only, who had of their own accord offered themſelves to be puniſhed, obtained pardon of the Pretor. And then forthwith he went in expedition againſt other Cities; but finding them all ready to do whatſoever they were commanded, he paſſed quietly with his army through that countrey in peace, which but a while before was all up in arms and on a light fire. This lenity of the Pretor, which he uſed in taming and ſubduing this moſt fierce and proud nation without effuſion of blood, was by ſo much more acceptable to the LL. of the Senat and the whole body of the people, as the Conſul *Licinius* and the other Pretor *Lucretius* had warred in *Greece* with greater cruelty and avarice. As for *Lucretius*, the Tribuns of the Commons accuſed him daily in their ordinary Orations before the people for his abſence: Notwithſtanding his excuſe was alledged, that abſent he was, and employed about the affairs of the State. But in thoſe daies, ſo unknown were
D things done hard by, that even at that preſent he was at his farm within the territory of *Antium*, and buſy in conveighing a conduct of water out of the river *Coracina* to *Antium*: the charges whereof he defraied with the money raiſed out of the ſale of prizes taken from the enemies. Some ſay that he bargained to have that peece of work effected, for the ſum of a hundred and 13000 Aſſes. Moreover he embelliſhed and adorned the Temple of *Æſculapius*, with the painted tables found in the pillage. The envy and ill will, the obloquy alſo and diſhonor like to grow to *Lucretius*, turned upon his ſucceſſor *Hortenſius*, by occaſion of the Embaſſadors of *Abdera*, who in piteous wiſe complained with tears before the Senat, that their Town was by *Hortenſius* forced and ranſacked: How the cauſe of this ruin and deſtruction of their City was no more but this, that being enjoined by him to make paiment of a hundred thouſand Denarii, and allowance
E of fifty thouſand Modii of wheat, they requeſted ſome reſpit of time, wherein they might addreſs their Embaſſadors, as well to *Hoſtilius* the Conſul as unto *Rome*, concerning this impoſition. For ſcarcely were they come unto the ſaid Conſul, but they heard how their City was forced, the principal citizens thereof beheaded, and all the reſt ſold in port-ſale under the garland. Theſe were grievous indignities in the ſight of the Senat, whereupon they paſſed the ſame ordinance in the behalf of the Abderits, that the year before had been directed in the like caſe as touching the Coronæans; and commanded the Pretor Q. *Manius* to publiſh the ſaid decree before the publick aſſembly of the people. In like manner two Commiſſioners were ſent, namely *C. Sempronius Bleſus*, and *S. Julius Cæſar* for to re-eſtabliſh the Abderits in their freedom: who alſo had in charge to ſignify from them both to the Conſul *Hoſtilius*, and alſo to the Pretor *Hortenſius*, That
F the Senate judged the hoſtility offered unto the Abderits injurious, and the war unlawful, and therefore that all ſuch as were brought into ſervitude, ſhould be ſought out and reſtored again to liberty.

At the ſame time preſentation was made unto the Senat of certain complaints againſt *C. Caſſius* who had been Conſul the year before, and at that time was emploied in quality of a Colonel-marſhal together with *A. Hoſtilius* in *Macedony*. Likewiſe there arrived the Embaſſadors of *Cincibilus* a pety King of the Gauls. A brother of his having audience granted in the Senat made a ſpeech, wherein he complained, that *C. Caſſius* had given the waſt to the lands and territories of the people inhabiting the *Alps* who were their allies and confederats, and from thence had led away into captivity many thouſand perſons. And much at one inſtant there came the Embaſſadors
G of the Carnians, Iſtrians and Japides with complaints againſt *Caſſius*. That firſt he had enjoined them to furniſh him with guids for to ſhew and direct him the beſt way to march with his army into *Macedony*, and ſo departed in peace from them, as if he had meant to war elſe-where: but afterwards out of the midway of his journey, he returned upon them, and in hoſtile manner overran their frontiers, robbing, ſpoiling & burning wherſoever he went: and to this day they cannot deviſe and know the reaſon wherefore the Conſul ſhould hold them for enemies and deal ſo cruelly by them. As well the Prince of the Gauls aforſaid being abſent as theſe Embaſſadors in place received

this anſwer, That as touching the outrages for which they ſhewed themſelves grieved, the Senat neither knew thereof beforehand, that ever they were intended, nor yet approved of the ſame, ſince they were committed. But againſt all right and equity it were to condemn unheard in his own defence, and abſent, ſuch a perſonage as he is, namely, a man who had been Conſul; conſidering alſo that his employment about the C.W. is the occaſion of his abſence. When *C. Caſſius* is once returned out of *Macedony*, then if they would ſhew themſelves and accuſe him face to face, the Senat would hear the cauſe and take knowledge accordingly, yea, and endeavour that they ſhould be ſatisfied and contented. Moreover, thought good it was, that theſe nations ſhould not be diſpatched only with this bare anſwer, but that Embaſſadors alſo ſhould be ſent: two unto the foreſaid King beyond the *Alps*: and other three to the people above named, for to acquaint them with the reſolution of the Lords of the Senat. And they gave order beſides to ſend preſents to each of the Embaſſadors to the value of two thouſand Aſſes over and above, to the two Princes that were brethren, theſe gifts following, to wit, two chains of gold weighing after they were wrought five pound of gold: alſo five peeces of plate in ſilver, amounting to the weight of twenty pound: two bard horſes with their riders and lackies: likewiſe horſemens armour and their caſſocks: and liveries likewiſe for all thoſe of their train, as well bond as free. Theſe were the things ſent unto them. But at their own requeſt granted it was beſides, that they might for their mony buy each of them ten horſes, and be allowed to tranſport them out of *Italy*. The Embaſſadors ſent with the Gauls beyond the mountains, were *C. Lælius* and *M. Æmylius Lepidus*: to the other nations *C. Sicinius*, *P. Cornelius Blaſio*, and *T. Memmius*.

Moreover, there met together in *Rome* at once, the Embaſſadors of many States both of *Greece* and *Aſia*. And firſt the Athenians were brought into the Senat, who related, That they had ſent unto the Conſul *P. Licinius* and the Pretor *C. Lucretius*, what ſhipping they had, and all the fighting men they were able to make: but ſeeing they had no uſe of them, they had raiſed a levy of a hundred thouſand Modii of corn. Which, albeit their land was but barren for tillage, and the very husbandmen themſelves lived of fortain corn brought in unto them, yet they had made means to do accordingly, becauſe they would not ſeem to be wanting in any dutiful ſervice: and willing they were yet, and preſt to perform whatſoever they would require. The Mileſians for their part ſaid, That hitherto they had done nothing, marry they offred themſelves to be ready to accompliſh all that the Senat ſhould command them toward this war. The Alabandians ſhewed, That they had built a * Temple to the City of *Rome*, and ordained beſides, that in the honour of that goddeſs there ſhould be a ſolemnity of games and plaies exhibited every year. Alſo, that they had brought with them for a preſent, a crown of gold weighing fifty pound, to ſet it up in the Capitol as a gift and offering to *Iup. Opt. Max.* and withal, three hundred horſmens ſhields, which they were minded to beſtow upon thoſe, unto whom it pleaſed them to appoint and command. Their petition was, that they might be permitted to offer their preſent in the Capitol, and there to ſacrifice. The men of *Lampſacus* came with a golden crown weighing fourſcore pound, proteſting, That they had quit and abandoned *Perſeus*, ſo ſoon as ever the Roman army was arrived in *Macedony*, notwithſtanding they owed allegeance unto *Perſeus*, and were homagers to his father *Philip* before him. In which conſideration, as alſo for that they had performed their devoir to their full power to the Roman Generals, they requeſted no other favour to be gratified withal, but to be received into the amity of the people of *Rome*: and in caſe there ſhould be peace concluded with *Perſeus*, that they might be excepted and exempted in the accord, for being reduced under his obedience. The reſt of the Embaſſadors had a gracious anſwer returned unto them. As for the Lampſacens, order was given to *Q. Manius* the Pretor, to enter and enrol them in the number of allies. Every one of theſe Embaſſadors were rewarded with a preſent worth two thouſand Aſſes. The Alabandians were appointed to carry back with them into *Macedony* their ſhields aforeſaid, and to deliver them unto *A. Hoſtilius* the Conſul. Over and beſides, the Carthaginian Embaſſadors out of *Africk*, made relation that they had brought from thence ten hundred thouſand Modii of wheat, and five hundred thouſand of barley, which they had on ſhipboard at the ſea-ſide, ready to cary the ſame whereſoever the Senat would appoint. This benevolence of theirs they accompanied with good words, ſaying, they knew well that this gift and recogniſance of their duty, was inferior either to their own good will, or the demerits of the people of *Rome*. Howbeit many times heretofore they had ſhewed themſelves to do the part of thankful, faithful, and truſty allies, in all things tending to the profit and good of both ſtates. In like ſort the Embaſſadors of *Maſaniſſa* promiſed the ſame proportion of corn, with 1200 horſe, and twelve Elephants, aſſuring them in his name, to do whatſoever the Senate would impoſe and ſhould be thought needful; and that with as free an heart as the benevolence offered of his own accord. Thanks being given both to the Carthaginians and alſo to the King, requeſted they were to tranſport over into *Macedony* to the Conſul *A. Hoſtilius*, thoſe things which they had promiſed. To the Embaſſadors were ſent by way of preſents, two thouſand Aſſes apeece. The Cretenſian Embaſſadors, related how they had ſent into *Macedony* ſuch a number of Archers, as the Conſul *P. Licinius* had impoſed upon them: and when they denied not upon the queſtion asked, that there ſerved more Archers of theirs under *Perſeus* than with the Romans, this anſwer was made unto them, That if the Cretenſians would well and truly and in good earneſt prefer the friendſhip of the people of *Rome* before that of King *Perſeus*, the Senat of *Rome* likewiſe would give them anſwer as certain and aſſured allies: in the mean while, they ſhould [illegible] to underſtand,

* Rome a goddeſs.

A ſtand, that it was the will and pleaſure of the Senat, that the Cretenſians ſhould with all ſpeed poſſible call home all thoſe ſouldiers whom they had in any garriſon of King *Perſeus*. The Candiots being diſmiſſed with this diſpatch, then the Chalcidians were called in: and at the very firſt ſight of them, it ſoon appeared upon what terms of neceſſity they were driven to ſend an embaſſage: when *Miccion* the chief man among them, by occaſion that he was lame with the gout in his feet, was brought into the Senat in a litter. In which extremity diſeaſed as he was, there was no pleading of any excuſe by his infirmity, nor craving pardon, ſince he was to go without, when he had all done. He began by way of preface and præamble, ſaying, "He had nothing left alive but his "tongue, for to deplore and bewail the calamities of his country: then he went forward, and firſt "ſhewed what courteſies and good turns the State wherin he lived had performed to the Captains
B "General and armies of the Romans, both of old, and alſo of late in the war againſt *Perſeus*. After "this, he declared what parts of pride, covetouſnes, and cruelty, firſt, *C. Lucretius* a Roman Pretor "had exerciſed upon his country-men, and afterwards what *L. Hortenſius* practiſed, at that time "above all others: alſo how the Chalcidians were reſolved to endure all calamities, were they "more grievous than thoſe which they preſently ſuffred rather than they would yeeld to *Perſeus*. "And as for *Lucretius* and *Hortenſius*, they knew full well, that it had been better and more for "their ſafety to have ſhut their gates againſt them, than to receive them into their City. For ſuch "as had excluded them forth, as namely, they of *Emathia*, *Amphipolis*, *Maronea*, and *Ænus*, remain "ſtill entire and in good eſtate; but with us (ſay they) the Temples have been robbed of all their "beautiful ornaments, and utterly ſpoiled by theſe ſacriledgers, *C. Lucretius* hath carried all away
C "by water over to *Antium*, and hath led away into bondage and captivity the perſons free born. "So as the goods and fortunes of the allies of the people of *Rome*, both have been and daily are pil-"led & rifled. For according to the uſe & faſhion brought up by *C. Lucretius*, *Hortenſius* likewiſe "houſeth his mariners as well in ſummer as winter, and our houſes are ful of a rabble of theſe ſailers "and ſea-men, in ſuch ſort as our wives and children be forced to converſe among ſuch grooms as "make no account at all what either they ſay or do. Hereupon thought good it was, to ſend for *Lucretius* into the Senat, that he might ſee his accuſer, anſwer face to face, and purge himſelf of theſe challenges. But when he was come in place, he heard much more in preſence, than had been ſpoken againſt him in his abſence. Over and beſides, there ſhewed themſelves and joined together againſt him, two other more ſtout adverſaries and bitter accuſers, to wit, *M. Iuventius Talva* and
D *Cn. Auſidius*. And theſe two not only courſed him before the Senat, but alſo having drawn him perforce into the general aſſembly of the people, and charged him before them with many reproaches, took out proceſs alſo and arreſted him to make his appearance and anſwer judicially at a day before the people. Then *Q. Manius* the Pretor, by order from the Senat, anſwered the Chalcidians in this manner: Wheras ye alledge and ſay, That ye have well deſerved of the people of *Rome* both heretofore and alſo in this preſent war now in hand, the Senat knoweth all that to be true, and accepteth the ſame thankfully in the beſt part, as of right they ought. As touching your grievances and complaints for the lewd parts which *C. Lucretius* hath plaied, and which *L. Hortenſius* ſtill practiſeth (both Pretors of *Rome*) the ſame neither have been nor are committed and done by the will and allowance of the people of *Rome*. For who would not judge ſo of it, that knoweth how
E they levyed war upon King *Perſeus* and his father *Philip* before him, for to enfranchiſe *Greece* and ſet it at liberty; and not that their allies and friends ſhould thus hardly be intreated by their Magiſtrats and Governors ſent from hence? Write therfore they would unto *L. Hortenſius* the Pretor, to let him underſtand, that the Senate is not well pleaſed with theſe pranks of his which the Chalcidians complain of. Alſo if any free-born perſons were become thrall and bound, that with all convenient ſpeed he ſhould take order to ſeek them up and reſtore them again to their former freedom. Laſt of all, that they deemed it meet and reaſon, that no ſailer or mariner, but only the maſters of ſhips ſhould be lodged and entertained in your houſes. And theſe were the contents of the letters written unto *Hortenſius*, by commandment from the Senate. Unto the Embaſſadors were gifts ſent, to every one aſmuch as came to 2000 Aſſes. As for *Miccion*, he was allowed his
F carriage in chariots at the charges of the City, and order given that he ſhould with all eaſe ride in them to *Brunduſium*. As for *C. Lucretius*, when the day of appearance was come, the Tribuns commenſed an action againſt him before the people, to be a fined at a million of Aſſes. And in a generall aſſembly and Seſſion holden for this purpoſe, caſt he was and condemned by the ſuffrages of all the tribes, even thirty five and no fewer.

In *Liguria* no memorable exploit was that year performed: for neither the enemies entred into arms, nor the Conſul led his legions into their country; and when he was aſſured of peace for that year, he diſcharged the ſouldiers of two Roman legions, within 60 daies after his firſt coming into the Province. As for the army of the Latine allies, he brought it early into the Cities of *Luna* and *Piſa* there to winter: and then himſelf with the cavalry viſited moſt of the Cities in the
G Province of *Gaul*.

In no place was there any war but in *Macedony*: howbeit they had in ſuſpition *Gentius* and the King of the Illyrians. Therefore the Senate ordained to ſend from *Brunduſium* eight ſhips ready rigged and fully furniſhed, unto the Lieutenant *C. Furius* at * *Iſſa*, who was Governor of the Iland with the guard and ſtrength of two Iſſean Veſſels; in which were put aboord and ſhipped 2000 ſouldiers, which *Q. Manius* the Pretor by a warrant directed out of the Senate, enrolled in that quarter of *Italy* which lieth oppoſite to *Illyricum*. In like manner the Conſul *Hoſtilius* ſent

* *Liſſa.*

*Appius*

*Appius Claudius* into *Illyricum* with four thouſand footmen, for to defend the people in thoſe H
parts: who not content with thoſe forces of his own which he had brought with him thither,
demanded here and there aids and ſuccours of the allies, until he had put in arms eight thouſand
men of divers and ſundry nations. And after he had made his progreſs through all that region, he
ſet him down and reſted at *Lichnidum* a City of the Daſſaretians. Not far from thence there ſtood
a frontier Town called *Uſcana*, and for the moſt part ranged under the obedience of *Perſeus*. There
were within it one thouſand citizens, and a ſmall garriſon of Cretenſians for their better ſafe-
guard and defence. From thence there came to *Claudius* ſecret courriers, advertiſing him, that if
he would approach neerer with his army, there would be ſome ready at hand to betray the Town
into his hands: and worth the adventure it was (ſay they) and would quit for all the pains: for
able it was with pillage to enrich not himſelf and his friends only, but alſo all his ſouldiers. The I
hope of this cheat, fitting ſo well his covetous humour, ſo blinded his ſpirit and underſtanding,
that he had not the ſence to keep with him any one of thoſe courriers that came unto him, nor the
wiſedom to demand hoſtages for aſſurance of his enterpriſe which was to be accompliſhed by
ſtealth and fraud, nor yet the forecaſt to ſend out ſcouts and eſpies, or ſo much reaſon and mother-
wit as to require their oath and bond of faithful promiſe. Only at the day appointed he departed
from *Lychnidum*, and within twelve miles of that City toward which he went, he encamped.
Then by night at the relief of the fourth watch, he removed and ſet forward, leaving behind him a
regiment of a thouſand, for the guard of the camp. At length, to the City they come, diſordered in
a long train, marching nothing cloſe, but far aſunder looſly one from another and ſcattered, by
reaſon that in the night ſeaſon they went many of them out of the way. This negligence of theirs K
was the more, when they ſaw no man appearing upon the walls: but ſo ſoon as they were ap-
proached within a darts caſt, the inhabitants iſſued forth at once out of 2 gates and together with
the ſhout of them that ſallied forth, a mighty noiſe and outcry beſides aroſe from the walls, of wo-
men howling, yelling, and ringing braſen baſons and bells on every hand; beſides, the confuſed
multitude of the baſe people and bond-ſlaves together, ſet up moſt hideous and diſſonant cries.
Theſe manifold terrors preſented from all parts, were the cauſe that the Romans could not abide
and ſtand out the firſt tempeſt and violent ſtorm, as it were, of their ſally and charge. Down
they went therefore, and were ſlain more in flight than fight: and ſcarce 2000 men with the Lieu-
tenant himſelf, eſcaped and recovered the camp: for the longer way they had thither, the more
means and opportunity had the enemies to chaſe and overtake a great number of them, wearied L
upon the way. *Appius* ſtayed not ſo long in the camp, until he had rallied thoſe that were diſper-
ſed in the rout, (which had been the only way to have ſaved thoſe that were ſtragled in the fields)
but immediatly retired with the broken reliques of his army after this overthrow, to *Lychnidum*.
This infelicity and ſuch other like misfortunes hapning in *Macedony*, were made known at *Rome*,
by occaſion of *Scx. Digitius* a Colonel, who was returned home for to celebrate a ſolemn ſacri-
fice. In regard whereof, the LL. of the Senat fearing to receive ſome greater ignominy and diſho-
nour, addreſſed Embaſſadors into *Macedony*, *M. Fulvius Flaccus* and *M. Caninius Rebulus*, to make
a true report upon their knowledg how the world went there. Alſo that *A. Hoſtilius* the Conſul
ſhould publiſh the aſſembly general for the election of Conſuls, ſo as it might be holden in the
month of *January*; and then repair himſelf with all convenient ſpeed to the City. In the mean time, M
*M. Retius* the Pretor had in charge, by vertue of an edict, to call home into the City all Senators
from every quarter of *Italy*, unleſs ſuch as were abſent about the affairs of the ſtate: alſo to give
ſtreight warning to them who now were at *Rome*, not to abſent themſelves farther than a mile
from the City. Theſe things were done according to the advice of the Senat. So the grand aſſem-
bly for the election of the Conſuls, was holden the * 28 day of *Auguſt*; wherein were created
Conſuls, *Q. Martius Philippus* the ſecond time, and *Q. Servilius Cæpio*. Three daies after, the Pre-
tors alſo were choſen, namely, *Caius Decimius*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, *M. Sulpitius Gallus*, *C. Marti-
us Figulus*, *Ser. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Fonteius Capito*. Unto theſe Pretors elect, beſides the
two charges within the City of civil juriſdiction, theſe four provinces and governments were
aſſigned, to wit, *Spain*, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, and the admiralty of the navy. N

At the very end of *February*, the Embaſſadors aforſaid returned out of *Macedony*; who recoun-
ted the acts atchieved fortunatly by *Perſeus* the ſummer paſt, and in how great fear the allies of
the people of *Rome* ſtood, after ſo many Cities reduced under the obeiſance of the King. More-
over, that the Conſul his army was diſfurniſhed of men, by reaſon that ſo many of them made
friends to be diſcharged and ſo for favour had their paſs-port and were diſmiſſed: the fault here-
in, the Conſul laid upon the military Tribuns or Colonels, and they again upon him. The LL. of
the Senat perceived well that they made but light of the ſhameful foil received by the inconſide-
rate raſhneſs of *Claudius*, in ſaying, That there were but very few ſouldiers loſt of the Italian nati-
on, and thoſe for the moſt part taken up in haſt and enrolled on a ſuddain. The Conſuls elect ſo
ſoon as they entred into their magiſtracy, were commanded to propound unto the Senat con- O
cerning the Province of *Macedony*, and to them were aſſigned the governments of *Italy* and *Mace-
dony*. This year was leap-year, and the third day after the feaſt * *Terminalia*, was the day inſerted
between, which hapned upon the calends [of *March*.] Within the compaſs of that year certain
Prieſts to wit, *L. Flaminius*, and two Pontifies or Biſhops, *L. Furius Philus*, and *C. Livius Salina-
tor*, departed this life. The colledge of theſe Pontifies, elected *T. Manlius Torquatus* in ſtead of
*Furius*, and *Marcus Servilius* in the room of *Livius*.

* *Ad quintum calendas Septembris.* I doubt, that for [*Septembris*] it ſhould be [*Februarii*.] and then is it the 28 of *Ianuari*: which conſidering the precedent meſſage and the ſubſequent circumſtances, ſuiteth better to the ſtory.

* To the God of Bounds, *Terminus*. Solemnized it was toward the end of *February* the laſt month of the year, as appeareth by *Ovid. Faſt. 2. Qui ſequitur annum veteris fuit ultimus anni: Tu quoque ſacrorum, Termine, finis eras.*

A In the beginning of the year next following, after that the new Coſſ. Q. *Martius* and *Q. Servilius*, had moved in the Senat as touching their provinces, adviſed it was, That with all ſpeed poſſible they ſhould either agree between themſelves, or elſe caſt lots for the governments in *Italy* and in *Macedony*. And before that the lots determined this matter ſo doubtful and uncertain, to the end that nothing afterwards ſhould be done for favour partially, thought good it was, to ordain before hand a competent and ſufficient number of ſouldiers for the ſupplement of the armies in both Provinces; namely, for *Macedony* 6000 footmen of Romans, and as many of Latine allies; 250 horſemen Romans, and 300 allies: alſo to caſs the old ſouldiers, ſo as in every Roman legion there ſhould not be above 6000 foot and 300 horſe. As for the other Conſul, he was not gaged with any certain ſtint of Roman citizens, to be levied for the full accompliſhment of his legions.
B Only this was determinatly ſet down, That he ſhould enrol two legions, and either of them to contain 5200 foot and 200 horſe: but for footmen of Latins, he had a greater number allowed than his colleague; namely, 10000 foot and 600 horſe. Moreover, commandment was given to enrol four legions more, to be led forth into the field, upon what need and occaſion ſoever ſhould fall out. The Marſhal-Colonels of the army the Conſuls might not be permitted to elect, but created they were by the people. The allies of the Latine nation were enjoined to ſet out ſixteen thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe. And this power was only to be in a readineſs at an hours warning, for to be led forth as occaſion ſhould be offered. Their principal care was about *Macedony*. Ordained alſo it was, That for the ſervice at Sea, there ſhould be enrolled to ſerve the navy, of the Roman citizens (ſuch as were libertins and newly enfranchiſed) out of all parts of
C *Italy* one thouſand, and as many out of *Sicily*. And unto whether of the Conſuls the Province of *Macedony* fell, he ſhould give order for their tranſporting thither, to the armado whereſoever it was. For *Spain* there were three thouſand Roman footmen and three hundred horſemen appointed to make up the decaied bands. There alſo, a certain number was ſet down for every legion, to wit, five thouſand foot and three hundred and thirty horſe. Moreover, that Conſul whoſe lot was to govern in *Spain*, had commiſſion to levy of the allies four thouſand footmen, and three hundred horſe.

I am not ignorant, that from the ſame prophane negligence and irreligion, whereby commonly men now adaies are of belief, that the Gods portend and fore-ſignify nothing to come by ſigns and tokens; it proceedeth alſo, That no prodigies which happen, ſhould any more, either be pu-
D bliſhed and reported abroad, or recorded in the annals and chronicles. Howbeit, for mine own part, in writing of theſe acts and monuments of ancient times, I know not how, but me thinks I cary a mind, that is become (as it were) antique alſo; yea, and ſome ſcrupulous devotion ariſeth in my ſpirit, which moveth me to account the things not unworthy to have place in my hiſtories, which thoſe ſage fathers and moſt prudent perſonages in old time thought meet to be conſidered of by the State, yea, and to require publick expiation. Well, to proceed, from *Anagnia* were two fearful ſights reported that year, namely, That a burning and blazing flame was ſeen in the skie; and a cow known to ſpeak, kept and nouriſhed at the publick charges. At *Minturne* alſo much about thoſe daies, the welkin ſeemed to be on a light fire. At *Reate* there fell a ſhower that rained ſtones. In the fortreſs at *Cumes* the image of *Apollo* wept three daies and three nights continually. In the
E City of *Rome*, two ſextons or keepers of the Temples made report, the one, That in the Church of *Fortune* there was a Serpent ſeen by many men, creſted with a mane: the other, That about the chappel of * *Fortuna Primigenia*, which ſtandeth upon the Capitol hill, there hapned two divers and different prodigious ſigns, namely, That in the Chappel-yard there ſprung up a palm-tree; and all one day it rained blood. Two other ſtrange things there were, whereof there was no regard nor account made; the firſt, becauſe it chanced in a privat place; for *T. Martius Figulus* reported That there grew up a palm or dare-tree in his court-yard: the ſecond, becauſe it hapned in a forrain place: for ſpoken it was, That at *Fregellæ* in the houſe of M. *Atreus*, a lance or ſpear which he had bought for his ſon a ſouldier, burned in the day time for two hours ſpace and more, yet ſo, as the fire conſumed nothing thereof. In regard of thoſe publick prodigies, the Decemvirs had recourſe
F to the books of *Sibylla*: who out of them declared, That the Conſuls ſhould ſacrifice forty head of greater beaſts, and they ſhewed alſo to what Gods. They added moreover and gave advice to hold a publick proceſſion, and that all the Magiſtrats at every ſhrine and upon every altar of the Gods ſhould ſacrifice greater beaſts, and the people wear garlands and chaplets of flowers. All things were executed accordingly, as the Decemvirs ſuggeſted and directed.

* *Cum primogenita ſanguis* when the wan good to the firſt born. *Barth. Marlianus.*

After this, the aſſembly was publiſhed for the chuſing of Cenſors. In election there were for this dignity of Cenſorſhip, the very principal perſons and of beſt note in all the City, *C. Valerius Lævinus*, *L. Poſthumius Albinus*, *P. Mutius Scævola*, *C. Junius Brutus*, *C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*. Theſe two laſt rehearſed the people of *Rome* choſe for Cenſors. When as by occaſion of the Macedonian war, a greater care was had about the taking of muſters, than at other
G times before, the Conſuls found much fault with the common people, and complained unto the Senat, that the yong and able men for ſervice being called, would not anſwer to their names. But *C. Sulpitius* and M. *Claudius* two Tribuns of the Commons, maintained the cauſe againſt them in the behalf of the Commons, ſaying, That it was no hard and difficult matter for Conſuls to levy ſouldiers: mary, for corrupt, affectionat and popular Conſuls, it was not ſo eaſy a thing, and namely, ſuch as would be ſure to enrol no ſouldiers againſt their wills. And to the end that the LL. of the Senate might know this to be a truth, they ſhould ſee the Pretors (if the Senate were

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so content, and thought well thereof) whose power of command, and authority of government was * less than the Consuls, to go through with the musters without empeachment. So that charge was committed to the Pretors with the great assent of the Senators, but not without some backbiting and detraction of the Consuls. And the Censors for to assist and set forward that affair, made it known, and protested in the full assembly of the people, that they would publish an act, as touching the review and estimat of every mans demeanour and hability, that besides the ordinary oath of all citizens, they should swear to these points in this form following: Art thou under six and forty years of age? then by vertue of the edict made by the Censors *C. Claudius* and *Tib. Sempronius*, come forth and shew thy self at the musters so often as there shall be any levy taken: and what Censors soever shall happen to be in place, thou shalt appear and be enrolled, in case thou wert not a prest souldier before. Moreover, because the voice went, that many souldiers of the Macedonian legions were absent from the army, and had obtained large pasports without limitation of return, and that through the corruption and favour of the Generals, they published an edict as touching the souldiers enrolled for *Macedony*, when *P. Ælius* and *C. Popilius* were Consuls, or any time after, That as many of them as remained within *Italy*, after they were enrolled and registred first under their hands, should within thirty daies repair again to their colours into the province: and whosoever of them were at the disposition of father or grandsire, their names should be presented and declared before them. Semblably, they would take knowledge of their causes who were clean dismissed and cassed: and look whomsoever they judged to have obtained their discharge by any special grace and favour, before they had served out their full time by law required, they would command them to be enrolled souldiers again. By vertue of this edict of the Censors, as also by their letters sent out and divulged abroad in all incorporat Towns and places of resort for market and merchandise, there assembled together and came to *Rome* such a multitude of lusty, yong, and able men, that their unusual and extraordinary number was chargeable and cumberous to the City. Thus besides the former levy taken of those that were to be sent and employed in supply of the old armies, four legions more were enrolled by *C. Sulpitius* the Pretor, and within eleven daies the musters were accomplished and ended.

Then the Consuls cast lots for their provinces. For the Pretors had their governments allotted unto them before, and the sooner, by reason of the civil causes which required their jurisdictions. The one over the citizens was faln to *C. Sulpitius*, the other over forrainers to *C. Decimius*. *M. Claudius Marcellus* obtained the regiment of *Spain*, *Serg. Cornelius Lentulus* of *Sicily*, *P. Fonteius Capito* ruled *Sardinia*, *C. Martius Figulus* had the conduct of the navy. And then, I say, to *Q. Servilius* one of the Consuls fell the government of *Italy*, and to *Q. Martius* the other of *Macedony*. This *Martius* so soon as the Latine feasts were solemnised, departed toward his province immediatly. After this, upon the motion of *Capio* to the Senat to know their pleasure, which two legions of the new he should conduct into *Gaul*? the LL. ordained, That the Pretors *C. Sulpitius* and *M. Claudius* should give unto the Consul, which it pleased them of those legions that they had enrolled. This he took to the heart, that he a Consul was thus subjected to the will of the Pretors; yet after the Senat was risen, he stood waiting at the Tribunal of the Pretors, and required them according to the order set down by the Senat, to assign him his two legions. But the Pretors submitted the choice thereof to the Consul himself. This done, the Censors took a review of the Senat and chose new Senators: and *M. Æmylius Lepidus* was elected president of the Senat; and these were the third Senators that made choice of him consequently one after another. Seven were displaced and deposed from their Senators dignity. Now in taking the number of the people, and in assessing them, they compelled to return into *Macedony* those who were departed from the army there: and by means of this assesment, they soon knew who were absent from their companies: they examined them for what causes they were discharged from souldery; and whose licence they judged not to be grounded of good and sufficient reason those they forced to take the military oath again in this manner and form: According to the edict of *C. Claudius* and *Tib. Sempronius* the Censors, thou shalt well and truly swear, to return willingly and with all thine heart, into the province of *Macedony*; and this shalt thou do to thy power without fraud or covin. In making the review of them that served on horseback, their censure was executed with great rigour and extremity. They took from many their horses of service: upon which occasion having given offence to the whole estate of Knights and Gentlemen of *Rome*, they blew the coals and kindled the fire of ill-will and heart-burning against themselves: by a certain edict of theirs besides, wherby they intimated, That none of them who in time that *Q. Fulvius* and *Au. Posthumius* the Censors had taken to farm the revenews, fruits and profits of the City, or undertaken at a price the publick works and provisions, should be so hardy as to present themselves to their spear set up, either to be farmers or undertakers, no, nor to be partners, or have any thing to do with those that were in such negotiation, commerce and bargain. The old Publicans and farmers had oftentimes complained hereof to the Senat: but when they could obtain no comfort from them; to moderate and abridge this infinite power of the Censors, at length they met with a Tribune of the Commons, one *Rutilius*, to stand with them and defend their cause; a man who upon a particular and private quarrel of his own was offended and bare a grudge against the Censors. And this was the occasion: They had commanded one of his late vassals and enfranchised retainers, to pull down a wall standing in the street *Sacra* over against a publick edifice; pretending that the said wall was built upon the City ground. The man a private person, called unto the

* The civil Pretors within the City were allowed but two Lictors, and the provincial abroad in forrain parts not above six apeece, wherupon *Polybius* calleth a Pretor ἑξαπελέκεις, whereas each Consul had every where twelve.

A the Tribuns for their lawful help and favour: but when as none of them all but only this *Rutilius* would meddle in the matter and interpose their helping hand, the Censors sent to strain and take gages for to bind him to answer the cause, and before the body of the people intended an action against him, and set a grievous fine upon the head of that party aforesaid. By means I say of this debate begun upon such an occasion, when as the old publicans betook themselves for succour to this Tribune, presently there was a bill preferred and subscribed with the name of the said Tribune alone, in this form, That what publick revenews and profits of the State, *C. Claudius* and *T. Sempronius* had to farm let for a rent, or what publick works and provisions they had put out to be made and purveied at a price, the same leases and bargains should not stand for good but be cancelled, and new demises drawn and made. Also that it might be lawfull for all men indifferently
B either to be farmers or undertakers of the premisses. And the said Tribune assigned a day for a general assembly and session, to have this bill to be cast by the voices of the people. When the day was come, the Censors advanced and put themselves forward to disswade and plead against the bill. So long as *Graechus* spake, he was heard with patience and silence. But at *Claudius*, when he opened his mouth, they hissed and kept a muttering, so as he was forced by an *oiez* made by the crier to procure audience: which being made, the Tribune found himself grieved and complained, that the people there assembled were withdrawn and called away from him, to the prejudice of his authority and honour, and with that flang out of the Capitol where this assembly was holden. The next day he kept a great coil and made a foul stir: first, he interdicted the goods of *Tib. Gracchus* as condemned and accursed, for that in setting a fine, and streining gages of him,
C who had appealed to a Tribune, and in not obeying and condescending to his opposition, he seemed to set light by his Tribunes authority, and prejudice his reputation. As for *C. Claudius*, he arrested him to answer at a day, for that he had withdrawn the assembly from him: nay, he professed that he would indite both the Censors of treason or felony in the highest degree, and required of *Sulpitius* Pretor for the citizens, a day of assizes for their judicial tryal. The Censors refused not to have this matter put to an issue with all speed, and to be tried by the doom of the people. So the time for the hearing and determining of this hainous crime of majesty or treason aforesaid, was assigned the * daies immediatly before the eight and seventh calends of *October*. Upon this, the Censors incontinently ascended up into the Porch of *Liberty*: where after they
D had made sure and sealed the publick Registers and Records, shut up and locked all the offices of the Chancery, and discharged for the time the publick Clarks and proto-Notaries attending upon that Court, they protested that they would not go in hand with any publick affairs of state, before the sentence and judgment of the people were passed upon them. The day came, and *Claudius* first pleaded his own cause and spake for himself: and when of twelve Centuries that were of Gentlemen, eight had found the Censor guilty and cast him, yea and many other centuries of the first *Classis*. Then presently, the principal persons of the City in the very sight of the people, changed their weed, laid away their rings, and went about from one to another in humble manner, to crave the commons to be good unto the Censors. But that which most of all either staid or reversed the definitive doom against him, was (by report) *Tib. Gracchus* himself the other Censor: for that when the commons cried from all parts, that there was
E no danger growing toward *Gracchus*, he sware by expres words, That if his colleague were condemned, he would (without attending the judgment of the people as touching himself) accompany him into banishment. Howbeit the defendant and accused person, was driven to this neer point and hard exigent of extremity, that he came within eight centuries of being cast and condemned. Thus when *Claudius* was acquit, the Tribune said he would not trouble and molest *Gracchus*.

* *in ante 3 & 4 Calendas Octobris*, that is, the 29 and 29 of *September*.

This yeat at the earnest suit of the Aquileian Embassadors unto the Senat, for to have the number of their colonies encreased: a thousand and five hundred families (by vertue of a decree granted out of the Senate) were enrolled: and for the conducting of them to *Aquileia*, were sent as
F Triumvirs or commissioners these three, to wit, *T. Annius Luscus*, *P. Decius Subulo*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*. The same year *C. Popilius* and *Cn. Octavius* Embassadors, who had been sent into *Greece*, having first read and published at *Thebes* the arest and ordinance of the Senat, carried it afterwards throughout all the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, to this effect, That no person should contribute toward the wars, and put into the hands of the Roman Magistrats, more than that which the Senat had set down. This put them in good hope and assurance for the future time that they should be eased of those charges and expenses, by which they were impoverished and wasted, whiles every one imposed upon them some taxation or other, and never gave them repose. In the Achæan general councel holden at *Argos*, they had audience given them and were heard in gracious sort: from whence leaving this most loyal and faithful nation in singular good hope of happy estate for the time to come, they passed into *Ætolia*. There was as yet no sedition broken out
G there; but all were in jealousy and suspicion one of another, and full of natural accusations: in regard of which jars and troubles, the Embassadors only demanded hostages, and without any other end made, went directly into *Acarnania*. The Acarnanians granted unto these Embassadors a Diet to be holden at *Tyrrheum*: where some debate was between the partakers of divers factions. Some principal men of the States required that there should be garrisons received into their Cities, to bridle the wilfull folly of those that enclined to the Macedonian nation: others gainsaid this course, and besought the contrary, for fear lest that peaceable and

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confederat Cities ſhould be put to receive that diſgrace and diſhonor, which uſually falleth upon known enemies and thoſe that are conquered by force of arms. And this requeſt was reputed juſt. Then the Embaſſadors returned to *Lariſſa* unto *Hoſtilius* the Pro-conſul, for from him they were employed in embaſſage. *Octavius* he retained ſtill with him: but *Popilius* together with a 1000 ſouldiers or very neer, he ſent to *Ambracia*, there to lodge for the winter time.

*Perſeus* in the beginning of winter durſt not go forth of the frontiers of *Macedany*, for fear leſt the Romans would invade with violence his realm in ſome place or other, if they found it void and diſfurniſhed. But toward the mids of *December* about mid-winter, when by reaſon of the deep ſnow the mountains are unpaſſable and unſuperable from out of *Theſſaly*, thinking he had then a fit ſeaſon and opportunity to cut off the hopes and break the hearts of the neighbor-borderers, that when he ſhould be averted another way and buſied in the Roman war, he might be ſecured of danger from them: conſidering that from the parts of *Thracia* he had peace with *Cotys*; and likewiſe from *Epirus* ſide (by the means of *Cephalus*, who ſuddainly of late was revolted from the Romans:) moreover having newly vanquiſhed the Dardanians in war; and ſeeing only that quarter to infeſt and annoy *Macedony*, which regardeth and affronteth *Illyricum*; and that theſe Illyrians alſo were not quiet and at peace, but ready to give entrance unto the Romans; but if he had ſubdued and tamed thoſe Illyrians which were next unto him, then King *Gentius* alſo, who a long time hung between in doubtful terms, might be induced & drawn wholly into ſociety with him: he reſolved at length, and with ten thouſand footmen heavily armed, whereof part were Phalangitæ, and other two thouſand lightly appointed; and five hundred horſe, he made a rode and preſented his forces before *Stubera*: from whence after he had provided himſelf of corn to ſerve for many daies; and given order that the ordinance and engins of battery ſhould follow after: at the third daies end he lodged neer *Uſcana*, the head City of all that Land *Peneſtia*. But before that he offered any aſſault, he ſent certain of purpoſe to ſound and ſollicit the affections, one while of the Captains of the garriſon, and another while of the Townſmen. Now there lay within the City, together with the manhood and youth of the Illyrians, a garriſon alſo of the Romans. And when he ſaw that they brought no news of any peaceable dealing from thence, he began to bend his forces againſt them, and aſſaid to inveſt them round about, and ſo to force the City. And albeit both night and day without any reſt and intermiſſion, they preſſed upon the inhabitants, and evermore one ſucceeded another; whiles ſome reared ladders againſt the walls, others threw balls of fire againſt the gates, yet the defendants of the City held out and endured that furious and violent tempeſt: becauſe they hoped that neither the Macedonians lying abroad were able any long time to endure the rigor of the cold winter; nor the King on the other ſide could have ſo much releaſe and relaxation from the Roman war, as to ſtay there and make his abode. But after they perceived once the mantilets approach, and the frames of turrets and fabricks erected their perſiſtance was over-matched & they began to relent. For beſides that in plain force they were the weaker and not able to reſiſt, diſtreſſed alſo they were for want of corn, neither had they ſtore of any other proviſion, as being taken on a ſuddain, and looking for nothing leſs than ſiege at ſuch a time of the year. Therefore when they were paſt all hope to be able any longer to reſiſt, *C. Carvilius Spoletinus* and *C. Afranius* were ſent from the Roman garriſon, to crave of *Perſeus*, firſt that he would permit them to depart in their arms, and to carry with them their bag and baggage: ſecondly, if they might not obtain ſo much, that he would but give them aſſurance of life and liberty. The King was more free and liberal to promiſe, than faſt and faithful to perform. For after he had commanded them to go forth and carry with them all that was their own: the firſt thing that he did was to diſarme them and take away their weapons. * * * * They were not ſo ſoon departed out of the Town but both the company of the Illyrians, to the number of 500 men, and alſo the inhabitants of *Uſcana* rendred themſelves and their City. *Perſeus* when he had put a garriſon in *Uſcana* led away the whole multitude of the yeelded Townſmen (and thoſe were well-neer as many in number as his own army) and tranſported them to *Stulera*: where after he had ſent the Romans (all beſides their Captains) who were 4000 fighting men, into ſundry cities to be kept in ward, and ſold the Uſcanians and Illyrians; he led his army back into *Peneſtia*, intending to be maſter of *Oeneum*. a Town ſeated otherwiſe commodiouſly, and withal it is the very key and highway that openeth paſſage into the country of the Labeats, within the realm of King *Gentius*, and where he kept his roial ſtate. As he paſſed by a ſtrong borough-Town well inhabited, named *Draudacum*, one about him that was well acquainted with the coaſts of that country put into his head, that bootleſs it was and to no purpoſe to win *Oeneum*, unleſs he had *Draudac* alſo in his hands, as being a Town ſituate more commodiouſly in all reſpects. Whereupon he advanced forward, and ſo ſoon as ever he preſented his army before it, incontinently all the inhabitants ſubmitted and yeelded. Being much animated and encouraged with this ſurrender of theirs, which they made far ſooner than he hoped or looked for; after that he perceived how terrible this redoubled army of his was, all the way as he marched he brought under his ſubjection eleven other Caſtles and ſtrong holds, upon the like fear that they were put into. Violence he uſed againſt very few of them; the reſt yeelded willingly: wherein were taken 1500 Roman ſouldiers, placed there in ſeveral garriſons. In great ſtead and to very good uſe ſerved *Carvilius Spoletinus* in all their parlies, who evermore gave it out that there had been no cruelty nor rigor exerciſed upon him and his fellows. At length the King came before *Oeneum*, which could not poſſibly be won without a ſet and full ſiege. For the Town had far more youth and able men

A men within it then the reſt, was fortified with a ſtrong wall about it, and defended of the one ſide with the river called *Artatus*, and of the other with an exceeding high hill, and the ſame of hard and difficult acceſſe. All theſe things conſidered, the townſmen were in good hope to be able for to make reſiſtance. *Perſeus*, having entrenched the town and caſt a rampier round about it, began likewiſe to raiſe a terrace & mount from the upper part thereof, to that height as might ſurmount and over-top the wals. But during the time that this peece of work was in hand and brought to perfection, a great number of the inhabitants within were conſumed by divers and ſundry adventures, whiles they skirmiſhed oft and ſallied forth, endeavouring both to defend their own wals, and alſo to empeach the fabricks and deviſes of their enemies. And thoſe that remained alive, what with toilſome labour night and day, and what with many a wound, were paſt all
B ſervice and good for nothing. So ſoon as the terrace and mount aforeſaid was raiſed cloſe unto the wall, both the Kings cohort (whom they call *Nicatores*) mounted up into it, and alſo with ladders the aſſault was given unto the City in many places at once. All that were above fourteen yeers old he put to the ſword: their wives and ſmall children he caſt into priſon. The reſt of the booty and pillage fell to the ſouldiers ſhare. As he returned from thence with victory to *Stubera*, he ſent as Embaſſadors unto *Gentius*, *Pleuratus* the Illyrian (a baniſhed perſon who ſojourned with him) and *Aputeus* a Macedonian of *Berrhæa*. Them he gave in charge to declare unto *Gentius*, what he had atchieved againſt the Romans and Dardanians the ſummer paſt, together with the late exploits performed in that winter expedition; and withall to perſwade the K. for to be knit in amity with him and the Macedonians. Theſe Embaſſadors having tranſmounted the top of the
C hill *Scordus* and traverſed the wilds and wolds of *Illyricum*, which the Macedonians of purpoſe had laid waſt and deſert, to the end, that the Dardanians might have no eaſie paſſage either into *Illyricum* or *Macedony*) after much pain and travell they arrived in the end at *Scodra*. Now was K. *Gentius* at *Liſſus*, and thither were the Embaſſadors ſent for, where they deliuered their meſſage with gracious audience: but they went away with an anſwer to no effect; namely, that he wanted no will, and his heart was good enough to war upon the Romans; but his coffers were empty, and he lacked mony eſpecially, to go in hand and enterpriſe that which he deſired. This anſwer they related unto King *Perſeus* at *Stubera*, at what time as he was moſt buſie in ſelling of his captives taken in *Illyricum*. Then forthwith were the ſame Embaſſadors addreſsed again unto
D him, accompanied with *Glaucias* one of the Kings guard and ſquires of his body, without any mention made of mony, and that was the only means to induce the bare and needy barbarous Prince to levy war. After this, *Perſeus* ranſacked the City *Ancyra*, and once again reduced his army into Peneſtines country, and having ſtrengthned the garriſons in *Vſcana*, and in all the forts and peeces about it, he returned into *Macedony*.

*L. Celius* a Roman lieutenant, lay in guard for the defence and rule of *Illyricum*, who durſt not ſtir ſo long as King *Perſeus* was in thoſe quarters; but in the end after his departure, he endeavoured to recover *Vſcana* in the Peneſtins country, but was repulſed from thence by the garriſon of the Macedonians there, and caried away nothing but many a dry knock and bloudy wound, & ſo retired with his forces to *Lychnidum*: from whence, ſome few daies after he ſent *M. Trebellius Fregellanus* into the Peneſtins country, with a ſtrong power, for to receive hoſtages of thoſe Cities who faithfully had perſiſted in amity & friendſhip. He commanded him alſo to go forward to
E the Partins (for they likewiſe had covenanted to put in pledges) for that of both theſe nations, the ſaid hoſtages might be gotten without any ſtir and trouble. The hoſtages of the Peneſtins were ſent to *Apollonia*, but thoſe of the Partins to *Dyrrhachium*, which in thoſe daies was more uſually called by the Greeks *Epidamnus*.

*App. Caudius*, deſirous to raſe out the blemiſh and make amends for the diſhonour received in *Illyricum*, ſet in hand to aſſault *Phanotes* a fort of *Epirus*, having brought thither with him the Athamans and Theſprotians (over and above the Roman army) to the number of 6000 men; but he got nothing there but travell for his paines, by reaſon that the place was valiantly defended by
F *Clevas*, left there with a ſtrong garriſon by K. *Perſeus*. *Perſeus* likewiſe made an expedition to *Elymea*, and after he had taken a ſolemn ſurvey of his army about it, he conducted his power to *Stratus* at the requeſt of the Epirots This *Stratus* then, was the ſtrongeſt City of all *Ætolia*. Situate it is upon the gulf of *Ambracia*, neer the river *Achelous*. he advanced thither with 10000 foot & not above 300 horſe of them the took the fewer with him in number, by reaſon of the ſtraight paſſages and rugged waies. Being come at the third daies end ſo far as to the mount *Citius*, after he had with much difficulty paſſed over it, the ſnow lay ſo deep, that hardly and with much ado could he find a convenient place to encamp in. From thence he removed, more for that he could not there abide and remain, then for any intolerable way and weather he met withall in his diſmarch and journey forward: ſo with paſſing great travell and trouble, of his beaſts eſpecially, the
G ſecond day he arrived at the temple of *Jupiter* called *Niceus*, and there lodged. Then after he had taken an exceeding long journey, he abode at the river *Arachthus*, being ſtaied there by reaſon of the deep water: during which time, he made a bridg over and tranſported his forces; and when he was gone a daies journey onward, he encountred on the way *Archidamus* a principall perſon of the Ætolians, by whoſe means the City of *Stratus* was to be delivered up unto him. And that day he lodged upon the frontiers of *Ætolia*: from whence next morrow he journeyed as far as to *Stratus*, where having encamped neer the river *Achelous*, he looked that the Ætolians would run out unto him by heaps at all their gates, to yeeld themſelves to his protection: but inſtead

ſtead thereof he found their gates ſhut & gariſons of the Romans received into the City that very night when he came, together with the lieutenant *C. Popilius*. For the chief of the City (who induced and enforced by the authority of *Archidamus* whiles he was preſent in place, had ſent for the K.) became more ſlack and negligent, by occaſion that *Archidamus* was gone forth to meet with him, and thereby gave advantage and opportunity to the adverſe faction, to ſend for *Popilius* with a 1000 footmen from *Ambracia*. In very fit time and to right good purpoſe came *Dinarchus* alſo a captain of the Ætolian Cavalry, accompanied with 600 foot and a 100 horſe. Known it was for certain, that he marched toward *Stratus*, as intending to band and take part with *Perſeus*; but changing his mind together with the turning of fortune, he joyned with the Romans, and banded againſt him for whom he ſet out at the firſt. Neither was *Popilius*, among theſe waverings and inconſtant ſpirits, more ſecured then he ſhould be; and therefore incontinently gat the keies of the gates into his hands, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the guard of the wals. And for *Dinarchus* and the Ætolians, together with the youth and able men of *Stratus*, he beſtowed them all in the forreſſe, under a colour of guarding the ſame. *Perſeus*, having aſſaied to parly with them from the hils which commanded the higher part of the City, finding them perverſe and obſtinat, and ſeeing them ready to ſet him farther off with ſhot of their darts, encamped five miles off from the City, beyond the river *Peneus*. There, he called a councell; in which, *Archidamus* together with the revolts and renegats of the Epirots, exhorted him there to ſojourn and continue: but the captains of the Macedonians contrariwiſe were of advice that there was no ſtriving with that troubleſome and dangerous ſeaſon of the yeer, conſidering their proviſions were not ready; and the aſſailants were like ſooner to feel the ſcacity and want thereof, then the defendants: in reg.rd whereof, and eſpecially for the enemies wintred not far from thence, he diſlodged and removed to *Aperantia*. The Aperantians by reaſon of great credit of *Archidamus* among them, received him with a generall conſent. And the ſame *Archidamus* was made captain there over a garriſon of 800 ſouldiers. And ſo the King returned into *Macedony*, with leſſe trouble both of his men and beaſts, then he came thither. Howbeit the bruit blown abroad, that *Perſeus* led his forces againſt *Stratus*, cauſed *Appius* to levy his ſiege from before *Phanotes*. And *Clevas* with a brave regiment of luſty men well appointed, followed hard after him, and at the foot of the hils which were almoſt unpaſſable, he ſlew wel-neer a 1000 of them as they marched heavily armed, and took priſoners above 200. But after that *Appius* was paſſed through ſtreights & come into the plain called *Eleon*, he lay encamped there ſome few daies: mean while *Clevas*, accompanied with *Philoſtratus* the chief commander of the Epirots, paſſed over into the territory of *Antigonea*. The Macedonians went about to rob and ſpoil: but *Philoſtratus* with his cohort ſet him down in a-wait, under a covert and hidden place for the purpoſe. And when as thoſe of *Antigonia* iſſued forth in arms & charged upon the forragers as they ranged over the fields, and diſperſed in ſtraggling-wiſe, purſuing them too eagerly in their flight, they chanced to engage themſelves over far within the valley where the enemies lay in ambuſh: and there to the number of a 1000 of them loſt their lives, and almoſt a 100 were taken priſoners. And ſo the enemies having ſped well in all their enterpriſes, removed their camp cloſe to that of *Appius*, to the end that the Roman army might do no violence and outrage upon their friends and allies. Thus *Appius* ſpending the time in theſe parts to no purpoſe, and doing no good, after he had diſcharged the companies of the Chaonians, & as many of the Epirots as were with him, returned in *Illyricum* with his Italian ſouldiers: and when he had diſtributed them among the confederat Cities of the Partynians, there to winter, returned himſelf to *Rome* by occaſion of a certain ſolemn ſacrifice. *Perſeus* ſent to *Caſſandrea* for to lie in garriſon there, a 1000 foot and 200 horſe, whom he had cauſed to come again out of the countrey of the Peneſtins. And they that returned from *Gentius* related ſtill the ſame long from him, yet never reſted he nor gave over to tempt and importune him, ſending Embaſſadors after Embaſſadors unto him, knowing right-well, that in him reſted great importance: yet could not by any meanes poſſible bring the man to expend ought and to be at any charge, in a matter every way of great conſequence.

# The four and fortieth Book *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the four and fortieth Book.

QUintus Martius Philippus *paſſing through wilds and woods, entered into* Macedony *and ſurpriſed many* Cities. *The Rhodians ſent* Embaſſadors *to* Rome, *threatning to aid* Perſeus, *unleſſe the people of* Rome *would conclude peace and contract amity with him: whereat was taken great ſcorn and diſdain. Now when the charge of this war was committed to* L. Æmylius Paulus *the Conſul now the ſecond time for the year following,* Paulus *before the publike aſſembly of the people praied unto the gods, that all infelicity and curſed fortune coming towards the people of* Rome, *might be a-*

A *averted from thence, and light upon his own house. And so having taken a voiage into* Macedony, *vanquished* Perseus *and subdued all* Macedony. *A little before he should strike a battel,* C. Sulpitius Gallus *a Martial Colonel, fore-warned the army that they should not wonder & be troubled in mind at the eclipse of the moon which was to happen the next night following. In like sort* Gentius *the King, of the Illyrians having entered again into arms, was overcome in field by* Anicius *the* Pretor: *and having submitted himself to him, was with his wife, children and kindred, sent to* Rome. *From* Alexandria *there arrived the* Embassadors *of* Cleopatra *and* Ptolomeus *King and Queen of* Ægypt, *complaining of* Antiochus *King of* Syria, *for that he warred upon them.* Perseus *having solicited* Eumenes *King of* Pergamus, *and* Gentius *King of the Illyrians to aid him, was abandoned, for that he made not true paiment of mony according to his promise.*

B

## *The four and fortieth Book of* T. Livius.

IN the beginning of that spring which immediatly followed the winter wherein these occurrents hapned, *Q. Martius Philippus* the Consul came to *Brundusium* with five thousand men, whom he intended to transport over the seas for the supply of his legions. And M. *Popilius* (one who had been Consul) and other brave gallants of noble parentage as well as himself, followed after the Consul to be martial-Tribunes in the Macedonian legions. Also about the same time *C. Martius Figulus* the Pretor, and Admirall of the navy, repaired to *Brundusium*. Who weighing anchor, loosed to sea from *Italy* together, and arrived the next day at *Corphu*; but the morrow after that, they put within *Actium*, an haven of *Acarnania*. From thence the Consul set
C sail for *Ambracia*, where he disbarked and travelled by land to *Thessaly*. But the Pretor having doubled the point of *Leucas*, entered the gulf of *Corinth*; leaving his vessels at *Crusa*, journied likewise by land to *Chalcis* unto the naval forces, making such expedition that he crossed through the midst of *Beotia* in one day. At the same time *A. Hostilius* lay encamped in *Thessaly*, neer to *Palepharsalus*. Who albeit he had performed no memorable exploit of warlike feats, yet he had reclaimed his souldiers from all licentious loonsess, wherewith they were corrupted, and ranged them within good order of discipline. Also by his faithfull corraige in government, he had entertained and kept the love of the allies still, yea, and protected them from all manner of wrong
D and injury. Now when he was advertised of the arrivall of his successor, he assembled with all diligence his forces both men and horse, & gathered together all armor, as well offensive as defensive; and so with a brave army right well appointed, he went forth to meet the Consul upon the way. As their first encounter and meeting was honourable, and befitting as wel their own reputation as the greatest ate of the Roman name, so for the managing of the affairs afterward [* it was very expedient to the Consul *Philip*. For the pro-consul turning to his own army, exhorted the souldiers to perform valiant service; and to when he had delivered it to the Consul, returned to *Rome*.] Some few daies after, the Consul made an oration in a solemn audience of all his souldiers: Wherin first he began with the parricide of *Perseus*, committed upon the person of his own brother, but projected against his very father. Then he proceeded forward and declared the wicked and divelish means whereby he attained to the crown, also his practises of poysoning, his bloudy murderers, he laid await for King *Eumenes* his life by way of detestable brigandage and robbery: more-
E "over, the injuries offered to the people of *Rome*, and sacking of associat Cities against the covenants of accord. All which dealings of his he should find one day (quoth he) by the issue of his "affairs, how odious and cursed they are in the sight also of the immortall gods. For the gods are "evermore favourable and gracious to piety and fidelity, the only means whereby the people of "*Rome* is mounted to that pitch and height of felicity. Then he compared the forces of that State "which already compassed the round world, with the strength of *Macedony*; he set armies to ar-"mies, making remonstrances how far greater was the puissance of *Philip* and *Antiochus* before, "and yet was it defeated utterly by no greater power then the Romans now were able to shew. "Having thus enkindled and enflamed the courages of his souldiers by this maner of exhortation, he began to debate in counsel as touching the principal and main point of the whole war. And
F thither repaired unto him from *Chalcis*, the Pretor *C. Matius*, after he had taken the charge of the armado and sea-forces. Resolved it was and concluded to make no longer abode in *Thessaly*, and there to lose time, but pretently to dislodg and remove directly into *Macedony*: that the Pretor also should endevour and cast, how at one and the self same time he might infest and annoy the sea-coasts of the enemies. Now after that the Pretor was dismissed & went away, the Consul commanded his souldiers to bring every man with him provision for a month: and to the tenth day after he had received the conduct of the army, he removed the camp and set forward. When he had gone a daies journey, he called together the guids, and after he had commanded them every one to declare before the Councel there assembled, which way each of them intended to direct the army, he caused them to go aside; and then debated it was in councel, which course to take above all o-
G thers. Some were of opinion to lead by the way of *Pythium*; others advised to passe over the Cambunian mountains, like as the yeer before *Hostilius* the Consul conducted his army; and there were who gave advice to go neer to the moor of *Ascaris*. Now there remained yet some part behind of the way, which lay indifferent still and common to all these places; and therefore their consultation of this point was put over to the time when they should encamp neer to the parting and division of the said wayes. So from thence he led the army to *Perrhæbia*, and sat him down between *Azorus* and *Doliche*, for to consult once again for all, which way to take.

* The place is here defective, but may be supplied, as *Sigonius* thinketh in this manner as you see between these markes [ ]

The ſame time *Perſeus* knowing that the enemy approached, but yet ignorant which way he meant to come, determined to beſet all paſsages with ſtrong guards. Whereupon he ſent ten thouſand yong and luſty men lightly armed, to the pitch of the Cambaunian hils (which the inhabitants themſelves call *Voluſtana*) under the conduct of captain *Aſclepiodotus*. But he commanded *Hippias* with a power of twelve thouſand Macedonians to ſeiz the ſtreights of a certain fort ſituat upon the marſh *Aſcuris*, and is called *Lapathus*. Himſelf in perſon accompanied with the reſt of the forces, lodged firſt neer to *Dium*: but afterwards ſeeming as if he were unprovided of counſel and void of ſenſe and underſtanding, he with his light horſmen made rodes and courſes along the ſtrand, one while toward *Heraclea*, and otherwhiles to *Phila*; and ſo backward again the ſame way to *Dium*. In this mean time the Conſul reſolved fully to lead his army by that paſs where we ſaid before that the army of King *Philip* encamped ſometimes neer a place called *Oſſolopis*. Howbeit he thought good to ſend out before four thouſand armed men, for to prevent the enemies and be poſſeſsed firſt of the moſt commodious places of advantage: this regiment was commanded by M. *Claudius* and *Q. Martius*, the Conſuls ſon; and incontinently all the forces in generall followed after. But the way was ſo ſteep and difficult, ſo rough, uneven and rugged, that in two daies ſpace, they which were ſent before, albeit they were not charged with the carriage of any thing, had much ado to march fifteen miles: where they lodged, and the place which they made choice of was called the Tower *Eudieru*. From whence the morrow after they journied ſeven miles forward and ſeized a hill not far from the enemies camp: where they diſpatched a courrier back to the Conſul, to give intelligence, that they were come neer to the enemy, and tarried in a place of ſafety, commodious alſo for all purpoſes; and withall to adviſe him for to make all poſsible ſpeed after, for to overtake them and join together. This meſſenger encountred the Conſul at the Mear *Aſcuris*, where he was greatly perplexed as well for the difficulty of the way which he was to enter himſelf, as alſo in regard of the danger of them whom in ſo few number he had ſent before, even through the midſt of the enemies *corps de guard*. Whereupon he took a better heart to himſelf; and having united all his forces, encamped upon the foreſaid hill which his men already held, on that ſide which (conſidering the nature of the ground) was moſt commodious. And there they might diſcover within the view of eie, not only the enemies camp diſtant from thence a little above a mile, but alſo the whole countrey as far as to *Dium* and *Phila*, yea, and all the ſea coaſt by reaſon that the high pitch and top of the mountain yeelded a proſpect far and neer round about. And this was it that ſet on fire the ſouldiers hearts, when they beheld the whole weight of the war, the Kings forces altogether, and the enemies countrey ſo neer unto them. In which ſpirit of cheerfulneſs when they were earneſt with the Conſul, and exhorted him to advance directly againſt the enemies camp, they had but one day granted them to reſt after their weariſome journey. So upon the third day the Conſul leaving part of his forces to guard the camp, led the reſt againſt the enemy. Now had *Hippias* been lately ſent from the King to keep and guard the paſſage, who ſince the time that firſt he eſpied the Roman camp upon the hill, had prepared the minds of his men to a battel, and ſo encountred the army of the Conſul and met it half way. The Romans advanced forth to fight, nimbly appointed; and the enemies likewiſe were lightly armed, and by reaſon thereof moſt fit and provided for to give the charge and begin skirmiſh. So ſoon as they affronted and encountred one another, preſently they fell to lancing of their darts on both ſides. Many a wound was given and received of the one part as well as the other by their raſh charging at ranſom, and few of both ſides were ſlain. Thus were their ſtomacks whetted and edged againſt the morrow; and then had they skirmiſhes, and maintained fight with greater forces, and more deadly feud, if the ground would have ſerved them to have diſplaied their battallions at large: but the top of the mountain was ſtreight and aroſe to a ſharp creſt in form of a coin or wedg; and ſcarcely afforded room enough for three ranks of armed men affront; and therefore when ſome few were in fight, all the reſt and ſpecially they that were heavily armed, ſtood as lookers on. As for the light armour of one part, they would run forth at the broken crags of the hill, and ever from the ſides join battel with the like of the other part: yea, and find meanes to charge their enemie, were the place even or uneven, it skilled not whether. But after that more that day alſo were wounded then killed, the night at length parted the fray. The third day, the Roman General was to ſeek and wiſt not what to do; for neither could he ſtay any longer upon that hill, for want of all things; and retire back from thence it was not poſsible, without diſhonour and danger both. Moreover, if he had retired, the enemy might preſſe upon him from the upper ground with advantage. There remained therefore no other meanes to amend that which was the audaciouſly enterpriſed, with as reſolute & hardy perſiſtance in execution; a thing that otherwhiles proveth well in the end, as if it proceeded from wiſe and deliberat counſel. And verily to this hard paſſe and difficult terms they were come, that if the Conſul had been to deal with an enemy like to any of the Macedonian Kings in old time, he might ſoon have received a great foil and overthow. But K. *Perſeus* as he coaſted and ranged with his cavalry upon the ſtrand neer *Dium* (albeit for the ſpace of 12 miles wel-neer, he heard the cries and ſhouts of them that were in fight;) neither reenforced the companies by ſending freſh ſouldiers in place of the wearied, not ſhewing himſelf in perſon at the battel: (which had been a thing I aſſure you of moſt importance) whereas the Roman General being above 60 yeers of age, corpulent beſides, & unweldy, performed himſelf right luſtily all military ſervices of a valiant warrior; perſiſting in that to the very end moſt bravely, which he had begun and enterpriſed ſo boldly:

and

A and having left *Popilius* for to guard the hill top, paſſed over places that had no tracts at all to direct them, by ſending out before, certain men of purpoſe to ſcour and prepare to make a paſſage. As for *Attalus* and *Miſagenes*, he commanded them both, with the auxiliary ſouldiers of their own nation to guard them that opened the way before. Then he putting before him in the march the horſmen with baggage, came behind with the legionary footmen in the rereguard. No tongue is able to expreſſe what a toil and painful labour they found in going down the hill, the ſumpter horſes with their backs & carriages tumbled ſo down one with another: in ſo much as when they had ſcarcely gone four miles forward, they wiſhed in their hearts nothing more, then to return the way they came, if it had been poſsible. The elephants troubled the march as much in maner as the enemies could: for when they were come to a place where they could ſee no way, down
B they caſt their riders and governors, laying them along on the earth, and with the horrible braying that they made, affrighted their horſes eſpecially, untill ſuch time as a device was found for their paſſage. They began firſt to make the head or entrance of the bridg at the very bow and edg of a ſteep downfal: this done, in the lower ground beneath, they ſet faſt in the earth good ſtrong and long poſts of wood, two by two diſtant one from the other traverſe while little more then the largeneſs of one of their beaſts. Upon which reſted faſt joined [with ten on & morteiſe] certain rafters like wal plats 30 foot in length, and thoſe being couched with planks croſſe over in form of a bridg, had earth and mould caſt thereupon. A little way off beneath it, ſuch another bridg was made; and ſo a third likewiſe, and many more conſequently according as the craggy ground was broken and uneven. Now the elephant from the firm ground entred upon the firſt
C bridg aforeſaid; but before he was gone as far as to the foot and end thereof, the poſts abovenamed were cut in two underneath; to the end that the bridg might fall, and in the eaſie reeling therof the beaſt alſo gently ſlide, as it were, and he carried therewith as far as the head of the ſecond bridg. Thus ſome of them glid and kept themſelves ſtanding upright on their feet others reſted upon their buttocks. Again, when they were come to the plain and levell floor of another ſuch like bridg, by the fall of it in maner aforeſaid they were driven unto a third bridg beneath it, untill ſuch time as they were come to a more plain and even valley. In this order the Romans could rid little more then ſeven miles that day. And the leaſt part thereof went they upright on their feet but were fain moſt-what to tumble and roll over and over with the armor and fardels about them: and thus they gat forward in all kind of pain and trouble, in ſuch ſort that he who induced them
D to this journey & conducted them therein, could not deny but the whole army (with a ſmal power coming againſt them) might utterly have been defeated. By night they arrived at a prety plain; but the place being encloſed on all ſides, they had no ſpace and room to view round about, whether it were dangerous or no. At length after much ado and beyond their expectation, they met with a firm peece of ground, whereas they might take ſure footing; and there they were forced the morrow following to attend in the hollow valley the coming of *Popilius* and the companies left with him: who alſo were exceedingly ſore vexed and plagued with the roughneſſe of the way, albeit the enemies troubled and affrighted them no whit at all. The third day, after they had joined their forces together, they took their way through a paſſe, which the inhabitants call *Callipence*. The fourth day they paſſed over a place that had no more meanes to direct them, then the other before; but by uſe and experience there were grown more skilfull: and better hope they
E had, for that the enemy in no place appeared, but approached neer to the ſea. When they were come once down into the plains between *Haracetus* and *Lebethrus*, the footmen (whereof the greater part kept the hils) pitched their tents and took up the valley, and a good part of the plain wherein the horſmen ſhould quarter. As the King was bathing himſelf, it is ſaid that word came, How the enemies were neer at hand: at which news he was ſo ſcared, that he leapt out of his bathing veſſel, and in haſt gat him out of the bame, crying aloud, That he was vanquiſhed without drawing ſword and ſtroke given: neither wiſt he for fear which way to turn him, taking ſundry counſels one of another, and commanding he knew not what, ſometime this and ſometime. In this perplexity he ſent for *Aſclepiodorus* (one of his two eſpecial friends) out
F of the place where he lay in garriſon, to go to *Pella* where all his money and treaſure lay; and by this means opened all the avenues for the Romans to make war. Himſelf, after he had had in great haſt beſtowed and piled up in his ſhips, all the gilded images at *Dium*, to the end that the enemy ſhould make no prize of them, cauſed with all ſpeed poſsible to traſſe up and to remove to *Pydna*; & hereby gave occaſion, that the enterpriſe of the Conſul which might have ſeemed raſhneſs (in that he had engaged himſelf ſo far, that he could not poſsibly to retire again without leave of the enemy) proved in the end no inconſiderat and unadviſed deſignment. For now the Romans had the choice of two paſſages through which they might eſcape away, the one, by *Tempe* into *Theſſaly*, the other into *Macedony*, by the way neer *Dium*: both which before were held by the Kings guards. So as if a reſolute and fearleſs captain could have held out and endured but one ten
G daies the firſt apparence and ſhew of terror that approached, the Rom. could never have returned into *Theſſaly* by *Tempe*, nor found way for conveiance of proviſion & victuals to the place where they were. For *Tempe* is of it ſelf a difficult paſſage, even without any force of arms to make it dangerous. And why? beſides the ſtraight gullet five mils in length, yeelding a very narrow way for one beaſt to go charged with burden; the rocks of either hands are ſo ſteep and upright, that hardly a man is able to look down from them, but his eyes will dazle, his brain turn, and his head be giddy withall. Moreover, the ſound and noiſe, yea, and the depth of the river *Peneus* running di-

rectly through the midst of the valley, encreased the fear so much the more. This place so perilous of its own nature, had been holden and guarded with the Kings garrisons in four several & distant places. The one kept at the very first entrance, neer to *Comnus*; the second at *Condylos*, a fort impregnable; the third about *Lapathus*, which also they call *Charax*; and the fourth was placed even upon the very avenue it self about the midst of the valley, where it is at the streightest, and which may easily be defended with ten men, if there were no more. In this maner (I say) the passage being stopped up by *Tempe*, as well for portage of provisions thither as for return from thence, the Romans must perforce have retired again up to the same mountains from whence they were descended. But as they come down and were not discovered, so being now descried, they could not possibly have gained them again in open view, considering that the enemies had possessed the tops of the mountains; and no doubt the difficulty thereof besides, which they had tried already, would have cut off all hope of that adventure: so as, being waded thus far into this rash enterprise there remaineth no meanes else for them, but to have passed through the midst of the enemies, at *Dium*, for to to escape and passe into *Macedony*: an adventure no doubt, (if the gods had not bereft the King of his right wits) most difficult and dangerous unto them. For it being so, that from the foot of the mountain *Olympus* unto the sea, there is little above a mile space between: the one half whereof, is taken up with the mouth of the river *Baphyrus*, which in this place spreadeth very broad and large; and another part of the plain, either the temple of *Jupiter* or the town it self occupieth: the rest besides, being but a very small place, might have been enclosed and made fast against them with a little trench and rampier: besides such store there was of stone ready at hand, and of timber out of the forrest, that they might either have raised a mure, or framed turrets and such like fabricks in their way. But the K. (whose spirit and understanding was blinded with suddain fear) foreseeing none of all these things, but disfurnishing every fort of their garrisons, made open passage for the current of war, and fled himself to *Pydna*. The Consul perceiving that he had gotten great advantage and many hopes by the folly and negligence of his enemy, dispatched a currier back toward *Larissa* unto *Sp. Lucretius*, willing him to seiz those forts into his hands about *Tempe*, which were abandoned by the enemy: and after he had sent *Popilius* before in spiall to discover all the passages about *Dium*, and perceived that the avenues were open in all parts, he marched forwards himself, and the second journy came to *Dium*; where commanded to encamp under the very temple, to the end, that no violent outrage should be committed in that holy place. Himself in proper person entred into the City, which as it was not great, so it was garnished with fair publick buildings, beautified with a number of goodly images, and passing well fortified besides: in so much as he could not well beleeve, that things of such importance were abandoned for nothing, but that there was some secret deceit and treachery lurking underneath. After he had staied there one full day, to espie and see that all coasts were cleer, he dislodged and marched on; & supposing verily that he should be provided of sufficient store of grain, he advanced forward that very day to the river named *Mytis*. The morrow after, he took possession of the City *Agassa*, which the inhabitants willingly rendred unto him. And to win the hearts of all other Macedonians, (contenting himself only with hostages) he promised to leave their City cleer without a garison, and to permit them to live under their own laws without paiment of any tribute. Being marched onward one daies journey from thence, he pitched down his tents fast upon the river *Ascordus*: but feeling and finding still (the farther he went from *Thessaly*, more and more want of all things, he retired back to *Dium*; and then all men saw plainly & made no doubt, to what streights he should be driven, in case he had been clean shut out from *Thessaly*, considering that it was not safe for him to remove far from thence where he was

*Perseus* having rallied all his forces, and assembled his captains into one place, checked and ratled up the captains of the garrisons and guards aforesaid over the passages: but above all he rebuked *Asclepiodorus* & *Hippias* most, saying, that those two had betraied unto the Romans the portgate to *Macedony*: whereas indeed no man was more justly to be blamed, for that than his own self

The Consul after he had discovered a far off from sea a fleet of Roman ships, conceived good hope that vessels were coming charged with provision of victuals (for now in his camp the dearth was great, and brought they were already to extream want and scarcity.) But he was advertised by them who were entred within the habor, that the hulks and ships of burden were left behind at *Magnesia*. Whereupon, being in great doubt what to do (so hard went all things with him for the present, that he had work enough to wrestle with that only difficulty, without being farther encumbred with any empeachment from the enemy) behold, in happy time, letters were brought unto him from *Sp. Lucretius*, importing thus much; That he was master of all the forts and holds planted upon *Tempe* and round about *Phila*, where he had found great plenty of corn and other necessaries. The Consul right joious for these good tidings, set his army on foot from *Dium* to *Phila*, as well to strengthen the garrison there, as also to deal corn among his souldiers; which would have required a long time ere it could have been brought over to them at *Dium*.

That departure & journey of his was nothing well spoken of: for some gave out that the General retired from the enemy for very fear; because that if he had staied there still, he should have been forced to a battel: others said, that he had no skill in war, neither in those occurrents, which fortunes wheele turning about altered every day, offering one new thing or other; who when occasions and opportunities were presented unto him, let the same slip out of his hands, which soon after might not possibly be recovered again. And verily he had not so soon quit the possession of

A of *Dium*, but he ſtarted and wakened the enemy, and put in his head now at length to regain thoſe matters, which had been loſt before through his own default. For hearing that the Conſul was departed, he returned immediately to *Dium*: where he repaired whatſoever had been demoliſhed and ruinat by the Romans: the battlements of the wals which were caſt down he ſet up again in the right place; and in all parts fortified the mure and bulwarks of the City. Which done, he encamped five miles off on this ſide *Enipeus*, intending that the river it ſelf (which is very hard to be paſſed over, ſhould ſerve in ſtead of a rampier and trench of defence. This river runneth out of the vale from under the mountain *Olympus*, and in ſummer ſeaſon is ſmall and ſhallow, but in winter it riſeth high and ſpreadeth broad by reaſon of rain: running alſo with a forcible current and ſtream, it ſurmounteth great rocks, and among thoſe ſtony crags and ſhelves maketh many B whirlpits: by occaſion likewiſe, that from thence it carrieth away with it into the ſea, ſtore of earth, there are many gulfs of exceeding depth: and by reaſon that it hath eaten a hollow chanell in the mids, the banks of each ſide are very high and ſteep upright. *Perſeus*, ſuppoſing that by the means of this river, the enemies were debarred from all paſſage, purpoſed in his mind to hold off, and drive out the reſt of the ſummer in that ſort.

But the Conſul in the mean while ſent *Popilius* from *Phila* into *Heraclea* with 2000 armed fighting men. This *Heraclea* ſtandeth about five miles from *Phila*, ſituat in the mid-way between *Dium* and *Tempe*, upon a rock that commandeth this river, *Popilius*, before that he cauſed his men to approach the wals, ſent certain perſons of purpoſe to perſwade the magiſtrats and chief C of the City, to make proof of the faithful protection and clemency of the people of *Rome*, rather then to trie their rigor and violence. But this motive and advice availed not, becauſe they might diſcern the fires out of the kings camp neer to *Enipeus*, whereupon both from the land and ſeaſide (for the fleet alſo being arrived anchored neer the ſhore) as wel by force of arms as by fabricks and engins of battery, they began to aſſail the town. Moreover, certain yong and luſty Roman ſouldiers (making uſe now in war of exerciſe which they had practiſed in the games *Circenſes*) gat over the wall where it was loweſt. The maner was in thoſe daies (before this waſt prodigality came up of filling the whole cirque or ſhew-place with beaſts fet out of all countries) to deviſe and ſeek ſundry ſorts of publick ſights & ſpectacles to be hold, & not running one courſe with the chariot, and another on horſeback, and ſo an end, to employ at both races the ſpace of one full hour. Among others feats of activity exhibited, the maſters and wardens of thoſe exerciſes and D games brought into the race commonly 60 (and otherwhiles more) luſty yong men in arms well appointed. There training in part repreſented a ſhew and apparance of two armies encountring and encountring and charging one another, in part alſo the uſe and practiſe of a more gentle and elegant exerciſe then military profeſſion, and coming neerer to the handling and managing of weapons after the order of ſword-fencers. Theſe yong galiants, after they had performed other ordinary running courſes, put themſelves into a four-ſquare ſquadron, with the bucklers or targets cloſe couched and joined together over their heads, in this manner: they that were formoſt in the front ſtood bolt upright; the ſecond rank ſtooped ſomewhat lower under the other; the third courſe more then they; and ſo the fourth untill the hindmoſt kneeled on their knees: and by this means they reſembled a pavoiſade riſing up higher & higher, like the pent-houſe or roof of ædifices. E This done, two men well armed, fetching their run fifty foot or thereabout backward from thence, and ſeeming to defie and challenge one another, mounted the foreſaid pavoiſade, ran from the nether end up to the top upon thoſe targets ſo jointly united and ſet cloſe and thick together: and one while they ſet their countenance as though they would defend the ſides and edges thereof, otherwhiles in the mids they ſeemed to performed their devoir and maintain combat one with another, as upon firm and ſteady ground. Like for all the world to this, was there a pavoiſade framed and brought cloſe to that part of the wall: and when armed men were mounted upon it, they that ſtood upon the very ridg thereof, were as high full as the defendants which kept the wall: who being once beaten back and turned down, two enſigns of ſouldiers gat over into the City. The only difference between this pavoiſade and the other above deſcribed was this, that they on- F ly who ſtood in the front before and in the flanks, bare not their targets aloft above their own heads, becauſe their ſides and bodies ſhould not be naked and expoſed to hurt, but caried them before after the uſuall manner of fighting men in a battell. By which means, neither the arrows and darts diſcharged from the wall hurt them affront, nor the ſhot that light upon their target-fence took any hold, but glanced and glid down-ward from the top without doing any harm, like to rain water that ſhooteth from the ridg of an houſe, and runneth down the eves. The Conſul likewiſe, now that *Heraclea* was won, advanced forwards with his army thither, pretending as though he marched toward *Dium*, and as if after he had chaſed and driven the King from thence, he minded to paſſed forward alſo into *Pieria*. But preparing now againſt winter, he commanded to make the waies fit and handſome, for the carriage of proviſion out of *Theſſa-* G *ly*, and to chuſe out commondious places for garners: alſo to build certain houſes, wherein they that brought the proviſion, might lie in covert and lodg commodiouſly. *Perſeus* in the end having taken heart again and gathered his wits together, upon that late fright which had amazed his ſpirits, wiſhed then withall his heart, that his commandements had not been obeied, at what time as in a fearfull fit he gave expreſſe charge to caſt the treaſure into the ſea at *Pella*, and to ſet on fire, the arſenall at *Theſſalonica*. *Andronicus* being ſent for to the ſame purpoſe to *Theſſalonica* made no haſt to execute his will, but rifled out the time for the nonce, leaving the King

ſome reſpite to repent, as it fel out indeed. *Nicias* was not ſo provident and wel adviſed at *Pella*, H
in throwing away ſome part of the mony which he there found: howbeit he thought his fault
ſuch, as might in ſome ſort be remedied and amended, for that, all the ſaid treaſure in manner
was recovered by the means of certain dyvers that fiſhed for it under water, and fetcht it up from
the bottom of the ſea. But the King himſelf was ſo aſhamed of this fooliſh fear, that in a melan-
cholly he commanded thoſe poor dyvers to be ſecretly murdered, yea, and afterwards *Andronicus*
and *Nicias* alſo; the end that no perſon ſhould remain alive that was privy to that ſottiſh com-
mandment of his.

Amids theſe affairs, C. *Martius* having looſed to ſea from *Heraclea*, and with his fleet ſailed to
*Theſſalonica*, landed his armed ſouldiers in divers places of the ſhore, and made waſt in the terri-
tory all about: and when they made ſallies out of the City and charged upon him, after ſome for- I
tunat skirmiſhes, he chaſed them back and beat them within the wals. So as at length he terrified
the town it ſelf: but not only they who ranged up and down here and there, unadviſedly approa-
ched the wals, were wounded with ſhot diſcharged out of inſtruments of all ſorts, plan-
ted upon the wals; but thoſe alſo who were in the ſhips, were hurt with ſtones, weighed
and levelled from engins a far off. Upon which occaſion he commanded his ſouldiers to retire a
ſhipboord, and leaving the ſiege of *Theſſalonica*, they paſſed from thence to *Ænia*, a City fifteen
miles off, ſituate in a fertile ſoil juſt over-againſt *Pydna*. When they had ſpoiled the territory lying
to that City, they coaſted along the ſhore and arrived at *Antigonia*. Where, being ſet a land, firſt
they ſpoiled the countrey in every quarter, and brought good ſtore of prizes to their ſhips: but
afterwards, as they ſtragled out of order and diſbanded, the Macedonians, as well footmen as K
horſe, ran upon them, and chaſed them as they fled apace to the ſea ſide; in which rout they ſlew
about 500 and took as many priſoners. And nothing elſe provoked the courage of the Romans
(in regard as well of utter deſpair otherwiſe to ſave themſelves, as of the indignity it ſelf, ſo to
hazard their honour) but only the extream neceſsity wherein they ſtood, having no means to re-
cover their ſhips in ſafety. Whereupon they turned head, and renewed the fight upon the very
ſea ſtrand. They alſo who were a ſhipboord, ſurccoured and helped them. In which conflict, two
hundred Macedonians loſt their lives, and as many were taken priſoners. From *Antigonea* the
fleet weighed anchor, & made head toward the territory of *Pallene*, where the ſouldiers were ſet on
ſhore to ſpoil the countrey. The territory appertained to the confines of the Caſſandreans, the
moſt fruitfull tract of thoſe parts which they had coaſted and ſailed by. There, King *Eumenes* be- L
ing departed from *Elea* with twenty war ſhips met with them, & likewiſe five other covert ſhips
were ſent from King *Pruſias*. The Pretor ſeeing this good encreaſe and addition of his forces,
* *Caſandrea* took a better heart unto him, even to beſiege * *Caſſandrea*. This City was built by King *Caſſander*,
in the very ſtreight & gullet which joineth the territory of *Pallene* with the reſt of the Macedo-
nian countrey, encloſed of the one ſide with the Toronian ſea, and on the other with the Mace-
donian. For there lyeth out a bank or ſhelf like a tongue into the ſea, upon which the City ſtand-
eth, and beareth unto the deep, no leſſe in compaſſe and quantity then is the mountain *Athos*. It
butteth full againſt *Magneſia*, with two promontories of unequall bigneſs; of which the greater
is called *Poſideum*; the leſſe *Canaſtrium*. This town they began to aſſail in two divers parts. The
Roman (Pretor) drew his fortifications to a place called *Clita*, oppoſing certain ſtrong forked M
ſtakes for to debar and ſhut up the way from the Macedonian ſea to the Toronian. On the other
ſide there is an Euripe or arm of the ſea, from which quarter *Eumenes* gave the aſſault. The moſt
trouble and toil that the Romans found, was in damming and filling up the trench, which *Perſeus*
had caſt againſt them a little before. And as the Pretor enquired where the earth was beſtowed
which was thrown out of the trench aforeſaid, becauſe he could ſee no heaps thereof any where,
there were ſhewed unto him certain vaults and arches within, which bewraied a new wall, not
built to the thickneſſe of the old, but with perpend work, laid with one courſe of brick and no
more. Whereupon he reſolved to pierce through the ſaid wall, and ſo to make way into the City.
The which he thought to execute and perform without being diſcovered, in caſe he ſcaled the
wall in another quarter, and by making a ſhout and alarm there, withdrew all the defendants of N
the City to the guard of that one place. There lay in garriſon at *Caſſandrea* (being a ſufficient num-
ber of ſerviceable yong men of the City) eight hundred Agrians, and two thouſand Peneſtins of
*Sclavony*, ſent from thence by *Pleuratus*: and both theſe nations are hardy warriors. Whiles
theſe defended the wals manfully, and the Romans endevoured with all their might to mount over,
the thin wals of the vaults and arches aforeſaid were wrought and digged through in the turning
of an hand, and gave entrance into the City. Now if they who brake in, had been armed (as they
were but pioners) the town had been taken at that inſtant. But when as the ſouldiers heard news
that the ſaid work was finiſhed, they ſuddainly ſet up a cheerfull ſhout for joy, being ready ſome
in one place and ſome in another to ruſh into the City. The enemies at the firſt wondred what the
meaning ſhould be of that ſuddain cry: but the captains of the garriſon, *Pytho* and *Philippus Pro-* O
*co* being once advertiſed that the town lay open, ſuppoſing that herein conſiſteth the vantage, who
could firſt prevent the other and give the charge, ſallied forth with a ſtrong band of Agrians and
Illyrians: and whiles the Romans rallied themſelves ſome from this place, and others from that,
and were called together for to enter the City with banner diſplaied, they ſet upon them unready
as they were, and not ranged in any good order, put them to flight and chaſed them as far as to the
trench, where they overthrew them one upon another by heaps: 600 or very were there killed;

and

A and in maner whom they could reach between the wal & the trench were sore hurt. The Pre. thus overtaken in his own enterprise, was not so hasty to project any new designs; neither sped *Eumenes* any better, albeit at one time he assaulted the City both by land nd sea. Wherupon they accorded both, so set strong guards, for to impeach the passage of all garrisons out of *Macedony* thither; and (since open force took no better effect) to assail the wals with fabricks & engins. As they were busie in preparation thereof, there arived ten frigots of the Kings, sent from *Macedony* with certain select auxiliary Gauls. These when they perceived their enemies ships riding at anchor, sailed in single range one after another, as close as possibly they could to the shore in the dark night, and so entred the City. The bruit that went of this new succour and garrison, forced as well the Romans as the King to give over the siege; so fetching a compasse about the promontory, they
B arrived before *Torone*. And when they began to lie against it, after they perceived once there was a valiant company there to defend it, they abandoned their enterprire without effect, & sailed to *Demetrias*. Being approached thither, and seeing the wals full of armed men, they passed by and anchored at *Iolcos*: intending after they had spoiled the territory, to set upon *Demetrias*. Mean-while, they Consul also, because he would not sit still doing nothing in the enemie's countrey, sent *M. Popilius* with five thousand souldiers to give the assault to the City *Melibœa*. Seated it is at the foot of the mountain *Ossa*, on that side which looketh to *Thessaly*, and very fitly
C for the purpose commandeth *Demetrias*. The first arrivall of the enemies put the inhabitants of the place in great affright; but after they had recovered their spirits danted with so unexpected fear, they ran in arms to the gates, and up to the wals, where they doubted and suspected any place like to give entrance, nd incontinently cut off all hope from the enemies, that it could possibly be forced at the first assault. Whereupon they prepared to lay siege unto it, & began to make fabricks and engins to batter the wals. *Perseus* having intelligence, that in one instant both *Melibœa* was beleaguered by the Consul, and also that the fleet anchored before *Iolcos*, to the intent that from thence he might go in hand to assail *Demetrias*: sent *Euphranor* one of his captains,
D with a chosen regiment of two thousand souldiers to *Melibœa*; with this charge and direction, That if he could raise the siege from Melibœa and force the Romans to depart, he shou'd march secretly to *Demetrius*, & put himself within the town, before the Romans could remove from *Iolcos* and advance before the City. The assailants of *Melibœa* discovering him with his forces all at once upon the higher places, quit their fabricks and engins in fearful hast, and set them all on fire; and thus they departed from before *Melibœa*. *Euphranor* having levied the siege from the one City, forthwith led his army to *Demetrius*. And then the citizens assured themselves, that they should be able not only to defend the City against the siege, but also to save their territories from wast and spoil: and so they made sallies upon the forragers dispersed loosly here and there, not without drawing bloud of their enemies. Howbeit the Pretor and the King rode about the wals, and viewed the situation of the town, if peradventure they could espie any one place which they were
E like to force, either with battery of engins or force of arms. The voice went, that by the means of *Cydas* the Cretensian, and *Antiochus* governor of *Demetrias* there was a treaty of peace and amity between *Philip* and *Eumenes*. But howsoever it was, this is certain, both *Eumenes* and the Pretor departed from *Demetrias*. As for *Eumenes*, he sailed to the Consul, and testified unto him the joy that he conceived for his safe and prosperous entrance into *Macedony*; and from thence returned to *Pergamus* into his own realm. But *Martius Figulus* the Pretor, when he had sent part of his fleet into the harbor of *Sciathus* there to winter, with the rest of his ships went to *Oreum* in *Bœotia*: supposing it a commodious City, from whence victuals and all provisions might be sent to the armies that abode either in *Macedony* or *Thessaly*. As touching *Eumenes*, sundry
F authors have written diversly. If a man should go by *Valerius Antias* and beleeve him, he reporteth, that neither the Pretor had any help from him by his navy, notwithstanding that oftentimes he had sent for him by his letters; nor took his leave of the Consul in good terms with favour, at what time as he was to depart into *Asia*, as being highly displeased, that he was not permitted to quarter with him in one & the same camp; insomuch as he could not possibly be entreated by him, to leave behind that Cavalry of Gauls which he had brought thither with him. As for *Attalus* his brother, he remained still with the Consul (as *Valerius* saith) and continued syncere and faithful unto him without any change and alteration; yea and performed right good service in all that war.

During these wars in *Macedony*, there came Embassadors from beyond the *Alps* to *Rome* sent from a petty K. of the Gauls (*Balanos* he had to name, but of what linage he was descended it is not recorded) promising aid to the Macedonian war. Thanked they were from the Senat, and presents were sent unto them: to wit, a chain of gold weighing two pound; certain golden cups
G of four pound weight, a brave courser barbed and trapped, and an horsemans armor. After these Gauls were gone out of place, the Embassadors of *Pamphylia* brought with them into the Senat a golden crown, valewed at 20000 *Philip*-peeces of gold: their request was, that they might be permitted to set up the said present and oblation in the chappell of *Iup. Opt. Max.* and likewise to sacrifice within the Capitol. Their petition was ganted: and when these Embassadors were desious to renew the amity between them and the Romans, they received a gracious answer, and had of them a reward sent of two thousand Asses. Then the Embassadors of King *Prusias*, and anon after, others from the Rhodians had audience; who of one and the same argument discoursed diversly; for both tended to one thing, namely, a treaty for reconcilement of peace between the Rom. & K. *Perseus*. *Prusias* seemed to intreat rather then to demand: protesting that he

had

"had ever to that day ſtood with the Romans in that war; and willingly would friend themſelves H
"to the very end thereof: but ſince that there came Embaſſadors unto him from *Perſeus*, and
"dealt with him to make an end of the war between him and the Romans, and for that he pro-
"miſed them to be a mediator and interceſſor for him to the Romans; therefore his requeſt
"unto them was, (if they could ſo find in theirs hearts) to ſtint their anger, & ſo they ſhould uſe
"him in any ſervice, as one that would acknowledg himſelf beholden unto them for a favor, in
"effecting this atonement and reconciliation. In this maner (I ſay) ſpake the K. his Embaſſadors.
"But the Rhodians contrariwiſe, in a proud humour of theirs, reckoned up a beadroll of their
"demerits towards the people of *Rome*, attributing the greater part (beleeve me) of the victory of
"K. *Antiochus* to themſelves: moreover they added and ſaid, that when the Macedonians and
"Romans were at peace, they began to enter into league and amity with K. *Perſeus*: which they I
"had interrupted and diſcontinued againſt their will; not upon any deſert or occaſion given of
"his part, but only becauſe it pleaſed the Romans to draw them into the aſſociation of the war.
"Three daies now already (ſay they) have we felt the ſmart of this war and lived by the loſſe: by
"reaſon that the ſeas are ſhut up from us, and our Iland is decaied and diſtreſſed for need and
"want, having loſt our tollage and cuſtoms iſſuing from the ſeas, which we are not able to en-
"dure any longer, have addreſſed Embaſſadors to *Perſeus* into *Macedony*, to intimate unto him,
"that the Rhodians will and pleaſure was, that he ſhould grow to a compoſition and be at
"peace with the Romans. Our ſelves alſo are ſent to *Rome* to declare the ſame: and likewiſe to
"denounce, that whoſoever ſhall impeach and hinder this courſe tending to pacification, the
"Rhodians wil conſider of them accordingly & bethink how they are to proceed againſt them. K
I am verily perſwaded, that there is no man at this day, who can hear or read this, but his ſto-
mack will riſe thereat with indignation; gueſſe then thereby how the LL. of the Senat of *Rome*
were affected and touched as then, at the hearing thereof. *Claudius* mine author ſaith that there
was no anſwer at all given unto them. Only an areſt or decree of the Senat was read before them,
importing thus much, that by order from the people of *Rome*, the Carians & Lycians were made
free: and preſently were letters diſpatched to both nations to ſignifie ſo much unto them. Which
when the principal perſons of the embaſſage once heard, even he, whoſe big and brave words a
little before, the whole Senat-houſe was hardly able to contain, fell down flat before them in a
ſwoon and extaſie. Other Hiſtorians write, that this anſwer was returned, "That the people of
"*Rome* at the very beginning of this war, knew aſſuredly (by intelligence given from perſons of L
"right good credit) how the Rhodians had ſecretly complotted with *Perſeus* againſt the ſtate of
"*Rome*: and if there had been ſome doubt thereof before, yet the words of the Embaſſadors ere-
"while delivered, made all cleer and put it paſt peradventure: and no marvell, ſince that for the
"moſt part it falleth out, that ſuch cautelous practiſes, howſoever at the firſt they are covertly &
"cleanly caried, yet one time or other are bewraied and diſcovered. Let the Rhodians ſend their
"meſſengers over the world and ſpare not; let them make themſelves judges to determine of
"war and peace at their pleaſure: as for the Romans they will take arms in hand, and lay them
"down again at the will and appointment of the gods in heaven. We are well holpen up now in
"deed, if we muſt have the gods no more to be witneſſes of our accords, but the Rhodians for-
"ſooth. And muſt the Romans (I would not elſe) be ruled by them, and withdraw their forces
"out of *Macedony*? They will conſider and adviſe themſelves how to proceed againſt us! How M
"ſhall we do then? What the Rhodians will ſee to, well may they perhaps themſelves know:
"but the people of *Rome* (that is certain) well conſider indeed and reſolve after that *Perſeus* is
"vanquiſhed (which they hope will not be long firſt) to recompence and requite every City and
"ſtate according as they have deſerved in the ſervice of this war. As ſharp as this anſwer was, yet
they ſent a reward to theſe Embaſſ. to every one of them 2000 aſses; but none would they receive.

After this, were the letters read of *Q. Marcius* the Conſul, conteining thus much namely,
How he had paſſed over the ſtreights of the forreſt, and was come into *Macedony*, where he had
proviſion of victuals which the Pretor had given order for out of other places to ſerve for win-
ter: and beſides had taken up of the Epirots twenty thouſand Modii of wheat and ten thouſand
of barley, for which corn they ſhould make mony ready at *Rome* to content their Embaſſadors. N
Alſo that they muſt ſend from *Rome* ſouldiers liveries and other apparel; and need he had beſides
of 200 horſe or thereabout: eſpecially of *Numidia*: for in thoſe parts he had no plenty of any thing.
Hereupon an act was granted out of the Senat, That all theſe things ſhould be done according to
the tenor of the Conſul his letters. So *C. Sulpitius* the Pretor bargained for the tranſporting over
into *Macedony* of 600 ſide caſſocks and 3000 ſhort coats or jackets together with horſes; for
to be diſpoſed and diſtributed at the diſcretion of the Conſul: and beſides paid the Embaſſadors
of the Epirots good mony for their grain. He brought alſo into the Senat *Onesimus* the ſon of
*Pytho* a noble perſonage of *Macedony*. This man was evermore of counſel with the K. perſwading
him to peace: and admoniſhed him as his father *Philip* before him obſerved an order even to the
time of death to read over twice a day from point to point the inſtrument of the accord & cove- O
nants between him and the Romans; ſo he alſo would take up that good uſtome and practiſe
the ſame if not ſo continually yet at leaſtwiſe many a time and often. But when he could by no
meanes ſcare him nor avert his mind from war, he began at firſt to withdraw and abſent him-
ſelf, alledging for his excuſe one while this occaſion, and otherwhiles that becauſe he would
not be preſent at the debating of thoſe matters which he approved not: and in the end perceiving

that

A that he was had in ſome jealouſie, & otherwhiles charged to be a traitor, he changed his allegeance revolted to the Rom. and ſerved the Conſul in right good ſtead This *Oneſimus* being brought into the Senat houſe, related all theſe premiſſes: whereupon the Senat ordained, that he ſhould be enrolled formally in the number of allies: alſo, that he ſhould be provided of a lodging, and his ordinary expences for the time allowed at the Cities charge. Moreover, 200 acres of land in the territory of *Tarentum*, which was confiſcat to the people of *Rome*, ſhould be ſet out for him; and a meſſuage in *Tarentum* bought for his habitation. To ſee all this performed, C. *Decimus* the Pretor had in charge.

The Cenſors upon the * thirteenth of *December*, took a ſurvey of the number of citizens and an eſtimat of their goods, more ſtreightly then aforetime. Many were unknighted and had their B horſes taken from them; and P. *Rutilius* among the reſt, who when he was Tribune of the Com. had been their accuſer and called them ſo violently to reckoning; degraded he was beſides and diſplaced out of his own tribe, & made no better then a very labourer in the Cities works. Whereas the one moity of the Cities renews and profits for that yeer, was ſet by and allowed unto them by the treaſurers (aceording to an ordinance of the Senat) Tib. *Sempronius* out of the mony aſsigned unto him, purchaſed the houſe of *P. Africanus* on the back ſide of the old *Curia* neer the image of *Fortunus*: the ſhops alſo wherein they ſold wooll and the other adjoining thereto, all to the uſe of the City. He cauſed likewiſe the ſtately palace to be built, which afterwards was called *Sempronia Baſilica*.

* *Idibus Decembris.*

* *Pore Veteres.*

Now was the yeer come about and well neer at an end, when by reaſon of the great care prinC cipally about the Macedonian war, men began to talk, whom they were to create for Conſuls againſt the next yeer, to atchieve and end the ſaid war? Whereupon there paſſed a decree of the Senat, that *Cn. Servilius* with all ſpeed poſsible, ſhould make haſt to *Rome* for to hold a general aſſembly of election. This decree *Sulpitius* the Pretor within few daies after read to the Coſ. to the end that he ſhould repair home into the City before the day prefixed. Whereupon both the Coſ. haſtned; & the ſaid election was alſo furniſhed by the day appointed. Coſſ. theſe were created, *L. Æmylius Paulus* the ſecond time (even 14 yeers after his former Conſulſhip) with *C. Licinius Craſſus*. The day following were the Pretors alſo choſen, to wit, *Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus*, *L. Anicius Gallus*, *Cn. Octavius*, *P. Fonteius Balbus*, *Mar. Ebutius Helva*, and C. *Papyrius Carbo*. The carefull regard of the Macedonian war cauſed every thing to be done with greater expedition. And thereD fore it was thought meet, that theſe new elect magiſtrats ſhould caſt lots out of hand for their provinces, that it might be known to whether Coſ. *Macedony*, and to which Pretor the conduct of the navy ſhould fall; that thereupon they might preſently conſider and provide for all things requiſit to the war, & require thead vice of the Senat as need required. Ordained it was when the Conſuls were entred into their office, to ſolemnize the Latine feſtivall holidaies as ſoon as they might conveniently, without offence of the gods and breach of any religious order: that the Conſul whoſe lot fell to go into *Macedony*, were not deteined behind upon any occaſion. After theſe ordinances, *Italy* and *Macedony*, were nominated for the provinces of the two Conſuls; and for the Pretors, the two civill juriſdictions within the City of *Rome*, the navy, *Spain*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*. In fine, *Macedony* fell to *Æmylius* the Conſul, and *Italy* to *Licinius*. Of Pretors, *Cn. Bœbius* was lord chief E juſtice of the pleas of citizens, and L. *Anicius* of aliens. And if the Senat thought good to ſend the navy any whither, *Cn. Octavius* had the the charge thereof as L. admirall. P. *Fonteius* was appointed by lot L. Deputy of *Spain*, *M. Ebutius* of *Sicily*, and C. *Papyrius* of *Sardinia*.

All men ſoon ſaw, that *L. Æmylius* intended not to go coldly about the managing of that war; both for that he was not an ordinary man, but ſingular above all other, and alſo becauſe that night and day he muſed and ſtudied upon nothing elſe, but that which was requiſit and pertinent thereunto. The firſt thing of all wherewith he went in hand was this; a requeſt to the Senat for to diſpatch certain delegat commiſsioners into *Macedony*, to viſit the armies there and the armado; to make true report upon their certain knowledg, what was needfull to be done for the ſupply of the forces as well by land as ſea; alſo to lie in eſpiall & eſtimat as much as poſsibly they could, the F Kings power; moreover, what quarter of the province were taken by our men, and which the the enemies kept; whether the Romans lay encamped ſtill within the forreſt, or if they were paſſed beyond the ſtreights and come into the even ground; who continued truſty allies, who were ſuſpected, who hung in doubtfull terms, as whoſe faith depended upon fortune: who ſeemed to be profeſſed enemies: how great the proviſions were of victuals; from whence they were conveighed by land; from what places tranſported by water; & laſtly, what exploits had been done the ſummer paſt both by land and ſea: ſuppoſing, that for a light given and certain intelligence delivered of theſe things, he might be ſurely directed in the caſting and laying of future plots & deſignments. So the Senat granted out a commiſsion to *Cn. Servilius* the Coſ. for to ſend the delegats into *Macedony*, ſuch as *L. Æmylius* thought good of. Whereupon within two daies after, *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus* and *A. Licinius Nerva*, took their journey as legats and commiſsioners. News G came in the latter end of this yeer, that it rained ſtones twice, namely in the territory of *Rome*, and likewiſe about *Veii*: and therefore a novendiall ſacrifice was celebrated. This yeer there died certain prieſts, namely, *Pub. Quintilius Varus*, a flamin of *Mars*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus* a Decemvir, in whoſe room was ſubſtituted *Cneus Octavius*. And now noted it was, that the magnificence and port of the people of *Rome* encreated, for that in the plaies called *Circenſes* exhibited by *Publius Cornelius Scipio Naſica*, and *Publius Lentulus* Ædiles Curule, threeſcore and

three

3 wild beasts out of *Africk*, with 40 bears, & elephants, were baited to make sport to the people. H

When *L. Æmylius Paulus* and P. *Licinius* entred their Consulship upon the fifteenth of *March*, which was the beginning of the yeer following, the LL. of the Senat were in great expectancy, and especially what the Consul would propose unto them as touching the Macedonian war, which was his proper province. But *Paulus* said that he had nothing to propound and put to councel, seeing that the Delegats aforesaid were not returned. And at *Brundusium* (quoth he) they now are, having twice in their voiage upon the sea been driven back by tempest and cast upon *Dyrrhachium*. But so soon as I am once advertised and have perfect knowledg of those things that first are to be known, I will then consult; and that will be within very few daies. Now to the end that nothing may stay and hinder his journey he told them, that the even before the Ides of *April*, was appointed for the solemnity of the Latine festival holydaies. And after sacrifice duly performed [upon the Albane hill] the Senat should no sooner ordein, but he and Cn. *Octavius* would set forth and put themselves on their way. As for *C. Licinius* his colleague, his charge should be in his absence to provide and send all things requisit and needfull for this war. Mean while (quoth he) the embassies of forrain nations may have audience given. So when he had sacrificed as the maner was, before they took in hand the great affairs of State, the Embassadors of *Alexandria*, from King *Ptolomeus* and queen *Cleopatra*, were called in. Clad they were in poor array, the hair of their head long, their beards side and overgrown: and carrying in their hands branches of the Olive-tree, they entred into the Senat, and fell groveling and prostrat upon the floor. Their habit and apparel was not so simple and mournful; their look and countenance not so heavy and sorrowfull, but their speech was more piteous and lamentable. *Antiochus* now King of *Syria*, and who had sometime been hostage at *Rome* under a colourable pretence of honesty and equity to restore *Ptolomæus* the elder to his Kingdom, made hot war upon his yonger brother, who then held *Alexandria*: and after a victory obtained in sea-fight neer *Pelusium* he made a bridg of hasty work upon the river *Nilus*, over which he transported his army, & now laid siege to *Alexandria*: so as by all likelyhood he would shortly by way of conquest be lord of a most rich and wealthy Kingdome. In which regard, these Embassadors made pitifull moan and grievous complaint, "beseeching withall the Senat, of their aid and succour to that realm and those "Kings, who were such friends to their seignory and dominion. For perswaded they were that "the people of *Rome* had done so much for *Antiochus* in particular, & were of that account & au- "thority with all other Kings and nations, that if they would but send their Embassadors to inti- "mate thus much, that the Senat was not well pleased with waging war upon confederat Kings, "he would presently raise his siege, depart from before the wals of *Alexandria*, and withdraw his "army clean away into *Syria*. But if they protracted the time long and delaied thus to do, then "should *Ptolomeus* and *Cleopatra* within a while be driven out of their realm, and forced to come "to *Rome*, with some shamefull spot of dishonour to the people of *Rome*, in that they had not set "their helping hand in that extream danger of all their fortunes. The LL. of the Senat moved with compassion at the praiers of these Alexandrians, sent incontinently *C. Popilius Lenas*, *C. Decimius*, and A. *Hostilius* as Embassadors to determine and make an end of the war between those two Princes. In commission they had first to go unto *Ptolomæus*, and then to *Antiochus*, and to let them both understand, that unlesse they surceased and gave over arms, they would take him neither for friend nor confederate, whom it was long of that the war was not given over. So these three together with the Alexandrian Embassadors, took their leave within three daies & departed. Then the forsaid Delegats returned from out of *Macedony*, the last day of the feastivall games to *Minerva* called *Quinquatrus*, and not before they were welcome; for so looked for they were, had it not been eventide when they came, the Consuls would immediatly have called the Senat together. But the morrow after the Senat sat, and those commissioners had audience given. Report they made first, that with more danger then profit ensuing, the army entred into *Macedony* over those passes and streights, where was no way nor passage at all. Item, that the King kept the countrey of *Pieria*, into which the Roman armie was now advanced, and were so neer encamped one to the other, that nothing but the river *Enipeus* between kept them asunder; that neither the K. made offer of battel, nor the Rom. were of sufficient strength to challenge & force him to fight: moreover, that the winter had overtaken them (a time unseasonable for warlike exploits) that the souldiers were nuzled and nourished in idleness, notwithstanding they had victuals to serve no longer then six daies; also, that by report the Macedonians were thirty thousand strong. Were it so that Ap. *Claudius* had a good and sufficient power about *Lychnidum*, he might be able to trouble the K. and put him to his trumps in a battel; but now both *Appius* and the garrison with him, are themselves in extream jeopardy, unless with speed either a complete army be sent thither, or else they draw from thence where they are, into *Macedony*. Over and besides they related, how from the camp they went towards the fleet, where they heard say, that some of the sea-faring men and mariners were dead of sickness, others, and namely, those of *Sicily* above the rest were gone home again to their own houses, insomuch as there were not men enow to serve the ships; & those that remained, had neither their wages paid & mony to put in their purse, nor liveries & apparel to hang on their backs. As for *Eumenes* & his fleet, they (like ships driven to a coast by force of wind and weather, without any other errand or cause else) were come and gone again; and it seemed the mind of that K. was not well setled and resolved. But as they reported al of *Eumenes* suspiciously & in doubtful terms, so they assured them of the singular fidelity & constancy of *Attilus* his

I K L M N O

A his brother. When theſe Legats had ſpoke, then ſaid *L. Æmylius*, Let us debate now in councill what is to be done as concerning the ſaid war. So the Senat ordained, that for eight legions, the Conſuls and the people ſhould elect an equall number of martiall Tribunes or Colonels, the one as many as the other; and that none ſhould be created and advanced to that place for that year, but ſuch as had born ſome honourable dignity: then, out of all thoſe Tribunes thus elected, that *L. Æmylius* ſhould make choiſe for thoſe two legions which were to go into *Macedony*, of whom he would himſelf: alſo, that after the ſolemnity of the Latine feaſts performed, *L. Æmylius* the Conſul, and *C. Octavius* the Prætor and Admirall of the fleet, ſhould depart into their Province: A third was joyned in commiſſion with them, to wit, *L. Anicius* the Prætor and L. chief Juſtice for ſtrangers. And ordained it was, that he ſhould paſs into *Illyricum* about *Lychnidum*, for to ſucceed
B *Ap. Claudius*. The charge of taking muſters was put upon *C. Licinius* the Conſul. He had commandment to enroll ſeven thouſand [foot] Citizens of *Rome*, and two hundred horſemen and to charge the Latine allies with a levy of ſeven thouſand footmen, and four hundred horſe. Alſo to ſend letters unto *Cn. Servilius*, who governed the Province of *Gaul*, to enroll ſix hundred men of arms. This army he had commandment to ſend with all convenient ſpeed to his Collegue into *Macedony*, ſo as in that Province there ſhould not be above two legions, and the ſame full and compleat, containing ſix thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe apeece. As for the ſurcreaſe, as well of the Cavalry as Infantry, they ſhould be diſpoſed and beſtowed in ſundry garriſons. And all ſuch as were unmeet for ſervice, were to be caſſed and ſent away. Moreover, the allies were put to ſet out and find 10000 foot, and 800 horſe. And thoſe were to ſerve in garriſon under *Anici-*
C *us*, over and above the two legions (which he was commanded to lead into *Macedony*) conſiſting of 5200 foot, and 300 horſemen either of them. Alſo for the navy were enrolled 5000 mariners and rowers. *Licinius* the Coſ. was appointed to defend and kep in obedience his Province with two legions, and to take beſides of allies ten thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe.

After theſe ordinances of the Senat were accompliſhed, *L. Æmylius* the Coſ. went forth of the Senat houſe into the common place before the aſſembly of the people; where he made a ſpeech unto them in this wiſe following: "Me thinks I perceive and ſee, my good friends and Citizens "of *Rome*, that ye have ſhewed more apparent tokens of joy and gratulation in my behalf, for that "the Province of *Macedony* is faln to my lot; than either at the time that I was declared and ſa- "luted Coſ. or that day whereupon I firſt entred into government: & for no other reaſon in the
D "world, but upon the opinion which you have conceived, that the Macedonian war, which hath "ſo long continued, may be brought by my means to ſuch an end as beſeemeth the greatneſs and "majeſty of the people of *Rome*. And for mine own ſelf I have good hope, that as the gods in fa- "vour have directed this ſortilege, ſo they will be preſent and propitious unto me in performing "the ſervice. In theſe matters, I ſay, I am but carried partly with conceit and partly with hope. But "this one thing I am aſſured of; yea and I dare affirm and promiſe on my own head, that I will "endeavour my ſelf and employ all that is in me, that this your good opinion of me may not be "in vain conceived. As for all things neceſſary and requiſite to this war, both the Senat hath or- "dained; & alſo, for that they have thought good I ſhould depart immediatly (for which my ſelf "am well pleaſed and contented, neither in me there ſhall be any delay) my Collegue *C. Licinius*,
E "a ſingular man, and of great valour, will provide with as great care and diligence, as if himſelf "had the full conduct of this war. For the effecting whereof, ſee that whatſoever I ſhall write ei- "ther to the Senat, or to you, ye beleeve for true: as for running rumours which have no certain "author, give no ear and belief thereto; neither feed them with your fooliſh credulity. For now "adaies verily, (a thing that I have obſerved to fall out ordinarily in this war) there is no man ſet- "teth ſo little by the common bruits that are blazed abroad, but his ſpirit and courage may be "thereby quailed and danted. In all meetings now, yea, and at every boord (I would not elſe) ye "ſhall have them, that in their table talk will lead your armies into *Macedony*: that know where "they are to lodge and encamp; what commodious places are to be ſeized and kept with garri- "ſons; at what time and through which paſs the entry muſt be made into *Macedony*; where the
F "garners and ſtorehouſes for corn ſhould be built and ſet; which way by land and ſea both, the "proviſions of victuals ought to be brought; when the time ſerveth to encounter and fight with "the enemy, and when to ſit ſtill and reſt. Neither are they content to ſet down and pronounce, "what is to be done for the better: but if ought hap to be managed otherwiſe than they have "judged expedient, they are ſo bold as to controll the Coſ. yea, and ready to commence proceſs a- "gainſt him judicially. Theſe are ſhrowd hindrances, I may tell you, to warriors & men of action. "For all men have not the gift of reſolution and conſtancy to neglect the ſpeech and talk of men, "as ſometimes *Fabius* had, who choſe rather to have his authority & command diminiſhed and "impaired by the folly and vanity of lewd people, than with their favourable applauſe and good "opinion to manage his affairs but untowardly. Yet take me not ſo, as if I were a man that would
G "have no captains to be admoniſhed and adviſed by others; nay contrariwiſe, of this judgment "I am, That he who worketh all by his ſelf-wit & followeth only his own head is ſelf-willed and "proud, and nothing ſage & wiſe. What is then to be done? Firſt, in mine opinion, Generals and "Commanders of armies, are to be inſtructed by diſcreet and prudent men; by ſuch as are skilful "by profeſſion in feats of arms and military ſcience; by thoſe alſo that by long practiſe are "throughly experienced: nay more than that, they are to be taught and counſelled by them, that "are uſually preſent and converſant in the execution of affairs, who daily ſee the advantage of

The Oration of *L. Æmylius* to the people of *Rome*.

" places, mark the proceeding of the enemies, and obſerve the opportunities of times: thoſe (I ſay) H
" who as paſſengers in one ſhip, are partakers of the ſame danger. If there be any man therefore,
" who is verily perſwaded of himſelf, that he is able to direct me and give me any counſell (in the
" conduct of this war which I have in charge) for the good of the Common-weal, let him come
" forth, and not deny his helping hand to the weal publike, and go along with me into *Macedony*.
" Furniſh him I ſhall, with ſhip, with horſe, with tent-room, with conduct-money, and all things
" neceſſary for his voyage. If any be loath ſo to do, and had rather ſit warm at home, preferring the
" eaſe and repoſe of the City before the travel and pain of warfare, let him not here on the land
" take upon him to play the pilot and ſteerſman at ſea. Matter he ſhall find enough within the Ci-
" ty to talk of, and ſeek no farther; let him hold him there & keep his babble and prattle to him-
" ſelf: know he (whoſoever he is) that we will content our ſelves with our own counſell about us I
* The laſt of *February*. " in the camp. And this oration ended, and the Latine feſtivals ſolemnized the day before the * ca-
" lends of *March*, together with the ſacrifices duly celebrated upon the Alban mount: the Coſ.
and the Prætor *Cn. Octavius* departed incontinently into *Macedony*. It is recorded in the Chroni-
cles that the Coſ. was honoured with a greater frequency that accompanied him, than uſually had
been known: and that men preſaged in manner aſſuredly, the end of the Macedonian war: how
the Coſ ſhould have a ſpeedy return, and obtain a brave and glorious triumph.

During theſe occurrents in *Italy*, *Perſeus* who (becauſe he was to be at the charges of diſburſing
money) never thought of it, to go through with that which before he had begun, namely, to ad-
joyn unto him *Gentius* King of the Illyrians: ſo ſoon as he perceived that the Romans were en-
tred the ſtraights, and the war come now to this extremity of hazard: thought good now to make K
that ſure and put it off no longer. Whereas therefore he had covenanted & promiſed by his Em-
baſſador *Hippias* three hundred talents of ſilver, with condition alſo, that for ſecurity hoſtages
ſhould be put in of both parties interchangeably: he ſent *Pantaucus* one of his moſt truſty friends
to diſpatch and make an end of this affair. This *Pantaucus* met the Illyrian King at *Medeon* in the
Country of *Labeatis*: where he both took an oath of the King, and alſo received his hoſtages.
*Gentius* likewiſe ſent his embaſſador, named *Olympio*, to demand the ſemblable oath of *Perſeus*, and
require hoſtages accordingly: with him were certain perſons ſent of purpoſe to receive the money,
who alſo by the advice of the ſaid *Pantaucus* were to go in embaſſie with the Macedonians to
*Rhodes*: and the men hereto appointed were *Parmenio* and *Morcus*. But they had in charge and
commiſſion after the oath taken, after hoſtages & money received, to go to *Rhodes*, & not before. L
Good hope they conceived that the Rhodians might be ſollicited and induced to take arms a-
gainſt the Romans, by uſing the name of theſe two KK. at once: and this account they made, that
if this State which carried the renown and honour above all others for ſea-ſervice, would once
combine and band with them, they ſhould leave the Romans no hope at all, either on land or ſea.
When theſe Illyrians arrived, *Perſeus* departed with all his Cavalry from before the river *Enipeus*
where he was encamped, and encountred them near *Dium*. There were all the complements per-
formed according to the covenants, in the ſight and midſt of the Cavalry, whom the K. of purpoſe
would needs have to be preſent at this accord of aſſociation made between him and K. *Gentius*,
ſuppoſing that it would comfort & encourage them the more. So the hoſtages were given and ta-
ken in the preſence of them all. They alſo who were to receive the money were ſent to *Pella* M
where the K. his treaſure lay: and thoſe that ſhould go to *Rhodes* with the Illyrian embaſſadors
had cõmandment to embark at *Theſſalonica*. Now was *Metrodorus* there, lately come from *Rhodes*:
who aſſured them by the means of *Dyon* & *Polyaratus*, two principall perſonages of that City, that
the Rhodians were preſt and ready to war. Whereupon the ſaid *Metrodorus* was appointed the
chief in this embaſſage of Macedonians and Illyrians together. At the ſame time likewiſe was ad-
dreſſed and imparted both unto *Eumenes* & alſo unto *Antiochus*, ſuch advice and counſel in com-
mon, as the preſent condition wherin their affairs ſtood, might miniſter & afford argument: name-
ly, " That a free City and a K. were two; by nature, enemies that poſſibly could not ſort together:
" That the people of *Rome* went in hand with them ſeverally one after another: & (that which was
" a greater indignity & unſupportable) uſed the force of KK to overthrow the ſtate of KK. For ſo, N
" by the aid of *Attalus* they had brought his father *Philip* to ruin: by the help likewiſe of *Eumenes*,
" & partly alſo of his father *Philip*, *Antiochus* was defeated; & even now againſt himſelf both *Eu-*
" *menes* and *Pruſias* were put in arms. If the kingdom of *Macedony* were once ſubverted have at
" *Aſia* next; which the Romans have in ſome part ſeized already for their own under a colour
" of enfranchizing Cities, & ſetting them free: & then they will not leave untill they have *Syria*
" too. For now is *Pruſias* preferred in honour before *Eumenes*; & *Antiochus* for all his conqueſt is
" chaſed & debarred out of *Ægypt*, which ought to have been the recompence of the war by him
" enterprized & atchieved. In theſe regards *Perſeus* advertiſed e[illegible] them to conſider & provide
therefore either to force the Romans to make peace with him[illegible] hold them for the com-
mon enemies of all KK. in caſe they perſiſted ſtill in ſo unjuſt a[illegible]miſſion that the em- O
baſſadors had to *Antiochus* was apert & open: but unto *Eumenes* [illegible]baſſador was ſent under a
pretence of ranſoming certain captives: but practiſed there were under hand more ſecret complots;
which cauſed *Eumenes* even then to be ſuſpected & odious unto the Romans, yea, & charged after-
ward with more grievous matters, although untruly. For he was reputed little better than a traitor
& a profeſſed enemy to their ſtate, whereas indeed both he & *Perſeus* ſtrove who could compaſs,
ſurprize, & overtake one another better in fraud & avarice. Now there was one *Cydas* a Cretenſi-
an,

A an inward & moſt ſecret friend to *Eumenes*: this man had communed firſt at *Amphipolis* with one *Chimarus* a countriman of his, who ſerved under *Perſeus* in the wars; and afterwards at *Demetrias* conferred with another named *Menecrates*; alſo with a certain third perſon, called *Antiochus*, all captains to K. *Perſeus*, even under the very wals of the foreſaid City. Over and beſides, *Eropon* who at this time was ſent, had beforetime been employed in two ſeverall embaſſies to the ſame *Eumenes*. Theſe ſecret communications and embaſſages were badly ſpoken of; but no man knew what was concluded between the two KK. Howbeit, thus the caſe ſtood: *Eumenes* as he had no mind nor intention to war upon *Perſeus*, ſo he was not deſirous in his heart that he ſhould have the victory of the Romans; not ſo much for the old enmity which had been between both their fathers, as for the hateful quarrels kindled among themſelves. For this concurrence & emu-
B lation there was between theſe two Princes, that *Eumenes* could never abide to ſee *Perſeus* for to purchaſe ſo great wealth, & ſo much honour, as he muſt needs acquire by the conqueſt of the Romans: he ſaw moreover, that *Perſeus* from the firſt beginning of this war ſought by all means poſſible for peace, & the nearer he was to danger & damage, aimed thereat every day more than other; employing his whole ſtudy & care about nothing elſe. He perceived alſo that among the Romans, becauſe the war grew to be longer than they hoped and looked for, as well their captains as the Senat were well enough content and very deſirous to ſee an end once of ſo troubleſome, hurtfull, and difficult a war. Knowing thus as he did, the mind and will of both parties, he enclined & framed to that which of it ſelf as he thought might fall out, where the ſtronger was weary and the weaker in fear: and therein deſired he to ſhew his double diligence, thereby to win a thank & pur-
C chaſe favour of both parts. For he entred into bargain with *Perſeus* for a ſum of money, one while not to aid the Romans either by land or ſea; another whiles to be a means for peace and to treat with the Romans thereabout, and not to meddle at all in the war, but to ſit ſtill: he capitulated (I ſay) for 1500 talents; making ſemblance and ſhew, that for the aſſurance both of the one and the other, ready he was not only to ſwear, but alſo to put in good and ſufficient hoſtages. *Perſeus* was the willingeſt man in the world to ſet in hand with this, as being driven thereto by the exigent of fear: and preſently without delay dealt with him as touching the hoſtages which were to be received: and in fine concluded it was, that they ſhould upon their delivery and receit be ſent into *Creet*. But when they came once to talk of the money aforeſaid, he hafted and ſtuck at that: and to ſay a truth, either of theſe two ſums (between Princes of ſo great name and honour) was but a
D baſe and diſhoneſt conſideration; a thing much unfitting (I wis) the giver, and more the receiver. *Perſeus* verily for his part, in hope to purchaſe peace with the Romans, was willing enough to be at the expence of ſo much money: mary, he ſaid that he would make paiment thereof when the thing was done and accompliſhed: & in the mean time lay it up ſafe for that purpoſe within the temple of *Samothracia*. *Eumenes* again, conſidering that the ſaid Iſland was an appurtenance to the dominion of *Perſeus*, could not ſee but that it was all one for it to lie there and in *Pella*: and therefore was earneſt to have part thereof in hand. Thus between them there was nothing but lying in the wind for the vantage, who could over-reach the other: & what was gained in the end but infamy and diſcredit? As for *Perſeus*, he not only let fall this deſign and loſt this opportunity, (and that by his nigardice only) when by the means of *Eumenes* he might have had either his mony
E ſure enough, or peace for it, (which indeed he ſhould have bought, if it had coſt him the one half of his kingdom,) and being once received into grace & favour [of the people of *Rome*] he might have defamed and brought into obloquy and danger his concurrent, by charging him to have received a piece of money for a bribe, and ſo juſtly have ſet the Romans upon his top: but alſo the aſſociation with King *Gentius* which now was at the point of a contract, was neglected; yea, and a mighty army of Gauls ſpread at that time all over *Illyricum* and preſented unto him, was even then refuſed and diſcharged by this pinching and ſaving of his money. For there came and offered their ſervice ten thouſand horſemen, and as many foot, and thoſe ſo well practiſed and ſo good of footmanſhip, that they were able to hold out & keep pace with horſes, yea, and run by their ſides; ſuch (I ſay) as when the riders were unhorſed and faln, could vault & mount on the empty horſe backs
F ready to fight in their turns. Theſe had bargained to have for pay every horſeman ten * *Philip* pieces [of gold] paid down aforehand, and a footman five, and their Captain a thouſand. *Perſeus* departed from his leaguer lying near the river *Enipeus*, and with the one half of his own forces met theſe coming upon the way, and cauſed proclamation to be made in all towns and villages near the high waies, To made ready and bring abroad their proviſion of victuals, and ſee that there were plenty of corn, of wine, and cattel. Himſelf brought with him horſes and trappings, and fine ſouldiers caſſocks, to beſtow as preſents upon the chief of them, with ſome little ſprinkling of gold to deal among a few of them; ſuppoſing that all the reſt beſides of common ſouldiers, might be drawn on and retained with bare hope. Thus he came to the City of *Alamana*, and encamped upon the bank of the river *Axius*. But the army of theſe Galatians were lodged about
G *Deſudaba* in the country of *Medica*, and reſted there expecting the paiment of the money aforeſaid, according to covenant. But *Perſeus* ſent unto them *Antigonus* one of his gallants and courtiers, to will and command the multitude of the army to diſlodge and remove to *Bylazora*, a place ſo called in *Paronia*, and a good ſort of their chief to repair unto him. Now were they threeſcore and fifteen miles from the river *Axius* and the Kings camp. And when *Antigonus* had delivered unto them this mandat as he had in charge, and added beſides, with what care and diligence the King had laid his proviſions by the way of all things in great plenty for the army, and

* *Philippeus nummus*, was ſomewhat leſſe than our ſoveraign of 20 s. or 3 ducats.

with what gifts of apparell, ſilver, and horſes, he purpoſed to receive and entertain their Captains H
at their firſt coming unto him: as for that (ſay they) we ſhall take knowledge thereof when we
are in preſence perſonally: but now for this time, we demand, Whether ye have brought with
you in ready coin according to bargain, that gold which is to be paid to the ſouldiers, as well
horſe as foot? And when he could make no anſwer thereto, but was ſet *nonplus*; then the ſaid
*Clondicus* their Prince, Go your waies then (qd. he) and tell your King and Maſter, that the Gauls
unleſs they may receive the gold, and hoſtages beſides for their ſecurity, will not ſtir one foot for-
ward. Relation being made hereof unto the K. he called his Councel: and when it was ſoon ſeen
what they all would adviſe him to do; himſelf, who could skill better to keep his money together,
than hold the royall eſtate of his kingdom, began to enter into a diſcourſe of a diſloyalty and ſa-
vage nature of theſe Gauls; making remonſtrance, how he had experience by the calamities and I
loſſes of many before him, that dangerous it was to receive ſo great a multitude of them within
*Macedony*, for fear the Gauls would be found worſe neighbors than the Romans were enemies.
Five thouſand horſemen are ſufficient (qd. he) and ſo many well we may have good uſe of in wars,
and need not be afraid of them for their number. But every man ſaw well enough, that it was the
waging of ſuch a number that he feared and nothing elſe: but when no man durſt give him coun-
ſell albeit he ſeemed to ask their advice, *Antigonus* was ſent again with a meſſage unto the Gauls,
That the King ſtood in need of five thouſand horſemen and no more, as for all the reſt, he weigh-
ed them not. When theſe Barbarians heard that, all the reſt began to mutter and grumble, yea, and
to take great ſcorn and indignation, that they were levied and departed out of their native coun-
try for nothing: but *Clondicus* redemanded, Whether he would make preſent pay to thoſe five K
thouſand, according to covenant, yea, or nay? but ſeeing that he was to ſeek, and made ſhifts to a-
void a direct anſwer, he let this deceitfull meſſenger go his waies, and did no harm unto his per-
ſon (a thing that *Antigonus* himſelf would ſcarcely have thought could poſſibly have been:) And
ſo after they had given the waſte unto thoſe parts of *Thracia* which lay near to their way, they re-
turned back again to the river *Iſter*. Which power of men, if it had paſſed the ſtraights of *Perrhe-
bia* into *Theſſaly* againſt the Romans (although *Perſeus* had not ſtirred at all, but ſitten ſtill at *E-
nipeus*) might not only have ſpoiled and laid bare the territory all about, and empeached the Ro-
mans for expecting any victuals there, but alſo deſtroyed the towns utterly, whiles *Perſeus* held
the Romans play at *Enipeus* that they could not relieve and ſuccour the Cities of their allies and
confederats. Nay, the very Romans ſhould have enough to do to look unto themſelves, conſide- L
ring, that there was no tarrying for them, after that *Theſſaly* was loſt, which nouriſhed and main-
tained their army: and paſs forward they could not poſſibly, having the Macedonian camp to af-
front them. But *Perſeus* by that deed, as he confirmed the hearts of the Romans, ſo he quailed not
a little the courages of the Macedonians, who depended upon the hope and expectancy of their
aid. By the ſame miſerable pinching of his, he eſtranged alſo the heart of K. *Gentius* from him. For
when as at *Pella* he had paid 300 talents unto thoſe that were ſent of purpoſe from *Gentius* to re-
ceive the ſame, well content he was that they ſhould ſeal up that money. Afterwards he ſent unto
*Pantaucus* ten talents, and commanded him to deliver the ſame to the K. in perſon: as for the reſt
ſigned up with the ſeal of the Illyrians, he commanded his own men who had the convoy thereof,
in going with it to take ſmall journies, and when they were come to the utmoſt frontiers of *Ma-* M
*cedony*, there to reſt and attend the meſſengers from him. *Gentius*, after he had received as earneſt
that ſmall portion of the whole ſum aforeſaid, being called upon continually by *Pantaucus* and ſet
on to provoke the Romans by ſome hoſtility or other, made no more ado, but committed to pri-
ſon *M. Perpenna* and *L. Petilius*, who chanced at that time to come unto him in embaſſage. Which
when *Perſeus* once heard, he had enough, and thought verily that *Gentius* had done that, whereby
of neceſſity he muſt be forced to wage war with the Romans; and thereupon ſent out preſently to
call thoſe back who had the carriage of the foreſaid talents; as if he had ſtudied and ſought for
nothing more, than to reſerve as great a booty as poſſibly he could, for the Romans to enjoy, after
that they had vanquiſhed and ſubdued him, *Eropon* returned likewiſe from *Eumenes*, and wiſt not
what had been contrived ſecretly between them. That their treaty was about certain captives, N
they themſelves had given forth abroad, and likewiſe *Eumenes* adverti ſed the Conſul ſo much,
for avoiding of all ſuſpition.

*Perſeus* after the return of *Eropon* from *Eumenes*, was much diſmaied and caſt down. Whereup-
on, he ſent *Antenor* & *Callippus* (admirals of his navy) to *Tenedos* with forty pinnaces, unto which
number five Gallions were adjoyned; who from that coaſt diſperſing themſelves all about the
Iſlands *Cyclades*, might waft and guard the lighters and hoies charged with corn, as they ſailed to
*Macedony*. Theſe ſhips were put to ſea at *Caſſandrea*, and firſt they fell with the havens that lie un-
der the foot of the mountain *Athos*, and from thence paſſed to *Tenedos* with pleaſure in calm ſea:
where finding certain Rhodian open ſhips riding in the harbour, they ſpake courteouſly to *Euda-
mus* their Admiral, and let them alone without any hurt at all done unto them. But afterwards up- O
on knowledge, that fifty hulks of theirs on another ſide were ſhut up and pent in by the war-ſhips
of K. *Eumenes*, (which rid in the mouth of the haven, and were commanded by *Damius*) he turned
about in all haſte & diſperſed the enemies ſhips with a ſudden terrour that he put them in, & ſent
the ſaid hulks & veſſels of burden into *Macedony*, with a convoy of ten brigantines to waft them
over, with this charge, That after they had conducted them paſt all danger into place of ſafety,
they ſhould return again to *Tenedos*. After nine daies they retired toward the fleet anchoring then

in

A in the rode of *Signum*. From whence they crossed over to *Subota*, an Island lying between *Elea* and *Athos*. It fortuned that the morrow after the fleet was arrived at *Subota*, five and thirty ships which they call *Hippagogæ* [serving for the transporting of horses] which came from *Elea*, having aboord certain horsemen of *Gaul* and their horses, made head toward *Phanæ*, a cape or promontory of the Chians, from whence they might cut over into *Macedony*. And these were sent from *Eumenes* to *Attalus*. *Antenor* being advertised by a signall given him from a watch-tower, that those ships were discovered under sail in the open sea, loosed from *Subota*; and between the cape of *Erythræa* and *Chios*, where the sea is most narrow, he encountred them. The admirals of K. *Eumenes* thought nothing less, than that any fleet of Macedonians were abroad in those seas; but imagined one while they were Romans, otherwhiles, that it was *Attalus* or some sent back from *Attalus*,
B who from out of the Roman camp were sailing toward *Pergamus*. But as they approached nearer, they took knowledge by the form and fashion of their pinnaces who they were, by their hasty rowing also and making head full against them, they were out of all doubt that their enemies were at hand. Then were they mightily afraid as having no hope to resist and withstand them, considering the ships were unweildy and unhandsome, and the Gauls besides could hardly brook the very sea without any other trouble. Some of them therefore, who were nearer to the firm land saved themselves by swimming to *Erythræa*; others set up their sails, and being cast upon the Island *Chios*, forsook their horses, and ran as fast as they could for refuge to the City. But the barks discharged their armed souldiers nearer to the City in a more commodious place for landing, where the Macedonians overtook the Gauls and slew them; some in the way as they fled, others before
C the very gate of the City, being kept out and excluded from thence: for the Chians not knowing either who fled or who pursued, had shut their gates upon them. Nine hundred * Gallogreeks, or very near, lost their lives and were hewn in peeces, and 200 taken alive. As for the horses, part perished in the sea after the ships were split and broken, and the Macedonians haught and cut the strings of their gambrels of as many of them as they found upon the shore. Twenty of the best and fairest horses, together with the prisoners, *Antenor* commanded that those ten barks which he had sent before, should transport to *Thessalonica*, and return again with all speed to the fleet for that he would expect their coming at *Phanæ*. The fleet staid about three daies under the City side, but afterwards went forward to *Phanæ*; and when the ten pinnaces aforesaid were returned sooner than they looked for, they set up sail in the Ægean sea for *Delos*.

* Note that Gauls, Galatians, and Gallo-greeks be all one, in this book; although *Livy* term them only *Gallos*.

D In this while the Roman Embassadors, *C. Popilius*, *C. Decimius*, and *C. Hostilius*, departed from *Chalcis*, and arrived with three Quinquereme galleaces at *Delos*, where they found forty Macedonian pinnaces, and five royall Quinquereme galleaces of K. *Eumenes*. The holiness of the Temple and Island wherein it stood afforded security to them all, so as there was no hurt done nor violence offered from one to another. And therefore, as well Romans as Macedonians, and besides, the sailers and mariners of K. *Eumenes* conversed together, intermingled one with another in the Temple, and the religious devotion of the place yielded them truce and surcease of hostility.

*Antenor* the admirall of K. *Perseus*, when he was advertised from the watch and sentinell, that certain ships of burden were seen a far off in the sea, set sail & made after them himself with part
E of his pinnaces, and part of them he bestowed in wait among the *Cyclades*, and saving those that directed their course toward *Macedony*, he either drowned or spoiled them all. *Popilius* did the best he could, and *Eumenes* with his ships likewise, to save some; but the Macedonians, who sailed by night with two or three pinnaces at the most, deceived them and were not discovered.

Much about this time the Macedonian and Illyrian Embassadors came together to *Rhodes*, who carried the greater authority and credit with the Rhodians, by reason not only of the coming of their brigantins, which sailed to and fro ranging over the Ægean sea, and among the *Cyclades*, but also by the conjunction and association of the two KK. *Perseus* and *Gentius*, together with a rumor
F that ran of the Gauls, who were coming with a great number, as well of horse as foot. And now both *Dion* and *Polyaratus*, who took part with *Perseus*, took more courage and heart unto them: by whose means there was not only a gracious answer returned to the Kings, but also pronounced openly it was, that by their authority they would make an end of the war: in regard whereof, the Kings also for their parts were to be disposed and well willing to accept of peace.

Now was it the prime of the spring, when as the new generals were arrived into their Provinces: *Æmylius* the Cos. into *Macedony*; *Octavius* to the navy at *Oreum*; and *Anicius* into *Illyricum*, whose commission was to levy war against *Gentius*. This *Gentius* was the son of *Pleuratus* K. of the Illyrians, and *Euridica* was his mother: two brethren he had, to wit, *Plator* of the whole
G blood by father and mother both, and *Caravantius* only by the mothers side. This half brother he less suspected, by reason of his base parentage from the father; but as for *Plator* he murdered, together with two especiall friends of his *Ettrius* and *Epicadus* (brave men of action) to the end that he might raign in more safety and security. The voice goeth that he carried an envious eye to that brother of his, for that he had espoused *Etuta* the daughter of *Honunus* the Prince of the Dardanians; as if by this marriage he meant to make himself strong and combine with the Dardanian nation: and the more likelihood this carried with it after he married the damosell indeed. When he had made away *Plator*, and rid himself of the fear that he might have of his brother, he began to molest and oppress his own naturall subjects: and as he was by nature given to violence, so that indisposition of his he set on fire with untemperat drinking of wine. But as we said before, being moved and incited to war against the Romans, he assembled all his forces together

unto *Liſſus*, to the number of 15000 armed men, and ſent his brother from thence with 1000 H
foot and 50 horſe againſt the Cavians, for to ſubdue that nation either by force or fear, whiles
himſelf led his army five miles againſt the City *Baſſania* from *Liſſus*. Now were the Baſſanians
confederat allies of the Romans: and therefore when they were firſt ſollicited by meſſengers to
yield they reſolved rather to endure a ſiege than do ſo. As for *Caravantius* he was peaceably and
friendly received at his firſt coming into *Durium*, a town of the Cavians: but *Caravantie* another
City, made the gates faſt againſt him: and as he gave the waſte to the territory about it, certain of
his ſouldiers ſtragling here and there, were by the peaſants and villagers killed, who came forth
and made head againſt them.

And now by this time *Appius Claudius* having taken with him, over and above his own army,
the auxiliaries of the Bullians, Apolloniats, and Dyrrhachians, diſlodged out of the place where I
he had wintered, and encamped near the river *Genuſſus*. For hearing of the alliance made be-
tween *Perſeus* and *Gentius*, and incenſed beſides with the outrage committed upon the Roman
embaſſadors, whom *Gentius* put in priſon, he reſolved certainly to war upon him. *Anicius* the Prætor being at that time at *Apollonia*, and advertiſed in what terms the affairs ſtood in *Illyricum*, diſ-
patched letters beforehand to *Appius*, willing him to attend at *Genuſſus* for his coming: and ſo
within three daies after came himſelf to the camp there; and to thoſe aids which he had of his
own he took with him two thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe, drawn out of the youth and
flower of the Partins. Of the Infantry *Epicadus* had the conduct, and *Agathus* commanded the
Cavalry. With this power he prepared to go into *Illyricum*, principally for to levy the ſiege before
*Baſſania*: but this deſign projected by him, was empeached by a bruit that was blown of certain K
pinnaces which waſted and ſpoiled the ſea-coaſts. A fleet they were together of eighty ſail,
ſent from *Gentius* by the inſtigation of *Pantaucus*, to forrage the territories of *Apollonia* and
*Dyrrhachium*. Then the fleet * * * * Which being ſurrendred, they
ſubmitted alſo and yielded themſelves. And ſo conſequently other Cities of that country one after
another did the ſemblable: and the inclination & diſpoſition of mens minds that way, was much
ſet forward by the clemency and juſtice of the Roman Prætor which he uſed toward all. Then
they marched to *Scodra*, the capital place and ſeat-town of the war: not only for that *Gentius* had
ſeized upon it for his own ſelf, as the chief ſtrength and fortreſs of all his realm but alſo becauſe it
was the ſtrongeſt peece of all the Labeats nation, and very difficult for acceſs. Encloſed it is with
two rivers: to wit, *Clanſula* which runneth along the Eaſt ſide of the City, and *Barbana* on the L
Weſt, ariſing out of the marſh *Labeatis*. Theſe two rivers joyn in one, and are diſcharged together
into the great river *Oriundes*: which ſpringing from the mountain *Scodrus*, and encreaſed ſtill
with the confluence of many other waters and rivulets, falleth at length into the Adriatick ſea.
This *Scodrus* is the higheſt hill by odds of all other in thoſe quarters: on the eaſt it hath *Dardania* under it, on the South *Macedony*, and *Illyricum* on the Weſt. Albeit, this town was ſtrongly ſi-
tuat, by the naturall ſite of the place, and defended by the whole nation of the Illyrians and the
King himſelf in perſon: yet the Roman Prætor (encouraged with the good ſucceſs he had at the
firſt, and ſuppoſing the fortune of the totall war would be anſwerable to ſo happy beginnings, and
that a ſudden terrour alſo would ſerve him in much ſtead and prevaile) approached the wals of
the town with his army ready embattelled, and diſplaied his banners againſt it. Now if they had M
ſhut their gates, and defended their wals and turrets over the gates, with armed guards beſtowed
accordingly ſurely they had repulſed the Romans from the walls, and defeated them of their en-
terpriſe clean: but they iſſued forth of the gate, and in the plain and even ground gave battell with
more animoſity and courage than they maintained it with perſiſtance. For being diſcomfited and
driven back, and in the chaſe hudled by heaps together as they fled, after 200 & above were ſlain
in the very ſtraight entrance of the gate, they put the reſt within in ſuch a fright, that *Gentius* in-
continently ſent unto the Prætor as Orators, *Teuticus* and *Bellus* the principall perſons of that
nation to treat and intreat for a ſurceaſe of arms, that in the mean while he might debate in coun-
ſell and be adviſed as touching the main eſtate of his affairs. And when for this purpoſe he had
obtained a grant for three daies, and the Romans lay encamped from the City half a mile; *Gen-* N
*tius* took a barge, and ſailing along the river *Bartana*, paſſed into the lake or mear of the Labeats,
as if he had ſought ſome ſecret by-place to conſult in. But as it appeared afterwards, he was moved
upon a certain vain hope of his brother *Caravantius* his coming, who was ſaid to be near at hand
accompanied with many thouſands of fighting men, whom he had levied and brought out of that
quarter into which he was ſent But when this rumour was over-blown & vaniſhed to nothing,
down the river he went again with the ſtream the third day after in the ſame veſſel to *Scodra*, and
ſent courriers before him to the Prætor, requiring leave to parley & commune with him; which
being granted, he entred into the camp. Firſt, he began his ſpeech with accuſing and condemning
his own folly: in the end his laſt refuge was to pour out prayers and ſhed tears: and ſo humbling
himſelf at the Prætor his feet, he ſubmitted to his devotion. The Prætor at the firſt bad him take O
a good heart unto him and be of good chear, and invited him to ſupper: and ſo he returned to his
own people into the City, where he was honorably feaſted that day by the Prætor. But afterwards
he was delivered to the guard and keeping of *C. Caſſius*, a martiall Colonell: and thus received
he of K. *Perſeus* only ten talents (a mean reward and hardly ſufficient to content a ſimple ſword-
plaier) to engage himſelf into a world of danger; and being a K. as he was, to fall into this extream
calamity and miſery. *Anicius* having entred upon *Scodra*, firſt before all other things, took order

that

A that the two Embaſſadors aforeſaid, *Petilius* and *Perpenna* ſhould be ſought out and brought unto him: whom after he had reſtored to their priſtine eſtate and reputation, he ſent *Perpenna* preſently to apprehend the friends and kinſfolk of the King: who took his way directly to *Medeo*, a City of the Labeats, and brought with him into the camp at *Scodra Elleva* the Kings wife, with her two ſons *Scerdiletus* and *Pleuratus*, together with *Caravantius* the K. his brother. Thus *Anicius* having ended the Illyrian war within the compaſs of thirty daies, ſent *Perpenna* to *Rome* with tidings of this victory; and within few daies *Gentius* himſelf after him together with his mother, his wife and children, his brother, and other LL. of the Illyrians. This was the only war atchieved and brought to an end, before they heard at *Rome* that it was begun.

During the management of theſe affairs, *Perſeus* alſo was in great fear and affright, by reaſon
B of the comming of *L. Æmylius* a new Conſul (who as the voice went, marched againſt him with great menaces) together with *Octavius* the Prætor. Neither was he leſs terrified with the Roman navy and the danger of the ſea coaſts. *Enmenes* and *Athenagoras* had the keeping and command of *Theſſalonica* with a ſmall garriſon of two thouſand targettiers. Thither he ſent Captain *Androcles* alſo, with commandment to encamp cloſe to the very harbor where the ſhips lay in rode. Unto *Ænia* he ſent one thouſand horſemen under the leading of *Antigonus*, to guard the ſea-coaſt, to the end that in what part ſoever they heard the enemies ſhips were arrived, they might incontinently advance to the ſuccour of the peaſants and country people. Five thouſand Macedonians were likewiſe ſent to lie in garriſon at *Pythoum* and *Petra*, under the conduct of *Hiſtiaius*, *Theagenes* and *Midon*. After theſe were departed, he went in hand to fortifie the bank of the river *Eni-*
C *peus*: becauſe it was paſſable over the very channell on dry foot. And to the end that all the multitude ſhould be employed hereabout, the very women were compelled out of the towns adjoyning, to bring victuals into the camp. The ſouldiers were commanded from out of the woods near by * * * * Finally, the water-bearers in leather bits or bottels, were commanded to follow him to the ſea, which was a quarter of a mile off: and thereupon they ſtood to dig pits, ſome in one place, and ſome in another, a pretty diſtance aſunder. The exceeding high hils all about put * him in good hope (& the rather becauſe they ſent out from them no rivers to be ſeen in open view) that they contained within them ſome hidden ſprings, the veins whereof draining into the ſea, were intermingled with the ſea-water. They had ſcarcely ſunk through the uppermoſt courſe of ſand above, when they might ſee ſmall ſources to boil up, at the firſt troubled, but after-
D ward they began to yield ſhier and clear water in great abundance; by a ſpecial gift (as it were) of the gods above. And even this occurrent alſo encreaſed the name and reputation of the Captain with his ſouldiers. Then after he had commanded his men to make ready their armour, himſelf with the martiall Tribunes and the principall formoſt ranks, marched to recogniſe and view the paſſages; and to ſee where the armed men might deſcend with eaſe, and where they might with leaſt trouble mount up the bank on the farther ſide. When he had taken a ſufficient ſurvey hereof, he forecaſt & gave direction aforehand, for all things to be done in the army in good order without trouble and tumultuous noiſe, even at the very beck and commandment of their leaders. For when a thing to be effected is pronounced to all at once, it falleth out that every man is not within the hearing; and ſo receiving an uncertain ſignall and commandment, ſome put more of their
E own head to that which was commanded, and others do leſs again for it: and ſo there ariſe from all parts diſſonant cries, and by this means the enemies know ſooner whereabout they go, than many of themſelves. Therefore to avoid this confuſion, he ordained that every martiall Colonell ſhould give a ſecret watch-word to the principall Centurion of the legion, and round him in his ear what he would have done: then he and ſo forth every one ſhould deliver unto each Centurion as he is next in rank and place, what was to be executed; whether it were that the commandment was to be carried from the front of the army to the tail, or from the rereguard behind to the vanguard before. He brought up a new order and cuſtome forbidding the watchmen to carry with them any targets to their ſentinels: for that the watchman went not out to fight, whereby he
F he needed any armour, but to keep watch; that when he deſcried the enemies coming he might retire himſelf, and raiſe others to take arms. *Item*, he ordained that the helmettiers or morioners ſhould ſtand upon their feet, having their ſhields upright before them: and when they were weary, to lean and bear upon their javelins, and reſting their head upon the edge of their ſhields ſo to take a nap and ſleep; to the end that their glittering armour might be diſcovered afar off by the enemy, whereas himſelf could not ſee far before him. The manner alſo of warding in the day time, and of the *corps de guard* he altered clean. For whereas they were wont to ſtand all the day long armed, and the horſemen holding their horſes bridled; it fell out ſo that in ſummer daies when ordinarily the ſun is extream and ſcorching hot, both horſe and man became weary and languiſhed again with abiding ſo many hours in the heat, and oftentimes the enemies being freſh, although they were but few in number ſet upon them and put them to trouble and hazard enough. Here-
G upon he commanded that the morning guard ſhould break up at noon, and others ſucceed in their places for to ward in the afternoon. By this means the enemy freſh and in heart could never take them weary and ſo charge upon them. When he had pronounced in a publike aſſembly gathered together that his will was, that theſe orders ſhould be obſerved accordingly he delivered unto them a ſpeech, much reſembling the former Oration which he uſed before to the people within the City of *Rome*. Namely, "That the Generall of an army ought only to foreſee and provide for "all that is meet to be done, ſometime by himſelf, otherwhiles with thoſe whom he hath joyned

* He ſpeaketh of *L. Paul. Emylius*.

"aſſiſtants

"assistants unto him: as for such as are not called to be of his counsell, they ought neither in pub- H
"like nor in privat to shoot their bolts and give their advice. Three things indeed the souldier
"was to care and provide for: namely, to have a body most strong and nimble withall; his armor
"and weapons decent and fit; and thirdly, a spirit prompt and ready at all assaies to execute any
"commandment on a sudden. For all things else he ought to know, that the gods immortall and
"his Generall will take care: forasmuch, as in that army wherein the souldiers, the Consul, and
"chief commander, suffer themselves to be carried away with rumours and bruits of the common
"sort, it is not possible for any thing to go well forward & come to good effect. For his own part
"(according to the duty and devoir of a captain General) he would endeavour and provide to
"give them the occasion and opportunity of brave exploits: as for them, they were not to enquire
"after any future thing; but so soon as the signall is given, then every man to perform the service I
"of a doubty souldier and valiant warrior. After these good precepts and instructions, he dimis-
sed the assembly: and the old souldiers themselves confessed commonly in plain terms, that they
had taken forth a lesson that day as young and raw novices, yea, and learned in military profession
that, which they never knew before: neither shewed they only by these and such like words, with
what consent and general liking they heard the Cos. his speech, but also testified the same by pre-
sent deed and visible effect. For immediatly, you should not have seen over all the camp, one man
idle and doing nothing: some fell to whet and sharpen their swords; others furbished their head-
pieces, buffs, and beavers: some scoured their shields and bucklers; others their cuirasses and cors-
lets; some fitted and buckled their harnes to their bodies, and tried how they could bestir their
limbs and rule their joynts under it: some shook their pikes and couched their javelins; others K
brandished their swords and lookt that they were sharp at point: So as a man might easily per-
ceive by them, that upon the first occasion presented of encounter with the enemy, they would
enter into conflict, either to atchieve a brave victory, or to die an honourable death.

*Perseus* also on the other side, perceiving that upon the arrivall of the Consul and the begining
of the spring together, the Roman camp resounded and rung again with their stirring and rustling
of armour, as if there had been some new war towards: that they were dislodged from *Phylla*
and encamped upon the bank just over against him: and that now their leader and commander
rode up and down to view and behold his fortifications and works, to spie (no doubt) some way
* Namely, the news that K. *Gentius* was vanquished, and that he and his kingdom was at the devotion of the Romans.
or other for passage * * * * * * * This * encouraged the Ro-
mans hearts, and danted not a little the Macedonians and their King. At the first, *Perseus* endea- L
voured to suppress secretly and stop the bruit and fame thereof, by tending out certain of purpose
to *Pantaucus* (as he came from thence) to forbid him in any wise to approach the camp. But by
this time were certain children seen brought by their own parents among the Illyrian hostages:
and look how much more carefull order was taken to conceal all, so much the sooner was every
thing set abroad and blurted out by the prattle and babble of the Kings servitors attending about
his person.

About the same time the Rhodian Embassadors came into the Rhodian camp, with the very
same charge and commission as touching peace, which at *Rome* had set the LL. of the Senat in ex-
ceeding heat & choler; but far worse audience had they in the councill of the camp, & with grea-
ter discontentment. And therefore when some advised, that they should be thrust out by head and M
shoulders without any answer at all; the Cos. pronounced, That he would shape them an answer
after fifteen daies, and not before. Mean while (that it might appear what a gooly reckoning was
made of these Rhodian peace-makers who came about a pacification) he began instead thereof
to debate in Councill as concerning the means and manner of making war. Some were of opinion
(and principally the elders and ancients) to give the assault, and force the munitions and defences
planted upon the bank of the river *Enipeus*; for that the Macedonians were never able to resist,
if they came upon them lustily and charged them by thick troops: for why? no longer ago (say
they) than the year before, disseized they had been of so many holds both higher and better forti-
fied and the same holden with strong garrisons. Others were of mind, that *Octavius* the Admiral
should with the fleet sail to *Thessalonica* & by laying waste the maritime coasts, to cut off & wea- N
ken the kings forces; to the end, that upon another war shewed from behind at their backs the K.
might be withdrawn & trained about to defend the heart of his realm, and thereby forced in some
sort to open & lay naked the passage over the river *Enipeus*. And *Octavius* himself was of this judg-
ment, that the bank as well by the naturall site thereof, as for the sconces made upon it by mans
hand, was insuperable and not to be gained: & besides the engins planted every where thereupon,
he heard say, that the enemies had the slight and skill to discharge all kind of shot far better and
shoot more dead sure: but the intention of the General *Æmylius* was wholly bent another way:
and after he had dissolved the assembly of his Councill, he called unto him the Merchants of the
Perrhæbians namely, *Schænus* and *Menophilus* (men of approved fidelity and wisdom) and of them
in great secret enquired, What kind of passages there were over into *Perrhæbia*? when they an- O
swered, That the waies were nothing difficult and dangerous, but only that they were kept and
beset by the Kings guards: he conceived some hope, that if he assailed them by night with a valiant
company, and took them suddenly at unawares before they looked for him, he might chase those
garrisons from their holds: for darts, arrows, and all other shot, served to little or no purpose in
the dark, when a man cannot see his mark afar off before him: but close sword-fight, hand to
hand pell mell, was it that must do the deed: wherein the Roman souldier had no fellow. Minding
therefore

A therefore to uſe thoſe two as guides, he ſent for *Octavius* the Prætor: and when he had declared unto him the effect of his deſignment, he commanded him to ſail with his fleet to *Heraclea*, and to have with him victuals baked and dreſſed to ſerve a thouſand ſouldiers ten daies. Himſelf ſent out *P. Scipio Naſica* and *Q. Fabius Maximus* his own ſon, with five thouſand ſelect ſouldiers to *Heraclea* (as if they were to be embarked) for to waſte the maritime coaſt of *Macedony*, lying far within the country, according as it had been before debated in Councill; & ſecretly under-hand they were given to wit, that there were viands and victuals in the fleet prepared for them, to the end that nothing ſhould ſtay their expedition. Then the guides, who were to conduct them in their way, had commandment, ſo to caſt their gifts and journeys, that by three of the clock in the morning the third day, they might aſſail *Pythoum*. Himſelf in his own perſon the next morrow,
B with intent to amuſe the K. and keep him from all regard of other enterpriſes, early by the break of day began to skirmiſh with the enemies guards in the very midſt of the chanell and place of the current. The light armour and forlorn hopes as well of the one ſide as the other, maintained the fight: for it was not poſſible for ſouldiers heavily armed at all peeces, to skirmiſh in the chanell, ſo uneven as it was. The deſcent from the banks on either hand to the foreſaid chanell, contained ſomewhat leſs than three hundred paces, or little better than a quarter of a mile: the middle ſpace of the ſtream between (hollowed and eaten with the current, in ſome place more, in others leſs) took up little above a mile. In this middle plot was the skirmiſh maintained within the view and eye of the K. of one ſide, who looked upon them from the rampier of the camp; and of the Con-
C ſul of the other, who beheld them ſtanding with his legions. The Kings auxiliaries lightly armed, fought better afar off by the means of their darts and other ſhot. The Romans were more firm and ſteady, yea, and better defended with their round bucklers or Ligurian ſhields. About noon-tide the Conſul commanded to ſound the the retreat unto his men; and ſo for that day the fray war parted, not without much bloudſhed on both ſides. The next morrow by ſun-riſing they fell to it again, and fought more eagerly by reaſon that their bloud was up, and their ſtomacks ſharpned the day before: but the Romans received hurt not only by them with whom they entred into fight, but much more alſo from a number of thoſe who ſtood in turrets and petty ſconces erected here and there; who diſcharged at them all kind of darts and ſhot, but hurled ſtones eſpecially. And when they approached once near to the bank where the enemies were, their bullets levelled out of engins, commanded and retched even them that were outmoſt and fartheſt off.
D The Conſul having loſt that day more men by many than before, cauſed them to retire ſomewhat later than the former day. The third day he forbare to fight, but turned aſide toward the nether quarter of the camp, as if he minded to aſſay paſſage by an arm of the river that bended to the ſea. *Perſeus* having before his eyes * * * * * * * * *

Now was it the ſeaſon of the year paſt * ſun-ſtead in ſummer, & near unto the hour of noon-ſtead in the day, ſo as they journeyed in a way full of duſt, when the ſun was exceeding hot; and even now they began to feel thirſt and wearineſs already: but it ſeemed evidently, that when high noon was come indeed, they would be more troubled with the one and the other. Whereupon *Æmylius* reſolved, not to preſent his men thus tormented and affiicted, unto the enemies all freſh and in
E heart: howbeit, ſo ſharp ſet they were on both ſides, and ſo eager upon fight, that the Conſul had as much need by ſome cunning caſt or other to deceive and beguile his own men, as to delude his enemies. Before they were all embattelled and ſet in array, he was earneſt with the martiall Tribunes, and called upon them to make haſte and put them in order: himſelf rode about from rank to rank, and by his comfortable words encouraged and incenſed the hearts of his ſouldiers to fight. At the firſt they were all very luſty and called for the ſignal of battell; but afterwards, as the heat of the weather encreaſed, ſo their viſages ſeemed leſs vigorous, and their voices more hea-
F vy and dull; nay, ſome of them ſtood leaning on their targets, and reſted themſelves bearing upon their javelins. Then he made open ſhew of his meaning, and in plain terms commanded the formoſt companies, in the vanguard, to meaſure out the forefront of the camp, and to lay down their baggage: which when the ſouldiers perceived, ſome of them there were who rejoyced openly, for that he had not forced them to fight, ſo weary as they were with travelling and during that moſt ſcorching and burning heat. About the General ſtood his lieutenants with the captains of ſtrangers, and *Attalus* himſelf among the reſt. All of them allowed and thought well of the matter, all the while they thought no other but that the Conſul would verily fight: for he had not ſo much as made them acquainted with this delay and lingring of his. But then ſeeing the caſe
G altered and the purpoſe changed, all the reſt held their peace: only *Naſica* of them all was ſo hardy and bold as to tell the Conſull his mind and admoniſh him to take heed, that he ſuffered not the enemy by avoiding fight, to ſlip and eſcape out of their hands, like as he had mocked and beguiled other Generals before him: for he feared much, leſt he would diſlodge, and depart in the night, and ſo they ſhould be driven to purſue him with exceeding great travell and danger into the inland middle parts of *Macedony*: ſo as the army ſhould be put to wander up and down all about through the blind lanes and over the narrow ſtraights of the Macedonian mountains; like as it hapned to other Captains before him. And therefore he counſelled him in good ſadneſs, while he had the enemy within the open plain field, to charge upon him and not to loſe the opportunity of a goodly victory now preſented. The Conſul, nothing at all offended with this frank advertiſement of ſo noble a young gentleman, ſaid no more but thus unto him: "The "day hath been (*Naſica*) when I carried that ſpirit with me which you do at this preſent: and the

"time

* *Solſtitium.* Howſoever Aſtronomers obſerve two *Solſtitia*, (i.e. Sun-ſteads) in the year, the one in ſummer, and the other in winter: Grammarians (after the beſt and moſt approved writers) take *Solſtitium* for the hotteſt ſeaſon of the ſummer only. Thus *Plautus in Pſeudolo* ſaith *Solſtitialis herba*, for an one daies-herb, withering away with heat of the ſun: and *in Trinummo*, *Solſtitialium morbus*, for *Sirioſis*, i.e. *cum carbunculantur arbores nimiis ardoribus ſolis ſub Sirio*, as *Pliny* ſaith, i.e. the fault of blaſting with heat in the dog daies. Livy alſo in the ſpeech of *Quintius* to the Embaſſador of K. *Antiochus*, by *Solſtitialu dies*, meaneth the hotteſt time of ſummer, as by *Brumalis dies* elſewhere the mid-winter. Finally, *Plutarch* expreſſeth this place thus: Θέρους γὰρ τῶν ὥρα φθίνοντος τότε.

" time will come when you will be of that mind, of which I am now. Taught I am by experience H
" of many adventures and casualties in war, to know, when it is good time to fight, and when it is
" better to forbear and sit still. For this present needless it is and bootless (standing as we do now
" arranged in order of battel) to tell you what motives they be, that induce me to think it better
" to be quiet and not to stir this day: another time demand the reasons thereof: and rest conten-
"ted I advise you, with the authority and credit of an old warrior and experienced Captain. The
young man was blank and said not a word: perswaded he was doubtless, that the Cos. saw some
impediments to stay the battel, which to himself appeared not. *Paulus*, when he perceived that the
camp was set and quartered out, & the carriages bestowed accordingly, drew first out of the rere-
guard the *Triarii*; then afterwards the *Principes*, whiles the *Hastati* or pikes kept their standing
still in the vanguard (if haply the enemies should offer battel;) at the last he withdrew them al- I
so, beginning first at the right point, taking by little and little the souldiers from every enlign one
after another. By this means were the footmen had away without any trouble and tumult, and the
horsemen together with the light armour opposed against the enemy in the front and head of the
main battell before the enemies: neither was the Cavalry called back from these stations where-
in they were placed, untill the forefront of the rampier and trench was fully finished. The K. like-
wise, who without any refusall of battel had stood ready that day to fight, contenting himself with
this, that he knew the stay thereof was occasioned by the enemy, led his companies back into his
camp. After the Romans were encamped and well fortified, *C. Sulpitius Gallus*, a martiall Colonel
of the second legion, who had been Prætor the year before by permission of the Consul called the
souldiers to a generall audience, and before them all declared and pronounced, that the next night K
following there would be seen an eclipse of the moon, from the second hour of the night untill
the fourth: and this he did, because no man should wonder thereat, as if it were a prodigious to-
ken. Also he made demonstration unto them, that it might be well fore-known and fore-told,
because it is a thing coming at certain times by the ordinary course of nature. For like as they
nothing marvelled at the rising and going down both of sun and moon at set hours, nor to see the
moon sometimes shine bright out at the full, otherwhiles in the wain, giving light only with the
small tips of her horns: even so they ought not to make a wonder and miraculous matter of it,
that she should be dark, when as her body is hidden by the shadow of the earth. Thus the moon
* *Septemb.* 4. was eclipsed at the hour before prognosticated, overnight before the *eaven of the Nones of *Sep-
*tember*: by occasion whereof, the Roman souldiers held *Gallus* for a deeply learned sage, and a di- L
vine Philosopher: but contrariwise, the Macedonians were troubled with the sight thereof, as an
heavy prodigy, portending and presaging the ruin of that realm and the utter destruction of the
whole nation. And surely the houling and yelling which they made in their camp all the while,
untill the moon recovered her full light again, was a very prognostication and prediction of no
less. The morrow after both the armies were so hot set and greedy of fight, that both K. and Cos.
were blamed by some of their own souldiers, for that they went out of the field the day before,
and struck not battell. As for the K. he had his excuse and defence ready not only because the ene-
my refused the fight first, in open view of all men, and so retired his forces into his camp, but also
in that he had pitcht and ranged his ensigns in such a place, unto which the Macedonian battell,
called Phalanx, could not advance, considering that with the smallest disadvantage of the ground, M
there is no use at all thereof. The Cos. for his part, as the day before he seemed to have pretermit-
ted and lost the opportunity of a combat, yea, and to have given the enemy advantage to depart in
the night-season (if he had so list) so now also he trifled out the time, making semblance of sacri-
fice, whereas the signall of battell at the point of day was put forth for the souldiers to enter into
the field. Well, at the last, when the sacrifice was duly performed, about the third hour of the day,
he assembled his Councill about him; where, some there were that thought he prolonged the
time on set purpose, with his discourses and unseasonable consultations, and spent that opportuni-
ty so, which should be employed better in fight and execution of some worthy exploit. Howbeit,
The Oration of *L. Æmylius* unto his army. after some speeches passed, the Cos. made an Oration unto his souldiers in this wise. " *Pub. Nasica*
" (qd. he) a right valiant young gentleman, of all those that advised to give battell yesterday, was N
" the only man that uttered his mind, and acquainted me with his counsell; yet afterwards, even
" he held his peace and kept silence, in such sort, as he seemed to change his opinion, and to be of
" my mind in the end. Some others there be that have taken a severall course by themselves, and
" thought it better to carp at their General behind his back than to admonish him to his face. As
" for me I will not think much nor make it dainty, to render a reason both to you, O *P. Nasica*,
" & to them also who have thought the same that you did (although they carried it more secret-
" ly) why I made such stay and deferred battel. For, so far off am I of repenting for our yesterdaies
" repose, that I am of this belief rather, how by that means and policy alone I saved the whole ar-
" my. And because none of you may think that I have taken such a pitch, and hold that opinion
" of mine without just cause, let him consider & discourse together with me (if he think so good) O
" what advantages the enemies had, & how many things made against us. First and formost, how
" far they surpass us in number, assured I am that none of you either was ignorant before, or
" could chuse but observe and mark yesterday, seeing their army how it was thrust and thronged
" together. And of that small number which we are, the fourth part of our fighting men was left
" behind to guard the carriage; & wel ye wot, that we set not the most cowards to the keeping of
" our baggage. But suppose we had been all there together. How then? think we, I pray you, that

" we

A "we have not enough of it, even out of this very camp wherein we have reſted one whole night,
"to go either this day or to morrow at the fartheſt, with the leave and power of the gods into
"the field, if you ſhall ſo think good? Skilleth it not indeed, and is it all one, to bid a ſouldier
"take arms, whom neither the travel of this daies journey, nor toil of laborious work hath
"tainted and wearied, but is at quiet, yea, and freſh within his tent & ſo to bring him forth into
"the field for a battel luſty and ſtrong, full of bodily vigour of heart? or to offer and expoſe unto
"the enemy who is hearty and freſh, who hath taken his reſt and eaſe, & hath brought with him
"to a fight, his ſtrength entire and whole, not foiled or ſpent upon any occaſion; to preſent, I ſay,
"unto ſuch an enemy, a ſouldier tired out with long journey upon the way, wearied with carry-
"ing his burden, all molten to ſweat and dropping therewith, his throat ſcorched for thirſt, his
B "face and eyes full of duſt, and all his body roaſted againſt the noon-ſun? now tell me, by the
"ye ow to the gods, what is he that being in this ſo good a plight, were he the verieſt beaſt and
"coward otherwiſe in a country) could not foil and beat out of the field the hardieſt & moſt vali-
"ant man that is? Moreover, what ſhould I ſay how materiall & important this alſo was that our
"enemies had marſhalled their battaillons with great leiſure after long time of reſt; that they had
"repaired and refreſhed their own ſtrength, & ſtood ranged every man orderly in his own rank;
"whereas we were at one inſtant both haſtily to embattel and ſet our men in array, yea, and alſo
"to fall to skirmiſh pell mell without all order? But may ſome men ſay, True it is, our battel in-
"deed we ſhould have had much out of ſquare and ſhuſled in great confuſion: yet our camp was
"well fortified; we had forecaſt and provided for good watering, the paſſage thereto was good
C "& ſafe by reaſon of ſtrong guards placed every way; & all coaſts were cleared about us by our
"eſpials. Nay, I wis, but contrariwiſe, nothing (to ſay truly) was ours, but the bare & naked plain
"field where we were to fight. Your anceſtors in times paſt, eſteemed a camp fortified with ram-
"piers and trenches, as good a port and harbor of ſure refuge, for an army againſt all chances
"and misfortunes whatſoever: from thence to iſſue forth, & thither to retire for ſafety, after they
"had been toſſed and beaten with the tempeſt of a battel. And therefore when it was empaled
"round about with good defences, they had a care alſo to re-enforce & ſtrengthen it with ſtrong
"guards; foraſmuch as he that hath loſt his camp & is turned out of it, is ever holden for vanqui-
"ſhed, notwithſtanding he won the day & had the better in the field. The hold of a camp ſerveth
"for a place of retreat to the conqueror; & of refuge to the conquered. How many armies could
D "I reckon, which having ſped but badly in the battel, were driven to take their leaguer; yet after-
"wards ſeeing their time, and ſpying their vantage, otherwhiles ſallied forth & in the turning of
"an hand repulſed and diſcomfited the enemy, for all his former victory? This ſeat and retreat of
"ſouldiers in time of war, reſembleth as a man would ſay, another native country of theirs; the
"rampier ſerveth inſtead of walls, the tent and pavilion is to every ſouldier his houſe and home.
"And ſhould we have fought indeed like vagabonds without any place of manſion wherunto we
"might betake our ſelves after victory? But againſt theſe difficulties and empeachments of giving
"battel, this one thing is objected: How and if the enemy (ſay ſome) had gone his waies laſt night
"between; what a foul deal of trouble & ſorrow ſhould we have endured again in purſuing him
"as far as to the heart, nay, to the fartheſt frontiers of *Macedony*? But I for my part verily hold this
E "for certain, that if he had ever meant to have ſtarted from hence, he would never have ſtaid thus
"here as he hath done, nor brought his forces out into the field. For how much more eaſie was it
"for him to depart & be gone when we were farther off, than now when we are ready to tread
"upon his heels, and go over his back? Surely he could not poſſibly have given us the ſlip, but we
"ſhould have been aware of his diſlodging, either by day or night. But, ſay he had gone his waies,
"what could we have wiſhed more at the gods hands, than to ſet upon the back part of the ene-
"mies in the open plain ground, departing in diſarray disbanded one from another, as they aban-
"doning their fort and ſtrong hold, and whoſe camp ſituat moſt ſure upon an exceeding high and
"ſteep bank of a river, fortified alſo with a rampier, and many a ſconce and turret beſide, we gave
"the venture to aſſault? Lo, what the cauſes were, why the battel was put off from yeſterday to
F "this preſent. For I muſt tell you, I am as willing my ſelf to try the fortune of a field as any other:
"and to that end (becauſe the advenues to the enemy over the river *Enipeus* were ſtopped up a-
"gainſt us) I have found a new way through another paſs and ſtraight, by diſſeizing the guards of
"the enemies there left; and never will I give over untill I have defeated him quite, and brought
"this war to an end. After this oration all kept ſilence, partly, for that many of them were won to
his opinion: and partly, becauſe they feared to find fault to no purpoſe & ſo to give offence, when
a thing how ſoever once paſt, cannot be recalled and amended. But that day neither, was there
battell fought, for any great deſire that the Conſul or King had thereto. The King wiſhed it not;
becauſe he was now to charge his enemies, not weary of their way as the day before, nor trou-
bled about their embattelling in ſuch ſort & hardly at the laſt brought into order. The Conſul a-
G gain had no great ſtomack thereto, for that his camp newly pitched, was provided neither of fe-
well nor forrage brought in and laid up already: and for the purveyance thereof, out of the villa-
ges and fields near at hand, many of the ſouldiers were gone abroad forth of the camp. And thus
when neither of the Generals were willing thereto, mere chance and fortune (which is more po-
werfull than all the counſel and policy of man) made means and gave occaſion of a battell. There
was a river not very great, near to the enemies camp, whereat both Romans and Macedoni-
ans watered: and on either bank ſide certain guards kept their ſt tions, for the ſafety and ſecurity

as well of the one part as the other. Two Cohorts there were for the Romans of Marrucines and H
Pelignians, footmen; two troops or cornets beſides of Samnit horſemen; all commanded by *M. Sergius Sylus* a lieutenant. Over and beſides, another ſtanding *corps de guard* quartered before the camp, containing three cohorts, namely, of Firmian, Veſtine, and Cremonian footmen, together with two troops of Placentine and Eſſernian horſemen, all conducted by lieutenant *Cluvius*. Now when all was well and quiet about the river, and no ſide provoked or challenged other; it fortuned that a ſumpter horſe [of the Romans] about the fourth hour of the day brake from the hands of thoſe that had the tending and keeping of ſuch, took the river and made toward the bank of the farther ſide: & when three ſouldiers followed after croſs the water almoſt knee-deep to catch him, the Thracians began to train the jade from the midſt of the river to their bank ſide: but after one of them was ſlain, the Romans recovered the beaſt again & retired to their own guard. Now I
there was a ſtrong *corps de guard* of 800 Thracians upon the bank which the enemies kept, from whence ſome few at firſt, taking it to the heart that a countriman of theirs ſhould thus be killed before their face, traverſed over the river in purſuit of thoſe that had ſlain him; afterwards more and more, and in the end all followed after, and together with that guard * * * * * * *
leadeth to the battel. Men were moved with a reverence of the majeſty of his place, as he was L.
General; alſo with reſpect of the honour and glory of the man otherwiſe; and above all, with the regard of his age: for that being about threeſcore years old he did undergo the offices and parts of young men in the adventures of greateſt travell and danger. That void ſpace which was between the light targettiers, called *Cetrati*, and the thick battaillons named Phalanges, the legion took up clean, and broke within the battell of the enemies. Behind the *Cetrati* was this legion, and had afK
front them the Pavoiſers called *Aglaſpides*, with reſplendent or ſhining ſhields. *L. Attilius*, who had been Conſul beforetime, was commanded to lead againſt the battaillon of other Pavoiſers called *Leucaſpides* with white ſhields. And that was the main battell of the enemies. Againſt the right flank from which quarter the skirmiſh firſt began about the river, the Elephants were conducted together with a wing of confederat horſemen, and from thence began the Macedonians to fly. For like as many new devices and inventions of men, carry ſome ſhew in apparance of words when they are firſt ſpoken of; but come to practiſe and try them once, and not to argue and diſpute how they ſhould be put in execution, they vaniſh away without effect and prove juſt nothing: even ſo at that time, the Elephants bare a name only in the battell, without any uſe and ſervice at all. That violence of the Elephants (ſuch as it was) the Latine allies ſeconded immediatL
ly, and forced the left flank to retire. Then the ſecond legion was put forth, and in the midſt entred upon the Phalanx and put it to flight; neither was there any cauſe of victory more evident than this, namely, that many skirmiſhes there were in divers places, which at the firſt troubled the Phalanx, and afterwards diſcomfited it. True it is, that to abide the force thereof it is unpoſſible, ſo long as it keepeth cloſe united together, & putteth forth their ſharp pointed pikes bent thick couched together breſt-high: but if a man by charging the ſame here and there, force them once to turn about thoſe pikes, which for their length and heavy weight are unwieldy and hard to guide, they ſoon are intangled and catch one within another untowardly: but in caſe it fall out ſo, that there be any tumult made either aflank or behind, then there enſueth a generall trouble and confuſion of all, as if they all at once came tumbling down: like as it hapned then, when as againſt the RoM
mans, who aſſailed them by troops in ſundry parts, they were driven to break their battaillon into many pieces, as it were, and ſo to make head & affront the enemy. But the Romans eſpied where there was a breach made and lane left between, and there they would inſinuat and wind in with their ranks and files: who, if they had run upon the front of the Phalanx cloſe ranged altogether with their whole battaillon, they had enwrapped and entangled themſelves within their pikes: (which in the beginning of the conflict hapned to the *Peligni*, as they unadviſedly dealt with the targettiers, called *Cetrati*) and had never been able to ſuſtain that battaillon united thick and couched together. But as there was a cruell ſlaughter committed upon the companies of the infantry in every place, ſave only thoſe that flung away their weapons and fled; ſo the ſouldiers of the Cavalry departed in manner ſafe and ſound out of the conflict. The K. himſelf was the firſt man that N
fled: and now by this time was eſcaped beyond *Pydna*, and with his cornets of horſemen which they call, *Sacred* made haſte to *Pella*. Anon after followed *Coſtacus*, and the Cavalry of the Odryſians: conſequently, other troops and companies of Macedonian horſemen departed and kept their arraies unbroken: for that the Phalanx or battaillon of the footmen between which kept the conquerours occupied in execution, put them quite out of remembrance to purſue the men of arms. A long time continued the maſſacre of this Phalanx afront, aflank & behind. In the end, they who eſcaped the hands of the enemies, & fled without weapons to the ſea; ſome took the water, and ſtretching forth their hands to them that were aboord in the ſhips, moſt humbly beſought them for to ſave their lives: and when they ſaw the ſmall pinnaces and cockboats making apace on all hands toward them from the ſhips, they imagining that their coming was to catch them for their O
priſoners rather than to kill them outright, waded farther into the water, yea, and ſome ſwimmed forward: but when they ſaw they were by them of the boats ſlain in all hoſtile manner like enemies, as many as could, ſwam back again to land: where they met with a fouler miſchief, and were worſe plagued than before: for the Elephants (driven by their governours to the ſhore) trode them under foot and cruſhed their guts out. All men generally agreed in this point, That never at any one field, were ſo many Macedonians defeated and killed by the Romans: for 20000 men were

A were there ſlain, and to the number of 6000 (who fled to *Pydna* out of the battail) came alive into the enemies hands; 5000 beſides were taken priſoners, as they fled ſcattering and disbanded here and there. Of the victors, there died not above an hundred, and the more part by far of Pelignians; but a greater number ſomewhat, were hurt and wounded. And if the battail had begun ſooner, that the winners might have had day enough to follow the chaſe upon their enemies, all their forces had been utterly defeated and deavoured by the ſword: but now the night coming upon them, as it covered and ſhadowed the enemies that fled, ſo it cauſed the Romans not to be ſo haſty and forward in purſuit; conſidering they were not acquainted with the coaſts of the countrey. *Perſeus* fled to the forreſt *Pieria* by the port rode way, with a great number of horſemen and his royal train about him. So ſoon as he was entred the foreſt where the way divided into
B ſundry and divers parts, ſeeing that the night approached, he turned out of the high beaten way with very few of his moſt loyal and faithful friends. The horſemen being thus abandoned and left deſtitute of their leader, ſlipt ſome one way and ſome another home into their own Cities: certain of them (but very few) recovered *Pella* before *Perſeus* himſelf, becauſe they rode a direct and ready way. The K. was much troubled and vexed until midnight almoſt, what with fear and what with difficulty to find out the way. When he was come to *Pella*, *Euctus* the Governour thereof, and the Kings pages, were ready attendant at the court to wait upon him and do him ſervice: but contrary-wiſe, of all thoſe friends who eſcaped ſafe out of the battail and chanced by variable adventures to come into *Pella*, there would not one come at him, notwithſtanding they were oftentimes ſent for. Three only bare him company in that flight of his, to wit, *Evander* of *Crete*, *Neon*
C a Bœotian, and *Archidamus* the Ætolian. Fearing therefore leſt they who refuſed to come unto him, would ſoon after enterpriſe ſome greater matter againſt him; with thoſe three he fled ſtill forward, about the fourth watch of the night. After him there followed upon 500 Cretenſians. Toward *Amphipolis* he went; but he departed in the night from *Pella*, making all the haſt he could to paſs over the river *Axius* before day-light, ſuppoſing that the Romans would give over the chaſe there, by reaſon of the difficult and dangerous foord.

The Conſul being returned into the camp with victory, (becauſe he ſhould not have the fruition of ſincere and perfect joy) was greatly diſquieted and troubled about his yonger ſon, and that was *P. Scipio*, ſurnamed alſo afterwards *Africanus*, becauſe he raſed the City of *Carthage*: the natural ſon he was of the Conſul *Paulus*, and the adopted nephew or grand-child of *Africanus*: he
D was at that time 17 years of age, and (which augmented the ſorrow of the father) whiles he followed in chaſe the enemies upon the ſpur, was carried by the preſs a contrary way, in ſuch ſort, as it was late ere he returned: and then the Conſul having recovered him again ſafe and ſound, felt the joy of ſo great a victory, and not before.

When the bruit and news of this battail was arrived at *Amphipolis*, and that the dames and wives of the City ran flocking into the Temple of *Diana*, whom they call *Tauropolos*, to beſeech and call for her aid, *Diodorus* the chief Governor of the City, fearing the Thracians (who were 2000 in garriſon) leſt in that tumult and garboil they would ſpoil and rifle the City; craftily ſuborned a fellow on ſet purpoſe in guiſe and ſhew of a letter-carrier, and received from him letters in the mids of the market place: wherein it was written, That the Roman fleet was arrived in *Ema-*
E *thia*, and that the territories all about were pitifully waſted by them; and therfore the rulers and captains of *Emathia* requeſted him to ſend a gariſon to ſuccour them againſt theſe foragers. When he had read theſe counterfeit letters, he exhorted the Thracians to undertake this expedition and to go into *Emathia* for to guard the coaſts thereof: giving them to underſtand, that conſidering the Romans were looſly ſtragling and ſcattered about the fields and villages, they might make a ſoul havock and ſlaughter of them, and beſides raiſe and bring away with them a great booty: withall, he forgat not to elevate aſmuch as he could, the fame of the forſaid unhappy field fought, ſaying, That if all had been true, there would have been meſſengers coming thick one after another upon their flight, to bring freſh tidings ſtill therof. Under this pretence he ſent away the Thraci-
ans; and ſo ſoon as he ſaw they were paſſed over the river *Strymon*, incontinently he ſhut the
F gates. The third day after the battail fought, came *Perſeus* to *Amphipolis*, and from thence he ſent Orators to *Paulus* with an herald of peace. Mean-while *Hippias*, *Midon*, and *Pantaucus* the Kings principal friends, went themſelves to the Conſul, and ſurrendred unto the Romans *Berrhæa* whither they had retired and fled immediatly out of the field. Other Cities alſo ſtrucken with fear one after another, prepared to do the like.

The Conſul, after he had ſent to *Rome* with tidings and letters of this victory, *Q. Fabius* his own ſon together with *L. Lentulus* and *Q. Metellus*, gave the ſpoil of the enemies army thus lying defeated, unto his footmen: but the horſemen he allowed the booty of all the territory round about, with condition, that they ſhould not be abſent from the camp more than two nights. Then, he removed neerer unto the ſea, and lodged about *Pydna*. Firſt, *Berrhæa* (as is beforeſaid) yeelded, then
G *Theſſalonica* and *Pella*; and conſequently, all *Macedony* wel-neer within two daies was ſurrendred. But the Pydneans who were next unto him, as yet were behind with ſending their Embaſſadors: the reaſon was, for that the confuſed confluence thither of many nations, and the diſordered multitude of thoſe that fled out of the field and were all met there together, hindred the counſel and conſent of the whole City: ſo as the gates were not only ſhut but alſo mured up. Now were *Midon* and *Pantaucus* ſent to parl under the walls with *Solon*, who lay there with a garriſon: by whoſe means the whole troop and multitude of armed men was ſent away, the City rendred up and the pillage given to the ſouldiers.

*Perſeus*, whoſe only hope was in the aid of the Biſaltes whom he had aſſaied and ſollicited, and H
for which purpoſe he had ſent his Embaſſadors (although in vain) held a publick aſſembly, and
bringing his ſon *Philip* with him, came forth before the people; to the end that he might by ſome
exhortation confirm and ſtrengthen the hearts, as well of the Amphipolitans as the companies of
foot and horſe, who either at all times continually had followed him, or were retired thither by
flight for refuge. But ever as he was about to make a ſpeech unto the audience (which he oft be-
gan to do) he could not proceed for tears. Now for that himſelf was not able to ſpeak, he came
down from the pulpit, and imparted unto *Evander* the Cretenſian thoſe points, which his will was
to be delivered and propoſed unto the congregation there aſſembled. The multitude, as they la-
mented and wept again to ſee the King ſo piteouſly ſhed tears: ſo they regarded not the ſpeech of
*Evander*: nay, ſome of them were ſo bold as to cry out aloud from the midſt of the aſſembly, A- I
way, away, and get ye gone from hence that the ſmal remnant of us here periſh not for your ſakes.
The ſtout reſolution of theſe men ſtopped *Evander* his mouth, that he could not ſay a word and
reply again. The King by this time was gotten to his lodging, and having conveighed into certain
bottoms upon the river *Strymon* all his money, gold, and ſilver, went alſo in perſon down to the
water ſide. The Thracians durſt not go aboord and commit to ſea, but ſlunk every man away to
his own home; and ſo did all the ſort of ſouldiers beſides. The Cretenſians only (for greedy hope
of gain) accompanied the King, who becauſe in ſharing & dealing money among them, he ſhould
incur more offence than win thanks laid out fifty talents among them upon the river ſide to ſcam-
ble for. When they had made quick riddance and a clean hand with it, they went aboord in a great
hurry ſo as one barge overcharged with a multitude of paſſengers was caſt away and ſunk in the K
mouth of the river. That very day they arrived at *Galipſus*, and the morrow after at *Samothrace*,
the very place that they intended; and thither (by report) were conveighed 2000 talents. *Pau-
lus* after he had ſent preſidents to govern every City ſurrendred, to the end that no injury ſhould
be offered in this new peace to the conquered, and detaining with him ſtill the Kings heralds and
Orators, not knowing any thing of the Kings flight and departure, ſent *P. Naſica* to *Amphipolis*
with a mean regiment of foot and horſe, to ruinat and deſtroy at once *Sintica*, and alſo to empeach
all the deſignments and enterpriſes of the Romans.

In this time *Melibœa* was forced and ranſacked by *Cn. Octavius*: but at *Æginium* (to the ſiege
whereof *Cn. Anicius* the Lieutenant was ſent) 200 men were loſt by a ſally made out of the town,
for that the Æginians heard not the news of the late deſeat. L

The Conſul departed from *Pydna* with his whole army, and the morrow after came before *Pella*.
Where having encamped within a mile of the City, he made abode there for certain daies to view
on all ſides the ſituation of the City, which he perceived and marked full well, to have been choſen
not without good cauſe, for the imperial ſeat of the Macedonian Kings. Situat it is upon an hill
that lieth to the Southweſt encloſed found with meers ſo deep as they cannot poſſibly be waded
and paſſed though: and theſe mariſhes are bred and fed both winter and ſummer by waters over-
flowing out of certain lakes. Within the very mariſh next unto the City ſide, there ſtandeth a
ſtrong Tower by it ſelf, bearing up above the reſt, as it were an Iſland raiſed upon a terrace made
with exceeding labor of mans hand, which terrace both ſuſtaineth a wall, and is not hurt with the
moiſture of the mariſh round about it; and a far off ſeemeth cloſe joined to the City wall. How- M
beit, divided it is by a river between it and the wall, and yet united to the City by a bridg over it:
ſo as, whoſoever aſſaileth the ſame without, can have no acceſs any way to it neither, if the King
be diſpoſed to ſhut and encloſe any man within, can he poſſibly make an eſcape and get forth but
over the ſaid bridg; which a few men may keep and guard with eaſe. In this place the Kings trea-
ſure uſed to lie, but at that time there was no more found but the 300 talents which were ſent to
King *Gentius* firſt, and afterward ſtaid and detained. During the time that the Conſul remained a-
bout *Pella* in his ſtanding camp many embaſſages had audience given them, who repaired thither
out of *Theſſaly* eſpecially to congratulate with him, teſtifying their own joy and wiſhing his. But
the Conſul after that he had intelligence that *Perſeus* had croſſed over to *Samothracia*, departed
from *Pella*, and at the fourth gift and journey that he made, came to *Amphipolis*. The whole mul- N
titude went forth of the City in great numbers to meet him, which gave teſtimony to every man,
that neither a good nor juſt King * * * * * *

# The five and fortieth Book
## *Of the Hiſtories of* T. Livius *of* Padua, *from the Foundation of the City of* Rome. O

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the five and fortieth Book.

PErſeus *was taken priſoner by* Æmylius Paulus *in* Samothracia, *When* Antiochus *King of* Syria *be-
ſieged* Ptolomæus *and* Cleopatra, *King and Queen of* Ægypt, *Embaſſadors were ſent from the
Senat of* Rome, *willing* Antiochus *to give over, and beſiege no more an aſſociat King unto them: but
when*

A when he made answer to his their message delivered, that he would consider better what he had to do. Popilius one of the said Embassadors, with his rod that he had in his hand drew a circle about the King, and charged him to give him another answer before he went out of that circle: by which rude, rough, and blunt behavior, he forced Antiochus to lay away arms and surcease war. Divers Embassies of States and Kings came with congratulation, and were admitted into the Senat. As for that of the Rhodians, because in the late war they stood out and took part against the Romans, it was excluded. The morrow after, when it was debated in counsel, about making war upon the Rhodians, the Embassadors pleaded the cause of their countrey in the Senat: So they neither had a friendly dispatch and farewel, as allied associats, nor yet were sent away as professed enemies. Macedony was now reduced into the form of a Province. Æmylius Paulus triumphed, notwithstanding the contradiction of his own souldiers, discontented for that they B were pinched & cut short in the pillage, & although Ser. Sulpitius Galba interposed himself & gainsaid it. He led before his chariot Perseus with his three sons. And that the joy of this triumph of his should not be entire and accomplished, it remained foully it was with the death of his two sons: the one died before, the other after the triumph of the father. The Censors took a review of the City, in which were assessed and enrolled in their subsidy books 312805 citizens. Prusias King of Bithynia repaired to Rome, to rejoyce with the Senat in their behalf for the victory and conquest of Macedony, where her commended unto the Senat his son Nicomedes. This base minded King, made all of flattery, named himself the enfranchised vassal of the people of Rome.

C

# The five and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

Quintius Fabius, L. Lentulus, and Q. Metellus, the messengers of the late victory, albeit they made all the hast that possibly they could, and came speedily to Rome, yet found the joy therof to have prevented them: for the fourth day after the battail fought with the King, even as the playes and games were exhibited in the shew-place, there was heard suddainly at first, a confused humming noise, which spred over all the companies of the spectators, That a field was fought in Macedony and Perseus vanquished: afterwards arose a more cleer and evident voice, which grew at length to an open shout and clapping of hands, as if certain news had been brought of the said victory. The magistrats wondred hereat, and made search after the author of D this so suddain gladness, but none would be found: and then verily it passed away as the momentany joy of some vain and uncertain occurrence: howbeit a joyful presage of some good luck setled in mens hearts and remained behind. But after that this was confirmed by the true report and relation of Fabius, Lentulus, and Metellus, which they made at their coming, all men rejoyced as well at the fore-giving of their minds, as for the victory it self. This joyous conceit of this assembly in the shew-place, is reported otherwise, and carrieth with it no less probability and likelihood of truth, in this manner; Upon the * 22 of September (which was the second day of the solemnity of Romans games) as the Consul was going up to the lists for to set out the running of the chariots, a post, by report, (who said he was come out of Macedony) presented letters unto him decked with lawrel. The Consul then, so soon as he had set on foot the race, presently mounted up E into his own chariot: and as he rode through the shew-place toward the common scaffolds, he shewed unto the people the said laureat letters: which being once seen, the people presently (forgetting all their sports and sights) ran out into the mids of the cirque & thither the Cos. assembled the Senat; unto whom when he had read the letters, by the advice and allowance of the LL. even before the publick stages and scaffolds, he published the contents therof to all the people in this manner, That L. Æmylius his colleague had fought a set field with K. Perseus, That the army of the Macedonians was discomfited and put to flight, That the King himself was fled with some few of his train, and that all the Cities of Macedony were subdued and brought under the subjection of the people of Rome. These tidings were no sooner heard, but there arose a shout with exceeding great applause, in so much as many men there, left the sight of these disports, and carried these joyF ful news home to their wives and children. This was the thirteenth day after the battail given in Macedony. The morrow after the Senat assembled in Curia (Hostilia) and ordained it was that publick processions should be solemnized: an Act also passed, that the Consul Æmylius should dismiss all those that had taken the military oath, excepting only the sea-souldiers and mariners: and as for the discharging of those souldiers, agreed it was, that it should be moved in the Councel-chamber, when the Lieutenants were arrived and come from L. Æmylius the Consul, for they had dispatched a courrier with letters before them. Now these messengers aforesaid entred the City the * 25th of September about the second hour of the day, and drew after them a mighty train of those who encountring them upon the way whersoever they went, accompanied them to Rome and so directly went to the market-place and tribunal seat. In fortuned that the Senators sat then in the ordinary G Curia or Councel-house, and thither the Consul brought the Embassadors. Where they were received and held so long only as they might declare these points, How great the Kings forces were, as well in foot as horse; how many thousand were slain, how many taken prisoners; what small loss of Roman souldiers that great defeat of enemies cost; how few they were in number that the King fled with; that it was supposed he would pass into Samothracia; that the fleet was in readines to make way after them in chase; and that it was not possible for him to escape either by Land or Sea. And then anon they were brought forth before the general assembly of the people, where

* ad decimum Calendas Octobris.

* ad Sext. Calend. Octobris.

they made relation of the ſame. And then the joy was renewed upon proclamation made by the H
Conſul, That all the ſacred temples and churches ſhould be ſet open: and that every man ſhould depart out of the aſſembly to render thanks unto the Gods: in ſuch ſort, that all the temples of the Gods throughout the whole City were repleniſhed with mighty multitudes and congregations not of men only, but alſo of women. Then the Senat met again in the ordinary *Curia*: and ordained that publick proceſſions and thanks ſhould be made for five daies together in all Churches and Chappels and at every Altar for the happy and fortunat ſucceſs of *L. Æmylius*, and that greater head of beaſts ſhould be killed for ſacrifice. Alſo that the ſhips which rid ready rigged and well appointed in the river *Tyberis* for to be ſent into *Macedony*, (in caſe it had ſo faln out that the King had been able to have reſiſted) ſhould be retired and drawn to land, and ſo laid up drie in their docks and arſenals: alſo that the mariners ſhould be caſſed, after the receit of a whole years pay, I and together with all thoſe who had ſworn to ſerve the Conſul, ſhould have their conge and paſport to be gone. *Item*, that all the ſouldiers in *Corcyra*, *Brundusium*, about the Adriatick ſea, or in the territory of the Latinats (for in all theſe there was an army ſet in readineſs, wherwith *C. Licinius* if need required ſhould have ſuccoured his colleague) ſhould have their diſcharge. Alſo proceſſions were publiſhed in the full aſſembly of the people, to begin * from the tenth day of *October*, and ſo to hold on five daies after.

* *ex a.d. quint. Idus Octob.*

Out of *Illyricum* alſo two Lieutenants or meſſengers, to wit, *L. Licinius Nerva* and *P. Decius*, brought word that the army of the Illyrians was defeated: that King *Gentius* was taken priſoner, & that all *Illyricum* was reduced under the obeiſance of the people of *Rome*. For which exploits atchieved by the leading and conduct of *L. Anicius* the Prætor, the Senat decreed a ſolemn proceſſion K
to be holden for three daies, like as alſo the Latine feaſt & holy-daies were proclamed by the Conſul, for to be holden the * ninth, tenth, and eleventh daies of *November*. Some have recorded that the Rhodian Embaſſadors had not yet their diſpatch, nor were ſent away, but after the news of this victory, were called into the Senat in mockery and ſcorn of that ſottiſh inſolence and pride of their own. And then *Agepolis* the principal perſon of them ſpake in this manner, "That the Rho-
"dians had ſent them in deed as Embaſſadors to treat about an accord & to make peace between
"the Romans and King *Perſeus*, for that this war as it was grievous and prejudicial to all *Greece*,
"ſo it could not chuſe but be chargeable and hurtful to the Romans themſelves. But ſaln out it is
"paſſing well through the goodneſs of fortune, that the war is ended otherwiſe: and hath given
"them ſo good an occaſion and opportunity, to rejoyce and teſtify their joy in the behalf of the L
"Romans, for the atchievance of ſo brave and notable a victory. Thus much ſpake the Rhodian. And then the Senat made anſwer again, "That the Rhodians had ſent that embaſſy not regarding
"the good and profit of *Greece*, nor yet for any care they had of the expenſes defraied by the Ro-
"mans, but only in love and favor of King *Perſeus*. For if they had been reſpective unto them (as
"they would make ſemblance and have the world to think) they ſhould have addreſſed their Em-
"baſſadors when as *Perſeus* invaded *Theſsaly* with an army, & for two years ſpace perſecuted and
"plagued the cities of *Greece*, beſieging ſome, & frighting others with menaces of war: yet all that
"while, not a word with the Rhodians as touching peace. But after that they heard once that the
"Romans were mounted over the ſtreights and paſſed through into *Macedony*: that King *Perſeus*
"was ſhut up and enclofed ſure enough for ſtarting any way, then and not before, they could ſend M
an embaſſage for no other reaſon in the world but to rid and deliver *Perſeus* out of that imminent
"danger which threatned him ſo neer hand. With which anſwer the Embaſſ. were ſent away.

* *in a quart. ter. & prid. Idus Novembr.*

About the very ſame time M. *Marcellus* being departed out of his government in the province of *Spain*, after he had forced and won *Marcolica* a renowned and famous City in thoſe parts, brought home with him and beſtowed in the publick treaſury ten pound weight of gold, and * about a million of Seſterces in ſilver coin.

* *Ad ſummam ſeſtertium decies.*

*Paulus Æmylius* the Conſul lying encamped (as is aforeſaid) neer *Syra* in the Odomantidian territory, when he ſaw the letters from King *Perſeus* brought unto him by three Embaſſadors of baſe condition, wept (by report) himſelf, to conſider the frailty of this world, and the fickle ſtate of mans life; to ſee (I ſay) that he who erewhile could not reſt content with the roialty of *Macedony*, N
but would needs war upon the Dardanians and Illyrians, and levy the aid of the Baſtarnians, was now after the loſs of his army, as one exiled out of his own Kingdom, driven into a ſmall Iland, where, like a poor ſuppliant he remained in ſurety, not by means of his own forces, but through the religious protection of a ſanctuary & privileged place. But when he read the ſuperſcription of the letter with this ſtile. *King* Perſeus *to the Conſul* Paulus, *greeting*, he could no more pity him, for thinking of his blockiſh folly, in that he had no ſence and feeling of the calamity and miſery wherin he ſtood. And therfore albeit the contents of the letter otherwiſe were praiers ſo demiſs and abject as little ſavoured of a princely mind, yet was that embaſſage diſmiſſed without anſwer and without letters. *Perſeus* ſoon perceived what title it was that he muſt lay down and forget now that he was vanquiſhed: wherupon he addreſſed other letters in quality of a privat perſon with- O
out any other addition at all: and by thoſe as he craved, ſo obtained he likewiſe, that certain agents ſhould be ſent unto him, with whom he might parley and commune as touching the ſtate and condition of his preſent fortune. So three delegat Embaſſadors were ſent unto him, namely, *P. Lentulus*, *A. Poſthumius Albinus* and *A. Antonius*. But nothing was effected in this agency or Embaſſage; whiles *Perſeus* ſtuck hard and laboured all he could to hold ſtill and keep the roial name of King, and *Paulus* endeavoured contrary-wiſe, that he ſhould ſubmit himſelf and all that he had

to

A to the protection and clemency of the people of *Rome*. During these debates and affaires between them, the fleet of *Cn. Octavius* was arrived at *Samothrace*, who also presenting before their eyes fearfull objects of terror, went about to force him as well by threats and menaces, as to win him by hope of fair intreaty and good usage to yeeld and submit; and herein he found some help by means of an occurrent, either hapning by chance and meer adventure, or contrived by mans device of set purpose. *L. Attilius* a noble yong Gentleman, perceiving that the people of the Samothracians were met in a general assembly, requested of the Magistrats that he might be permitted to make a short speech unto the people. Good leave he had, and then he began in this wise; "My "masters and friends of *Samothracia*, I would gladly know, whether it be a false fable or a true tale "which we have heard, That this is a sacred Iland, and the soil therof holy and altogether inviol-
B "able? When they all accorded in one consent, that the Iland was as holy and sacred as it was re- "ported: How is it then (qd. he) that a murtherer hath violated and polluted it with the blood "of King *Eumenes*? And considering that in all preambles and prefaces of sacred and divine service "premised, they are commanded precisely to avant from the ministery thereof who have not pure "and innocent hands; will you suffer in deed your most secret sanctuaries and devout tabernacles "to be stained with the bloody body of a thief and fellon? Now was it a rife report and common bruit in every City of *Greece*, That K. *Eumenes* had like to have been murdred at *Delphos* by *Evander*. The Samothracians, besides that they saw their whole Iland and the said Temple to be in the power and puissance of the Romans, took these reproofs and reproaches to touch them neer, and not without just cause: whereupon they sent *Theondas*, the soveraign magistrate (whom they call
C their K.) unto King *Perseus*, giving him to understand, "That *Evander* the Cretensian was charged "with murder: also that by custom and tradition from their ancestors, they had full power and "authority to proceed by order of law, against all those that were presented and endited for en- "tring within the liberties and sacred precincts of the Temple, with unclean and unpure hands. "Now if *Evander* stand upon his innocency, and knoweth himself cleer and unguilty of the capital "crime laid to his charge, let him come to his answer and plead his cause for his own defence, and "he shall be heard: but if he dare not hazard the judicial tryal of the issue, retire he and depart, "that he pollute not the temple; let him shift for himself and escape away. *Perseus* called forth *Evander* unto him, willing him in no case to try the process of justice; for neither would his cause justify him nor any favour bear him out. He much feared withal, lest being cast and condemned,
D he would bewray *Perseus* himself and appeach him for the setter and author of that so horrible a fact: and no way then but one, even with patience and resolution to take his death. *Evander* gainsaid nought in outward appearance, but pretending in words, that he had rather dye by a cup of poison than upon the swords point, sought secret means to flie and be gone. The King upon advertisement hereof, fearing lest the Samothracians would discharge their anger upon him, as if he had wrought his evasion to avoid due punishment, commanded *Evander* to be made away and killed. After which murder committed thus rashly without al advisement, he be thought himself, & considered, that he should be touched deeply with the same spot of guilt that *Evander* was noted with: namely, that as *Eumenes* was by *Evander* wounded at *Delphos*, so *Evander* by him was murdered in *Samothracia*; and so the two most holy and religious temples in the world were stained
E and polluted with mans blood; and who but he the cause and contriver thereof? But the blame of this foul fact of his, was by the corruption of *Theondas* quite averted another way; and he for a sum of money bare the people in hand, that *Evander* was his own hangman. But *Perseus* by this lewd and detestable act, committed upon the person of the only friend whom he had alive, (so well approved and tried by him in so many adventures, and now betraied for his labour by him, unto whom he refused to be a traitor) estranged clean the hearts and affections of all men from him: so as now every man ranged with the Romans. Thus abandoned as he was and left to himself, they forced him to cast about and devise how to escape and be gone. Whereupon he called unto him *Oroandes* the Cretensian, a man that knew well the coasts of *Thrace* (because he had negotiated and traded in those parts;) and with him he dealt to embark him in some small foist, and
F so to conduct him into *Coty*. Now there was a certain bay under a promontory of *Thrace*, wherein a pinnace stood in readiness: thither, after sun-setting were all things brought for necessary use; and money withal, asmuch as closely cold be conveighed. The King himself at midnight accompanied with three persons (for no more were privy to this his flight) went out at a postern or back dore of the house, into a garden neer his bed-chamber, and so with much ado having clambred over a mud wall, passed to the water side. Now was *Oroandes* already loosed from the foresaid creek, for so soon as the money was once brought thither into the vessel, he lanched into the deep and set his course for *Candy*. *Perseus*, after that the bark was not to be found in the bay, walked and wandred a good while along the strand: and fearing at last the day-light approaching (yet not so hardy as to adventure back again to his lodging) lurked behind in one side of the temple close
G unto a blind corner and nook thereof. Among the Macedonians they called those the Kings pages who were the Princes and noble mens sons, chosen to serve and wait upon the person of the King. That company yet followed after the K. in his flight, and as hard as the world went, departed not from him until such time as by the commandment of *Cn. Octavius*, the publick cryer pronounced with a loud voice, That the Kings pages and all other Macedonians besides in *Samothracia*, if they would turn to the Romans, should enjoy with safety of life their estate entire, their liberty free, and all that ever they either had about them, or was left in *Macedony*. At which proclamation

once publiſhed, they all immediatly revolted to the Romans, and entred their names with C. Poſthumius, a martial colonel. Likewiſe *Ion* of *Theſſalonica*, delivered into the hands of *Octavius* the yong infants of the King, and not one of them all was left with *Perſeus*, but *Philip* his eldeſt ſon: and then he yeelded both himſelf and that ſon into the hands of *Octavius*, crying out upon fortune, and blaming the Gods in whoſe Temple they were, for that he received no aid and ſuccour from them, notwithſtanding he humbly craved and beſought the ſame. Then commandment was given, that he ſhould be embarked in the admirals ſhip: and thither alſo was brought aboord all the money that remained, and then forthwith the fleet retired to *Amphipolis*: from whence *Octavius* ſent the King to the camp unto the conſul, but firſt he had diſpatched his letters to give him knowledge, that he was ſure enough under his hand, and that he was at the point to be brought unto him. *Paulus*, reputing this for a ſecond victory, (as it was no leſs indeed to be eſteemed) preſently upon the receit of the meſſage, killed beaſts for ſacrifice: and when he had called his councel about him, and read the letters of the Pretor before them, he ſent Q. *Ælius Tubero* to meet the K. upon the way, and commanded the reſt in good frequency to remain in his capital pavillion, and give attendance upon him. Never was there ſeen before, ſo great a multitude to run out for to ſee any ſolemn ſight or pageant. In their fathers daies King *Syphax* was taken priſoner and brought into the Roman camp; who beſides that there was no compariſon between him and *Perſeus*, either in regard of his own name or the renown of his nation, was then alſo but an acceſſary as it were to the Punick war, like as *Gentius* now to the Macedonian. *Perſeus* was the very head of this war, neither was it the fame of his father and grandſire only (whom he neerly touched in birth and blood) that made him renowned, but the reſplendent glory of *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great, who brought the ſoveraign empire and monarchy of the whole world to the Macedonian nation. Well, *Perſeus* entred the camp arrayed in a black cloak, without any one of his own train to accompany him, who partaking his miſery, might cauſe more compaſſion to be had of him. The affluence of the people was ſo great who went out to ſee him, that for the very preſe he could not march forward, untill ſuch time as the conſul ſent his ſergeants and huiſhers to void the thronging of the multitude, and make way for him to go to the conſul his pavillion. The conſul aroſe, and (giving commandment to the reſt for to ſit ſtill) advanced forward a little, and raught out his hand to the King as he entred into the pavillion; and when he bowed and debaſed himſelf to his very feet, he took him up again and would not ſuffer him once to touch his knees, but led him into the tent and cauſed him to ſit down right over-againſt thoſe whom he called thither to councel. The firſt queſtion that he demanded of him was this; "What wrong he had "ſuſtained at the hands of the people of *Rome*, that he ſhould be conſtrained to enterpriſe and be- "gin the war againſt them with ſo maliciousa mind as he did, and ſo to hazard himſelf, his whole "ſtate and Kingdom, in ſuch extremity of danger? And when every man attended what anſwer he would make, he ſtaied a good while without utterance of one word caſting his eyes wiſtly upon the ground, and ſhedding tears withal. "Then ſpake the conſul again: If you had been but "yong (qd. he) when you came to the crown, I would verily for my part marvail the leſs, that you "ſhould be ſo ignorant as not to know how important it was, to have the people of *Rome* either "for a friend or an enemy: but now, ſince you both had your hand in that war which your father "waged againſt us and alſo could not chuſe but remember the peace afterwards made with him, "and which we obſerved moſt faithfully, What policy was it for you to entertain war rather "than peace, with them, whoſe force you had tried in war and whoſe fidelity you had found in peace? Whenas he would yet make no anſwer at all either to queſtion or accuſation, the conſul went on and ſaid: "Well, howſoever theſe things are thus faln out and come to paſs, be it through "the error and frailty of man by adventure of fortune and hard hap, or fatal neceſſity of the deſti- "nies, be of good chear yet, and take a mans heart unto you: the gracious clemency and mercy of "the people of *Rome*, well known and proved in the misfortunes of many Princes and States, af- "foord unto you not only hope, but certain aſſurance of ſafety. Thus much ſpake he to *Perſeus* in the Greek tongue: then, turning to his own aſſiſtants and company about him, he directed his ſpeech to them in Latine as followeth. "A notable example and rare mirrour you ſee (qd. he) of "the changeable variety of this world: to you I ſpeak eſpecially, my maſters here that are freſh "and youthful gallants in the heat of your yong blood. And therefore let no man in time of his "proſperity, carry himſelf proud and violent againſt another, nor yet confidently to truſt upon "the preſent ſtate wherein he is, for who knoweth what may hap once yet before midnight? But "him alone will I hold for a man of valour indeed, whoſe heart neither the gentle gale of this "fawning and flattering world is able to liſt aloft, nor yet the bluſtering blaſts of frowning fortune "caſt down or daſh upon the rocks. After the conſul was riſen and departed, he committed the charge and cuſtody of keeping the King to *Quintus Ælius*. But for that day *Perſeus* was not only invited courteouſly to ſup with the conſul, but reſpected alſo in all kind of honor, as poſſibly might be done unto him in that ſtate and condition of his.

After this the army was divided here and there into garriſons for the winter time. The greateſt part thereof was received into *Amphipolis*, and the other cities neer adjoining entertained the reſt. This was the end of the war between *Perſeus* and the Romans, which had endured four years one after another continually: and here an end withal of the moſt flouriſhing Kingdom of the greateſt part of *Europe* and of all *Aſia*. *Perſeus* was counted the twentieth King after *Caranus*, who was the firſt that raigned there. This *Perſeus* began his raign that year wherein Q. *Fulvius* and

A and *L. Manlius* were Conſuls. In the time of *M. Junius* and *A. Manlius* Conſuls of *Rome*, the Senat entituled and honoured him with the name of King, and eleven years his raign continued. The name of theſe Macedonians was very obſcure and baſe, untill the daies of *Philip* the ſon of *Amyntas*. From that time and by his means it began to grow and wax great: howbeit, contained it was within the compaſs and precincts of *Europe*, comprehending all *Greece*, and part of *Thrace* and *Illyricum*. Afterwards it ſpread into *Aſia*, and in thirteen years ſpace, during the raign of *Alexander*, it ſubdued and brought under ſubjection, firſt all thoſe parts whereunto the empire of the Perſians extended, which was an infinit dominion in circuit: afterwards it reached to *Arabia* and *India*, even to the end of the earth, bounding and confining all about upon the red ſea. At that
B time was the monarchy and name of the Macedonians the greateſt in the whole world, but upon the death of *Alexander*, diſtracted it was and divided into many and ſundry Kingdoms. And whiles each one endeavoured & ſtrove by force to draw unto him more and more puiſſance, they diſmembred and rent the whole: & ſo from the higheſt top & pitch of proſperity, brought it down to a moſt baſe and low condition, after it had continued in good eſtate a hundred and fifty years.

When the bruit of the Romans victory was blazed and blown as far as to *Aſia*, *Antenor* who with a fleet of barks and pinnaces rid in the harbour of *Phanæ*, ſailed from thence to *Caſſandrea*. *C. Popilius*, who was in *Delos* to guard and waſt thoſe ſhips which were bound for *Macedony*, after he heard ſay that the war in *Macedony* was brought to an end, and the enemies veſſels removed out of their rode, diſmiſſed alſo for his part the Athenian ſhips, intending to go forward in his voiage
C for *Ægypt*, to accompliſh that embaſſage which he had taken in hand: to the end that he might encounter *Antiochus*, before he approached the walls of *Alexandria*. As theſe Embaſſadors coaſted along the river of *Aſia*, and were arrived at *Loryma* (a port ſomewhat more than twenty miles diſtant from *Rhodes*, and ſituat juſt over againſt the city) the principal States of *Rhodes*, met him in the way (for now by this time was the fame of this victory flown ſo far) requeſting him to ſet ſail thither and there to land: for that it concerned their city much in fame and reputation, yea, and was expedient for their good and ſafety, that they ſhould be made acquainted with all that either had been done or was now in hand at *Rhodes*, and ſo to make report thereof at *Rome* upon their own knowledge, and not as things were voiced by the common bruit. They refuſed a long time; but in the end they were ſo importuned, that content they were to ſail a little farther, and ſpend
D ſome ſmall time for to gratify and benefit a city aſſociat unto them. When they were come to *Rhodes*, the ſame principal citizens aforeſaid urged them inſtantly with much prayer and entreaty to come into their general aſſembly of the people. The arrival of thoſe Embaſſadors rather augmented than empaired the fear of the city. For *Popilius* made rehearſal there in open audience, of all which had been done or ſpoken (ſounding any way to hoſtility) either in particular or in general by them, during the late war. And being as he was, a grim ſir, tough and fierce by nature, he aggravated all that he ſpake, with his ſour viſage and ſharp language, like an accuſer at the bar: inſomuch as they might well conjecture and gueſſe, how the whole body of the Senate ſtood affected unto them, by the bitterneſs of one only Senator, who otherwiſe for himſelf had no occaſion of particular ill will and malice againſt the city. But the ſpeech of *Decimius* was more temperat, who ſaid,
E that the blame of thoſe imputations for the moſt part which were objected by *Popilius*, was not to be laid upon the people, but upon a few perſons, who had ſollicited and ſtirred the multitude: for thoſe having their tongue at hire, and uſing to ſpeak for gain, had made decrees full of flattery to pleaſe the King, and ſent ſuch embaſſages, as the Rhodians at all times were no leſs aſhamed than repented of. All which practiſes of theirs no doubt would fall upon their heads who were faulty, in caſe the people had the government and rule in their own hands. Audience he had with great aſſent and applauſe; not more for elevating the fault and treſpaſs of the common people, than for laying the weight upon thoſe that were the authors culpable. And therefore when the chief men among them made anſwer to the Romans, their words, who went about to excuſe and ſalve in ſome ſort as well as they could the articles objected by *Popilius*, were not ſo well taken, as their
F ſpeech who accorded to *Decimius*, in delivering the guilty perſons and offenders to be puniſhed according to their demerits. Wherupon there paſſed preſently a decree, That all thoſe who might be convicted of any deed done or word ſpoken in favour of *Perſeus* againſt the Romans, ſhould be condemned and have ſentence to loſe their heads. Some of theſe perſons were departed out of the city upon the coming of the Romans, others laid violent hands upon themſelves. Theſe Embaſſadors or delegats having ſojourned no longer than five daies at *Rhodes*, departed and made ſail for *Alexandria*. And notwithſtanding their abſence, the execution of judicial proceeding was no leſs hotly followed at *Rhodes*, according to the decree made in their preſence. For the moderation and gentle cariage of *Decimius* was the very cauſe that they perſiſted reſolute, and gave not over untill they had gone through with it, and diſpatched all.

G Whiles theſe affairs were thus managed, *Antiochus* after he had aſſaied in vain to force the walls of *Alexandria*, was departed from before the city, & having poſſeſſed himſelf of all *Ægypt* beſides, and left the elder *Ptolomæus* at *Memphis*, (for whoſe behoof he pretended by his own forces to reconquer the Kingdom, to the end that ſoon after the conqueſt obtained he might ſet upon him likewiſe) withdrew his army away into *Syria*. *Ptolomæus* for his part was nothing ignorant of his deſignment and intention, making full account, that whiles he kept his yonger brother affrighted with the fear of ſiege, by the help of his ſiſter he might be received into *Alexandria*: conſidering withal, that his brothers friends were not oppoſed againſt him, firſt he ſent unto his ſiſter,

after-

afterwards to his brother and his friends, and never gave over to write and ſend, before he had concluded and eſtabliſhed a peace with them. The thing that made him to ſuſpect *Antiochus* was this, for that when he had made over all the reſt of * *Ægypt* unto him, he left yet a ſtrong gariſon behind at *Peluſium*: and well he knew, that he held ſtill the frontier Towns as the very keies of *Ægypt*, to the end that he might with an army enter and invade again, whenſoever he would. And thus he conceived of it, that this would be the iſſue of the civil and domeſtical war between brethren, That the victor wearied with war, ſhould not be able to make head againſt *Antiochus*. Theſe things wiſely forecaſt and ſeen by the elder brother, were received with aſſent of the yonger and thoſe that were aſſiſtant about him: and the ſiſter between ſtood in very good ſtead, not by her good advice and counſel only, but alſo by her effectual praiers. And therefore by a general accord of all, a peace was concluded, and the elder *Ptolomæus* received into *Alexandria*, without any gainſaying or reſiſtance at all ſo much as of the very multitude; notwithſtanding that during the war they were much decaied and weakned (not only by the ſiege, but alſo after it was raiſed and the army gone from *Alexandria*) for want of all things, by reaſon that no proviſions were brought thither from out of *Ægypt*. Now, where as *Antiochus* ſhould have taken great contentment and rejoyced much for this, in caſe he had brought his forces into *Ægypt* for to reſtore *Ptolomeus* into his own eſtate (which was the goodly pretence and colourable ſhew that he made to all the States of *Aſia* and *Greece*, when he received their embaſſages, or ſent forth his letters into all parts) ſo it fell out, that he was ſo highly offended and diſpleaſed hereat, that he went in hand and prepared to make war now againſt them both much more eagerly and with greater malice than before againſt one alone. Preſently he rigged and ſent out his navy at ſea to *Cyprus*; himſelf in perſon at the beginning of the ſpring minding to invade *Ægypt*, marched forward with his army as far as into *Cœlo-Syria*. The Embaſſadors of *Ptolomæus* encountred him in his journey about * *Rhinocolura*, and gave him thanks in behalf of their K. and maſter, for that by his means he had recovered the inheritance of his fathers Kingdom: requeſting withal to maintain that benefit and good deed of his, to declare rather by word of mouth what he would have done, than deal by ſword in hand and force of arms, and not of a friend and ally to become a mortal enemy. His anſwer was, that he would neither call back his fleet nor withdraw his army upon any condition, unleſs he quit unto his uſe as well the whole Iſle of *Cyprus*, as the City * *Peluſium*, together with the territory about the mouth of *Nilus*, called * *Peluſiacum Oſtium*. And therewith he ſet him down a day, before which he expected to receive his anſwer as touching the accompliſhment of the ſaid conditions. After the day prefixed for the truce was paſt, as they ſailed in the mouth of *Nilus* neer *Peluſium*, the ſtates along the deſerts of *Arabia* yeelded. Then, being received of them that inhabite about *Memphis*, and the reſt of the Ægyptians, partly with favor and good will and partly for fear and conſtraint; by ſmall journies he deſcended toward *Alexandria*. When he was paſſed over the river at *Leuſine* (a place about 4 miles diſtant from *Alexandria*) the Roman Embaſſadors met him upon the way. After greetings and ſalutations at their firſt coming, he put forth his right hand to *Popilius*; but he delivered unto him a ſcroll written, and willed him before he did any thing elſe to read that ſcript. After he had read the writing through he anſwered that he would deviſe with his friends and conſider what was beſt to be done. But *Popilius* according to his ordinary blunt manner of ſpeech which he had by nature made a circle about the King with the rod that he had in his hand, and withal, "Make me an anſwer (qd. he) I adviſe you ſuch as I may report to the Senate, before you paſs the compaſs of this circle. The King aſtonied at this ſo rude and violent a commandment, after he had ſtaied and pauſed a while: I will be content (qd. he) to do whatſoever the Senat ſhall ordain. Then and not before, *Popilius* gave the King his hand as to a friend and ally. Afterwards when *Antiochus* was departed out of *Ægypt* by the day prefixed, the ſaid Embaſſ. or delegats having by their authority eſtabliſhed concord alſo between the two brethren (who as yet were not throughly agreed) ſome of them ſailed to *Cyprus*, and from thence they ſent away the fleet of *Antiochus*, which already had given an overthrow in battail to the Ægyptian ſhips. This was a noble embaſſage and much renowned among thoſe nations, for that thereby *Ægypt* was undoubtedly taken from *Antiochus*, who was as good as poſſeſſed thereof already, and the inheritance of the Kingdom reſtored again to the race of *Ptolomeus*.

Of the two Conſuls that year, like as the one was famous in his place by this notable victory, ſo the other was little or nothing ſpoken of, by reaſon he had not matter of any great exploit to be emploied in. And firſt of all when he was aſſigned a certain day for the legions to meet, he entred into the temple without the lucky approbation of the auſpices. And when the Augurs were moved and their advice required therin, they declared, that there was an error committed in the appointment of the ſaid day. In his voiage for *France* he kept his ſtanding leaguer for the ſummer time about the mountains *Sicimina* and *Papinus* neer the plains called * *Macri*. And afterwards he wintred about the ſame places with the allies of the Latine nation. For the Roman legions becauſe the day was not rightly appointed for the aſſembly of the forces at the *Rendes-vous*, remained behind at *Rome*. Alſo the Pretors, ſave only *C. Papyr. Carbo*, unto whoſe lot *Sardinia* was faln, went forth into their Provinces: and him the LL. of the Senate had ordained to attend upon his civill juriſdiction at *Rome* between citizens and forrainers. *Popilius* likewiſe, that embaſſage which was ſent to *Antiochus* returned to *Rome*: where he made relation that the controverſies between the two Kings were decided & the army of *Antiochus* retired out of *Ægypt* into *Syria*. After this, came the Embaſſ. alſo of the Kings themſelves. Thoſe of *Antiochus* made report that the King their maſter

a For *Peluſium* is called *Clavis Ægypti*, as *Ortelius* noteth out of *Suidas*.

* *Pharamica.*

* *Belbais.*
* *Carabes.*

* *Valle di Mon irone.*

A master esteemed more of the peace approved by the Senat, than of any victory whatsoever: and obeied the orders set down by the Roman Embassadors, no less than the very messengers coming with commandments directly from the Gods: and finally they testified their own contentment, and wished them great joy of their victory obtained, saying that the King himself would have been with all his power at the atchieving thereof, in case he had been enjoined to perform any service. The Embassadors of *Ptolomeus* in the name jointly of their King and of *Cleopatra*, rendred thanks unto them, acknowledging themselves more bound & beholden to the Senat and people of *Rome*, than to their own parents, yea, & more than to the immortal Gods; for by their good means they were first delivered from the most lamentable miseries of a siege, and had recovered their fathers Kingdom, which they were at the point to have lost for ever. The Senat returned this answer a-
B gain, That whereas *Antiochus* had been ruled by the Embassadors, therin he did well and as it beseemed him, and in so doing he highly contented and pleased the Senat and people of *Rome*. Again, if *Ptolomæus* and *Cleopatra* the King and Queen of *Ægypt*, had found any goodness and commodity by them, the Senat was very glad therfore and rejoyced thereat and would endevour and work it so, that they might be perswaded that the greatest assurance and safeguard of their realm rested at all times most in the faithful protection of the people of *Rome*. This said, the Pretor *C. Papyrius* had in charge to see that presents and gifts were sent to these Embassadors according to the ancient custome. Then were letters brought out of *Macedony* to redouble the joy of the victory, importing that *Perseus* was sure enough in the hands of the Consul.

When those Embassadors were dismissed and gone, much debate and argument there was be-
C tween the Embassadors of the Pisans and Lunenses. They of *Pisa* complained that they were disseized & driven out of their territory by the Roman colonors: contrary wise those of *Luna* plainly averred, that the Land in controversy had been set out and assigned for them by the Triumvirs. The Senat hereupon sent five men as commissioners to make inquisition into the limits of the said territory and to determine accordingly, and those were *Q. Fabius Buteo*, *P. Cornelius Blasio*, *T. Sempronius Musca*, *L. Nævius Balbus*, and *C. Apuleius Saturninus*. There came likewise a solemn embassage sent in common from *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and *Athenæus* all three brethren to notify the joy and contentment which they took for the Romans victory. Moreover, *L. Manlius* the treasurer was ready at *Puteoli* to receive and welcome *Masgaba* the son of K. *Masanissa*, as he should disbark
D and set on land: for sent he was of purpose with money to meet him upon the way, to conduct him also and bring him to *Rome* at the cities charges. He was no sooner come, but immediatly audience was given him in the Senat. "This yong Prince spake in such sort, as the things which of "themselves were acceptable enough indeed, he graced and made more worthy of acceptance by "his good words. He rehearsed what forces of foot and horse both, how many Elephants, what "quantity of corn for that four years space (during the war) his father had sent over into *Mace-* "*dony*. But two things there were for which he was dismaied and could not chuse but blush: the "one, that the Senat by their Embass. had made request unto him, and not commanded father to "furnish them with necessaries for the war: the other, that they had sent them mony to pay for "their corn. For *Masanissa* was not forgetful, but bare well in mind, that he held his Kingdom as
E "first conquered for him, afterwards augmented and amplified many waies unto him by the peo-"ple of *Rome*: and for his own part, he could content himself with the use and occupation therof, "as a tenant in fee-farm; acknowledging the propriety and possession thereof to be in them, who "as Lords of the fee feoffed him therein. Good reason therefore and meet it was that they also "should be bold with their own, to take and not to ask, to have and not to crave, much less then "to buy the commodities & fruits issuing out of the lands by them demised, given & granted. As "for *Masanissa*, sufficed he was, and evermore would rest contented with that overplus which the "people of *Rome* might leave and spare for him. Thus much (qd. he) I had in charge and commis-"sion from my fathers own mouth, when I departed and took my leave of him: but afterwards "certain horsmen riding post overtook me, to let me understand that *Macedony* was subdued; and "to charge me, that after I had signified our joy in your behalf I should shew unto the Senat, that
F "my father took such contentment therin, that he would gladly come to *Rome*, to offer sacrifice "and render thanks to *Iup. opt. Max.* in the Capitol: which to do he requested leave of the Senat, "so it might stand with their good liking, and be no trouble unto them. The Prince received this "answer from the Senat That his father *Masanissa* did as beseemed a good man and thankful per-"son so to do, in giving such a grace and honor over & above, to benefit of duty required. More-"over, that the people of *Rome* acknowledged how they had received great help at his hands in the "Punick war by his valiant and loial service, as well as he obtained his Kingdom through the fa-"vour of the people of *Rome*, yea, and afterwards according to equity and justice had born himself "right worthily in all sorts of devoirs and duties during the wars of three Kings one after ano-"ther. Neither was it any marvel at all that he rejoiced at the victory of the people of *Rome*, be-
G "ing a King who had engaged, hazarded and entangled all his own fortunes and the whole estate "of his Kingdom with the Roman affairs. As for rendring thanks to the Gods for the victory of "the people of *Rome*, let him do that himself in his own house at home; for it should suffice, that "his son for him performed that duty at *Rome*. That he and his father both had sufficiently for "their parts testified their joy. As for *Masanissa* in proper person to leave his realm and depart out "of *Africk*, over and besides that it was in no wise profitable to himself, the Senate deemed it "not expedient for the weal-publick of the people of *Rome*. *Masgaba* further-more requested,

that

that *Hanno* the ſon of *Amilcar* ſhould be ſent hoſtage in place of another Carthaginian (whoſe name is not known;) but the Senat anſwered, That they thought it not meet to demand hoſtages at the pleaſure of *Maſaniſſa*. The treaſurer was commanded by order from the Senat, to buy certain preſents for to beſtow upon this yong Prince, namely, as much plate as might ariſe out of an 100 pound weight of ſilver: alſo to accompany him as far as *Puteoli*; to defray all his charges during his abode within *Italy*; and to hire two ſhips for to tranſport and conduct him & his princely train into *Africk*. To all his retinue as well bond as free there was allowance made of apparel.

Not long after, were letters brought as concerning *Miſſagenes* the ſecond ſon of *Maſaniſſa*, who after that *Paulus* had vanquiſhed *Perſeus*, was ſent home by the ſaid *Paulus* into *Africk* with his Cavalry: but as he ſailed, was driven (ſick as he was) upon *Brundiſium* with three ſhips only, for that the reſt of the fleet was diſperſed in the Adriatick Sea. *Sterbinius* the treaſurer was ſent to him at *Brundiſium*, with the like gifts as were beſtowed upon his brother at *Rome*, and a charge to ſee to his lodging.

By vertue of an act granted out of the Senat, the Libertins [*i.* the ſons of freed men] were enrolled into the four tribes of the City, all ſave thoſe who had a ſon above five years old; with expreſs commandment, That when they were to be enrolled at the review next enſuing, their goods alſo ſhould be valued, and they accordingly entred into the ſubſidy books; namely, That as many of them as poſſeſſed any manor or manors in the countrey, eſteemed better worth than 30000 Seſterces, ſhould be enrolled and aſſeſſed. This ordinance being thus obſerved, *Claudius* denied flatly, that the Cenſor had authority to * take from any particular perſon, and much leſs from a whole ſtate and degree of men, the right and liberty of ſuffrages, without the warrant and ordinance of the people: for ſay, that he have power to caſs a man out of his tribe, (which is nothing elſe but to command him to change his tribe) it followeth not then, that he may diſpoſſeſs and diſplace him out of all the 35 tribes, which is as much as to ſtrike him out of the number of citizens, and deprive him quite of his freedom and burgeoſſie: and is not (I ſay) to limit and ſet down in what rank he ſhall be enrolled, but to exclude him full and wholly out of all enrolment. This diſpute and debate paſſed between them; untill at laſt they grew to this point, that of the four City tribes, they ſhould caſt lots openly in the Hall and Cloiſter of *Libertus* for one tribe, in which all they ſhould be regiſtred and comprifed, who had been villains ſometimes and were enfranchiſed. Now this lot fell to the tribe *Exquilina*. Then *Tib. Gracchus* pronounced, That ordained it was to enroll in it all the Libertins. Great honour and reputation with the Senat gained the Cenſors by this act: *Sempronius* likewiſe wan much thanks therefore, becauſe he had perſiſted conſtantly in that good enterpriſe ſo well commenſed: and *Claudius* went not without his due thank, for that he was no hindrance to this proceeding. In this review and ſurvey taken by the Cenſors, more Senators were removed and put out of the counſel, yea, and more Gentlemen commanded to ſell their horſes of ſervice, than by other Cenſors in former time. And all thoſe by both of them joynely were not only diſplaced out of their tribes, and made no better than *Ærarii* (*i.* to loſe their voice) but alſo to pay all taxes whatſoever to the utmoſt. And look who was noted and diſgraced by the one, had no relief nor hope to recover his credit and place by the other. Now when theſe Cenſors demanded, That according to a cuſtome and order, they might be allowed a years ſpace and two months, to look into the reparations of the publick edifices, that they were maintained wind-tight and water-tight; as alſo to ſee whether they who had undertaken to finiſh certain works at a price, had performed their bargain accordingly: *Cn. Tremellius* a Tribune interpoſed himſelf and denied this demand, for anger that he was not choſen and taken into the Senat. The ſame year *C. Cicereius* dedicated a chappel in the Albane mount, which he had vowed five years before. Alſo that year was *L. Poſthumius Albinus* enſtalled a Flamine of *Mars*. The Conſuls *Q. Ælius* and *M. Junius* propounded in the Senate, as touching the government of their Provinces: and the LL. ordained, That *Spain* ſhould be divided again into two Provinces, which had been united in one during the Macedonian war: alſo that the ſame *L. Paulus* and *L. Anicius* ſhould defend and keep in obedience as before, *Macedony* and *Illyricum*, until ſuch time as they by the advice of certain deputed commiſſioners, had both compoſed all matters and affairs diſordered and troubled by the wars; and alſo reformed the eſtate of that realm, by inducing it into a new form. The Provinces aſſigned unto the Conſuls were *Piſæ* and *Gaul*, and they had the command of two legions of footmen, and four hundred horſemen apeece. The Pretors had their lots for government as followeth: The civil juriſdiction over citizens fell to *Q. Caſſius*, and over ſtrangers to *M. Juvencius Talva*: *Tib. Claudius Nero* was L. deputy of *Sicily*, *Cn. Fulvius* of the hither *Spain*, and *C. Licinius Nerva* of the farther: laſt of all, *A. Manlius Torquatus* was appointed to the government of *Sardinia*; but into his province he could not go, by occaſion that he was detained at home by vertue of an act of the Senat, to make inquiſition into certain felonious and capital crimes. After this, conſultation there was in the Senat as touching the prodigies which were reported. The chappel of the *Penates* (protectors of the City) in *Velia* was ſmitten with thunder and lightning. Alſo in the Town *Minervium* two gates and a good part of the wall felt the like harm. At *Anagnia* it had rained earth, and in *Lanuvium* there appeared in the skie a burning flame. Moreover, *M. Valerius* a citizen of *Rome* gave knowledge, that in *Calatia* within the publick territory of that City, for the ſpace of three dayes and two nights together, blood guſhed out in his chimney hearth where he kept fire: and for this ſtrange ſight above all the reſt, the Decemvirs were commanded to have recourſe unto the books of *Sibylla*: who pro-

* This hath reſpect to ſome other act, which is not extant.

A proclaimed a publick ſupplication of the people for one day, and ſacrificed fifty goats in the common market place of the City. Alſo in regard of the other prodigies, a ſupplication was holden another day, and men did their devotions at every altar of the Gods; greater beaſts were killed for ſacrifices, and the City was ſolemnly cleanſed and purged. This done, as touching the honor of the immortal Gods, the Senat ordained, that foraſmuch as the two Kings *Perſeus* & *Gentius* their enemies were overcome, and now at the devotion of the people of *Rome*, together with *Macedony* and *Illyricum*, *Q. Caſſius* and *M. Juventius* the Pretors ſhould give order for as great oblations to be offred unto the Gods at every ſhrine and altar, as had been heretofore (when *App. Claudius* and *M. Sempronius* were Conſuls) for the defeat of King *Antiochus*. Then they ordained cer-
B tain delegats, by whoſe advice *L. Paulus* and *L. Anicius* the two Generals, might ſet all affairs in order, namely, ten into *Macedony*, and five into *Illyricum*. For *Macedony* were nominated *A. Poſthumius Luſcus* and *C. Claudius*, (who both had been Cenſors) *C. Licinius Craſſus* late companion to *Paulus* in the Conſulſhip, and who at that preſent had the government of *Gaul* continued him. To theſe delegats above-named, men of Conſular dignity all by their calling, were adjoined in commiſſion *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus*, *Ser. Cornelius Sylla*, *L. Junius*, *C. Antiſtius Labeo*, *T. Numiſius Tarquinienſis*, and *Aulus Terentius Varro*. For *Illyricum* were theſe named, *P. Ælius Ligur*, one that had been Conſul, *C. Cicereius* and *Cn. Babius Tamphilus* (this *Babius* had been Pretor
C but the former year, and *Cicereius* many years paſt) *P. Terentius Tuſcivicanus*, and *P. Manilius*. Then the Conſuls being advertiſed by the LL. of the Senat, that (foraſmuch as one of them muſt ſucceed *C. Licinius* in *Gaul*, who was nominated one of the delegats) they ſhould part their Provinces between them either by accord and agreement, or by lot make choice of the fortune of lottery. So *Piſa* fell to *M. Junius* (but before he went into his province, he had in charge to bring into the Senat, thoſe embaſſies which from all parts were come to *Rome* for to declare their joy in the behalf of the people of *Rome*) and *Gaul* to *Q. Ælius*.

Albeit ſuch perſonages were ſent, as by whoſe ſage counſel good hope there was, that the chief commanders of the Roman armies would paſs no decree unbeſeeming either the clemency or Majeſty of the people of *Rome*, yet debated it was in the Senat about the ſum and principal points of all their counſels and deſigns; to the end that the ſaid Legats might cary unto the Generals all things plotted already and begun to their hands at home in the City. In the firſt place ordained it was, That the Macedonians and Illyrians remain free and enjoy their liberties, that all nations of
D the earth might ſee, that the driſt of the Roman armies and forces was not to bring free ſtates into ſervitude, but contrarywiſe to reduce thoſe that were in bondage to liberty, to the end that thoſe nations which now enjoied freedom, might be ſecured under their ſafeguard and protection both of ſurety and of perpetuity, and ſuch as lived in ſubjection under the Kings, might both for the preſent time find their government more mild and righteous for that reſpect which the Kings have of the people of *Rome*; and alſo, if it fortuned hereafter, that there ſhould be war between the people of *Rome* and their Kings, they might be aſſured that the iſſue of thoſe wars would bring victory to the Romans, and procure liberty to themſelves. Alſo agreed it was that there ſhould be
E no more farming out of the metal mines in *Macedony*, albeit they yeelded a great revenue; nor yet of publick lands and poſſeſſions in the countrey: for poſſible it was not that theſe matters ſhould be practiſed and followed without publicans; and where thoſe intermeddle & have ought to do, then it muſt needs follow, that either the publick right and prerogative of the State be annulled, or the liberty of allies come to nothing. Neither were the Macedonians themſelves able to exerciſe the ſame: for look where the miniſters and managers of any thing ſee a booty preſented before their eyes, there, occaſions of ſedition and contention will never be wanting. Moreover, concluded it was, that there ſhould be no common and general counſel of the whole nation, for
F fear leſt at any time the lewd vulgar people having by the Senat liberty granted unto them tending unto a good and wholſome moderation and equality of the State ſhould abuſe the ſame and draw it to a miſchievous and peſtilent licentiouſneſs. But they thought it good policy to divide *Macedony* into four quarters and counties, that each one might have their ſeveral counſel? likewiſe it was ſuppoſed to ſtand with good reaſon and equity, that they ſhould pay the one moity of that tribute which they were wont to yeeld unto their KK. Semblable commiſſion and like directions they had for *Illyricum*. As for all other matters, referred they were to the diſcretion of the Generals and the Delegat commiſſioners, who might be better able to determine more certainly of particulars, according to the occurrents preſented unto them in the managing of their affairs.

Among many and ſundry Embaſſadors of Kings, nations, and ſtates, *Attalus* the brother of K. *Eumenes* moſt of all others amuſed mens minds, and drew their eyes upon him: for by them who had born arms together with him in that war, welcomed he was much more heartily, and receiG ved with greater courteſy than if *Eumenes* the K. himſelf had come. Two occaſions there were outwardly pretended, and thoſe carrying a good ſhew of honeſty and credit, which brought him to *Rome*: the one, a gratulation or teſtimony of joy (as meet it was) for that victory wherin himſelf lent his helping hand; the orher, a complaint of French tumultuous wars and the bloody hoſtility of *Adverta* their King, by which means his brothers Kingdom was in great jeopardy. But there lay another thing hidden underneath, namely, an inward and ſecret hope that he conceived of honors and rewards from the Senat, which hardly he could ſeem to aim & reach unto, without ſome unkindneſs and violence offered to brotherly duty and affection. For ſome there were even of the Romans alſo, who did him no good, but gave him bad counſel, drew on his appetite with fair

hopes,

hopes, and ſet him a longing, feeding him with theſe and ſuch like conceits, That in *Rome* this H
was the opinion entertained of *Attalus* and *Eumenes*, as if the one of them were a friend faſt and
ſure to the Romans; the other an ally, ſound and faithful neither to the Romans nor yet to *Per-*
*ſeus*: and therefore hard it were to ſet down and ſay, Whether of the twain would be more eaſily
obtained at the Senats hands, namely, a ſuit made in his own name for his preferment, or a demand
of ſome hard courſe againſt his brother: ſo bent were all men in general to grant any thing to *At-*
*talus*, and to deny every thing to *Eumenes*. *Attalus* (as the ſequel and proof ſhewed) was pliant
to thoſe perſons whoſe deſires reach at all that hope promiſeth, had not the ſage admonition of
one friend come between to bridle his affections, raviſhed and tranſported ſo as they were with
the amiable aſpect and fawning flattery of his own good fortune. He had about him at that time
one *Stratius* a Phyſician, ſent by *Eumenes* (who reſted not ſecure of his brothers loyalty) to *Rome*, I
of purpoſe for to lie in eſpial and obſerve all that *Attalus* did: and to adviſe him faithfully, if he ſaw
him tread awry and practiſe ought againſt his duty and allegeance. When he came unto him, he
found his ears already poſſeſſed, and his ſpirit tempted and ſollicited beforehand: howbeit taking
his times and waiting opportunities, he went roundly to work and ſtuck to it cloſe until he had
ſet all up again which was at the point to run on end and fall to the ground. He alledged and laid
theſe remonſtrances before his eyes, ſaying, "That Kingdoms have grown mighty, ſome by one
"means, ſome by others: but as for theirs, being but newly erected, & grounded upon no ſtrength
"of ancient foundations, it ſtood upright only by the mutual concord of him and his brethren, in
"that one of them beareth the name and title of King, wearing the diadem and crown alone upon
"his head, but in effect all three brethren be KK. As for you *Attalus* (qd. he) who are the eldeſt K
"brother ſave one, who is it that reputeth you for leſs than a King, not only for that he ſeeth you
"ſo mighty at this preſent, but alſo the next heir apparant, and without all doubt like ſhortly to
"reign indeed? conſidering the feeble body and craſy age of *Eumenes*, who hath beſides no iſſue of
"children to ſucceed him in the roial throne? (for as yet he took no knowledg of him that reign-
"ed afterwards.) What need then is there to uſe violence, and to force that which of its one ac-
"cord will ſhortly be devolved upon you & fall into your hands? Moreover, a new tempeſt and
"ſtorm is riſen of French wars, threarning peril unto the realm, which it will be hard for you
"Princes to withſtand, agree as well as you can in all brotherly love, unity and concord. But if to
"forrain war abroad, there ſhould ariſe a domeſtical and civil diſſention between you at home,
"what remedy then but utter ruin and deſtruction? Neither ſhall you (*Attalus*) purchaſe any good L
"but this, firſt to prevent that your brother be not King, and then to diſable and diſappoint your
"ſelf of that neer and aſſured hope you have to be K. But ſay, that to preſerve a Kingdom for a
"brother, and to wreſt a Kingdom from a brother, were honorable and glorious deeds both the
"one and the other; yet ſurely, of the twain, to have ſaved a Kingdom deſerveth greater commen-
"dation and praiſe, in that it ſorteth ſo well with piety and kindneſs. And certainly, ſeeing the o-
"ther is a curſed and deteſtable part even next neighbor to parricide; what ſcruple and doubt re-
"maineth now which needeth any farther deliberation? For tell me, I beſeech you, is it one parcel
"of the Kingdom that you reach at, or ſhoot you at the whole? If you aim at a part only, then
"upon the diſmembring and diſtraction of your puiſſance, you ſhall be both twain much weak-
"ned and expoſed to the danger of all injuries: if you would have all, what ſhall become of your M
"brother? Would you wiſh him being your elder, to live a privat perſon? or ſo far ſtept in years as
"he is, a baniſhed man; and namely, with thoſe infirmities of body which he carrieth about him?
"or would you command to take his life away and rid him out of this world at once? Now truly
"to ſay nothing of the unhappy and miſerable iſſue of ſuch graceleſs and wicked brethren delive-
"red unto us in fained fables, you ſee what a goodly fair end *Perſeus* is come unto, who being in
"the Temple of *Samothracia* was conſtrained lying proſtrat upon the ground to proſtrate himſelf
"at the feet of the enemy his conqueror, the crown and diadem which he came unjuſtly by, even
"with the unnatural murder of his own brother: as if the Gods in heaven had been there preſent,
"to require due puniſhment for his horrible fact. To conclude, they alſo themſelves, who in no
"friendly love and affection to you, but in rancor and hatred to your brother *Eumenes*, have put N
"theſe deſigns into your head, and prick you on to execute the ſame; even they. I ſay, will praiſe
"your kindneſs, your piety and conſtancy, in caſe you perſever true and truſty to your brother, to
"the very end. Theſe and ſuch like important perſwaſions prevailed with *Attalus* and ſetled deep-
ly in his mind. Therefore being admitted into the Senat, after he had wiſhed joy unto them, and
proteſted his own for the late victory, he laid abroad and declared his own demerits and good
ſervice in that war, the favors alſo (ſuch as they were) done by his brother, and laſt of all, the re-
volt of the Gauls lately broken out with great troubles and commotions. His petition to the Se-
nate was, for to ſend their Embaſſadors unto them, by whoſe countenance and authority they
might be reclaimed, and ſo lay arms aſide. Having declared this meſſage which concerned the pro-
fit in general of the realm; he made a ſpecial ſuit for himſelf, and demanded to have *Ænus* and O
*Maronea* given unto him. And thus, when he had put them beſides their hope, who thought veri-
ly, that after he had accuſed his brother, he would have required the kingdom to be divided peece-
meal & diſmembred, he departed out of the Councel houſe. Seldom had been known at any time
before any man whatſoever, King or ſubject, to have had the like audience with ſo great favour
and applauſe of all men, as he: received and entertained he was right honourably with gifts & pre-
ſents of all ſorts whiles he was at *Rome*, and with the like they accompanied him at his departure.

Among

A Among many Embaſſies of *Aſia* and *Greece*, the Rhodian Embaſſadors were moſt marked and looked upon throughout all the City: for whereas at firſt they were all trim and goodly to be ſeen in their white and bright apparel, as decent it was for them that would ſeem to congratulate for the victory (for if they had worn black or been poorly arraied, it might have been conſtrued, that they mourned for the misfortune and calamity of *Perſeus*) after that *M. Junius* the Conſul brake with the LL. of the Senat (and all that while the ſaid Embaſſadors ſtood without in the common place *Comitium*) to conſider and adviſe, whether they would allow lodging, preſents, and give audience in the Senat unto them: they reſolved and were of opinion to obſerve no rights nor cuſtomes of hoſpitality with them. Then went the Conſul out of the Senat: unto whom when the Rhodians ſaid that they were come to rejoyce in their behalf for the late victory, and withal to
B anſwer in the name of their City to certain crimes wherewith they were charged, requeſting that they might ſpeak before the Senat and be heard with indifference: the Conſul pronounced aloud unto them, That the cuſtome indeed of the Romans was, to entreat their allies and friends graciouſly, and among other matters of courteſy and hoſpitality which they afforded unto them, to grant them alſo a day of hearing in the Senat; but the Rhodians had not demeaned themſelves during the war, in ſuch ſort, as to be reckoned in the number of lovers and aſſociats. At the hearing of theſe words they caſt themſelves all proſtrat on the ground, beſeeching the Conſul and all thoſe that were preſent not to ſuffer that falſe imputations of late ſurmiſed ſhould againſt all reaſon pre-
judice the Rhodians more, than their good deſerts of old (whereof themſelves were ſufficient
C witneſſes) ſtand them in ſtead. And preſently after they had put on ſimple apparel and mourning weeds, they went about from houſe to houſe viſiting the principal perſons of the City, humbly beſeeching them with tears, to hear their cauſe before they were condemned. *M. Juventius Talva* the Pretor or L. chief juſtice for the pleas between citizens and ſtrangers, was the only agent that provoked and incited the people againſt the Rhodians: nay, he had promulged and publiſhed a bill to this effect, That war might be denounced againſt the Rhodians; alſo, that out of the Magiſtrats for that year they would make choice of ſome one to be ſent as Admiral with a fleet for the managing of that war: hoping that himſelf ſhould be the man. But this action and proceeding of his was croſſed by *M. Antonius* and *M. Pomponius*, two Tribuns of the commons. Over and beſides, the Pretor, to ſay a truth, had broached this matter after a new and ſtrange faſhion,
D and to the evil example of future times, in that he preferred a bill unto the people of his own head alone, without asking the advice of the Senat, or making the Conſuls acquainted therewith: and that in this manner and form, Pleaſeth it you, and is it your will, that war be proclaimed againſt the Rhodians? whereas alwaies before-time, in queſtion of war, the Senats advice was firſt taken, and then the thing was propoſed unto the people. Likewiſe the Tribuns o the commons for their part, did more than they might, and a thing not warrantable by any precedent. For it was a cuſtom and tradition obſerved ever of old, that no perſon ſhould interpoſe his negative to croſs any bill, before that privat men in particular had their courſe and turn granted, both to perſwade or diſſwade the ſame: by which means many a time it fell out, that even they who never proteſted nor meant to oppoſe themſelves, being moved and induced by the reaſons of thoſe that ſtood up to diſſwade, and perceiving alſo by them the inconveniences of ſuch a bill, would ſtep between and
E daſh all: yea, and contrarywiſe ſuch as came of purpoſe to croſs and nip the ſame being convinced by the authority and born down by the important arguments alledged by thoſe that enforced the ſaid bill, would deſiſt and ſurceaſe. Thus the Pretors and Tribuns ſtrove much who ſhould do every thing more unſeaſonably than others. The Tribuns impeached and ſtaid the haſtines of the Pretor, interpoſing their negative before the time, and deferring the matter untill the coming of the L. General. * * * * * * "Whether we have "tranſgreſſed and offended yea, or no, that yet remaineth doubtful: but ſure we are of this, that "we ſuffer all puniſhments and ſhameful ignominies already that can be deviſed. Heretofore, "when the Carthaginians were vanquiſhed, when *Philip* when *Antiochus* was overthrown we "came to *Rome*: from our publick lodging provided for us at the charges of the City we pre-
F "ted our ſelves (my LL.) into your Councel houſe, to teſtify our great contentment for your con-
"queſts: from the Councel-houſe we went directly to the capitol, carrying with us preſents and
"oblations to the honor of your gods. But now we the ſame Rhodians are come unto your Senat
"clothed in this poor habit and array as you ſee, from out of a baſe hoſtelry and common inne,
"where hardly we could have lodging for our money; being commanded in manner of enemies
"to make our abode without the City walls: we Rhodians (I ſay) whom but lately ye feoffed
"with the grant of two Provinces *Lycia* and *Caria*, and whom ye graced with all kind of honors,
"and enriched with all manner of gifts and rewards. You ordain as we hear ſay, that the Macedo-
"nians and Illyrians ſhould live free, notwithſtanding they were in ſervitude before they levied
"war againſt you. Neither ſpeak we this in envy & repine for any mans welfare and good eſtate;
G "nay we acknowledg therein the rare clemency of the people of *Rome*:) and will ye then make
"the Rhodians of friends, enemies, who during this war did no more but ſit and meddle with nei-
"ther part? Now ſurely ye Romans are the men that pretend and give out ordinarily, that your
"wars have good ſucceſs and ſpeed well, becauſe they be juſt and righteous: neither do you glory
"ſo much in the event and iſſue thereof, whereby ye are revengers and conquerors, as for the be-
"ginning and firſt enterpriſes, in that ye undertake them not without good cauſe. The beſieging
"of *Meſſana* in *Sicily* by the Carthaginians, was the cauſe that the people of *Rome* reputed them

* The beginning of this Oration of the Rhodians to the LL. of the Senat is loſt.

"enemies. The aſſailing of *Athens* by *Philip*, his intent and purpoſe to bring *Greece* into ſervitude, H
"his relieving of *Annibal* with men and money, cauſed him likewiſe to be holden for their ene-
"my. Thus *Antiochus* brought upon his own head the *Roman* war, for that he being ſollicited
"by the Ætolians your enemies came willingly out of *Aſia*, and with a fleet ſailed over to *Greece*:
"and when he had ſeized upon *Demetrias*, *Chalcis*, and the ſtreights of *Thermopyla*, went about
"to diſpoſſeſs you of the empire. And laſt of all, *Perſeus* by levying arms againſt your allies, by
"killing ſome of their petty kings and princes, by murdering other chief perſons of ſundry nati-
"ons and cities, gave you juſt occaſion to make war upon him. But what colourable cauſe can
"there be pretended of our calamity, if needs we muſt miſcarry and periſh? All this while I
"make no difference between our cities caſe and that of *Polyaratus* and *Dion* our citizens, even
"thoſe perſons whom we have brought to deliver into your hand. For ſuppoſe that the cauſe I
"were all one, and that we Rhodians were all faulty and culpable alike, what might that crime be
"for which we are touched in this war? We favoured *Perſeus* and that ſide (you will ſay) and
"like as in the war of *Antiochus* and *Philip*, we ſtood with you againſt thoſe kings, ſo now we
"took part with the K. againſt you. Was that all? well, In what ſort we are wont to aid our aſſo-
"ciats, and how luſtily to enterpriſe wars, do but ask of *C. Livius* and *L. Æmylius Regillus*, the
"Admirals of your fleets in *Aſia*. Your ſhips never fought at ſea without us; yet we with our Ar-
"mado alone fought a battail once before *Samos*, and a ſecond time in *Pamphylia* againſt General
"*Annibal*: which victory there atchieved was unto us by ſo much more honorable and glorious,
"for that after we had in an unfortunat fight neer *Samos* loſt many of our ſhips & the very choiſe
"and flour of our youth, we nothing terrified and diſmaied with ſo great an overthrow, durſt turn K
"again to make head, yea, and were ſo hardy as to encounter the Kings roial navy coming out of
"*Syria*. And all this have I related not by way of boaſt & to glorify our ſelves (for we are not now
"in caſe to ſtand upon thoſe terms) but to give you a taſt by the way and put you in mind, in what
"maner the Rhodians have uſed evermore to ſuccour their confederats. And for the better proof
"therof, after the defeat, of *Philip* and *Antiochus* we received at your hands right great rewards
"& recompence for our ſervice. In caſe the fortune of *Perſeus* had been ſo happy as yours is at this
"preſent (praiſed be the Gods for their grace and goodnes & thanked be your own valour withal)
"and we had come into *Macedony* to the King upon his victory to require & demand rewards,
"what could we alledge therfore? Might we ſay that he had bin maintained by our mony, or relie-
"ved with our corn? with land forces, or ſtrength at ſea? Was there any place by us kept and held L
"with a garriſon for his uſe? were we able to tell where we fought, either under the conduct of his
"Captains or upon our own leading and direction? If haply he ſhould demand in what quarters
"our ſouldiers kept? in what coaſt our ſhips lay in guard for his defence, what could we anſwer?
"Peradventure we might plead our cauſe & excuſe our ſelves in the preſence of him, ſuppoſed con-
"queror, like as we now do before you here in place. For by ſending our Embaſſadors to and fro
"unto you as well as to him about a treaty of peace, this is all the good we have got, that in ſtead
"of winning the love & favor of both parts, we incur the heavy diſpleaſure of the one; being thus
"charged with crimes and wrapped in dangers. And yet my good LL. and honorable Senators of
"*Rome*, *Perſeus* might truly object that to us, which you in no wiſe can, namely, that we in the be-
"ginning of the war ſent Embaſſadours to you making promiſe in our name of whatſoever was M
"needful thereunto: alſo that we would be ready at all aſſaies to furniſh you with ſhips ſtrongly
"rigged and with our youth well appointed, like as in the wars afortime. That we performed not
"theſe promiſes of ours, you only were the let and hindrance, who (whatſoever the cauſe was)
"refuſed our offred ſervice & rejected al our ſuccours. Wel then, neither have we attempted ought
"as enemenies, nor failed in the duty of good friends and allies: but impeached have we been by
"you for effecting that which we intended. How now? may ſome man ſay: Hath there been no-
"thing done or ſaid in your City (O ye Rhodians) that you wiſh unſaid or undone, & whereat
"the people of *Rome* may juſtly take exceptions and be offended with you for it? Undertake to
"juſtify and make good whatſoever hath been done, I will not, neither have I ſo little wit I trow;
"but ſever I will the publick cauſe of the whole ſtate, from the privat offences committed by par- N
"ticular perſons: for no City is there under the ſun, but may otherwhiles have lewd and naughty
"citizens ſome or other, and evermore a rude and ſottiſh multitude. I have heard ſay, that even
"amongſt you here at *Rome*, ſome have ſought to advance and ſet themſelves aloft by currying fa-
"vor and flattering the common people; and that the time was, when the commons roſe and de-
"parted from among you, ſo as the rule of the common-weal and people of *Rome* was out of your
"hands, as in a very Anarchy. If ſuch a thing as this might chance in this your City (ſo well quali-
"fied & ordered as it is) how can any man make a wonder, that among us there have been ſome,
"who (affecting and ſeeking for the amity and friendſhip of the K.) might haply corrupt and ſe-
"duce our commons with their naughty counſel? And yet when all is ſaid, they prevailed no more
"than thus, that we ſat ſtill and failed in doing our devoir to you: for I will not over-paſs in this O
"place the greateſt and moſt grievous crime of all other wherewith our City is charged during
"this war, and that is this. At one and the ſame time we ſent Embaſſ. both to you and *Perſeus* a-
"bout a peace. This deſignment ſo untoward and unlucky as it was, a furious and brainſick orator
"and agent of ours (as afterwards we underſtood) handled as fooliſhly: who (as it is for certain
"known) framed his language in that maner, as if he had been *C. Popilius* the Roman Embaſſador,
"whom ye ſent to the two KK. *Antiochus* and *Ptolomæus*, to warn them both to lay down arms &

"surceaſe

A " ſurceaſe war. But that behaviour of his, (cal it what you wil, either pride or folly) was no worſe
" before you than it was to K. *Perſeus*. Every City hath their conditions and qualities by them-
" ſelves, like as particular and ſeveral perſons: and ſemblably it is in whole nations; ſome are teſty
" and cholerick, bold and audacious; others again be fearful and timerous: ſome are given to wine
" and drunkenneſs, others to women and wantonneſs. The people of *Athens* (by report) are too
" haſty, hot, and forward to enterpriſe any thing even beyond their power. The Lacedæmonians
" again, be as ſlow and backward, caſting many doubts & difficulties to enter upon the very things
" which they are aſſured of. I cannot deny, but that all the country of *Aſia* in general breedeth
" many a mad brain and vain ſpirit: and I will not ſay, but that our people are jolly fellows of their
" tongue and can ſpeak big, for that we ſeem (among other cities and ſtates bordering upon us)
B " to excel and ſurpaſs; and that no ſo much in the confidence we have of our own forces, as for the
" honorable regard ye have had of us, and the great teſtimonies and judgments ye have given out
" of us. But that fooliſh embaſſage of ours even then at the very time had puniſhment ſufficient,
" being ſent away (as it was) with ſo heavy an anſwer of yours: and if we were not then diſgraced
" and ſhamed enough, now ſurely this preſent embaſſage ſo humble and pitiful were able to make
" full ſatisfaction for a more inſolent embaſſy than it was. All pride (and arrogancy of words eſpe-
" cially) cholerick perſons indeed hate, wiſe men deride, and namely, from an inferior to his bet-
" ter; but no man ever judged it a mortal ſin and worthy of death: mary, here was all the danger,
" leſt haply the Rhodians might ſeem therby to deſpiſe the Romans. How then? be there not ſome
" alſo that cannot rule their tongue, but will be raiſing & uttering blaſphemous words againſt the
C " Gods; yet we never heard of any that have been therefore ſmitten dead with a thunderbolt.
" What remaineth then for us wherein we ſhould purge and cleer our ſelves, if we neither can be
" charged in fact with hoſtility; and if our Embaſſ. hath uſed ſome proud and preſumptuous words
" more than became him, which deſerve not the total ruin of our City, but ſome ſharp checks and
" hard rebukes on both ſides of our ears? But I hear (my good LL.) that in your ordinary talk a-
" mong your ſelves when ye are together, we are cenſured for our inward affection only & ſecret
" thoughts, and condemned no leſs than for ſome deed, namely, That in heart we favoured the K.
" and wiſhed him rather than you to obtain the victory; and therfore they deem us worthy to be
" perſecuted with fire and ſword. Some there be again of you, who think verily that thus indeed
" we ſtood affected, howbeit they would not have us for it to be warred upon as enemies; for that
D " it ſtandeth not with the cuſtom or law of any City in the world, That if a man wiſh a miſchief
" to his enemy, he ſhould be ſtraightwaies condemned therfore to die, ſo long as he hath not en-
" tred into any action tending thereto. And verily theſe men we have to thank, who free & quit
" us yet from puniſhment, although they cleer us not of guilt: howbeit this ſentence we paſs a-
" gainſt our own ſelves, That if it can be proved, that we were all of us ſo minded and diſpoſed in
" affection as we are burdened, (for content we are that all go under one, heart and hand will and
" deed, without diſtinction) then let us all be puniſhed for it and feel the ſmart. But if of the great
" men and chief among us, ſome affected you & others the King; we require not, that for the love
" of us who ſided with you, the Kings ſuppoſts ſhould fare the better and eſcape cleer: but we re-
" queſt and beſeech rather, that for their ſakes we periſh not and be quit undone. And certainly,
E " your own ſelves are not worſe affected and more ſet againſt them than our very City is: which
" they knowing well enough, moſt of them either fled away, or elſe killed themſelves: others of
" them (ſuch as we have condemned and paſſed judgement againſt) ſhall be at your pleaſure (my
" LL.) to do with them what you will. All the reſt of us Rhodians, as thanks we have merited none
" in this war, ſo we have deſerved as little puniſhment. Lay the over-deal and ſurpluſage of our
" former good deeds and demerits to this want of duty now, and let the heap of the one make up
" the ſcant meaſure of the other. With three Kings of late years ye have maintained war; let not
" our ſlackneſs and ſitting ſtill in this one, endammage and hurt us more, than our devoir and em-
" ploiment in the other twain may ſeem to ſatisfy and countervail. Set *Philip*, *Antiochus* and *Per-*
" *ſeus*, for three verdicts and ſentences as it were paſſed upon us: two of them acquit us cleer; the
F " third is doubtful whether it wil go againſt us or no. Indeed if they themſelves were to ſit upon
" us, we ſhould no doubt be caſt and condemned: but you (my good LL.) that are our competent
" judges, determin now at once, Whether there ſhall be a City of *Rhodes* remaining upon the face
" of the earth, or be raſed utterly & deſtroyed from the very foundation for ever: for you are not
" to debate in councel about making war upon us: which wel you may begin and go in hand with
" at your pleaſure; but follow and manage you never ſhal, becauſe there is not a Rhodian that wil
" take armis and come into the field againſt you. Will you not be pacified but perſiſt ſtil in your
" choler and anger? then will we crave at your hands ſome reſpit of time, whiles we may go home
" and report there how we have ſped in this lamentable embaſſage of ours. And then, all of us in
" *Rhodes* frank-born and of free condition every one, I ſay, man and woman with all our wealth
G " and ſubſtance will embark our ſelves: forſake we will our privat houſes and publick edifices: and
" to *Rome* ſtraight will we all come: and when we have laid on heaps here in your common hall,
" and at the porch and enteir of your councel-houſe, whatſoever gold and ſilver we have either
" in privat purſe or common chiſt: commit we will to your devotion and mercy our own perſons,
" together with the bodies of our wives and children; and never wil we go further but even here
" in this place will we ſuffer and abide that which we have to undergo and endure. Let our City
" then be ſacked, rifled and burned, ſo it be far enough out of our eye that we ſee it not. The Ro-

"mans may (if it please them) judge the Rhodians enemies; yet you will give us leave to pass in H
"some sort a doom of our own, That we in our consciences never condemned our selves for such,
"nor ever will enter in any hostile action against you, come what will, even the utmost extremity
"that can be suffered. After their oration in this manner uttered, they fell down again all prostrat,
and as humble suppliant estsoons put forth and shook their branches of the olive, until at length
they were raised up on their feet, and so departed out of the Senat. Then began the LL. within, to
give their opinions and pass their sentences of them. The heaviest enemies and most maliciously
bent against the Rhodians, were those, who had conducted the war of *Macedony*, as Consuls, Pre-
tors, or Lieutenants: but *M. Porcius Cato* was their only patron that stood to them and supported
their cause right earnestly; a man otherwise by nature sowre and severe, but as then he shewed him-
self a mild and gracious Senator. I will not insert here the lively portraiture and resemblance of I
that copious and eloquent person, by relating the flowing speech which he then delivered: his very
oration is extant in writing, and contained in the fifth book of his *Origenes*. In fine, the Rhodians
received such an answer, as they neither were concluded enemies, not yet remained in the nature
and quality of friends. The principal persons of this their embassage, were *Philocrates* and *Asty-
medes*. Ordered it was & agreed between them, That *Philocrates* (with some of his fellows) should
report this answer at *Rhodes*; and that *Astymedes* (with the rest) should stay behind at *Rome*, to
to know what was practised and done there, and give intelligence thereof accordingly to their
citizens at home. For that present the LL. of the Senat gave them in charge, to remove their Cap-
tains and Governours by a certain day out of *Lycia* and *Caria*. These news related at *Rhodes*, im-
porting matter (in it self considered) of grief & heaviness, turned into joy, in regard that they were K
eased from the fear of a greater mischief, for they doubted sore that they should have had hot war.
And therfore presently they ordained for the Romans a crown amounting to the value of 20000
pieces of gold, and with this present they sent *Theodotus* the Admiral of their navy in embassage.
A will and desire they had to make suit unto the Romans for association: but so, as no act and or-
dinance of the people should be entred therof, nor any instrument engrossed as touching it. And
this they did, to avoid the greater shame and ignominy of repulse, if haply they missed of their
purpose, and could not obtain. The Admiral alone had this priviledg, and was permitted to treat
of that matter, without any bill at all either published or enacted by the people. For in so many
years before they had continued in amity with the Romans in such sort, as they never linked and
tied themselves unto them by any formal deed and covenant upon record, and that for no other
reason in the world, but because they would neither cut the wings off from all hope of their aid, L
if haply any of them might stand in such need, nor disable themselves of the possibility they had to
reap some fruit & receive good of their bounty and prosperity. But surely at this time (me thinks)
they ought to have sought sadly and in good earnest for their society, not so much for safety and
security against others (for none they feared at all but only the Romans) as to be rid of the suspi-
tion and jealousy which the Romans had of them. About the same time the Caunians also revol-
ted from them, and they of *Mylassa* took certain Towns of the Euromestians. Now were the
hearts of these Rhodians within the City not so much broken or abated, but they saw well e-
nough that if the Romans took from them *Lycia* and *Caria* all the rest would either by way of re-
volt put themselves in liberty and shake off the yoke of their subjection, or else be surprised and
seized by the neighbour nations bordering upon them: and that then they should be pent up and M
shut within the compass of a small Isle and the strands of a barren soil, not able to nourish and
maintain the inhabitants of so great and populous a City. Therefore with all speed they dispatch-
ed and sent forth their youth, and not only forced the Caunians (notwithstanding they had joined
unto them the aid of the Cybirats) to their obeisance, but also in battel neer *Orthosia* overcome,
the Mylasteans and Alabandians; who having dissieized the Euronensians of their province, ad-
vanced jointly with their united armies against them.

Whiles these affairs thus passed there, whiles some occurrents fell out in *Macedony*, and others
likewise at *Rome*, *L. Anicius* having subdued King *Gentius* (as is before said) and brought him under
his own hand, placed a garrison in *Scodra* the Kings roial seat, and appointed *Gabinius* the Cap- N
tain thereof: but in *Rhizon* and *Olcinia* two commodious cities of good importance he ordained
*C. Licinius* the Governor. Having thus made over the rule of *Illyricum* unto these twain, himself
with the rest of the army went into *Epirus*. Where the Town *Phanota* was the first that yeelded
unto him and the whole multitude of the people came forth to meet him with their intules in
token of submission. After he had put a garrison in this place also, he passed over into the countrey
of *Molossis*, where he received the surrender of all the Towns thereof, excepting *Passaron* Tegmon,
*Phylacum*, and *Horreum*. And then he led his army first against *Passaron*. The principal men and
rulers of that City were *Antinous* and *Theodotus*, men of mark and name, as well for the favor they
bare to *Perseus*, as the hatred they caried to the Romans: the only persons who had counselled
and perswaded the whole nation to revolt from the Romans. These two having guilty consciences
within them for their privat trespass, and being past all hope of finding any grace and pardon, shut O
the gates of the City, to the end that they might perish with the overthrow of all, and be over-
whelmed with the total ruin of their own country: and therewith they exhorted the multitude to
prefer present death before servitude and slavery. No man durst once open his mouth to contra-
dict these so great and mighty persons. At length a certain noble yong Gentleman, named also
*Theodotus*, with whom the greater dread from the Romans abroad prevailed more, and overcame
the

A the leſs fear of the rulers at home. "What ail ye my maſters (qd. he) and fellow citizens, what rage "and madneſs haunteth you, to enwrap and intereſs the whole City in the fault and folly of theſe "two perſons? Certainly, I have often heard of men that for their countrey have willingly loſt "their lives, but to think it meet, that their countrey ſhould periſh for them, theſe are the firſt "that ever were known. Why rather open we not our gates and ſubmit our ſelves to that empire, "into which the whole world beſides is ſubject. As he ſpake theſe words, the multitude followed him toward the gates: which when *Antinous* & *Theodotus* ſaw, they made no more ado, but brake upon the firſt *corps de guard* of the enemies which they came unto, and expoſing their bodies to the ſwords point, were ſoon killed, and the Town was yeelded into the hands of the Romans. *Tegmon* alſo, upon the like wilfull obſtinacy of Prince *Cephalo*, had ſhut their gates, but after that he was
B ſlain, the Town was taken by ſurrender. And neither *Phylace* nor *Horreum* would abide the aſſault. Having thus quieted *Epirus*, and beſtowed his forces by garriſons in diverſe commodious Towns for the winter time, he returned into *Illyricum*: where he held a general aſſembly at *Scodra*, to which he had ſummoned the principal States of the whole nation, and whither alſo there were arrived five delegates from *Rome*. And there in this frequent and ſolemn ſeſſion he pronounced from the Tribunal ſeat, by the advice of the counſel aſſiſtant unto him, That the Senate and people of *Rome* ordained the Illyrians to live free and enjoy liberty, and that himſelf would withdraw the garriſons out of their Towns, Fortreſſes and Caſtles. As for the Iſſeans, Taulantians, Tiruſtians in the Daſſaretians countrey, Rhizonits and Olcianats (for that whiles *Gentius* his fortune ſtood up-
C right, they had ranged with the Romans) he declared them not only free, but alſo exempt and privileged from all tributs. The Doarſians alſo, for leaving *Caravantius*, and paſſing with their armies to ſide with the Romans, he endowed with the like immunity. They of *Scodra*, *Daſſara*, and *Selepita*, with the reſt of the Illyrians, were to pay the one moity of the tribute which they had yeelded to the King. After this he divided *Illyricum* into three cantons: the one of them he made of thoſe before named: the ſecond, all the Labeats: and the third, of the Agravonits Rhezonits, Olciniats, and thoſe that bound and border upon them. Having ſet down this order in *Illyricum*, he returned to *Paſſaro* a City in *Epirus*, there to lie for the winter time.

Whiles theſe things hapned in *Illyricum*, *Paulus* before the coming of the ten Legats, ſent *Q. Maximus* his ſon (who was now lately returned from *Rome*) to the ſaccage of *Æginium* and *Agaſſa*. The quarrel againſt *Agaſſa* was, for that they having delivered the Town one to *Martius*
D the Conſul, and therwith of their own accord craved the alliance of the people of *Rome*, revolted notwithſtanding afterwards to *Perſeus*. As for the Æginians, they had committed a late and freſh treſpas: for giving no credit to the fame that was voiced of the Romans victory; they cruelly handled certain Roman ſouldiers, who were entred into their City. Moreover, he ſent *L. Poſthumius* likewiſe to ranſack in hoſtile manner the City of the Ænians, for that they had perſiſted in arms more ſtifly than the other neighbour Cities. Now was it about that ſeaſon of the year which men call Autumn: in the beginning whereof, ſo ſoon as he had determined to ride a circuit and viſit all *Greece* round, and to ſee thoſe places whereof there went ſo great a name, and which were more renowned by hear-ſay than known by ſight of eye: he left *C. Sulpitius Gallus* for the command and guard of the camp, & ſet forward in his progreſs, accompanied with no great train. And being guar-
E ded of the one hand with his own ſon *Scipio*, and on the other, with *Athenæus* the brother of King *Eumenes*, he paſſed through *Theſſaly*, toward the famous Oracle at *Delphos*. Where, after he had ſacrificed to *Apollo*, he deſtined and appointed thoſe Columns & Pillars (which were begun in the porch of that Temple, and whereupon the ſtatutes of King *Perſeus* ſhould have been erected) for to ſuſtain and bear the ſtatues of himſelf with the title Victorious. He viſited alſo the temples of *Jupiter Trophon* in *Lebadia*: where, after he had ſeen the mouth of that peakiſh cave into which they uſe to deſcend that would have the benefit of the Oracle, and know the will of the Gods: after ſacrifice alſo done to *Jupiter* and *Hercinna*, whoſe temple there is to be ſeen he went down to *Chalcis*, to behold the frith of *Euripus*, and that Iſland which in times paſt was united & joined to the firm
F continent by a bridg. From *Chalcis* he croſſed over to *Aulis* three miles diſtant from thence, a port enobled for the rode ſome time there of *Agamemnons* fleet, conſiſting of a thouſand ſail. Being there, he went to the Temple of *Diana*, where that King of Kings (*Agamemnon*) offered his own
* daughter in ſacrifice upon her altar, to have a proſperous voiage for his fleet intending to ſail to *Troy*. After this, he came to *Oropus*, a Town in *Attica*, where *Amphilochus* the Prophet is worſhipped as a God. There, was to be ſeen an ancient Temple, moſt pleaſant to behold for the goodly Fountains and Rivers round about it. Then went he forward to *Athens*, a City likewiſe for antiquity of fame much ſpoken of, and highly renowned time out of mind: wherein were many monuments alſo worth the ſeeing: namely, the citadel, the havens, the walls that reach from the City to *Pyræum*, the arſenals made by great Captains and Commanders, the images of the Gods and of men likewiſe, for rare & excellent, as well for the artificial workmanſhip, as the matter wherof they
G were made. When he had ſacrificed within the City to *Minerva* the goddeſs and patroneſs of the ſaid citadel, he kept on his journey, and the next day following arrived at *Corinth*. A fair & beautifull City this was in thoſe daies, before it was deſtroied, the fortreſs there and the *Iſthmus* were things of eſpecial mark and worth the ſight: for the ſaid fortreſs notwithſtanding it be mounted up to an exceeding height above all, yet is it full of fountains; and the *Iſthmus* by a narrow ridge of land divideth two ſeas neer together, the one lying Eaſt, and the other Weſt. From thence he went to *Sicyon* and *Argos*, two noble Cities, and ſo forward to *Epidaurus*, nothing in wealth com-

* *Ipbigeniâ.*

parable to the reſt, yet of great name for the famous temple of *Æſculapius*, which ſtandeth 5 miles H
from the City, where at this day are to be ſeen the marks and tokens of the empty places from
whence the oblations have been plucked away: but then a rich place it was and full of thoſe of-
frings and gifts, which diſeaſed perſons had conſecrated to that God in recompence and reward
for thoſe ſoveraign ſalves and wholeſom remedies which they there found. From thence he came
to *Lacedæmon*, a City memorable not for any magnificence of ſtately works and buildings, but for
good diſcipline and orders there obſerved. From whence paſſing through *Megalopolis*, he aſcen-
ded up to *Olympia*: where among other things there to be ſeen, he beheld *Jupiter* as it were repre-
ſented even before his eies, whereat he was much moved in ſpirit. And therfore as if he had been
to ſacrifice in the capitol, he commanded a ſacrifice to be prepared with more ſtate and magnifi-
cence than ordinary. Thus having viſited all *Greece* over without any ſearch and enquiry made, I
how men either in general or particular ſtood affected in the war againſt *Perſeus*, (becauſe he
would not trouble and diſquiet the minds of the allies with any fearful occurrent) as he returned
toward *Demetrias*, he was encountred by the way with a number of Ætolians all clad in doleful &
mourning array. And when he wondred and asked what the matter might be, he was given to
underſtand that 550 of their principal men of name, were by *Lyciſcus* and *Tiſippus* maſſacred, who
with the help of certain Roman ſouldiers ſent from *Babius* the Governor, had beſet their Senat:
that the reſt were driven into exile; and the goods as well of thoſe who were murdered, as alſo of
the baniſhed perſons were now poſſeſſed by their accuſers. He commanded them to attend upon
him at *Amphipolis*, and when himſelf had communed & conferred at *Demetrias* with *Cn. Octavius*,
after he once heard that the ten legats had paſſed the ſeas, he laid aſide all other affairs, and went K
directly to *Apollonia* there to meet with them. To which place when *Perſeus* came to meet him,
for he having over-large liberty of poiſon, was come from *Amphipolis* & that was a daies journey
off; unto the K. he ſhewed good countenance and gave him good and gracious words, but after he
was returned to the camp at *Amphipolis*, he ſharply checked and rebuked, as men ſay, *C. Sulpitius*,
firſt for ſuffering *Perſeus* to range ſo looſly and ſo far off from him, all over the province: ſecond-
ly, for giving his ſouldiers ſo much liberty as to pluck the titles from off the walls [and houſes] of
the City to cover the places of their winter harbour: and therewith he commanded that the tiles
ſhould be carried thither again where they had them, and the houſes to be repaired as ſufficiently
as before. As for *Perſeus* and his elder ſon *Philip*, he delivered unto *A. Poſthumius* to be kept in
ſafe cuſtody: but his daughter and yonger ſon, he ſent for to *Amphipolis* from *Samothrace*, and uſed L
them with all courteſy and kind intertainment as poſſibly he could. When the day was come, on
which he appointed that ten principal burgeſſes out of every City ſhould repair to *Amphipolis* &
that all the Kings letters and writings in what place ſoever to be found, ſhould be ſought up & re-
preſented there together with all his mony; he ſat him down upon the tribunal ſeat, together with
the ten legats from *Rome*, and the whole multitude of the Macedonians were gathered round a-
bout him. Albeit they had been uſed to ſubjection under the King, yet this new Tribunal carried
with it a form and ſhew of a terrible government, namely, when they ſaw the tipſtaves & huiſhers
to keep the doors and places of entry, the publick crier and the ſergeant: ſtrange matters all unto
their eies and ears & whereto they had not been accuſtomed, able to ſtrike a terror to allies much
more then, to conquered enemies. After ſilence made by the crier, *Paulus* pronounced in the Latine M
tongue what the Senats pleaſure was to be done, and what himſelf with the advice of his Councel
affiſtant about him had thought upon and ſet down: all which points *Cn. Octavius* the Pretor (for
he alſo was in place) interpreted and related again in the Greek language. *Imprimis*, they ordai-
ned the Lacedæmonians to be free, to have and enjoy the ſame Cities and territories, to uſe and
exerciſe their own Laws to create yearly Magiſtrats, and to pay half of that tribute to the people of
*Rome*, which they uſed to pay unto their Kings. *Item*, to divide *Macedony* into 4 quarters; The one,
and that the principal, for to contain all the country between the 2 rivers *Strymon* and *Neſſus*; to
which part there ſhould be laid the tract on the farther ſide of the river *Neſſus* Eaſtward (where
*Perſeus* held Towns, Caſtles and Cities) excepting *Ænus*, *Maronea*, and *Abdera*: alſo beyond *Stry-*
*mon* Weſtward all the Biſaltique territory, together with *Heraclea*, which they call *Syntice*. For the N
ſecond, all thoſe parts which on the Eaſt-ſide the river *Strymon* encloſeth, except *Syntice*, *Heraclea*,
& the Biſaltes: alſo on the Weſt, whatſoever is bounded with the river *Axius*, together with the
Pæonians lying to it, who inhabit upon the river *Axius* Eaſtward. The third quarter was that,
which *Axius* from the eaſt and *Peneus* the river from the weſt do compaſs; and to the north-ſide
is limited with the mountain *Bora*, and to this portion was adjoined the tract of *Paonia*, which
coaſteth along the river *Axius* toward the weſt: *Edeſſa* alſo and *Berrhæa* were annexed therto. The
fourth was beyond the mountain *Bora*, confining on the one ſide upon *Illyricum*, & on the other
upon *Epirus*. The head cities of every quarter where they ſhould hold their ſeſſions and councels
he appointed theſe: For the firſt, *Amphipolis*; *Theſſalonica* for the ſecond; In the third *Pella*; & *Pela-*
*gonia* in the fourth. To theſe places he ordained that by ſummons they ſhould repair, and hold the O
aſſemblies of each quarter; thither the mony to be brought; and there the magiſtrats to be created.
*Item*, he declared and pronounced that it ſhould not be lawful for any perſon to contract mariage,
neither to have commerce & traffick together in buying or ſelling of lands or tenements without
the limits of their own diviſion. *Item*, that in their mines they ſhould no more dig for ſilver and
gold: but for Iron and braſs they had permiſſion. And thoſe that had the profit therof, were to pay
the one half of the old rent, which they were wont to yeeld and grant unto the King. *Item*, he for-

bad

A bad them to uſe any more forrain ſalt brought from out of other parts. When the Dardanians put in their claim for *Paonia*, for that it had ſometime been their appurtenance, and alſo confined upon their country; he pronounced freedom to all thoſe who had been ſubjects to K. *Perſeus*. But afterwards, when they could not obtain *Paonia*, he granted unto them the commodity of the traffick for ſalt; and he charged the inhabitants of the ſaid country to cary it to *Stobi* in *Paonia*, and he ſet them down a certain price. *Item*, he debarred them from felling any ſhip-timber themſelves, and from ſuffering any others. Unto thoſe countries which bordered upon the Barbarians (and except the third quarter all the reſt confined upon them) he granted that they might keep armed garriſons upon their frontiers and marches. Theſe Acts and ordinances thus publiſhed the firſt day of the ſeſſion, wrought diverſly in the minds of men. Freedom granted beyond their expectation, and
B the eaſment in the yearly tribute, comforted their ſpirits and made them look up. But by the interruption of the commerce & traffick one region with another, they ſeemed like creatures diſmembred and plucked aſunder joint-meal, ſo as having need one of another, yet they had no mutual & reciprocal uſe and intercourſe. In ſo much as the Macedonians themſelves knew full little how big and large *Macedony* was, and how commodiouſly it was divided, ſo as each part was ſufficient in it ſelf without the help of others. The firſt region containeth the Biſaltæ who inhabit beyond the river *Neſſus* and about *Strymon*, the moſt valiant men of all the reſt: beſides, it hath many proper commodities by it ſelf as well fruits of the earth as mines of metals, together with the opportunity and commodious ſituation of *Amphipolis*, which as a frontier-bar ſtoppeth all avenues on the eaſt ſide into *Macedony*. The ſecond quarter hath in it two moſt famous and frequented cities, *Theſſa-*
C *lonica* and *Caſſandria*: & *Pallene*, a fertile & fruitful land. Beſides, the maritime commodities which the havens at *Torone* and the head of *Athos* (and it they call the port or rode of *Æneas*) do yeeld; to ſay nothing of other bayes lying handſomely, ſome toward the Iland *Eubœa*, others toward *Helleſpont*. The third conntrey containeth the famous cities *Edeſſa*, *Berrhœa* and *Pella*; the warlike nation of the Veteii, and many Gauls and Illyrians beſides who there inhabit, notable men all of action & execution. The fourth region is peopled with the Eordians, Linceſtians and Pelagonians: unto whom, the provinces *Atintania*, *Stymphalis*, and *Elimiotis* are adjoyned. All this quarter is cold, rough and hard to dwell in. The nature of the inhabitants is likewiſe ſutable to the ſoil: & the fiercer they are by reaſon of the barbarous nations their neighbours, who one whole find them occupied with war, and othetwhiles mingle their rites and faſhions with theirs in time of peace.
D When *Macedony* was thus divided and each part diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral uſes & commodities, he appointed a general review to be made and enrolment of all the Macedonians; having declared unto them before, that he purpoſed to give laws unto them.

This done, the Ætolians were cited and called next; and in the whole courſe of the commiſſion as touching them and their affairs, more inquiſition there was, who favoured the Romans, and who affected the King, than of any that either had done or ſuffered wrong. The murderers were found unguilty and abſolved and the baniſhment of the exiled was as much avowed, as their death juſtified who were maſſacred: *A. Babius* only was convicted and condemned, for that he had ſent Roman ſouldiers to execute the ſaid butchery. This iſſue of the Ætolians cauſe, puffed up the ſpirits of all thoſe who had ſided with the Romans, throughout all the nations and cities of *Greece*,
E in ſuch ſort as they grew to a pride intolerable: but contrarywiſe put down & abaſed under their feet, as many as were ſuſpected any waies to have caſt a favor and born good will to the King. The principal ſtates-men of their cities were of three ſorts; two of them were skillful in the art of footh-ing, & either by ſubmitting and ſubjecting under the Roman Empire, or winding within the favor and friendſhip of the KK. grew infinitly rich and mighty themſelves in privat, with the publick oppreſſion and undoing of their countrey: the third between, ſung a mean, and was croſs to the other; men that ſtood for the defence of their liberties and maintenance of laws, who as they were more dearly beloved of their neighbours at home, ſo they were leſs gracious and of credit with ſtrangers abroad. The favorits and ſuppoſts only of the Romans, were advanced by their proſperity; they alone ſat in place of government, they were employed in all embaſſages, and none but they.
F These being there preſent in great number coming out of *Peloponneſus*, *Bœotia*, and from other frequent aſſemblies of *Greece*, filled the heads of the ten delegats and high commiſſioners: buzzing into their ears, that not they alone who openly were ſeen in their bravery and vanity of ſpirit, vanting themſelves for the hoſts and friends of King *Perſeus*, but many more beſides under-hand took part with him and favoured his proceedings: as for the reſt (under a colour of maintaining liberty) practiſed in all their counſels and complotted againſt the Romans what they could: and never would the Greek Nations abide long in their allegeance, unleſs the hearts of that ſide were taken down and broken; and their authority only cheriſhed, confirmed, and ſtrengthned, who regarded nothing elſe but the empire and ſoveraignty of the Romans. When theſe had informed and preſented divers by name: ſent for they were by the letters miſſive of the General, out of
G *Ætolia*, *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Bœotia*, to give their attendance and follow him to *Rome*, there to anſwer the cauſe. But into *Achaa* two of the high Commiſſioners were ſent, namely, *C. Claudius* and *Cn. Domitius*, who perſonally ſhould ſummon them by vertue of their edict. And this was done for two conſiderations; the one, becauſe they thought verily that the Achæans were more confident and couragious, and therefore would not obey the ſummons by letters, and peradventure alſo. *Callierates* and other the informers and accuſers who made preſentment of their names, ſhould be in ſome danger of their lives: the other cauſe why they would be preſent

to

to give them ſummons was this, that amongſt the Kings records and rols they had found the letters of the principal Stateſmen of other nations; but of the Achæans there appeared no writing at all under their hands, and therefore the imputations charged upon them were nothing evident. H

After the Ætolians were diſmiſſed, the nation of the Acarnanians was cited and called into place: as for them, there was no change nor alteration; only *Leucas* was exempt from doing ſervice to the high court and general aſſembly of the Acarnanians. As they followed the inquiſition ſtill farther and farther, making enquiry who either in publick or private had taken part with the King, they extended their commiſſion as far as into *Aſia*; and ſent *Labeo* to demoliſh and race *Antiſſa* a City in the Iſle *Lesbos*, and to tranſlate the inhabitants thereof to *Methymna*: the pretence was, for that they had given harbor in their haven to the proviſions of *Antenor* the Kings Admiral, at what time as he hovered and ranged about *Lesbos* with his pinnaces. Two there were that I loſt their heads, men of quality and great worth, to wit, *Andronicus* the Ætolian, ſon of *Andronicus*, for that he followed his father and bare arms againſt the people of *Rome*; and *Neon* a Theban, by whoſe advice and perſwaſion they had contracted a ſociety with *Perſeus*.

After this enqueſt of forrain cauſes interpoſed and coming between, the aſſembly of the Macedonians was called again; wherein as touching the ſtate of *Macedony*, pronounced and publiſhed it was, That there ſhould be certain Senators choſen, whom they call *Synedri*, by whoſe counſel the common-weal ſhould be managed and governed. After this, were the names read of the principal Macedonians, whom he appointed (together with their children as many as were above fifteen years of age) to go before into *Italy*. This at firſt was thought to be an hard and cruel courſe, but anon it appeared to the multitude of the Macedonians that it was all done for their liberty. For K nominated there were, the Kings friends and gallants of his court, the commanders of armies, the Admirals of the fleets, and the Captains of the garriſons, who were wont to ſerve the King baſely, but to over-rule others proudly and imperiouſly: ſome exceeding rich and wealthy, others ſpending above the proportion of their revenues and living: all faring at their table, and arraied in apparel like KK. not one carying with him the civil mind of a good citizen, not one that could abide to hear of laws, or of equal liberty. Al theſe therfore, who had been employed in any miniſtry or ſervice about the King, even they alſo who had been uſed in the leaſt embaſſages that were, had commandment to depart out of *Macedony* and to go into *Italy*: and look who obeyed not this edict, were threatned with death. Unto *Macedony* he gave laws, with ſuch diligent care and good regard, as if he had reckoned them not for enemies vanquiſhed, but for allies of good deſert: ſuch L laws (I ſay) as the very practiſe and tryal of long time (the only corrector of all ſtatutes) was not able upon that experience, to check and control.

After theſe ſerious affairs were finiſhed, he exhibited with great furniture and preparation, a ſolemnity of game and diſport at *Amphipolis*, which long before he had intended, and for the intimation wherof he had both ſent out his meſſengers to the States of *Aſia* and to the KK. and alſo himſelf in his circuit and viſitation of the Grecian Cities, had given warning to the great men and principal citizens. And thither repaired out of all parts of the world, a number of cunning, dextrous, and artificial actors, that made profeſſion of ſuch plaies and paſtimes; beſides a ſort of wreſtlers, champions, and brave horſes of the beſt kind & breed. Alſo divers embaſſages with their beaſts for ſacrifices, and whatſoever elſe was uſually done of cuſtome, at the great and ſolemn gamings in *Greece*. Thus it came to paſs, that men admired not only his magnificence, but his wiſedome alſo in exhibiting theſe ſhews and ſights, wherin the Romans at that time were altogether rude and ignorant. Moreover, he feaſted and banketted the Embaſſ. in the ſame ſumptuous manner and reſpective conſideration. And this (by report) was an apophthegm and common ſaying of his, That none could make feaſts and ſet forth plaies better than he who had the skill to win a field. Having repreſented theſe ſolemnities of all ſorts, and beſtowed all the braſen ſhields on ſhipboord; all other armor and weapons of ſundry kinds, he piled upon a mighty heap, and after his praiers made to *Mars*, *Minerva*, dame *Lua*, and other Gods and Goddeſſes unto whom of right and duty appertained to conſecrate and dedicate the ſpoils of enemies; himſelf the General with his own hands put under a burning torch, and kindled the fire, and after him all the marſhal-colonels ſtanding round about, caſt every man his fire-brand, and ſet all a burning. This was a thing noted in that great aſſembly of *Europe* & *Aſia*, where there was ſuch a conſluence of people from all parts, as well to teſtify their joy in his behalf as to ſee the ſhews and diſports: in that meeting, I ſay, of ſo great armies of ſea-ſervitors and land-ſouldiers, there was that plenty of all things and cheapneſs of victuals, that *Æmylius* the General, of that exceeding ſtore and abundance, gave much away freely to privat perſons, to cities and nations, not only for their preſent uſe, but alſo to cary home with them into their countries. And this multitude there aſſembled took not more pleaſure either in beholding the ſtage-plaies acted, or ſeeing men practiſe feats of bodily ſtrength and activity, or the running of horſes in the race, as in viewing the Macedonian booty and pillage laid all abroad to be ſeen; namely, of Statues, and painted tables, of rich cloth of tiſſue, of veſſels in gold, in ſil- O G
ver, in copper, and ivory, moſt curiouſly wrought in that roial ſeat and City of *Pella*, not only to ſerve for a preſent ſhew and no more (like thoſe that the Kings Palace of * *Alexandria* was repleniſhed with) but alſo for continual and everlaſting uſe. Theſe were all embarked, and committed to the charge of *Cn. Octavius* to be tranſported to *Rome*. *Paulus* after he had given the Embaſſadors a gracious and courteous farewel, paſſed over the River *Strymon*, and lodged within a mile of *Amphipolis*. From thence he diſlodged and journeyed untill he came on the fifth day as far as

18 Cities there be of that name.

*Pella*,

A *Pella.* And passing by the City, he abode two daies at a place which they call *Spelaum*, and then he sent *P. Nasica*, and *Q. Maximus* his own son with part of the forces in an expedition, to give the waste unto those Illyrians, who had succoured *Perseus* in his wars, but he commanded them to meet him at *Oricum*. Himself marching toward *Epirus*, at the fifteenth remove arrived at *Passaron*. Not far from thence lay *Anicius* encamped: unto whom he dispatched his letters, to the end that he should not be troubled at those designs which were to be put in execution; signifying therein, that the Senat granted to the army the pillage of all the Cities of *Epirus*, which had revolted unto *Perseus*: which done, he suborned certain Centurions, and sent them into all the Towns with instructions, to give out that his coming was to withdraw all the garrisons from thence, with an intent that the Epirots should enjoy their freedom as well as the Macedonians;
B & so he summoned out of every City ten of the chief to repair unto him. And when he had charged & commanded them to bring abroad into the market place all the gold and silver which they had, he sent out certain cohorts and companies of souldiers to every of the said Cities: they who were assigned for the places farther remote went before them which were appointed to the neerer; and this was ordered so, that upon the same day they should enter into them all at once. Now the Colonels and Centurions had their errand delivered them what to do. In the morning betimes all the gold and silver was brought forth together accordingly, and that at the fourth hour of the day a signal was given to the souldiers to fall to ransack and rifle the Cities. Wherein they found so great store of pillage, that every horsman had for his part * 400 Denarii, and the footmen 200 apiece, and a hundred and fifty thousand pols were led away into captivity. Then the walls
C were rased of the said Cities thus spoiled, and those were to the number of seventy. All the booty and prizes were sold, and out of that mass of money were the souldiers paid. From thence *Paulus* went down to the Sea side, unto *Oricum*. But the souldiers minds were nothing so well satisfied, as he supposed they had been, for discontented mightily they were and angry, that they had no share at all in the Kings pillage and treasure, as if they had made no war in *Macedony*. At *Oricum* he found those forces which he had sent under the conduct of *S. Nasica* and *Maximus* his son; there he shipped his whole army, and sailed over into *Italy*. In like manner a few daies after, *Anicius*, when the session and general meeting of the other Epirots and Acarnanians was ended, having given commandment, that the principal persons should follow him into *Italy* (the knowledge and deciding of whose causes he reserved and referred thither) himself attended the ships
D which the army had used in *Macedony*, and passed over likewise into *Italy*.

At what time as these affairs were thus managed in *Macedony* and *Epirus*, the Embassadors who had been sent with *Attalus* to end the war between the Gauls and King *Eumenes*, arrived in *Asia*. A surcease of arms for the winter time, was agreed upon between both parties, during which cessation the Gauls departed home, and *Eumenes* was retired to *Pergamus* there to winter, where also he lay grievously sick. The spring was no sooner come, but the Gauls began to stir and look abroad: but by that time they were come as far as the *Synada*, *Eumenes* had assembled his forces from all parts to *Sardis*. There at *Synada*, the Romans parled with *Solovittius* the General of the Gauls; *Attalus* also went with them: but thought good it was not, that he should enter within the Gauls camp, for fear of stirring coals in heat of argument, and raising choler of the one side or
E other. So *P. Licinius* communed with the Duke of the Gauls aforsaid: and when he had done he brought word back, that the more he was entreated, the worse he was and less tractable; insomuch as it might seem a wonder, that the words of the Roman Embassadors were so powerful and effectual with *Antiochus* and *Ptolomæus* (two mighty and puissant Kings) as to make peace so presently between them, since they prevailed so little or nothing at all among the Gauls.

To return again to *Rome*. First, the two captive Kings, *Perseus* and *Gentius* were sent thither, and committed there to ward they and their children: after them, the multitude besides of prisoners, then consequently those Macedonians, as also the other chief peers of *Greece*, who were warned to repair unto *Rome*. For not they only were summoned to make apparence there, who had been seen present in place, but also all those were sent for by letters missive peremptorily, who
F were but reported to have been with the Kings. Then *Paulus* himself a few daies after embarked in a ship of the Kings, a Galeace of a mighty bigness, making way with sixteen banks and rowes of oars to a side, and the same set out and adorned with the Macedonian spoils, not only of brave gorgeous armour, but also of rich hangings, tissue & cloth of gold out of the Kings wardrobe, came up the *Tyber* against the stream: where great numbers of people went forth to meet him, and filled the banks on both sides of the river. Some few daies after *Anicius* and *Octavius* arrived also with their fleet. And to all three by an act of the Senat was triumph granted. *Q. Cassius* the Pretor had commandment to deal with the Tribunes of the Commons by warrant from the Senat, that they should prefer a bill unto the common people, that those three should be in full commission of command and government that day when they were to ride triumphant into the City. See, how
G mean things escape the touch of envy, but the highest commonly are met with. No doubt was made at all of the triumph of *Anicius*, nor yet of *Octavius*. But *Paulus*, with whom even they themselves would have been abashed to compare, could not avoid the backbiting of slanderous & malicious tongues. His souldiers according to the ancient discipline of war, he had held hard to their service. And to them had he given a donative indeed out of the booty, but more niggardly & with a lighter hand than they hoped for, from out of so great wealth and riches of the Kings: and yet in good faith to say a truth, full well he knew that if he had satisfied their greedy desire, and dealt

* 12 lib. 10 sol. sterl.

ſtill amongſt them til they had cried Ho, he ſhould have left himſelf juſt nothing to have brought H
into the common treaſury. So that all this Macedonian army gave a ſhew by this time, as if they
had but cold devotion to their General, either to appear, or to give their voices for the ſetting
forward of the bill aforeſaid, as touching his triumph and plenary power of command, when the
day of aſſembly ſhould come. Over and beſides, *Ser. Sulpitius Galba*, who had been a martial Colo-
nel in the ſecond legion, in *Macedony*, and in privat enmity with the General; both himſelf in per-
ſon was in hand with him, and by the ſouldiers alſo of his own legion ſollicited and ſpurred on the
reſt to appear in ſufficient number, there for to give their ſuffrages againſt him, and check the bill:
ſaying, "That as he was an imperious and Lordly commander, ſo he was as miſerable a pinch-
"peny withal, and a good deed it were to deny his grace and to croſs the law propoſed for his
"triumph, & ſo to be revenged of him throughly: for no doubt the commons of the City would I
"go that way that they ſhould ſee the ſouldiers to lead before. He could not forſooth (ſay they)
"give money among his ſouldiers liberally: well, he ſhall ſurely know, that his ſouldiers yet can
"give him honour; but never let him look for the fruit of favor and grace, where he hath deſer-
"ved none. Theſe words ſet them agog; and when *Tiby Sempronius* a Tribune of the Commons
read out and publiſhed the foreſaid bill in the Capitol, and that by permiſſion of law any private
perſon might have ſpoken thereto, and no man came forth, as being a matter whereof no doubt &
queſtion was to be made: then *Servius Galba* ſuddainly ſtept forth, and required of the Tribune,
That (foraſmuch as it was ſo far forth dayes, as being the eight hour thereof, ſo that he had not
time enough to declare and ſhew at large, what allegations he had why they ſhould not grant *L.
Æmylius* a triumph) they would adjourn the aſſembly to the next day, and betimes in the morn-
ing ſet the matter on foot again; for that he had need of a whole day and no leſs, to plead that K
cauſe to the full as he ſhould do. But when the Tribune willed him again to ſpeak his mind that
day, if he had ought to ſay; he made a ſpeech, and with his long oration held the court until it
was within night: putting them in mind and alledging, "How preciſely and rigorouſly he had
"exacted at their hands all military duties; how he had impoſed upon the ſouldiers more painful
"and dangerous labour than need was: but contrary-wiſe in dealing rewards and beſtowing ho-
"nourable recompences for good ſervice, he was over-ſtraight-laced & too ſhort in every point:
"and verily ſouldiery and warfare, if it continued ſtill under ſuch Captains, will be more hard, tra-
"veſome, and rough to ſouldiers and warriors: but when all is done and victory obtained, rewar-
"ded it ſhall be with bare poverty and neglect of honour. Certainly, the Macedonians are in bet- L
"ter caſe yet than the Roman ſouldiers. But if they would be preſent in great frequency the next
"morrow for to deny and revoke this bill, then theſe rich and mighty men ſhall know full well,
"That all lieth not in the hands of the Captain and Commander, but that the ſouldiers alſo can do
ſomwhat. The ſouldiers animated and induced with theſe perilous words, reſorted the day follow-
ing in ſo great multitudes, and peſtered the whole Capitol ſo full, as none but they could come in
to give their voice. The firſt tribes that were called in, clearly caſſed the grace: which when the
principal and chief men of the City ſaw, they ran all into the Capitol with open mouth crying out
upon this indignity offered, That *L. Paulus* a conqueror in ſo great and dangerous a war, ſhould
be deprived of his due triumph; and the grand Commanders and Generals of the field were now
ſubjected and enthralled to the looſe licentiouſneſs and greedy avarice of their ſouldiers. In this
one thing (ſay they) have we too too much faulted, ſuch hath been our favour and partiality, and M
ſo loth have we been to diſpleaſe any: but what will become of us in the end if ſouldiers once may
come to be Lords and maſters, and thus to crow over their Generals? And every man railed and
cried out upon *Galba*. In the end after this garboil was appeaſed, *M. Servilius* who ſometime had
been Conſul and great maſter of the horſe under the Dictator, requeſted the tribunes that they
would begin all again annulling that which was paſt, and give him leave withal to make a ſpeech be-
fore the people. The Tribuns went aſide to conſult of this matter; and in fine, over-ruled with the
authority and countenance of the nobles and peers of the City, began to treat afreſh and go in
hand with all matters anew, making it known openly that they would recal back thoſe firſt tribes,
in caſe *M. Servilius* and other privat men who were willing to utter their mind to the cauſe had N
once ſpoken. Then ſaid *Servilius* as followeth, "Maſters and friends, citizens here of *Rome* if and
"by nothing elſe it might be judged, how ſingular & how excellent a Commander *L. Æmylius* was
"in the field, this only (if there were no more) may ſuffice, that having in his camp ſuch ſeditious
"and light headed perſons for his ſouldiers, and an adverſary of his own among them ſo noble of
"birth, ſo raſh of action, and withal ſo arrogant and ſelf-conceited, ready to incite and ſtir up a
"multitude to commotion, yet troubled he never was with any mutiny at all in his whole army.
"The ſame ſeverity it was in government & conduct, that held them in aw and good order, which
"now at this preſent they hate & deteſt. And ſo long as they were managed by ancient diſcipline,
"they durſt not quetch nor give offence. As for *Sergius Galba* if (like a new barriſter who is to
"ſhew the firſt proof, & to give the aſſay and hanſel of his eloquence) he would have made choice O
"of *L. Paulus* to begin withal and accuſe him at the bar, he ſhould not yet have hindred his tri-
"umph, which (if there were nothing elſe to diſſwade and draw him back) the Senat had judged
"to be juſt & due: but the morrow after his triumph (when he had ſeen him a privat man again)
"he might have given preſentment of his name, & by order of law miniſtred interrogatories unto
"him and ſo entred proceſs: or rather he might have ſtaid a little longer, namely, until himſelf
"had been a Magiſtrat in place, and then have gone roundly to work, areſted him upon an action

"to

The Oration of *M. Servilius* in the behalf of *Paulus*.

A " to answer at a day, and so accused him judicially before the people. Thus should *L. Æmylius* have
" had his triumph for reward and recompence of his well-doing, in that so nobly & valiantly he
" had conducted this war: thus likewise should he have suffered condign punishment, if he had
" committed ought unworthy either of his ancient glory or this new honor. But will you have the
" truth? when he could find no matter of crime to reproach him with, he sought by-waies and in-
" direct means to detract his well deserved praises. He demanded yesterday, one full day to accuse
" *L. Paulus*: and * four hours, even all the day time that was left he spent in making an invective
" against him. What prisoner was there ever brought to the bar so culpable and sinful, but all the
" faults of his whole life might be ripped up, deciphered, and painted forth in so many hours space?
" But what objected he all that while, that *L. Paulus* if he were to frame his defence, would wish
B " to deny? O that some man would procure me here for the while, two assemblies and courts, the
" one of Roman souldiers employed lately in *Macedony*: the other more pure and uncorrupt of the
" twain, namely, of citizens sounder in judgment, void of all favor, & cleer from hatred. And the
" people of *Rome* I would have to be the judg. First, let *Paulus* be accused in the grand assembly &
" court of these citizens. Tell me O S. *Galba*, what would you say against him before those Quirits
" of *Rome*. For there you should have been cut off and lost all this discourse & special part of your
" oration, carying these terms, You looked too streightly & precisely to the *corps de guard* in their
" stations; you held the souldiers too hard to their watch and ward: the sentinels were neerly and
" narrowly looked unto; & you were over curious about going the rounds & relieving the watch
" in the night season: about the works and fabricks you put the souldiers to more toiling & moil-
C " ing than heretofore; whiles you, my L. General, their surveior, over-seer, and task-maker, rode
" all about to exact the utmost with all extremity; in one & the same day when you had the army
" on foot, presently from a journy you led them forth to battail; when the victory was got, you
" would not suffer the souldier to breath and take repose, but caused him to march immediatly &
" to follow the enemy in chase: also, wheras the booty to be parted & shared out might have en-
" riched your self, yet will you carry the Kings treasure in shew of triumph & then lay it up in the
" chamber of the City. As these be shrewd matters, like sharp goads to prick those souldiers & set
" them on, who think they have not scope enough to serve their dissolut loomes or too small al-
" lowance to content their covetous appetits: so, with the people of *Rome* they would have no-
" thing at all prevailed: who if they should not call to mind examples & stories of old, which they
D " have heard their fathers talk of: namely, what overthrows have been received through the indul-
" gence and popularity of Generals; and contrarywise what victories have been atchieved by their
" severe discipline and government: yet at least wise they cannot chuse but remember what ods &
" difference there was in the late Punick war, between *M. Minutius* General of the horse, and *Q.*
" *Fabius Max.* his Dictator. And therfore since the accuser might know all this, the defence of *Pau-*
" *lus* in this behalf, was altogether needless and unnecessary. Let us go now to the other audience
" and assembly of the Macedonian souldiers. But now me thinks I must not cal you Quirites any
" more, but souldiers: if haply there be so much grace in you, as that this name yet may cause you
" to blush, & be abashed for very shame of the world, to offer abuse unto your Genera. And veri-
" ly for mine own part, I find a great change in my self, & am otherwise affected in my mind, now
E " that I seem to speak unto an army of souldiers, than ere-whiles I was, when my Oration was ac-
" commodate and framed to the commons of a City. Now souldiers, what say you to the matter?
" Is there any one at *Rome* (but *Perseus* again) that would not have a triumph over the Macedoni-
" ans? & are you not ready to pull such a one in pieces with those very hands, wherwith you van-
" quished the Macedonians? He, whosoever he is, that impeacheth you for entring into the City in
" triumph, trust me truly, would have debarred you of victory if it had bin in his power. Lo, how
" fouly are ye deceived (souldiers) and far out of the way, if ye think that the triumph is the honor
" only of the General, and not of the souldiers likewise, and consequently of the whole people of
" *Rome*. This is not *Paulus* his case alone. Many others likewise there have been, who when they
" could not obtain triumph at the hands of the Senate, triumphed nevertheless upon the Albane
F " mountain. As impossible it is for any man to bereave *L. Paulus* of the honor due for the finishing
" of the Macedonian war, as it was to disappoint *C. Luctatius* of his glory for ending the first Pu-
" nick war, P. *Cornelius* for the second; or others besides who after them triumphed. It is not a tri-
" umph that can make *L. Paulus* better or worse, either the greater captain or the less. Herein con-
" sisteth the credit, renown & reputation of the souldiers and of all the people of *Rome* more than
" his: for fear lest they be reputed & noted either for envious & malicious or else unthankful for
" their best members & noblest citizens: & therin seem to imitate the people of *Athens*, who ever-
" more persecute and plague with envy their best men that live amongst them. Your ancestors and
" forefathers when time was (faulted this waies enough I wis) in the person of *Camillus*, whom they
" offred abuse unto, before the City by his means was recovered out of the Gauls hands. Much you
G " were to blame your selves here & overmuch too in P. *Africanus*. That in *Liternum* his mansion
" house and place of habitation (who was the conqueror of *Africk*) should be shewed: that in
" *Liternum* (I say) the sepulchre of P. *Africanus* should be seen. Let us blush for very shame, that
" *L. Paulus*, as he is equal to them in glory and honor, should likewise go with them and have his
" part of your hard and wrongful dealing. The first thing that ye do then, let be this: Out with this
" spot & stain of infamy which ye have caught; so reproachful in regard of other nations, so hurt-
H " full to your selves. For who wil ever hereafter wish to be like *Africanus*? who will endeavor to

" resemble

* By this is to be collected, that they counted the day 12 hours from 6 to 6. & not from sun to sun, as some would have it.

" resemble *L. Paulus*, in a City so unthankful, nay so spiteful and malicious to all good men? Say H
" there were no question at all of infamy and obloquy, but of honor only and reputation, tell me
" (I beseech you) is there any triumph that compriseth not the glory also of the Roman name? So
" many triumphs over the Gauls, so many again over the Spaniards, and so many over the Cartha-
" ginians, are they reputed and called the triumphs of the Captains alone, and not likewise of the
" people of *Rome*? And like as we say, that we triumphed not over *Pyrrhus* only, nor over *Anni-*
" *bal*, but over the Epirots likewise and the Carthaginians: even so neither *M. Curius* alone, nor
" P. *Cornelius*, but the Romans also have triumphed. True it is, and I must needs say, that the soul-
" diers have a proper interest and part by themselves, in that they alone (dight with branches and
" chaplets of laurel, and every one bravely to be seen and adorned with the gifts that have been
" given them) resound *Io Triumphe*, *Io Triumphe*, and as they pass along the City sing and chant the I
" praises of themselves and of their Captain-Generals. And if it fortune at any time that the soul-
" diers be not brought home out of the province to the triumph, they grumble & are disconten-
" ted: & yet notwithstanding, absent though they be, they think it is their due: and so long as their
" General and leader triumpheth, they triumph also, because the victory was atchieved by the
" strength of their arms. Good souldiers, if a man should ask you, for what intent you were recon-
" ducted into *Italy*? and wherfore so soon as the service was performed and the war brought to an
" end, ye had not presently your congy of discharge? moreover to what purpose ye came by com-
" panies and squadrons under your ensigns and colors? for what cause ye stay and remain here, and
" go not every man his waies to his own home? what answer would ye make else, but, That ye
" would be seen in triumph? And to say a truth; since ye have won the victory and are conquerors, K
" I cannot blame you: nay, ye ought to desire for to be seen and seen again. It is not long since we
" triumphed over *Philip* (this mans father) and over *Antiochus* likewise: and reigned both they
" did as KK. when the triumph was: and shall there be no solemnity of triumph over *Perseus*,
" taken prisoner and brought captive with his children into the City? If *L. Paulus*, standing beneath
" as a privat person (one amongst the company of gowned citizens) seeing *L. Anicius* and *Cn. Octa-*
" *vius* arraied sumptuously in cloth of gold, and in their rich purple robes and mantles of estate,
" mounting up the Capitol in their triumphant chariots, should ask them the question and say in
" this manner: Tell me, O *Lucius Anicius* and you *Cn. Octavius*, judg ye in your own conceit that
" you are more worthy of a triumph than I? They would no doubt come down each one out of
" his chariot and yeeld him their place, yea, and for very shame deliver up all their ensigns and or-
" naments unto him. And you Quirites, had you rather see *Gentius* than *Perseus* led in triumph? L
" would you wish indeed to triumph for an accidental appendant only of the war, rather than for
" the main substance of the war? Shall the legions coming out of *Sclavonia*, and the mariners at sea,
" enter the City crowned with laurel garlands; and the legions out of *Macedony*, being denied
" their own triumph stand still and behold others to triumph? Moreover, what shall become of
" that rich booty? what shall be done with the spoils of that great and wealthy victory? where
" shall be bestowed and laid up so many thousand corslets and armors plucked from the bodies of
" enemies slain? Shall they be sent back again into *Macedony*? Those costly images of gold, of mar-
" ble, of ivory; those goodly fair pictures; those pretious clothes and hangings of purple, scarlet, and
" tissue; that mighty quantity of gold and silver wrought into vessels chased and engraven; that
" huge mass of the Kings mony and coin, what shall we do with it? What? shall it be carried all by M
" night as stolen goods into the publick treasury and City Chamber? The goodliest sight of all the
" rest, what say you to it? A most noble & puissant King is taken prisoner; where shall he be shewed
" to the people of *Rome* his conqueror? What running, what concourse there was of people to see
" K. *Syphax* captive (& yet he was but an accessary to the Punick war) most of us do well remem-
" ber. Shall K. *Perseus* then, a prisoner and captive; shall *Philip* and *Alexander* his sons (persons of
" so great name) be hidden and kept from the sight and eyes of the City? And there were no more
" but *L. Æmylius* himself, twice Consul, the conqueror & subduer of *Greece*, all men would desire
" to see him enter the City in his triumphant chariot. We created him Cos. for this intent that he
" should finish and determin this war, which to your dishonor and great shame had hung for the N
" space of 4 years. To him then who (at what time as the lot of that province fell unto him and
" when he departed on his voiage from *Rome*) had all our hearts to presage victory and triumph,
" shall we now deny triumph when he hath the victory? And verily in so doing, we shall not only
" defraud men but rob the gods also of their honor; for due it is to the very gods also and not to
" men alone. Have not your ancestors ever used to enterprise all great affairs in the name of the
" gods first & therin also to end last? The Cos. or Pretor, when he is to take his journy into his pro-
" vince or to levy war, with his Lictors before him clad in their coats of arms, is ever wont to make
" his solemn vows in the Capitol: after he hath acquit himself of his charge and obtained victory,
" when as he triumpheth, he transferreth in pomp the rich presents of the people of *Rome* so well
" deserved and offereth them to the same gods in the said Capitol, unto whom there first he pro- O
" nounced his vows. And the beasts for sacrifice going before the pomp of triumph, are not the least
" part of this solemnity: that it may appear, how the General in his return is mindful of the gods, &
" rendreth thanks unto them for the happy managing of the affairs of Common-weal. As for those
" beasts for sacrifice which he hath appointed to be shewed in the pomp of triumph, slay them:
" neither makes it matter whose hand doth it: some kil one & some another, but those sacred viands
" of the Senat, which are not to be eaten in any privat house, nor in publick place unhallowed,

" but

A "but only in the Capitol; and there, not for the pleasure of men, but of Gods and men together,
"will ye trouble and impeach at the suggestion of *Servius Galba*? Shall the gates be shut against
"the triumph of *L. Paulus*? shall *Perseus* King of the Macedonians, with his children and the mul-
"titude besides of captives, with the spoils of the Macedonians, be left behind at the river side?
"shall *L. Paulus* go directly from the City gate home to his house as a privat person, like one that
"hath been abroad in the countrey to see his farm, and is newly returned? But thou Centurion and
"thou souldier, give ear, I advise thee, to the ordinance which the Senat hath decreed as touching
"the General *Paulus*, rather than to the vain speech of *Serv. Galba*: hearken to this that I say the
"word, rather than he. As for him, he hath learned nought else but to prate and talk, and that to
"the depraving of others full maliciously. I tell thee, fought have I with mine enemies even upon
B "defiance given twenty times and three; done I have my devoir, and from them all that were in
"combat with me, I never failed but carried away their spoils; I bear the marks about me of many
"a wound, and the honorable scars therof are to be seen, all of them in the breast and forepart of
"my body. At which word, they say, he bared his naked skin, and related withal in what battel he
"had received this or that wound. Now as he shewed these scars, and chanced to discover some
"parts that better I wis and more honestly had been unseen, and therewith, a * bunch or swelling
"of a rupture that he had in his groin, wherat some of them that stood next unto him took up a
"laughter, then (qd. he) even this that you have espied here, and make such game at, I caught with
"a strain, riding continually as I did, and never from my horseback day nor night: and no more
"ashamed I am and displeased with my self for that infirmity, than for these scars which you here
C "see; since that it never was any impediment unto me in performing my service to the Common-
"weal either in civil affairs of City, or in warfare abroad. Well, I an old servitor, have been con-
"tent here to shew unto yong men and raw souldiers, my body, many a time and often hacked,
"pierced and slashed with the sword. Let *Galba* now lay bare that whole skin of his own so slick
"and fair. Now my masters, you that are Tribuns, call the tribes again to the scrutiny, and take
"their voices. As for me [down I will, and go after the souldiers hard at heels. Know I will which
"be those lewd and unthankful companions that had rather be soothed up and flattered in the
"wars by mutinous persons, than serve under the martial discipline of their General.] * *

* * * * * * * * * * * *

*Valerius Antias* reporteth, That the sum of all the gold and silver taken in pillage and carried in
D the pomp of this triumph, amounted to the worth of 120 millions of Sesterces. Which mass, no
doubt, ariseth much greater by the proportion of the number of wains and the poises both of
gold and silver by the same author set down in general sums. And as some have recorded, he either
spent in the war next before, or else scattered and lost in his flight when he made haft to *Samothrace*, as much again as that came to. And the more wonder it was, that so mighty a mass of
money had been gathered and heaped up within thirty years after the war between *Philip* and the
Romans, raised part out of the issue and incomb of his metal mines, and part out of other profits
and tributs. Thus *Philip* very bare of money, and *Perseus* contrary-wise exceeding rich, began to
make war with the Romans. Last of all, *Paulus* himself rode in his chariot, carrying a great port
and majesty with him both for his comely and personable body, and also for his reverent old age.
E After his chariot, among other honorable personages rode his two sons, *Q. Maximus* and *P. Scipio*. Then followed the horsemen by troops, and the footmen by their cohorts and companies,
every one keeping their ranks full decently. The footmen had given them a hundred Sesterces
apeece, the Centurions double, and the horsemen triple so much. And it is thought, that he meant
to have given the footmen asmuch as the most, and to the rest in proportion, in case they either
had not denied his honour by their voices, or if in token of thankfulness and joy, they had but
willingly and cheerfully shouted, when this sum which they received was pronounced and related
unto them. And not *Perseus* alone (led as he was through the enemies City in chains before the
triumphant chariot of the conqueror) but also *Paulus* himself the conqueror glittering so glorious-
F ly in his cloth of gold and costly purple, was a mirror to the word in those few daies, of the transitory and mutable state of mans life. For of those two sons, whom (after he had given the other
two by way of adoption from himself) he kept alone at home as heirs to bear his name, to main-
tain the sacred rites and sacrifices of his family, and to uphold the house it self, the yonger a strip-
ling under twelve years of age, five daies before his triumph died, and the elder full fourteen years
old and more, departed within three daies after the triumph. Which two youths indeed ought
to have been arraied in their embrodered robes of purple, and so to have ridden in the chariot
with their father, predestining and aiming to themselves the like triumphs another day.

Some few daies after, *M. Antonius* a Tribune of the Commons assembled a solemn audience of
the people for his sake, wherein when after the manner and custome of other Generals he should
discourse of his own exploits and worthy acts, he made unto them a memorable Oration and
G well beseeming a noble Roman Prince, to his effect. "Albeit I suppose (quoth he) my neighbors
"and friends, the citizens of this noble City, you be not ignorant, both how happily I have ad-
"ministred the weal publick, and also how unfortunatly within these few daies two thunderbolts
"have shaken my private house, as having one while beheld the goodly shew and pomp of my
"triumph testifying the one, and seen another while the wofull funerals and obsequies of my two
"sons declaring the other; yet I beseech you suffer me with that singleness of heart and affection,
"as I ought, to make a brief comparison between mine own particular private fortune, and the

*Busaronius.* *Hernia vel rami ex Inguine.* When the guts bear down to that part, upon distention or bursting of their rim.

All within these marks [ ] is supplied out of Plutarch. Somewhat wanteth besides immediatly after this Oration, namely, part of the description of *Paulus* his triumph.

The Oration of *L. Æmylius* to the people of *Rome*.

" publick felicity of the City. At my departure from *Italy*, I looſed from *Brundiſium*, and ſet up ſail H
" at the ſun-riſing: by the ninth hour of the ſame day I arrived ſafe with all my ſhips at *Corphu*.
" The fifth day after I came to *Delphi*, where I ſacrificed unto *Apollo*, for my ſelf, for your armies
" and your navy. From *Delphi* I departed, and within five daies was in the leaguer. Where, after
" I had received the charge of the army, and altered ſome things which might greatly have hin-
" dered the victory, I marched forward, for that the enemies camp was inexpugnable, and the
" King could not be forced by any means to fight: and piercing through his guards that kept the
" paſſage, I went as far as *Petra*: ſo as by this means having perforce drawn the King to fight, I
" vanquiſhed him in plain field and ranged battel. *Macedony* I ſubdued, and brought it in ſubje-
" ction to the people of *Rome*. Finally, that war which for four years together other Conſuls be-
" fore me ſo managed, as each one left it ever to his ſucceſſor worſe than he found it, I atchieved I
" and brought to a final end in fifteen daies. I followed then in this train other proſperous affairs,
" as the fruits enſuing of that victory. For all the Cities of *Macedony* yeelded unto me. The Kings
" treaſure I ſeized upon: the King in perſon (as if the very Gods themſelves had delivered and
" put him into my hands) I took priſoner, with his ſons in the Temple of the Samothracians. But
" then my heart miſgave me, and even then I ſuſpected the ſurpaſſing favour of my good fortune:
" then caſt I doubts, and began to fear the dangers at ſea, having ſo mighty a maſs of the Kings
" treaſure to tranſport, and my victorious army to reconduct back into *Italy*. But ſeeing all things
" fall out to hearts deſire, a proſperous voiage, a ſafe arival and whatſoever I could pray for at the
" Gods hands; this I wiſhed in my heart, (as knowing full well the wonted manner of fortune,
" when ſhe is at the higheſt pitch, to turn back again and come as faſt down) that mine own K
" houſe, rather than the Common-weal, might feel that change and alteration whenſoever it
" came. And therefore I hope that this ſo notable a calamity of mine own, ſhall excuſe the City
" for having any other misfortune, ſince that my triumph (as it were to check and mock the
" changes of this world) hath faln ſo juſt between the funerals of my two ſons. See how I and
" *Perſeus* are repreſented above all others for two notable examples of the frail and unſtable con-
" dition of man. Lo how he, who being a priſoner himſelf, ſaw his ſons likewiſe led captives before
" his face, hath them yet living ſound and ſafe: and I, who have triumphed over him, came from
" the burial of one of my ſons to ride in my chariot up to the Capitol, and from thence deſcen-
" ded again to find the other lying at point of death: neither is there of all that fair iſſue that I
" had, one left to bear the name of *L. Paulus Æmylius*. For two of them the houſe of the *Cornelii* L
" and the *Fabii* have, unto whom I gave them in adoption, as out of a great race and breed of
" children: ſo as now in the family of *Paulus* there is not one left but himſelf. Howbeit for this
" calamity and ruin of my houſe, your felicity and the happy eſtate of the City is a great comfort
" and conſolation again. Theſe words delivered with ſuch a magnanimity, troubled the ſpirits of
the auditors, and aſtonied them more, than if he had lamentably moned himſelf unto them with
pitcous tears, for his childleſs eſtate and deſolat condition.

*C. Octavius* ſolemnized his naval triumph over King *Perſeus* the firſt day of *December*: in which
ſolemnity, he neither had priſoners led in ſhew, nor ſpoils carried in pomp. He gave to his mari-
ners and ſailers ſeventy and five Denarii apeece; to every pilot double, and to the ſhip-maſters
four times as much. After this, the Senat aſſembled, and the LL. ordained, That *Q. Caſſius* ſhould M
lead King *Perſeus* with his ſon *Alexander*, together with his train that accompanied him, as alſo
bring all his money and goods, ſilver, or what moveables and furniture ſoever he had to *Alba*,
there to be kept in ſure cuſtody. *Bitis* the Kings ſon of *Thrace*, with the hoſtages was ſent to
*Carſeoli*, there to lie in ſafe ward. As for the reſt of the captives who had been led in triumph,
thought good it was they ſhould be clapt up faſt in priſon.

Some few dayes after theſe things, there arrived Embaſſadors from *Cotys* King of the Thracians,
bringing with them money for the ranſome of his ſon and the other hoſtages. Into the Senat they
were brought; where, by way of preamble they laid this for the ground of their ſpeech, That *Cotys*
had not ſided with King *Perſeus* in the war, upon his own motive and accord, but was compel-
led to give hoſtages: then they beſought the LL. of the Senate to ſuffer them to be redeemed at N
what price ſoever they would ſet down, were it never ſo high. Unto whom this anſwer was re-
turned by authority of the Senat, " That the people of *Rome* bare well in mind the amity which
" they had with *Cotys*, with his progenitors, and the whole nation of the Thracians. As for the
" giving of the hoſtages, it was rather an evidence to prove, than an argument to excuſe their
" treſpaſs and fault: conſidering that when *Perſeus* was quiet, the Thracian nation ſtood in no
" fear and aw of him, much leſſe then, when as he was troubled and occupied in war with the Ro-
" mans. Howbeit although *Cotys* preferred the favour of *Perſeus* before the friendſhip of the peo-
" ple of *Rome*, yet they would conſider of the matter, and reſpect more his quality and what was
" meet for his eſtate, than his deſert and what he was worthy to have; and therefore they would
" releaſe his ſon and the hoſtages, and ſend them home again. As for the people of *Rome*, their man- O
" ner is to beſtow their favours and benefits freely without regard of recompence: the worth and
" eſtimation whereof they had rather leave to the conſideration and minds of the receivers, than
" require and demand the ſame preſently. So there were Embaſſadours nominated to reconduct
the hoſtages into *Thrace*, to wit, *T. Quintius Flaminius*, *C. Licinius Nerva*, and *M. Caninius Rebilus*.
And to thoſe Thracian Embaſſadours were given by way of preſents 2000 aſſes apeece. So *Bitis*
with the reſt of the hoſtages was ſent for from *Carſeoli*, and with the fore-named Embaſſadors re-
turned again to his father.

The

A The Kings ſhips taken from the Macedonians, of an extraordinary and monſtrous bignes before time, were landed upon *Mars* field and there laid up drie. Whiles the late remembrance of the Macedonian triumph remained ſtill not in the minds only, but as it were in the very eyes of men, *L. Anicius* triumphed over King *Gentius* and the Illyrians upon the very day of the feaſt * *Quirinalia*. It was generally thought that all things therein rather reſembled ſome likenes in ſhew, than otherwiſe countervailed in ſubſtance the former triumph. The General himſelf *Anicius* was inferior to *Æmylius* both in nobility and alſo in quality of perſon: and ſetting together their places of command, the one being but Pretor, and the other Conſul; neither was *Gentius* equal to *Perſeus*, nor the Illyrians to the Macedonians. Spoil for ſpoil, money for money gifts for gifts, there was no proportion nor compariſon between them. And therefore as that reſpect late triumph was B more reſplendent and glorious than this, ſo conſidered in it ſelf without other reſpect it was not to be found fault withal and deſpiſed. *Anicius* within few daies had vanquiſhed and throughly tamed the nation of the Illyrians; both by Sea and Land proud and mighty, bearing themſelves ſtout and bold for their ſtrong and fenced forts. The King he took priſoner, and thoſe of the Kings race and roial blood. He ſhewed in triumph many field-enſigns, beſides other ſpoils and moveableſgoods of the King. Likewiſe of gold ſeven and twenty pound weight, and of ſilver nineteen; beſides 3000 Denarii, and a hundred and twenty thouſand peeces of Illyrian ſilver in coin. Before his chariot were led King *Gentius* with his wife and children; *Caravantius* alſo the Kings brother, and certain noblemen of *Illyricum*. Out of the pillage he gave unto his footmen 45 Denarii apeece, to every Centurion a double proportion, and unto the horſemen a triple. To the allies of the La- C tine nation he allowed aſmuch as to citizens; the ſailers and mariners he made equal with the footmen. Herein he ſurmounted the triumph of *Æmylius*, for that his ſouldiers followed after his triumphant chariot more jocund and merry, and the General was praiſed and extolled in many a ditty and ballad. *Antias* writeth, That of his booty there was raiſed as much money as came to twenty millions of Seſtertii, over and above the gold and ſilver that went into the common treaſury. But becauſe I could not ſee how poſſibly ſuch a ſum ſhould be made, I have ſet down mine author for the thing, now, chuſe you whether you will believe him. King *Gentius* with his wife, children, and brother, was by order from the Senat led to *Spoletium*, there to be kept in ward: all the captives beſides were at *Rome* caſt into priſon, and there lay. But when the Spoletins refuſed to take the charge and cuſtody of him and the reſt, theſe Princes were tranſlated from D thence to *Igiturvium*. There remained beſides of the Illyrian prizes two hundred and twenty barks, which being taken from King *Gentius*, *Q. Caſſius* by the ordinance of the Senat gave and diſtributed among the citizens of *Corphu*, *Apollonia*, and *Dyrrhachium*.

The Conſuls that year after they had only waſted the territories of the Ligurians, becauſe they could never train the enemies forth to fight, having done no memorable ſervice, returned to *Rome* for the choice of new Magiſtrats in the room of the old. And ſo the firſt comitial or court day that came, they created Conſuls *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *C. Sulpitius Gallus*. The morrow after were elected for Pretors *L. Livius*, *L. Apuleius Saturninus*, *A. Licinius Nerva*, *P. Rutilius Calvus*, *P. Quintilius Varus*, and *Marcus Fonteius*. Theſe Pretors had their government in this manner: two for the juriſdiction within the City, two for *Spain*, the other for *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. This E year leapt, and the leap day was the morrow after the feaſt *Terminalia*. That year died *C. Claudius* the Augur, and in his place the colledg of the Augurs choſe *T. Quintius Flaminius*. Alſo *M. Fabius* Pretor the Flamin of *Quirinus* the ſame year departed this life. This year alſo came King *Pruſias* to *Rome* with his ſon *Nicomedes*. He entred into the City with a great train attending upon him: from the gate he went directly to the common place and the tribunal of *Q. Caſſius* the Pretor. And when there was a great concourſe of people about him from all parts; he ſaid that his coming was to worſhip the Gods which are the preſidents of the City of *Rome*, as alſo to ſalute the people of *Rome*, and withal to ſhew his own joy and to wiſh theirs for their happy victory over the two Kings *Perſeus* and *Gentius*, and for that by ſubduing the Macedonians and Illyrians, they had enlarged their ſiegnory and dominion. And when the Pretor made an offer to call F a Senat for him even that preſent day, if he would ſo himſelf; he deſired two daies reſpit to ſee the Temples of the Gods, to view the City, and to viſit his good friends and acquaintance. *L. Cornelius Scipio* the treaſurer was appointed to go about with him and ſhew him all: who alſo had been ſent as far as to *Capua* for to meet him upon the way: alſo for him and his train about him, there was a ſufficient houſe taken up, where he was kindly and liberally intertained. The third day after he came into the Senat, where after he had congratulated in their behalf for their late victory, he recounted his own demerits and good deſerts during the war: and then requeſted, that he might have leave to pay his vows and namely, to ſacrifice at *Rome* in the capitol, ten head of greater beaſts, and one at *Preneſte* to *Fortune*. For that he ſaid thoſe vows were made for the victory of the people of *Rome*. Alſo that the league and alliance with him might be renued. *Item* that the G land won by conqueſt from King *Antiochus*, which being not by the people of *Rome* given unto any, the Gauls notwithſtanding held in poſſeſſion, might be conveied unto him by a deed of gift. Laſt of all, he recommended his ſon *Nicomedes* to the Senat. He found much favor among all them who had been Generals of armies in *Macedony*. And therefore he obtained directly all other ſuits that he made: only as touching the ſaid lands, this anſwer he had. That they would ſend certain commiſſioners to ſee and view the thing. "And if it appeared and fell out, that the foreſaid land "appertained to the people of *Rome*, and was not paſſed away by gift to any already, they would

* It was called the tools holy day, and kept upon the 17 of *February*.

" repute King *Pruſias* the worthieſt man of all other, to receive that donation at their hands. H
" But if it never belonged to King *Antiochus*, and ſo was plain and evident that the people of
" *Rome* had no right unto it, or if the Gauls had a grant thereof already, *Pruſias* then muſt be con-
" tent and pardon them, if they were unwilling to gratify him with any gifts prejudicial and in-
" jurious to another. Neither could a thing never ſo freely given, be an acceptable gift, which he
" knew the *donor* may take away from the *donee* at his pleaſure. As for *Nicomedes* his ſon, they
" would willingly receive him into their protection at his hands ſo recommended. And how
" careful and tender the people of *Rome* was over Kings children committed unto them to keep,
" may appear by *Ptolomæus* the King of *Ægypt*. With this anſwer was *Pruſias* diſmiſſed. Order was
given that he ſhould be preſented with a certain ſumme of ſeſterces, and with ſilver plate to the
quantity of 50 pound weight. Alſo they ordained that his ſon *Nicomedes* ſhould have gifts pro- I
portionable to that ſum which was given *Maſgaba* the ſon of *Maſaniſſa*; alſo that beaſts and all
other things appertaining to ſacrifices, ſhould be allowed unto the King out of the City-chamber,
like as to the magiſtrats of *Rome*, chuſe whether he would ſlay and offer them at *Rome* or *Preneſte*.
Alſo that out of that fleet which rid in the harbor of *Brunduſium*, there ſhould be twenty gallies
aſſigned him to uſe, until ſuch time as the King were arrived at the fleet which was given him.
Finally, that *L. Cornelius Scipio* ſhould accompany him and never depart from him, but bear the
charges both of him and his retinue about him until they were embarked and on ſhipboord. It
is ſaid, that the King joied wonderouſly at this courteſy and kindnes offered him by the people
of *Rome* and that he would needs pay for thoſe preſents which were given him: only he comman-
ded his ſon to take a gift at the hands of the people of *Rome*. Thus much have our Hiſtorians writ- K
ten as touching K. *Pruſias*. But *Polybius* reporteth, that this King was unworthy the Majeſty of ſo
honorable a name, for that he was wont to meet the Embaſſadors of *Rome* with his head ſhaven
and a cap upon it: alſo to acknowledg and call himſelf the freed villain and vaſſal of the people of
*Rome*, and to teſtify ſo much, he wore the badg and token of that degree and condition. At *Rome*
likewiſe when he entred the Councel-houſe, he ſtooped down and kiſſed the very door-ſill, calling
the Senators Gods, his Saviors, yea, and to have uſed other ſpeeches not ſo honorable to the hea-
rers, as baſe and unfitting his own perſon. When he had ſojourned in and about the City not a-
bove thirty daies, he took his leave and departed into his own Realm.

L

## To the Reader.

*From the five and fortieth book forward, all the reſt of* Livy *(to the great maim and blemiſh of the Latine tongue, and no ſmall grief of learned men) is loſt, even* 100 *books wanting five, like as thoſe ten between the tenth and one and twentieth books, commonly called the ſecond Decad. For as it* M *appeareth by* L. Florus *the Epitomiſt, there were in all* 140: *and the arguments of ſo many remain at this day, by him collected. But if it be true that* Francis Petrarch *ſaith,* Levy *wrote in all* 142: *and as* Charles Sigonius *probably conjecture th, the* 36 *and* 37 *Breviaries of* L. Florus *be wanting of this later number. How all theſe complete books of* T. Livius *ſhould miſcarry, it is not certainly known. Some hope there is, that they are but mis-caſt and laid out of the way. For like as within theſe hundred years ſome fragments of the ſtory were diſcovered* N *in* Mogunce: *and the laſt five books now extant, found by* Simon Grinæus *in the Library of a monaſtery over-againſt the City of* Worms, *and dedicated by* Eraſmus *of* Rotterdam *unto* Charles, *the ſon of* William *Lord* Montjoy, *in the reign of* Henry *the eight of famous memory K. of* England, *&c. ſo we are not to deſpair of the reſt. In the mean time, we muſt make much of theſe brief ſummaries left unto us. Even as therefore I have inſerted thoſe ten Breviaries in ſtead of the books: ſo I thought it not amiſs (in hope that one day the very books* O *themſelves will come to light) to proceed in the reſt following: and the rather, for that neither he that tranſlated* Livy *into the Tuſcan language, nor they who have done him into French (as far as I could ever ſee) have taken that pains.*

The

# *The Breviaries of* L. Florus *upon the reſt of* T. Livius *his Books, which are not extant.*

## Of the XLVI. Book.

EUmenes *came towards* Rome. *Now becauſe in the Macedonian war he had carried himſelf indifferent between* Perſeus *and the Romans, there paſſed a law in general terms, That no King might repair to* Rome; *to the end, that if he were excluded, he ſhould not be reputed an enemy; nor if he were admitted, acquit and cleered of all fault.* Cl. Marcellus *the Conſul ſubdued the Gauls inhabiting the* Alps, *and* C. Sulpitius Gallus *the Ligurians. The Embaſſadors of King* Pruſias *complained of* Eumenes, *for that he invaded and waſted their borders; and they informed beſides, that he had conſpired with* Antiochus *againſt the people of* Rome. *At the earneſt ſuit and entreaty of the Rhodians, a league was contracted with them. The Cenſors took a review and ſurvey of the City, wherein were enrolled and ſeſſed* 327022 *citizens of* Rome. M. Æmylius Lepidus *was elected preſident of the Senat.* Ptolomæus *the King of the Ægyptians, was by his yonger brother expelled out of his realm, but by the means of Embaſſadors (ſent from* Rome) *he was reſtored to his Kingdom. Upon the death of* Ariarathes *King of* Cappadocia, *his ſon* Ariarathes *came to the crown, and by entercourſe and mediation of Embaſſadors, renewed amity with the people of* Rome. *This book containeth beſides, the wars againſt the Ligurians, Corſians, and Luſitanians, fought with variable fortune: the troubles alſo in* Syria *after the death of* Antiochus, *who left behind him* Antiochus *his ſon, a very child. This yong Prince (together with his guardian* Lyſias*)* Demetrius *the ſon of* Seleucus *(who had been ſent in hoſtage to* Rome) *murdred privily, becauſe he was not ſet at large and diſmiſſed by the Romans: and ſo himſelf entred upon the Kingdom.* L. Æmylius Paulus *who had conquered* Perſeus, *departed this life; whoſe incorruption and abſtinence from the publick treaſure was ſuch, that notwithſtanding he had brought both out of* Spain *and* Macedony *ſo great ſtore of wealth and rickes, yet when his goods were prized and ſold, there would be hardly raiſed thereof ſufficient to repay his wife her dowry. The Pomptine mariſhes were drawn drie by* Cor. Cethegus *the Conſul (unto whom that charge was by lot faln) and the ſame turned into firm ground.*

## Of the XLVII. Book.

CNeus Tremellius *a Tribune of the Commons had a fine ſet on his head, for that he had contended in a wrongful cauſe with* M. Æmylius Lepidus *the ſoveraign Pontifie. The power and authority of the clergie Magiſtrats, was greater and mightier than before. A law was enacted as touching inordinate ſuit for offices. In the ſurvey of the City, there were taxed in the ſubſidy book* 328314 *Roman citizens.* L. Æmylius Lepidus *was choſen again preſident of the Senat. Between the two brethren* Ptolomees, *who were at variance, there paſſed this accord and agreement, That the one ſhould reign in* Ægypt *and the other in* Cyrenæ. Ariarathus *King of* Cappadocia, *by the politick plot and forcible power of* Demetrius *King of* Syria *diſpoſſeſſed of his Kingdom, was by the Senat ſet into it again. Certain Embaſſadors were ſent as delegats from the Senat to determine of the litigious ground between* Maſaniſſa *and the Carthaginians.* C. Martius *the Conſul fought againſt the Dalmatians, at the firſt unfortunatly, but afterwards atchieved the victory. The occaſion of the war with them was this; for that they had made waſt upon the Illyrians, who were allies of the people of* Rome. *The ſame nation* Cornelius Naſica *the Conſul brought in ſubjection.* Q. Opimius *the Conſul ſubdued the Ligurians beyond the* Alps, *who had ſpoiled* Antipolis *and* Nicæa, *two Towns belonging to the ſeignory of the Maſſilians. Moreover, here are contained the adventures of many Captains in* Spain, *with no good ſucceſs. In the* 598 *year from the foundation of the City, the Conſuls ſo ſoon as the aſſembly for election was paſt, and other Conſuls choſen for the year following, began their office. The cauſe of this alteration was, becauſe the Spaniards were entred into rebellion. The Embaſſadors aforeſaid who had been ſent to take up and decide the controverſy between* Maſaniſſa *and the Carthaginians, made report, That they had found great ſtore of ſhip-timber and other matters for a navy at* Carthage. *Certain Pretors accuſed by the provinces for avarice, were condemned.*

## Of the XLVIII. Book.

THe *Cenſors took a review and tax of the city, wherein were reckoned three hundred four and twenty thouſand polls of citizens. The cauſes of a third Punick war be here recorded. Upon a report that there was a right puiſſant army of Numidians upon the borders of the Carthagians, conducted by* Archobarzanes *the nephew of* Syphax, M. Porcius Cato *perſwaded in an oration to proclaim war againſt the Carthaginians, for that they intertained ſuch a power within their frontiers under a colour againſt* Maſaniſſa, *but in truth raiſed againſt the Romans: howbeit* Publius Cornelius Naſica *gainſaid him and diſſuaded the matter. Whereupon ordeined it was, that Embaſſadors ſhould be ſent to* Carthage *in eſpial, to obſerve what they did, and whereabout they went. Who after they had given the Carthaginian*

Senat a check and rebuke, for that against the covenants of the league, they maintained forces, and were provided of timber and other stuff for a navy, they were willing to conclude a peace between Masanissa and them; so as Masanissa should forgo and part with the land in question. But Gisgo the son of Amilcar, a busy and seditious man, who then was soveraign Magistrate (notwithstanding their Senat promised to be ruled by the award of the said Embassadors) incited them so by his perswasive remonstrances to war upon the Romans, that the Embassadors made shift to flee and save themselves, or else they had come to a mischief. When they related these news at Rome, the Senat already set and bent against the Carthaginians, were now by his words provoked much more. M. Portius Cato performed the funerals of his son, deceased in his Pretorship, with exceeding small charges, according to his ability, for he was but poor. One Andriscus, who stoutly made the world believe, that he was the son of Perseus the King of Macedony, was sent to Rome. M. Æmylius Lepidus, now six times chosen President of the Senat by the Censors, gave his son in streight charge before he died, to carry him forth to burial in a couch without linnen clothes and the purple pall, and not to bestow in other obsequies above one denier; saying, that the funerals of the greatest and best personages are wont to be ennobled and honoured with the shews of images and titles, and not with sumptuous expenses. An inquisition there was about the practise of poisoning and sorcery. Publilia and Licinia, who were endited for making away their husbands, put in sureties before the Pretor, to be bound in goods, lands, and body for them, and after judicial process passed and their cause heard, by a decree of their kinsfolk suffered death. Gulussa the son of Masanissa gave intelligence, that at Carthage there was mustering and levying of souldiers, rigging and providing of a fleet, all preparations no doubt for war: and Publius Cornelius Nasica replied again, that nothing was to be done inconsiderately, without advise. Thought good it was to send ten Embassadors, for to see the truth of all, and upon their knowledg to certify. L. Licinius Lucullus and A. Posthumius Albinus the Consuls, when they took musters with severity and rigour, and would not for favour spare any one, but prest all, were committed by the Tribuns of the commons, who for their friends could obtain at their hands no release and immunity of souldiery. By occasion of the wars in Spain, which many times had been untowardly and unfortunatly managed, when the City of Rome was so dismaied and daunted, that there could not be found any one who would so much as accept of a martial Tribunship, or was willing to go in quality of Lieutenant; P. Cornelius Æmylianus stepped forth, made offer and professed, that he would undertake any kind of military service whatsoever should be laid upon him: and by his own example stirred up all the rest to the love of warfare. L. Lucullus the Consul, when Claudius Marcellus (after whom he succeeded) was thought to have quieted all the states and nations of Celtiberia, subdued the Vacceans, Cantabrians, and other regions and nations as yet unknown in Spain. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Æmylianus, the son of L. Paulus, and the nephew of Africanus by adoption, being there a martial Colonel, slew a Barbarian challenger that defied him. But in the winning of the City Intercatia, he adventured a more dangerous enterprise: For he was the first of all other that scaled and mounted over the wall. Servius Sulpitius Galba the Preter sped but badly in a battail against the Portugals. When as the Embassadors were returned out of Africk, together with the Carthaginian Orators, and Gulussa the son of Masanissa, bringing word, That they found at Carthage both an army and also an armado; thought good it was, to put to question and debate the matter in the Senat: where Cato and other principal Senators were of opinion and gave advice, to transport an army presently into Africk: but because C. Nasica opined and said, That he saw as yet no just and sufficient cause of war, agreed it was to forbear all hostility and force of arms, in case the Carthaginians would burn their navy and discharge their army: if not, then agreed it was, that the Consuls next following in place of government, should propose as touching the Punick war. When the Theatre was built, which by the Censors had been put forth to no kmen to frame, and set up at a price, through the means of Pub. Cornelius Nasica, who inferred, that it was a peece of work unprofitable, yea, and hurtful to the manners generally of the citizens; by vertue of an act of Senat demolished it was and pulled down; so as the people for a long time stood on their feet to behold the publick plaies. The Carthaginians at that time took arms contrary to the league, and warred upon Masanissa. But vanquished they were in field by him (who notwithstanding he now was fourscore year old and twelve, yet he used to tast his meat simply without any dainty sauce yea, and to chew his bare bread still) and over and besides they deserved to draw upon their head the Roman war.

## Of the XLIX. Book.

THe beginning of the third Punick war, in the six hundreth and one year from the Cities foundation, which within 5 years after it began, came to a full and finall end. Much diversity there was in opinion between M. Porcius Cato whom they reputed for the wisest, and Scipio Nasica, who by the Senat was judged the best and honestest man in the City. Cato was altogether for the wars, and advised to destroy Carthage quite: Nasica contrarywise disswaded what he could. Nevertheless, in the end ordained it was. That because against covenant and accord they kept a navy at sea, and had led forth an army out of their borders: also for that they entred into arms and levied war upon Masanissa, a friend and confederat to the people of Rome, and received not into their Town Gulussa his son, who was in the company of the Roman Embassadours; war should be proclaimed against them. But before that any forces were embarked and had taken the sea, the Embassadors of Utica repaired to Rome, yeelding themselves and all that they had. That embassage, as a special presage to the issue and event of the war, was acceptable and pleasing to the Lords of the Senat, but heavy and grievous to the Carthaginians. In Terentum [a place it was in Campus Martius, whereupon the pestimes Terentins took their name] were plates exhibited

*exhibited to Father* Dis *the infernal God, according to the direction of the books of* Sibylla. *These had been set out one hundred years before in the first Punick war, and in the five hundreth year and one, after the City was founded. Thirty Embassadors came to* Rome, *by whom the Carthaginians presented their submission. But the sentence of* Cato *imported and prevailed, to hold still their former determination, and that the Consuls with all speed should set forward in their journey to the war. Who having passed the seas and arrived in* Affrick, *received of them three hundred hostages, whom they had required and demanded; and also took into their hands all their armor and weapons, and what furniture of war soever they found at* Carthage. *They proceeded moreover after all this, to command them by warrant and authority from the LL. of the Senat to build them a new Town for to inhabit in some other place, so that it were ten miles at least remote from the Sea: by which indignity offered, they provoked the Carthaginians to rise and take arms again.* L. Martius *and* M. Manilius *the Consuls, began to besiege and assault* Carthage: *during which siege and assault, it fortuned that two Colonels unadvisedly adventured to break into the City with their cohorts, at one part thereof where the walls were neglected, and when by the Townsmen they were sore beaten and killed, by the means of* Scipio Africanus *they were rescued: by whom also a certain sconce and fort of the Romans, which the enemies by night assailed, with the help of a few horsemen was delivered. Moreover, he saved the camp, against which the Carthaginians sallied forth of their City to give the assault at once upon it with all their forces; by which service he above the rest won great honor. Over and besides, when as the Consul (for the other was gone to* Rome *to hold the election of Magistrats) seeing the siege and assault of* Carthage *took no better effect, minded to lead the army against* Aldrubal, *who with another power of men kept the narrow streights of a certain passage, he counselled the said Cos. first, not to give battel in a place of such disadvantage; but afterwards overweighed and born down by the opinions of the greater number (who envied as well his wisedom as vertue) he also entred into the same streights. And when the Roman army, according as he foretold, was discomfited and put to flight, and two cohorts beset round and invested by the enemies, he with certain small cornets of horse returned into those streights, rescued them, and brought them away in safety. Which valour of his, even* Cato, *(a man otherwise more ready of his tongue to find faults) so recommended in the Senate, that in these terms he gave out and said,* * *That all the rest who were employed in the wars of* Affrick, *served as shadows and dead men, but* Cato *had true vigour and spirit indeed. The people of* Rome *besides cast such a favour and good liking to him, that at the next election, most of the tribes pricked him for to be Consul, notwithstanding he was by law under age. When* L. Scribonius *a Tribune of the Commons had promulged a law, That all the Portugals (who according to covenant and composition, yeelded to the people of* Rome, *and yet by* S. Galba *were sold in* France) *should be restored to their freedom;* M. Cato *most earnestly pleaded in the behalf of that law, and maintained it. His Oration is extant to be seen, included within his Annals.* Q. Fulvius Nobilior, *albeit he was by him shaken up and well checked in the Senat, answered in the behalf of* Galba. *Yea, and* Galba *also, seeing himself at the point to be condemned, took in his arms and embraced his own two sons; being* * Prætextati, *and a son of* C. Sulpitius *whose Guardian he was, and made such piteous and ruful mone, all the while he spake in his own cause that the foresaid law was revoked and cancelled. Three Orations of his there are to be seen; two against* Libo *a Tribune of the Commons and his proposed laws, as touching the Portugals; and one against* L. Cornelius Cethegus, *in which he confesseth and avoweth the killing of the Portugals encamped neer unto him: for that he knew certainly that they after their manner had sacrificed an horse and a man, and under a colour of peace, intended to set upon and charge his army.* Andriscus *one of base birth and the most abject lowest condition, who made the world believe that he was King* Perseus *his son, and thereupon changed his name and was called* Philip, *having made an escape and fled secretly from* Rome (whither Demetrius *King of Syria had sent him in regard of this his notorious lie) had many men come flocking unto him, embracing a forged and counterfeit fable of his, as if it had been a true fame and report: by which means he gathered an army together, and either with the good will of the inhabitants, or by force of arms, seized all* Macedony *and held it in his hands. Now had he devised and framed the pageant in this wise, That* Perseus *the King had begotten him (forsooth) of a concubine: that he was committed to* * *one* Cyrthesa *to be fostered and brought up: to the end that if ought should fall out but well unto the K. in that war which he waged with the Romans, there might be yet some seed as it were and issue remaining of the Kings blood and royal race. When* Perseus *was deceased, he had his education at* Adramyttium *until he was 12 years old, supposing him to be his natural father who fostered and kept him, and wist not at all from what stock he was descended. Now it fell out (saith he) that the said foster father of mine lay very sick; and being at the point of death, bewraied at length my birth and parentage. Moreover, that there was a little book given to my supposed mother, sealed with the sign manual of King* Perseus *which she was to deliver unto me when I came once to ripe age, and to be 14 years old: charging her most streightly of all loves, to conceal the whole matter until that time were come: and when I was grown to that age aforesaid, then the book was given me, wherin mention was made of two chests of treasure left for me by my father. Then the woman, who knew full well that I was no child of hers, but only so reputed, bewraied my birth unto me, who was a fortime ignorant of of mine own descent: also the woman laid great wait upon me to depart out of those quarters before that* Eumenes, *a professed enemy to* Perseus, *came to the knowledg thereof, for fear to be murdered. In which respect I being affrighted and hoping withal to find some aid at the hands of* Demetrius, *went into* Syria; *and there first I took heart unto me, and dared openly to profess who I was, and never before. [Thus much of* Andriscus *this counterfet Kings son.]*

* He alludeth here to this verse of *Homer*, ὅτῳ πέπυσται τοὶ δ' ὀνείαι ἀνέρες.

* i. under 17 years of age.

Or, * *Cretæ cuidam. i.* to one in *Crete.*

Of

## Of the L. Book.

THeſſaly *at what time as the forſaid counterfet* Philip *would have invaded and kept it by force of arms, was by the means of the Roman Embaſſadors, together with the aid of the Achæans defended.* Pruſias *King of* Bithynia, *a favourer of the baſeſt perſons and lewdeſt vices, was by his own ſon* Nicomedes *murdered with the help of* Attalus *King of* Pergamus. *Another ſon he had, who inſtead of the upper row and courſe of diſtinct teeth, is reported to have had one entire bone for all, growing out at his gums. When the Romans had ſent their Embaſſadors to conclude a peace between* Nicomedes *and* Pruſias; *of which Embaſſadors, the one had his head full of many ſcars, the other was troubled with the gout in the feet, and the third reputed but blockiſh of ſpirit by nature, and none of the wiſeſt: Cato ſaid, That there was an embaſſage head-leſs, foot-leſs, and heart-leſs. In* Syria, *which at that time had for their King, one indeed of the line and race of* Perſeus *K. of* Macedony, *but another* Pruſias *up and down, for cowardiſe, idleneſs, and baſe mind; it ſo fell out, that whiles he haunted taverns, ſtews, and brothel-houſes, and lay there altogether,* Ammonius *ſwai'd the Scepter and raigned as King: by whoſe practiſe the Kings friends, alſo* Laodice *the Queen, and* Antigonus *the ſon of* Demetrius *came to their end and were killed.* Maſaniſſa *King of* Numidia, *a man above fourſcore and ten years old, a famous Prince and every way excellent, yeelded to nature and died. Among other youthful parts which he performed to his dying day, this is one, That in this old age of his he was ſo luſty, that after the fourſcore and ſixth year of his life he got a boy. Among his three ſons,* Mycipſa (*the eldeſt*) Guluſſa *and* Manaſtabal, *who alſo had knowledge in the Greek tongue,* Publius Scipio Æmylianus *divided the adminiſtration of the Kingdom: for their father had left it in common for them all, and had given order to part it at the diſcretion of the ſame* Scipio. *Likewiſe, he perſwaded* Phamias *the commander under* Himilco *of the Carthaginian Cavalry, (a valiant warrior, and whom the Carthaginians employed moſt of all others in ſervice) to revolt with his men of arms and to turn Roman. Of thoſe three Embaſſadors above ſaid who were ſent to* Maſaniſſa, Claudius Marcellus *was caſt away in a tempeſt upon the ſea, and ſwallowed up of the waves in a guſt. The Carthaginians murdered in their Councel-chamber* Aſdrubal *nephew of* Maſaniſſa, *and their Prætor for the time being, upon ſuſpition of treaſon. This jealouſy of theirs aroſe hereupon for that he was neer in kindred and blood to* Guluſſa, *who friended and ſuccoured the Romans.* Publius Scipio Æmylianus, *when he ſued to be Ædile, was by the people propounded and nominated for Conſul: and when as by law he might not for his yong years be created Conſul, hard hold there was about him: whiles the commons labour'd with might and main for him, and the nobles and Lords of the Senat gainſaid it a good while: but in fine, he was diſpenſed with, notwithſtanding the* * *law in that behalf, and created Conſul.* Marcus Manilius (*Pro-conſul*) *forced certain Cities ſituate about* Carthage. * *Counterfet* Philip, *after he had ſlain* M. Iuventius *the Prætor and* Q. Cælius, *and together with them defeated the army, was in* Macedony *vanquiſhed himſelf and taken priſoner, and ſo* Macedony *was recovered again which had been loſt before.*

* The law *Annalis* made by *Lucius Villius Annalis*, whereby no man was capable of a Conſulſhip, under 43 years of age, and this *Scipio* was now but 37.

* *Pſeudo-philippus.*

## Of the LI. Book.

CArthage, *which took up in circuit the compaſs of four and twenty miles, was with exceeding pain and travail beſieged and won by peece-meal: firſt, under the conduct of* Mancinus *the Lieutenant; afterwards of* Scipio *the Conſul, unto whom without lot the province of* Africk *was extraordinarily granted. The Carthaginians having made a new peer, (for that the old haven was choked and ſtopped up by* Scipio) *and gathered ſecretly in a ſmall time a good fleet, fought a battail at Sea unfortunately. Moreover, the camp of* Aſdrubal *their General, pitched in a place of moſt difficult acceſs neer the Town* Nepheris, *was forced, and his army defeated by* Scipio: *who alſo in the end wan the very City of* Carthage, *in the ſeven hundred year after it was firſt founded. The greateſt part of the ſpoil and pillage there found, was reſtored to the Sicilians, from whom it had been taken. In the utmoſt extremity and final deſtruction of that City, when* Aſdrubal *had yeelded and ſubmitted to* Scipio; *his wife (who ſome dayes before could not obtain at her husbands hands to abandon the Town and flie to the conqueror) caſt her ſelf with her two children headlong from the Caſtle into the mids of the flaming fire, wherewith the City burned.* Scipio, *following the example of his father* Æmylius Paulus *who had conquered* Macedony, *ſet forth certain ſolemn plaies and paſtimes; wherein the renegats and fugitives he preſented and objected to ſavage beaſts. The cauſes of the Achæan war be here reported. The Roman Embaſſadors who had been beaten and ill intreated by the Achæans, were ſent unto* Corinth, *to ſever and diſjoin thoſe cities (which had been under the ſeignory of* Philip) *from the general diet and parliament of the Achæans.*

## Of the LII. Book.

QUintus Cæcilius Metellus *fought a battail at* Thermopylæ *with the Achæans, that had to aid them the Bœotians and Chalcidians: who being overcome,* Critolaus *their chief Captain ſhortned his own life by poiſon: and in his place* * Drachus *the firſt author of the troubles in* Achæa, *was by the Achæans choſen General of the field, and by* L. Mummius *the Conſul vanquiſhed neer to* Iſthmus: *who having received all* Achæa *by ſurrender, raſed and deſtroied utterly* Corinth, *by an Act and commiſſion directed out of the Senat; becauſe the Roman Embaſſadors were there abuſed.* Thebes *alſo and* Chalcis *which had aided the Achæans, were overthrown and pulled down.* Mummius *for his own part, bare himſelf*

* Or rather *Diæus. Pauſan in Achaicis.*

himself most abstinent and uncorrupt: for of all that wealth, and those goods and ornaments wherewith Corinth was mightily enriched, there came not one parcel into his house. Quintus Cæcilius Metellus triumphed for the conquest of Andriscus, and Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Æmylianus likewise over Carthage and Asdrubal. Viriatus in Spain, first of an herdman became an hunter, and of a hunter proved to be a very thief and robber: and within a while after, was chosen General of a complete and main army, and seized to his own use all Portugal. He took prisoner M. Vitilius the Pretor, when he had first discomfited his host in the field. After whom C. Plautius the Pretor sped no better in fight. This enemy so terrified the Romans, that to make head against him they found it necessary to employ a full consular army, and a Consul Commander. Moreover, in this book be recorded the trouble of Syria and the wars between the Kings. * Alexander an obscure person and base born, having slain (as is before-said) Demetrius the King, reigned in Syria. Him Demetrius (the son of Demetrius) slew, by the help of Ptolomæus King of Ægypt, whose daughter Cleopatra he had espoused and married. This Demetrius in times past had been sent out of the way into Gnidos by his father, fearing the doubtful chances of the war: and he entred upon this action by occasion of the contemptible sloth and cowardise of the said Alexander. Ptolomeus was grievously wounded in the head: and in the cure, whiles the Chirurgians went about to * trypanize the bones of his skull, died under their hand. And in his stead Ptolomæus his yonger brother who reigned in Cyrenæ, succeeded and took upon him the crown. Demetrius for his cruelty which he excercised upon his people by racking and other torments, was vanquished in battail by Diodorus, one of his own subjects: who made claim to the Kingdom in the right and title of Alexanders son, a yong child hardly two years old: wherupon he fled to Seleucia. Lucius Mummius triumphed over the Acheans, in which solemnity he carried in pompous shew sundry images as well of brass as marble, besides pictures and painted Tables.

* Ammonius he is called before.

* To perforate and bore with an instrument called τρύπανον or τρυπάνη.

## Of the LIII. Book.

APpius Claudius the Consul subdued the Salassians, a nation inhabiting the Alps. A second * Mock-Philip there was in Macedony, who by L. Tremellius the treasurer was with his army defeated and slain. Q. Cæcilius Metellus the Pro-consul gave the Celtiberians an overthrow. The most part of Portugal was regained by Q. Fabius the Pro-consul, and many Cities thereof by assault forced. C. Julius a Senator by calling, wrote the Roman History in the Greek tongue.

* Pseudo philippus.

## Of the LIV. Book.

QUintus Pompeius the Consul subdued the Termestins in Spain: with whom verily as also with the Numantins, by occasion of his infirmity and sickliness, he concluded peace. A review and numbring of the citizens was taken by the Censors: wherein were enrolled four hundred twenty eight thousand, three hundred forty two polls. At what time as the Macedonian Embassadors came to complain of D. Junius Syllanus, the Lord Deputy over them, for that he took their money, and nevertheless made an havock of the Province, and therupon the Senat was willing to have the hearing of their complaints: T. Manlius Torquatus the father of Syllanus, exhibited a request, and obtained, that the inquiry and decision of such a matter as this might be referred over and committed unto him. And after he had sitten upon this commission at home in his own house and found his son guilty, he both condemned him and put him away: nay, when afterwards he had hanged himself, for that was his end, he would not be so much as present at his funeral, but according to his ordinary manner and custome, sat in his house, attending all clients and commers to him for counsel. Q. Fabius the Pro-consul, after he had manged the war in Spain right prosperously, marred all with this foul blot and spot of dishonor, in that he contracted a peace with Viriatus, upon even and equal conditions. This Viriatus by a practise complotted by Servilius Cæpio, was treacherously murdered by traitors, and of his own army wat much bewailed. At his death he was rung out of this world with a notable peal of * farewel, and right honorably enterred: an excellent man, and most brave Captain for the space of thirteen years, during which time he warred with the Romans, and ever for the most part went away with the winning hand.

* Or rather 328343.

* Aditu, editu.

## Of the LV. Book.

WHiles P. Cornelius Nasica, who by way of mockery was surnamed Serapio, by scoffing Curatius a Tribun of the Commons, and D. Iunius Brutus the Consul took the musters, there hapned in the very sight of the new and raw souldier an occurrent of great consequence, and for exemple sake exceeding profitable. For C. Matienus was judicially accused before the Tribuns of the Commons, for that he had abandoned and forsaken his own army in Spain, whereupon he being convict, was condemned and scourged a long while with rods, carrying a fork or cross upon his shoulders, and in the end sold as a slave for a small peece of silver of * three half pence farthing cue. The Tribunes of the Commons, because they might be allowed to exempt from military service ten souldiers apeece, whom it pleased them to chuse, commanded the Consuls to prison. Iun. Brutus the Consul, whiles he was in Spain, endued those souldiers who had served under Viriatus with land and living, and gave them a Town to inhabit called Valentia. M. Popilius, together with his army was foiled and put to the rout by the Numantins, with whom the peace that was concluded, the Senat had passed an act, that it should not stand in force. The occasion was this:

* Sestertio nummo, the fourth part of Denarius.

this: As C. Mancinus the Consul was devoutly sacrificing, the sacred chickens chanced to flie away out of their cage or coop. Afterwards, as he was about to take Sea and go a ship lord for to pass over into Spain, there hapned a voice to be heard, saying, Stay, Stay Mancinus. These proved in the effect to be unfortunat and heavy presages unto Mancinus; for he received an overthrow at the Numantins hands, and was turned clean out of his camp. And seeing no hope else to save his army, he entred into a dishonorable peace with them, but the Senat expresly revoked and annulled the same. 30000 Romans were defeated by 4000 Numantins & no more. D. Iunius made a general conquest of all Portugal, even as far as to the Ocean, by forcing and sacking their Cities and strong Towns: and when his souldiers were loth to pass over the river * Oblivio, he caught up a banner from the port-ensign, and carried it over with him, and by this means perswaded them to go through. Alexanders son, King of Syria, a child not above ten years old at the most, was trecherously murdered by Diodorus his guardian or protector, surnamed Tryphon. There were Physicians by corruption bribed and suborned to give it out and bear the people in hand most falsly, that the yong Prince pined away with the pain of the stone in the bladder, and whiles they would seem to cut him for it, they killed him out of hand in the very section.

* A river in Spain, called sometime *Limæa*, or *Lethe*, and at this day *Limia*.

## Of the LVI. Book.

DEcius Iunius Brutus had good fortune in the farther Province of Spain, fighting with the Gallicians. But M. Æmylius Lepidus Pro-consul sped far otherwise in his wars against the Vaccei, and suffered the like overthrow to that other received from the Numantins. When Mancinus the author and maker of the accord with the Numantins, was delivered up in person to the Numantins, for to assoil the people of Rome, and discharge them in conscience for cancelling the said covenant, they received him not, and would none of him. The people was numbred and taxed by the Censors, in which survey and account taken, there were entred into their books 323000 Roman citizens. Fulvius Flaccus the Cos. brought the Vardeans in Illyricum under subjection. M. Cosconius the Pretor fought in Thracia with the Scordiscians, and won the better. When by the default and error of the Captains and Commanders, the Numantin war continued still, not without the publick shame and dishonor of the state; the Senat and people of Rome conferred the Consulship upon Scipio Africanus, without any suit or seeking of his part. And when he was unwilling to accept thereof, by reason of a law forbidding expresly, * that any man should be created Cos. the second time, he had a dispensation, and was freed from the law in that behalf, like as from the * other in his former Consulship. There was an insurrection of bondslaves arose in Sicily: and when it could not be suppressed by the Pretors and Lord Governors, C. Fulvius had the charge of that Province and service. This war began by occasion of one Eunus a bondslave and a Syrian born; who having assembled together a power of rustical peasants and country slaves, broken prisons and houses of correction, came to have a full and complete army. Moreover, Cleon also another notable slave, raised to the number of 70000 villains like himself: and they both joyning their forces together, waged war many times against the people of Rome and their army in those parts.

* The text is here corrupt, for there were 12 years between this time and his former Consulship, & therefore it is not meant, *de lege Decennali*, but of another law lately made, *ne quis iterum Consul fieret*, and according to the place corrected by *Sigonius* I have translated it. [* *lege annali.*]

## Of the LVII. Book.

SCipio Africanus laid siege to Numantia: and whereas the army was grown to be corrupted through lewd ssolute riot and loose life, he reclaimed the same, and reduced it unto a most streight and severe kind of military discipline. For he cut off all the means and occasions of delight some pleasures: he sent packing away two thousand whores and trulls that followed the camp: he held the souldiers hard to work every day: he forced each one to carry on his shoulders corn for thirty dayes, and seven good stakes besides for a pallisado. If he spied one of them to go heavily under his load; he would say thus under him, Sirrha, when you have the skill to empale your self with your swords point, then cease to carry pales, but not before. When he saw another practise to wield very nimbly a little light buckler, he commanded him to bear a targuet of a bigger size and weightier than ordinary, as finding fault that he knew better how to hold his shield for defence of his own body, than to handle his sword for offence of the enemy. Met he with a souldier out of his rank and file? If he were a Roman, up he went and was well beat and swadled with vine-wands by the centurion; if a stranger, swinged and jerked he was with [birchen] * rods by the Lictors. And verily all the pack-horses and other labouring beasts he caused to be sold; because they should not ease the souldiers of their cariage. Well, many a time he bare himself worthily in fight, and had a fortunat hand against the enemies that sallied forth against him. The Vacceans were streightly besieged: and after they had killed their wives and children, they slew their own selves upon them. Scipio, at what time as Antiochus King of Syria had sent unto him most rich and stately presents: whereas other Generals of the field were wont to conceal the gifts of KK. he avowed the accepting of them in open sight of all men, even at the very Tribunal seat. And when he had so done, he commanded the treasurer to receive all, and enter in his book of receits for the state; promising out of that stock to reward the hardiest men and most valiant knights. When he had blocked and invested Numantia on every side, and saw the enemies driven to great distress for hunger, he forbad expresly to kill any of them that went forth of the Town to forage and purvey victuals, saying, That the more they were in number, the sooner they would consume and spend up the corn which they had.

* *Betula, terribilis magistratum virgæ.* Pli.

Of

## Of the LVIII. Book.

TIberius Sempronius Gracchus *a Tribune of the Commons, when he promulged an Agrarian law, that no man ſhould hold and occupy above* *five hundred arpens or acres *of the City lands ſeeing the Senat and order of Gentlemen to ſtorm againſt it, grew into ſuch an heat of choler and furious rage, that preſently by an act made, he deprived of Tribunitian power* M. Octavius *his Colleague, for maintaining the cauſe of the adverſe part: and withal, created himſelf, his brother* C. Gracchus, *and* App. Claudius *his own wives father, Triumvirs or commiſſaries for dividing of the ſaid lands. He propoſed alſo and publiſhed another Agrarian law, by vertue whereof if any man encroached farther, and went above that ſtint and proportion, the ſame Triumvirs and none but they ſhould ſet down and determine, how far forth the common grounds and the privat lands ſhould reach. Afterwards, when there fell out to be leſs ground than could be divided, he proteſted that without the offence of the common people (becauſe erewhile he had ſtirred up their appetite to hope for great matters) he would prefer a law, That amongſt all them, who by vertue of the law* Sempronia *ought to receive lands, the money which belonged ſometime to King* Attalus *ſhould be divided. Now this* Attalus *the King of* Pergamus *and ſon of* Eumenes, *had left behind him, the people of* Rome *his full heir of all that he had. The Senat upon theſe ſo many indignities offered by* Gracchus, *was highly diſpleaſed, and* Pub. Mucius *the Conſul above the reſt: who after he had inveighed in the Senat againſt him, was by him haled forth before the people, and accuſed unto the Commons, howbeit he declaimed againſt him once again openly from the* Roſtra. *When* Gracchus *would have been choſen Tribune of the Commons a ſecond time, by the advice and procurement of* P. Cornelius Naſica, *the chief peers and nobles ſlew him in the Capitol. He caught his firſt knock with the broken peeces of the Tribunes pues. And he among others ſlain in that ſeditious garboil, was never committed to the earth, but thrown into the river. Moreover, this book containeth the battels in* Sicily, *fought againſt the fugitive ſlaves with variable fortune a d event.*

* So ſay Plutarch & Appian.

## Of the LIX. Book.

*THE Numantins forced by great extremities, and ffamine eſpecially, murdered themſelves in courſe by turns. After the City was won,* Scipio Affricanus *raſed and deſtroied it utterly: and over it triumphed, in the fourteenth year after the ruin of* Carthage. P. Attilius *the Conſul diſpatched and ended the war in* Sicily, *with the foreſaid fugitives.* Ariſtonicus *the ſon of King* Eumenes, *invaded* Aſia *and held it to his own uſe; whereas by the laſt will and teſtament of King* Attalus, *it was bequeathed as a legacy unto the people of* Rome, *and ought to have been freed. Againſt him* P. Licinius Craſſus *the Conſul and Archbiſhop beſides (a thing never done or ſeen before) took a journey with an army out of* Italy, *and in a battel was overthrown and loſt his life.* M. Perpenna *the Conſul overcame* Ariſtonicus, *and received him by ſurrender.* Q. Pomponius *and* Q. Metellus *were elected Cenſors, the firſt Commoners that ever both together attained to that dignity. A review was taken by the Cenſors; wherein were numbred* 368823 *citizens, beſides orphans and widows.* Q. Metellus *the Cenſor gave his adviſe and opinion, that all men ſhould be compelled to take wives, for the breeding of children. His Oration to that purpoſe is extant: which* Auguſtus Cæſar, *at what time as he went in hand to joyn in marriage all the three ſtates and degrees of the City, rehearſed in the Senat, as if it had been penned to fit theſe times wherein we now live.* C. Atinius Labeo, *a Tribune of Commons, commanded* Q. Metellus *the Cenſor (who in the review and new choiſe of the Senators did him that diſgrace as to leave him out) to be pitched headlong from the rock* Tarpeia: *but the reſt of the Tribunes aſſiſted the Cenſor all that ever they could, that this commandment ſhould not be executed. When* Carbo, *a Tribune of the Com. propoſed a bill, that it might be lawful to create the ſame man Trib. of the Commons ſo often as one would;* P. Africanus *diſſwaded this law in a moſt grave and pithy Oration: wherein he uſed theſe words eſpecially, That he judged* Tib. Gracchus *to have been juſtly ſlain for his deſerts.* Gracchus *on the other ſide maintained the law, and pleaded that it might paſſe: but* Scipio *imported and prevailed in the end. In this book are related the wars between* Antiochus *king of* Syria, *and* Phraates *king of the Parthians: as alſo the troubles of* Ægypt, *which ſtood as then in no better terms.* Ptolomeus *ſurnamed* Evergetes *for his exceeding cruelty grew hateful and odious to his own ſubjects: and when the people had ſet on fire and burned his royal palace, he fled by ſtealth into* Cyprus; *and when the kingdom was by the people made over to his ſiſter* Cleopatra, *whom (after he had deflowred by force her daughter, a virgin, and ſo taken her to wife) he had turned away in great diſpleaſure and malice unto her; he killed that ſon he had by her, in* Cyprus, *and ſent unto the mother the head, hands and feet. Certain ſeditions were raiſed by the Triumvirs,* Fulvius Flaccus, C. Gracchus, *and* L. Carbo, *who were created for the deciſion of land. Againſt whom* P. Scipio Africanus *made reſiſtance: but being in perfect health, ſtrong and luſty, he went home to his houſe as it might be to day, and was found dead in his bed-chamber the the next morrow. His wife* Sempronia *was deeply ſuſpected to have given him a cup of poiſon; & h reupon eſpecially, becauſe ſhe was ſiſter to the* Gracchi, *between whom and* Africanus *there was grudge and enmity: Howbeit, there was no queſtion and ſtreight enquiry made how he came to his death. When his head was once laid, the Triumviral ſeditions beforeſaid, brake forth into a light and hot fire.* C. Sempronius *the Conſul fought againſt the* Iapidæ, *firſt unfortunately, but ſoon after he made amends for that loſs received, with a victory atchieved by the ſpecial valor of* C. Iunius Brutus, *the ſame man who before had conquered* Portugal.

Of

## Of the LX. Book.

AUrelius *the Conſul ſubdued the Sardians.* Fulvius Flaccus *was the firſt man that vanquiſhed in fight the Ligurians beyond the Alps, being ſent to aid the Maſſilians againſt the French Salyes, who lay ſore upon the borders of the Maſſilians, and ſpoiled them.* Lucius Opimius *the Pretor received under his ſubjection the Fregellans who had revolted, and deſtroied the Town* Fregellæ. *Here is reported a peſtilence in* Africk, *by an exceeding multitude of locuſts, killed and lying dead afterwards upon the ground. A ſurvey was taken of the City by the Cenſors, wherein were numbred* 390736 *citizens.* C. Gracchus, *brother of* Tiberius, *a Tribune of the Commons, but of the twain more eloquent, preferred certain dangerous laws: and among the reſt, one as touching grain, namely, that the Commons ſhould be ſerved in the market, at the rate of one half, and a third part of* * *Aſſe, a Modius; another concerning diviſion of lands, the ſame which his brother before him had publiſhed, and a third (wherby he meant to corrupt the order of Gentlemen, which then accorded with the degree of Senators) namely, that from out of the Gentlemen,* 600 *ſhould be taken into the Senat: and for aſmuch as in theſe dayes, there were but* 300 *Senators, thoſe* 600 *Gentlemen ſhould be entermingled with the ſaid three hundred; that is to ſay, that the order of Gentlemen ſhould be double in number to the Senators, and twice as ſtrong. This* Gracchus *having continued his Tribunſhip another year, by propoſing ſtill the Agrarian laws, prevailed, that many Colonies more ſhould be planted in* Italy, *and one beſides, upon the very plot of ground where* Carthage *lately deſtroied, had ſtood: and there himſelf (choſen Triumvir therefore) erected a Colony. Moreover, this book containeth the exploits of* Q. Metellus *againſt thoſe Baleare Iſlands, which the Greeks call* Gymneſiæ, *becauſe the people go naked all the ſummer time. But* Baleares *they be named either of* * *flinging darts, or of* Baleus *the companion of* Hercules, *whom he left behind there at what time, as he ſailed to* Geryon. *Alſo, the troubles in* Syria *be here reported, wherein* Cleopatra *ſlew both her husband* Demetrius *and his ſon* Seleucus; *taking great indignation, that when his father was by her killed, he without her warrant had taken the diadem upon him.*

* Ob.

* Βάλλω. a dart, and βάλλειν to fling.

## Of the LXI. Book.

CAius Sextius *the Pro-conſul, after he had conquered the nation of the* Salyes, *built the Colony* Aquæ Sextiæ, *ſo called of the plenteous abundance of waters, by reaſon of ſprings both hot and cold, and alſo of his own name.* C. Comitius *the Pro-conſul fought fortunately againſt the* * *Allobroges, near the Town* * Vindalium. *The cauſe why he levied war againſt them was for that they had received and relieved by all means they could,* Teutomalius *the King of the* * Salvii *when he fled unto them, and had waſted alſo the territories of the* * *Hæduans, who were the allies of the people of* Rome. C. Gracchus, *after he had born his Tribunſhip with much ſedition, and kept the Aventine hill with a multitude of the Commons in arms, was by* L. Opimius *the Conſul (who by vertue of an act of Senat had put the people in arms) diſſeized of his hold and ſlain; and together with him* Fulvius Flaccus *a Conſular man, his aſſociat and companion in this furious outrage.* Q. Fabius Maximus *the Conſul, and nephew of* Paulus, *won a field of the Allobroges, and* Bituitus *King of the* Arverni. *Of* Bituitus *his army were ſlain a hundred and twenty thouſand. And when himſelf in perſon was gone to* Rome *to ſatisfy the Senat, he was committed toward in* Alba, *for that it ſeemed dangerous and hurtful to the peace, for to ſend him back again into* France. *Alſo there paſſed a decree, that* Congentiatus *his ſon ſhould be apprehended and ſent to* Rome. *The Allobroges ſubmitted and were received.* L. Opimius *being accuſed before the body of the people by* Q. Decius *a Tribune of the Commons, for impriſoning certain citizens uncondemned, was acquit.*

* Savoy, Schardius, Dauphinois, Marlcano & alii.

* Post Sulgæ, Paradino, or Portus Trallii, Scaligero.

* Salyes.

* Burgognians.

## Of the LXII. Book.

CAius Marcius *the Conſul vanquiſhed the* Stonii, *a people dwelling upon the* Alpes, Micipſa, *King of the Numidians died, and left the Kingdom unto his three ſons,* Adherbal, Hyempſal *and* Jugurtha *his brothers ſon, whom he had adopted for his own child.* L. Cæcilius Metellus *ſubdued the Dalmatians.* Jugurtha *levied war upon* Hyempſal *his brother, overcame him in fight, and ſlew him: Adherbal his third brother, he drave out of the realm, but by the Senat of* Rome *reſtored he was again.* L. Cæcilius Metellus, *and* Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus *the Cenſors, deprived* 32 *Senators of their place and dignity. Beſides, this book containeth the troubles of the Syrian Kings.*

## Of the LXIII. Book.

CAius Porcius *the Coſ. fought with the* * *Scordiſci in* Thracia, *and loſt the field. The Cenſors took a ſurvey of the City: in which were enrolled* 394336 *pols of Roman citizens.* Æmylia, Licinia, *and* Marcia, *three veſtal virgins were convicted and condemned for inceſt. The manner how this their fornication was committed, detected, judged, and puniſhed, is here ſet down. The* * *Cimbrians, an huge and mighty nation, invaded* Illyricum *and put it to the waſt: by whom* Papirius Carbo *the Conſul was defeated, both he and his army.* Livius Druſus *the Conſul, warred in* Thrace *upon the Scordiſci, (a people deſcended from the Gauls) and won much honour.*

* Isacbi.

* Lutlandery.

Of

## Of the LXIV. Book.

ADherbal *warred upon by* Jugurtha, *was within the City* Cirta *beſieged, and by him ſlain, notwithſtanding the commandment of the Senat to the contrary. For which cauſe war was proclaimed againſt* Jugurtha *himſelf.* Calphurnius Beſtia *had the commiſſion and charge to manage this war: who made peace with* Jugurtha, *without warrant from the people and Senat.* Jugurtha *being cited and called forth under ſafe conduct, to appeach and bewray the authors of his plots and deſigns, for that the voice went, that he had bribed and corrupted with ſums of money many of the Senat, came to* Rome: *where he was in trouble and jeopardy for a murder committed upon the perſon of a certain Prince, called* Maſſiva (*who ſeeing him to be hated of the Romans, ſought for his kingdom*) *whom he ſlew at* Rome. *Being commanded to anſwer for his life in regard of this murder, he ſecretly fled, and as he departed from the City uttered (by report) theſe words, O corrupt City and ſet to ſale; how ſoon will it periſh, if it may meet with a chapman?* A. Poſthumius *a Lieutenant Generall, after he had likewiſe fought an unfortunat battell againſt* Jugurtha, *amended the matter full well by making an ignominious and diſhonourable peace with him, which the Senat judged not meet to be obſerved and kept.*

## Of the LXV. Book.

QUintus Cæcilius Metellus *the* Coſ. *in two battels diſcomfited* Jugurtha *and over-ran all* Numidia. M. Jun. Syllanus *the* Coſ. *ſped unluckily in a battell fought againſt the* Cimbrians: *whoſe embaſſadors demanding of the Senat a place of habitation and lands to occupy, were denied.* M. Minutius Pro-Coſ. *had good ſucceſs in fight againſt the* * *Thracians.* L. Caſſius *the* Coſ. *together with his hoſt,* * Of Zurich. *was defeated and cut in pieces in the borders of the Allobrogians by the French Tigurins, a country of the* * *Helvetians, who had divided themſelves and were departed from the reſt of the State. The ſouldiers remaining alive after that overthrow, capitulated with the enemies for ſafety of their lives, to put in pledges for to part with the one moity of all that ever they had unto them.* * Switzers.

## Of the LXVI. Book.

IUgurtha *driven out of* Numidia *by* C. Martius, *had the help and aid of* Bocchus *King of the* Moors; *but when the power of* Bocchus *alſo was defeated in battell, and himſelf unwilling to maintain the war any longer (ſo unfortunatly begun)* Jugurtha *was overcome, and delivered up to* C. Marius. *In which exploit the ſervice of* L. Cornelius Sylla *treaſurer unto* Marius, *was ſingular above the reſt.*

## Of the LXVII. Book.

AUrelius Scaurus *lieutenant to the* Coſ. *was with his army overthrown by the* Cimbrians, *and himſelf taken priſoner. When by them he was called forth to councill (at what time as they intended a voyage into* Italy) *in which he ſeemed to fright them for paſſing over the* Alps, *ſaying, That the Romans might not poſſibly be overcome; he was by* Bolus *their K. a proud and fierce prince, killed. At the ſame enemies hands* Cn. Manlius Coſ. *and* Q. Serv. Cæpio, *Pro-conſul, received an overthrow in the field and loſt both their camps. Slain there were* 80000 *ſouldiers: of porters, ſcullions, launders, and ſuch followers of the camp beſides* 40000. *By the verdict and cenſure of the people of* Rome Cæpio (*through whoſe raſhneſs this loſs and overthrow hapned*) *was condemned: and he was the firſt after K.* Tarquin *whoſe goods were confiſcat; and finally deprived he was of his government. In the triumph of* C. Marius, Jugurtha *with his two ſons was led before his chariot: and afterwards murdered in priſon.* Marius *entred at the Senat, with his triumphant mantell of eſtate, which never any man before him had done, and for fear of the Cimbrians war he continued in his Magiſtracy many years together. To his ſecond and third Conſulſhip he was choſen* * *abſent, and he attained to be Conſul the fourth time: which he gaped for, albeit he diſſembled the contrary.* C. Domitius *was by the ſuffrages of the people created the chief Pontifie. The Cimbrians having laid waſte all the parts about the river* Rhodanus *and the mountain* Pyrenæus, *paſſed over into* Spain *through the ſtreights: where after they had ſpoiled many places, they were by the Celtiberians chaſed away: and being returned into* France, *they joyned with the* * *Teutons, a warlike nation.* * Notwithſtanding a law to the contrary. * The Dutch or Eaſterlings.

## Of the LXVIII.

MArcus Antonius *the Prætor perſecuted the rovers at ſea, and chaſed them as far as into* Cilicia. C. Manlius *the Conſul manfully defended the camp, aſſailed with all moſt forcible means by the Theutons and* * *Ambrones. Afterwards in two battels one after another about* * Aquæ Sextiæ *he utterly defeated thoſe enemies: where (by report) were ſlain* 200000 *and* 90000 *taken priſoners.* Marius *in his abſence was created Conſul now the fift time: and when a triumph was offered unto him, he deferred and put it off, untill he had made a full and finall conqueſt alſo of the Cimbrians. The Cimbrians repelled and drave from the* Alps Q. Catulus *the Pro-conſul, who had beſet the narrow gullet of the* Alps, *and kept a Caſtle highly mounted over the river* Atheſis, *which he now abandoned: and when by their valour they had cleared the paſſage, they purſued the Pro-conſul with his army, and paſſed over into* Italy, *where in battell they were overthrown by the ſame* Catulus *and* C. Marius, *who had joyned their forces together: In which (they ſay)* 140000 *men were ſlain, and* 60000 *taken priſoners.* Marius *was honourably received at his return with a generall accord of the whole City: and whereas two triumphs were offered unto him, he was content with one. The principal peers and nobles of the City, who along time before had envied him as a man newly ſtart up riſen and advanced to ſo great honours, confeſſed now that the common-weal by him was preſerved.* Publicius Metellus *for murdering his own mother, was the firſt man ſowed up in a leather bag and ſo thrown into the ſea. Here is recorded how the ſacred ſhields* Ancilia *ſtirred of themſelves with a great ruſling noiſe before the Cimbrians war was finiſhed. Finally, this book comprehendeth the wars between the two Kings of* Syria. * Amerlanders. * Aix. Folc.

## Of the LXIX. Book.

CNeus Apuleius Saturninus, *by the help of* C. Marius, *and by occasion that* A. Nonius *his competitor and concurrent was by his souldiers slain, was by forcible means created Tribune of the commons, and bare the Tribuneship as violently as he got it. And when he had proposed an Agrary law and passed it by force, he arrested* Metellus Numidicus *to answer at a day, for that he had not subscribed and sworn to the said law: who being maintained and defended by the Citizens of the better sort, because he would give no occasion of unseemly debates and evill contentions, went in voluntary exile to* Rhodes: *and there he employed his time in reading of books, and giving audience to great and famous men. After he was departed,* C. Marius *the captain and author of that sedition, who now had purchased a sixth Consulship by a largess of money scambled amongst the tribes, proclaimed him as excommunicat and interdicted from fire and water like an outlaw. The same* Apuleius Saturninus, *a tribune of the commons, slew* C. *Memmius *Numius. in his white gown standing to be Cos. for that he feared him above all others to cross his proceedings: whereupon the Senat was exceedingly moved in the cause and behalf of* C. Memmius: *and when* C. Marius *a man by nature mutable and in his counsell variable, one who ever loved to be on the better side of the hedge and to hand with the mightier, was not able to bear him out and protect him; the said* Saturninus *together with* Glaucia *the Prætor and other his complices in that outrage, was slain by one* Rabirius. Q. Cæcilius Metellus *was recalled out of banishment with exceeding great love and favour of the whole City.* Manius Aquilius *the Pro-cos. dispatched and ended the slaves-war raised in* Sicily.

## Of the LXX. Book.

WHen Manius Aquilius *should plead his own defence, or answer in case of extortion, he would not himself intreat and crave the favour of the Jury. But* M. Antonius *his advocat, who pleaded for him at the bar, slit his coat down along his brest, to shew the honourable scars received in the forepart of his body: which being by the Judges seen, they made no doubt, but acquit him. Of this thing* Cicero *is the only author.* Didius *the Pro-cos. managed his wars against the Celtiberians happily.* Ptolomæus *K. of* Cyrenæ, *surnamed* Apion, *when he died, left the people of* Rome *his heir: and the Senat ordained that the cities of his realm should be free.* Ariobarzanes *was restored to his kingdom of* Cappadocia, *by* L. Cornelius Sylla. *The Parthian embassadors sent from their K.* Arsaces *came unto* Sylla, *to treat and sue for amity with the people of* Rome. P. Rutilius *a man of uncorrupt and innocent life, who (being lieutenant under* L. Mucius *the Pro-cos.) had defended* Asia *from the wrongfull dealings of the Publicans or common farmers (being odious to the order of knighthood or gentlemen of* Rome, *who now as Judges had the jurisdiction in their hands) was condemned for extortion and banished.* C. Geminus *the Prætor fought untowardly against the Thracians. The Senat would no longer abide the unrulines and wilfull abuses committed by the gentlemen in exercising of their jurisdiction, and therefore began by all means possible to endeavour for to reduce and translate their prerogative again to themselves: in which enterprise* M. Livius Drusus *a Tribune of the commons stood in their behalf: who to gain more strength to the cause, raised the commons by proposing unto them a pernicious hope of a largess. Moreover, in this book are comprised the stirs and troubles of the Kings in* Syria.

## Of the LXXI. Book.

MArcus Livius Drusus, *a Tribune of the commons, for the better maintenance of the Senats cause, which he had undertaken, sollicited the allies and the nations of* Italy, *upon hope to be enfranchised citizens of* Rome: *by whose assistance having gone through by strong hand, with the Agrarian and Frumentarian laws, he obtained also the foresaid law* Judicialis, *in this manner, That all judgments should pass indifferently and equally by Senat and Gentlemen. After this, when the freedome of* Rome *promised to the allies could not be compassed and performed; the Italians in a chafe and heat of choler began to complot how to revolt: whose conventicles, conspiracies, and orations delivered in the assemblies and diets of their Princes, are in this book reported: In regard whereof,* Livius Drusus *became hatefull even to the Senat, as the author of a sociall war, and in his own house was murdered, but by whom God knoweth.*

## Of the LXXII. Book.

THe Italian states revolt, *namely, the* Picents, *Vestins, Marsians, Pelignians, Marrucins, Lucans, and Samnits. The Picents first entred into arms and began the war.* Quintus Servilius *the Pro-cos. was slain in* Asculum, *together with all the Roman citizens which were in that town: whereupon the whole people of* Rome *put on arms and souldiers coats.* Servius Galba *being surprised by the Lucans, escaped captivity by the means of one woman, in whose house he took up his lodging.* Esernia *and* Alba, *two Colonies, were by the Italians besieged. After this, here are reported the aids of the Latines and other forrain nations sent unto the people of* Rome: *moreover, the expeditions and alternative winning of cities, as well by the one side as the other.*

## Of the LXXIII. Book.

LUcius Cæsar *the Cos. in a battell against the Samnits went down and had the worse.* Nola *the Colony fell into the hands of the Samnits, together with* L. Posthumius *the Prætor, who there was slain. Many more nations revolted to the enemies, for that* P. Rutilius *the Consul had fought with loss against the Marsians, and lost his life in the battell.* C. Marius *his lieutenant had a better conflict with the enemies in the end and upshot.* Servius Sulpitius *vanquished the Pelignians.* Q. Cæpio, *another lieutenant of* Rutilius, *who having been by the enemies besieged, had sallied forth upon the enemies and got the upper hand: for this good success he was made equall in government and command with* C. Marius. *But hereupon he grew to be too rash, and being over-taken by an ambush of the enemies was slain, and the army defeated.* L. Cæsar *the Consul won a field of the Samnits: for which victory the souldiers coats were laid off again at* Rome. *Yet because the fortune of the field would shew her self variable, the Colony* Esser-

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nia. together with M. Marcellus, was taken by the Samnits. On the other side, Marius in a battel vanquished the Marsians, and slew Hermius Asinnius the Prætor of the Marrucins. C. Cæcilius overcame the Salvii that rebelled in that Province of Gaul beyond the Alps.

## Of the LXXIV. Book.

CNeus Pompeius discomfited the Picents in battell and held them besieged: for which victory the embroidered purple robes, with other ornaments and badges of the Magistrats were taken up again and put on. C. Marius fought against the Marsians with doubtfull event. The Libertins then and never before, began to serve in the wars. Aurel. Plotius the lieutenant, in a battell overcame the Umbrians: likewise L. Porcius the Prætor vanquished the Marsians, when as both these nations had rebelled. Nicomedes was placed again in the kingdom of Bithynia, and Ariobazanes of Cappadocia. Cn. Pompeius the Cos. overthrew the Marsians in a pitcht field. When the City was deeply engaged and plunged in debt, A. Sempronius Asellus the Prætor, because he gave sentence respectively in the favour of the debtors, was slain in the market-place by their creditors the Usurers. Moreover, this book relateth the inrodes and invasions of the Thracians into Macedony, together with their wasting of those parts.

## Of the LXXV. Book.

AUl. Posthumius Albinus a lieutenant General, being Admiral of the fleet, was upon an infamous imputation of betraying his souldiers massacred by his own army. L. Corn. Sylla, a lieutenant, overthrew the Samnits in fight, and won two camps of theirs. Cn. Pompeius received the Vestins upon their submission. L. Porcius the Cos. after fortunate success in battell, and that he had sundry times discomfited the Samnits, as he assaied to force their camp lost his life; which accident gave away the victory of that battell to the enemy. Cosconius and Luceius overcame the Samnits in battell, slew Marius Egnatius, a most noble and renowned commander of the enemies, and had many of their towns surrendred up into their hands. L. Sylla tamed the Hirpins, and defeated the Samnits in many battels; and certain States submitted unto him: who having atchieved so worthy and brave exploits before his Consulship (as seldome any other man besides, the like) repaired to Rome for to sue to be Consul.

## Of the LXXVI. Book.

AUlus Gabinius a lieutenant, having fought fortunatly against the Lucans, and won from them many towns: as he laid siege to the enemies leaguer, was cut off and slain. Sulpitius in quality of lieutenant had the execution of the Marrucins, and the surrender of that whole nation. Cn. Pompeius the Pro-Consul took the submission of the Vestins and Pelignians. The Marsians likewise having been in certain battels quelled by L. Muræna, and Cæcilius Pinna lieutenants, craved peace. Asculum was won by Cn. Pompeius: and the Italian people by Mamercus Æmylius the lieutenant were put to the sword. Silo Popedius, General of the Marsians, and the author of the villany, was slain in battell. Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, and Nicomedes of Bithynia were driven both out of their kingdoms by Mithridates King of Pontus. Last of all, this book discourseth of the incursions and spoil that the Thracians made in Macedony.

## Of the LXXVII. Book.

WHen P. Sulpitius a Tribune of the Commons, by the advice and instigation of C. Marius had promulged certain pernicious laws. That the banished should be restored, and new Citizens together with Libertins be sorted into Tribes: also that Marius should be chosen General against Mithridates King of Pontus: and when he offered violence against Q. Pompeius and L. Sylla the Consuls, who contradicted his proceedings; and had slain the son of Pompeius the Consul, who had married Sylla's daughter: then L. Sylla Consul entred Rome with an army, and within the very City fought against the adverse side of Sulpitius and Marius, and drave them forth: of which faction twelve were by the Senat judged enemies, and amongst them C. Marius both father and son. As for P. Sulpitius, when he lurked in a certain farm-house of the country, was bewraied and betraied by his own bond-servant: and so pulled forth from thence and killed. The slave, because he might seem to be rewarded for revealing his Master according to promise, was manumised and set free: but for his wicked treachery in betraying his own Master, he was thrown down the rock Tarpeia. C. Marius the son crossed the seas into Africk. C. Marius the father lay hidden amongst the marshes of the Minturnians, and was plucked out from thence by the townsmen: and when a certain bondslave, and a Frenchman born, was sent to kill him, he was so affrighted at the Majesty and countenance of so brave a man, that he went back and would not do the feat: whereupon Marius was embarked at the charges of the City, and carried into Affrick. L. Sylla reformed the State of the City, and drew out from thence inhabitants to people the Colonies. Q. Pompeius the Cos. took his journey to receive the army of Cn. Pompeius the Cos. and by his counsell was slain. Mithridates King of Pontus seized upon Bithynia and Cappadocia; drave out Aquilus the lieutenant, and with a mighty army invaded Phrygia the Province of the people of Rome.

## Of the LXXVIII. Book.

MIthridates held Asia with his garrisons; he cast into prison Q. Oppius the Pro-Consul, and likewise Aquilius the lieutenant. Also by his commandment, all the Roman Citizens to be found in Asia, were in one day massacred. The City Rhodes, which only continued true and kept allegeance, he assailed, but being in certain battels at sea overcome, he gave over and retired. Archelaus a chief governor and commander under the King, entred Greece with an army, seized upon Athens and held it. Moreover, this book containeth the fearfull troubles of certain Cities and Islands: whiles the Inhabitants endeavoured to draw their states, some to side with the King; others, to take part with the Romans.

## Of the LXXIX. Book.

Lucius Cornelius Cinna, *at what time as by force and arms he publiſhed dangerous laws, was thereupon by his Collegue* Cn. Octavius, *driven out of the City with ſix Tribunes of the commons beſides: and being thus deprived of his rule and authority, he became commander of* Ap. Claudius *his army by corruption: and joyning with* C. Marius *and other baniſhed perſons, out of* Affrick *he marched in warlike manner againſt the City of* Rome. *In which war, it fortuned that two brethren, the one of* Pompeius *his army, and the other of* Cinnas, *encountred in fight and knew not one another. Now when the conqueror was in diſarming and ſpoiling him whom he had ſlain, he ſaw what he had done, and took knowledge that it was his brother: whereupon he fell into an exceeding pitious fit of wailing and lamentation: made a funerall fire for his brothers corps, ſtabbed himſelf through thereupon, and in the ſame fire was burnt and conſumed to aſhes. Now whereas theſe civill wars might have been ſuppreſſed in the beginning, ſuch was the fraudulent dealing of* Cn. Pompeius, *who ſeeming to maintain both parts, gave ſtrength to* Cinna, *and ſet not to his helping hand before that the Nobles ſide went down; ſuch alſo was the faintneſs and coldneſs of the Conſul, that* Cinna *and* Marius *took heart and grew ſtrong: and ſo with four armies, whereof two were committed to the conduct of* Q. Sertorius *and* C. Carbo, *they inveſted the City of* Rome. Marius *won by force the Colony* Oſtia, *and moſt cruelly ranſacked it.*

## Of the LXXX. Book.

*The Italian nations were by the Senat enfranchiſed, and obtained the freedom of* Rome. *The Samnits who only continued in arms banded again with* Cinna *and* Marius. *By them was* Plancius *ſlain and his army defeated.* Cinna *and* Marius *together with* Carbo *and* Sertorius *were poſſeſſed of* Janiculum, *and being diſcomfited and repelled by* Octavius *the Conſul, retired and departed.* Marius *ſpoiled and laid deſolate* Antium, Aricia, *and* Lavinium *three Colonies. When as now the nobility and Lords of the Senat had no hopes at all left to withſtand the contrary faction, by reaſon of the cowardice and treachery as well of ſouldiers as leaders, who upon corruption either would not fight at all, or elſe went over to the adverſe part;* Cinna *and* Marius *were received into* Rome: *who as if it had been an enemy-City forced by aſſault, made havock of all with ſaccage and maſſacres. In this garboil* Cn. Octavius *the Conſul loſt his life, and all the nobility of the other ſide were murdered: and among the reſt,* M. Antonius *a moſt eloquent Orator, and* C. Cæſar: *whoſe heads were ſet upon the Pulpit* Roſtra. *Young* Craſſus *the ſon was by the horſemen of* Fimbria *killed: and* Craſſus *the father, becauſe he would not endure any indignity unworthy his vertue, fell upon his own ſword. Without any aſſembly or election at all* L. Cinna *and* C. Marius *declared themſelves Conſuls for the next year: and the ſame day whereon they entred into their Magiſtracy,* Marius *cauſed* Sex. Licinius *a Senator to be thrown down the rock* Tarpeia: *and after many wicked and heinous outrages committed upon the Ides of* January, *he departed out of this world: a man whoſe vices (if they were weighed together with his vertues) hardly could it be determined, whether he were in war a better ſouldier, or in peace a more dangerous Citizen. For the Commonweal which he in his armour ſaved, the ſame in his long gown he overthrew, firſt, with all manner of ſubtilty and deceit; and laſt, by plain hoſtility and force of arms.*

## Of the LXXXI. Book.

Lucius Sylla *ſtraightly beleaguered* Athens, *which* Archelaus *a governour under King* Mithridates *held with a garriſon: and after much toil and labour won it. To the City he granted their liberty again, and reſtored unto the Citizens all that was their own.* Magneſia *the only City in* Aſia *that remained true and loyall was moſt valiantly defended againſt* Mithridates. *Over and beſides, here ye ſhall read the exploits performed by the Thracians in* Macedony.

## Of the LXXXII. Book.

Sylla *vanquiſhed in battel the power of King* Mithridates, *which having kept* Macedony *in obedience, was now come into* Thracia. *He ſlew one hundred thouſand enemies, and was Maſter of the Camp. Afterwards, when the war was renewed, he diſcomfited and defeated quite the Kings whole army.* Archelaus *together with the Kings fleet yielded to* Sylla. L. Valerius Flaccus *the Conſul and companion in government with* Cinna, *being ſent to ſucceed* Sylla, *was (for his covetouſneſs) ſo odious unto his army, that he was ſlain by* C. Fimbria *his own lieutenant, a moſt audacious and deſperate perſon: and ſo the conduct and command of the army was tranſlated to* Fimbria. *Moreover, here is recorded what Cities in* Aſia Mithridates *won; how cruelly he ſpoiled and vexed the Province; and how the Thracians made rodes and invaſions into* Macedony.

## Of the LXXXIII. Book.

CAius Fimbria *after he had diſcomfited certain forces of* Mithridates *won the City* Pergamus, *beſieged the King there, and miſſed but a little of taking him priſoner. The City* Ilion, *which ſtood out and reſerved it ſelf to the behoof and devotion of* Sylla, *he forced and deſtroyed, and the greateſt part of Aſia he recovered.* Sylla *in many battels defeated the Thracians. When* L. Cinna *and* C. Papyrius Carbo *(who for two years together were Conſuls of their own making) prepared war againſt* Sylla; *by the means of* L. Valerius Flaccus *the Preſident of the Senat (who made an Oration in the Councill-houſe) and thoſe who loved concord and ſought for amity, effected it was in the end, that Embaſſadors ſhould be ſent unto* Sylla *to treat about a peace.* Cinna *was murdered by his own ſouldiers, whom he forced againſt their will to be imbarked and to take a voyage againſt* Sylla: *by which occaſion* Carbo *alone bare the Conſulſhip.* Sylla *being paſſed over into* Aſia, *made peace with* Mithridates *upon this capitulation, That the King ſhould quit theſe Provinces, namely,* Aſia, Bithynia, *and* Cappadocia. Fimbria *being forſaken of his own army, which revolted unto* Sylla, *gave himſelf a ſore wound, and yielding his neck unto his own bondſlave, obtained this favour at his hands, as to diſpatch him outright.*

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## Of the LXXXIV. Book.

SYlla returned this answer unto the Embassadors sent unto him from the Senat, That he would be ordered by them, in case those Citizens who (upon the hard usage of Cinna) fled unto him, might be restored. The Senat thought this a reasonable condition and just demand: but by means of Carbo and that faction, who made reckoning that war would be more commodious unto them, there ensued no greement and accord. The same Carbo when he was minded to exact hostages of all the towns and colonies of Italy, thereby to bind them upon their allegeance against Sylla, was by a generall consent of the Senat crossed and inhibited. The new enfranchised Citizens, by vertue of an act by the Senat granted, were allowed the priviledges of their suffrages and voices. Q. Metellus Pius, who had sided with the nobility, whiles he levied war in Affrick, was by C. Fabius the Prætor discomfited: and by the faction of Carbo and those that followed the part of Marius, an act of Senat passed, That all armies and forces whersoever should be cassed and discharged. The Libertins were distributed indifferently throughout the five and thirty tribes. Besides all this, here is specified the preparation of war which was rased against Sylla.

## Of the LXXXV. Book.

SYlla crossed the seas with an army over into Italy: and when those Embassadors which he sent to treat for peace were by the Consul C. Norbanus evill entreated, he overcame the said Norbanus in a battell. And when he was about to assail the camp of L. Scipio the other Consul, with whom he had travelled and assaied all means to conclude peace, and could not compass it: the whole army of the Consul in generall, being sollicited by Souldiers whom Sylla had sent out under-hand to that purpose, turned their ensigns unto him, and followed his standard. Scipio, when he might have been killed was let go. Cn. Pompeius, the son of that Cneus who won Asculum, enrolled an army of voluntaries, and came unto Sylla with three legions: unto whom also the nobility all and whole ranged themselves; so as abandoning the City they repaired to the camp. Finally, in this book report is made of the expeditions performed by Captains of both sides throughout all Italy.

## Of the LXXXVI. Book.

THat year wherein C. Marius (the son of C. Marius) was by forcible means and strong hand created Consul before he was twenty years of age; C. Fabius in Affrick was burnt quick in his own pavilion for his bloudy cruelty and greedy avarice. L. Philippus, lieutenant unto Sylla, seized Sardinia, after he had discomfited and slain Q. Antonius the Prætor. Sylla contracted a leagne with the states of Italy, to put them out of fear that he would not bereave them of their freedom of Rome and liberty of suffrages lately granted unto them. In like manner, upon assured confidence (that he had already) of undoubted victory, he commanded all those that were in suite and resorted unto him for jurisdiction, to adjourn their apparance in Court, and to appear at Rome. Whiles the City yet was divided and distracted two wares, L. Damasippus the Prætor, having according to the will and pleasure of C. Marius the Cos. gathered the Senat together, massacred all the nobility of the City. Out of which number Q. Mutius Scævola the arch-Pontifex, as he fled was in the very porch and entry of Vestans Temple murdered. Besides, this book containeth the war renewed by L. Muræna against Mithridates in Asia.

## Of the LXXXVII. Book.

SYlla after he had discomfited and overthrown the army of C. Marius, near a place called Sacriportus, besieged him within the town Prænestе. The City of Rome he recovered out of the hands of his enemies: and when Marius made an offer to sally forth, he repelled him. Moreover, this book containeth the exploits atchieved by his lieutenants, with the like fortune of that side in all places.

## Of the LXXXVIII. Book.

SYlla after that he had defeated and put to the sword the army of Carbo at Clusium, Faventia, and Fidentia, chased him forth of Italy. With the Samnits, who alone of all the Italian nations had not yet laid down arms, he fought one finall battell, and vanquished them near the City of Rome, even before the gate Collina: and thus having recovered and got into his hand the absolute managing of the state, he polluted and stain'd this most goodly and beautifull victory with the foulest cruelty that ever man committed. He cut the throats of 8000 in the great hostilry called Villa Publica, even those that had yielded themselves. He set up the table of proscription and outlawry. The City of Rome and all Italy throughout filled with massacres. Among the rest he caused all the Prenestins, disarmed as they were, to be slain. Marius, a Senator by calling, he killed in this manner, by breaking his arms and legs, by cropping his ears, and digging out his eyes. C. Marius besieged within Prænestе by Lucretius Asella and that side with Sylla; when he sought means of evasion by a mine under the ground, seeing how he was environed by the army, slew himself within the said mine: for perceiving that he could not escape, he and Pontius Telesinus, that accompanied him in this flight, ran one at the other with their drawn naked swords: and when he had killed him, and was himself hurt, he found so much kindnest at his slaves hands as to make an end of him quite.

## Of the LXXXIX. Book.

LUcius Butus sent from Cn. Papyrius Carbo, who was arrived at Corcyra in a fisher boat to Lilybæum, in espiall to see whether Pompey were there: being compassed and hemmed in round about by those vessels which Pompey had sent out, turned his swords point to his body, and set the pommell against a seat within the boat and so bending forward with the poise of his body was pierced through and died. Cn. Pompeius sent by the Senat with full commission of rule and command took Cn. Carbo prisoner, who was arrived in the Islands Cossura and slew him, who kept a puling and weeping, like a woman, when he should die. Sylla became Dictator, and that which never any man had done besides him, kept his port abroad with 24 Ushers or Lictors going before him with their rods and axes. He altered the State,

*a nd in that innovation eſtabliſhed it. The Tribunes of the Commons he abridged of their authority, and wholly deprived them of their power to prefer and eſtabliſh laws. The Colledg of the Pomifies and Augurs he amplified and augmented, to the number of 15. The body of the Senat he ſupplied out of the order of Gentlemen. The children of thoſe whom he had proſcribed and outlawed he diſabled for being elegible to any honourable office, and of their goods made port-ſale, whereof at firſt he ſeized much by violence and had it away. A mighty maſs of money he raiſed thereof, amounting to* * *a hundred and fifty millions of Seſterces. He commanded* Q. Lucretius Oſella *to be killed in the very* Forum *of* Rome, *for that he preſumed without his leave and licence to ſue for a Conſulſhip: and when the people of* Rome *were highly offended at this indignity, he aſſembled them to a publike audience, and before them avowed the fact and took it upon him.* Cn. Pompeius *in* Affrick *vanquiſhed and ſlew in battell* Cn. Domitius, *one of the proſcript outlaws: and* Hiarbas *King of the Numidians, who prepared to levy war. He being but four and twenty years of age, and no better as yet than a gentleman of* Rome *(a thing that never any man attained unto) triumphed over* Affrick. C. Norbanus, *a man who had been Conſul, and now proſcript and outlawed, was apprehended in the City of* Rhodes, *and thereupon ſlew himſelf.* Mutilus *likewiſe one of them that were outlawed and out of protection, being come privily diſguiſed with his head covered to the back door of* Baſtia *his wives houſe, was not let in, for that ſhe ſaid he was an outlaw: whereupon he took the ſtab at his own hands, and with his own heart bloud beſprinkled the door of his wives houſe.* Sylla *recovered and won again* Nola *in* Samnium. *He brought ſeven and forty legions into the lands conquered from the enemies, planted them therein, and divided the grounds amongſt them. He beſieged the town* Volaterræ, *which yet ſtood out and bare arms, and at length upon ſurrender got it.* Mitylenæ *alſo, the only City in* Aſia, *(which after that* Mithridates *was ſubdued maintained war) was fired and raſed down to the ground.*

* 471750 lib.

## Of the XC. Book.

SYlla *departed this life, and this honour was done unto him by the Senat, that he was enterred in* Mars *field.* M. Lepidus *going about to cancell and aboliſh the acts of* Sylla, *raiſed new war: and by* Q. Catulus (*his companion in government*) *was driven out of* Italy: *and when he prepared to wage war (but to no effect) in* Sardinia, *there he periſhed and came to his death.* M. Brutus *who held* * Lumbardy, *was by* Cn. Pompeius *ſlain.* Q. Sertorius, *another proſcript out-law levied a great war in the netherlands of* Spain. Lucius Manlius *the Pro-Conſul, and* M. Domitius *a lieutenant, were in fight overcome by* Herculeius *the treaſurer. Moreover, this book containeth the acts performed by* P. Servilius *the Pro-Conſul againſt the Cilicians.*

* Ciſalpine Gallia.

## Of the XCI. Book.

CNeus Pompeius, *being as yet but a gentleman of* Rome, *was ſent with full commiſſion of Conſular command againſt* Sertorius. *Certain Cities had* Sertorius *won by aſſault, and brought under many States to be at his devotion.* Ap. Claudius *the Pro-Conſul overcame the Thracians in divers and ſundry battels.* Q. Metellus *the Pro-Conſul defeated and ſlew* L. Hirculeius *the treaſurer of* Sertorius, *with all his army.*

## Of the XCII. Book.

CNeus Pompeius *hitherto fought with* Sertorius *in doubtful event, ſo as of both parts, one of the wings and points of the battell had the better hand.* Q. Sertorius *overthrew in fight* Metellus *and* Perpenna *with two armies.* Pompeius *deſirous to carry away his part in that victory, entred into the field, but made no ſaving game of it. Afterwards* Sertorius *was beſieged within* Calagurium, *but by daily and continuall ſallies forth, gave the enemies that lay in ſiege within as good as they brought. Over and beſides, herein are contained the deeds atchieved by* Curio *the Pro-Conſul in* Thrace *againſt thoſe Dardanians, together with ſundry cruel and bloudy parts plaied by* Q. Sertorius, *even with thoſe of his own ſide. For many of his own friends, and ſuch as were with him outlawed, upon imputations of treaſon pretended againſt them, he put to death.*

## Of the XCIII. Book.

PUblius Servilius, *the Pro-Conſul in* Cilicia, *ſubdued the Iſaurians, and won certain towns of the Pirats.* Nicomedes *King of* Bithynia *at his death made the people of* Rome *his full heir, and his kingdom was reduced into the form of a Province.* Mithridates *contracted a league with* Sertorius, *and waged war againſt the people of* Rome. *Herein is ſhewed the great preparation of war that the King made as well by land as ſea, and how he ſeized upon* Bithynia. M. Aurelius Cotta *the Conſul was in battell vanquiſhed by the King at* Chalcedon. *Moreover, this book containeth the exploits of* Pompeius *and* Metellus *againſt* Sertorius, *who in all warlike feats and martiall proweſs was equall unto them, whom alſo he raiſed from the ſiege before the town* Calagurium, *and compelled to go into divers countries,* Pompeius *into the farther Province of* Spain, *and* Pompeius *into* Gallia.

Plutarch otherwiſe in Sertorius.

## Of the XCIIII. Book.

LUcius Lucullus *the Conſul fought againſt* Mithridates, *and in horſe-ſervice had the better hand of him. Certain rodes he made with good ſucceſs; and when his ſouldiers called hard upon him for battel he ſtaid them from mutiny.* Deiotarus, *a tetrarch of* Gallogræcia, *defeated the captains of* K. Mithridates *who levied war in* Phrygia. *Moreover, this book containeth the fortunate atchievements of* Pompeius *againſt* Sertorius *in* Spain.

## Of the XCV. Book.

CAius Curio *the Pro-Conſul vanquiſhed and ſubdued the Dardanians in* Thrace. *Threeſcore and fourteen ſword-plaiers of* Capua *fled out of the ferſe-ſchool of* Lentulus *at* Capua: *who having gathered together a number of ſlaves, and hired hinds, raiſed war under the leading of* Chryſus *and* Spartacus,

tacus, *and vanquiſhed in plain field,* C. Pulcher *a lieutenant, and* P. Vatinius *the Prætor.* L. Lucullus *the Pro-Conſul with the famine and the ſword together tamed and ſubdued the hoſt of* Mithridates *at the City* Cizicus: *and when they had chaſed him out of* Bithynia, *after many overthrows in war, and misfortunes of ſhipwrack at ſea, wherewith his heart was quailed, he compelled him to flie into* Pontus.

## Of the XCVI. Book.

QUintus Arrius *the Prætor defeated and ſlew* Chryſus *the captain of the fugitives, and with him* 20000 *men.* Caius Lentulus *the Conſul received a foil and overthrow at the hands of* Spartacus. *He alſo overcame in fight* Lu. Gellius *the Conſul and* Quintus Arrius. Sertorius *was at a banket ſlain by* Manius Antonius *and* M. Perpenna *with other conſpirators in the eight year of his dukedom. A captain and brave warrior he was. He fought with* Pompeius *and* Metellus, *two famous Generals and Commanders. Many a time he ſaved his own, but more often he went away winner, howbeit, in the end he was abandoned and betraied. The ſoveraign command of that ſide was made over to* Marcus [Perpenna,] *whom* Cn. Pompeius *vanquiſhed, took priſoner and ſlew: ſo about the tenth year after the war began, he recovered* Spain. C. Caſſius *the Pro-Conſul, and* Cneus Manlius *the Prætor were foiled by* Spartacus *in the field, and that war was committed over to the managing and conduct of* M. Craſſus *the Prætor.*

## Of the XCVII. Book.

MArcus Craſſus *the Prætor firſt fought with a power of the fugitives aforeſaid, conſiſting of Frenchmen and Germans, and won the better: for he ſlew* 35000 *enemies, and their captain* Granicus. *After that, he warred againſt* Spartacus, *killed him alſo and* 40000 *with him.* Manius Antonius *the Prætor maintained war unfortunately againſt the Cretenſians, and by his death it took an end.* M. Lucullus *the Pro-Conſul brought the Thracians under ſubjection.* L. Lucullus *had the upper hand in a battell of* Mithridates *in* Pontus, *and ſlew above* 60000 *enemies.* M. Craſſus *and* Cn. Pompeius *were created Coſſ. and as* Craſſus *immediatly out of his Prætorſhip ſtepped to that dignity. ſo* Pompey *was of a gentleman of* Rome *and no better advanced thereunto, even before he had born the office of Treaſurer. They reſtored again the Tribunes power and authority. By the means of* Aurelius Cotta, *the preheminence of judges alſo was tranſlated unto the Gentlemen of* Rome. Mithridates, *ſeeing his own eſtate lying in deſpair, fled unto* Tigranes *King of* Armenia *for ſuccour.*

## Of the XCVIII. Book.

MAchares *the ſon of* Mithridates, *King of* Boſphorus, *was by* L. Lucullus *received into amity.* Cn. Lentulus *and* L. Gellius *the Cenſors adminiſtred their office with great ſeverity and rigour, and depoſed* 60 *from Senators dignity: they alſo held a review and purged the City. Enrolled there were* 450000 *Citizens of* Rome. L. Metellus *Lord Prætor in* Sicily *fought fortunatly againſt the pyrats and rovers. The Temple of* Jupiter *in the Capitoll, which by fire had been conſumed, was re-edified by* Q. Catulus, *and dedicated anew.* L. Lucullus *in* Armenia *diſcomfited in many battels* Mithridates *and* Tigranes, *with a mighty power of both Kings.* Q. Metellus *the Pro-Conſul having the charge of the war againſt the Candiots, beſieged the City* * Cydonia. C. Triarius, *a lieutenant under* Lucullus *received a foil of* Mithridates *in fight.* Lucullus *was impeached and ſtaid for purſuing* Mithridates *and* Tigranes *that he could not accompliſh his victory, by occaſion of a mutiny among his own ſouldiers, who would not follow, becauſe the Valerian legions forſook* Lucullus, *alledging that they had ſerved their time fully out.*

* Chania or Canea.

## Of the XCIX. Book.

QUintus Metellus *the Pro-Conſul forced by aſſault* Gnoſos, Lyctus, Cydonia, *and many other Cities* [*in* Crete] L. Roſcius *a Trib. of the Com. publiſhed a law, that the gentlemen of* Rome *ſhould be allowed the* 14 *next ſeats in the ſcaffolds of the Theatre, to behold the games and plaies.* Cn. Pompeius *being commanded by a law promulged unto the people for to purſue the rovers aboveſaid, who had debarred and cut off all commerce for corn and victuals, within* 74 *daies rid the ſea of them quite, and after the war with them finiſhed in* Cilicia, *he received them upon ſubmiſſion, and gave them Cities and lands to poſſeſs. Moreover, this book containeth the worthy exploits of* Q. Metellus *againſt the Cretenſians. The letters alſo of* Metellus *and* Cn. Pompeius, *ſent from the one to the other: in which* Metellus, *complaineth that* Pompeius *by ſending his own lieutenant into* Crete, *to receive the ſurrender and homage of the Cities there, annulled and paſſed by the glory of thoſe acts which he had atchieved.* Pompeius *again rendereth a reaſon thereof, and alledgeth that ſo he ought to do.*

## Of the C. Book.

CAius Manilius, *a Trib. of the Com. preferred a bill, to the exceeding diſpleaſure and indignation of the nobles, That the war againſt* Mithridates *ſhould be aſſigned to* Pompey. *His ſpeech to the people imported and was effectuall.* Q. Metellus *having ſubdued the Cretenſians, gave laws unto that Iſland which untill that time enjoyed freedom of State.* Cn. Pompeius *went his journey for to levy war againſt* Mithridates, *and with* Phraates, *King of the Parthians, he renewed the league. In a battell performed by horſe-ſervice he overcame* Mithridates. *Alſo herein is contained the war, firſt between* Phraates *King of the Parthians, and* Tigranes *King of the Armenians: afterwards between* Tigranes *the ſon and his father.*

Of

## Of the CI. Book.

* Or *Bosporus.*

CNeus Pompeius *vanquiſhed* Mithridates *in a battell fought by night, and compelled him to flie to* * Boſphorus. *He received* Tigranes *upon his ſubmiſſion: and when he had taken from him* Syria, Phœnicia, *and* Cilicia, *he gave him again the kingdom of* Armenia. *Their conſpiracy, who having been condemned for the inordinat and ambitious ſuit of the Conſulſhip, were confedered to kill the Conſuls, was ſurpriſed and daſht.* Cn. Pompeius *following the chaſe after* Mithridates, *entred into far remote countries and unknown nations. The* * *Iberians and Albans who would not grant him paſſage, he overcame in battell. Over and beſides, this book ſheweth how* Mithridates *fled by* Colchii *and* Heniochi, *and what his acts were in* Boſphorus.

* Georgians at this day.

## Of the CII. Book.

CN. Pompeius *reduced the realm of* Pontus *into the form of a Province.* Pharnaces *the ſon of* Mithridates *made war upon his own father, by whom* Mithridates *was beſieged within his own royall Court and Palace. Whereupon he drank poiſon, and ſeeing it was not* * *effectuall and ſtrong enough to diſpatch him, he was killed by a French ſouldier, named* Bitœtus, *whoſe helping hand he requeſted for to rid him out of the world.* Cn. Pompeius *ſubdued the Jews: their famous Temple of* Jeruſalem, *which untill that day never had ſuffered abuſe and violence, he forced and won.* Catiline, *by occaſion that he had twice ſuffered a repulſe in ſuing to be Conſul, conſpired together with* Lentulus *the Prætor,* Cethegus, *and many others, to maſſacre the Conſuls and the Senat, to ſet the City on fire, and to ſubvert and overthrow the State of the Common-weal, and to this purpoſe had levied an army in* Tuſcany. *This treaſon and conſpiracy was by the induſtry of* M. Tullius Cicero *detected and found out.* Catiline *was baniſhed the City. The reſt of his complices and adherents every one ſuffered death accordingly.*

* He had ſo ordinarily uſed a noxable Antidote or preſervative, called now Mithridate, that the poyſon would not work.

## Of the CIII. Book.

CAtiline, *together with his army was by* C. Antonius *the Pro-Conſul defeated and ſlain.* P. Clodius *was accuſed for entring (in the habit and apparel of a woman) that* * *Chappel which it was not lawfull for a man to go into, and notwithſtanding he had committed adultery with the archpontifices wife, yet he was acquit and went clear away.* Cn. Pompeius *the Prætor vanquiſhed at* Solone *the Allobroges, who had rebelled.* P. Clodius *left the nobility, and ranged himſelf with the Com.* C. Cæſar *ſubdued the Portugals. At what time as he was in election to be Coſ. and went about to invade and make havock of the Commonwealth, there aroſe a conſpiracy among three of the moſt principal perſonages of the City,* Cn. Pompeius, M. Craſſus, *and* C. Cæſar. *The Agrarian laws were by* Cæſar *the Coſ. publiſhed with great ſtrife and contention: the Senat was unwilling thereunto; but by the other Coſ.* M. Bibulus *they paſſed.* C. Antonius *Pro-Conſul in* Thracia *ſped but badly in his war-affairs.* M. Cicero *was baniſhed the City by vertue of an act promulged by* P. Clodius *Tribune of the Commons, for that he had put to death certain Roman Citizens uncondemned.* Cæſar *made a voyage into the Province of* Gaul, *where he ſubdued the Helvetians, a vagrant and wandring nation in thoſe daies, who ſeeking a place to inhabit, intended through the Province of* Cæſar *to travell into* * Narbo. *Moreover, it containeth the ſituation of* France. Pompeius *triumphed over the children of* Mithridates, *alſo over* Tigranes *and his ſon, and by one voice and generall conſent of the whole aſſembly was ſaluted by the name of* * Magnus.

* Of the goddeſs *Bona.*

* Narbone.

* Great.

## Of the CIV. Book.

THe forepart of this book compriſeth the ſite and deſcription, together with the manners of Germany, C. Cæſar *at what time as he led his army againſt the Germans, at the requeſt of the Hæduans and Segusians, whoſe territory by them was poſſeſſed, and who under the conduct of* Arioviſtus *were come down into* France, *by an Oration to his army ſtaid the timorous diſpoſition of the ſouldiers, which aroſe upon the fear they had of new and ſtrange enemies, vanquiſhed the Germans in plain fight, and drave them clean out of* France. M. Cicero, *by means of* Pompeius (*who among others made an Oration in his behalf*) *and of* T. Annius Milo, *a Tribune of the Commons, who likewiſe pleaded his cauſe, was with the exceeding joy of the Senat and all* Italy *called home from exile.* Cn. Pompeius *had commiſſion for five year ſpace, to look unto the proviſion of corn and victuals.* Cæſar *overcame in fight the Ambiani, Sueſſians, Viromanduans, Atrebates (nations all of the* Belgæ) *of whom there was an exceeding multitude, and received them upon yielding to his protection. Afterwards he fought with paſſing great hazard and jeopardy againſt the* Nervii, *one of the foreſaid States, and in fine utterly deſtroyed and extinguiſhed their whole generation: for they had waged war ſo long, untill of 60000 armed men there remained but 300. and of 95 of their Noblemen three only eſcaped and no more. There paſſed a law for to reduce* Cyprus *into the form of a Province, and to confiſcat the Kings treaſure: by vertue whereof the managing of that affair was committed to* C. Cato. Ptolomæus *King of* Ægypt *ſuffered many wrongs and injuries at his own ſubjects hands, and being by them expelled out of his kingdom came to* Rome. C. Cæſar *in a battell at ſea vanquiſhed the Venetians, a State and City ſeated in the very Ocean. Laſt of all, it reporteth exploits by his Lieutenants performed with like good fortune.*

Of

## Of the CV. Book.

*At what time as the assembly for election of Magistrates might be holden, by reason of the negative and inhibitions of* C. Cato *a Trib. of the Com. the Senat generally in token of sorrow put on mourning weeds.* M. Cato *in his sute for a Praetorship suffered a repulse, and* Vatinius *was preferred before him. The same* Vatinius *when he would have impeached the law, whereby were granted to the Coss. the Provinces for five years, unto* Pompey *the government of both* Spains, *unto* Crassus Syria *and the Parthian war, and unto* Cæsar France *and* Germany, *was by* C. Trebonius *a Tibune of the Commons, and the first maker of the said law, committed to prison.* M. Gabinius *the Pro-Consul established* Ptolomæus *again in the kingdom of* Ægypt, *and disseized* Archelaus *whom they had set up for their King.* Cæsar *after he had vanquished and put to sword the Germans in* France, *crossed over the* Rhene, *and subdued that part of* Germany *which is next thereto: which done, he sailed over into* Brittain *with much trouble and damage, by reason of the cross and contrary winds whiles he was at sea; and he sped little better when he was there: but after he had slain a mighty great number of men, he brought into subjection the rest of the Island.*

## Of the CVI. Book.

*Iulia daughter to* Cæsar *and wife to* Pompeius *departed this life, and had this surpassing honour done unto her by the people, as to be enterred in* Mars *field. Many of the States of* France *revolted by the leading of* Ambiorix *a Duke of the Eburons, by whom* Cotta *and* T. Aurunculeius *the lieutenants of* Cæsar, *were by an ambuscado surprised and environed, and by meanes thereof they and the armies whereof they had the conduct were put to the sword. And at what time as the camp of the other legions also was besieged, assailed, and with difficulty defended, and among them* Q. Cicero, *who was Lord President of the Trevires; the enemies were by* Cæsar *himself in person overthrown in fight.* M. Crassus *intending to war upon the Parthians passed over the river* Euphrates, *and being vanquished in battell, wherein his son was slain, after he had rallied the broken ends of his army, and retired them to a little hill, he was trained forth by the enemies (whose Captain was* Surenas) *to a parley and treaty of peace, and thereupon attached: but because he would not suffer any indignity and villany alive, he made resistance: and in that struggling of his was slain, and there an end of him.*

## Of the CVII. Book.

*C*Aius Cæsar *having vanquished the Trevirs in* Gaul, *passed over the second time into* Germany, *but finding no enemy there to make head, returned into* France, *where the Eburons and other Cities which had conspired, he overcame, put their K.* Ambiorix *to flight, and followed him in chase. The body of* P. Clodius *slain in the high way* Appia *near* Bovillæ *by* T. Annius Milo *a competitor of the Consulship, the Commons of* Rome *burnt in a funerall fire within the* Curia [Hostilia.] *By occasion of a seditious variance between two Candidates for a Consulship, namely,* Hypseus Scipio, *and* Milo, *who with force and arms tried the issue by the ears;* Cn. Pompeius *was sent out of the Senat to suppress such enormous debates. Created Consul he was the third time in his absence, and (which prerogative no man ever had) alone without Collegue. A commission was granted forth to sit upon the death of* Pub. Clodius, *by vertue whereof* Milo *was judicially condemned, and had his judgment to be banished. A bill was proposed, that* C. Cæsar *notwithstanding he was absent should be accepted of in the election of Consuls, albeit* M. Cato *was unwilling thereto, and gainsaid it. Moreover, this book containeth the warlike acts atchieved by* C. Cæsar *against the Gauls (who generally in manner revolted) under the leading of* Vercingetorix *the Arvernian: also the painfull sieges of certain Cities, and namely, of* * Avarium *in* * Bituriges, *and* * Gergovia *in* Auvergne.

* Bourgesse.
* In Berry.
* Clermont.

## Of the CVIII. Book.

*C*Aius Cæsar *vanquished the Gauls at* * Alexia, *and received all the Cities in* France *which had been in arms, into his protection upon their submission.* C. Cassius *the treasurer of* M. Crassus, *put the Parthians to the sword, who had passed over into* Syria. M. Cato *sued to be Consul, and had the repulse, and* Ser. Sulpitius *with* M. Marcellus *were created Consuls:* C. Cæsar *subdued the* * Bellovaci, *with other States and Cities in* France. *Also it containeth the strife and debate between the Consuls about sending of a successor to* C. Cæsar. *For* M. Marcellus *the Consul was earnest in the Senat, that* Cæsar *should come to stand for a Consulship, considering that he by a law made in that behalf was to govern his provinces unto that time of his Consulship. Last of all, the martiall deeds of* Mar. Bibulus *in* Syria *are here reported.*

line.

* Beauvoisis.

## Of the CIX. Book.

*THe causes of the civill war and their beginnings be here set down. The contentions likewise about a successor to be sent in lieu of* Cæsar, *who denied flatly to dismiss the armies, unless* Pompey *also discharged*

charged his forces. Moreover, this book treateth of the actions preferred by C.Curio, a Tribune of the Commons, first against Cæsar, and afterwards for him. When there passed an act of the Senat, that one or other without fail should be employed to succeed Cæsar, M.Antonius and Qu.Cassius, two other Tribunes (for that by their negative and inhibitions they seemed to cross and stay that act) were expelled the City: and a commission was directed by the Senat to the Consuls, and to Cn.Pompeius, in this form, To see that the Common-weal sustained no damage. C.Cæsar intending to persecute his adversary, came with his army into Italy. Corfinius together with L.Domitius and L.Lentulus he took prisoners, and let them go again: but Cn.Pompeius, and the rest of that side he utterly chased forth of Italy.

## Of the CX. Book.

CAius Cæsar besieged Massiles, which had shut the gates against him: who leaving C.Trebonius and D.Brutus at the siege, took a journey into Spain, where he received upon submission Lu.Afranius and C.Petreius, two lieutenants of Pompeius, together with seven legions at * Ilerda, and dismissed them all with no harm done unto them. Varro also a lieutenant of Pompeius, together with his army came under his obeisance. The Gaditans he enfranchised and gave the City unto. The Massilians after two overthrows in sea-fight, and a long siege which they had endured, submitted at last and were at the devotion of Cæsar. C.Antonius a lieutenant of Cæsar fought an unfortunat battel against the Pompeians, and in Illyricum was taken prisoner: during which war, the inhabitants of * Opitergium, beyond the river of Padus (who were the auxiliaries of Cæsar) seeing their chained bridge of boats and lighters locked up and fast shut within the enemies ships, rather than they would fall into the hands of their enemies, ran one upon another, and died every one. C.Curio, a lieutenant of Cæsar in Affrick, after he had fought against Varus a captain of the Pompeians, was together with his army defeated, and cut in peeces by Juba King of * Mauritania. C.Cæsar passed the seas over into Greece.

* Lerida.

* Odorso.

* Barbary.

## Of the CXI. Book.

CAius Cæcilius Rufus the Prætor going about to raise commotions and seditions all that ever he could within the City, and having sollicited the commons upon the hope of cancelling all debt-books, was first deposed from his Magistracy, and after driven out of the City. Then he banded with Milo a banished person, who had levied a power of fugitive outlaws: but both of them in this preparation of war came short of their purpose and were slain. Cleopatra queen of Ægypt was by her brother Ptolomæus expelled out of her kingdom. By reason of the avarice and cruelty of Q. Catulus the Prætor, the * Cordubians in Spain, together with two Varian legions, revolted from Cæsar and his side. Cn.Pompeius was besieged by Cæsar at Brundusium: but having won his sconces with the guards thereto belonging, and that with great loss of the adverse part, he was delivered from the siege. But after the war was translated into Thessaly, he was at Pharsalia in a battel overthrown. There remained still within the camp Cicero, a man by nature framed for nothing more unfit than war. Cæsar pardoned all those of the adverse part, who after his victory submitted themselves to his mercy.

* Cordova.

## Of the CXII. Book.

HErein is related the fearful condition of that side which was vanquished, and how they fled in sundry parts of the world. Cn.Pompeius being arrived in Ægypt, by the commandment of Ptolomeus the King, as yet an infant under age; and perswasion of Theodorus his teacher and schoolmaster, who might of all other over-rule the K. most; also of one Photinus, was killed by the hands of Achilla, one who had a warrant to execute that feat, even in the very barge before he was landed. But Cornelia his wife and Sextus Pompeius his son fled back into Cyprus. Cæsar three daies after the foresaid victory, pursued Pompeius: and when Theodorus presented unto him his head and signet of his finger, he was displeased in his heart and wept withall. He entred Alexandria without any danger, notwithstanding the troubles and hurliburly therein. Cæsar was created Dictator. He restored Cleopatra unto the kingdom of Ægypt: and when Ptolomæus made war by their advice and counsell who moved him to murder Pompeius, Cæsar vanquished him, with great perill and hazard of himself. As Ptolomæus fled, his vessell wherein he was embarked ran a ground in Nilus, and there stuck fast. Besides, this book sheweth the painfull and toilsome journey of Marcus Cato with his legions, in Affrick through the desart wilderness: and the war which Cn.Domitius fortunatly managed against Phaartes the Parthian King.

## Of the CXIII. Book.

WHen the side of Pompeius had gathered heart and strength in Affrick, the soveraign command thereof was committed to P.Scipio: for Mato who before had equall power and commission with him gave place and yielded his right. Now when it was debated in counsel as touching the subversion and utter ruin of Utica, for that the City was so enclined and favourable to Cæsar: whiles M. Cato stood stiffly in this point, that it should not be destroyed; and Juba [the K.] was earnest to have it rased: the guard and keeping thereof was committed unto Cato. The son of Pompey the great, having levied forces in Spain (the conduct and leading whereof, neither Afranius nor Petreius were willing to undertake) made fresh war upon Cæsar. Pharnaces King of Pontus and son of Mithridates, endured no time of war, but

*but was ſoon overcome. At what time as* P. Dolabella *a Tribune of the com. raiſed ſeditions in* Rome, *by means of a law by him publiſhed in the behalf of bankrupts, That the old debts ſhould be ſtricken off, and new order taken with the creditors: upon which occaſion there enſued a commotion of the commons;* M. Antonius, *Generall of the Cavalry, entred the City with a ſtrength of ſouldiers; and eight hundred of the commons loſt their lives.* Cæſar *diſcharged all his old ſouldiers, who in a mutiny demanded the ſame: and having ſailed into* Affrick, *he fought againſt the power of K.* Juba *with exceeding great jeopardy.*

## Of the CXIV. Book.

CÆcilius Baſſus *a gentleman of* Rome, *and one of* Pompeys *ſide, levied war in* Syria. Sextus *Cæſar was both forſaken by the legion which revolted and went to* Baſſus, *and alſo ſlain.* Cæſar *vanquiſhed* Scipio *the Prætor,* Afranius, *and* Juba, *near* Tapſos, *and forced their camp.* Cato *hearing thereof, wounded himſelf at* Utica: *and when his ſon came between and ſtaid his hand, his hurt was dreſſed, but in the very cure, as the wound was newly lanced again, he yielded up his vitall breath and died, in the 49 year of his age.* Petreius *killed* Juba *and himſelf.* P. Scipio *in his ſhip was beſet round, and at his death, which he took manfully, he uttered a brave ſpeech: for when the enemies made ſearch and enquiry what was become of the General, The General (quoth he) is well.* Fauſtus *and* Afranius *were ſlain.* Cato's *ſon had his pardon.* Brutus, *a lieutenant of* Cæſar *vanquiſhed the Bellovaci in* France *that rebelled.*

## Of the CXV. Book.

CÆſar *rode in four triumphs over* France, Ægypt, Pontus, *and* Africa. *A ſolemn feaſt he made, and exhibited unto the people ſhews of all ſorts. Unto* M. Marcellus *a man of Conſular dignity, at the requeſt of the Senat he granted leave to return: which* Marcellus, *could not enjoy the benefit of this grace and favour, by reaſon that he was murdered at* Athens *by* Cn. Magius Chilo, *his own client and vaſſall.* Cæſar *alſo held a review of the City, wherein were enrolled* 150000 *Citizens, whereas before there had been numbred* 400000. *See the calamity of civill war. He took a voyage into* Spain *againſt* Sex. Pompeius: *and after many rodes and expeditions on both ſides made, and ſome cities forced, in the end he attained one finall victory for all before the City* Munda, *but with exceeding perill and danger.* Sex. Sempeius *eſcaped and fled.*

## Of the CXVI. Book.

CAius Cæſar *triumphed a fift time over* Spain. *When many honours and thoſe right excellent, were by the Senat ordained for him, and namely, among the reſt, to be called* Pater Patriæ; *to be ſacroſanct and inviolable; and withall to be Dictator for ever; he gave occaſion to be envied and maliced; firſt in that, when the Senat beſtowed upon him theſe honourable titles, at what time as he ſat before the Temple of* Venus Genetrix, *he roſe not up nor did reverence unto them: ſecond for that when* Mar. Antonius *the Coſ. and his Collegue ran among the Luperci, he laid upon his ivory chair of eſtate the wreath or diadem which was by him ſet upon his head; thirdly, becauſe he deprived from their authority* Epidius Marullus *and* Cœſetius Flavus, *two Tribunes of the Commons, who went about to bring him into hatred, as if he affected and ſought to be King. Upon theſe cauſes, a conſpiracy was contrived againſt him, whereof the principall heads, were* M. Brutus, C. Trebonius, *and* C. Caſſius, *alſo one of his own ſide* D. Brutus; *by whom he was maſſacred in the court of* Pompeius, *and received* 23 *wounds: and by theſe murderers was the Capitoll ſeized and held. But after that the Senat had paſſed a decree to forget this murder, the conſpirators aforeſaid, having received for their ſecurity the children of* Antonius *and* Lepidus, *as hoſtages, came down from the Capitol. By the laſt will and teſtament of* Cæſar, C. Octavius (*his ſiſters ſon*) *was made his half heir, and adopted into his own name. The body of* Cæſar *being brought into* Mars *field, was by the Com. burnt in a funeral fire before the* Roſtra. *The honour and dignity of Dictatorſhip was for ever aboliſhed.* Chamaces *a perſon of moſt vile and baſe condition, avowed himſelf to be the ſon of* C. Marius: *and whiles he raiſed a ſedition among the credulous common people, was cut off and killed.*

## Of the CXVII. Book.

CAius Octavius *from out of* Epirus *repaired to* Rome: *for* Cæſar *had ſent him thither before, when he minded to make war in* Macedony, *where he was received with * good tokens and fortunat preſages, and withall took upon him the name of* Cæſar. *In this confuſion of ſtate and tumultuous trouble of all things,* Lepidus *attained by ſtealth to the higheſt pontificall dignity. But when* M. Antonius *the Conſul demeaned himſelf moſt lordly and proudly in his place, and by force publiſhed a law as touching the exchange of the Provinces; and withal offered much wrong and abuſe to* Cæſar, *when he made requeſt that he would aſſiſt and ſtand with him in revenge of thoſe that murdered his uncle:* Cæſar, *to the end that he might make both himſelf and the common-weal ſtrong againſt him, raiſed and excited the old ſouldiers whom he had before placed in Colonies. The fourth legion alſo, and that called* Martia, *fell from* Antonius *and turned their enſigns to* Cæſar. *After this, more beſides (by occaſion that many through the cruelty of* A. Antonius *were murdered every where in their tents) becauſe they were once ſuſpected, revolted from him and ranged to* Cæſar. D. Brutus *purpoſing to ſtop* Antonius *as he ſhould paſs into* Lumbardy, *ſeized upon* Mutina *with an army. Finally, this book declareth the running to and fro of thoſe on both parts, to be poſſeſſed firſt of the Provinces, and the preparation for war.*

* For as he entred the City, the circle of the ſun gathered about it an *Halo* round like a rainbow or garland, even over his head.

Of

## Of the CXVIII. Book.

MArcus Brutus *in Greece (under a pretence of maintaining the ſtate, and enterpriſing war againſt* Antonius) *poſſeſſed himſelf of the army whereof* Vetinus *had the conduct, together with the Province. Unto* Cæſar, *who firſt took arms in defence of the C.W. the government and command of a Pro-Prætor was granted, with the Prætorian ornaments and enſigns thereto belonging, and withall, he had this addition to be reputed Pro-Prætor.* M. Antonius *beſieged* D. Brutus *in* Mutina. *Certain Embaſſadors were ſent unto him from the Senat as concerning peace, but little availed they in the treaty and concluſion thereof. The people of* Rome *generally betook them to arms and ſouldiers habit.* Brutus *in* Epirus *ſubdued* C. Antonius *the Prætor together with his army.*

## Of the CXIX. Book.

CNeus Trebonius *was by the guilfull practice of* P. Dolabella, *ſlain in* Aſia: *for which fact* Dolabella *was by the Senat judged an enemy to the State. When* Panſa *the Coſ. was at the point to loſe the field againſt* Antonius, A. Hirtius *the other Coſ. came with his army to the reſcue, diſcomfited the forces of* M. Antonius, *and ſo made the fortune of both parts alike and equall. Afterwards,* Antonius *being vanquiſhed by* Hirtius *and* Cæſar, *fled into* France, *and joyned unto him* M. Lepidus *with the legions which were under him. Both he and all they who were within his holds in garriſon, were by the Senat attainted.* Aulus Hirtius, *who after his victory was ſlain within the camp of the enemies, and* L. Panſa, *who died of a wound received in an unfortunat fight, were both buried in* Mars *field. To* C. Cæſar *the only Captain of the three now remaining alive, the Senat was not ſo kind as they ought to have been: for having ordained that* D. Brutus (*who by* Cæſar *had been delivered from the ſiege at* Mutina) *ſhould triumph, they made no thankful remembrance of* Cæſar *and his ſouldiers, as was meet and requiſite. For which diſcourteſies* C. Cæſar (*being reconciled to* M. Antonius *by the means and mediation of* M. Lepidus) *came to* Rome *with an army: and when they were ſore diſmaied at his coming, who had before intreated him ſo unkindly, created Conſul he was* [*with* Q. Pœdius] *being but nineteen years of age, or not full twenty, for he wanted one day, as* Velleius Paterculus *ſaith.*

## Of the CXX. Book.

CÆſar *now Conſul, propoſed a law for an inquiſition to be made of them by whoſe means his father* Cæſar *was killed. and by vertue of that law,* M. Brutus, C. Caſſius, *and* D. Brutus *were endited, attainted and condemned in their abſence. When together with* M. Antonius, Aſinius Pollio *alſo, and* Munatius Plancus *had joyned their arms, and thereby much ſtrengthned and augmented their forces,* D. Brutus *whom the Senat had ſent with commiſſion to purſue* Antonius, *being now forlorn of his own legions and fled, was at the commandment of* Antonius (*into whoſe hands he fell*) *killed by one* Capenus *a Burgonian.* Caius Cæſar *contracted a peace with* Antonius *and* Lepidus, *wherein it was capitulated between them that thoſe three ſhould for five years have the ſoveraignty over all, only to ſet in order and eſtabliſh the ſtate of the common-weal: to wit, himſelf,* Lepidus, *and* Antonius, *and each of them proſcribe and outlaw their own adverſaries and enemies. In which proſcription were contained the names of very many Gentlemen of* Rome, *and one hundred and thirty Senators, and amongſt the reſt were* L. Paulus *the brother of* M. Lepidus, L. Cæſar *the uncle of* Antonius *by the Mother, and* M. Cicero, *ſlain by* Popilius *a legionary ſouldier, in the 63 year of his age, whoſe head and hands was ſet upon the* Roſtra. *Moreover, this book ſheweth the deeds by* M. Brutus *atchieved in* Greece.

## Of the CXXI. Book.

CAſſius *who had in commiſſion from the Senat, to purſue by force of arms* Dolabella, *judged an enemy to the Common-weal, being born out by the authority and warrant of the State, poſſeſſed himſelf of* Syria, *and became Maſter of three armies which were in that Province. He beſieged* Dolabella *within the City of* Laodicæa, *and put him to death.* C. Antonius *was likewiſe taken priſoner, and by commandment from* M. Brutus *ſlain.*

## Of the CXXII. Book.

MArcus Brutus *had but bad ſucceſs in fight againſt the Thracians. After that all the Provinces beyond-ſea, and the armies, were under his hands and* Caius Caſſius; *they complotted both together at* Smyrna, *what courſe to take for the future war.* Publicola *the brother of* M. Meſſala *they vanquiſhed, and yet by common conſent they pardoned him.*

## Of the CXXIII. Book.

SExtus Pompeius *the ſon of* Magnus, *aſſembled together out of* Epirus *a number of outlaws and baniſhed perſons, and having a long time with this army robbed only by way of pyracy, and ſetled as yet upon the poſſeſſion of no piece upon the land, firſt ſeized* Meſſana, *a town in* Sicily, *and afterwards*

*the*

*the whole Province. And after that* A. Pompeius Bithynicus *the Prætor there, was by* Pompey *ſlain; he the ſaid* Pompey *in a battell at ſea vanquiſhed* Q. Salvidienus, *a Lieutenant of* Cæſar. Cæſar *and* Antony *with their armies ſailed over into* Greece, *with intent to wage war againſt* Brutus *and* Caſſius. Quintius Cornificius *in* Affrick *overcame in plain fight* T. Seſtius *the Captain of the Caſſian faction.*

## Of the CXXIII. Book.

CAius Cæſar *together with* Antony *fought at* Philippi *with variable fortune againſt* Brutus *and* Caſſius, *in ſuch ſort, as the right points of both battels had the better, and each of them won the others camp. But the death of* Caſſius *was it that turned the ballance and made the difference: who being in that point that retreated and went down ſuppoſed that the whole army and main battell was diſcomfited and ſo killed himſelf. In another conflict afterwards,* M. Brutus *alſo was overcome, and there ended his life: for he intreated* Strato *(that accompanied him in his flight) to ſet his ſwords point toward him, and ſo he ran upon it. The ſame did ſome forty more of the principall Romans: among whom was* Q. Hortenſius *likewiſe ſlain.*

## Of the CXXV. Book.

CAius Cæſar *I. ſ.* Antony *(for to his ſhare fell the Empire of ſome Provinces beyond Sea) and returned into* Italy. *He divided lands among his old ſouldiers. The mutinies of his own army by occaſion that the ſouldiers were ſeduced by* Fulvia *the wife of* M. Antonius *and roſe againſt their Generall, he repreſſed with exceeding danger and jeopardy:* L. Antonius *the Conſ. and brother to* M. Antonius, *by the ungracious counſell and perſwaſion of the ſaid* Fulvia, *made war upon* Cæſar: *and having procured thoſe nations to ſide and take part with him, whoſe lands had been made over and aſſigned to the old ſouldiers aforeſaid; and withall, diſcomfited* M. Lepidus, *who with an army had the government and guard of the City, entred perforce by way of hoſtility into* Rome.

## Of the CXXVI. Book.

CAius Cæſar *when he was but three and twenty years of age, beſieged* L. Antonius *in the town* Peruſia: *and when he made ſundry offers to ſally out and break forth, he repelled and chaſed him back, yea and for very hunger forced him to yield and come under his obeyſance. As for* Antony *himſelf and all his ſouldiers, he pardoned, but* Peruſia *he raſed and deſtroyed. Finally, after he had brought all the armies of the adverſe ſide to ſubmit and to ſtand to his mercy, he finiſhed the war without effuſion of any bloud.*

## Of the CXXVII. Book.

THe Parthians, *under the conduct of* Labienus, *who had taken part with* Pompey *and that ſide, invaded* Syria; *overcame* Didius Saxa, *the Lieutenant of* M. Antonius, *and held all that Province to their own uſe.* M. Antonius *being ſollicited by the inſtigation of his wife* Fulvia *to make war againſt* Cæſar, *put her away, becauſe ſhe ſhould be no let nor hindrance to the accord and agreement of the three rulers in their Triumvirat. Then made he a peace with* Cæſar, *and took to wife his ſiſter* Octavia. Q. Salvidienus *who complotted miſchief againſt* Cæſar, *he detected and bewrayed: who being thereupon condemned, wrought his own death.* P. Ventidius *a Lieutenant under* Antonius, *overcame the Parthians in battell, and chaſed them forth of* Syria, *having before ſlain their Leader* Labienus. *When as* Sextus Pompeius *held Sicily, and being a near enemy and ill neighbour to* Italy, *ſtaid the tranſporting of corn and victuals by ſea: upon requeſt* Cæſar *and* Antony *made peace with him for this conſideration, that he ſhould govern* Sicily *as his Province. Alſo herein are ſet forth the troubles and wars of* Affrick.

## Of the CXXVIII.

WHhen Sext. Pompeius *infeſted the ſea again with rovery, and piracy, and would not make good and maintain that peace, which he had accepted of* Cæſar, *he was forced upon neceſſity to undertake war againſt him, and in two naval battels fought with doubtfull event.* L. Ventidius *a Lieutenant of* M. Antonius, *vanquiſhed the Parthians in* Syria *and ſlew their K. The Jews alſo were by* Antonies *Lieutenant ſubdued. Herein beſides, is ſet down the preparation for the Sicilian war.*

## Of the CXXIX. Book.

SUndry battels were fought at ſea againſt Sex. Pompeius *with variable iſſue: ſo as, of* Cæſars *two fleets, the one which was conducted by* Agrippa, *got the better hand: but the other, led by* Cæſar *himſelf, had the overthrow: and the ſouldiers being ſet a ſhore were in exceeding great danger. But afterwards* Pompeius *was defeated, and thereupon fled into* Sicily. Marcus Lepidus *croſſed the ſeas from out of* Affrick *pretending to take part with* Cæſar *in his wars to be made againſt* Sex. Pompinius. *But when* Cæſar *warred upon him alſo, he was abandoned of his army, and being content to reſign up the honour and dignity of the Triumvirat, obtained life.* M. Agrippa *was by* Cæſar *rewarded with a navall crown, an honour to no man ever granted before him.*

## Of the CXXX. Book.

MArcus Antonius, *in his rioting time with* Cleopatra, *entred into the Province of* Media *with eighteen legions, and fixteen thouſand horſemen; levied war upon the Parthians, and after he had left two of his legions, ſeeing nothing proſper well on his ſide, he retired back. But ſtill the Parthians followed him in chaſe: whereupon in exceeding fearfull haſte and great perill of the whole army, he returned into* Armenia: *ſo as in 27 daies he fled three hundred miles. About 8000 men he loſt by tempeſtuous weather. But he was himſelf the occaſion that he ſuffered theſe dangerous tempeſts, over and beſides the Parthian war which unfortunatly he enterpriſed, becauſe he would not winter in* Armenia *for haſte he made to his love* Cleopatra.

## Of the CXXXI. Book.

SEx. Pompeius *having once ſubmitted, whiles he was in the protection of* M. Antonius, *went about to levy war againſt him in* Aſia: *but by his Lieutenants he was ſurpriſed and ſlain.* Cæſar *ſtaid the mutiny of the old ſouldiers, which with great miſchief was begun: he ſubdued the Iapides, the Dalmatians and Pannonians.* Antonius *having upon his word and promiſe of ſafety and protection trained unto him* Artauaſdes *the King of* Armenia, *commanded him to be laid up faſt in Irons, and gave the kingdom of* Armenia *to his own ſon, which he had by* Cleopatra: *for now by this time he began to avow her as his wife, upon whom long before he was enamoured and doted in love.*

## Of the CXXXII. Book.

CAius Cæſar *ſubdued the Dalmatians in* Illyricum. *When* M. Antonius *for the love of* Cleopatra (*who bare him two ſons,* Philadelphus *and* Alexander) *would neither return to the City of* Rome, *nor after the time of the Triumvirat expired, reſign up that dignity and government, but prepared for war, which he meant to levy againſt* Rome *and* Italy: *and thereto had raiſed a mighty power, as well of ſea-forces as land; and withall, had renounced the marriage with* Octavia, Cæſars *ſiſter, and ſent her a letter of divorcement, and ſo put her away:* Cæſar *thereupon, with an army ſailed into* Epirus. *The batels at ſea afterwards, and the horſe-fights, wherein* Cæſar *had the upper hand, be here related.*

## Of the CXXXIII. Book.

MArcus Antonius *was with his fleet overcome at* Actium, *and thereupon fled to* Alexandria: *where being by* Cæſar *beſieged, and in utter deſpair of recovering his former ſtate, but moved eſpecially upon a falſe rumour that was ſpred, how* Cleopatra *was killed, he ſlew himſelf. When* Cæſar *was now Maſter of* Alexandria, Cleopatra *likewiſe becauſe ſhe would not fall into the hands of the conquerour, willingly procured her own death.* Cæſar *upon his return to the City of* Rome, *had the honour of three triumphs: the one over* Illyricum, *another for the victory at* Actium, *and the third in regard of* Cleopatra. *Thus when he had finiſhed all civill wars which had continued 21 years,* M. Lepidus, *the ſon of* Lepidus *the Triumvir, conſpired againſt* Cæſar: *and whiles he went about to make war, was prevented and ſlain.*

## Of the CXXXIV. Book.

CAius Cæſar *having ſet the State in good orders and reduced all Provinces into one certain form, was ſurnamed alſo* Auguſtus: *and the month* Sextilis *to honour his name was likewiſe ſo called. Whiles he ſat in viſitation at* Narbone, *he took a review of the three Provinces of* Gaul, *which his father* (Cæſar) *had conquered. The war which* M. Craſſus *made againſt the Baſtarnians, Mæſians, and other nations, is here reported.*

## Of the CXXXV. Book.

THe war *which* M. Craſſus *levied againſt the Thracians, as alſo which* Cæſar *made upon the Spaniards is here ſet down. Likewiſe how the Salaſſians, a people inhabiting the* Alps, *were utterly ſubdued.*

## Of the CXXXVI. Book.

RHetia *was conquered by* Tiberius Nero, *and* Druſus *his wives ſon.* Agrippa Cæſars *ſon in law died: and by* Druſus *was the generall review and tax taken.*

## Of the CXXXVII. Book.

THe Cities *of* Germany *ſituat on either ſide the* Rhene, *are by* Druſus *beſieged and aſſailed. The tumult and inſurrection which aroſe in* France, *by reaſon of the foreſaid review or tax, was appeaſed. An altar was erected unto* Divus Cæſar *at the confluent of the two rivers,* * Arar *and* * Rhodanus: *and a Prieſt was created to offer thereupon, one* C. Julius Vercondaridubius *an Heduan.*

* Saone.
* Rhoſne.

Of

### Of the CXXXVIII. Book.

*HEre is ſhewed how the Thracians were by* L. Piſo *tamed. Likewiſe how the* Theruſci, Temachateri, *the* Cauci, *and other nations of* Germany *beyond the* Rhene, *were ſubdued and brought under by* Druſus. Octavia *the ſiſter of* Auguſtus *departed this life, having buried before, her ſon* Marcellus: *whoſe monuments ſtill remain, namely, the Theatre and gallery bearing his name, as if they had been dedicated by* Marcellus.

### Of the CXXXIX. Book.

*THe war which* Druſus *managed againſt the nations beyond* Rhene *is here reported. In which war the chief perſons that fought were* Senectius *and* Anectius, *Tribunes of the Nervian State.* Nero *the brother of* Druſus *ſubdued the Dalmatians and Pannonians. Peace was contracted with the Parthians: and upon capitulation the military enſigns were delivered up again to their King, which firſt under the conduct of* Craſſus, *and afterwards of* Antonius *were loſt, and by them taken.*

### Of the CXL. Book.

*IN this book is related the war which* Druſus *fought againſt the Cities and States of* Germany *beyond the* Rhene. *Himſelf fell from his horſe and brake his leg, by reaſon that his horſe fell thereon: upon which fracture he died thirty daies after. His corps was by his brother* Nero (*who being ſent for upon the news of his ſickneſs, rode in poſt*) *brought through to* Rome, *and beſtowed in the tomb of* C. Julius. *Praiſed he was by* Cæſar Auguſtus *his father in law, and at his funerals for a fiuall farewell, he was entituled with many honourable names.*

## *To the Reader.*

THe hiſtory of *Titus Livius*, as it was by him paſſing well penned otherwiſe, and none thereto in Latine comparable: ſo in the calculation and date of times, which they call Chronology (a ſingular light to give direction in a ſtory) he is ſomewhat defective and unlike himſelf, ſo as he cannot be praiſed without exception. But if a man conſider the huge volumes which he wrote, and namely, in his declining age; the variety and diſagreement of former authors, whom he followed, who before him faulted alſo in this point, and whereof he much complaineth; he is to be pitied and pardoned, if his memory failed ſomewhat in this behalf. For where ſhall we find a man that is ἄπαντα σοφὸς, *omnique ex parte beatus*? And indeed, if we weigh the thing aright, as it was a profeſſion by it ſelf, and required a whole man: ſo many travelled therein alone, and they that performed well but it only, deſerved high thanks and commendation. And to let many others paſs, how worthily is *T. Pomponius Atticus* praiſed by *Cicero* his friend, for digeſting the head Magiſtrates of 700 years in one book? As for *Verrius Flaccus*, who lived in the time of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, he collected a catalogue and regiſter of the chief Rulers of *Rome*, how they were choſen ſucceſſively, and how they governed from time to time: which as he cauſed to be cut and engraven in a marble wall within the Capitol for a perpetuall memory to poſterity: ſo thereby he deſerved alſo to have his own ſtatue erected near the Temple of *Veſta*, for an everlaſting memoriall of ſo great a benefit. But what is there ſo durable, that time waſteth not? What ſo conſpicuous and evident, but troubleſome daies may overwhelm and hide in oblivion? Thus amidſt that havock which the Goths and Vandals made in *Italy*, there remained not one fourth part extant of *Livies* ſtory: thus in that generall confuſion of *Rome*, theſe records of *Verrius Flaccus* were defaced, broken, and buried deep under the ruins of the Capitoll and other ſtately edifices. But the revolution of times, as it hath brought to light again ſome reliques of *Livy*; ſo it hath diſcovered alſo thoſe marbles of *Verrius*: for in the time of *Paul* the third, Pope of *Rome*, the fragments of the ſaid ſtones were digged out of the ground between the Roman *Forum* and the broad ſtreet *Via Sacra*; brought forth alſo & laid abroad in the Capitol to the view of the world. To which, as the true touch-ſtone certain learned men of late daies have laid to their own labors in that kind, namely, *Bartholomew Marlian* of *Millain*, *Onuphrius Panvinius* of *Verona*, *Charles Sigonius* of *Modena*, and *Francis Robertellus* of * Udine: and comparing the ſame as alſo the annals gathered by *Henry Glareanus* before time, with the foreſaid antiquities of *Verrius* late found, have recovered much light to the hiſtory of *Livy*, and ſupplied his wants in that behalf. I thought it not amiſs therefore to gratifie my countrimen in ſome meaſure this way alſo, and deliver the ſame in Engliſh which I found annexed to the beſt editions in Latine, as followeth.

* *vtin.* or *Fe-rum Julium.*

# A CHRONOLOGIE TO THE HISTORY OF *TITUS LIVIUS*,

## Compiled according to the Tables and Records of *Verrius Flaccus* in the Capitoll, and ſet out with moſt profitable Notes, ſhewing the variety and diſagreement of Authors about the names of the Roman Conſuls.

### *The cauſes of diſſent and repugnance in Hiſtoriographers, as touching the computation and relating of the years from the foundation of the City of* Rome.

Since we intend to ſet forth a Kalender or Regiſter of the Conſuls mentioned in the Hiſtory of *Livius*, which by reaſon of uncertainty, obſcurity, and diſcordance of the times, is ſo dark and intricate, that not only the learned and moſt experienced Hiſtorians of our age, but the beſt writers of the Roman ſtory in ancient time very often complained thereof; we think it not impertinent to our purpoſe, briefly to ſearch into the cauſes of this diſſent: which being once known, we may follow that account of the times, which ſeemeth to accord beſt with the Hiſtoricall truth, and to be grounded upon the authority and teſtimony of the moſt authenticall and approved writers. For ſeeing that an Hiſtory (as *Cicero* hath moſt truly ſaid) is the witneſs of times; what is more unfitting for it, than to miſs and want that which is the chiefeſt point therein, and without due and diligent reckoning made, to be ignorant what was firſt and what was laſt done? It ſeemeth therefore, that of this diverſity in the account and computation of the Roman Conſuls, there be three eſpeciall cauſes.

The firſt is, for that the year in which the firſt Conſuls entred into that Magiſtracy, is by the Roman Hiſtoriographers, not after one ſort but diverſly ſet down. For *Dionyſius* (a moſt diligent writer of the Acts of Romans) in his firſt book, in the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth, reporteth, that the KK. reigned 244 years: which alſo is collected out of the yearly computation gathered by *Varro* and approved by the authority of others. For *Meſſala* reporteth, how upon the expulſion of the KK. which hapned in the 244 year after the foundation of the City, the Romans were ruled under the yearly government of Conſuls. To which opinion *Livy* alſo ſubſcribeth in the end of his firſt book, ſaying, that the regiment of KK. continued 244 years from the foundation of the City, unto the freedom and liberty thereof. But *Eutropius* in his firſt book writeth that the ſeven Kings reigned in *Rome* 243 years: which account agreeth with *Sex. Ruffus* in his abridgment. In which variety this is to be obſerved, that theſe two laſt named, reckon the years only of every Kings raign, and out of the whole and groſs ſum leave out the year of the interreign, which *Dionyſius*, *Livius*, *Meſſala*, and the reſt inſert between, and that right truly and upon good reaſon: for after the death of *Romulus*, the interreign continued one year. Conſider then and examine the thing diligently, and ye ſhall find, that in reckoning the years of every Kings reign in ſeverall, *Eutropius* and *Sextus Ruffus* both, attribute as many years to the Kings government, as *Denis*. *Livy*, and the reſt: ſo that this difference is not much. But others there be (as *Euſebius* hath delivered in his Chronicles) who write, that the KK. reigned but 243 years, and take the interregency withall: whoſe judgment, *Oroſius*, *Iornandes*, and *Bede* ſeem to follow. For *Oroſius* in the fift chapter of his ſecond book recordeth, that *Brutus* the Conſul in that very year, namely the 244, put his own ſons to death. The Kings reigned not preciſely ſo many years juſt, but, for that ſome (and namely, *Romulus*) went over ſome months and daies, *Dionyſius* and *Livius* reckoned them for a full year, and laid it to *Tarquinius Priſcus*: but the other above-named, together with *Euſebius*, left out thoſe odd months and daies (becauſe they made not up a compleat year) and aſſigned but only ſeven and thirty years to the reign of King *Priſcus*. To this may be added another reaſon of the like nature: namely, that as divers authors have doubtfully reported the year, ſo they are no more certain of the month and day on which the firſt Conſuls began their government. For *Plutarch* in his Problems writeth, that they entred upon the firſt day of *January*: but *Macrobius* in the firſt book of his *Saturnalia* and ſeventh chapter, ſeemeth to imply that they took their Conſuls place the firſt of *June*, ſaying, (according to the opinion of others) That *June* took the name of *Junius Brutus*: for that in this month, and namely, upon the firſt day thereof (according to a vow whereto he was obliged by the baniſhment of *Tarquin*) he ſolemnized a ſacrifice to the goddeſs *Carnea* upon mount *Cœlius*.

Othres

Others again write, how this hapned the 24 of *February*; grounding herein upon the old antiquities and records of ſtone, together with the teſtimony of *Ovid*, who in the ſecond book of his Kalender thus writeth:

*King* Tarquin *with his ſons then fled: The Conſuls yearly bear*
*The ſoveraign rule at* Rome: *ſince that, no King ever raign'd there.*

Some there are beſides of opinion, that they entred the firſt day of *July*: and of their mind ſeemeth *Joachimus Perionius* to be, in his third book of the Greek Magiſtrates. In this repugnancy therefore of opinions, very doubtfull it is which to follow. As for that of *Plutarch*, it hath long ſince been clearly and learnedly confuted by two great and excellent clarks, *Onuphrius Panvinius*, and *Sigonius*: ſince it is plain that it was the ſix hundred year from the foundation of the City, and not before, that the Conſuls began their government the firſt of *January*. But in ſetting down the certain day, they themſelves are not well agreed. For *Sigonius* after *Marlianus* inclineth this way and ſaith, That the firſt day of the Conſuls government was the ſix and twentieth day of *May*. But *Panvinius* thinketh that the firſt Conſuls were created the 26 day of *February*. And this diverſity is found not only in the day when the firſt Conſuls took their government, but alſo in the time after enſuing. What was the uſuall day of any month whereon the Conſuls were wont to begin their Magiſtracy, a man can hardly find any certainty before the ſix hundred year from the Cities foundation. In the four and fortieth year verily after the Kings were exiled the firſt day of *July*, as *Livy* writeth, was the ordinary day for yearly Magiſtrates to take their place: but how many years following, that order continued, or at what time it was changed, he ſhewed not before he come to the three hundred and two year, and then he ſaith in his third book, That the thirteenth of *May* was the ordinary day for Magiſtrates to begin their government. Thus much at leaſtwiſe we may collect by him (when he ſaith that this time was ſolemn) that he meant not two or three years only, but many. For that is properly called ſolemn, which is by law uſually obſerved. Again, we read a little after the beginning of the fift book, that this time alſo was altered: for whereas the fift day of *December* was the uſuall time that Magiſtrates began to execute their office, he ſaith, that it was changed, in theſe words, The principall Nobles and Lords of the Senat, were it upon the default or the inſortunity of their Generals (that ſo ſhameſull an overthrow was received) opined and adviſed, not to expect and ſtay for the ordinary time of the election, but preſently to create new military Tribunes in Conſuls authority, who ſhould enter into their government the firſt day of *October*, &c. Which opinion of theirs imported, and the whole houſe accorded to it: whereupon the other Tribunes gainſaid it. But *Sergius* and *Virginius* withſtood this Act of the Senat, and denied flatly to reſign up their dignity before the eleventh of *December*, the ordinary day of taking their oath and beginning their Magiſtracy. And a little after, within one page, he ſheweth that the uſuall day of entrance into government was altered from the eleventh of *December* to the firſt of *September*, ſaying, When this ſpeech was received with a generall applauſe of all men, and that the Nobles and Lords of the Senat &c. But this day was kept but a few years. For about ſix years after, he ſaith, by occaſion that both Conſuls lay ſick, it was ordained that the firſt of *July* ſhould be the ordinary day. And this alſo I find was changed to another, whatſoever it was, for named it is not; and therefore uncertain. But this hapned in the four hundred and thirteenth year after the Cities foundation: as *Livy* about the beginning of the eighth book ſheweth in theſe words; And when the Conſuls were commanded to reſign up their Magiſtracy before the time, to the end that new Conſuls might the ſooner be created, againſt ſo great troubles of war, *&c.* For in theſe words [The ſooner, *&c.*] he declareth that the uſuall day of entier into government was then changed. But as it is not certainly ſet down what day this was; ſo the other was as well known: for ſoon after, and namely, the eighth year following it was appointed, to wit, the firſt day of *July*. Immediatly therefore (quoth he) the new Conſuls, *L. Æmylius Mamercus*, and *Cn. Plautius* were enjoyned that day (even the firſt of *July*) on which they began their office, to agree and part between themſelves their Provinces. As for the month, wherein for the moſt part the aſſembly for election of Magiſtrates was holden, we read it was *February*; like as the thirteenth of *March* was ordinary for them to begin their government. For this day held alwaies, during the ſecond Punick war and the Macedonian, and longer than ſo. Thus *Livy* teſtifieth in many places (which to quote is needleſs) as in the ſixt book of the ſecond Punick war, and in the beginning of the firſt book as touching the Macedonian. By which, who ſeeth not that there is great variety in the month and day both, whereupon the Magiſtrates were wont to begin their rule? But whereas all the certainty in computation and account of the time dependeth upon a preciſe, exact, firm, and ſetled reckoning of years, months, and daies; and ſeeing that in *Livies* ſtory it is neither expreſly ſhewed, what year, month or day the Magiſtrates began their government, nor preciſely noted when the reckoning altered; conſidering alſo that nothing therein is more wavering and inconſtantly delivered than the very uſuall day of entring into Magiſtracy: what marvel is there, if authors diſſent ſo much about the computation of the times? whiles one beginneth at this month, another at that: whiles ſome, I ſay, aſcribe theſe Magiſtrates created to this year, others attribute the ſame to another?

Thirdly, there being great difference between *Dionyſius* and *Livy*, as well about the reckoning of the times and years, as the acts and affairs that therein paſſed; all ſeemeth to have riſen hereupon, that the purpoſe of *Livy* was not to deliver exactly the acts and occurrents of greateſt antiquity which hapned in the State of the people of *Rome*, and which by many writers aforetime had

been moſt diligently ſet down and penned to poſterity: but to record and write thoſe things eſpecially, which from the time a little before the ſecond Punick war had been atchieved by the people of *Rome* unto the age wherein himſelf lived. But becauſe (as *Polybius* moſt wiſely and pithily writeth) a generall ſtory cannot be underſtood by particular regiſters; and for that an Hiſtoriographers ſtudy & endeavour ought to be employed rather in an univerſall treatiſe, than in particular diſcourſes: therefore, leſt ſo great a piece of work as his, wanting a beginning, ſhould ſeem maimed & unperfect; in the formoſt 20 books he ſlightly & briefly ran over the deeds of the people of *Rome* from the fouudation of the City, unto the beginning of the ſecond Punick war. But *Dionyſius* profeſſing purpoſely to deſcribe the ancient monuments of the Romans, thought it his part to overpaſs and omit nothing worthy of remembrance, but moſt curiouſly and exactly hath delivered all things pertinent, either to the calculation of the times or diſcourſe of affairs, inſomuch as thoſe things whereof *Livy* hath ſcantly made 3 books, he hath declared at large in eleven. Hereupon if a man read in *Dionyſius*, the ancient beginning and originall of the Roman Empire, and examine well the times how they are by him digeſted & compare the ſame with the brevity in *Livy*, no doubt he will prefer the diligence of the former before the overhaſtineſs of the later. But if the indifferent reader conſider the purpoſe and intent of them both, he will yield unto either of them their due praiſe; & whereas *Livy* making haſte to other matters, hath either let paſs or more ſlightly handled ſome things, he will judge him worthy rather to be excuſed than reproved for it.

To theſe three cauſes above rehearſed, others alſo might be adjoyned; namely, the ordering of the years by *Romulus*, and the variety as touching that year wherein *Rome* was founded: but it may ſuffice only to touch theſe & point unto them with the finger. Howbeit, this we think good to advertiſe and admoniſh the reader by the way; that albeit in the digeſting and reckoning of the Conſſ. we have ſet before our eyes to follow the marble tables and monuments of *Verrius Flaccus*, and according thereunto have framed and applied the computation of the years: yet that year before the 250 as alſo the other, which *Verrius* rejected, we have inſerted with the reſt, that our account might fall out juſt with the ſum of the years, as they are collected by *Varro*. Which, before us, *Onuphrius Panvinius* a moſt learned man hath done in his Kalender, thinking that the year which *Verrius* and they that followed him raſed out was the 423. and therefore he hath put it to the reſt without Conſuls, according to the Capitoline records.

*Of the computation of times uſually obſerved by the Romans, and of the year of the Cities foundation.*

THe calculation of years was taken and obſerved by men in old time divers and ſundry waies. The Achæans (as we read) received it from the revolution of the ſtars: the Argives from their women Prieſts; as for example, if *Chryſis* ſuch a year were chief Prieſt to offer ſacrifices, they counted the number of years from the ſaid *Chryſis*. But many have derived and fetched the courſe and conſequence of their acts and affairs, from the years before *Troy* was built, or elſe after the winning thereof. Howbeit, from the 408 year after the captivity thereof, by occaſion of the Olympian games, which *Hercules* firſt inſtituted in the honour of his great grandſire by the mothers ſide and which by his ſon *Iphiclus* (or *Iphitus*, as ſome will have it) were renewed that year: from that time (I ſay) they began to number the years by the Olympiads, eſpecially among the Grecians, whoſe ſtory (as *Euſebius* affirmeth) is not of any credit but from the time of the firſt Olympias. The Hebrews (like as other nations in the Eaſt) received the denomination and reckoning of the years from their KK. The Athenians, from their Eponymi (as they called them) but that in their *Archareſiæ*, [that is the election of their Magiſtrates] which were wont to hold for certain daies about the beginning of the year, they counted in this wiſe, ἐπὶ πρώτης πρυτανείας τῇ δεκάτῃ ἢ ἑνδεκάτῃ, *i.e.* the tenth or eleventh of the firſt *Prytaneia*. And hereof it ſeemeth, that the name cometh τῷ ἐπωνύμῳ; as if from thence, their acts received both the time and alſo the name. After the example of the Athenians and others, the Romans reckoned their daies, made their Kalender, and regiſtred their acts by ſuch and ſuch Conſuls; noting thereto otherwhiles the year from the Cities foundation. But about it there is much more diverſity in authors, than about that wherein the firſt Conſuls took their government. And ſeeing the clearing and declaration of that point is not impertinent to this place, briefly we will rehearſe the opinions of authors as touching the time when the City of *Rome* was founded.

To begin therefore at them, who (according to the common received opinion of others) have written longer ago and further off, *Timæus Siculus* (I know not upon what reaſon induced) hath recorded, how the City was built by *Romulus* much about the time that *Carthage* in *Affrick* by the Tyrians, namely, in the 38 year before the firſt *Olympias*.

*L. Cincius* (a Senator of *Rome* by calling) ſaith it was in the fourth year of the twelfth *Olympias*.

*Q. Fabius Pictor* (a moſt ancient writer of the Roman ſtory and of greateſt credit) attributeth it to the firſt year of the eight *Olympias*.

*Polybius Megapolitanus*, and *Diodorus Siculus* quote the ſecond year of the 7 *Olympias*.

*Appollodorus*, *Q. Lutatius Catulus*, *C. Cornelius Nepos*, *Eratoſthenes*, *M. Porcius Cato*, *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus* name the firſt year of the 7 *Olympias*.

*M. Verrius Flaccus* (the avoucher of the Capitoline ſtone-records) *T. Livius*, *C. Julius Solinus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and others, will have it to be the fourth year of the 6 *Olympias*.

*L. Taruntius*

*L. Taruntius Firmanus, M. Terentius Varro, T. Pomponius Atticus, M. Tullius Cicero, Auguſtus Cæſar, C. Plinius Secundus, Plutarchus Chæronæus, Domitianus Cæſar Auguſtus, P. Cornel. Tacitus. Caſſius Dio, A. Gellius, L. Septimius Severus Auguſtus Cenſorinus, M. Julius Philippus Auguſtus. Euſebius Pamphil. Cæſarienſis, Eutropius, Paulus Oroſius, Paulus Diaconus Longobardus*: and after the time of C. Cæſar Dictator, the common opinion of the people of *Rome* (which we alſo go by) will have the City to be founded the third year of the ſixt *Olympias*.

But by what motives and reaſons each one of theſe authors is induced, & whereby they would ſeem to confirm their ſeveral opinions, needleſs it is in this place for to declare: both becauſe the ſpeculation hereof pertaineth properly to another profeſſion, and alſo for that (beſides *Plutarch* in *Romulus*, *Solinus* in the 1. chapter of his Polyhiſtor, and *Camers* in his annotation thereupon) the queſtion hath been ſo throughly handled by *Onuphrius Panvinius* in the firſt book of his Calender, that the thing requireth no further examination.

Now for the day on which the foundation of the City of *Rome* was laid by *Romulus*, it was the *eleventh day before the Calends of *May*, called *Parilia* or *Palilia*. Now was this a feſtival day to *Pales* the goddeſs of ſhepherds, celebrated by the ſaid ſhepherds upon the eleventh Calends of *May*, in the fields and country villages, for the chaſing away of wolves, for the preſervation of their ſhip and cattell from diſeaſes, or for the ſafe yeaning and bringing forth their young: whereupon they were called *Parilia*. Of this matter writeth *Propertius* in his fourth book, in this wiſe: * 21. of *April*.

*A feaſt there was*, Palilia, *our fathers did it call*,
*And on that day they firſt began, for* Rome *to build a wall*.

*Ovid* alſo in the fourth book of his *Faſti*:

*A time full meet they choſe, with pough the plot to mark*,
*Dame* Pales *was hand, and ſo began the wark*.

The ſame is avouched by *M. Tullius*, *Plutarch*, *Solinus* and others. And that theſe *Palilia* were ſolemnized ordinarily the eleventh day before the Calends of *May*, appeareth as well by the old marble Calenders, as alſo by the ſame authors before rehearſed.

## *Of the firſt ſoveraign Magiſtrates of the City of* Rome, *namely, of the* KK, *who were in number ſeven.*

ALL ſorts of policies and governments in a Common-weal which are ſet down and named by ancient Writers, the City of *Rome* (were it by the fatall courſe of deſtiny or upon ſome troubles in the State) hath received and endured every one: ſo as no Common-weal in manner there can be found, wherein they ſucceeded ſo one after another, as they did in the very City of *Rome*. For in the beginning, the KK. ruled it; but when they for their exceſſive outrage and inordinate luſt exerciſed upon their Citizens and ſubjects, were depoſed and expelled, the Conſſ. (and after them the Tribunes military in Conſſ. authority) held the ſoveraignty. But in proceſs of time, when this frame and form of Common-weal (ſimply the beſt) was by the outrage of the two *Gracchi* (*Saturninus* and *Druſus* Tribunes of the Commons) put out of joynt and troubled, untill ſuch time as their power and authority was by *Sylla* rent in twain, and the Commons diſſeized of their lands and killed: then the adminiſtration of the Common-weal was reſtored again to the Nobles and principal perſons of the City. But at length, when it was oppreſſed again by the civill war of *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, the ſoveraign rule of the State was devolved upon the Empire of *Cæſar* alone; wherein, being firſt ſhaken a few years before, through the wicked inſolency and luſt of the three Triumvirs, it continued untill the time that it fell to utter ruin. We therefore will briefly go through all theſe ſorts of government, in that ſucceſſive order as they followed one after another, and firſt begin with the KK.

### 37
### Romulus *the firſt King of the Romans, reigned* 37 *years.*

*Romulus*, the founder of the City, reigned 37 years: for ſo many *Livy* aſſigneth unto him. Likewiſe *Dionyſius* in the firſt book, which he repeateth alſo in the ſecond: and *Plutarch* in *Numa* diſſenteth not from them, howſoever in *Romulus*, he writeth, that he departed this world in the 37 year of his age. *Solinus* in like manner rehearſing his worthy acts attributeth unto his raign 37 years. Only *Eutropius* (1. book 4. chap.) alloweth unto him 39 years: but *Cuſpinian* thinketh very well that the Copy is corrupt. This Prince having raigned (according to the more common received opinion of authors) 37 years; in which time, he laid the firſt ground-work of the Roman Empire, with excellent laws and ordinances, and eſtabliſhed both civill and alſo military diſcipline, departed this life upon the Nones of *July*, which day was called afterwards, *Nonæ Caprotinæ*: by occaſion that he in muſtering and reviewing his army at the lake of *Capra*, was conveyed out of mens ſight: whereupon the people fled as amazed at the ſudden death of their King, as *Plutarch* & *Dionyſius* do witneſs. This *Romulus* after his * deification was named *Quirinus*, of which ſurname *Ovid* in his * Kalender giveth theſe reaſons. * *Apotheoſis.* * *Faſt.* 2. *Sive*

Some read thus, * *Latinis.* ^ *Arma.* * *Romanus viderat*, but corruptly.

*Sive quod haſta quiris, priſcis eſt dicta* * *Sabinis:*
*Bellicus a telo, venit in* * *aſtra Deus:*
*Sive ſuo regi nomen poſſuere Quirites,*
*Seu quia* * *Romanus junxerat ille Cures.*

A ſpear, old *Sabins Quiris* call'd, which *Romulus* us'd in fight:
This martial man a god became, and ſo *Quirinus* hight.
Quirites eke his ſubjects liege, their King this name might give:
Or elſe the Curets, whom he brought with Romans for to live.

That he was baſe born, and could not avouch his own father, beſide other writers, *Plutarch* eſpecially affirmeth in his *Theſeus*. Howbeit, the old opinion went currant, that he was by *Mars* begot in ſtealth of a veſtall virgin, *Ilia*, *Rhea*, or *Sylvia*, for ſo many names there go of her: and that firſt he was called *Romus*, of *Ruma*, which ſignifieth a teat or pap, and afterwards by way of flattery, *Romulus*.

1

*Interregents.*

FOr one year after the death of *Romulus* the nobles fell to variance & ſtrove who ſhould be K. but by reaſon that no one perſon excelled above the reſt in that ſtate ſo newly founded, there grew ſeverall factions & debates in their head-corporations. They who were deſcended from the Sabins (becauſe after the death of *Tatius* none of them raigned with *Romulus* in equall ſociety) were deſirous to have a K. created out of their body, becauſe they would not forgo their hold and poſſeſſion in the Empire. But the old Romans could not away with a ſtranger-King. Howbeit, as different as they were in affections, all were willing to ſet up a K. as having not taſted yet the ſweetneſs of liberty. The Peers moreover mightily feared (by reaſon that the neighbour States bordering round about were provoked againſt them) leſt ſome forraign force might aſſail their City leſt thus without ſoveraign government, and the army without a leader. Whereupon the two hundred Nobles agreed among themſelves to enter into an aſſociation of rule, and made ten Decuries: and in every Decury created one to have the ſoveraignty over the reſt. Theſe Senators were then 100 in number, as *Livy* ſaith, and according to *Plutarch* a hundred and fifty. But *Dionyſius* writeth, that there were two hundred of the Sabins & as many Romans. After this they caſt lots: and their Decury unto whom the lottery firſt fell, ruled the City: howbeit, not all of them at once, but one alone had the regall ornaments, and the Lictors going before him. Five daies he governed and no longer; and ſo by this order in courſe, the nobles of every Decury governed the City fifty daies. For after five daies determined, he whoſe lot was firſt to govern in that Decury, delivered up unto the ſecond the imperiall dignity together with the enſigns thereof: and he again, when his five daies were expired, unto a third, and ſo to the tenth. Thus when theſe ten firſt Interregents had paſſed one 50 daies a ſecond Decury of Senators in like manner ruled the City other 50 daies; and thus they went round through all untill they had fulfilled a years ſpace in this regency. This government was of the thing it ſelf called *Interregnum*, which name it ſtill retained afterwards, and the men likewiſe were named *Interreges*. In this year therefore was the Magiſtracy of the Interregents firſt deviſed among the Romans. And not only after the death of *Romulus* the State was ruled by Interregency, but alſo after the deceaſe of *Numa*, *Tullius*, and *Ancus*, Kings. In like manner during the time of the free State and Common-weal, after the time of yearly Magiſtrates expired, the ſaid government took place very often, before the creation of new: for they held the aſſembly for elections, wherein new governors were by the people created. Now the office and charge of this Interregent was, during the time of his regency (which ordinarily paſſed not five daies) to execute all thoſe functions in the City which belonged either to KK. or Coſſ. namely, to miniſter juſtice, to rule the Common-weal, to hold a Senat, and there to propound the affairs of State, and laſtly, to ſummon the generall aſſembly for chuſing new Magiſtrates. As touching the beginning of Interregents, *Dionyſius* in his ſecond book, *Livy* in his firſt, *Plutarch* in *Numa*, *Sext. Ruffus*, *Euſebius* and other old writers, have written at large.

43

Numa Pompilius *the ſecond K. raigned* 43 *years.*

ONe year of Interregency being thus accompliſhed, the people of *Rome* thought this a grievous and heavy manner of government; and the Commons grumbled that their ſervitude was manifold more than before, as having two hundred Lords over them inſtead of one. Which when the Senators perceived, they agreed at laſt upon this point, That the old Senators ſhould create a King, whom they would, ſo he were not one of their own body and degree. Whereupon *Numa Pompilius* (for that in juſtice & wiſdom he excelled all other) was called out of *Cures* a City of the Sabins, to be their King. That he raigned three and forty years, all accord, ſave *Eutropius*, *Euſebius*, and *Caſſiodorus* (late writers) who ſet down but one and forty, as *Onuphrius* and *Sigonius* have obſerved. Of this K. *Dionyſius* in the ſecond book, *Livy* in his firſt, *Solinus* in his ſecond chapter, *Plutarch*, *Pliny*, and *Eutropius* in his life; in like ſort *Valerius Maximus* have delivered much in record. He died not much above the age of 80 years, as *Plutarch* writeth; for born he was (as he teſtifieth) the ſame day whereon *Romulus* laid the firſt foundation of the City, namely, the twelfth Calends of *May*. Now for the name of *Numa*, ſome ſay it was the forename of *Pompilius*. But out of *Sextus Pompeius* it appeareth, that neither *Tullius* nor *Numa* were forenames, as alſo by this conjecture, for that the ſons of *Numa* are by *Dionyſius* called by other ſundry names divers from the family. Some thought therefore that *Numa*, *Ancus*, *Arunt*, *Voluſus*, *Druſus*, *Fauſtus*, *Julus*, *Mammurius*, and certain other ſurnames, were at firſt forenames, as *Marlianus* in his Annals hath very well noted.

32

32

Tullus Hoſtilius, *the third King of* Rome, *reigned* 32 *years.*

*Numa* being deceaſed, the Interregency took place again: during which time an Act of Senat paſſed, wherein by the approbation of the Commons and advice of the Nobles, *Tullus Hoſtilius* was created the third K. of the Romans, in the 81 year after the foundation of the City. Who having raſed *Alba*, commanded the Albans to be tranſlated to *Rome*. Their Commons he made free denizens, and the principall Nobles he took into the order of Senators. After *Numa* he raigned 32 years, as all writers moſt conſtantly affirm. He periſhed, as *Dionyſius* witneſſeth, by occaſion that his houſe was on fire, wherein his wife and children and all their houſhold beſides were conſumed and burnt. Some ſay, that his palace took fire by lightning through the ire of the gods, for that he had forlet ſome ſacrifices and holy rites: others write, that it was occaſioned by the treacherous practiſe of *Ancus Martius*, who reigned next after him. Of him *Dionyſius* writeth in his 3 book: That he carried before him the name of *Hoſtus* it appeareth by this, that both his father and grandſire bare the ſaid name. A Prince he was, not only far unlike to *Numa*, but alſo more fierce and ſtout than *Romulus*.

24

Ancus Martius, *the fourth King of Romans, reigned* 24 *years.*

KIng *Tullus* being departed this life, there was an Interregent by the Nobles declared, who held the aſſembly for election in the 114 year from the foundation of the City: wherein the people created *Ancus Martius* the fourth K. of the Romans, and the Senators approved the ſame. He built *Hoſtia* a town 16 miles diſtant from the City of *Rome*; and fought ſeven battels. *Livius*, *Dionyſius*, and *Solinus* ſay, that he reigned 24 years; but *Euſebius*, *Eutropius*, and Caſſiodorus, 23. What death he died, neither *Livy* in his firſt book, nor *Dionyſius* in his 3. do ſet down: notwithſtanding that by them his noble acts are ſet out at large. Now *Ancus* (as *Sex. Pompeius* hath reported) is he called, who hath an arm bowing inward, ſo as it cannot be put ſtraight forth.

38

L. Tarquinius Priſcus, *the fifth K. of Romans, reigned* 38. *years.*

THis *Tarquinius* being left by *Ancus* (when he died) guardian to his children, was the firſt that ambitiouſly intercepted the kingdom to himſelf; he ſent the ſons of *Ancus*, during the time of Interregency, out of the way, as it were to hunting, and made an oration unto the people to win their hearts & affections to him: and ſo with the ſuffrages of the people, and authority of the Nobles, he was by the Interregent declared K. in the 170 year after the foundation of *Rome*, and in the 41 *Olympiad*. This noble Prince as well for warlike proweſs as peaceable policy and government, at the length (being above fourſcore year old) was forelaid by the ſecret trains of of the two ſons of *Ancus Martius*, in the eight and thirty year of his reign, according to *Livy* and *Dionyſius*, whoſe judgment we follow: or in the 37, as *Solinus*, *Meſſala*, *Ruffus*, *Eutropius*, *Caſſiodorus*, *Euſebius*, and *Bedas* write; like as we have before ſhewed. *Priſcus* he was ſurnamed afterwards, becauſe he lived before *Tarquinius Superbus*, ſaith *Sex. Pomponius*, unto whom accord *Dionyſius* and *Laurentius Valla*: who writeth, that the addition of *Priſcus* was given unto him, not by men of that time wherein he lived, but by the age following. But *Livy* ſheweth plainly, that he had the ſurname of *Priſcus* given him, even then when he came firſt into the City, becauſe he was born before *Superbus*. He alſo was called *Lucumo*, and was the ſon of *Demaratus* the Corinthian, deſcended from the family of the Brachiades.

44

Servius Tullius *the ſixt K. of the Romans, reigned four and forty years.*

AFter *Priſcus Tarquinius* was ſlain preſently *Servius Tullius* was the firſt that (without any election of the people, yet with the generall conſent of the Nobles) took upon him the Roman kingdom, in the year from the foundation of the City 176. Concerning whoſe conception, we muſt not let paſs that which *Pliny* writeth in the 36 book after this manner. During the reign of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, there appeared ſuddenly the genitall member of the maſculine ſex upon the hearth where the fire was kept, & thereupon preſently a captive woman and bond-ſervant of *Tanaquil* the Queen, named *Ocriſia*, ſitting there by the fire ſide, conceived and was with child; and ſo was *Servius Tullius* born, who ſucceeded in the kingdom. Afterwards as the boy lay aſleep within the KK. palace, his head was ſeen on a light fire, and ſuppoſed he was the ſon of the familiar *Lar* of that houſe. In which regard, he inſtituted firſt the *Compitalia* and plaies to the *Lars*. Concerning his birth, *Plutarch* hath written more in his book of the Romans fortune. By the crafty and ſubtill device of his wives mother *Tanaquil*, he attained to the Crown in the fourth year of the fift *Olympias*, and reigned 44 years: but by the villanous complot of *Tarquinius* his ſon in law, and *Tullia* his own daughter and *Tarquins* wife, he was moſt impiouſly ſlain in the very ſtreet; which thereupon was called *Sceleratus*. As touching the years of this Kings reign, ſome controverſie there is among writers: for *Livy*, *Dionyſius*, and *Solinus* (whom we have followed) write, that he reigned 44 years: but *Meſſala Corvinus*, *Sex. Ruffus*, *Eutropius*, *Euſebius*, *Caſſiodorus* and *Bedas* 34 and not above. Howbeit, in adding thoſe ten to the reign of *Tarquin* afterwards, they hinder not this groſs ſum and computation of the years: for they ſet them down 35, which *Livy*, *Dionyſius*, and *Solinus*, make but 25. This K. took the name of *Servius*, by occaſion of his own fortune, for that his mother *Ocriſia* a captive (but a moſt beautifull and wiſe woman of *Corniculum*) bare him during her bondage: but *Tullius* he was called, by the name of his fathers kindred, as *Dionyſius* writeth

writeth in his fourth book, reckoning up many acts by him atchieved.

25

L. Tarquinius Superbus, *the ſeventh King of Romans, ruled 25 years.*

IN the two hundred and twentieth year after the foundation of the City, *L. Tarquinius* the younger, having killed *Servius Tullius*, entered upon the Roman kingdom with force of arms, nor by Interregent, nor yet any right of law. *Superbus* he was named for his cruell demeanour, in that he forbad to commit to earth the dead corps of his father in law, by him murdered; giving out that *Romulus* likewiſe died and lay unburied. He was the ſon of *L. Tarquinius Priſcus* the King; as *Q. Pictor*, *Au. Gellius*, *Licinius Macer*, *Verrius Flaccus*, and *Livius* have written. Howbeit, *Dionyſius* out of *L. Piſo* in his Annals, by moſt ſtrong reaſons diſproveth their errour, and by the certain computation of the yeers ſheweth how it cannot poſſibly be ſo, but rather that he was the ſon of *Tarquinius Priſcus* his ſon, who died in the life of *Priſcus*. Five and twenty years he reigned according to *Livy* in his firſt book. *Dionyſius* in his fourth, and *Solinus* in his Polyhiſtor. But *Caſſiodorus*, *Euſebius*, *Eutropius*, and *Beda*, aſcribe unto him five and thirty years, adding unto his raign thoſe ten years which they took from *Servius Tullius*, and thereby giving occaſion of errour to the later writers. Of him *Dionyſius*, *Livy*, both the *Plinies*, *Gellius*, *Macrobius*, and *Eutropius*, have written much. Collect then, into one ſum the year of theſe Kings reign, and thereof will ariſe the number of two hundred forty four.

## *Of the firſt Elections of Conſuls.*

THis is the ſecond change of the Common-weal, by occaſion that *Superbus* the King, as well for his inſolent and proud government, as for the villany offered by *Sextus* the Kings ſon to *Lucretia*, was expelled, and liberty recovered: whereupon the ſoveraign government yeat by year was committed to two men, who firſt were named Prætors, for that they were ſet over the people: then, Judges, becauſe they decided their controverſies: and laſtly, Conſuls, in that they adviſed and provided for the good of the Common-weal: as *Cicero* in the third book of Laws declareth in theſe words: Let there be two inveſted in royall government; and of ruling, judging, and counſell-giving, be they called Prætors, Judges, and Conſuls: let them alſo have the ſoveraignty of command in war. Now the firſt Conſuls or Prætors were created by *Sp. Lucretius* (father of *Lucretia*, and Interregent for the time) in a generall aſſembly by the voices of the Centuries, according to the commentaries of *Servius Tullius* the King. The firſt Conſul had all the right, prerogatives, and regall enſigns of the KK. this only provided, that both of them ſhould not have the rods and axes carried before them, for fear of preſenting any terrour to the people. Both of them were choſen out of the *Patritii*: which for this intent I advertiſe the Reader of, that the progreſs of the Common-weal might be known; ſeeing that in proceſs of time they came to be be created out of the Commons alſo. Moreover, as concerning the year month, and day, when as the firſt Conſuls entred their government, ſomething were to be ſaid in this place: but becauſe we have ſpoken before of the variety and diſſention of Authors thereabout; therefore letting paſs theſe circumſtances, proceed we to the very Conſuls, who by the teſtimony of all writers were firſt choſen: namely,

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*L. Junius Brutus*, and *L. Tarquinius Collatinus.*

IT is recorded by all writers, that *L. Junius Brutus*, and *L. Tarq. Collatinus*, were the firſt Coſſ. or Prætors of the Roman people: who in the end of the 244 year ſince the foundation of the City, and upon the firſt day of *March* (after the *Tarquins* KK. the father & the ſon were expelled the City) in an aſſembly of the Centuries were ſolemnly pronounced and declared Coſſ. But after that *Brutus* had compelled his Collegue *Tarquinius* to reſign up his Conſulſhip, either becauſe he was ſuſpected for the affinity and name of the *Tarquins* (as *L. Piſo* in *Gellius* the 15 book and 29 cap. *Livy*, *Plutarch*, and *Cic. 3. Offic.* do write:) or by occaſion of a variance between *Brutus* and *Collatinus* about the execution of *Collatinus* his ſiſters ſon, (as *Dionyſius* reporteth) he ſubelected in his place *Pub. Valerius Voluſius* the ſon of *Voluſus* whoſe helping hand he had uſed eſpecially in baniſhing the KK. Of whoſe Conſulſhip, *Polybius* in the third book, *Dionyſius*, *Livy*, *Valerius Max.* 4. book 4. chapter. *Plutarch* in *Popilicola*, and *Pliny* 36 book, chap. 15. have made mention. But *Valerius*, after that *Brutus* in his Magiſtracy was ſlain by *Aruns* the ſon of *Superbus* (for the King his father had levied war againſt the Romans) in a generall Court of all the Centuries, took unto him for his companion in government, *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus* the father of *Lucretia*; and to him (being the elder) ſubmitted the preheminence of ſoveraignty. And ſoon after, within few daies upon his death, (for he was very aged) he aſſumed unto him *M. Horatius Pulvillus* for his Collegue in the Conſulſhip. The ſaid *Valerius* was called *Poplicola*, for that during his Magiſtracy, he enacted certain laws very popular, and namely, concerning the appeal from the Conſuls to the people, and the receiving of the ſtate-government from the ſaid people, as

*Livius*

*Livius* and *Dionyſius* do witneſs. In the vulgar books, as alſo in the old written Copies (whether by errour or of purpoſe I wot not) we read his name evermore *Publicola*, but ſtill in one and the ſame ſignification. Only the letters are a little altered, which otherwiſe have much affinity one with another, as *Quintilian* writeth, namely *o* with *u*, and *p* with *b*. For in antique titles and inſcriptions, you ſhall read often *Poplicus* for *Publicus*. To conclude therefore, in the firſt year after the Kings were exiled, Coſſ. at *Rome* were theſe, *L. Junius Brutus*, and *Lu. Tar. Collatinus*, *P. Valerius Publicola*, *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, and *M. Horatius Pulvillus*.

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*P. Valerius II.* *T. Lucretius.*

THe Conſulſhip of theſe two is recorded unto us by *Dionyſius*, *Livius* and *Caſſiodorus*. *Onuphrius Panvinius*, giveth unto *Lucretius* the ſurname of *Tricipitinus*, both for that it was a peculiar addition to that houſe; and alſo, becauſe by an ancient Chronologer in the records of *Cuſpinian*, he is named *Triciptinus*. Now for *Publius* the Etymology thereof according to *Sextus*, is twofold: For ſome call him *Pub.* who hath been brought up at the publike charges; others again name him ſo, who was a ward before he had his name given him.

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*P. Lucretius.* *P. Valerius Poplicola.*

*Livius* calleth this *Lucretius* by the forename of *P.* but other books of *Titus*. *Dionyſius* writeth, that *P. Valerius Poplicola* the third time, and *M. Horatius* the ſecond time were Coſſ. *Plutarch* ſpeaketh of the third Conſulſhip only of *P. Valerius*. *Onuphrius* and *Sigonius* follow *Dionyſius*. As for *Caſſiodorus*, he leaveth out altogether theſe Conſuls.

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*Sp. Lartius.* *T. Herminius.*

AFter *Poplicola* the third time, and *Pulvillus* the ſecond time Conſuls, *Dionyſius* hath placed *Sp. Lartius* and *T. Herminius*. The ſame doth *Caſſiodorus*. And the book noted by *Cuſpinian*, under an unknown author, hath in it thus written, *Poplicola III. & Pulvillo; Rufo & Aquilino; Valerio & Tuberto*. *Livy* omitteth theſe Conſuls, and in their place putteth down *M. Valerius*, and *P. Poſthumius*: But as *Sigonius* thinketh, the fault is in the writers of the book.

But that this year ſhould neceſſarily come between, *Onuphrius* thinketh, according to the book of *M. Tullius Cicero* entituled *Brutus*: and certain it is, that *Verrius Flaccus* in his Capitoline tables hath not rejected theſe Conſuls. Now this name *Lartius* is derived of *Lars*, and ſo ought it to be written, and not *Largius*, as corruptly it is to be ſeen in ſome Copies of *Livy* and *Dionyſius*. As for the ſurname to *Herminius*, *Onuphrius* ſuppoſeth it to have been *Eſquilinus*, both for that the mention of that ſurname appeareth in a fragment of the Capitoline marbles, as alſo becauſe of what family elſe it ſhould be, no writer ever hath delivered. This *Sp. Lartius* was the brother of *Titus Lartius* the firſt Dictator, as writeth *Dionyſius*.

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*M. Valerius.* P. *Poſtumius.*

*Plutarch*, as alſo *Dionyſius* and *Livius* writeth, that this *M. Valerius* was brother to *M. Valerius Publicola*, and therefore truly is he ſaid to be the ſon of *Voluſus*. *Poſtumius* for his ſurname had *Tubertus*. Witneſs *Zonaras*, together with *Plutarch* in *Poplicola*, and *Dionyſius* in the fift and ſixt books. Him *Dionyſius* calleth the brother of *Quintus*, where he treateth of the Conſular Embaſſadors ſent unto the Commons in the year 260. This *Poſtumius*, as *Onuphrius* teacheth, was by old authors written without the aſpiration (*h*) either becauſe of *Poſtea*, *Poſtumus*, and *Poſtimius*, and ſo *Poſtumius* is derived, or for that in old time they wrote *umus* without the ſaid (*h.*) Now is he called *Poſtuminus*, who was born laſt, as *Ceſellius* witneſſeth in his commentaries of ancient readings. Howbeit, lawyers pronounce the word with the aſpiration, and call by that name him only, who was born after his fathers death: and with them accord *Varro* and *Plutarch* in the life of *Sylla*.

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*P. Valerius IIII.* *T. Lucretius.*

*Dionyſius*, *Livius*, *Plutarch* and *Caſſiodorus*, report theſe for Coſſ. this year. But the regiſters of *Cuſpinian* deliver unto us *Poplicola* the fourth time, and *Tricipitinus*. *Valerius Maximus* in the fourth book and fourth chapter writeth thus, *Valerius Poplicola* began his Conſulſhip with *Brutus*, and the ſame man bare three Conſulats afterwards, to the great contentment of the people.

251

*Agrippa Menenius.* P. *Poſtumius.*

*Dionyſius* hath for Coſſ. this year, *Agrippa Menenius Lanatus*, and *L. Poſtumius* the ſecond time. *Livy*, *Caſſiodorus*, *Cuſpinians* book, and the Greek records diſagree not from him. *Valerius Max.* 4. book, 4. cap. corruptly calleth him *M. Menenius Agrippa*. Now *Agrippæ* are they called, who are born into the world with extraordinary throws & birth-travels of their mothers, namely, not with their heads, but their feet forward, againſt nature.

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*Opiter Virginius.* *Sp. Coſſius.*

*Livius*, *Zonaras*, and *Caſſiodorus*, name theſe Conſuls barely thus. *Dionyſius* yet is more liberall, calling *Sp. Caſſius*, *Uſcellinus*: and *Opiter Virginius*, *Tricoſtus*. But whom *Dionyſius* calleth ὑπατεύοντα, *Cicero* in his *Lælius* termeth *Caſſius Becillinus*. And *Cuſpinians* Kalender *Viſcellinus*. For firſt of *Viſcus* cometh *Viſcellus*, and ſo from thence they derive *Viſcellinus*. *Opiter* (to note that by the way, as *Sex. Pompeius* ſaith) is he, whoſe father died before his grandſire. And the word ſoundeth thus much, as if he were born after his fathers death; or becauſe he taketh his grandſire for his father.

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*Poſthumius Cominius. T. Lartius.*

*Livy, Dionyſius, Zonaras,* and *Caſſiodorus* name theſe ſimply thus. But *Cuſpinians* Kalender, giveth to *Poſthumius* the ſurname *Auruncus*, & to *Lartius Ruffus*. And thoſe whom *Cuſpinians* book nameth *Ruffi*, the Greek regiſters by another word, but to the ſame ſence, call *Flavi*.

254

*Ser. Sulpitius. M'. Tullius.*

*Livy* and *Caſſiodorus* allow to theſe no ſurnames at all. The Sicilian Records give to *Sulpitius* the addition of *Camerinus*, like as the Kalender of *Cuſpinian*; and to *Tullius* of *Longus*: as alſo doth *Dionyſius*, who writeth, that *Manius Tullius* died in the time of his Magiſtracy, and that in his place there was none ſubſtituted becauſe the yearwas welnear at an end. Of this *M'. Tullius*, *Cicero* ſpeaketh in his *Brutus*, ſaying, As if I ſhould avouch my ſelf to be deſcended of *M'. Tullius* the Patritian, who in the tenth year after the expulſion of the KK. was Coſ. with *Ser. Sulpitius*. This ſurname *Manius*, as *Sext. Pompeius* ſaith, cometh hereupon that ſome one was born *mane*, *i.e.* in the morn, like as *Lucius*, who entred into the world by daylight. And in another place, this *Manius* (qd. he) conſecrated the field *Nemorenſis*, from whom many noble and famous men ſprung, and continued many years. Whereupon aroſe the Proverb, *Multi Manii Ariciæ*, *i.e.* there be many *Manii* at *Aricia*. Moreover, he was called *Servius*, who came of parents (either both or one at leaſt) whiles they were in bondage, or elſe, who when his mother was dead, lived ſtill in her womb, and ſo was ſaved.

255

*C. Vetuſius. T. Ebutius.*

THe forename of this *Vetuſius* or *Veturius* in ſome Copies of *Livy*, as *Marlian* ſheweth in his annals of Coſſ. is *Caius*: in other *Cneus*: in *Caſſiodorus*, *Lucius*: in *Dionyſius Publius*: who alſo ſurnameth *Veturius*, *Geminus*: and *T. Ebutius Helua*; and in ſome place ἔλαλβαν, but faultily; for the Latine writers alſo affirm his ſurname to be *Helua*. The Greek Records likewiſe have *Helua* and *Geminus*. Moreover they that write him *Vetuſius*, imitate the ancient manner of putting *s*. for *r*. as when they call men *Fuſii*, *Valeſii* and *Papiſii*. But they who call him *Veturius* follow the latter uſage. Of this matter *Livy* ſpeaketh in the year 292.

256

*Q. Cloelius. T. Lartius.*

THus ſay *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus*: but *Dionyſius* ſurnameth *T. Lartius*, *Flavus*; and *Q. Cloelius*, *Siculus*: to whom accord the regiſters both of *Cuſpinian* and *Sicily*. This *T. Lartius* is the ſame, as appeareth by *Dionyſius*, who before was Coſ. and therefore is his ſurname *Flavus* rightly added. The houſe of the *Cloelii*, as alſo of the *Julii Servilii Geganii*, *Curiatii* and *Quintilii* deſcended from the Albans firſt, as *Dionyſius* writeth.

257

*Au. Sempronius. M. Minutius.*

THus *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus* deliver unto us theſe Coſſ. But *Cuſpinians* regiſters and the Sicilian, ſurname them *Atratinus* and *Auguri-nus*. And *Dionyſius* nameth them *A. Sempronius Rhætinus*, and *M. Minutius Augurinus*, albeit he maketh no mention of *Auguriuus*, but in the ſecond Conſulſhip of *Minutius*. As for *Aulus*, he was ſo called, who being new born, was nouriſhed and foſtered by the gods.

258

*Au. Poſthumius. T. Virginius.*

THus are theſe Coſſ. ſet down by *Dionyſius*, *Livy*, and *Caſſiodorus*. And to them verily the greek records put to the ſurnames of *Albus* and *Calimontanus*. But the book of *Cuſpinian addes Regillenſis* & *Tricoſtus* beſides: ſo that by him they are thus written, *Au. Poſthumius Albus Regillenſis*, and *T. Virginius Tricoſtus Calimontanus*.

259

*App. Claudius and P. Servilius.*

*Livius* and *Caſſiodorus* record theſe for Coſſ. this year. The regiſters as well of *Cuſpinian* as *Sicily*, *Sabinus* and *Priſcus*: But *Dionyſius* more fully, *App. Cladius Sabinus*, and *P. Servilius Priſcus*. This *App. Claudius* was the top of the Claudian kindred, firſt named, *Attius Clauſus*, and afterwards, *App. Claudius*; who from *Regillus*, a City of the Sabins (whereupon he was called, *Sabinus Regillenſis*) came to *Rome* in the two hundred and fiftieth year after the foundation of the City, and was ranged among the *Patritii*, as *Livy*, *Dionyſius*, and *Suetonius* in *Tiberius* make report. This man was grandſire to that *App. Claudius* the Decemvir. As touching his forename, there is ſome difference; whereof ye may ſee *Onuphrius* and *Marlianus* in their Kalenders.

260

*A. Virginius and T. Vetuſius.*

THeſe are thus ſet down by *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus*, as here they be named. *Dionyſius* writeth them, *An. Virginius Montanus*, and *T. Veturius Geminus*. The regiſter of *Cuſpinian*, barely *Montanus* and *Geminus*. The Sicilian, *Calimontanus* and *Geminus*. *Montanus* and *Calimontanus* are both one. *Pædianus* upon the Oration of *Cicero* for *Cornelius*, calleth theſe Conſuls, *Au. Virginius Tricoſtus*, and *L. Veturius Cicurinus*: whereby it may be underſtood, that both of them had two ſurnames, to wit, the one, *Tricoſtus Calimontanus*, and the other, *Geminus Cicurinus*; for ſo elſewhere other writers teſtifie. *Cuſpinianus* obſerveth, that this *Cicurinus*, is alſo called *Coturnius* by ſome writers.

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*Sp. Caſſius* and *Poſthumus Cominius.*

SO *Livius* and *Dionyſius*. Of them ſpeaketh *Cicero* alſo in his Oration for *Cornelius*. But *Cuſpinian* his books ſet forth unto us, *Viſcellinus* & *Aurunceus*. The Sicilian records, *Aurunceus*, and *Vitellinus*. And that theſe ſame were Conſuls together in this yeer, and entred upon their government the firſt of *September*, ſooner then the cuſtom was, as *Dionyſius* writeth.

262

*T. Geganius* and P. *Minutius.*

*Dionyſius* in the beginning of the ſeventh book nameth for Coſſ. this year *T. Geganius Macerinus*, and P. *Minutius*. The ſame doth *Livius* in the ſecond book. *Caſſiodorus* likewiſe and *Eutropius*. *Oroſius* alſo in the ſecond book and fifth chapter, leaving out one of their ſurnames. But the Greek records and *Cuſpinians* book ſurname them both, the one *Marcerinus*, the other *Augurinus*. And theſe are ordinary ſurnames, this to *Minutii*, and the former to the *Geganii*.

263

M. *Minutius*, and *Aul. Sempronius.*

SO *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus* ſet them down, omitting their ſurnames, as alſo the numerall note II. But *Dionyſius* recordeth them fully in this maner, *A. Sempronius Atratinus* the ſecond time, and M. *Minutius Augurinus* likewiſe the ſecond time. This yeer reckoneth *Dionyſius* for the nineteneth, after that *Poplicola* the Coſ. publiſhed the law of appealing.

264

Sp. *Nautius* and *Sext. Furius.*

AFter *Aul. Sempronius* and M. *Minutius* Coſſ. *Dionyſius* bringeth in to ſucceed them, *Q. Sulpitius Camerinus*, and Sp. *Lartius Flavus* the ſecond time. *Cuſpinian* regiſters, *Cornutus* and *Flavus*. the Sicilian, *Camerinus* and *Flavus*. Moreover, *Cornutus* is an ordinary ſurname to the *Sulpitii*, as may be gathered out of the Capitoline tables of ſtone. And that theſe Coſſ. are not to be left out, either according to the acconut of the Capitol, or to make up and digeſt the ſum gathered by *Varro*, appeareth by the Triumph of P. *Valerius*, which would not fall to the yeer 279, if we ſhould deduct theſe Coſſ. out of the Kalender.

265

*T. Sicinius* and C. *Aquilius.*

NExt after the former Conſuls, there followed according to *Dionyſius*, C. *Iulius Iulus* and P. *Pinarius Rufus* Conſuls. *Cuſpinian* his records deliver unto us *Iulus* and *Mamercinus*: But the Greek, *Iulus* and *Rufus*. And that *Mamercus* is a ſurname to the *Pinarii*, appeareth by another place. Theſe Conſuls *Livy* over-paſſeth, like as the other the yeer before: upon whom, they that undertook the explication of the Capitoline tables have noted, that there want Conſuls for two yeers. So that of himſelf the like may be ſaid to that which he writeth in the ninth book of *Piſo*, in this maner [Theſe Conſuls, *Piſo* bringeth in immediately after Q. *Fabius* and P. *Decius*, leaving out two yeers, whereof we have reported that *Claudius* and *Voluminius* were Conſuls in the one, and *Cornelius* with *Martius* in the other.] Whether he forgat them in the digeſting of the Annals, or of purpoſe paſſed by them (notwithſtanding he thought of thoſe two couple of Conſuls) it is uncertein. Moreover, the ſurname of *C. Iulius*, was transformed every where into *Tullus* and *Tullius*; but that it is to be read *Iullius*, both *Marlianus*, and alſo after him *Panvinius* ſheweth. For this ſurname *Iulus* is ſet from *Aſcanius* the ſon of *Æneas*, and from the ſaid ſurname is derived the denomination of a family; and therefore *Virgil* ſaith,

*The Iulian houſe at* Rome, *firſt came*
*From* Iulus *great, a prince of name.*

And *Livy* ſpeaking of the ſame in this wiſe ſaith; which *Iulius*, the houſe of the *Iulii* avouch for the author of their name.

266

*Sp. Caſſius.* *Proculus Virginius.*

BVt to leave theſe things; Sp. *Nautius* and *Sex. Furius*, are by *Dionyſius*, *Livius*, and *Caſſiodorus*, ranged Conſuls in this yeer. In *Cuſpinian* his Annals, there is *Rutilius*, the ſurname of *Nautius*, and likewiſe *Viſcellinus*. But in the Sicilian, *Nautius* and *Fuſius*.

267

*Servius Cornelius.* Q. *Fabius.*

ACcording to *Livy* the Conſuls this year were *T. Sicinius*, and C. *Aquilius*; whom *Dionyſius* and *Caſſiodorus* name to be *T. Siccius* & *C. Aquilius*. The ſurnames of theſe, by the Greek records and *Cuſpinians* Kalender, were *Tuſcus* and *Sabinus*. As for *Aquilius*, he was ſo called (as *Marlianus* obſerveth) who was *aquilo colore*, *i.* of a duskiſh black, or browniſh colour.

268

*L. Æmylius. L. Furius.*

*Livy* avoucheth Conſuls for this yeer, Sp. *Caſſius* and *Proculus Virginius*: and *Dionyſius* Sp. *Caſſius* the ſecond time, with *Proculus Virginius*. And *Diodorus* in his eleventh book, unto *Virginius* addeth the name *Tricoſtus*. The Greek records, as alſo thoſe of *Cuſpinian* make mention of *Rutilius* and *Viſcellinus*. Now as concerning the name of *Proculus*, ſome think they be ſo called, for that they were born when their parents were old, *quaſi*, *Procul ætate progreſſi*, *i.* far ſtept in yeers.

269

M. *Fabius.* L. *Valerius.*

*Diodorus* in the ſaid 11 book, declareth Q. *Fabius Vibulanus*, and *Servius Cornelius Coſſus*, for this yeers Coſſ. The ſame do *Dionyſius Livy*, and *Caſſiodorus*, ſaving that they leave out the ſurnames. But as touching the ſurname of *Coſſus*, (that ye may be reſolved) men were named *Coſſi* in the old time, who had rivel'd and wrinkled bodies, like to the wood-worms breeding in trees, called *Coſſi*. *Plinius* in his 17 book and 24 chap. ſaith: Ryot and wantonneſs hath brought up the uſe at the table of the daintier wood-worms breeding in oaks. Hereupon Saint *Hierome* againſt *Jovinian*: In *Pontus*, (quoth he) and *Phrygia*, it is counted high and delicat fare to eat *Xylophagion*: for ſo he called thoſe plump and fat worms which came of rotten wood, and among them are reckoned to yeeld a great revenue and commodity to the houſekeeper. Of them the Romans took their names of *Coſſi*, *Coſſutij*, *Coſſanii*, and *Coſſutiani*.

270

Q. *Fabius.* C. *Julius.*

*Lucius Æmylius* the ſon of *Mamercus*, and *Caſo Fabius* the ſon of *Caſo*, are by *Dionyſius* recorded the Conſuls of this yeer. *Livy* and *Caſſiodore* approved the ſame. *Diodorus* likewiſe, ſaving that he addeth to L. *Æmylius* the ſurname of *Mamercus*: but they leave out the fore-names of their fathers. The Greek records have *Mamercus* and *Fabius*. As for the ſurname of *Mamercus*, *Dionyſius* giveth it unto *Æmylius* himſelf in the third Conſulſhip. Moreover, *Sex. Pompeius* affirmeth, that the kindred *Æmylia* took name of *Mamercus* the ſon of *Pythagoras* the Philoſopher, who for his ſingular humanity, was ſurnamed *Æmylius*. But as he ſaith *Æmylius* is a name and not a ſurname. Now was this *Æmylius* the ſon of *Mamercus*, as witneſseth *Dionyſius*.

271

*K. Fabius.* Sp. *Furius.*

*Dionyſius* hath for this yeers Coſs. *Marcus Fabius Vibulanus*, and L. *Valerius Potitus*. *Dionyſius*, *Livius*, and *Caſſiodorus*, M. *Fabius* and L. *Valerius* The Greek records, *Fabius* and *Volſcus*: and finally *Cuſpanians* book *Fabius* and *Potitus*.

272

M. *Fabius.* *Cn. Manlius.*

*Dionyſius* matcheth together in the Conſulſhip this yeer, C. *Julius* and Q. *Fabius*. *Livius* and *Caſſiodorus*, Q. *Fabius* and *Caius Julius*. The Sicilian regiſters and *Cuſpinian Julius* and *Fabius*.

273

K. *Fabius.* *T. Virginius.*

*Dionyſius* writeth, that *Caſo Fabius* the ſecond time, and Sp. *Furius Medullinus* were Conſuls this year: but *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus* put in ſtead of them, Q. *Fabius* and C. *Junius*. The Sicilian regiſters, as alſo *Cuſpinian*, *Julius* and *Fabius*.

274

L. *Æmylius.* *T. Servilius.*

BY the teſtimony of *Dionyſius*, there followed Conſuls next after, *M. Fabius* the ſecond time, and C. *Manlius*. But *Diodorus*, *Livius*, and *Coſſiodorus*, deliver unto us M. *Fabius* and *Cn. Manlius* for Conſuls. The Greek records, name *Fabius* the ſecond time, and *Cincinnatus*, *Cuſpinians* book hath *Vibulanus* the ſecond time. The Capitoline ſtone ſheweth, *Cn. Manlius* the ſon of *Publius*.

175

C. *Horatius.* *T. Menenius.*

*Flavius*, *Caſſiodorus*, *Diodorus* and *Dionyſius*, make report of *Caſo Fabius* to have been Coſ. this year with *T. Virginius*: but the Sicilian regiſters, *Fabius* with *Rutilus*. *Dionyſius* noteth that *Caſo* the brother of the Coſ. who gave him his place, was a third Conſul this yeer. And *Livy* ſaith, that T. *Virginius Rutilus* died in time of the peſtilence the 290 yeer.

276

*A. Virginius.* Sp. *Servilius.*

ACcording to *Livy*, *Dionyſius*, and *Caſſiodorus*, the Conſuls this yeer were L. *Æmylius* and C. *Servilius*: but *Diodorus* nameth, *Lu. Æmylius Mamercus* with C. *Cornelius Lentulus*: the Sicilian regiſters, *Æmylius* with *Eſquilinus*. Another fragment of the Capitoline ſtone, only *Structus Ahala*: with *Eſquilinus* ſubſtituted in his room. Moreover, *Mamercus* (as *Sex. Pompeius* writeth) is an Oſcane fore-name; who alſo reporteth, that the Houſe *Æmylia* was ſo called of *Mamercus* the ſon of *Pythagoras* the Philoſopher, who for his paſſing courteſie was ſurnamed *Æmylius*.

277

C. *Nautius.* P. *Valerius.*

*Livius*, *Caſſiodorus*, *Dionyſius*, and *Diodorus*, put down for Coſſ. *T. Menenius* and C. *Horatius*. As for *Diodorus*, he added unto *Horatius* the ſurname of *Pulvillius*: and the Capitoline ſtone ſurnameth *Menenius*, *Lanatus*. And even ſo both in *Cuſpinians* Kalender and the Sicilian regiſters, are to be ſeen *Lanatus* and *Pulvillus*. Of theſe Coſſ. *Gellius* maketh mention in the 17 book & 12 chap. but not without fault.

278

*L. Furius.* *A. Manlius.*

*Livius*, *Caſſiodorus*, and *Dionyſius*, ſet down for Coſſ. *A. Virginius* and *Spurius Servilius*. *Diodorus*, A. *Virginius Tricoſtus*, and C. *Servilius Structus*. In *Cuſpinian* his Kalender, *Virginius*, for his ſurname hath *Rutilus*: and the Capitol marbles, give *Structus* to *Servilius*: the Sicilian records have both.

279

279

L. Æmylius. Opiter Virginius, or, Vopiscus Iulius.

*Livy* and *Cassiodorus* nominat for this yeers Coss. P. *Valerius* and C. *Nautius*. *Dionysius*, P. *Valerius* Popicola and C. *Nautius*. *Diodorus* P. *Valerius* Poplicola, and C. *Nautius Rufus*. The Sicilian registers, thus *Nautius* and *Poplicola*. *Cuspinian*, *Poplicola* and *Rufus*. The Capitol stones, having for *Rufus*, *Rutilus*: like as *Dionysius* before in *Lartius*, for *Rufus* putteth down *Flavus*.

280

L. Pinarius. P. Furius.

*Diodorus* this yeer nameth Consuls, L. *Furius Medullinus* and *Manlius Volso*. *Livius* and *Cassiodorus* record *L. Furius* and C. *Manlius*. *Dionysius* cometh with *A. Manlius* and *Lu. Furius*. *Marlianus* giveth warning to read *Vulso*, not *Volso*.

281

App. *Claudius* son of *Appius*. T. Quintius.

*Dionysius* would have L. *Æmylius Mamercus* to be Consul the third time this yeer, with *Vopiscus Iulius*: but *Livy*, L. *Æmylius* and *Opiter Virginius*. Howbeit he saith that in some Annals he found *Vopiscus Iulius*, in stead of *Virginius*. And them *Diodorus*, the Greek records, and the avouchers of the Consuls tables within the Capitol, have followed. In the fragments whereof is read *Iulius*, which is a surname of the *Iulii*. And therefore in the Sicilian registers, it is thus written, *Æmylius* and *Julius*: but in those of *Cuspinian*, *Mamercus* and *Vopiscus*. *Cassiodorus* hath followed *Livy*. Moreover, *Appius* is a peculiar name of the *Claudii*, which no citizen else of *Rome* used: because it was a strangers name.

282

L. Valerius. T. Æmylius.

*Livius*, *Dionysius*, and *Cassiodorus*, name for this yeer Consuls, *L. Pinarius* and *Lu. Furius*. *Diodorus*, *L. Penarius Mamercinus*, and P. *Furius* agree but faultily, as *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* think. Of these Coss. M. *Varo* maketh mention. and *Macrobius* in the first book of the Saturnalia.

283

T. Numicius Priscus. A. Virginius.

*Dionysius* saith, the Consuls of this yeer were App. *Claudius* the son of *Appius*, surnamed also *Sabinus*, and *T. Quintius Capitolinus*. *Livy* leaveth out their surnames.

284

T. Quintius. P. Servilius.

*Livy* and *Cassiodorus* set down for Consuls this yeer, *T. Æmylius* and *L. Valerius*. *Diodorus*, L. *Valerius Poplicola*; and *T. Æmylius Mamercus*. *Dionysius*, L. *Valerius* the second time, and T. *Æmylius*. The Sicilian registers yeeld us nothing but the bare names, *Æmylius* and *Valerius*; but *Cuspinian*, *Pottus* and *Mamercus*.

285

T. Æmylius. Q. Fabius.

*Dionysius*, hath for Consuls this yeer, A. *Virginius Montanus* (whom the Greek records call *Calimontanus*) and *T. Numitius Priscus*. *Diodorus*, *Livius*, and *Cassiodorus*, conceal their surnames: and whom the Sicilian registers name *Calimontanus*, *Cuspinian* calleth *Nomentanus*.

286

Q. Servilius. Sp. Posthumius.

IN *Dionysius* we read for this yeers Consuls *Quintius Capitolinus*, and *Q Servilius Priscus*. *Livius* and *Cassiodorus*, are silent for the surnames: but in *Diodorus* there be T. *Quintius* & *Q. Servilius Structus*. In *Cuspinians* Kalender, *Capitolinus* and *Priscus*: in the Sicilian registers, *Calimontanus* and *Priscus*.

287

Q. Fabius. T. Quintius.

*Livius*, and *Cassiodorus* match together in Consulship for this yeer: *T. Æmylius* and *Q. Fabius*. *Dionysius*, *T. Æmylius* the *II.* time, and *Q. Fabius*. The Sicilian registers, *Æmylius* & *Vibulanus*, *Cuspinian Mamercus* and *Vibulanus*. *Diodorus*, *Æmylius Mamercus* and *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*. This is that *Fabius* who afterwards was four times Consul, and was the only *Fabius* that survived, when the *Fabii* were slain at *Crèmera*: not a child at the time of fourteen yeers of age, but a serviceable and an active man of his hands, (as *Dionysius* reporteth) and was the son of *Marcus* a man who had been Consul.

288

A. Posthumius Albus. Sp. Furius Fusus.

THis yeer had for Consuls, *Q. Servilius* and *Sp. Posthumius*, as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* report: but *Priscus* and *Albinus*, as *Cuspinian* saith. And by *Dionysius* his testimony, *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*, and *Servilius Priscus* the second time; *Diodorus* nameth *Q. Servilius Priscus* the second time: but *Diodorus* nameth *Q. Servilius* & *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*. Howbeit, in the fragment of the Capitol marble, *Sp. Posthumius* is surnamed *Albus Regillensis*, and not *Albius*, and so *Marlian* thinketh it ought to be read.

289

*Livius* nameth *T. Quintius* and *Q. Fabius Cassiodorus*. *T. Quintius* the second time, and *Q. Fabius* the second time. *Diodorus*, *Tit. Quintius Capitolinus* and *Q. Fabius*. *Dionysius Tit. Quintius Capitolinus* the third time, and *Q. Fabius Vibulanus* the second time.

290

*L. Lucretius Tricipitinus, T. Veturius Geminus*

According to the Capitoline table, *Aulus Posthumius*; out of *Livy*, *Dionysius*, and *Cassiodorus*, *Pub. Furius Fusus*, are noted for Consuls this yeer. *Diodorus* putteth to *Furius* the only gentile surname *Medullinus* for *Fusus*. This *A. Posthumius* was the son of *A. Posthumius* the Dictator.

291

P. *Volumnius.* *Serv. Sulpitius.*

*Livy* and *Cassiodorus* write that there followed as Coss. this yeer, P. *Servilius*: but *Dionysius* nameth *L. Æbutius* and P. *Servilius Priscus*. *Diodorus*, *Lu. Æbutius Elva* and *Pub. Servilius Structus*. The Sicilian registers shew *Priscus* and *Flavus*: *Cuspinian*, *Elva* and *Priscus*. The Capitol stones exhibit unto us P. *Servilius* the son of Sp. P. N. *i.* the sons son of *Publius*, and surnamed *Priscus*.

292

C. *Claudius*, son of *Appius*. P. *Valerius Poplicola.*

*Livy Cassiodore*, and *Denis*, represent unto us as Consuls this yeer, *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, and T. *Veturius* [or *Vetusius*] *Geminus*: but *Diodorus*, *L. Lucretius* and *T. Veturius Cicurinus*. *Cuspinian* his Kalender, *Geminus* and *Tricipitinus*. The Sicilian Registers, *Tricipitinus* and *Veturius*: the Capitol monuments *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus*.

293

Q. *Fabius Vibulanus III. L. Cornel. Malginēsis*

*Livius* and *Cassiodorus* professe for Consuls this yeer, *P. Volumnius* and *Serv. Sulpitius*. *Dionysius*, *P. Volumnius*, and *Serv. Sulpitius Camerinus*. The Capitol marbles have P. *Volumnius Amintinus Gallus*. Of the same Consul *Valerius* speaketh, in his first book and sixt chapter.

294

*L. Minutius.* C. *Nantius.*

*Livy* and *Dionysius* name, P. *Valerius Publicola*, and *C. Claudius Sabinus* Consuls for this yeer: *Diodorus*, P. *Valerius Poplica*, and C. *Claudius Regillanus*. The Sicilian registers & *Cuspinian*, call them *Poplicola* and *Sabinus*. The Capitoline marble hath this record, P. *Valerius* P. F. [son of P.] *Volusi* N. *i.* the sons son of *Volusus*, surnamed *Poplicola*, but *Livy*, *Dionysius*, *Orosius* & they that have ranged the Cos. in the capitol, have reported that P. *Valerius* the Consul was slain in the battel against the bondslaves who this yeer (under the leading of *Ap. Herdonius* the Sabine) held the Capitol by force, and that in his stead *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* was substituted.

295

Q. *Minutius.* C. *Horatius Pulvillus.*

*Livius*, together with *Cassiodorus*, declare for Consuls this yeer, Q. *Fabius* the third time and L. *Cornelius Malginensis*. *Dionysius*, Q. *Fabius Vibulanus* the third time, and L. *Cornelius*. *Diodorus*, Q. *Fabius Vibulanus*, and L. *Cornelius* κασσιανος. The Sicilian registers, and *Cuspinian* *Vibulanus* and *Malginensis*. The capitol marble C. *Fabius Vibulanus* the third time.

296

*M. Valerius.* *Sp. Virginius.*

Both *Livy* and *Cassiodore*, deliver unto us for Consuls, L. *Minutius* and C. *Nantius*, *Dionysius*, L. *Minutius* and C. *Nantius* the second time. *Diodorus* *Minutius* καρσιανὸς, and C. *Nantius Rutilius*. The capitol stones C. *Nantius Rutilius* the second time. What this surname καρτιανὸς should mean, *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* confesse they know not, and think in stead thereof I we should read ἀγυρτὸς, *Valerius Maximus* (5 book 2 chap. Of thankful persons) writeth these Consuls corruptly, Q. for *Nantius*, and *Minutius*.

297

T. *Romulus.* *Sp. Veturius.*

*Livy* and *Cassiodorus* name for Coss. this yeer Q. *Minutius* and *M. Horatius Pulvillus*: but herein they do amisse, as *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* suppose: for the same *Livy* writeth, that *Caius Horatius Pulvillus* died being Augur in the yeer 302. *Diodorus* nameth L. *Posthumius* and *M. Horatius*. *Dionysius Q. Horatius* and *Q. Minutius*. The Capitol records, C. *Horatius Pulvillus*. And the Sicilian registers, *Pulvillus* and *Angurinus*.

298

*Sp. Tarpeius.* *A. Atterius.*

In *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, and *Dionysius*, we find Coss. this yeer, *Valerius* with Sp. *Virginius*. But in the twelfth book of *Diodorus* M. *Valerius Lactuca*, and Sp. *Virginius Tricostus*. In *Cuspinian* Kalender *Maximus* and *Calimontanus* In the Sicilian, *Maximus* and *Virginius*. In that of the Capitol, *M. Valerius Max.* As for *Lactucinus*, *Plinie* sheweth, that it is a surname of the *Valerii*. Of these Consuls also, *Censorinus* maketh mention in his discourse of the plaies called *Seculares*.

299

*P. Curiatius.* *Sext. Quintilius*

According to *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Dionysius*, this yeer *Veturius* and *T. Romulus* entred upon the Consulship. *Diodorus* delivereth unto us C. *Veturius Cicurinus*, and *T. Romulius Vaticanus*. *Cuspinians* Kalender sheweth *Geminus* and *Vaticanus*. The Sicilian, *Rocus* and *Veturius*. The Capitol records, *T. Romulius*, son of *T.* nephew or sons son of *T. Vaticanus*. Of the same *Romulius*, *Pliny* also speaketh also 7 book, chapter 28.

300

*T. Menenius. P. Seſtius Capitolinus.*

*Spurius Tarpeius* ſon of *M.* and nephew of M. ſurnamed *Montanus Capitolinus*, the Kalender of *Verrius Flaccus* ſheweth unto us for one Conſuls this yeer. Of whom, *Diodorus*, *Dionyſius*, *Livy*, *Pedianus* upon *Cicero* his oration for *Cornelius*, and *Caſſiodorus* make mention ſave only the ſurnames. *Cuſpinians* book, and the Greek records, have *Capitolinus*. As for his colleague, they diſſent and diſagree. For *Diodorus* would have him to be *Aulus Aſterius Fontinalis*; but *Dionyſius Aulus Termenius*. *Livy* and *Pliny*, the ſeventh book, chapter ſeven and twenty, A. *Æternius*. *Solinus* chapter 4. *Gell.* 1 book, chapter 11. *A. Thermus*. Laſtly, *Caſſiodorus*, *Au.* Aterius. whom *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* follow.

301

*App. Claudius. T. Gentius.*

*Livy* and *Caſſiodorus* likewiſe, report for this yeer Conſuls, *Sext. Quintilius* and P. *Curiatius*. *Dionyſius*, *Sex.* Quintilius and *Horatius*. *Diodorus*, *Sex.* Quintilius *Tergeminus*. The Capitol ſtones name him *Sex. Quintilius*, ſon of *Sex.* nephew of *Pub.* For this ſurname *Tergeminus* is common both to the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*. But *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* allow *Horatius* rather.

302

*Sex. Quintilius* ſon of *Sextus*, nephew of *Pub.*

TO this Conſul the Greek records give the ſurname of *Varus*, and ſo the Capitoline tables of ſtone do repreſent him. But *Diodorus*, *Dionyſius*, *Livy*, and *Caſſiodorus* deliver the ſame man unto us without the ſurname. Who was his colleague, it is doubtfull. For by *Dionyſius* it is was P. *Horatius*: by *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus*, *Pub. Curtatius*: by *Diodorus*, *Tergeminus*; which is the ſurname as well of the *Curiatii*, as the *Horatii*. *Onuphrius* rather approveth of *Curiatius*.

303

*Decemvirs Conſular.*

*Livy* and *Diodorus*, together with the Capitoline regiſters (as far forth as may be gathered by the broken fragments of the tables ſhew that *App. Claudius* and T. *Genutius* were Coſſ. elect for this yeer, but they reſigned up the place, in regard of creating Decemvirs. Now at touching this Decemvirat, the law *Terentia* brought it into the commonweal: which law A. *Terentius Arſa*, a Tribune of the Commons promulged as touching five Quinquevirs to be created, who ſhould ſet down laws to gage the Coſſ. authority. For the Commons complained, that their government was too great and tolerable, and therefore requred that it might be abated and made more moderat. Which law, after he had been for ſix yeer together hotely canvaſſed by the Trib. to no effect in the end waxed cold again, by reaſon that the ſaid Trib. obtained a grant to double their own number. But afterwards upon the occaſion that *Romulius* and *Veturius* the Coſſ. bare themſelves too extream in rigor againſt the Com. refuſing warfare, the ſaid law was ſet on foot again, and ſuit followed more hotly then before. Whereupon when the LL. of the Senat were doubtfull what to do, at length they reſolved upon this point, whereof the principal adviſer was *T. Romulius*) to create certain lawgiver, who ſhould ſet down the rights and priviledges both of nobles and commons. And look what ordinances by them were decreed, the ſame ſhould bind both the one part and the other. The com. agreed to this determination: and ſo three Embaſſadors, *Sp. Poſthumius Albus*, *Au Manlius Vulſo*, and *Serv. Sulpitius Camerinus*, were ſent into *Greece*, to learn the ſtatuts, cuſtoms, rights, and laws of the Athenians and other Cities of *Greece*, and the ſame to bring to them to *Rome*. Theſe went their embaſſage when *Atinius* and *Tarpeius* were Conſul, and three yeers after returned with the ſaid laws, whiles *Seſtius* and *Menenius* were Conſuls. Now when the Tribuns were inſtant & called hard upon them, to begin once for to make theſe poſitive lawes; and now already *Ap. Claudius* and *T. Genueius* were elected coſſ. for this yeer; they paſſed an act of the Senat (according to the advice of *App. Claudius*) That other magiſtracies ſhould surceaſe, and 10 Decemvirs be created in conſular, nay roial authority abſolutly, without liberty of appealing from them to the people: who ſhonld chooſe as well out of their own cuſtoms and ordinances, as the forrain laws abovelaid, the beſt & moſt profitable to the common-weal, and ſet down the rights of the people of *Rome*: And look what they preſcribed and preſented (if the Senat and people of *Rome* allowed thereof) that ſhould ſtand in force & bind the whole body of the ſtate for ever. When this act was approved by the Commons, the Conſuls reſigned and gave over. In whoſe ſtead, were choſen Decemvirs conſular, namely, *Ap. Claudius*, *T. Genutius*, the ſame that gave up their Conſulſhip;) *Spur. Poſthumius*, *Serv. Sulpitius*, *Au. Manlius*, (thoſe that went in embaſſie from the Coſs. to *Athens*:) *T. Romulius*, C. *Julius*, P. *Seſtius*, *Pub. Horatius*, all men of conſular calling, and ſuch as had been Conſuls before. Beſides, *Sp. Veturius*, according to *Livy*, *Diodorus*, and *Dionyſius*: although *Dionyſius* called *Poſthumius* by the name of *Publius* and not *Spurius* as *Livy*, and *Diodorus* do. Likewiſe *Livy* forenameth *Veturius*, *Lucius*; *Dionyſius Titus*; but *Diodorus* and the Capiteline ſtones, *Spurius*. Theſe Decemvirs began their government in the 301 yeer after the foundation of the City, as *Livy* writeth, and after them *Caſſiodorus* goeth. But the avouchers of the Capitol records, ſay it was the yeer 302; & with them agreeth *Solinus*. But *Varro* (who *Onuphrius* followeth) accounteth the yeer 303. Theſe ſat in judgment and miniſtred juſtice to the people by turns every one his tenth day: on which day the ſaid chief juſtice

bare the ſoveraign port, with his 12 Lictors before him; the other nine had but one ſergeant apeece to give attendance: and the ſingular concord among themſelves, which otherwhiles was an agreement profitable when they were private, proved exceeding great equity to others.

304

BY this time the Commons, beſides that they deteſted the name of Conſul, no leſs than KK. found no miſs of the Tribuns aſſiſtance, nor ſought once after it, ſeeing the Decemvirs yeeld one onto another in reciprocal appealing. With great affection therefore and endeavour, as well of nobles as commons, there were created for this year alſo Decemvirs in Conſuls authority abſolutly without appeal, *Ap. Claudius* the ſecond time, *Q. Fabius* who had been four times Conſul, *M. Cornelius Maluginenſis* brother of *L. Cornelius*, who had been Conſul in the year 295; M. *Sergius*, *L. Minutius*, *T. Antonius Merenda*, M. *Rabuleius*: and three likewiſe of the Commons, Q. *Petilius*, *K. Duilius*, and *Sp. Oppius Cornicen*, as witneſſeth *Diodorus*, *Dionyſius*, and *Livy*; although the gentile names for the moſt part are by *Diodorus* omitted.

305

WHen the more part of the former year was paſt, and that upon the adding of two other tables to the former ten, there remained no more to do, (in caſe the ſaid tables were once in the high court and aſſembly of the Centuries paſſed) why the common-weal ſhould have any need of the Decemvirs, inſomuch as the commons expected, that ſoon after, the ſolemn court and aſſembly aforeſaid for creation of Conſuls ſhould be publiſhed: then the Decemvirs without any word at all made of that election or aſſembly, came abroad guarded with whole troops of yong gentlemen Patritians, and demeaned themſelves more proudly and inſolently to every man. But before the year was fully expired, by occaſion of the lecherous luſt of *Ap. Claudius*, who challenged a maiden (one of the commons daughters) as a bond-ſervant, according as *Livy* more at large writeth; and alſo of the commons inſurrection and departing into the *Aventine*, the foreſaid Decemvirs gave over their Magiſtracy: and when *Q. Furius* the high Pontifex called a general aſſembly of the tribes, ten Tribuns of the Commons were again choſen: and ſo at length in another aſſembly of Centuries for the Conſuls, holden by the Interregent, created there were Conſuls,

*L. Valerius Potitus. M. Horatius Barbatus.*

THeſe Conſuls *Onuphrius* caſteth upon a third year of the Decemvirs (although *Livy* ſeemeth to diſſent) to the end that he might jump with the account of the Capitol, which he ſuppoſeth to be collected by *Varro*: for by their calculation, the triumphs of theſe Conſuls declared in the Capitol records, are engraven upon this very year, *i.* 304: ſo as it appeareth evidently, that part of this year was taken up by the Decemvirs, and part by the Conſuls. *Tacitus* and *Rufus* write, that the Decemvirs continued but two years.

306

*Livius* putteth down for Conſuls, *Sp. Herminnus* and *T. Virginius Calimontanus*. *Caſſiodorus* ſaith, *L. Herminius* and *T. Virginius*. *Dionyſius* writeth λεξον ἑρμιλιον, Τιτον ὐεργινιον: and *Diodorus* thus, λαξινον ἑρμιλιον, τ:ιον ὐεργινιον ϛρυκτον: the Greek records, *Herminius*, *Tricoſtus*: whereby *Onuphrius* feareth that it be corruptly written in *Diodorus*, *Structus* for *Tricoſtus*: for *Structus* was a ſurname of the *Servilii* and not of the *Virginii*. As for his colleague *Herminius*, that he is to be ſore-named *Lars*, beſides *Diodorus* and *Dionyſius*, *Valerius* alſo ſheweth in his tenth book, where he writeth thus: The ſore-name of *Lars* is derived from the *Lares*.

307

*M. Geganius Macerinus. C. Julius.*

THeſe are recorded likewiſe to be the Conſuls this year. The ſurname *Macerinus* is ſuppreſſed by *Caſſiodorus* and *Diodorus*, who alſo nameth the other *L. Julius*. In *Dionyſius* certain pages be wanting in this place. *Cuſpinian* his Kalender hath for *Macerinus*, *Macrinus*.

308

*T. Quintius Capitolinus IIII. Agrippa Furius.*

*Dionyſius* and *Livy* both, name the Conſ. of this year, *T. Quintius Capitolinus* the fourth time, and *Agrippa Furius*. *Diodorus* and *Caſſiodorus* conceal the ſurname and the numeral note of four. The Greek records have *Furius* and *Capitolinus*. *Onuphrius* unto *Furius* addeth the ſurnames of the grandſire, to wit, *Medullinus Fuſus*.

309

*M. Genutius. C. Curtius.*

*Livy* delivereth unto us for Conſ. this year, M. *Genutius*, and *P. Curiatius*. *Caſſiodorus* likewiſe *M. Genutius* and *P. Curiatius*: but *Dionyſius*, *M. Genutius* and *C. Quintius*: and *Diodorus* hath, *M. Genutius* and *Agrippa Curtius Chilo*. But as *Sigonius*, and after him *Onuphrius* have noted, it is falſly read in *Livy*, *Curiatius* for *Curtius*; and that is proved by the authority of *Varro de lingua latina*: and therefore in the Sicilian regiſters written they are, *Genutius* and *Curtius*.

310

*A. Semp. Atratinus.*
*T. Clœlius.*
*L. Atilius.*
} Military Tribuns in Conſular authority: upon whoſe reſignation Conſuls were choſen in their room.

*L. Papirius Mugilanus. L. Sempronius Atratinus.*

WHen *C. Canuleius* a Tribune of the Commons, had the former year publiſhed a ſecond

ſecond law, That one of the Conſuls ſhould be created out of the Commons, (whereby the dignity of the Patritii was empaired) the nobles fearing leſt the ſaid law would paſs in deed maugre their heads, drew to a point; whereof C. *Claudius* made the firſt motion and was the adviſer, That in ſtead of Conſuls there ſhould be created military Tribuns, three of the Patritii, and as many of the Commons; who being endued with Conſular authority, ſhould govern the common-weal. Alſo, that when their years government was expired, the advice both of Senat and alſo of people ſhould be once again required, Whether they would have Conſuls rather than Tribunes conſular? and look which pleaſed them, they ſhould be created. Theſe points being reſolved upon and decreed, three military Tribunes were created only, all Patritii: and well enough were the Commons content therewith, becauſe themſelves were eligible and capable of that dignity. Howbeit, this regiment of theirs newly ſet up, ſtood not firmly eſtabliſhed. For within 3 months after, by a decree of the Augurs, they reſigned up their honourable place, as if there had been ſome error committed in their election: and then *T. Quintius Barbatus* (nominated Interregent) created Conſuls, *L. Papyrius Mugillanus*, and *L. Sempronius Atratinus*. The Conſuls are leſt out in the Sicilian regiſters. Well ſaith *Livy* therefore, that theſe Conſuls are found neither in ancient annals and yearly records, nor yet in the Kalender of the Magiſtrats. But *Cicero* maketh mention of them in his Epiſtle to *Papyrius Paetus*.

311

*M. Geganius Macerinus* II. *T. Quintius Capitolinus. V.*

*Dionyſius* and *Caſſiodorus* avouch theſe for Conſuls this year. As for *Dionyſius*, he ſaith that they entred in the month of *December*. *Caſſius* concealeth both their ſurnames, and *Diodorus* the one, namely, *Capitolinus*. The Greek records have *Macrinus* the ſecond time, and *Capitolinus* the fifth time. *Zonaras* nameth them *Macrinus* and *Barbatus*.

312

*M. Fab. Vibulanus. Poſtumus Ebutius Cornicen.*

*Livy* ſaith, that Conſuls of this year, were ſo named. *Diodorus* and *Caſſiodorus* are ſilent in their ſurnames. The Greek records have *Vibulanus* and *Helua*. *Diodorus* attributeth to *Ebutius* the ſurname of Ἄλκων, but what manner of addition that might be, *Sigonius* knoweth not; and thinketh that it ſhould be read, ὁ Ἄλβας.

313

*C. Furius Pacilus. M. Papyrius Craſſus.*

Theſe Conſuls by *Livy* and *Caſſodorus* are in this wiſe repreſented unto us. But by *Diodorus* after this ſort, *Q. Furius Fuſus*, and *Manius Papirius Craſſus*. And by the Greek records thus, *Pacilus* and *Craſſus*.

314

*P. Geganius Macrinus. L. Menenius Lanatus.*

*Livius* and *Caſſiodordus*, deliver theſe Conſuls thus fully named, *Proculus Geganius Macerinus*, and *L. Menenius Lanatus*. *Diodorus*, *T. Menenius*, and *Proculus Geganius Macrinus*. The Sicilian regiſters, *Macerinus* and *Lanatus*.

315

*T. Quint. Capitolinus* VI. *A. Menenius Lanatus.*

By *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus*, theſe were the Conſuls for this year: but after *Diodorus*, *T. Quintius*, and T. *Menenius*. According to the Sicilian rolls, *Menenius* and *Capitolinus*.

316

*Mam. Æmylius.* *L. Quintius ſon of Cincinnatus.* *L. Iulius.* } Mili. Tribu. in Conſ. authority.

The Tribuns of the Commons imported and prevailed, that there ſhould be an election holden for Tribuns military, rather than Conſuls; making no doubt, but in the chuſing of ſix (for ſo many now by law might be created) ſome of the commoners by making profeſſion that they would be revenged for the death of *Melius*, would ſtep into the place: howbeit the Commons created no more than three Tribuns with Conſular authority, and among them *L. Quintius*, the ſon of *Cincinnatus*. In which election, *Mumerius Æmylius*, a right honorable man and of great worth, was by their ſuffrages preferred before *Quintius*, and *Julius* they made the third. In like manner, *Diodorus* nameth three Tribuns military for this year; but in this ſort, M. *Æmylius Mamercus*, *C. Inlius*, and *L. Quintius*.

317

M. *Geganius Macerinus* III. *L. Sergius Fidenas.*

When the Commons, together with their Tribuns were quiet, and carefully regarded the main ſtate of the Common-weal, no queſtion there was nor controverſy, but that Coſſ. were choſen, to wit, M. *Geganius Macerinus* the third time, and *L. Sergius*, ſo ſaith *Livius*. *Caſſiodorus* doth the ſame, but that he ſetteth down the names of the Coſſ. only in this wiſe, M. *Geganius* the third time, and *L. Sergius*, without ſurnames. *Diodorus* likewiſe, M. *Geganius* and *L. Sergius*. *Cuſpinians* Kalender, and the Sicilian regiſters, *Macerinus* and *Fidenas*. For this *Sergius* was ſurnamed *Fidenas* (as *Livy* reporteth) by occaſion of the war which he made againſt the Fidenats.

318

M. *Cornelius Maluginenſis. L. Papirius Craſſus.*

*Livy* and *Caſſiodorus* report theſe above-named, for this year Conſuls. *Diodorus* nameth them, *L. Papirius* and *A. Corn. Macerinus*: but doubtleſs not without error, as *Sigonius* ſuppoſeth: for both in *Cuſpinians* Kalender and the rolls of *Sicily*, we find *Maluginenſis* and *Craſſus*.

319

319

C. *Julius II.* L. *Virginius.*

THeſe Conſuls are found for this yeer in *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus*; but in *Diodorus* C. *Julius* and *Proculus Virginius Tricoſtus*. In *Cuſpinians* Kalender and the Sicilian records, *Julius* and *Virginius*.

320

C. *Julius III.* } or { M. *Manlius.*
L. *Virginius II.* } or { Q. *Martius.*

I Find in *Licinius Macer*, that the ſame Coſſ. were choſen again for the yeer following, to wit, *Julius* the third time, and *Virginius* the ſecond. *Valerius Antias* and *Quin. Tubero* alledg for this yeers Conſuls, M. *Manlius*, and Q. *Sulpitius*. But in theſe ſo different records of theirs, *Tubero* and *Macer* both profeſſe to go by the linnen books; and neither of them diſſembleth but that the ancient writers report of military Tribuns that yeer created. As for *Licinius*, he doubteth not to follow thoſe linen records, and *Tubero* cannot reſolve of the truth. But among other things, which by continuance of time are unknown, this alſo is left uncertain. Thus much *Livy*. But *Diodorus* in ſtead of Conſuls, ſetteth down three military Tribunes, namely, M. *Manlius*, Q. *Sulpitius Pretextatus*, and *Servius Cornelius Coſſus*. The Greek records (following *Antias* and *Tubero*) have delivered to us Conſuls, *Capitolinus* and *Camerinus*.

321

*M. Fabius Vibulanus.* } Tribunes military in Conſuls authority.
*Sergius Fedenas.* }
*Marcus Foſtius.* }

THe Tribuns of the Commons in their orations continually forbad the the elections of Conſuls: and when they had brought it ſo about; that the goverment was at the point of interregency, they wan the maſtery in the end, that the military Tribuns might be choſen with Conſular authority. But reward of this victory which they ſhot at, namely, to have a commoner created, they obtained none: for out of the Patritii, namely M. *Fabius Vibulanus*, *M. Feſtius*, *Ln. Sergius Fidenas*. Thus much *Livy*. *Diodorus* likewiſe nameth three, but corruptly, to wit, M. *Fabius*. Μ φαλίνιος, and L. *Servillius*. As for *Foſtius* in ſome of the Capitol monuments, he is writen *Flaccinator* and not *Folius*, as in the common editions of *Livy*, whom *Diodorus* calleth φαλίνιος.

322

*L. Panarius Mamercus.* } Tribunes military in Conſuls authority.
*L. Furius Medullinus.* }
*Sp. Poſthumius Albus.* }

NO motion was made of Conſuls election. So Tribunes military were created in Conſuls authority theſe, *Pinarius Mamercus*, L. *Furius Medullinus*, and *Spurius Poſthumius Albus*; as *Livy* writeth. In *Diodorus* they are named thus, L. *Furius Sp.* . . . *Pinarius Mamercus*.

323

T. *Quintius*, [ſon of *Lucius*.] *Cincinnatus Pennus*
*Julius Mento.*

An act of the Senat paſſed, that an election of Coſſ. ſhould be holden, wherein T. *Quintius*, [ſon of *Lucius*] *Cincinnatus*, ſurnamed alſo *Pennus*, and C. *Julius Mento*, were made Conſuls, ſaith *Livy*. The ſame Coſſ. *Caſſiodorus* alſo avoucheth. The Greek records have *Pennus* and *Mento*: But *Diodorus* nameth them barely *T. Quintius* and *Caius Julius*.

324

*L. Papyrius Craſſus. L. Julius.*

THe Tribuns of the Commons made much ado, and kept a convaiſing in the City that Tribuns military in Conſuls authority ſhould be created, but could not prevail. So Conſuls were choſen, *L. Papirius Craſſus* and *L. Junius*. So ſay *Livy* and *Caſſiodore*: but *Diodorus* nameth them falſly, *Caius Papirius* and *L. Junius*: the Greek records, *Craſſus* and *Julius*.

325

*L. Ser. Fadenas II. Hoſtus Lucretius Tricipitinus*

THe Conſuls this yeer in *Caſſiodorus*, are *L. Sergius* and *Hoſtus Lucretius*: in *Diodorus* *Opiter Lucretius* and L. *Sergius Fidenas*: in *Livy* L. *Sergius Fidenas* the ſecond time, and *Hoſtus Lucretius Tricipitinus*. In the Sicilian regiſters, *Tricipitinus* and *Fidenas*. Of theſe *Valerius* maketh mention in his Epitome.

326

A. *Cornelius Coſſus.* *T. Quintius Pennus II.*

THeſe Conſuls are named by *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus* for this yeer. But *Diodorus* avoucheth L. *Quintius* and *Sempronius*; but corruptly, as *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* ſuppoſe. For in the Sicilian records are writen, *Coſſus* and *Pennus*, the ſurnames of *Cornelius* and *Quintius*. Of theſe Conſuls *Livy* ſpake before, in the yeer 316.

327

C. *Servilius Ahala.* L. *Papirius Mugillanus*

*Livy* and *Caſſiodorus*, name Conſuls for this yeer, C. *Servilius Ahala*, and L. *Papirius Mugillanus*. *Diodorus* for *Ahala* putteth down *Structus*: for well it may be, that *Structus* was alſo called *Ahala*.

328

*T. Quintius Pennus.* } Tribunes military in Coſſ. authority.
*M. Poſthumius.* }
*C. Furius.* }
*A. Cornelius Coſſus.* }

THe Commons caried it cleer, that no Coss. this yeer were created: for four there were elected military Tribunes in Consuls authority, namely, *T. Quintius Pennus* immediately upon his Consulship, M. *Posthumius*, C. *Furius*, & *An Cornelius*, Cossi. Thus writeth *Livy*: and the same *Diodorus* nameth.

329

A. *Sempronius Atratinus.*
*L. Quintius Cincinnatus.* } Tribuns Military in
*L. Furius Medullinus.* } Coss. authority.
L. *Horatius Barbatus.*

THese abovenamed (as *Livy* reporteth) were Tribuns military in Consuls authority this yeer. *Diodorus* leaveth out their surnames, and *L. Horatius* full and whole.

330

*Ap. Claud.* the Decemvirs son.
*Sp. Nautius Rutilus.* } Tribunes military in Consuls authority.
*L. Sergius Fidenas.*
*Sext. Iulius Iulus.*

These Tribunes military in Coss. authority *Livy* seteth down for this yeer. The same doth *Diodorus* also nominate, all but their surnames, and *App. Claudius* whom he called *Titus*. *Livy* moreover saith, that there were two *Spurii Nautii Rutili*, Tribunes in those daies: but no doubt, as *Onuphrius* thinketh, there is some error in the copies of the book) the one who is now the first time, and a second time shall be in the yeer 338; the other, who was first in the yeer 335, and once again in the yeer 350 of the Capitol monuments of stone have the same: but they shew that the one was but once, and the other thrice Tribune.

331

C. *Sempronius Atratinus.* Q. *Fabius Vibulanus*

THe Consuls this yeer created were according to *Livius* and *Cassiodorus*, C. *Sempronius Atratinus* and Q. *Fabius Vibulanus* [*Diodorus* overpasseth them] whom *Livy* reporteth to have entred into government, upon the Ides of *December*. Of C. *Sempronius Atratinus* Consul, *Valerius* writeth six book, cap. 5. whom he forenameth *Lucius*: but in the third book and second chapter, he speaketh of both, although untruely; for Q. *Fabius*, he nameth Q. *Catulus*.

332

L. *Manlius Capitolinus.*
Q. *Antonius Merenda.* } Tribunes military in
L. *Papyrius Mugillanus* } Consuls authority.
L. *Servillius Structus.*

THe Senat being offended with the very name of Consuls for the hatred they bare to *Sempronius*, commanded Tribuns military to be created with Consuls authority. And these they were, L. *Manlius Capitolinus*, Q. *Antonius Merenda*, and *Papyrius Mugillanus*. Thus much *Livy*, in whose story the name is missing of the fourth, to wit, L. *Servilius Structus*, who in the yeer 337, is found engraven in the Capitol stones, Tribunes military the second time. Of these, *Diodorus* saith not a word. In a fragment of the Capitoline marble, there is to be seen the surname of *Mugillanus*, belonging to *L. Papirius*.

333

T. *Quintius Capitolinus.* *N. Fabius Vibulanus*

NOt only *Livy*, but *Cassiodorus* also recordeth that the Coss. this yeer were *N. Fabius Vibulanus* and *T. Quintius Capitolanus*, *Diodorus* over-passed them; but so do not the Sicilian registers. In a fragment of the Capitol marbles, we find engraven *T. Quintius Capitolinus Barbatus* and *N. Fabius*. This *Fabius* was the son of *Q. Fabius* the Decemvir, who after the 300 *Fabii* slain in *Cremera*, survived and was the first of all that kindred and family surnamed *Numerius* (as *Valerius Maximus* in his 10 book, and *Sex. Pompeius* do report. As for T. *Quintius* son he was (as *Livy* writeth) to that *Capitolinus* who was Consul six times.

334

*An Interregency.*

WHen the greater part of the yeer was spent in troubles and contentions, between the new Trib. of the Commons and certain Interregents, while the Tribuns one while would not suffer the Patritii to go together about the declaring of an interregent, and another while impeached the Interregent that he could not passe an act of the Senat for the election of Consuls: at length L. *Papirius Mugillanus* the Interregent, by rebuking as well the Senators as the Tribunes of the Commons, prevailed, that an assembly should be holden for chusing of Tribunes consular. So there were created Tribunes military with Consuls authority, and all Patritii, T. *Quintius Cincinnatus* the third time, L. *Furius Medullinus*, M. *Manlius*, L. *Sempronius Atratinus*. Thus much *Livy*.

335

A. *Menenius Lanatus.*
P. *Lucretius Tricipitinus* } Trib. military in Coss.
*Sp. Nautius.* } authority.
C. *Servilius.*

MIlitary Tribuns with Consuls authority for this yeer, are set down by *Livy* *Agrippa Menenius Lanatus*, P. *Lucretius Tricipitinus*, and P. *Nautius*: for the name of the fourth is wanting; and that was C. *Servilius*, son of *Quintius* and nephew of *Caius*, surnamed *Axilla*; who the yeer following, in the Capitol tables is numbered among the Tribunes consular, with the numerall note of II. So as it must needs be, that he was the first time in the yeer, for as much as no other fit void place left for him. *Diodorus* nameth *Sp. Veturius*.

336

L. *Sergius Fidenas.*
*M. Papirius Mugillanus.*
*C. Servilius Priscus.*
} Tribunes militarie in Consuls authority.

FOr Tribunes Consular this yeer, *Livy* nameth these. This C. *Servilius*, is by *Verrius Flaccus* named *Axilla*. *Diodorus* calleth them L. *Sergius*, M. *Servilius*, and M. *Papirius*. Now this *M. Papirius* was son to L. *Papirius Mugillanus* the Censor.

337

*Agrippa Menenius Lanatus. L Servilius Structus.*
*P. Lucretius Tricipitinus. Sp. Veturius Crassus.*

ALl these are recorded by *Livy*, for Trib. military this yeer. Of these L. *Servilius Structus* was the first time in the 332 yeer, but left out in *Livy* through fault of those that wrote the copies. *Diodorus* hath the same Tribune besides the surnames, and L. *Servilius*, whom he called *Caius*. In a Capitoline table their names are thus cut P. *Lucretius* son of *Hostus*, *Agrippa Menenius* son of *T.* nephew of *Agrippa*.

338

*A. Sempronius Atratinus. III*
*Sp. Nautius Rutilius II.*
*Papirius Mugillanus.*

ONly these are by *Livy* recorded: but that the pen-men who wrote out the books, left out the fourth Tribun of this yeer *Quintius Fabius* son of *Quintus* nephew of *Marcus*, surnamed also *Vibulanus*) the Capitol stones and *Diodorus* do testifie. *Livy* himself also doth shew the same, who writeth, that *Quintius Fabius* was Tribune military the second time, in the yeer three hundred and forty: but in what yeer he was first, it appeareth not. Moreover, *An. Sempronius* is by *Verrius Flaccus* named the son of *Lucius* and nephew of *Aulus*. *Diodorus* reckoneth all four, but he concealeth their surnames.

339

*P. Cornelius Cossus.* | *Q. Cincinnatus*
*C Valerius Potitus,* | *N. Fabius Vibulanus*

THese doth *Livy* deliver unto us for Tribuns military in Consuls authority. *Diodorus* in this wise, *P. Cornelius, Caius . . . Fabius.* The table of the Capitol thus, *P. Cornelius . . .* F. nephew of P. C. *Valerius*, son of L. nephew of *Volusus*, the forename of *Quintius* is unknown.

340

*Cn. Cornelius Cossus. L. Valerius Potitus*
*Q. Fabius Vibulanus II. Posthumius Regillensis*

THese declareth *Livius* for this yeer: but *Diodorus*, *Titus Posthumius*, *Caius Cornelius*, C. *Valerius*, and *Caso Fabius*. But *Verrius Flaccus* nameth P. *Posthumius* son of *A.* nephew also of *Aulus*; whom *Livy* writeth to have been stoned to death by his own army for his cruelty

341

*Cn. Cornelius Cossus. C. Furius Medullinus.*

THen the Nobles and LL. of the Senat imported, that there should be Consuls created in the Centuriat assembly, which *Q. Fabius* held. And the Consuls were M. *Cornelius Cossus*, and *L. Furius Medullinus*. The same are named by *Diodorus*, and *Cassiodorus*, but that they leave out their surnames. The Greek records have *Cossus* and *Medullinus*.

342

*Q. Fabius Ambustus. C. Furius Pacilus.*

*Livy* and *Cassiodorus* name these for Consuls: *Diodorus*, suppresseth their surnames.

343

*M. Papyrius.* C. *Nautius Rutilus.*

BOth *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* report for this yeer Consuls, M. *Papyrius* and *C. Nautius Rutilus*. *Diodorus* hath not a word of the surnames. *Cuspinians* book setteth them down by the surnames only *Mugillanus* and *Rutilus*.

344

M. *Æmylius* C. *Valerius.*

*Livy* and *Cassiodorus* call these Consuls, M *Æmylius* and *C. Valerius*. *Diodorus* in stead of *M.* hath *M. i. Manius*, This *Æmylius* in the table of the Capitol, is named in his first and third Tribunship, *M. Æmylius* son of *Manius*, nephew of *M.* and surname *Mamercinus*.

345

*Cn. Cornelius Cossus. L. Furius Medullinus.*

*Livy* putteth these down for the Consuls of this yeer. *Cassiodorus* passeth over their surnames and the numerall note of two. *Diodorus* hath L. *Furius* and *Cn. Pompeius*: but he is to be written *Cn. Cornelius*, out of the end of a broken fragment in the Capitol: and the other L. *Furius*, by his Tribuneship testified in the Capitol records.

346

*C. Julius Julus*
P. *Cornelius Cossus*
C. *Servilius Ahala*
} Tribunes militarie in Consuls authority.

THese are set down for Tribunes military this yeer by *T. Livius*. *Diodorus* saith nothing of their surnames, which the Capitoline tables exhibit unto us. C. *Servilius* is writen in the second Tribuneship (after the Capitol records) the son of *Pub.* and nephew of *Q.* surnamed *Ahala*.

347

*L. Furius Medullinus II. C. Valerius Potitus II.*
*N. Fabius Vibulanus II. C. Servilius Ahala II.*

*Livy* reporteth, that the four Tribuns consular were all Patritii this yeer, & had born that dignity once before, to wit, L. *Furius Medullinus*, C. *Valerius Potitus*, *N. Fabius Vibulanus* and C. *Servilius Ahala*; and then this man last named was chosen again and continued in his place still this yeer with the former, as well in regard of other vertues as for the fresh favour and late grace gotten by his singular moderation and rare carriage in his government. *Diodorus* hath C. *Furius*. C. *Servilius* C. *Valerius*, and *N. Fabius*. In the Capitoline tables, two are written short, *Potitus Volusus* II and *Medullinus*, the other two at full; wherby it doth appear (as *Onuphrius* reporteth that *Livy* was deceived. For *Medullinus* was not this year Tribune the second time, but the first: who had been twice Consul before, and after this yeer, will be no lesse then seven times Tribune military.

348

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| P. *Cornelius Cossus*. | *N. Fabius Ambustus*. |
| Cn. *Cornelius Cossus*. | L. *Valerius Potitus*. |

OF these four Tribuns military, L. *Valerius Potitus* and *N. Fabius Ambustus* stand upon record in the Capitol tables; the othe two, as appeareth by a fragment thereof, by *Livy* also and *Cassiodorus*, were *Pub. Cornelius*, son of *Aulus*, nephew of M. *Rutilus Cossus*, so written by his dictatorship. *Diodorus* reckoneth *Terentius Maximus* for the fourth Tribun.

349

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|---|---|
| T. *Quintius Capitolinus*. | *A. Manlius*. |
| Q. *Quintius Cincinnatus* | L. *Furius Medullinus* III |
| C. *Iulius Julus*. *II*. | *M. Æmylius Mamercus*. |

*Diodorus* saith, that this yeer six Tribunes were created, but he nameth but three, *T. Quintius Capitolinus*, C. *Julius*, and *Au. Manlius*. *Livy* rehearseth them all as here they be set down. The Capitoline stone hath *Julus. II. Capitolinus Barbatus*, *Cincinnatus*, and the other three. And this was the first yeer that had six Tribunes military, notwithstanding that the law permitted it before, at what time as first it was granted that Tribunes should be created: and in this yeer began the siege first before *Veii*.

350

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|---|---|
| C. *Valerius Potitus*. *III*. | Cn. *Cornelius Cossus*. |
| *M. Sergius Fidenas*. | K. *Fabius Ambustus*. |
| P. *Cornelius Maluginensis*. | *Sp. Nautius Rutilus*. *II* |

THe same Tribunes that *Livy* nameth, *Diodorus* also rehearseth, but that he leaveth out the surnames, and corruptly calleth Cn. *Cornelius* by the name of *Junius Lucullus*. In the Capitoline stones they are written, *Maluginensis*, *Cossus*, *II*. *Ambustus*: and the other three fully out. *Nautius Rutilus Livy* nameth the second time, but *Verrius Flaccus* the third time.

351

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|---|---|
| M. *Æmylius Mamercus*. *II*. | M. *Quintius Varus* |
| L. *Valerius Potitus III*. | L. *Iulius Julus*. |
| *App. Claudius Crassus*. | *M. Posthumius*. |
| *M. Furius Camillus*. | *M. Posthumius Albinus*. |

*Livy* writeth that the number of Tribunes military were by the Romans augmented, and eight of them created, which were more then ever any time before, whose names we have set down. In *Diodorus* they are thus named, *Manius Claudius*, *Mar. Quintilius*, *Lu. Julius* M. *Furius*, L. *Valerius*. And albeit there be wanting in him some Tribunes, yet *Onuphrius* thinketh, and so doth *Sigonius*, that himself by his own writing delivered not eight, but six: which *Verrius Flaccus* also observed in the Capitoline tables.

352

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|---|---|
| C. *Servilius Ahala*. *III*. | *Q. Sulpitius*. |
| Q. *Servilius*. | A. *Manlius*. |
| L. *Virginius*. | M. *Sergius*. *II*. |

IN *Livy* the Tribunes military in Consuls authority are C. *Servilius Ahala* the third time *Quin. Servilius*, and *Lu. Virginius*: the rest as in the tables of the Capitol, but only the forenames. *Livy* nameth *Qu. Servilius Fidenas* in the other six Tribunships following which he shall bear. To *Lucius Virginius*, *Onuphrius* addeth *Tricostus*, a surname usually in that house. *Diodorus* squareth not out of this range, but as *Sigonius* noteth, he doth fault in the name. χλαύδιος μάρκος ἄγκος. In the fragment of the Capitol, they are thus named. Q. *Sulpitius* the son of *Servius*. *N. Camerinus Coruntus*, *Au. Manlius*, son of *Aulus*, nephew of *C. Volso Capitolinus* the second time, *M. Sergius* son of *Lucius* nephew of *Lucius*, surnamed *Fidenas*, the second time.

353

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|---|---|
| L. *Valerius Potitus*. *IV*. | Cn. *Cornelius Cossus*. |
| *M. Furius Camillus*. | K. *Fabius Ambustus*. |
| *M. Æmy. Mamercinus*. *III*. | L. *Iulius Julus* |

*Livy* reckoneth all these Tribunes this yeer. *Diodorus* putteth down *Lu. Julius*. *M. Furius*, *Æmylius Mamercus*. *Caius Cornelius*, *Caso Fabius* παῦλος σέξτιος, but amisse. In the fragments of the Capitol, they are thus named, *Lucius Julius* son of *Lucius*, nephew of *Vopiscus* surnamed *Julus*. *Marcus Æmylius*, son of *Manius*, nephew of *Mar. Mamercus*. K. *Fabius* son of *Marcus*, nephew of *Qu. Ambustus* the second time. These were commanded to enter into government upon the first day of *October* (whereas the thirteenth of *December* was the usual day beforetime) by reason of an overthrow received the former yeer at *Veii* by *M. Sergius*. *Camillus* made an expedition in the Falisciens countrey, *Cornelius* to the Capenats, *Valerius* to the Volscians for the recovery of *Anxur*, *Æmylius* and *Fabius* to besiege *Veii*.

354

354

*P. Licinius Calvus.* *P. Manius.*
*T. Titinius.* *P. Melius.*
*L. Furius Medullinus.* *L. Publius Vulscus.*

THese by *T. Livius* are this yeer named the Tribunes military. But *Diodorus* rehearseth only three, namely, P. *Melius*, *Sp. Manius* and *L. Furius*. But *Onuphrius* thinketh that he is to be read, not *L. Furius* but *Sp Furius*. The same author hath put to *P. Licinius*, the surname of *Calvus*, whom *Livy* writeth to have been the first man of the commonalty chosen Tribune military, only to take possession of the said right and interest.

355

M. *Veturius.* M. *Pomponius.*
*C. Duilius.* *Volero Publilius.*
*Cn. Genutius.* *L. Atilius.*

THese *Diodorus* sheweth for Tribuns. But *Livy* setteth down *Marcus Veturius* to have been the only Patritian, and the rest commoners, namely, *M. Pomponius*, *C. Duilius*, *Volero Publilius*, *Cn. Genutius*, *L. Atilius*, *Cuspinian* his book, who every yeer delivereth the names only of two Tribunes, hath *Augurinus* and *Longus*, surnames of *Genutius* & *Atilius*.

356

L. *Valerius Potitus. V.* *L. Furius Medullinus.*
*M. Valerius Max.* *Q. Servilius Fidennus. II.*
M. *Furius Camillus. II.* *Q. Sulpitius Camerinus.*

ALl these Tribuns military for this yeer created were Patritii, as *Livy* writeth: neither differeth *Diodorus* although he recite two names corruptly, to wit, κλαυδιος ὕγων, καμάρι-ες ἄπιος. *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus* maketh mention, of the said *Camillus*, the second time Tribune military; and the Capitoline stone of *Medullinus* the third time.

357

*L. Julius Iulus.* *A. Posthu. Regillẽsis.*
*L. Furius Medullinus. IV* P. *Cor. Malugināsis.*
*L. Sergius Fidenas.* A. *Manlius.*

IN this wise *Livy* reckoneth them, but *Diodorus* L. *Sergius*, *A. Posthumius*, P. *Cornelius* σέξτον κέντιον, *Q. Manlius* ἀγήτιον καμιλὸν. But in those two Greek-written names, as *Sigonius* & *Onuphrius*, observeth there is a foul errour.

358

*P. Licinius. P. F. Calvus.* *L. Titinius. II.*
*P. Menius II.* *P. Melius. II.*
*Cn. Genutius. II.* *L. Atilius. II.*

IN this maner are these Tribunes military delivered us unto by *Livy*. But *Diodorus* names them tous, L. *Titinius*, P. *Licinius*, P. *Malius*, *Q. Manius*, *Cn. Genutius*, and *L. Atilius*. All these, but L. *Licinius* the son of *Publius* (as *Livy* saith) bare the dignity of Tribunship a little before: who writeth moreover, that *Genutius* was slain in a battel against the Falisc ins.

359

P. *Cornelius Cossus.* *P. Cornelius Scipio.*
L. *Fabius Ambustus. IV.* *L. Furius Medullinus IV.*
*M. Valerius Max.* *II.* *Q. Servilius. III.*

AFter the winning of *Veii*, this year had for Tribunes military in Consuls authority, those above-named. *Diodorus* calleth P. and *Ser. Cornelius* both, *Cossi*: in the rest, saving that he concealeth their surnames, he agreeth.

360

*L. Furius Medullinus. VI.* *Sp. Posthumius.*
*C. Æmylius.* *P. Cornelius II.*
*L. Valerius Poplicola.* *M. Furius Camillus.*

*Livy* nameth these in this yeer. *Diodorus*, *M. Furius Æmylius*, κάτλον βήγον, but *Camillus* now is the third time. *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* think, that by P. *Cornelius* we must understand *Scipio*, and not *Cossus*. This yeer *Camillus* Tribune military, by his just dealing reduced the Falisc ians to the obeisance of the people of *Rome*; in that he sent back unto them, that schoolmaster who betrayed their children: as *Livy* and *Plutarch* write. *Valerius* (not without some suspition of error) writeth in his first book, that *Camillus* did this being Consul: whereas *Plutarch* saith, he was never Consul.

361

L. *Lucretius Flavus.* *Serv. Sulpitius Camerinus.*

AFter fifteen yeers (saith *Livy*) Coss. were created again L. *Lucretius Falvus*, & *Serv. Sulpitius Camerinus*. *Diodorus* and *Cassidorus* passe over the surnames. The Sicilian registers do shew, *Flavus*, and *Camerinus*.

362

L. *Valerius Potitus.* *M. Manlius Capitolinus.*

*Veturius Valerius Potitus* and *M. Manlius* surnamed afterwards *Capitolinus*, are by *Livy* reported Consuls this yeer. *Dionysius* in his first book maketh mention of these Consuls, naming them L. *Valerius Potitus*, and *T. Manlius Capitolinus*. *Cassiodorus* delivereth them by the names of I. *Valerius* and *M. Manlius*. *Diodorus*, of L. *Valerius* and A. *Manlius*: but the Sicilian registers, of *Potitus* and *Capitolinus*.

363

*L. Lucretius.* *L. Furius Medullinus VII.*
*Serv. Sulpitius.* *Agrippa Furius.*
*M. Æmylius.* *C. Æmylius II.*

BY occasion that the Coss. lay sick, though good it was, to renew the government by means of an interregency: therefore after they had deposed the Coss. by an act of the Senat, six Trib. military were created with Consular authority, by the Interregent: who upon the first day of *July* began their magistracy, as *Livy* saith. *Diodorus* mentioneth but four, namely, L. *Lucretius*, *Serv. Sulpitius*, *C. Æmylius*, and *Lu. Furius*. As for *Sulpitius*, *Zonaras* calleth him *Rufus*; which surname *Onuphrius* also hath put unto him.

364

364

| | |
|---|---|
| *Q. Fabius Ambustus.* | *Q. Sulpitius Longus.* |
| The ij brethren of *Q. Fabius Ambustus.* | *Q. Servilius IIII. Servil. Cor. Maluginensis* |

THese are by *T. Livius* recorded for Tribunes military in Consuls authority: but *Diodorus* reckoneth the three *Fabii*, *Q.K.* & C. and the other three, besides *Plutarch* in *Camillus*, *Gellius* out of *Verrius Flaccus*, in his 5 book and 17 chapter; *Macrobius* also in his first book of Saturnals, make report of *Quintus Sulpitius*, a Tribune military.

365

| | |
|---|---|
| *L. valerius* Poplicola II. | *A. Manlius.* |
| *L. Virginius.* | *L. Æmylius.* |
| *P. Cornelius.* | *L. Postumius.* |

ACcording to *Livy*, these were created Tribunes military after the winning of the City: but by *Diodorus*, they were *Pub. Cornelius*, *L. Virginius Valerius*, *A. Manlius*, and *L. Postumius*. Of these Tribunes, *Macrobius* speaketh in his first book of *Saturnalia*.

366

| | |
|---|---|
| *T. Quintius Cincinnatus.* | *L. Aquilius Corvus.* |
| *Q. Servilius Fidenas V.* | *L. Lucret. Tricipitinus.* |
| *L. Julius Julus.* | *Ser. Sulpitius Rufus.* |

THese Tribunes military in Consuls authority for this year, *Livy* thus declareth unto us. *Diodorus* hath these Tribunes, *Titus Quintius*, *L. Servilius*, *L. Julius Aquilius*, *L. Lucretius* ἄγγϑ, *Servius Sulpitius*.

367

| | |
|---|---|
| *L. Papirius.* | C. *Sergius.* |
| *L. Æmylius II.* | C. *Cornelius.* |
| *L. Menenius.* | *L. Valerius Poplicola III.* |

THese, *Livy* reporteth for Tribunes military in Consuls authority this year. But *Diodorus* hath *L. Papirius*, *C. Cornelius*, *L. Menenius*, *C. Servilius*, *A. Valerius*, and *Q. Fabius*. Howbeit, there is wanting in *Livy* the name of the sixt Tribune, whom (out of *Diodorus*) *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* have set to the rest, by the name of C. *Cornelius*. *Diodorus* also for *Sergius* hath *Servilius*, and *Æmylius* for *Fabius*.

368

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|---|---|
| *M. Furius Camillus.* | *L. Horatius Pulvillus* |
| *S. Corn. Maluginensis.* | *L. Quint. Cincinnatus.* |
| *Q. Servil. Fidenas VI.* | *P. Valerius.* |

THe Common-weal came to be governed again by *Camillus*, a Tribune military in Coss. authority, and for Collegues were added unto him these 5 here named. But *Diodorus* saith there were 4 created, *M. Cornelius*, *Q. Servilius*, *M. Furius*, and *L. Quintius*. In this year, when the Dictatorship was offered unto *Camillus*, he said there was no need thereof: and he, together with the Tribunes his Collegues, vanquished the Volscians, Antiots, & Tuscans which rebelled.

369

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|---|---|
| *A. Manlius.* | *P. Cornelius.* |
| *L. Quintius Capitolinus.* | *L. Papirius Cursor II.* |
| *T. Quintius Capitolinus.* | C. *Sergius II.* |

THese hath *Livy*: but *Diodorus* saith, that four only were created namely, *L. Papirius*, *Q. T.* and *L.* all *Quintii*. But of those six, *A. Manlius* having been Tribune military in the year 365, and who shall be a third time in the year 371, must now verily be the second time.

370

| | |
|---|---|
| S. *Cor. Maluginen. IV.* | *P. Valerius Potitus II.* |
| *M. Furius Camillus V.* | *Ser. Sulpitius Rufus II.* |
| C. *Papirius Crassus.* | *T. Quint. Cincinnatus II.* |

THese Tribunes military in Coss. authority, in this manner be delivered unto us by *Livy*: but *Diodorus* (as his manner is) putteth down four; *Serv. Sulpitius*, *L. Papirius*, *Mar. Cornelius*, and *T. Quintius*. In this year, *M. Manlius* attainted and condemned for aspiring to be K. was thrown down headlong from the rock *Tarpeia*: *Liv. Plutarch.* and *Valer.*

371

| | |
|---|---|
| *L. Valerius IV.* | *L. Lucretius.* |
| *A. Manlius III.* | *L. Æmylius.* |
| *Ser. Sulpitius III.* | *M. Tribonius.* |

*Livy* rangeth these in this year. *Diodorus* nameth four; *L. Valerius*, *Crispus*, (which is the name of *Tribonius*) *Au. Manlius*, and *Serv. Sulpitius. Crispus*, some call *Flavus*.

372

| | |
|---|---|
| *Sp. Papirius.* | *Q. Servilius.* |
| *L. Papirius.* | C. *Sulpitius.* |
| *Ser. Cornelius IV.* | *L. Æmylius IV.* |

ACcording to *Livy*, these were created Tribunes military in Consuls authority. The surname of *Cornelius* (as we saw before) was *Maluginensis*. *Diodorus* writeth four; *Q. Servilius*, *Sp. Papirius*, *Cornelius*, φάβι ϑ ἄλβϑ, but not truly.

373

| | |
|---|---|
| *M. Furius Camillus VI.* | *L. Furius.* |
| *A. Posthumius Regillensis.* | *L. Lucretius.* |
| *L. Posthumius Regillensis.* | *M. Fabius Ambustus.* |

*Livy* nameth these as we have placed them: but *Diodorus* in this wise: *M.* and *L.* both *Furii*, *A. Posthumius*, *L. Lucretius*, *M. Fabius*, and *L. Posthumius*. *Plutarch* also nameth *Camillus* Tribune military this year; wherein he vanquished the Prenestins, the Volscians, and the Tusculans also, against whom war was proclaimed, because they had served in the field under the Prenestins.

374

| | |
|---|---|
| *L. Valerius V.* | *L. Menenius II.* |
| *L. Valerius III.* | *P. Papirius.* |
| *C. Sergius III.* | *Ser. Corn. Maluginensis.* |

THese six are set down by *Livy*: but *Diodorus* reckoneth eight, namely, *L.* and *P.* both *Valerii*,

*Valerii, C. Terentius, L. Menenius, C. Sulpitius, T. Papirius, L. Æmylius, M. Fabius.*

375

| | |
|---|---|
| *P. Manlius.* | *C. Sextilius.* |
| *C. Manlius.* | *M. Albinus.* |
| *L. Julius.* | *L. Antiſtius.* |

AFter this, was the generall aſſembly holden for the election of military Tribunes in Conſuls authority, wherein were as many created of the Commoners as of the *Patritii*; namely, *P.* and *C.* both *Manlii*, with *L. Julius*, Patritians: and out of the Commons, *C. Sextilius*, *M. Albinus*, and *L. Antiſtius*. But *Diodorus* exhibiteth eight, and to theſe above rehearſed, he addeth *C. Herenucius*, and *P. Trebonius*. *Sextilius* alſo he calleth *Sextius*.

376

| | |
|---|---|
| *Sp. Furius.* | *P. Cœlius.* |
| *Q. Servilius II.* | *M. Horatius.* |
| *C. Licinius.* | *L. Geganius.* |

*Livy* reporteth theſe for Tribunes military in Conſuls authority this year: but in *Livy*, for *Lu. Menenius* the third time, you muſt read *C. Licinius*, as *Sigonius* hath ſhewed in his *Scholia* upon *Livy*: which *Onuphrius* alſo in his Kalender approveth. But *Diodorus* ſpeaketh of no more than four; *Q. Servilius*, C. *Licinius*, L. *Furius*, *P. Cœlius*.

377

| | |
|---|---|
| L. *Æmylius* | *Ser. Sulpitius.* |
| *P. Valerius IV.* | L. *Quintius Cincinnatus.* |
| C. *Veturius.* | C. *Quintius Cincinnatus.* |

THeſe Tribunes military, the Conſuls (being forced by the might and ſtrong hand of the great men of the City) choſe all Patritians, as *Livy* witneſſeth. The ſame alſo are named by *Diodorus* excepting only C. *Quintius*, who is called by him C. *Cornelius*. As for *Serv. Sulpitius* he was ſurnamed *Prætextatus*. *Zonaras* nameth him *Rufus*.

378. 379. 380. 381. 382.

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|---|---|
| C. *Licinius Stolo.* | } Tribunes of the Commons five years. |
| L. *Sextius.* | |

IN this year hapned the fourth change of the Roman government: for the adminiſtration of the weal publike, fell from Tribunes military in conſuls authority, to the Tribunes of the commons. The authors that procured this mutation, were (as *Livy* reporteth) C. *Licinius Stolo* and L. *Sextius*, Tribunes of the commons, who in the former year having promulged three laws in favour of the commons and againſt the power of the *Patritii*, the firſt for redreſſing of debts; a ſecond for a ſtint of lands and poſſeſſions; & the third, that there ſhould be no more elections of Tribunes military, and that one of the conſuls ſhould neceſſarily be choſen a commoner: ſeeing they could not go through with theſe laws, by reaſon of their own fellows oppoſitions (whom of purpoſe the Nobles had made for themſelves) fell into an anger, and would ſuffer no other Magiſtrats of State to be created, nor any election to be holden, but only of Ædiles and Tribunes, both of commons. This deſolate eſtate and want of Magiſtrates (whiles the commons made the ſame Tribunes ſtill, who with inceſſant and invincible perſiſtance never gave over to croſs the election of Tribunes military) continued in the city for the ſpace of five years, as *Livy* ſaith. This want of Magiſtrates *Diodorus* calleth ἀναρχία, and calleth it upon the former year. But *Sext. Rufus*, *Eutropius*, *Caſſiodorus*, and *Zonaras* write that they ruled the ſtate not five years, but four only. *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* in his Kalender, follow *Livy*, & his Annals it ſeemeth that the capitoline writers go by. *Pliny* alſo in the ſixteenth book, and four and fortieth chapter, maketh mention of the year three hundred ſeventy nine from the foundation of the city, in which year he ſaith that at *Rome*

383

| | |
|---|---|
| L. *Furius.* | *Ser. Cornelius.* |
| *A. Manlius.* | P. *Valerius.* |
| *Ser. Sulpitius.* | C. *Valerius.* |

WHen C. *Licinius* and L. *Sextius* the Tribunes gave over their oppoſition and the liberty of their negative voice, whereby the Interregent called and held an aſſembly for the election of Magiſtrates, the abovenamed Tribunes military, were (as *Livy* ſaith) created for this year. *Diodorus* nameth them thus, L. *Papirius* L. *Menenius*, *Ser. Cornelius*, and *Ser. Sulpitius*, who writeth alſo, that after them there was another Anarchy, and when that was overpaſt and gone, then were created *A. Manlius*, L. *Furius*, *Serv. Sulpitius*, and *Serv. Cornelius*. But in his ſtory, as well through his own default, as the negligence of the writers that copied out ſame, there is a confuſion of yearly Magiſtrates.

384

| | |
|---|---|
| *Q. Servilius.* | *M. Cornelius.* |
| C. *Veturius. II.* | *Q. Quintius.* |
| *A. Cornelius.* | *M. Fabius.* |

THis year alſo, as *Livy* writeth, had theſe for Tribunes military in Conſuls authority. But *Diodorus* hath *Q. Servilius*, *C. Veturius*, *A. Cornelius*, *M. Cornelius*, and *M. Fabius*: as for *Quintius*, *Sigonius* calleth him rather *Cincinnatus* than *Capitolinus*. The reſt have their warrant out of the Capitoline fragments, wherein it is thus found *Coſſus* . . . . . *Maluginenſis* . . . *Cinninnatus* . . . *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*. This is that *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*, who had beſtowed his two daughters in marriage, the one to *C. Licinius Stolo*, the other to *Serv. Sulpitius Prætextatus*, as *Livy* writeth.

385

*L. Quintius* *Ser. Cornelius.*
*Serv. Sulpitius.* *Sp. Servilius.*
*L. Papirius.* *L. Veturius.*

*Livy* declareth these six for Tribunes military this year. *Diodorus* rehearseth but three, namely, *T. Quintius, Servilius Cornelius*, and *Servius Sulpitius*. What surnames all these carried, and with what numerall notes (signifying how often they had born the office) they are to be marked, the Capitoline fragments do shew; wherein they stand thus, *Capitolinus* .·.· *Maluginensis. II. Prætextatus. IIII. Sp. Servilius Structus, L. Papirius Crassus, L. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.*

386

*Two Dictators without any curule Magistrats of State besides.*

PResently in the very beginning of the year, they proceeded to put it to the triall of a finall issue, what should become of the foresaid laws proposed by *Licinius* and *Sextius*. When the tribes were called to give their voices, and the publishers of the laws were not hindred by the negatives of their Colleagues coming between; the Nobles began then to quake for fear, and in all haste betook them to their two last helps and means of refuge, the soveraign and absolute government, and the principal Citizen and greatest man of all others. Resolve they did to nominate a Dictator, and *Marcus Furius Camillus* was the man; who took unto him for General of the horsemen *L. Æmylius*. But when the Captains and ring-leaders of the Commons dealt very bitterly and roughly against *Camillus*, he (as *Livy* writeth) resigned up his Dictatorship. *Plutarch* also testifieth the same: who likewise avoucheth the cause thereof, which *Livy* goeth about to disprove. But both *Livy* and *Plutarch* do affirm, that in the room of *Camillus* thus giving over his place, there was a second Dictator created. *Livy* saith, it was *P. Manlius*. *Plutarch* suppresseth his name: but they agree both, that *C. Licinius* was the Generall of the horse. Howbeit, they mean not both, one and the self-same man. For *Livy* saith and that truly, that it was he who had been Tribune military in Consuls authority before: But *Plutarch* nameth him, who was the author of the sedition and of the new laws: wherein he faulteth. For the Captain of the foresaid sedition, was this year also made Tribune of the Com. the ninth time: but Tribune of the Com. and Generall of the horse at one time he could not be. And therefore *Onuphrius* thinketh him to have been the son of *P. Licinius Calvus* military Tribune, and who had to his grandfather that *Pub. Licinius*, who of the Com. was the first Tribune military. Of this, see more in his Kalender.

387

*A. Cornelius II.* *M. Cornelius.*
*L. Veturius.* *M. Geganius.*
*Iulus P. Manlius.* *P. Valerius VI.*

*Livy* exhibiteth these Trib. military before named for this year, whom *Diodorus* overpasseth. Their surnames, together with the notes signifying how often they had born this honourable dignity, are thus expressed in the Capitoline fragments. *Cossus II.* .·.· *Maluginensis II.* .·.· *Macerinus. L. Veturius. Crassus Cicurinus II.* .·.· *P. Valerius Petitus Poplicola, VI. P. Manlius Capitolinus II.*

388

*L. Sextius.* *L. Æmylius.*

WHen *L. Sextius* and *C. Licinius*, Trib. of the Com. now chosen the tenth time, were more and more eager and instant in the publishing of their laws, in the end the authority both of Dictator and Senat, was conquered by the strong hand of the Tribunes. For they prevailed, notwithstanding all the Nobility was against it, that there should be holden a solemn assembly for election of Consuls: and that, (by vertue of their laws which they carried clear before them) the one of the Consuls should be a Commoner. By which means, *L. Sextius* was the first Consul created from out of the Commons. But when the nobles denied flatly to approve the same by their assent, insomuch as the Commons were at the point of insurrection and ready to leave the City: the discord & dissention was at length taken up and appeased by the mediation of the Dictator: and as the nobility was content to yield unto the commonalty a Consul, so the Commons granted unto the nobles one Prætor or Lord chief Justice within the City, and him to be created from out of the Nobility. Granted also unto them now first it was, that two Ædiles Curule should be chosen out of the *Patritii*. The Commons conferred the Consulship upon *L. Sextius* (by whose law it was first obtained) and for companion in government he had *L. Æmylius Mamercus*. Thus much *Livy* and *Plutarch*: who altogether with *Cassiodorus* put down for Coss. *L. Æmylius* a Patritian, and *L. Sextius* a Commoner. The same, *Diodorus* nameth *Lu. Æmylius Mamercus*, and *Lu. Lateranus*. Now this *Lateranus* is the surname of *Sextius*, as appeareth in a table of record in the Capitoll, wherein the consuls are thus to be seen, *Mamercinus* & *L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus*: as also in the Sicilian registers they are called *Mamercinus* and *Lateranus*. In the book entituled *De viris Illustribus* of famous men, we find written that it was not *L. Sextius*, but *C. Licinius Stolo*, who was the first consul chosen out of the commonalty.

389

*L. Genutius.* *Q. Servilius.*

*Diodorus, Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* shew unto us for consuls, *L. Genutius*, and *Q. Servilius*: Of whom *Orosius* also and *Eutropius* make mention. According to the records of the capitoll, the cos. in his first consulship, is thus written: *Q. Servilius* son of *Q.* nephew of *Quintus Ahala*;

together with *L.Genutius*, but in the ſecond, the ſon of *M.* nephew of *Cn.* ſurnamed *Amentinenſis*. In the Sicilian regiſters they be written *Genutius* and *Curtius*, but corruptly, as *Sigonius* thinketh.

390

*C.Sulpitius Peticus. C.Licinius Stolo.*

THeſe be the Conſuls reported by *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus*. *Diodorus* concealeth their ſurnames. *Valerius Max.* in his ſecond book and firſt cha.maketh mention of them, and ſo doth *Plutarch* in his problems. But he whom all other writers name *Stolo*, the Capitoline records nominat *Calvus*: as alſo the Sicilian, which deliver their ſurnames *Paticus* and *Calvus*.

391

*L.Æmylius Mamercus II. Cn. Genutius.*

*Livy* and *Caſſiodorus* declare theſe for Conſuls: whom *Diodorus* in his ſixteenth book nameth *Cn. Genutius* nd *L. Æmylius*. In the Capitol tables in this manner they be ſet down .*.*. *Mamercinus II.* and *Cn. Genutius* ſon of *M.* and nephew of *M. Amentinenſis* But in the Sicilian regiſters, *Mamercinus* and σίλλα.

392

*Q.Servilius Ahala II. L.Genutius II.*

*Diodorus* nameth the Conſuls of this year, *Q.Servilius* and *Q.Genutius*. The Sicilian regiſters, *Ahala* and *Genutius*. *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus*, *Q.Servilius Hala* and *L.Genutius*. Theſe are they who three years before were matched together in the ſame government.

393

*C.Sulpitius. C.Licinius Calvus.*

THeſe are by *Livy* recorded Conſuls this year. *Caſſiodorus* writeth them thus, *C.Sulpitius II.* and *C.Licinius*. *Diodorus* in this wiſe, *C. Sulpitius* and *C. Licinius*. *Sigonius* ſuppoſeth they be the ſame, who three years before were Collegues. The Sicilian regiſters give unto *Licinius* the ſurname, not of *Calvus* as before, but of *Stolo*: and *Sulpitius* they ſurname *Paticus*.

394

*C.Pœtilius Libo. M. Favius Ambuſtus.*

*Livy*, and *Caſſiodorus* write the Conſuls for this year were, *C.Pœtelius Balbus*: and *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*. But *Diodorus M.Fabius* and *C.* πόπλιος corruptly for ποιτέλιος. The Capitoline writers give them ſurnames divers from *Livy*: for they call *Libo*, *Viſulus*; but he, *Balbus*. And the Sicilian regiſters go with thoſe of the Capitoll.

395

*M.Popilius Lænas. Cn. Manlius.*

*Livy* and *Caſſiodorus* name this year Conſuls in this ſort: but *Diodorus* calleth them, *M.Popilius Lanatus*, and *Cn.Manlius Imperioſus*. This was the firſt man of the *Popilii*, ſurnamed *Lænas*. The reaſon of which name *Cicero* rendreth in his book *Brutus*, ſaying, *M. Popilius* being Conſul, and at the ſame time offering ſacrifice in his robe called *Læna*, for that he was Flamin to *Carmenta*, upon news brought unto him that the commons were up and riſen in a commotion againſt the Nobles, came in that attire and habit as he was into the aſſembly; and what with his authority of countenance, and what with his eloquence of ſpeech, appeaſed the ſedition.

396

*C.Fabius. C. Plautius.*

*Livy* and *Caſſiodorus* have theſe above-named for the Conſuls this year: but in *Diodorus* they are named *M. Fabius* and *C. Plotius*. In the Capitoline records .*.*. *Ambuſtus* and *C.Plautius Proculus*.

397

*C.Martius. Cn. Manlius.*

*Diodorus*, *Livy*, and *Caſſiodorus* name the Conſuls of this year, *C. Martius* and *Cn. Manlius*. This *Cn.Manlius* was Conſul the firſt time, two years before. *Cuſpinians* book and the Greek records have *Rutilius* and *Capitolinus*.

398

*M.Fabius Ambuſtus II. M.Popilius Lænas II.*

THis years Conſuls are with theſe names entituled by *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus*. *Diodorus* leaveth out their ſurnames and the numerall notes. *Cuſpinians* book and the Greek records, ſet them thus down, *Ambuſtus II.* and *Lanas*.

399

*C.Sulpitius Peticus III. M.Valerius Poplicola.*

IN the four hundred year from the foundation of the City, and the thirty five after that it was by the Gauls won, the commons after eleven years did forgo their hold of the Conſulſhip, and upon an Interregency, both Coſſ. of the *Patritii* entred into government, to wit, *C. Sulpitius Paticus III. M.Valerius Publicola*, as *Livy* ſaith. The ſame Conſuls *Diodorus*, *Caſſiodorus*, and the Sicilian regiſters, do report. But why the account of time made by *Livy*, diſagreeth from this reckoning, *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* in his Kalender do give a reaſon.

400

*M.Fab. Ambuſtus III. T.Quint. or M.Popilius.*

IN this year alſo, according to *Livy*, both Coſſ. were *Patritii*, namely, *M.Fabius Ambuſtus* the third time, with *T.Quintius*: although he writeth, that in ſome Annals inſtead of *Titus Quintius*, he found *Marcus Popilius* Conſul. With *Livy* accordeth *Diodorus*, and *Caſſiodorus*, *Solinus* alſo who in his forty one chapter out of *Cornelius Nepos* writeth, that *Alexander* was born when *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*, and *T.Quin-*

*tius*

tius Capitolinus were Consuls. *Cuspinians* book setteth forth *Ambustus* and *Capitolinus*. But these Consuls and those that follow are in the Sicilian registers concealed.

401
*C.Sulpitius Peticus.IIII.M.Valer.Poplicola III.*

BOth Consuls created this year were *Patritii*, and namely, those who are here set down, after *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. *Diodorus* omitteth both their surnames, and also the numeral notes, and setteth after the former Consuls, *M. Valerius* and *C. Sulpitius*.

402
*P.Valerius Poplicola. C.Martius Rutilus.*

TO *L. Valerius Poplicola* was given in fellowship of government this year, *C. Martius Rutilus* of the commons, as *Livy* saith. These *Cassiodorus* calleth *P. Valerius* and *C. Martius Rutilus* the second time. *Diodorus* nameth them *M. Fabius* and *P. Valerius*. The Sicilian registers intermingle them confusedly with those of the next year, matching *Rutilus* and *Pennus* together.

403
*C.Sulpit.Peticus.*.T.or K.or C. Quint.Pennus.*

THe Coss. for this year created were *C. Sulpitius Peticus*, and *T. Quint. Pennus*. Some put to *Quintius* the name *Caso*, others *Caius*. *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* name them thus, *C. Sulpitius Peticus* and *T. Quintius Pennus*: but *Diodorus C. Sulpitius* and *C. Quintius*.

404
*M.Popilius Lænas. L.Cornelius Scipio.*

*Livy* writeth, that for Consuls this year the commons yielded *M. Popilius Lænas*, and the nobles *L. Cornelius Scipio*. *Cassiodorus* setteth them forth under the name of *M. Popilius Lænas* the third time, and *L. Cornelius Scipio*. *Diodorus* nameth them, *C. Cornelius* and *M. Popilius*: and the Sicilian registers barely *Scipio* and *Lænas*.

405
*L.Furius Camillus. P.Claudius Crassus.*

*Lucius Furius Camillus* the Dictator restored the nobles again to their former possession of the Consulship: and being himself for that good demerit created Consul, with the great love and hearty affection of the nobles, nominated for his Collegue, *Publius Claudius Crassus*. Thus saith *Livy*. The same Consuls are set down by *Cassiodorus*. But *Diodorus*, nameth them *Æmylius* and *T. Quintius*. The Sicilian registers, *Camillus* and *Crassus*. *Cicero* in *Cato* maketh mention of these Consuls, saying, that *Plato* came to *Tarentum*, when *L. Camillus* and *P. Claudius* were Consuls: *Gellius* likewise, 9 book 11 chapter.

406
*M.Valerius Corvus.M.Popilius Lænas.IIII.*

*Marcus Manlius torquatus* being Dictator, declared for Consul with the exceeding favour of the people, *M. Valerius Corvus* (for that was his surname afterwards) in his absence, and being but three and tweenty years old. This *Corvus* had joyned with him in the Consulship from out of the commons. *M. Popilius Lænas* the third time, as saith *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. But *Diodorus* three years after nominateth *M. Valerius* and *M. Popilius*. In the fragment of the Capitoll thus only it is found, *M. Valerius, M.F.M.N. Corvus* Consul. In the Sicilian registers *Corvinus* and *Lænas*.

407
*T.Manlius Torquatus. C.Plautius.*

*Livy* and *Cassiodorus* nameth them for Consuls this year. *Cuspinians* Kalender and the Sicilian records, *Torquatus* and *Venno*. In a fragment of the Capitoll there is to be read the surname of *Manlius, Imperiosus Torquatus*.

408
*M.Valerius Corvus II. C.Pœtelius.*

THese are named Consuls by *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus*: but *Cuspinians* Kalender and the registers of *Sicily* shew for Consuls, *Corvinus* and *Libo*. As for the name *C. Pœtelius*, it is described by his Dictatorship, which (according to the Capitoll evidences) he bare in the year 440: for in a fragment (testifying his Consulship) there appeareth no more but one of his surnames, *Visolus*.

409
*M.Fabius Dorso. Ser.Sulpitius Camerinus.*

THese were the Consuls created for this year, as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* write. *Diodorus* also (although not in the right place) alleageth *M. Fabius* and *Ser. Sulpitius* Consuls. The Sicilian registers, *Dorso* and *Camerinus*. Both these Consuls were *Patritii*, which *Livy* omitted.

410
*C.Mart.Rutilus III. T.Manlius Torquatus II.*

*Livy* and *Cassiodorus* avow these for Coss. this year. *Diodorus* likewise delivereth unto us, *C. Martius* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*. The Sicilian registers, *Rutilus* and *Torquatus*. *Frontinus* also in his second book of Stratagems speaketh of them.

411
*M.Valerius Corvus III. A.Cornelius Cossus.*

*Livy* and *Cassiodore* both together report, that these were chosen Coss. for this year. *Diodorus*, *Cicero* in his book of Divination, and *Frontinus*, name them, *M. Valerius* and *A. Cornelius*. The Sicilian registers, *Valerius* and *Cossus*: both of them are *Patritii*. But he that hath written of famous men, calleth them, *Valerius Max.* and *Cornelius Cossus*.

412
*C.Martius Rutilus IV. Q.Servilius.*

*Livy* and *Cassiodorus* declare Coss. for this year, *C.Martius* and *Q.Servilius*. *Diodorus*, *Q.Servilius* and *Martius Rutilus*. The Sicilian registers, *Ahala* and *Rutilus*. This is that *Q.Servilius Ahala* who was Master of the horse in the 403 year.

413
*C.Plautius II. L.Æmylius Mamercinus.*

THe Consuls that followed, were *C.Plautius* the second time, and *L.Æmylius Mamercus*, as witness *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*: but L. Æmylius & *C.Plotius* as testifieth *Diodorus*: and as the Sicilian registers say, *Venno* and *Mamercinus*. *Cuspinians* Kalender set forth for this year, *Venno* the second time, and *Mamercinus*.

414
*T.Manlius Torquatus III. P.Decius Mus.*

*Titus Manlius Torquatus* the third time, and *P.Decius Mus*, bare the Consulship this year, as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* report. *Diodorus* nameth them, *T.Manlius Torquatus* and *P.Decius*. The Sicilian registers, *Torquatus* and *Mus*. *Zonoras*, *Torquatus* the third time, and *Decius*. Of the same Consuls *Pliny* speaketh in his 22 book and 5 chap. *Valerius* also in his 1 book and 5 chap. besides others.

415
*T.Æmylius Mamercinus. Q.Publilius Philo.*

*Titus Æmylius Mamercinus*, and *Q.Publilius Philo*, are by *Livy* reckoned Coss. for this year. *Diodorus* passeth over their surnames. The Greek records shew unto us, *Mamercinus* and *Philo*. As for *Philo*, he is described out of the tables of the Capitoll.

416
*L.Furius Camillus. C.Manius.*

THus say *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. *Diodorus* hath *L.Furius* and μάνιον, but corruptly The Sicilian registers, *Camillus* and *Menius*. The Capitoll monuments of triumphs, *L.Furius Camillus*, and *C.Menius*. *Pliny* in his 34 book and 5 cha. maketh mention of *Caius Menius*, Consul.

417
*C.Sulpitius Longus. P.Ælius Paetus.*

*Livy* and *Cassiodorus* write, that these Coss. followed. *Diodorus* putteth down *C.Sulpitius*, and *L.Papirius*. The Sicilian registers, have *Longus* and *Paetus*.

418
*L.Papirius Crassus. K.Duntius.*

*Lucius Papirius Crassus*, and *K.Duntius*, were this years Coss, as witness *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Diodorus* also, but for leaving out the surname *Crassus*. In the Sicilian registers they are named, *Crassus* and *Duntius*. As touching these Consuls, *Cicero* in his Epistle to *Paetus*, writeth thus, *L.Papirius Crassus*, four years after he was Dictator, was made Consul with *K.Duntius*.

419
*M.Valerius Corvus IIII. M Attilius Regulus.*

THis year, when the Ausones that inhabited the City *Cales*, took arms and combined with the Sidicins, *M.Valerius Corvus*, a right noble General, was created Consul the fourth time, having to his Collegue (as *Livy* writeth) *M.Attilius Regulus*. *Cassiodorus* likewise declareth the same for Consuls; and so doth *Diodorus*, but that he leaveth out their surnames: which appear extant in the Sicilian registers.

420
*T.Veturius. Sp.Posthumius.*

THe Dictator held an assembly for the election of Consuls, wherein were created (according to *Livy*) these above-named. So say *Cassiodorus* also and *Diodorus*. *Zonaras* nameth them *Tiber.Calvinus*, and *Sp.Posthumius*: and right well, as *Sigonius* thinketh: for *Tiberius* was the fore-name of the *Veturii*. The Greek records, and *Cuspinians* book, have *Albinus* and *Calvinus*.

421
*Interregents, all one year.*

*Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* insert this one year without Consuls, besides the account of the years, according to the Capitoll monuments, albeit they see neither in *Livy*, nor in any other, mention thereof; and all to make up the totall sum collected by *Varro*. And that the said year should at this time especially be interposed, the tables of the Capitoline records do shew. For whereas in them thus engraven it is, *M.Valerius Corvus* Consul the fourth time in the year of the City 419. and again *L.Æmylius* and *C.Plautius*, in the year 414: to the end that these records might agree one with another, of necessity there must be put a year between. For leave out that, then both *L.Æmylius* the Consul should fall upon the year 414, and the totall sum of the year in *Varro* and the Capitoline tables be overthrown. That this odd year was now above all other times to be cast between, *Gregory Haloander* (who left in writing a Chronology of the Consuls) saw long before them: for he over-passed this year wholly, noted without Consuls. But *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* are of opinion, that this year there was an Anarchy, and the Common-weal without Consuls, or other Magistrats of state, by occasion of the pestilence, whereof *Livy* writeth.

422
*A.Cornelius II. Cn. Domitius.*

*Aulus Cornelius* the second time Cos. with *Cn.Domitius*) is by *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* set down

down. *Diodorus* nameth them *A. Cornelius* and *C. Domitius*. The Sicilian registers, *Calvinus* and *Cossus*.

423

*M. Claudius Marcellus. C. Valerius.*

AFter this, were created Consuls, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *C. Valerius*, as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* report. In *Diodorus* also they be set down by the name of *C. Valerius*, and *M. Clodius*. *Livy* saith, that he findeth in the Annals, the surnames of *Valerius* diversly put down, namely, *Flaccus* and *Potitus*. *Orosius* calleth these Consuls, *Claudius Marcellus*, and *Valerius Flaccus*: The Sicilian registers, *Potitus* and *Marcellus*. *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* retain their surnames, that it may seem, how to the old surname *Potitus* of the House *Valeria*, this new surname of *Flaccus* is a later addition.

424

*L. Papyrius Crassus II. L. Plautius Venno.*

THese Consuls are by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* recited this year. *Diodorus* concealeth their surnames. The Sicilian registers, make them known by the names of *Crassus* and *Venno*.

425

*L. Æmylius Mamercinus. C. Plautius.*

NExt to them (according to *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*) were *L. Æmylius Mamercus*, and *C. Plautius* created Consuls. *Diodorus* nominateth *L. Papyrius* with *L. Plotius*. The Sicilian registers, *Mamercinus* and *Decianus*. How both these are to be described, their triumphs upon record in the Capitol do evidently shew. These Consuls entred upon their government the first day of *July*.

426

*P. Platius Proculus. P. Cornelius Scapula.*

*Livy* and *Cassiodorus* put down [for Consuls] *P. Plautius Proculus*, and *P. Cornelius Scapula*. *Diodorus*, P. Cornelius and *A. Posthumius*. The Sicilian registers, *Venno* and *Scipio*. *Onuphrius* thinketh this *Plautius* ought to be forenamed not *Publius* but *Caius*: who in his Consulship which he bare afterwards with *Appius Cæcus*, was surnamed *Venox* (as *Frontinus* supposeth) for finding certain springs and veins of water within the earth.

427

*C. Plautius Proculus. Q. Publilius Philo II.*

*Livy* and *Cassiodorus* match together in the Consulship for this year, *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Q. Publilius Philo*. *Diodorus L. Cornelius* and *Q. Publilius*. The Sicilian registers, *Lentulus* and *Philo*.

428

*L. Papyrius Mugillanus Cursor. C. Pœtelius.*

*Caius Pœtelius* and *L. Papyrius* are by *Livy* nominated consuls this year, *C. Pœtilius* the third time, and *L. Papyrius Mugillanus*, by *Cassiodorus*. *Solinus* maketh mention of these Consuls in his five and thirtieth chapter. As for *Papyrius*, *Livy* indeed surnameth him here *Mugillanus*, but he saith that he findeth him in other Annals by the name of *Cursor*. In the Greek records they be *Libo* and *cursor*. Now as touching *C. Petilius*, he is to be written with the numerall note *II.* and not *III.* as *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* do admonish. For it is not the same man who was Consul in the 393 year, but his son.

429

*L. Furius Camillus II. Junius Brutus Scæva.*

*Livy* and *Cassiodorus* put down for consuls, *Lu. Furius Camillus* the second time, and *Junius Brutus Scæva*. *Diodorus*, *L. Furius*, and *D. Junius*. The Sicilian registers, *Camillus* and *Brutus*.

430

*Lucius Furius*, unto whom the charge of *Samnium* fell by lot, fortuned by occasion of sickness to forgo the war there, and was commanded to nominate for the managing of martiall affairs a Dictator: whereupon he pronounced *L. Papirius Cursor*, the bravest warrior in those daies; by whom *Q. Fabius Rullianus* was named great Master of the horse. Afterwards *Cursor* turned him out of that Mastership of horse, because without his warrant he had fought (although it were fortunately) against the Samnits when himself was out of the way and gone to *Rome* for to take the Auspices anew: and in his room he substituted *L. Papyrius Crassus*. Thus write *Livy*, *Eutropius*, and *Valerius*, in the second book.

431

*C Sulpitius Longus II. Q. Æmylius* [*L. Aulus*] *Cerretanus.*

*Lucius Papyrius* the Dictator, before he left his Magistracy, created Consuls, *C. Sulpitius Longus II.* and *Q. Æmylius Cerretanus*. Some Annals have *Aulus*. Thus much *Livy*. In like manner the Sicilian registers have *Longus* and *Cerretanus*. But *Diodorus* corruptly for *Aulus* hath *Ælius*.

432

*Q. Fabius. L. Fulvius.*

*Livy* and *Cassiodorus* deliver unto us for Consuls this year, *Q. Fabius* and *L. Fulvius*: whom the Capitoll records of the triumphs name *Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus*, and *L. Fulvius Corvus*. Marvell it is therefore, that in the Sicilian registers, they are put down, *Cursor* and *Sylla*.

433

*T. Veturius Calvinus. Sp. Posthumius.*

THis year *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* set forth for Consuls, *T. Veturius Calvinus* and *Sp. Posthumius*: *Cicero* in his third book of Offices writeth, that they were twice Coss. *Zonaras* calleth

calleth the one of them *T. Calvinus*, by a familiar forename unto that houſe and kindred of the *Veturii*. The Greek records exhibit unto us *Calvinus* and *Albinus*. Of theſe conſuls as alſo of the Caudine peace, *Cicero* in his book of old age; *Pliny* alſo in his book of famous men, *Gellius* in his 17 book and 21 chap. *Florus* in his 1 book and 16 chap. and *Oroſius* in his 3 book and 15 chap. do make mention.

434

*L. Papyrius Curſor II. C. Publilius Philo.*

*Livy* and *Caſſiodorus* ſhew for this years Conſuls, *Q. Publilius Philo* and *L. Papyrius Curſor*, the ſecond time. The Sicilian regiſters, *Curſor* and *Philo*. But that this *Philo* ſhould now be third time Conſul, his Conſulſhips do plainly ſhew.

435

*L. Papyrius Curſor, or Mugillanus. Q. Aulius Cerretanus II.*

*Livy* ſaith, there is ſome doubt, whether *L. Papyrius Curſor* were this year created Conſul the third time, with *Q. Æmylius Cerretanus* the ſecond time: and for his good ſervice in war at *Luceria*, continued ſtill in government: or rather *L. Papyrius Mugillanus*, and ſo the ſurname was miſtaken. *Caſſiodorus* delivereth unto us *L. Papyrius* and *Q. Aulius Cerretanus*. The Sicilian regiſters, *Papyrius* and *Cerretanus*. The monument of his triumph in the Capitoll, alloweth of *Curſor* and not *Mugillanus*. The author of that book which *Cuſpinian* hath ſet forth, following other Annals, letteth down *Mugillanus*.

436

*M. Foſtius Flaccinator. L. Plantius Venno.*

SEeing that for twelve years next enſuing, we have the Capitoline tables whole and ſound, the leſs trouble we need to be at in reforming and redreſſing the names of the Magiſtrats. Both they, and alſo *Livy* with *Caſſiodorus* repreſent unto us for this years conſuls, *M. Foſtius Flaccinator* and *L. Plantius Venno*. *Diodorus* calleth them *L. Plotius* and μάνιος φάλβιος. The Sicilian regiſters, *Venno* and *Flaccus*.

437

*C. Junius Bubulcus. Q. Æmylius Barbula.*

*Caſſiodorus* putteth down *C. Junius* and *Quintus Æmylius* for Conſuls. *Livy*, *C. Junius Bubulcus*, and *Quintus Æmylius Barbula*. A ſtone in the Capitoll, *Q. Æmylius Barbula*, and *C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus*.

438

*Sp. Nautius. M. Popilius.*

NExt follow in order *Sp. Nautius* and *M. Popilius* Conſuls, according to *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus*. *Rutilus* and *Lænas* their ſurnames, are by *Sigonius* reſtored unto them: and the ſame alſo are to be ſeen in the Sicilian books of record.

439

*L. Papyrius Curſor IIII. Q. Publius Philo IIII.*

THe Conſuls names of this year, through the default of the writers that copied forth *Livies* books, are there left out: namely, *L. Papirius Curſor* the fourth time, and *Q. Publilius Philo* likewiſe the fourth time: as it is written in *Caſſiodorus*, in the Capitoll tables, and in *Cuſpinians* book, wherein they are named *Curſor* and *Philo*. Howbeit, in the Sicilian regiſters they are called *Curſor* and *Lænas*.

440

*M. Pœtelius. C. Sulpitius.*

*Livy* and *Caſſiodorus* report for Conſuls this year *C. Sulpitius* and *M. Pœtelius*. But *Diodorus* hath C. *Sulpitius* and μάρκος πόπλιος corruptly for ποπτήλιος. The Capitoline writers, have *M. Pœtelius Libo* and C. *Sulpitius Longus* the third time. The Sicilian regiſters, *Longus* and σαμνήτης, but there is a fault, as *Sigonius* truly thinketh.

441

*L. Papirius Curſor V. C. Junius Bubulcus.*

*Diodorus* putteth down for Conſuls this year *L. Papirius* fift time, and *C. Junius*. The Sicilian regiſters, *Curſor* and *Bubulcus*. But *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus*, *L. Papirius Curſor V.* and *C. Junius Bubulcus II. Feſtus* maketh mention alſo of theſe Coſſ. in his 18 book.

442

*M. Valerius. C. Decius.*

*Livy* writeth that there followed conſuls *M. Valerius Max.* and P. *Decius*: but *Caſſiodorus*, ſaith M. *Valerius* and P. *Decius*. *Frontinus* in his book of water-conduits, ſpeaketh of theſe Conſuls; whom he writeth to have been thirty years after the beginning of the Samnits war. As for P. *Decius*, *Livy* afterwards calleth *Mus*. The Sicilian regiſters have *Max.* and *Mus*.

443

*C. Junius Bubulcus III. Q. Æmylius Barbula II.*

WE find in *Livy* for Conſuls this year, *C. Junius Bubulcus* the third time, and *Q. Æmylius Barbula* the ſecond time: likewiſe in *Caſſiodorus*. But *Diodorus* nameth them *C. Junius* and *Q. Æmylius*. In the Sicilian regiſters, *Bubulcus* and *Barbula*. The ſame names are alſo in the Capitoll monuments, which be in *Livy*.

444

*C. Martius Rutilius. Q. Fabius.*

*CAius Martius Rutilus* and *Q. Fabius* be this years Conſuls in *Livy*. But in *Caſſiodorus*, *C. Martius Rutilus* and *Q. Fabius* the ſecond time. *Diodorus* hath *C. Martius* and *Q. Fabius* the ſecond time. The Sicilian regiſters ſhew *Rutus* and

and *Rutilus*. The Capitol monuments, *Q. Fabius, Max. Rutilanus* the ſecond time, and *C. Martius*, who afterwards in his ſecond Cenſorſhip in the 498 year, is ſurnamed *Cenſorinus*.

445

*A year without Conſuls. P. Papirius Dictator. II.*

VErrius *Flaccus* interpoſeth this year alſo without Conſuls, wherein he reporteth *L. Papirius* Dictator the 2 time, with *C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus* the Maſter of the horſe. This year *Diodorus*, *Livy*, the Greek records, *Cuſpinians* book and *Caſſiodorus* do overleap. For *Livy* writeth that *L. Papirius Curſor* was nominated by the conſul Dictator, and by him *C. Junius Bubulcus* named Maſter of the horſe: upon occaſion that *C. Martius* the Coſ. had no good fortune in his conduct of the wars in *Samnium*. This inſerting of one year *Onuphrius* hath approved, that the computation of the years gathered by *Varro* might ſtand in force, which to the Capitoll tables putteth one year, whoſe judgment we alſo are willing to follow.

446

*Q. Fabius. P. Decius.*

LIvy writeth that *Fabius* continued Conſul this year alſo, for his ſingular good ſervice in ſubduing and taming *Hetruria*: and that he had for his companion in government *Decius*. *Caſſiodorus* acknowledgeth for Coſſ. *Q. Fabius* the third time, and *P. Decius* the ſecond time. *Diodorus*, *P. Decius* and *Q. Fabius*. The Sicilian regiſters *Mus* and *Rullus*. The Capitoline tables, *P. Decius Mus II.* and *Q. Fabius Max. Rullianus* the third time.

447

*App. Claudius. L. Volumnius.*

LIvy ſaith, that immediatly there followed conſuls, *App. Claudius* and *L. Volumnius*. *Caſſiodorus* and *Diodorus*, *Appius* and *Violens*. The Sicilian regiſters, *App. Claudius Cæcus*, and *L. Volumnius*. The Capitoline monuments have *Flamma* and *Violens*. Now whether one of theſe Conſuls ſurnames be *Violens* or *Violenſis*, *Onuphrius* advertiſeth us to conſider. For the capitoll ſtone hath it alwaies written *Violens*. But the Greek words have *Appius* and βιολέντ&, as if the name were *Violenſis*.

448

*Q. Martius Tremulus. P. Cornelius Arvina.*

LIvy and *Caſſiodorus* regiſter for the Conſuls of this year, *Q. Martius Tremulus*, with a Collegue adjoyned unto him. *Diodorus* ſaith *Q. Martius* and *P. Cornelius*. The Sicilian records, *Tremulus* and *Arvina*.

449

*L. Poſthumius. T. Minutius*

LUcius *Poſthumius* and *T. Minutius* are reported conſuls by *Diodorus*, *Livy* and *Caſſiod. cuſpinians* book ſheweth, *Megellus* and *Auguſtinus*. Theſe Coſſ. doth *L. Piſo* put down for to ſucceed *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius*, leaving out thoſe two years wherein we have ſet down (as *Livy* writeth) that *Claudius* with *Volumnius*, and *Cornelius* with *Martius* were conſuls. Whether his memory failed him in digeſting of the annals, or of purpoſe he ſuppoſed that thoſe two couple of Conſuls were not truly recorded, and therefore overleapt them, I know not. A fragment there is of the Capitoline ſtone, which ſheweth for this year, *Megellus* to be the ſurname of *Poſthumius*, *Tiberius* the forename of *Minutius*, and M. of *Fulvius*. Now the ſurnames of *Fulvius* were *Curvus* and *Petinus*, as it appeareth written in his triumph.

450

*P. Sempronius Sophus. P. Sulpitius Saverrio.*

THe Conſuls next following were P. *Sulpitius Saverrio*, and P. *Sempronius Sophus*, according to *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus*. In *Diodorus* they are written P. *Sulpitius* and P. *Sempronius*. In the Greek regiſters, they ſtand *Sempronius* and *Saverrio*. *Pliny* writeth of theſe Conſuls in his 33 book: but *Sempronius* he calleth *Longus*. Both of them are deſcribed thus by their triumphs, appearing upon record in the Capitoll, for in their Conſulſhip there is no more to be ſeen but *Sophus* and *Publius*.

451

*L. Genutius. Ser. Cornelius.*

DIodorus, *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus* report for Coſſ. this year, *L. Genutius*, and *Servius Cornelius*. The Sicilian regiſters have *Aventinenſis* and *Lentulus*. The Capitoline writers put unto *Cornelius* the ſurname of *Lentulus*.

452

M. *Livius Denter.* M. *Æmylius.*

LIvy nameth for Conſuls this year M. *Livius* and *Æmylius*. *Caſſiodorus*, M. *Livius* and *L. Æmylius*. *Diodorus*, M. *Livius* and M. *Æmylius*. As for the forename to *Æmylius*, *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* do think that more credit is to given unto *Diodorus*, than others: eſpecially, ſeeing that in *Livy* there is mention made the year following of M. *Æmylius Paulus* Generall of the horſemen, whom they all think to be the ſame man that this Conſul. M. *Livius* is written *Denter* in the Capitoll records, which ſurname *Livy* in another place addeth to the *Livii*. *Cuſpinians* book in like manner ſetteth down *Denter* and *Pantus* as the ſurnames of theſe Conſuls. The Sicilian regiſters, *Denter* and *Æmylius*.

453

*Two Dictators, and no Conſul.*

THis year alſo of two Dictators without Conſuls, *Onuphrius* inſerteth in his Kalender, howbeit directed thereto by evidence of the Capitoll fragments: to the end that the calculation of *Varro* might agree in all reſpects; which,

which, if this year were over-slipped should be wholly overthrown: although *Diodore*, *Livy*, and *Cassiodore* dissent therefrom, and leave out this year altogether. Whereof see *Onuphrius* more at large in his Kalender upon this year 453.

454

*M. Valerius.* *Q. Apulcius Pansa.*

IMmediatly after *M. Livius* and *M. Æmylius*, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* letteth pass the year of two Dictators without Consuls, bring in *M. Valerius* and *Q. Apuleius Pansa* for Consuls. The Greek records shew *Corvinus* and *Pansa*. It seemeth that *Livy* by *Marcus Valerius* meaneth *Maximus*, for that he saith that presently upon his Dictatorship he was made Cos. Now that *M. Valerius Max.* was Dictator the year before, he writeth plainly.

455

*M. Fulvius Petus.* *T. Manlius Torquatus.*

*Livy* and *Cassiodorus* declare for Consuls this year, *M. Fulvius Petus* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*. The Sicilian registers have *Pœtinus* and *Torquatus*. *Livy* saith that *Q. Fabius* refused the Consulship offered unto him without any suit of his. But *T. Manlius* the Consul, was by lot appointed to levy war against *Hetruria*, which took arms and prepared for war against the truce accorded upon. Now was he scarce well entred into the enemies confines, but as he exercised among men of arms, and chanced to turn about his horse upon a full carrier, he was cast from his back: whereupon (for the present) he lay for dead, and within three daies after the said fall ended his life. Then all the Centuries in general by their suffrages chose *M. Valerius* Cos. whom the Senat purposed to have made Dictator. Thus much *Livy*. By *M. Valerius* he meaneth *Corvus*, whom *Cicero* writeth in his book of old age, and *Valerius Max.* in his 7 book and 48 chap. to have been Cos. now the sixt time, and that between this and the first there were 46 years, although *Plutarch* in the life of *C. Marius* saith, they were but 45. Howbeit all of them call him *Corvinus* and not *Corvus*.

456

*L. Cornelius Scipio.* *Cn. Fulvius.*

*CNeus Fulvius* and *L. Cornelius Scipio* are recorded Consuls by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*: but *Scipio* and *Centumalus*, by *Cuspinians* book: *Scipio* and *Maximus* by the Greek records.

457

*Q. Fabius Max. IV.* *P. Decius Mus III.*

*Livy* and *Cassiodorus* alledge for Cos. this year, *Q. Fabius Max.* the fourth time, and *P. Decius Mus* thrice. The same Cos. *Cuspinians* book and the Greek records delivered unto us. The author that writeth of famous men, and *Frontinus* in his book of Stratagems, speak of *P. Decius* thrice Consul.

458

*L. Volumnius.* *Appius Claudius.*

*Lucinus Volumnius* a Commoner, and *Appius Claudius* of noble bloud, were created Cos. this year: even the same men who in their former Consulship were matched together, as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* write: but in the Sicilian registers they are found written, *Claudius* and *Violens*. Howbeit, *Cicero* in his book entituled *Cato* reporteth, that between the two Consulships of *App. Cæcus* were ten years.

459

*Q. Fabius V.* *P. Decius IV.*

*Livy* and *Cassiodorus* both witness, that the Cos. next following, were *Q. Fabius* the fift time, and *P. Decius* the 4 time, who had been companions together already in 2 Consulats and in one Censorship. The Sicilian registers have *Rullus* and *Mus*: of which Consuls *Cicero* speaketh very often; *Valer. Max.* likewise, *Paterculus* also, *Plutarch*, *Frontinus* in his book of Stratagems, the author of the book of famous men, *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and others: who all report, that the Cos. *P. Decius*, following the example of his father, offered himself to die for the Roman legions, and by his death purchased a notable victory to the people of *Rome*.

460

*L. Postumius Megellus.* *M. Atilius Regulus.*

THe Cos. next following, were *L. Postumius Megellus*, and *M. Atilius Regulus*, as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* write. In the Sicilian records, their surnames are *Megellus* and *Regulus*.

461

*L. Papirius Cursor.* *Sp. Carvilius.*

AFter *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, the Cos. this year were L. *Papirius Cursor* and *Sp. Carvilius*. After the Sicilian registers, *Cursor* & *Max.* A stone in the Capitol maketh mention of *Papirius* the son of L. nephew of *P.* surnamed *Cursor*, whom *Livy* writeth to be the son of *Papirius* 5 times Cos. Of these Cos. *Pliny* of *Verona* maketh mention in his 7 book and 60 chap. *Val. Max.* likewise in his 7 book and 1 chap. *Vellius* in his 2 book: and the same *Livy* in the year 456.

462

*Q. Fabius Gurges Max.* *Decius Junius Brutus, son of Scævalini.*

THe year following had Consuls, *Q. Fabius Gurges* and *D. Junius Brutus Scæva*, as witness *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. *Zonaras* nameth them, *Junius Brutus* and *Q. Fabius Max.* *Cuspinians* Kalender, *Maximus* and *Scæva*. The Sicilian registers, *Brutus* and *Maximus*. *Livy*, *Pliny* in his 7 book, the Capitoll tables, and *Zonaras*, have delivered, that this *Fabius* was the son of *Q. Max. Rullianus*, who had been 5 times Cos. before. And here an end of the Consuls for the first 10 books.

463

463
*L. Posthumius. C. Junius.*

SInce that after this Consulship, ten books of *Livy* next ensuing be lost, whom hitherto we have had for the most sufficient witness of this story, so as now we are in manner destitute and deprived of the best helps of Annals, namely, *Diodorus*, *Dionysius*, and *Livy*: from hence forward we will use principally in digesting and reckoning the years by the Consuls, the authority and testimony of *Cassiodorus*, the Sicilian records, and *Cuspinians* book: yet will we not in the mean while reject what help soever shall be ministred unto us by others. For this year therefore *Cassiodorus* writeth, that *L. Postumius* and *C. Junius*, were created Coss. whose surnames, *Megellus*, and *Brutus Bubulcus*, have not been left out so much as in *Cuspinians* Kalender, nor in the Sicilian records. *Livy* also maketh mention of them in his 28 book, saying thus, *Lu. Postumius Megellus* the Interregent, was created Cos. with *C. Bubulcus*, by that very court and assembly which himself called and held.

464
*P. Cornelius Rufinus. M'. Curius Dentatus*

THe Coss. this year are recorded by *Cassiodorus*, *Pub. Cornelius Rufinus*, and *M'. Curius Dentatus*: for whom in the Sicilian registers appear *Maximus* the third time, and *Mus* the sixt time. But of those forenamed Coss. *Cicero* maketh mention in his book, entituled *Cato*; *Paterculus* in his first book, *Valerius Max.* in his sixt book, and 3 chap. *Pliny* also in his 7 book and 50 chap. Now this *M'. Curius* was called *Dentatus*, as *Pliny* writeth in his 6 book and 16 chap. for that he came into the world with teeth.

465
*M. Valerius. Q. Caditius.*

*M Arcus Valerius* and *Q. Caditius* were afterwards Coss. as saith *Cassiodorus*. The old book of *Cuspinian* putteth to them the surnames of *Corvinus* and *Noctua*: which in the Sicilian registers are overpassed. The Greek records shew unto us, *Maximus* and *Mus*: for *Maximus* was a surname also of the *Valerii Corvini*.

466
*Q. Martius. P. Cornelius.*

*Cassiodorus* this year delivereth for Consuls, *Q. Martius* and *P. Cornelius*, *Cuspinians* book and the Greek records add their surnames. *Tremulus II.* and *Arvinus II.* who had been Consuls together once before.

467
*M. Marcellus. Sp. Nautius.*

*Cassiodorus* avoucheth Consuls this year, *M. Marcellus* and *Cn. Nautius*. The Greek records and *Cuspinians* book, have *Marcellus* and *Rutilus*.

468
*M. Valerius. C. Ælius.*

*M Arcus Valerius* and *C. Ælius* are ranged in this year for Coss. by *Cassiodorus*. *Cuspinians* book putteth forth, *Maximus* and *Patus*: but the Greek records, *Potitus* and *Patus*. Now you must think, that both *Maximus* and *Potitus* are the surnames of the *Valerii*.

469
*C. Claudius. M. Æmylius.*

FOr this years Coss. *Cassiodorus* hath *C. Claudius* and *M. Æmylius*. The Greek records and *Cuspinians* book, *Canina* & *Lepidus*: whereof the former is the surname of *Claudius*, the latter of *Æmylius*.

470
*C. Servilius. L. Cæcilius.*

BY *Cassiodorus*, *C. Servilius* and *L. Cæcilius Metellus* are placed Coss. in this year: for whereas in some copies of *Cassiodorus*, instead of *Lu. Cæcilius*, is written *Cælius* that is a fault; as *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* have noted. To *Servilius* this Consul, the Greek records add the surname of *Timan*, whom they put down Cos. with *Dento*, they would say *Denter*, as both *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* suppose. For *Denter* is a surname also given to the *Cæcilii*, as appeareth by *Livy*.

471
*P. Cornelius Dolabella. C. Domitius.*

*C Assiodorus* inferreth *P. Corn. Dolabella*, and *Cn. Domitius* for Coss. *Cuspinians* Kalender hath *Dolabella* and *Calvus*. The Sicilian registers, *Dolabella Maximus*. And some think that *Maximus* was the surname of *Dolabella*, which he seemeth to have acquired by the honour that he had won in the war against the Gauls.

472
*C. Fabricius. Q. Æmylius*

*C Assiodorus* bringeth in for Coss. *C. Fabricius* and *Q. Æmylius*: but the Sicilian registers, *Luscinus* and *Papus*. Of them *Cicero* in his book *Lelius*, maketh mention in this manner: We see that *Papus Æmylius* was familiarly acquainted with *C. Luscinus*; for so we have heard our fathers say, that they were two Coss. together, and companions in the censorship. Moreover, *Valerius* in his chap. where he treateth of Poverty, maketh mention of *C. Fabricius*, and *Q. Æmylius Papus*. This *Æmylius*, *Plutarch* in his Parallels calleth corruptly by the name of *Paulus*.

473
*L. Æmylius. Q. Martius.*

THere followed Coss. as *Cassiodorus* sheweth, *L. Æmylius* & *Q. Martius*; unto whom *Cuspinians* book and the Greek records give also their surnames, *Barbula* and *Philippus*: and the same also is evident by the records in the Capitoll of their triumphs.

474

474
*P. Valerius. T. Coruncanius.*

*Publ. Valerius* and *Tit. Coruncanius*, are by *Caſſiodorus* placed in this year for Coſſ. The Greek records, *Cuſpinians* book, *Florus*, *Oroſius*, and *Eutropius*, give to *Valerius* the ſurname of *Lavinus*. And *Plutarch* hath ἀλγῖνον for λαβῖνον.

475
*P. Sulpitius. P. Decius.*

NExt after thoſe, *Caſſiodorus* putteth down *P. Sulpitius* Conſul with *P. Decius*. The Sicilian regiſters, have *Savennio* and *Mus*. *Cicero* in his 2 book, entituled *De Fin.* and in his Tuſculan diſputations, ſaith, That this *Pub. Decius* was the ſon of that *P. Decius* who vowed himſelf to death in the Samnits and Gauls war.

476
*C. Fabricius. Q. Aemylius.*

*Caſſiodorus* delivereth unto us for Conſuls *C. Fabricius* and *Q. Aemilius*: whom *Cuſpinians* book and the Greek records, call *Luſcinus* the ſecond time, and *Papus*. That theſe were fellows together once before in the Conſulat, *Cicero* writeth in his book *Lælius*, *Plutarch* in *Pyrrhus*, *Gellius* 3 book, chap. 8. *Entropius*, and *Zonaras*, make report of the ſame.

477
*P. Cornelius. C. Junius.*

*Publ. Cornelius*, and *C. Junius*, are rehearſed for Conſuls this year by *Caſſiodorus*. *Cuſpinians* book hath *Rufinus* the ſecond time, and *Brutus*. The Greek records, *Rufinus* and *Bubulcus*. *Zonaras* hath *Rufinus* & *Junius*. Of *P. Rufinus* twice Coſ. *Cic.* in his 2. book Of a perfect Orator, *Val. Max.* in his 3. book, and 4. chap. *Gellius* in his 4 book, and 8 chap. in his 17 book likewiſe and 21 chap. and laſt of all, *Frontinus* in his book of Stratagems, make mention.

478
*Q. Fabius. C. Genutius.*

*Caſſiodorus* reporteth *Q. Fabius* and *C. Genutius* Conſuls. The Sicilians regiſters have *Gurges* and *Clepſina*. Of theſe Coſſ. *Oroſius* maketh mention in this wiſe: When *Fabius Gurges* was the ſecond time Coſ. with *C. Genutius Clepſina*, a grievous peſtilence reigned both in the City, and alſo in the territory about it.

479
*M'. Curius. L. Lentulus.*

*Caſſiodorus* and *Eutropius* deliver unto us for Coſſ. *M'. Curius* and *L. Lentulus*. The Sicilian regiſters, *Dentatus* and *Lentulus*. This is the third Conſulat of *M'. Curius*, which together with *Lentulus* Conſulſhip, is drawn out of the Capitoll records of triumph this year.

480
*Serv. Cornelius. M'. Curius.*

*Caſſiodorus* ſheweth for this years Coſſ. *Servius Cornelius* and *M'. Curius*, *Cuſpinians* book and the Greek records, *Merenda*, & *Dentatus* the third time. This *M'. Curius* is now Coſ. the fourth time, for, thrice he was before. Concerning this *Serv. Cornelius Merenda*, *Pliny* relateth and writeth, that he received a princely coronet of gold at the hands of *L. Lentulus* the Coſ. of the former year, for winning a town of the Samnits.

481
*C. Fabricius. C. Claudius.*

*Caſſiodorus* ſetteth down, *C. Fabricius* and *C. Claudius* Conſuls: the Sicilian records, *Licinius* and *Canina*: *Cuſpinians* Kalender, *Licinius* and *Cinna*. *Eutropius*, *Fabius Licinius* and *C. Claudius Canina*. *Velleius*, *Fabius Dorſo* and *Claudius Canina*. Whereby it may be underſtood, that theſe Conſuls were called, *C. Fabius Dorſo Licinius*, and *Caius Claudius Canina*: for *Dorſo* was an old name of the *Fabii*.

482
*L. Papirius Curſor. Sp. Carvilius.*

NExt after them, *Caſſiodorus* nominateth for Coſſ. *Sp. Carvilius* and *Lu. Papirius Curſor*. The records both of *Sicily* and *Cuſpinian*, have *Curſor* and *Maximus*. Both theſe were now Coſſ. the ſecond time, as appeareth by their triumphs upon record in the Capitoll. *Frontinus* ſpeaketh of them in his book Of water-conduits, and *Livy* in his 24 book.

483
*C. Quintius. L. Genutius.*

IT is reported by *Caſſiodore*, that *C. Quintius* and *L. Genutius* were Conſuls. *Cuſpinians* book and the Greek records, ſet to their ſurnames, *Claudius* and *Clepſina*. *Livy* in his 7 book ſpeaketh of one *Tit. Quintius* lame of one leg, from whom haply this ſurname is drawn.

484
*C. Genutius. Cn. Cornelius.*

REported there are for Conſuls this year by *Caſſiodorus*, *C. Genutius* and *Cn. Cornelius*; whoſe ſurnames were *Clepſina* and *Blaſio*, as it appeareth in *Cuſpinians* book. This *Caius Genutius* is the ſame, who before-time was Conſul. As for *C. Blaſio*, he is deſcribed by his Cenſorſhip ſtanding upon record in the Capitoll. The Greek records over-paſs them both.

485
*P. Sempronius.* } or after ſome, { *Q. Ogulphius.* / *Fabius Pictor.*
*App. Claudius.* }

AFter *Cornelius* and *Genutius* Conſuls, *Caſſiodorus* bringeth in *Pub. Sempronius*, and *App.*

*App. Claudius*, and of purpoſe over-skippeth *Q. Gulo* and *Fabius Pictor*. *Zonaras*, *Q. Gallus* and *C. Fabius*. Of them ſpeaketh *Eutropius*, ſaying; When *Q. Gulo* and *Fabius Pictor* were Conſuls, the Picenats raiſed war; and by the Conſuls next following, to wit, *P. Sempronius* and *App. Claudius*, they were vanquiſhed. *Pliny* alſo in his 33 book and 3 chap. When *Q. Fabius* (quoth he) was Conſul, ſilver was coined and ſtamped for money, five years before the [ſecond] Punick war. Theſe Conſuls, *Velleius* alſo reckoneth in his firſt book. But *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* adverti ſe us, that the book of *Eutropius* is very faulty in one of theſe Conſuls, and that in lieu of *Quin. Gulo*, it ſhould be read *Q. Ogulphius*; for of this *Gulo*, there is in no place beſides, any mention: ſo as they would have, that it ſhould be *Q. Ogulvius*, ſon of *L.* nephew of *A.* ſurnamed *Gallus*, who a little before was ſent in embaſſage to *Ptolomeus*. And it falleth out paſſing well, that they ſhould match *Ogulvius* a commoner, with *Fabius* a Patritian. Alſo *Onuphrius* teſtifieth, that in the moſt ancient hand-written books of *Eutropius*, the name is found of *Ogulvius*. And, as both the Greek records, and alſo *Zonaras*, together with the more ancient and perfect copies of *Eutropius*, agree to this his judgment: ſo *Hubertus Goltzius* likewiſe in his Catalogue of Conſuls, embraceth the ſame: and that which maketh moſt for the purpoſe, the old antiquities of coin witneſs as much. But in the mean while this is worth the obſervation, that oftentimes in the moſt ancient pieces of money, the letter *C* is written for *G*: as for example here, *Ocul. Cal.* for *Ogul. Galba*.

285

*P. Sempronius.* *App. Clandius.*

SEeing that we ſettle the Conſulſhip of the former year, in *Ogulvius* and *Fabius Pictor*, and that upon the authority of *Eutropius*, the Greek records, *Cuſpinian*, *Zonaras*, *Onuphrius*, and others; we will ſet down for this years Conſuls, *P. Sempronius* and *App. Claudius*, whom *Velleius* in his firſt book calleth, *Sempronius Sophus*, and *Appius* the ſon of *Cæcus*. The Greek records, *Sempronius Rufus Sophus*: and *Cuſpinians* book *Rufus*. Moreover, this alſo *Goltzius* giveth us to underſtand, that the ſurname of this *Sempronius* is in old peeces of coin found written without an aſpiration [*Sopus*;] which is no rare thing to be ſeen in ſuch antiquities: for we read in others of them, *Philippus*, *Tampilus*, *Graccus*, *Pulcer*, *Triumpus*, for *Philippus*, *Tamphilus*, *Gracchus*, *Pulcher*, *Trimmphus*, and ſuch like.

487

*M. Attilius.* *L. Julius Libo.*

*Eutropius* putteth down for Conſuls, *M. Attilius* and *L. Julius Libo*. The Sicilian regiſters, *Regulus* and *Libo*. *Caſſiodorus*, *M. Attilius* and *Lutulius*. And both of them are taken forth of the records of capitol triumphs.

488

*D. Iunius.* *N. Fabius.*

*Caſſiodorus* reporteth for Coſſ. this year, *D. Junius* and *N. Fabius*: the Sicilian regiſter, *Pera* and *Pictor*: the capitol records of triumphs, *D. Junius* ſon of *D.* nephew of *D.* ſurnamed *Pera*, and *N. Fabius* ſon of *C.* nephew of *M.* ſurnamed *Pictor*. Upon what occaſion theſe *Fabii* took the ſurname of *Pictor*, *Pliny* ſheweth in his 35 book chap. 4. *Valer. Max.* in his 4 book and 3 chap. ſeemeth to note and ſignify, that *Fabius Gurges* and *N. Fab. Pictor*, lived at one and the ſame time.

489

*Q. Fabius Maximus.* *L. Mamilius Vitulus.*

THis year alſo *Caſſiodorus* paſſeth over. The Greek records ſhew, *Maximus* and *Vitulus*. *Zonaras*, *Q. Fabius*, and *Æmylius* (no doubt) for *Mamilius*, by ſome error and fault of the copies. *Cuſpinian* out of ſome old books delivereth unto us for Conſuls, *Q. Fab. Maximus* and *Lu. Mamilius*. *Onuphrius* thinketh, that *Q. Fab. Maximus Gurges* was now thrice Conſul.

490

*Ap. Claudius.* *M. Fulvius.*

BEſides the capitol monuments, *Polybius* in his firſt book maketh mention of theſe Conſuls. *Gellius* alſo, who calleth them thus, *App. Claudius* brother of *Cæcus* ſurnamed *Caudex*, and *Mar. Fulvius Flaccus*. In like manner *Livy*, *Paterculus*, and *Pliny* in his book of famous men: as alſo *Appianus*, *Florus*, *Frontinus* in his 1 book of Stratagems, *Eutropius*, *Oroſius*, and *Caſſiodorus*.

491

*M'. Valerius.* *M'. Otacilius.*

*Caſſiodorus* and *Eutropius* ſhew unto us, that *M'. Valerius* and *M'. Otacilius* were Conſ. *Zonaras* nameth *Valerius Max.* and *Otacilius Craſſus*. *Cuſpinians* Kalender and the Sicilian records, *Max. Meſſala* and *Craſſus*. Of theſe Conſuls, *Ver. Flaccus*, *Polybius*, *Caſſiodorus*, *Eutropius*, and *Macrobius* out of *Varro* make report. As for *Macrobius*, he rendreth a reaſon, why *M'. Valerius* was in this government of his named *Meſſala*: and *Pliny* likewiſe, in his ſixt book and five and thirtieth chapter.

492

*L. Poſthumius.* *Q. Mamilius.*

*Caſſiodorus* and *Polybius* put down for next Conſuls, *L. Poſtumius* and *Q. Mamilius*. *Zonaras* nameth them, *Poſthumius Albinus* and *Quintus Mamilius*. The Sicilian regiſters, *Albinus* and *Vitulus*: but the capitol monuments, *L. Poſtumius* ſon of *Lucius*, nephew of *Lucius*, ſurnamed *Megellus*, and *Q. Mamilius* ſon of *Q.* nephew of *M.* ſurnamed *Vitulus*.

493

*L.Valerius.* *T.Otacilius.*

*Polybius* and *Cassiodorus* match together in the Consulat for this year *L. Valerius* and *T.Otacilius*: the surname of *Valerius* is *Flaccus*, and of *Otacilius*, *Crassus*, as it appeareth upon the capitol and Sicilan records.

494

*Cn. Cornelius.* *C. Duilius.*

*Cassiodorus* and *Zonaras* bring in for Coss. *Cn. Cornelius* and C. *Duilius*. In like manner also *Polybius*, but only that in lieu of Βουλτ& he hath λβι&. The Sicilian Registers shew *Scipio* and *Duilius*. *Cn. Cornelius Scipio* is surnamed also *Asina*, by the capital writers *Orosius*, *Eutropius*, and *Valerius* in his sixt book chap. 10. of which surname *Macrobius* writeth thus in his first book of Saturnalia: The surname of *Asina* (qd. he) was given to the *Cornelii*, for that the first of the House *Cornelia* having either bought land, or given his daughter in marriage, when (after the solemn manner) he was required to put in good sureties for security, brought into the open market place a she ass laden with money, and pawned down that presently in stead of pledges.

495

*C. Aquilius* son of M. *L. Cornelius* son of *L.*

THere are nominated by *Cassiodorus* for Consuls, *C. Aquilius* and *L. Cornelius*. The Sicilian registers, *Florus* and *Scipio*. *Zonaras*, *C. Florus* and *L. Scipio*. *Eutropius* and *Orosius*, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and C. *Aquilius Florus*. *Polybius* leaveth them out. The Capitoline monuments agree with the Annals of *Eutropius* and *Orosius*.

496

A. *Atilius Calatinus*, *Q. Sulpitius.*

*Polybius* avoucheth for this years Consuls, A. *Atilius* and C. *Sulpitius*. *Cassiodorus*, *A. Atilius Calatinus*, and *C. Sulpitius*. The Sicilian Registers and *Cuspinians* Kalender, *Calatinus* and *Paterculus*. The capitol monuments, *A. Atilius Calatinus* and *C. Sulpitius Paterculus*. *Zonaras* *Atilius Calatinus*, and *Caius Sulpitius*. Of these Consuls, *Polybius* *Cicero*, *Valerius*, *Florus*, *Frontinus* in his Stratagems, *Pliny* the yonger *Gellius*, *Eutropius*, and *Cassiodorus* make mention. But concerning the forename of *Sulpitius Paterculus*, the Capitoline tables disagree one from another; to wit, those that carry the records of the triumphs, from those that shew the Consulships and other magistracies; for in these latter monuments he is called *Quintus* in the former *Caius*. Whereby *Goltzius* doth conjecture that one man was not the author of both those records, namely, the Triumphal and the Consular.

497

*Cn. Cornelius.* *C. Atilius.*

*Cassiodorus* sheweth unto us, *Cn. Cornelius*, and *C. Atilius Serranus*, for Consuls: but *Polybius*, *C. Atilius*. The capitol tables, *C. Atilius Regulus*. *Cuspinians* Kalender and the Sicilian registers, have *Regulus* and *Blasio* the second time. But how *Atilius* should come by his surname *Serranus*, *Pliny* sheweth in his 18 book, saying; In these daies the fields were tilled by the very hands of L. Generals themselves and a man verily would believe thereby, that the ground joyed in a laureat plough-share and a triumphant plowman. Him they found a sowing, unto him they presented those honorable dignities, and so took he his surname *Serranus*. As concerning *Blasio*, all authors well neer besides, approve the judgment of *Cuspinian*: but *Goltzius* supposeth, that he was not the same man that was Consul before; and therefore he writeth him the son of C. nephew of L. without putting to the numeral note II.

498

*Q. Caditius.* *L. Manlius.*

THe next Consuls that succeeded, were (by *Cassiodorus* his saying) *Q. Caditius* and *L. Manlius*. The Sicilian registers name them *Vulso* and *Caditius*. *Zonaras*, *M. Regulus* and *L. Manlius*. *Eutropius*, M. *Atilius Regulus* and *L. Manlius Vulso*: and *Polybius*, *M. Atilius* and *L. Manlius*. *Insenus* in his 41 book maketh mention of these Consuls. But ye must understand, that *Q. Caditius* died whiles he was in office, and M. *Atilius* was substituted in his room and made Consul the second time; as appeareth evidently by the capitol tables, wherein it standeth thus upon record, *Lu. Manlius Vulso Longus*: and in stead of *Q. Caditius*, M. *Atilius Regulus* the second time: as also by *Cuspinians* book, wherein is written, *Longus* and *Regulus*.

499

M. *Æmylius Paulus.* *Ser. Fulvius Nobilior.*

*Polybius* sheweth for the Coss. this year, *Ser. Fulvius*, and *M. Aemylius*. *Cuspinians* Kalender, *Nobilior* and *Paulus*. The Sicilian registers, *Patinus* and *Paulus*. *Cassiodorus* and *Eutropius*, together with the Capitoline records have *Ser. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *M. Æmylius Paulus*.

500

*Cn. Cornelius.* *A. Atilius.*

*Cassiodorus* and *Polybius* report for this years Consuls, *Cn. Cornelius* and A. *Atilius*. The capitol authors write, *A. Atilius Calatinus* the second time, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Asina* likewise a second time. As touching *Cn. Cornelius Asina* twice Consul, thus writeth *Valerius* in his sixt book: *Cn. Cornelius S. Asina*, who being Consul was taken prisoner by the Carthaginians at *Lipara* when he had by the law

law of arms lost whatsoever he had, recovered all again, and was made Consul the second time: so as, of a Consul he became a captive, and of a captive twice Consul.

501

*Cn. Servilius.* *C. Sempronius.*

*Cassiodorus* and *Polybius* put down for Consuls, *Cn. Servilius* and *C. Sempronius*. The Sicilian registers, *Cæpio* and *Blæsus*. *Zonoras*, *Servilius Cæpio* and *C. Sempronius*. *Eutropius* and *Orosius*, *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, and *Sempronius Blæsus*. Of the same Consuls, *Sabinus* in his 30 book maketh mention, as also a stone of the Capitol.

502

*C. Aurelius Cotta.* *P. Servilius.*

*Cassiodorus* bringeth in as Coss. *C. Aurelius Cotta*, and P. *Geminus*. The Sicilian registers, *Cotta* and *Geminus*: but those of the Capitol, *C. Aurelius Cotta*, and *P. Servilius Geminus*. *Zonaras*, *Pub. Servilius* and *C. Aurelius*. *Cicero* in his book, entituled *Lucullus*, writeth, that *C. Cotta*, together with *P. Servilius Geminus*, was twice Consul. *Frontinus* also in his fourth book of Stratagems, and likewise *Orosius*, make mention of *C. Cotta* Consul in *Sicily*.

503

*L. Cæcilius Metellus.* *C. Furius.*

*Polybius* setteth down for Consuls, *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, and *Cn. Furius*. The Sicilian registers, *Metellus* and *Pacilus*. *Zonaras*, *Cæcilius Metellus*, and *C. Furius*. *Cassiodorus*, *Lu. Cæcilius* and *C. Furius*. *Eutropius*, *Osorius*, and a capitol stone, *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, and *Cn. Furius Pacilus*. This is that *Lu. Metellus*, twice Consul and high priest, of whom *Pliny* writeth in his seventh book and three and fortieth chapter.

504

*C. Atilius Regulus.* *L. Manlius.*

*Polybius* placeth for this years Consuls, *C. Atilius* and *L. Manlius*. *Cassiodorus*, *C. Atilius Regulus*, and *L. Manlius*. *Orosius* and a capitol stone, have *C. Atilius Regulus*, and *L. Manlius Vulso*, both Coss. the second time. *Zonaras*, *C. Atilius* the brother of *Regulus*, and *L. Manlius*. The Sicilian records, *Regulus* and *Vulso*.

505

*P. Claudius.* *L. Junius.*

*Cassiodorus* and *Polybius* inser for Consuls the next year, *Pub. Claudius* and *L. Junius*. *Zonaras*, *L. Junius* and *C. Pulcher*. *Florus* and *Suetonius* in *Tiberius*, put to *Claudius* the surname of *Pulcher*; and *Censorinus* to *Junius* of *Pullus*: which also are upon record in the Sicilian and capitoline tables. This *P. Claudius*, *Cicero* (in his books of Divination, [illegible] of the nature of gods) calleth the son of *App. Cæcus*: but *Pliny* (in his seventh book and three and fortieth chapter) nameth him his nephew or sons son. The capitol writers take part with *Cicero*. *Val. Maximus* in his first book and fourth chapter, speaketh of the same Consuls.

506

*P. Servilius.* *C. Aurelius*

For Consuls this year, *Cassiodorus* putteth down *P. Servilius* and *C. Aurelius*. *Cicero* in his book *Lucullus*, saith that these were twice Consuls. Which also is apparant by the Capitoll and Sicilian tables: in which their surnames are to be seen, *Geminus II.* and *Cotta II.*

507

*L. Cæcilius.* *N. Fabius.*

It is recorded by *Cassiodorus*, that the Consuls of this year, were *L. Cæcilius* and *N. Fabius*: but *Zonaras* nameth them, *Cæcilius Metellus*, and *Numerius Fabius*. *Cuspinians* Kalender and the Sicilian Registers, have them in this manner; *Metellus II.* and *Buteo II.* But the capitoline tables shew them thus, *L. Cæcilius Metellus II.* *N. Fabius Buteo II.* *Pliny* also reporteth in his seventh book, that *Metellus* was twice Consul.

508

*M'. Fabius.* *M'. Cæcilius.*

*Cassiodorus* setteth down as Consuls, *M'. Fabius* and *M'. Cæcilius*. The Sicilian Registers, *Crassus* and *Licinius*. *Gellius* in his tenth book and first chapter, hath *P. Licinius* and *Cæcilius Crassus*. The capitol marble stones, *M. Fabius Licinius*, and *M'. Cæcilius Crassus*. Besides, *Gellius* in the place before alledged, *Florus* likewise in his 19 Breviary upon *Livius* maketh mention of these Consuls; as also *Suetonius* in *Tiberius*.

509

*M. Falius.* *C. Atilius.*

*Cassiodorus* reckoneth *M. Fabius*, and *C. Atilius*, Consuls for this year. The Sicilian tables, *Buteo* and *Bulbus*. But those of the capitol, *M. Fabius Buteo*, and *C. Atilius Bulbus*. Of *Fabius* the Consuls shipwrack, *Florus* speaketh out of the nineteenth book of *Livy*.

510

*A. Manlius.* *C. Sempronius.*

For this years Consuls, *Cassiodorus* setteth forth unto us, *A. Manlius* and *C. Sempronius*. The Sicilian records, *Torquatus* and *Blæsus*. *Cuspinians* book hath *Atticus* and *Blæsus*. The capitoline tables shew *A. Manlius Torquatus Atticus*, and *C. Sempronius Blæsus II.*

511

*C. Fundanius.* *C. Sulpitius.*

*Cassiodorus* putteth down, *C. Fundanius*, and *C. Sulpitius* for Consuls. The Sicilian wri-

ters, *Fundulus* and *Gallus*. The Capitol monuments, *C. Fundanius Fundulus*, and *C. Sulpitius Gallus*. None beſides make mention of them.

512

C. *Lutatius Catulus*. *A. Poſtumius*.

C*Aſſiodorus* delivereth unto us for Conſuls this year, *C. Lutatius* and *A. Poſtumius*. The Sicilian records, *Catulus* and *Albinus*. *Entropius*, and the capitol marbles, *C. Lutatius Catulus*, and *A. Poſtumius Albinus*.

513

*Q. Lutatius Cereo*. A. *Manlius*.

C*Aſſiodorus*, *Entropius*, and *Oroſius*, ſhew for conſuls this year, *Q. Lutatius* and *A. Manlius*. The Sicilian records, *Cereo* and *Torquatus*. They of the capitol, *Q Lutatius Cereo*, and *Au. Manlius Torquatus Atticus II*. Indeed *C. Lutatius Cereo*, is named for an Embaſſador by *Livy* in his 42 book.

514

*C. Claudius Centho*. M. *Sempronius*.

FOr this year there were Conſuls, *C. Claudius Centho*, and M. *Sempronius Tudstanus*, according to *Caſſiodorus* and the capitol writers. The Sicilian records teſtify alſo the ſame ſurnames. Of theſe conſuls likewiſe, beſides the capitol Writers, *Cicero* ſpeaketh in his *Cato* and *Brutus*, where he calleth this year (according to the judgment of *Atticus*, whereto *Varro* alſo agreeth) the 514 year from the foundation of the city; as alſo in his firſt Tuſculan queſtion. So doth *Gellius* 17 book 21 chap. and *Caſſiodorus*.

515

C. *Mamilius*. *Q. Valerius*.

NExt there followed in conſuls place, as witneſſeth *Caſſiodorus*, C. *Mamilius* and *Q. Valerius*: but according to the Sicilian regiſters, *Turrinus* and *Falco*: and after the capitol records, C. *Mamilius Turrinus*, and *Q. Valerius Falco*. Beſides, *Verrius Flaccus* and *Caſſiodorus*, *Gellius* alſo maketh mention of theſe Coſſ. in his 17 book and 21 chapter. So doth *Cicero* in *Brutus* and the Tuſculan queſtions, in which year they ſay, that *Ennius* the *Poet* was born.

516

*T. Sempronius*. P. *Valerius*.

FOr the year following, *Caſſiodorus* hath conſuls, *T. Sempronius* and *P. Valerius*. *Gracchus* and *Falco*, in *Cuſpinians* Kalender and the Sicilian records. *Zonaras* avoucheth, *Semp. Gracchus*, and *P. Valerius*. The capitol writers, have *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *P. Valerius Falco*. *Oroſius* ſpeaketh of theſe conſuls.

517

L. *Cornelius*. *Q. Fulvius*.

NExt to them, *Caſſiodorus* reporteth for conſuls, L. *Cornelius* and *Q. Fulvius*. *Zonaras*, L. *Lentulus* and *Q. Flaccus*. *Entropius*, *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. The capitol regiſters give to *Lentulus*, the ſurname *Candenus*: and therefore in *Cuſpinians* Kalender, they ſtand by the names of *Candinus* and *Flaccus*. As for the Sicilian regiſters, they leave them out clean.

518

C. *Licinius*. P. *Cornelius*.

C*Aſſiodorus* putteth down for conſuls, C. *Licinius* and P. *Cornelius*. *Zonaras*, P. *Lentulus* and *Licinius Varus*. The capitoline writers C. *Licinius Varus*, and P. *Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus*. In like manner *Cenſorinus*; who reckoneth this for the 518 year after the cities foundation; following herein the computation of *Varro*, *Cicero*, and *Pliny*. *Cuſpinians* Kalender and the Sicilian regiſters, name them *Claudius* and *Varus*.

519

*T. Manlius Torquatus*. C. *Atilius*.

THis year had for conſuls, as *Caſſiodorus* ſaith, *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and C. *Atilius*. The Sicilian records, ſhew *Torquatus* and *Bulbus*: but *Entropius*, *Oroſius*, and the capitoll Tables ſhew, *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and C. *Atilius Bulbus*: unto *Bulbus* The capitol records put to the numeral note II. When *T. Manlius Torquatus* and C. *Atilius Bulbus* the ſecond time were coſſ. according to *Verrius Flaccus*, *Entropius*, *Oroſius*, and *Caſſiodorus*, and that there was peace throughout all the empire of *Rome*, the Temple of *Janus* was ſhut the ſecond time, as *Plutarch* ſheweth in *Numa*; as *Livy* alſo, *Velleius*, *Entropius*, and *Oroſius*, do teſtify.

520

L. *Poſtumius*. Sp. *Carvilius*.

C*Aſſiodorus* nameth for conſuls this year, L. *Poſtumius* and Sp. *Carvilius*. The Sicilian Regiſters have *Albinus* and *Ruga*. *Zonaras*, *Poſtumius Albinus*, and *Sp. Carvilius*. The capitol writers have L. *Poſthumius Albinus*, and Sp. *Carvilius Maximus*. That *Ruga* was a ſurname to the *Carvilii*, appeareth out of *Gellius*, who maketh mention of *Sp. Carvilius Ruga*, who at this time was the firſt that divorced his wife.

521

Q. *Fabius*. M'. *Pomponius*.

C*Aſſiodorus* putteth down for conſuls, *Q. Fabius* and M'. *Pomponius*. The Sicilian records *Maximus* and *Matho*. The capitoline writers have *Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucoſus*, and M. *Pomponius Matho*. *Zonaras* hath *Q. Fabius Max.* and M. *Pomponius*. The ſurname of *Maximus*, this *Fabius* took of his grand-father, and was not himſelf the firſt of that name, whatſoever *Polybius* writeth in his third book.

*Ver-*

*Verrucosus* he was called besides of a wert upon his lip, at *Plutarch* witnesseth, and he that wrote the treatise of Famous men.

522

*M. Lepidus.* M. *Poplicius.*

*Marcus Lepidus* and *M. Poplicius* are reputed to be Consuls this year by *Cassiodorus*. The Sicilian registers have *Lepidus* and *Malleolus*. *Zonaras* hath *M. Malleolus* and M. *Æmylius*. The capitol tables shew *M. Æmylius Lepidus* and *M. Poplicius*.

523

C. *Papirius.* *M. Pomponius.*

NExt after this were created Consuls, C. *Papirius* and *M. Pomponius* according to *Cassiodorus*, *Zonaras*, and *Dionysius* in his second book. The Sicilian registers shew *Maso* and *Matho*. But the Capitol records have C. *Papirius Maso* and M. *Pomponius Matho*. Of C. *Papirius*, son of C. surnamed *Maso*, a Pontify or Bishop, *Livy* speaketh in the year 540.

524

*M. Æmylius.* *M. Junius.*

ZOnaras and *Cassiodorus* exhibit unto us for Consuls, M. *Æmylius* and M. *Junius*. The Sicilian registers, *Barbula* and *Pera*. The Capitol records, M. *Æmylius Barbula* and M. *Junius Pera*.

525

*L. Postumius.* Cn. *Fulvius.*

C*Assiodorus* setteth down *L. Postumius* and *Cn. Fulvius* as Consuls. The Sicilian records *Albinus* and *Centumalus*. But those of the Capitol, and *Eutropius*, present unto us *L. Postumius Albinus* and *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*. *Polybius* nameth *Cn. Fulvius* and *A. Postumius*.

526

*Q. Fabius II.* *Sp. Carvilius.*

THere are by *Cassiodorus* nominated for Consuls this year; *Qu. Fabius Maximus* the second time, and *Sp. Carvilius*. The Sicilian registers *Maximus* and *Ruga*. The Capitol writers set also unto *Carvilius Maximus* the mark and numeral note of a double Consulship. *Cicero* in his book entituled *Cato*, likewise in his second book of Rhetorical invention, maketh mention of these Consuls, and so doth *Valerius* in his chapter, discoursing of the kindnes and affectionate duty of children to their parents.

527

P. *Valerius.* M. *Atilius.*

THese are set down by *Cassiodorus* for Coss. this year, P. *Valerius* and *M. Atilius*. The Sicilian registers, have *Flaccus* and *Regulus*. The Capitol records represent P. *Valerius Flaccus*, and M. *Atilius Regulus*. *Gellius* writeth of them in his 4 book and 3 chapter.

528

*L. Apustius.* M. *Valerius.*

NExt after, *Cassiodorus* putteth *L. Apustius* and M. *Valerius* Consuls. The Sicilian tables *Maximus* and *Apustius*. The Capitol monuments *L. Apustius Fullo*, and M. *Valer. Messala*.

529

*C. Atilius.* *L. Aemilius.*

IMmediatly followed Consuls, *C. Atilius* and *L. Æmylius*, as *Cassiodorus* and *Polybius* do witness: whom the Capitol writers call, *C. Atilius Regulus*, and *L. Æmylius Papus*. The Sicilian registers, *Regulus* and *Papus*. *Zonaras*, *Regulus* and *Æmylius*. Of these Consuls also *Orosius* maketh mention: and *Pliny* in his third book and twentieth chapter, where untruly men read *Paulus* for *Papus*.

530

*T. Manlius.* Q. *Fulvius II.*

THe year following had Consuls *T. Manlius* and Q. *Fulvius* the second time, according to *Cassiodorus* and *Polybius*, and as *Orosius* saith, *T. Manlius Torquatus* and Q. *Fulvius Flaccus*. *Cuspinians* tables, together with the Capitoline, have *Torquatus* the second time, and *Flaccus* likewise the second time, shewing the surnames only of these Coss.

531

*C. Flaminius.* P. *Furius Philus.*

C*Assiodorus* setteth down for Coss. C. *Flaminius* and *P. Furius*. So doth *Polybius*. *Zonaras* nameth them *Flaminius* and *Furius*. *Plutarch* likewise in *Marcellus*. The Sicilian tables name them *Flaminius* and *Philus*. But the capitol records, *C. Flaminius*, and *P. Furius Philus*.

532

M. *Marcellus.* Cn. *Cornelius.*

C*Assiodorus* nameth for the next Consuls, M. *Marcellus* and *Cn. Cornelius*. *Polybius*, M. *Claudius* and *Cn. Cornelius*. The Sicilian registers *Scipio* and *Marcellus*. *Zonaras*, *Claudius Marcellus* and *Cn. Scipio*. *Eutropius*, M. *Claudius Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*. The Capitoll tables M. *Claudius Marcellus* and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus*. This is that *Marcellus*, who was five times Consul: and this is that *Scipio*, who afterwards with his brother *Scipio* was slain in *Spain* by *Asdrubal* the Carthaginian.

533

P. *Cornelius.* M. *Minutius.*

C*Assiodorus* sheweth for this years Consuls, *Cornelius* and M. *Minutius*. So doth *Zonaras*,

rus. The Sicilian regiſters have *Scipio* and *Rufus*. *Entropius* hath P. *Cornelius* and *M. Minutius Rufus*. *Cuſpinians* book *Aſina* and *Rufus*. *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* both, do think that this P. *Cornelius Scipio Aſina* was his ſon, who in the firſt Punick war was twice conſul. And verily *Livy*, in the year 543 maketh mention of P. *Cornelius Aſina*, an honorable Senator, and who had been conſul.

534

*L. Veturius.* C. *Lutatius.*

*Caſſiodorus* and *Zonaras* exhibit unto us for conſuls, *L. Veturius* and C. *Lutatius*. The Sicilian regiſters *Philo* and *Catulus*. *Cuſpinians* book *Philo* and *Scævola*.

535

*M. Livius.* L. *Æmylius.*

THe conſuls next following were *M. Livius* and *L. Æmylius*, as *Caſsiodorus* witneſſeth. *Cuſpinians* book and the Greek records ſhew *Salinator* and *Paulus*. *Zonaras*, *M. Livius* and *Æmylius Paulus*. *Pliny* maketh mention of theſe conſuls in the 29 book and firſt chapt.

536

P. *Cornelius Scipio.* *T. Sempronius Longus.*

C*Aſſiodorus* and *Polybius* put down for conſuls P. *Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius*. *Zonaras*, *Sempronius Longus* and *P. Scipio*. The Sicilian records, *Longus* and *Scipio*. *Livy*, *Entropius*, *Probus*, *Oroſius*, and *Pædianus*, name them *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *T. Sempronius Longus*. Whiles theſe were conſuls, the ſecond Punick war aroſe, as writers have delivered unto us in their chronicles.

537

*Cn. Servilius Geminus.* C. *Flaminius.*

THen followed conſuls, as *Polybius*, *Caſſiodorus*, and *Livy* write, *Cn. Servilius*, together with *C. Flaminius*. But the two laſt named, as alſo the Sicilian regiſters, have given to *Servilius* the ſurname of *Geminus*. C. *Flaminius* now ſecond time conſul, with like pride as heretofore, entered into his magiſtracy in the Ides of *March* not at *Rome* but at *Ariminum*. The ſame man, in neglect and contempt of the Auſpicia or ſigns of birds, at what time as he made head and went againſt *Annibal* coming into *Italy*, fought a battel at the lake *Thraſymenus*, where his army was wholly deſeated and himſelf loſt his life: into whoſe place *M. Atilius Regulus*, who had been conſul before, was ſubſtituted. Thus much out of *Livy* and *Polybius*.

538

C. *Terentius Varro.* L. *Æmylius Paulus.*

NExt to them *Polybius* bringeth in *L. Æmylius* and C. *Terentius* for conſuls. The Sicilian regiſters, *Paulus* and *Varro*. *Plutarch* in *Paulus*, *Terentius Varro*, and *Æmylius Paulus*. *Livy*, *Caſſiodorus*, and others, C. *Terentius Varro*, and L. *Æmylius Paulus*. *Goltzius* noteth, that the father of C. *Terentius* Varro, was one *Aulus*, a thing by others paſſed over.

539

L. *Poſthumius Albinus. III.*
*M. Claudius* Marcellus. *II.*
*Q. Fabius Maximus. III.*
*T. Sempronius Gracchus.*

*Livy* reporteth that the conſuls elect for this year, when *M. Junius* the Dictator held the ſolemn aſſembly for the election, were *Lucius Poſthumius Albinus* the third time, who as then ruled the province of *Gaul*, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, who had been maſter of the horſemen: and that *Poſthumius* before that he entred into government, was by *Annibal* in *France* environed and ſlain, in whoſe ſtead *M. Marcellus* was ſubrogated conſul now the ſecond time: who upon information given by the Augurs, that his creation was not good, reſigned: and commonly the Nobles gave out and ſaid, That the Gods were not well pleaſed, that two commoners were then firſt choſen conſuls: whereupon in the room of *Marcellus*, *Quintus Fabius Maximus* was choſen conſul the third time. Thus write *Livy* and *Plutarch*. And for this cauſe it is that *Caſſiodorus*, *Oroſius*, and *Entropius* do put down for this years conſuls, *T. Sempronius* and *Q. Fabius*.

540

*Q. Fabius. IV.* *M. Claudius* Marcellus. *III.*

*Livy*, *Plutarch*, and *Caſſiodorus*, ſet out for conſuls this year, *Q. Fabius Maximus* the fourth time, and *M. Claudius Marcellus* the third time. Moreover, *Cicero* oftentimes and *Frontinus* in his ſecond book of ſtratagems, make mention of theſe conſuls.

541

*Q. Fabius* Max. *ſon of* Verrucoſus.
*T. Sempronius Gracchus. II.*

AGainſt this year were both the conſuls created in their abſence, namely, *Q. Fab. Max.* the ſon of *Verrucoſus*, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the ſecond time: as *Livy* teſtifieth and *Caſſiodorus*, together with the Sicilian regiſters. This *Fabius* had been Prætor the former year: and *Gracchus* conſul two years before. Theſe conſuls *Gellius* nominateth out of *Quadrigarius*, the ſecond book and ſecond chapter. Likewiſe *Cicero* and *Valerius*.

542

*App. Claudius Pulcher.*
*Q. Fulvius Flaccus. III.*

THe conſuls created for this year by the Dictator, were *Quintus Fulvius Flaccus* the third time, who then was maſter of the horſemen, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, who in his

his pretorſhip was L. deputy in *Sicily*, as *Livy*, *Plutarch* in *Fabius*, *Caſſiodorus*, and *Feſtus* in his 17 book do witneſs.

543

*C. Sulpitius Galba. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.*

VPon the receit of certain letters, the Conſuls agreed together, that *Claudius* ſhould hold the election for magiſtrats and ſee it finiſhed, whiles *Fulvius* remained ſtill before *Capua*. *Claudius* created for conſuls, *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, and *P. Sulpitius* ſon of *Servius*, and ſurnamed *Galba*, who before time had born no ſtate-office of the chair. Thus writeth *Livius*. The ſame conſuls alſo *Caſſiodorus* doth deliver. *Oroſius* likewiſe and *Feſtus* in his 17 book. The Sicilian records declare *Galba* and *Centumalus*. As for S. *Sulpitius*, he is named in his ſecond conſulſhip, as it appeareth upon record in the capitol, the ſon of *Ser.* nephew of *Publius* ſurnamed *Galba Maximus*.

544

*M. Val. Lævinus. II.* M. *Claudius Marcellus. IV.*

L*Ivy*, *Sextus Pompeius*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Plutarch*, *Florus*, *Eutropius*, and *Oroſius*, do preſent for conſuls this year, M. *Claudius Marcellus* and M. *Valerius Lævinus*. Now this is *Marcellus* his fourth conſulſhip, as *Plutarch* and *Livy* write: but *Caſſiodorus* ſaith, that he was but the third time with M. *Valerius Lævinus*, leaving out that conſulſhip which he bare not through, becauſe of the errour in his creation: and yet is it one of the five that he is reported to have born. *Livy* in the nine and twentieth and thirtieth books, writeth that M. *Valerius* was twice conſul. In like manner, the book of *Caſpinian* hath for this year, *Marcellus* the fourth time, and *Lævinus* the ſecond time. And therefore *Onuphrius* ſuppoſeth that his firſt conſulat was in the year five hundred four-and-thirty: and his ſecond, now. Of him *Polybius* and *Cicero* make mention.

545

*Q. Fabius Maximus. V.*
*Q. Fulvius Flaccus. IV.*

THe conſuls for this year created, were *Q. Fabius* the fift time, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the fourth time, the ſame man who being Dictator, held the aſſembly for that election; as *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus* do witneſs. The Sicilian records ſet forth *Fabius* and *Flaccus*. Whiles theſe were conſuls, *Cicero* in his Oration againſt *Rullus*, ſaith that *Capua* was won: and yet *Livy* hath reported it two years before. Of theſe conſuls *Valerius* alſo, together with *Plutarch*, *Eutropius*, and *Oroſius* have made mention.

546

M. *Claudius Marcellus. V.*
*T. Quintius Criſpinus.*

IN the eleventh year of the Punick war, there entred into their conſulſhip, M. *Marcellus* the fift time (ſo ye reckon that conſulſhip which upon an error in the creation he kept not) and *T. Quintius Criſpinus*. So ſaith *Livy*. *Plutarch* alſo nameth *Marcellus* the fift time and *Criſpinus*. But *Caſſiodorus* reckoneth *Marcellus* but the fourth time with *Criſpinus*, paſſing over that faulty conſulat of his. Moreover theſe conſuls are mentioned by *Cicero Valerius*, *Plinius* the yonger, *Probus*, *Eutropius*, and *Oroſius*: who alſo report that they both were forelaid and intrapped in ambuſh by *Annibal*: in ſo much as *Marcellus* was preſently ſlain in the place, and *Quintius* fled ſore wounded.

547

C. *Claudius Nero.*
*M. Livius Salinator.*

VWHen the LL. of the Senat caſt about to ſee whom they ſhould create conſuls, behold, the moſt eminent and ſingular man above all others, was C. *Claudius Nero*: unto whom was joined as companion in government M. *Livius*, who many years before, upon a conſulat that he had born, was by the judgment of the people condemned; and almoſt eight years after his condemnation was by *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Marcus Livius* then conſuls, reduced into the city. In like manner, the Sicilian Regiſters name for conſuls, *Nero* and *Salinator*. The capitol records ſhew *Caius Claudius Nero*, with M. *Livius Salinator*.

548

Q. *Cæcilius Metellus.*
L. *Veturius Philo.*

L*Ivy*, *Caſſiodorus*, and the records of the capitol, exhibit unto us for conſuls this year, *L. Veturius Philo*, and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*. The Sicilian regiſters, *Metellus* and *Philo*. Over and beſides, of theſe conſuls *Cicero* many a time and often, *Valerius*, *Plutarch* in *Africanus*, *Appianus* in *Iberica*, *Pliny* in his 7 book 43 chap. do make mention.

549

P. *Cornelius Scipio.*
P. *Licinius Craſſus.*

L*Ucius Veturius Philo* held the aſſembly for creation of Magiſtrats, wherein all the centuries in general, with exceeding great favour nominated *Publius Scipio* for conſul, and to him was joined in government, P. *Licinius Craſſus*, the ſupream pontify. Thus ſaith *Livy*. The Sicilian tables have *Scipio* with *Craſſus*. The capitol records ſhew *P. Cornelius Scipio*,

*Scipio*, ſurnamed afterwards *Africanus*, with P. *Licinius Craſſus* the rich, of whom *Caſſiodorus* likewiſe and *Cicero* in *Brutus* do ſpeak.

550
*M. Cornelius Cethegus. P. Sempr. Tuditanus.*

*Livy*, *Caſſiodorus*, and the capitol records do name for Conſuls this year, P. *Sempronius Tuditanus*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*. The Sicilian regiſters, *Cethegus* and *Tuditanus*, of whom *Cicero* in *Brutus*, *Plutarch*, *Eutropius* and *Caſſiodorus* do often times make mention. In this year P. *Scipio Naſica*, judged by the Senate the beſt man in the city, received dame *Idaa*.

551
*Cn. Servilius Capio. C. Servilius.*

*Livy* and *Caſſiodorus* together, with the Sicilian records and capitol monuments, put unto us for Conſuls *Cn. Servilius Capio* and C. *Servilius*. Of which twain *Capio* had been Pretor in the year 548, and *Servilius* in 547. This year died Q. *Fabius Max*: and *Annibal* with a ſad cheer and heavy heart departed out of *Italy* into *Africk* by commandment of certain delegate Embaſſadors, in the ſeventeenth year of the ſecond Punick war.

552
*Tib. Claudius Nero. M. Servilius Geminus.*

MArcus *Servilius Geminus*, and *Tib. Claudius Nero* were Coſſ. this year according to *Livy*, *Caſſiodorus*, and the capitol records, in which *Servilius* ſtandeth ſurnamed *Pulex. Geminus*. The Sicilian tables have *Nero* with *Servilius*. In theſe Conſuls year, *Annibal* was in *Africk* by *Scipio* overthrown, and a ſecond peace made with the Carthaginians, as *Polybius*, *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Eutropius* do report.

553
*Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. P. Ælius Patus.*

AGainſt this year were created Conſuls, as *Livy* writeth, *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Ælius Patus*. So ſaith *Caſſiodorus* alſo and *Pliny* in his eighteenth book and eighteenth chapter. In a broken peece of marble in the Capitol, we find *Lentulus* and *P. Aelius*: in the Sicilian regiſters, *Lentulus* and *Patus*. Theſe two were Pretors both in the year 550.

554
*P. Sulpitius Galba. C. Aurelius Cotta.*

*Livy* and *Caſſiodorus* put down for Conſuls, *P. Sulpitius Galba*, and *C. Aurelius Cotta*. This *P. Sulpitius* in the year 542 was firſt Conſul; and *C. Cotta* two years before, Pretor. Theſe ſame Conſuls are to be ſeen in the capitoll tables, but *Galba* and *Cotta* in the Sicilian.

555
*L. Cornelius Lentulus. P. Villius Tappulus.*

THis year had for Conſuls, *L. Cornelius* and *P. Villius*, as *Caſſiodorus* writeth: but according to *Livy* and the capitol monuments, *Lentulus* and *Tappulus*: after the Sicilian records, *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and P. *Villius Tappulus*. Of *P. Villius* Conſul, *Plutarch* maketh mention in *Quintius*.

556
*T. Quintius Flaminius. Sex. Ælius Patus.*

*Livy*, *Caſſiodorus*, the capitol records, together with *Plutarch* in *Quintius*, report unto us for conſuls this year, *T. Quintius Flaminius* and *Sext. Ælius Patus*. The Sicilian tables, *Flaminius* and *Patus*. *Pliny* in his book of famous men, ſaith (but not without ſome error) that this *Flaminius* was the ſon of that C. *Flaminius* who was ſlain at *Thraſymenus*. Whereas in deed this man was deſcended of the noble Patritian houſe of the *Quintii*, the other of the family of *Flaminii*, no better than commoners. Now this *Sex. Ælius Patus* is the man of whom *Cicero* giveth this report out of the poet *Ennius*:

*Tbis* Sextus Ælius *in records*, Catus *ſurnam'd ys ſet*,
*A worthy wight for wiſedome rare, a diſcreet man wa bl*

And therefore in the capitol tables he is called Patus Catus.

557
*C. Cornelius Cethegus. Q. Minutius Rufus.*

IN this year C. *Cornelius* Cethegus, and *Q. Minutius* were conſuls, after *Livy*, *Caſſiodorus*, and the capitol marbles. Their ſurnames only appear in the Sicilian regiſters. And *Cicero* ſpeaketh of them in *Brutus*.

558
*L. Furius Purpureo. M. Claudius Marcellus.*

THis year had for Conſuls, *L. Furius Purpureo*, and M. *Claudius Marcellus*, according to *Livy*, *Caſſiodorus*, and the capitol records. The Sicilian annals deliver unto us *Porphyreo* and *Marcellus*.

559
*M. Portius Cato. L. Valerius Flaccus.*

MArcus *Portius Cato* and *L. Valerius* are ranged Conſuls this year, by *Verrius Flaccus*, *Cicero* in many places, *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Pliny*, *Valerius*, *Probus*, *Eutropius*, *Oroſius*, and *Caſſiodorus*.

560
*P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus. II.*
*T. Sempronius Longinus.*

*Livy*, *Caſſiodorus*, the monuments both of the capitol and *Sicily*, match Conſuls together this year, P. *Cornelius Scipio Africanus* the ſecond

second time, and *T. Sempronius Longus*. Of them *Cicero* maketh mention in the oration of *Cornelius* accused of felony, appeareth in *Pædianus*.

561
*L. Cornelius Merula. Q. Minutius Thermus.*

*Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol authors, write that the Consuls chosen to succeed in this year, were *L. Cornelius Merula*, and *Q. Minutius Thermus*. The said surnames are found in the Sicilian records. *Probus* speaketh of them in *Annibal*, and *Frontius* in his book of stratagems.

562
*L. Quintius Flaminius. C. Domitius Ænobarbus.*

*Lucius Quintius Flaminius*, and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus* were this years Consuls, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records testify. The Sicilian registers also shew their surnames.

563
*M. Acilius Glabrio. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.*

THe Consuls created for this year, were *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, and M. *Acilius Glabrio*, son of *Cn.* as testify *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, the capitol records, *Plutarch* in *Quintus*, and *Appian* in his Syriack history. In the Sicilian registers, named they are *Glabrio* and *Nasica*. In these Consuls year the same authors report that the war against *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, and against the Ætolians, was proclaimed: which in the capitol monuments, in *Paterculus* and *Macrobius*, is called the Antiochian, but by *Florus* and *Pliny* the yonger in *Cato*, the Syrian war. This was the 562 year from the cities foundation, as *Macrobius* writeth in his first book of *Saturnals*.

564
*L. Cornelius Scipio. C. Lælius.*

*CAssiodorus*, *Livius*, and the capitol tables put down for Consuls this year, *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Lælius*. The Sicilian registers have *Scipio* and *Lelius*. The same men *Gellius* in his sixteenth book and fourth chapter nameth C. *Lælius* son of C. and *L. Scipio*, son of P. To *Lælius Cassiodore* only addeth the surname *Africanus*. This *L. Scipio* surnamed *Asiaticus*, was brother to *Africanus*.

565
*C. Manlius Vulso. M. Fulvius Nobilior.*

*CNeus Manlius Vulso*, and M. *Fulvius Nobilior*, are nominated Consuls for this year by *Livy*, *Cassiodore*, and the tables both of the capitol and *Sicily*. *Manlius* was Pretor in the year 557 and *Fulvius* anno 560.

566
*C. Livius Salinator. M. Valerius Messala.*

THe Consuls next following, were *M. Valerius Messala*, and C. *Livius Salinator*, as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* testify, together with the Sicilian and capitol tables.

567
*M. Æmylius Lepidus. C. Flaminius.*

THe next Consuls, were M. *Æmylius Lepidus* and *C. Flaminius*, as witnes *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, *Zonaras*, *Strabo* in his fist book, the Sicilian and capitol tables. Of them *Valerius* maketh mention in his sixth book. This is that *M. Lepidus* who was the Arch-bishop, twice Consul, Censor, and President of the Senat six times chosen by the Censors. And this is that C. *Flaminius*, who afterward by *Cato* the Censor was displaced out of the Senat and disrobed.

568
*Sp. Posthumius Albinus. Q. Martius Philippus.*

*Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, *Eutropius*, and the capitol tables report Consuls for this year, *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*, and *Q. Martius Philippus*. The Sicilian Registers name them barely, *Albinus* and *Philippus*. *Valerius* maketh mention of them in his sixt book and third chapter. Likewise *Pliny* in his 33 book and tenth chapter.

569
*Ap. Claudius Pulcher. M. Sempronius Tuditanus.*

FOr this years Consuls were *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, & M. *Sempronius Tuditanus*, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus* and the capitol records do testify. They stand in the Sicilian records by the names of *Pulcher* and *Tuditanus*.

570
*P. Claudius Pulcher. L. Porcius Licinius.*

THe Consuls that followed for this year, were *L. Portius Licinius* & P. *Claudius Pulcher* witness *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol tables. *Pulcher* and *Licinius* they be called in the Sicilian records.

571
*Q. Fabius Labeo. M. Claudius Marcellus.*

AGainst this year were created Consuls, M. *Claudius Marcellus* and *Q. Fabius Labeo*, according to *Livy*, *Cassiodorus* & the capitol marble stones. Their surnames be found also in the Sicilian tables. Whiles these were consuls, *Atticus* wrote that *Annibal* died, as *Probus* maketh report in *Annibal*.

572
*L. Æmylius Paulus. Cn. Bœbius Tamphilus.*

*CNeus Bœbius Tamphilus* and *L. Æmylius Paulus* were created Consuls for this year, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, the capitol, yea and the Sicilian tables do testify, although these last have regard only of their surnames. This *L. Æmylius* is the son of that *L. Æmylius*, who was slain at *Canna*, as *Plutarch* and *Velleius* do witness.

573

*Scipio*, ſurnamed afterwards *Africanus*, with P. *Licinius Craſſus* the rich, of whom *Caſſiodorus* likewiſe and *Cicero* in *Brutus* do ſpeak.

550

*M. Cornelius Cethegus. P. Sempr. Tuditanus.*

*Livy*, *Caſſiodorus*, and the capitol records do name for Conſuls this year, P. *Sempronius Tudstanus*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*. The Sicilian regiſters, *Cethegus* and *Tuditanus*, of whom *Cicero* in *Brutus*, *Plutarch*, *Eutropius* and *Caſſiodorus* do often times make mention. In this year P. *Scipio Naſica*, judged by the Senate the beſt man in the city, received dame *Idæa*.

551

*Cn. Servilius Capio. C. Servilius.*

*Livy* and *Caſſiodorus* together, with the Sicilian records and capitol monuments, put unto us for Conſuls *Cn. Servilius Capio* and C. *Servilius*. Of which twain *Capio* had been Pretor in the year 548, and *Servilius* in 547. This year died Q. *Fabius Max*: and *Annibal* with a ſad cheer and heavy heart departed out of *Italy* into *Africk* by commandment of certain delegate Embaſſadors, in the ſeventeenth year of the ſecond Punick war.

552

*Tib. Claudius Nero. M. Servilius Geminus.*

M*Arcus Servilius Geminus*, and *Tib. Claudius Nero* were Coſſ. this year according to *Livy*, *Caſſiodorus*, and the capitol records, in which *Servilius* ſtandeth ſurnamed *Pulex. Geminus*. The Sicilian tables have *Nero* with *Servilius*. In theſe Conſuls year, *Annibal* was in *Africk* by *Scipio* overthrown, and a ſecond peace made with the Carthaginians, as *Polybius*, *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Eutropius* do report.

553

*Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. P. Ælius Patus.*

AGainſt this year were created Conſuls, as *Livy* writeth, *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Ælius Patus*. So ſaith *Caſſiodorus* alſo and *Pliny* in his eighteenth book and eighteenth chapter. In a broken peece of marble in the Capitol, we find *Lentulus* and *P. Aelius*: in the Sicilian regiſters, *Lentulus* and *Patus*. Theſe two were Pretors both in the year 550.

554

*P. Sulpitius Galba. C. Aurelius Cotta.*

*Livy* and *Caſſiodorus* put down for Conſuls, *P. Sulpitius Galba*, and *C. Aurelius Cotta*. This *P. Sulpitius* in the year 542 was firſt Conſul; and *C. Cotta* two years before, Pretor. Theſe ſame Conſuls are to be ſeen in the capitoll tables, but *Galba* and *Cotta* in the Sicilian.

555

*L. Cornelius Lentulus. P. Villius Tappulus.*

THis year had for Conſuls, *L. Cornelius* and *P. Villius*, as *Caſſiodorus* writeth: but according to *Livy* and the capitol monuments, *Lentulus* and *Tappulus*: after the Sicilian records, *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and P. *Villius Tappulus*. Of *P. Villius* Conſul, *Plutarch* maketh mention in *Quintius*.

556

*T. Quintius Flaminius. Sex. Ælius Patus.*

*Livy*, *Caſſiodorus*, the capitol records, together with *Plutarch* in *Quintius*, report unto us for conſuls this year, *T. Quintius Flamininus* and *Sext. Ælius Patus*. The Sicilian tables, *Flaminius* and *Patus*. *Pliny* in his book of famous men, ſaith (but not without ſome error) that this *Flaminius* was the ſon of that C. *Flaminius* who was ſlain at *Thraſymenus*. Whereas in deed this man was deſcended of the noble Patritian houſe of the *Quintii*, the other of the family of *Flaminii*, no better than commoners. Now this *Sex. Ælius Patus* is the man of whom *Cicero* giveth this report out of the poet *Ennius*:

*Tho Sextus Ælius in records, Catus ſurnam'd ye ſet,*
*A worthy wight for wiſedome rare, a diſcreet man was he.*

And therefore in the capitol tables he is called *Patus Catus*.

557

*C. Cornelius Cethegus. Q. Minutius Rufus.*

IN this year C. *Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Q. Minutius* were conſuls, after *Livy*, *Caſſiodorus*, and the capitol marbles. Their ſurnames only appear in the Sicilian regiſters. And *Cicero* ſpeaketh of them in *Brutus*.

558

*L. Furius Purpureo. M. Claudius Marcellus.*

THis year had for Conſuls, *L. Furius Purpureo*, and M. *Claudius Marcellus*, according to *Livy*, *Caſſiodorus*, and the capitol records. The Sicilian annals deliver unto us *Porphyreo* and *Marcellus*.

559

*M. Portius Cato. L. Valerius Flaccus.*

M*Arcus Portius Cato* and *L. Valerius* are ranged Conſuls this year, by *Verrius Flaccus*, *Cicero* in many places, *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Pliny*, *Valerius*, *Probus*, *Eutropius*, *Oroſius*, and *Caſſiodorus*.

560

*P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus. II.*
*T. Sempronius Longinus.*

*Livy*, *Caſſiodorus*, the monuments both of the capitol and *Sicily*, match Conſuls together this year, P. *Cornelius Scipio Africanus* the ſecond

second time, and *T. Sempronius Longus*. Of them *Cicero* maketh mention in the oration of *Cornelius* accused of felony, appeareth in *Pædianus*.

561

*L. Cornelius Merula. Q. Minutius Thermus.*

*Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol authors, write that the Consuls chosen to succeed in this year, were *L. Cornelius Merula*, and *Q. Minutius Thermus*. The said surnames are found in the Sicilian records. *Probus* speaketh of them in *Annibal*, and *Frontius* in his book of stratagems.

562

*L. Quintius Flaminius. C. Domitius Ænobarbus.*

*Lucius Quintius Flaminius*, and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus* were this years Consuls, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records testify. The Sicilian registers also shew their surnames.

563

*M. Acilius Glabrio. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.*

THe Consuls created for this year, were *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, and M. *Acilius Glabrio*, son of *Cn.* as testify *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, the capitol records, *Plutarch* in *Quintius*, and *Appian* in his Syriack history. In the Sicilian registers, named they are *Glabrio* and *Nasica*. In these Consuls year the same authors report that the war against *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, and against the Ætolians, was proclaimed: which in the capitol monuments, in *Paterculus* and *Macrobius*, is called the Antiochian, but by *Florus* and *Pliny* the yonger in *Cato*, the Syrian war. This was the 562 year from the cities foundation, as *Macrobius* writeth in his first book of *Saturnals*.

564

*L. Cornelius Scipio. C. Lælius.*

*Cassiodorus*, *Livius*, and the capitol tables put down for Consuls this year, *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Lælius*. The Sicilian registers have *Scipio* and *Lælius*. The same men *Gellius* in his sixteenth book and fourth chapter nameth *C. Lælius* son of *C.* and *L. Scipio*, son of *P.* To *Lælius Cassiodore* only addeth the surname *Africanus*. This *L. Scipio* surnamed *Asiaticus*, was brother to *Africanus*.

565

*C. Manlius Vulso. M. Fulvius Nobilior.*

*CNeus Manlius Vulso*, and M. *Fulvius Nobilior*, are nominated Consuls for this year by *Livy*, *Cassiodore*, and the tables both of the capitol and Sicily. *Manlius* was Pretor in the year 557 and *Fulvius* anno 560.

566

*C. Livius Salinator. M. Valerius Messala.*

THe Consuls next following, were *M. Valerius Messala*, and *C. Livius Salinator*, as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* testify, together with the Sicilian and capitol tables.

567

*M. Æmylius Lepidus. C. Flaminius.*

THe next Consuls, were M. *Æmylius Lepidus* and *C. Flaminius*, as witnes *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, *Zonaras*, *Strabo* in his fist book, the Sicilian and capitol tables. Of them *Valerius* maketh mention in his sixth book. This is that *M. Lepidus* who was the Arch-bishop, twice Consul, Censor, and President of the Senat six times chosen by the Censors. And this is that *C. Flaminius* who afterward by *Cato* the Censor was displaced out of the Senat and disrobed.

568

*Sp. Posthumius Albinus. Q. Martius Philippus.*

*Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, *Eutropius*, and the capitol tables report Consuls for this year, *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*, and *Q. Martius Philippus*. The Sicilian Registers name them barely, *Albinus* and *Philippus*. *Valerius* maketh mention of them in his sixt book and third chapter. Likewise *Pliny* in his 33 book and tenth chapter.

569

*Ap. Claudius Pulcher. M. Sempronius Tuditanus.*

FOr this years Consuls were *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, & M. *Sempronius Tuditanus*, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus* and the capitol records do testify. They stand in the Sicilian records by the names of *Pulcher* and *Tuditanus*.

570

*P. Claudius Pulcher. L. Porcius Licinius.*

THe Consuls that followed for this year, were *L. Portius Licinius* & P. *Claudius Pulcher* witness *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol tables. *Pulcher* and *Licinius* they be called in the Sicilian records.

571

*Q. Fabius Labeo. M. Claudius Marcellus.*

AGainst this year were created Consuls, M. *Claudius Marcellus* and *Q. Fabius Labeo*, according to *Livy*, *Cassiodorus* & the capitol marble stones. Their surnames be found also in the Sicilian tables. Whiles these were consuls, *Atticus* wrote that *Annibal* died, as *Probus* maketh report in *Annibal*.

572

*L. Æmylius Paulus. Cn. Bœbius Tamphilus.*

*CNeus Bœbius Tamphilus* and *L. Æmylius Paulus* were created Consuls for this year, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, the capitol, yea and the Sicilian tables do testify, although these last have regard only of their surnames. This *L. Æmylius* is the son of that *L. Æmylius*, who was slain at *Canna*, as *Plutarch* and *Velleius* do witness.

573

573
P. Cornelius Cethegus. M. Bœbius Tamphilus.

PUblius Cornelius Cethegus and M. Bœbius Tamphilus, ſucceeded Conſuls this year, after *Livy*, *Caſſiodore* and the capitol tables. *Cethegus* and *Tamphilus* they be called in the Sicilian records. Of P. *Cornelius* and M. *Bœbius* conſ, *Plutarch* made mention in *Numa*. Of P. *Cornelius* and M. *Bœbius Tamphilus*, *Valerius* ſpeaketh in his firſt book and firſt chapter. Of P. *Cornelius Lentulus*, and *M. Bœbius Tamphilus* in 11 book and firſt chapter. But *Pliny* in his 13 book and 13 chapter calleth the one P. *Cornelius Cethegus*, ſon of *Lucius*: and the other *M. Bœbius* ſon of *Q.* ſurnamed *Tamphilus*.

574
A. Poſthumius *Albinus*. C. *Calpurnius* Piſo.

LIvy, *Caſſiodorus*, and the capitol monuments exhibit unto us for this years Conſuls, *A. Poſthumius Albinus*, and C. *Calpurnius* Piſo. The Sicilian tables, *Albinus* and Piſo. Piſo was Pretor in the year 567. And *Albinus* anno 568. But when as a peſtilence had reigned now three years, ſo as it diſpeopled the City of *Rome* and all *Italy*, it hapned that *C. Calpurnius* died, not without ſuſpition that he was murdered by *Q. Hoſtilia*: in whoſe room *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* his father in law or mothers husband, was declared Conſul.

575
*L. Manlius Acidinus*. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*.

LIvy, *Caſſiodore*, and the capitol records ſhew for Conſuls this year, *L. Manlius* Acidinus and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. The Sicilian tables, *Acidinus* with *Fluccus*. *Cicero* maketh mention of *Acidinus* a Conſul, in his ſecond book of a perfect orator. Alſo obſerved it is in the capitol monuments, that theſe Conſuls were german brethren: and the ſame hath *Velleius* in his ſecond book reported. And thereby it cometh to paſs, that in the capitol tables *L. Manlius Acidinus*, is ſurnamed alſo *Fulvianus* after the manner of thoſe that are adopted.

576
*M. Iunius Brutus*. A. *Manlius Vulſo*.

NExt Conſuls created, were M. *Iunius Brutus* and *A. Manlius Vulſo*: as *Livy*, *Caſſiodore*, and the capitol records do teſtify. *Brutus* and *Vulſo* they be named in the Sicilian monuments. This *Brutus* was Pretor in the year 562, and *Vulſo* in 571.

577
C. *Claudius Pulcher*. *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*.

CAius *Claudius Pulcher* and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, are matched Conſuls this year by *Val. Flaccus*, *Livy*, and *Caſſiodorus*. Of this *Tib. Gracchus* Cicero ſpeaketh in his firſt book of divination, and *Frontinus* in his firſt of ſtratagems.

578
C. *Cornelius Scipio Hiſpalus*.
*Q.* Petilius *Spurinus*.
C. *Valerius Lavinus*.

LIvy, *Caſſiodore*, and the capitol records exhibit unto us for Conſuls, C. *Cornelius Scipio Hiſpalus*, and *Q.* Petilius Spurinus. The Sicilian Regiſters, *Scipio* and *Petilius*. But when as *Scipio* returning out of the mount *Albanus*, fell into a fit of Apoplexy, and ſo into a dead palſey, whereupon he went to the bath at *Cumes*, where, by reaſon that his diſeaſe grew upon him, he departed this life; *Q. Petilius* the other Conſul, created for his companion to enter preſently upon the government, C. *Valerius Lavinus*. Thus ſaith *Livy*.

579
P. *Mutius Scævola*. M. *Aemilius Lepidus II*.

OSius putteth down for Conſuls *Lepidus* and *Mutius*, *Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens*, M. *Lepidus* and P. *Mutius*. The Sicilian tables, *Lepidus* and *Scævola*. The capitol monuments, P. *Mutius Scævola* and M. *Æmylius Lepidus II*. The election of the Conſuls this year is loſt in *Livy*. *Cicero* likewiſe writeth in his diſcourſe of Provinces; *Valerius* alſo in his ſixt book and ſixt chapter, that this *M. Æmylius Lepidus* was twice Conſul.

580
Sp. Poſthumius *Albinus*. *Q.* Mutius *Scævola*.

CAſſiodorus ſetteth down for Conſuls, *Sp. Poſthumius* and *Q. Mutius*. The capitol records, Sp. Poſthumius Albinus *Paulus*, and *Q.* Mutius *Scævola*. *Cuſpinians* book hath *Paulus* and *Scævola*. *Pliny* maketh mention of theſe in his ſecond book and 31 chapter. The election of the Conſuls this year is loſt in *Livy*.

581
*L. Poſthumius Albinus*. M. *Popilius Lanas*.

THe Coſſ. for this year created, were *L. Poſthumius Albinus* and M. *Popilius Lanas*, as *Livy*, *Caſſiodorus*, and the capitol monuments do teſtify. *Albinus* and *Lanas* are put down in the Sicilian records. Whiles theſe were conſuls, the feaſt *Floralia* was inſtituted firſt, as *Ovid* ſheweth in his fift book of his Kalender.

582
C. *Popilius Lanas*. P. *Ælius Ligur*.

THis year had for conſuls, *C. Popilius Lanas*, and P. *Ælius Ligur*, as *Livy*, *Caſſiodorus*, and the capitol records do teſtify. The Sicilian regiſters name them *Lanas* and *Ælius*. To this day had no Coſſ. in one year been matched together, both commoners: and this was the firſt time, that both conſuls were created out of the commons, as is obſerved in the capitol monuments. After this, you ſhall never find the conſuls both Patritii: commoners ye ſhall have them both twain, many a time and often: but moſt of all, a commoner and a Patrician, one with another.

583

583

P. *Licinius Craſſus.* C. *Caſſius Longinus.*

THe Conſuls next enſuing for this year, were P. *Licinius Craſſus*, and C. *Caſſius Longinus*, as it appeareth in *Livy*, *Caſſiodorus*, *Oroſius*, and the capitol tables. For in the Sicilian records, they are named no otherwiſe than *Craſſus* and *Longus*. Of the very ſame Conſuls *Pliny* maketh mention in his ſeventh book. *Gellius* alſo in his ninth book and fourth chapter. Whiles theſe were Conſuls the people of *Rome* began war againſt *Perſeus* King of the Macedonians, ſon of *Philip*: which *Florus* and *Eutropius*, together with *Oroſius*, call the ſecond Macedonian war: whereof *Livy* and *Plutarch* write more at large.

584

A. *Hoſtilius* Mancinus. *A. Atilius Serranus.*

C*Aſſiodorus* ſetteth next after for Conſuls, C. *Hoſtilius* Mancinus, and C. *Atilius*. The Sicilian regiſters, *Mancinus* and *Serranus*. The capitol monuments, *A. Atilius Mancinus*, and *Au. Atilius Serranus*. As well the election of theſe Conſuls as their acts, are miſſing in the Annals of *Livy*.

585

*Q. Martius* Philippus. II. *Cn. Servilius Capio.*

L*Ivy*, *Caſſiodorus*, and the capitol tables match together in the Conſulſhip of this year *Q. Martius Philippus* the ſecond time, and *Cn. Servilius Capio*. The Sicilian catalogue hath barely *Philip* and *Capio*. *Cicero* in his books entituled *Brutus* and *Cato*, writeth that *Ennius* the Poet died in their Conſulat.

586

*L. Æmylius* Paulus. II. C. *Licinius Craſſus.*

THe Conſuls that next ſucceeded were *Lu. Æmylius Paulus* the ſecond time (ſeventeen years after his firſt Conſulſhip) and *Caius Licinius Craſſus*: witneſs *Livy*, *Caſſiodorus*, and the capitol monuments. In like manner they are named in the Sicilian regiſters *Paulus* and *Craſſus*. As touching this ſecond Conſulat of *L. Paulus*, *Plutarch*, *Velleius*, *Oroſius*, *Eutropius*, *Florus*, and *Juſtinus* in his 33 book do write. *Plutarch* addeth thus much and ſaith, That *Paulus* was threeſcore years of age, when he was choſen Conſul the ſecond time.

587

*Q. Ælius Patus.* M. *Junius.*

L*Ivy* bringeth in for Conſuls next after, *Qu. Æmylius* and M. *Junius*. The Sicilian records *Patus* and *Pennus*. *Obſequens* and *Caſſiodorus* *Q. Ælius Petus*, and M. *Junius Pennus*. *Cicero* likewiſe in *Brutus* ſpeaketh of *Mar. Junius Pennus* Conſul with *Q. Ælius*. Now from this year forward, we want the compleat ſtory penned by *Livy*.

588

*M. Marcellus.* C. *Sulpitius.*

L*Ivy* and the capitol monuments ſhew for this years Conſuls, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and C. *Sulpitius Gallus*. *Obſequens*, and the title prefixed before the comedy *Andria* in *Terence*, exhibit *Mar. Marcellus* and C. *Sulpitius*. This is that *Marcellus*, who after he had been thrice Conſul, periſhed in the ſea. Nephew he was of that M. *Marcellus*, who had been five times Conſul, as *Pædianus* reporteth. Of theſe Conſuls, *Juſtine*, *Pliny* in his ſecond book, and many other have made mention.

589

*Cn. Octavius.* *T. Manlius.*

C*Aſſiodorus* and *Obſequens* infer Conſuls this year, *Cn. Octavius* and *T. Manlius*. The Sicilian tables, *Octavius* and *Torquatus*. The capitol ſtones *Cr. Octavius* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*. Mention there is made of theſe conſuls in the title ſet before *Hecyra* in *Terence*. *Cicero* in his firſt book of Final ends, and likewiſe in many other places, ſpeaketh of T. *Torquatus*, Conſul with *Cn. Octavius*.

590

A. *Manlius.* *Q. C. ſſius.*

C*Aſſiodorus* matcheth together conſuls in this year, A. *Manlius* and *Q. C. ſſius*. The Sicilian catalogue hath *Torquatus* and *Longinus*. The capitol records A. *Manlius Torquatus* and *Qu. Caſſius Longinus*, who died in his conſulſhip. Theſe alſo had been companions together in their Pretorſhip, anno 586, as *Livy* beareth witneſs.

591

*T. Sempronius.* *M. Iuventius.*

C*Aſſiodorus* ſaith, that the conſuls this year were *T. Sempronius* and M. *Iuventius*. *Obſequens* nameth them, *T. Gracchus*, and *M. Iuventius*. The capitol monuments ſhew *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the ſecond time, and M. *Iuventius Thalva*. In the Sicilian regiſters, *Dolabella* and *Thalva*, but not well as it is to be doubted. *Cicero*, *Valerius*, and *Plutarch* have made mention of *Tib. Gracchus* twice conſul. And that *M. Iuventius* died whiles he was conſul, *Pliny* in his ſeventh book, and *Valerius* alſo do report.

592

P. *Cornelius Scipio Naſica.* *C. Martius.*

C*Icero* in his firſt and ſecond book of the nature of Gods, *Verrius Flaccus*, *Obſequens* and *Caſſiodorus*, report for conſuls P. *Cornel. Scipio Naſica* and C. *Martius Figulus*. But for that there was an error committed in their creation, and thereupon they reſigned up their place, as the foreſaid authors witneſs together with *Valerius Plutarch*, and *Pliny*: P. *Corn. Lentulus*, and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus*, entred in their ſtead.

593

593

M. Meſſala. C. Fannius.

CAſſiodorus putteth down for Conſuls, M. Meſſala and C. Fannius. The Sicilian Catalogue Meſſala and Strabo. The capitol records, and the title before Phormio in Terence repreſent unto us, M. Valerius Meſſala, and Caius Fannius Strabo. Of theſe Conſuls Suetonius maketh mention in his book of excellent Rhetoricians. Likewiſe in Cicero in Brutus, Pliny in his ninth book and fiftieth chapter, and Gellius in his ſecond book.

594

L. Anicius. M. Cornelius Cethegus.

CAſſiodorus and the title ſet before the Comedy Adelphi in Terence avouch for Coſſ. L. Anicius and M. Cornelius. The Sicilian and capitol records put ſurnames unto them, Gallus and Cethegus. Of Anicius the Conſul, Cicero ſpeaketh in Brutus: and of Cethegus, the ſix and fortieth Epitome or Breviary of Florus. In their year, it is for certain held, that L. Paulus who conquered Perſeus, died.

595

Cn. Cornelius Dolabella. M. Fulvius.

THe year next following had Conſuls, as witneſſeth Caſſiodorus, Cn. Cornelius Dolabella and M. Fulvius. The Sicilian regiſters ſhew Dolobella and Fulvius. The capitol monuments, Cn. Cornelius Dolobella and Mar. Fulvius Nobilior. The ſame is to be ſeen in the life of Terence the poet, for there it is written, that in their year he died.

596

N. Æmylius. C. Popilius.

THe Conſuls next ſucceeding, were Marcus Æmylius and C. Popilius, as Caſſiodorus ſaith. The Sicilian catalogue ſheweth Lepidus and Lænas. The capitol records have M. Æmylius Lepidus and C. Popilius Lænas the ſecond time. Of the ſame Cenſorinus maketh mention in his chapter of diſtinction of ages.

597

Sex. Julius. L. Aurelius.

CAſſiodorus reporteth, that the next Conſuls were Sex. Julius and L. Aurelius. The Sicilian and capitol tables yeeld ſurnames unto them, Cæſar to Julius, and Oreſtes to Aurelius. Pliny writeth of them in his 33 book.

598

L. Lentulus. C. Martius.

OBſequens and Caſſiodorus record for this years Conſuls L. Lentulus and C. Martius. The Sicilian catalogue Lentulus and Figulus. The capitol monuments, L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus, and C. Martius Figulus the ſecond time. Cicero in Brutus ſpeaketh of them both. And as touching Figulus twice Conſul, Valerius writeth in his chapter of Wrath.

599

P. Scipio Naſica. M. Claudius.

PUblius Scipio and M. Claudius are by Caſſiodorus ſet down for Coſſ. The Sicilian regiſters have Naſica and Marcellus. The capitol records, P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica the ſecond time, and M. Claudius Marcellus likewiſe the ſecond time. Padianus writeth, that this Marcellus was thrice Conſul. And that Pub. Scipio Naſica, ſurnamed alſo Corculum, was twice Conſul and Cenſor beſides, Cicero writeth in his Brutus.

600

L. Poſthumius. Q. Opimius.

THis year had Conſuls, Lu. Poſtumius and Qu. Opimius, as Caſſiodorus and Obſequens do witneſs. The Sicilian tables ſhew Opimius and Albinus. But the capitol records Q. Opimius, and Lu. Poſtumius Albinus. Mention there is made of this Q. Opimius, Conſul, by Cicero in his Brutus; alſo in the Epitome of the ſeven and fortieth book. Moreover, that Poſtumius died in his magiſtracy, beſides Verrius Flaccus, Obſequens alſo ſheweth: in whoſe ſtead Man. Acilius Glabrio was choſen.

601

Q. Fulvius. T. Annius.

THe Conſuls next following, as Caſſiodorus writeth, were Qu. Fulvius and T. Annius. In the capitol fragments they are named Nobilior and T. Annius. In the Sicilian regiſters, Nobilior and Luſcus. Cicero in his Brutus ſaith, that Q. Nobilior ſon of Marcus, and T. Annius Luſcus were Conſuls. The Greek records and Cuſpinians book ſhew Nobilior and Luſcus.

602

M. Marcellus. L. Valerius.

THis year had for Conſuls, M. Marcellus and L. Valerius as Caſſiodorus witneſſeth. The Sicilian catalogue repreſenteth Marcellus and Flaccus. Obſequens exhibiteth unto us M. Claudius Marcellus and L. Valerius Flaccus. This Marcellus was thrice Conſul, as Padian ſaith upon the Oration for Scaurus, and Cicero in his book of divination and deſtiny.

603

L. Licinius Lucullus. A. Poſtumius Albinus.

CAſſiodorus putteth down for Conſuls, L. Lucullus and A. Poſtumius. The Sicilian tables, Lucullus and Albinus. The broken marbles of the capitol, Lucullus and Au. Poſtumius ſon of Aulus, Oroſius and the Epitome 48. ſhew L. Licinius Lucullus and A. Poſt. Albinus. Cicero in his Brutus, and Lucullus both, maketh mention of the ſame.

604

604

*T. Quintius.* *M'. Acilius.*

THis year had for Conſuls, *L. Quintius* and M'. *Acilius*, as *Caſſiodorus* teſtifieth [whom *Pliny* in his 7 book & 36 chap. calleth *C. Quintius* and M'. *Acilius*. *Cicero* in his book *Cato*, and the 12 book of his Epiſtles to *Atticus* nameth *T. Flaminius* and *M'. Acilius*, and ſaith that they were created Conſuls in the 19 year after the death of *Ennius*. The Sicilian tables have *Flaminius* and *Balbus*. The Capitol fragments, *Flaminius* and *M. Acilius Balbus*.

605

*L.* Martius. M'. *Manilius.*

*Caſſiodorus* avoucheth for the Conſuls of this year, *L. Martius* and M'. *Manilius*: likewiſe the 49 Epitome. *Cicero* in *Lucullus* maketh mention of *Cenſorinus* and M'. *Manilius*: of *Cenſorinus* and *Manilius* in his twelfth book of epiſtles to *Atticus*. The ſame Conſuls, *Appianus* in *Libyca* nameth L. *Martius Cenſorinus* and M'. *Manilius*. In like ſort *Cenſorinus* in his treatiſe of Nativity or Birth-day. The Sicilian tables have *Cenſorinus* and *Manilius*. The capitol fragments ſhew *Cenſorinus* and M'. *Manilius*, ſon of *Publius*, nephew of *Pub.* Whiles theſe were Conſuls, there aroſe a third war between the State of *Rome* and the Carthaginians, as *Florus* in the 49 Epitome, beſides *Verrius Flaccus* do teſtify: likewiſe *Solinus*, but that he ſaith with *Verrius Flaccus*, that it was the year 64. *Cicero* alſo in his eleventh Philippick, and laſtly *Entropius*, with *Oroſius*.

606

*Sp. Poſtumius.* *L. Piſo.*

THen were Conſuls created, *Sp. Poſtumius* and *L. Piſo*, according to *Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens*. In the capitol fragments they are named *A. Magnus*, and *Lu. Calpurnius*, ſon of *Caius*, nephew of *Caius*, ſurnamed *Piſo Caſonius*. In *Cuſpinians* Kalender, *Magnus* and *Caſonius*, in the Sicilian catalogue *Albinus* and *Piſo*. As for *Magnus* and *Albinus*, they be the ſurnames of *Poſtumius*; like as *Caſonius* and *Piſo*, of *Calpurnius*. In this year the people of *Rome*, entred into arms againſt *Andriſcus*, otherwiſe termed *Pſeudo-Philippus*, which they call the third Macedonian war, after *Florus* and *Entropius*.

607

P. *Africanus.* C. *Livius.*

*Obſequens* and *Caſſiodorus* ſet forth for conſuls this year *P. Africanus* and C. *Livius*. In the Sicilian catalogue they are regiſtred *Scipio* and *Druſus*: in the capitol fragments *Africanus Æmylianus*, and C. *Livius*; the one ſon of *M. Æmylianus*, nephew of *Marcus*, the other ſurnamed *Druſus*. This *Pub. Cornelius* was the natural ſon of that *Paulus* that vanquiſhed *Perſeus* King of the Macedonians, and adopted by *P. Cornelius* the ſon of *Scipio Africanus*. Whereupon he was called *Pub. Cornelius*, ſon of *Publius*, nephew of P. *Scipio Africanus* the yonger, and *Æmylianus*, as *Velleius* and others do witneſs. His two laſt ſurnames are in the capitol records, out of which, the complete name of M. *Livius Druſus*, with his addition, was framed. Of theſe Conſuls *Cicero* ſpeaketh after: likewiſe *Valerius*, *Pergenius*, *Appian*, *Plutarch*, *Florus*, both *Plinies*, *Eutropius* and *Oroſius*.

608

*C. Cornelius.* *L. Mummius.*

NExt conſuls following, were *Cn. Cornelius* and *L. Mummius*, as witneſſeth *Caſſiodorus*: and according to *Oroſius*, *Velleius*, *Cenſorinus*, and *Cicero* in the thirteenth book of epiſtles to *Atticus*, *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Mummius* they are named. In the Sicilian regiſters *Lentulus* and *Mummius*. In the fragments of the capitol, *Lentulus* and *L. Mummius*, nephew of *Lucius*. *Lu. Mummius* in this magiſtracy acquired the ſurname of *Achaicus*, upon a victory atchieved by him in *Achaia*, as *Plutarch* in *Marius*, and *Velleius* do teſtify.

609

*Q. Fabius Maximus.* *L. Hoſtilius.*

*Caſſiodorus* this year delivereth unto us for Conſuls, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, together with *L. Hoſtilius*. *Cicero* in *Lælius*, and *Pliny* in his five and thirtieth book and fourth chapter, nameth them *Qu. Maximus*, brother of *Scipio*, and *L. Mancinus*. Of this *Q. Fabius Maximus Æmylianus*, *Valerius* writeth in his ſecond book and firſt chapter. This *Q. Fabius* was the ſon of *P. Æmylius*, adopted by *Q. Fab. Max.* the ſon of *Verrucoſus*, as *Appianus* writeth in *Hiſpanenſis*: and therefore in the fragment of a capitol table there is to be ſeen the ſecond ſurname *Æmylianus*. *Pliny* was deceived, who in his 31 book 11 chapter calleth him *Qu. Allobrogicus*, brother of *Scipio*, who was the ſon of this *Fabius*.

610

*Ser. Galba.* *L. Aurelius.*

THis year had for Conſuls, *Ser. Galba* and *Lu. Aurelius*, according to *Caſſiodorus*: thoſe, *Valerius* in his ſixt book nameth *S. Sulpitius Galba*, and *Lu. Aurelius Cotta*, whom the Sicilian catalogue ſheweth under the bare names of *Galba* and *Cotta*. But the capitol fragments have *Galba* and *L. Valerius Cotta*. This is that *Sulp. Galba*, who being Pretor, as *Suetonius* writeth, ſtirred up the war before againſt *Viriatus*, for he was a vehement Orator, of whom *Cicero* ſpeaketh many times. And as for *L. Cotta*, he it was whom afterwards being accuſed by *Africanus*, *Qu. Metellus Macedonicus* defended. *Cicero* in *Brutus*, for *Murena* and againſt *Verres*, maketh mention of him. Likewiſe *Frontinus* of them both, in his firſt book of water-conduits.

611

*Ap. Claudius.* *Q. Metellus.*

*Caſſiodorus* nameth for this years Conſuls *Appius Claudius* and Q. *Metellus*. *Oroſius*, *App. Claudius* and *Qu. Cæcilius Metellus*. The Sicilian regiſters have *Claudius* and *Metellus*. The capitol fragments ſhew *Pulcher* and Q. *Cæcilius* Macedonicus. Of the ſame, *Frontinus* ſpeaketh in his book of water-conduits, and *Valerius* in his ſeventh book. Now this *Metellus* is he who being Pretor, ſubdued the Macedonians and Achæans, wereupon he was ſurnamed *Macedonicus*: whom *Plinies* 7 book ſheweth to be the ſon of Lu. and nephew of *Quin.*

612

L. *Metellus.* *Q. Maximus.*

*Caſſiodorus* putteth down for Conſuls, Lu. *Metellus* and Q. *Maximus*. The Sicilian records *Metellus* and *Maximus*. *Oroſius*, L. *Cæcilius Metellus* and Q. *Fabius Maximus Servilianus*. In like maner the capitol fragments *Calvus* and *Servilianus*. This *Servilianus* is the brother german of Q. *Servilius Cæpio*, the Conſul two years after (as witneſſeth *Appian*) and the adopted ſon of Q. *Fabius Æmylianus*; for they were both adopted by Q. *Fabius Max.* the ſon of *Verrucoſus*, the one out of the houſe *Æmylia*, the other of *Servilia*. L. *Metellus* is the brother of Q. *Metellus* Macedonicus, as writeth *Valerius* in his treatiſe of Witneſſes.

613

Cn. *Cæpio.* Q. *Pompeius.*

*Cneus Cæpio* and Q. *Pompeius* are recounted Conſuls by *Caſſiodorus*. *Velleius* in his ſecond book ſaith thus: Whether there were two or three houſes of the *Pompeies*, the firſt of that name was Conſul with *Cn. Servilius*. Of this Q. *Pompeius*, *Cicero* maketh mention often-times, writing that he was of baſe and obſcure parentage. Him *Valerius* in his chapter of witneſſes nameth *Anſidus*, but corruptly through the fault of the copiers, in ſtead of *Au. F. i.* the ſon of *Aulus*. In the ſame ſort *Appianus* in *Hiſpanenſis* nameth him Qu. *Pompeius* Aulus for *A. Filius*. *Cicero* in his Orations againſt *Verres*, and in that for *Fonteius*, *Valerius* alſo in his chapter of Witneſſes, ſheweth that there were two brethren named *Cneus* and *Quintus*, both *Servilii Capiones*.

614

Q. *Cæpio.* C. *Lælius.*

After this were Conſuls made, Qu. *Cæpio* and C. *Lælius*, my authors are *Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens* together with the Sicilian tables, and *Frontinus* in his treatiſe of water-conduits. This *Lælius* as *Cicero* in his eleventh *Philippick*, and *Velleius* do report, was the ſon of *Lælius* the the Conſul, anno 564, whom as *Cicero* in his ſecond book of Duties and in *Lælius*, was the firſt that was ſurnamed Wiſe, whereof *Plutarch* in *Gracchi* yeeldeth a reaſon.

615

*Cn. Piſo.* M. *Popilius.*

*Caſſiodorus* ſheweth for this years Conſuls, *Cn. Piſo* with M. *Popilius*. *Appianus* and the Epitomiſt have *M. Popilius Lænas*: but they be named M. *Popilius Lænas* and L. *Calpurnius* by *Valerius* in his firſt book, writing thus, That *Cornelius Hiſpalus*, Lord chief juſtice for ſtrangers, when M. *Popilius Lænas* and L. *Calpurnius* were Conſuls, by an edict commanded all the Chaldæan [Aſtrologers] to depart out of *Rome* and *Italy* within ten daies next enſuing.

616

P. *Scipio.* D. *Brutus.*

*Publius Scipio* and *D. Brutus* are named for this years Coſſ. by *Caſſiodorus*. *Florus* in his 55 Epitome; *P. Cornelius Naſica* (ſurnamed *Serapion* in mockery by *C. Curiatius* a Trib. of the Com.) and *D. Junius Brutus* Coſſ. levied and muſtered ſouldiers, &c. This *Scipio* was ſon of that *Naſica* who was ſurnamed *Corculum*, and twice was he Conſul and Cenſor alſo, nephew to that *Naſica*, who by the Senat was deemed the beſt man in the City, and father to him that warred upon *Iugurtha*, as *Velleius* ſaith. This *Decius Brutus*, *Cicero* in his *Brutus* calleth the ſon of *Marcus*, who bare the Conſulſhip in the year five hundred ninety ſeven, and in the capitol tables is called *Pennus*. Moreover, of theſe Conſuls *Cicero* ſpeaketh very oft. *Valerius* alſo in his 3 book, chap. 7. 5 book, chap. 3. 9 book, chap. 15: Likewiſe, *Pliny* in his 21 book, and laſtly, *Frontinus*.

617

M. *Æmylius.* C. *Hoſtilius Mancinus.*

*Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens* match together in the conſulſhip this year, M. *Æmylius*, and C. *Hoſtilius Mancinus*. The Sicilian regiſters *Lepidus* and *Mancinus*. *Oroſius* and *Appian*, M. *Æmylius Lepidus* and C. *Hoſtilius Mancinus*. Of this Conſul *Mancinus* there remain yet ſome tokens to be ſeen in broken marbles of the capitol. *Cicero* maketh mention often-times of *Lepidus*, as well in other places as in *Brutus*. Likewiſe, *Valerius*, *Florus*, *Paterculus*, and *Pliny* in his treatiſe of Famous men.

618

P. *Furius.* Sex. *Attilius Serranus.*

*Caſſiodorus* putteth down for Conſuls, P. *Furius* and Sex. *Atilius Serranus*. *Cicero* in his third book of Duties, L. *Furius* and Sex. *Atilius*. *Obſequens*, L. *Furius* and *Atilius Serranus*. The Sicilian regiſters *Philus* and *Serranus*. Of this *Furius*, *Cicero* writeth thus in his *Brutus*; Lu. *Furius Philus*, was reputed for a man of very good language, and to have ſpoken more learnedly than others. In the capitol fragments there appeareth yet ſome ſhew of *Serranus* the Conſul.

619

619

*Ser. Fulvius.* *C. Calpurnius.*

THe next conſuls are ſet down by *Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens*, *Ser. Fulvius* and *Q. Calpurnius*. The Sicilian catalogue hath *Flaccus* and *Piſo*. *Oroſius* nameth *S. Fulvius Flaccus* and *Q. Calpurnius Piſo*. The capitol fragments ſhew *Piſo*: as for *Fulvius Flaccus* the Conſul, mention there is made of him in the Epitome 36. *Appian* alſo in his *Illyrica* ſpeaks of him, and in *Hiſpanenſis* of *Calp. Piſo*.

620

P. *Africanus.* C. *Fulvius Flaccus.*

THe year following had *P. Africanus* and C. *Fulvius Flaccus* for Coſſ. as it is written in *Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens*; But *Scipio* and *Flaccus*, in the Sicilian catalogue. The ſame *Flaccus* the Capitol fragments do ſhew. Of this C. *Fulvius*, mention there is made alſo in the 56 Epitome; and of *Africanus* twice conſul, by *Appian* in *Hiſpanenſis*, by *Oroſius*, *Florus*, and *Valerius* in his eight book.

621

P. *Mucius.* L. *Calpurnius.*

THis year had conſuls, P. *Mucius*, and *Lu. Calpurnius*, as witneſſeth *Caſſiodorus*. The Sicilian regiſters ſhew *Scævola* and *Calpurnius*. *Velleius* nameth *P. Mucius Scævola* and *L. Calpurnius*. Of theſe Conſuls *Aſcanius* upon the Orations againſt *Verres*, maketh mention in theſe words: *Scævola* a right learned man in the Laws, was conſul with *L. Piſo*, that yeat wherein *Tib. Oracchus* was killed. In the broken marbles of the capitol he ſtandeth by the name of *L. Calpurnius Piſo*, ſurnamed alſo *Frugi*, and that truly. For *Cicero* in one Oration againſt *Verres* and in another for *Fonteius* writeth, that he was the firſt of the Piſones, called *Frugi*. This man, when he was Tribune or Provoſt of the Commons, made a law againſt the extortion of magiſtrats, when *Martius* and *Manilius* were conſuls: he wrote alſo the annals of *Rome*, as *Cicero* teſtifieth in his book *Brutus*.

622

*P. Popilius.* *P. Rupilius.*

AGainſt this year were conſuls created, as *Caſſiodorus* writeth, *P. Popilius* and P. *Rupilius*: after the Sicilian records *Lænas* and *Rupilius*. *Cicero* maketh mention of them in his 13 book of Epiſtles to *Atticus*, and againſt *Verres*. Alſo in the capitol fragments we read of P. *Popilius*, ſon of *Caius*, and P. *Rupilius* ſon of P. and nephew of *Publius*. *Velleius* in his ſecond book, nameth the conſuls *Rupilius* and *Popilius*. *Cicero* in *Lælius* ſpeaketh of *Rupilius* and *Lænas*. And of P *Rupilius* there is mention made in the Epitome or Breviary 59.

623

P. *Craſſus.* *L. Valerius.*

*Caſſiodorus* putteth down for conſuls this year, *Pub. Craſſus* and *Lu. Valerius*. *Craſſus* and *Flaccus* the Sicilian catalogue. *L. Valerius Flaccus* and *Pub. Licinius Craſſus*, according to *Cicero* in his eleventh *Philippick* againſt *Antony*. Of this conſul *Pu. Licinius Craſſus*, all they have ſpoken, who wrote of the war of *Ariſtonicus*. This P. *Craſſus* ſurnamed *Dives*, by *Cicero* in his books of a perfect Orator, and in *Brutus* is called the brother of *Scævola*: whereupon *Velleius* in his ſecond book nameth him *Mutianus*, betokening thereby that he was adopted out of the houſe of *Mutis* into the family of the *Craſſi*. This man *Gellius* writeth in his firſt book and 23 chapt. to have been of all others the richeſt man, the nobleſt perſonage, and the moſt eloquent Orator, the deepeſt lawyer, and the ſupream Biſhop withal.

624

C. *Claudius.* M. *Perpenna.*

APpius *Claudius* and *M. Perpenna* are matched in the Conſulat together this year by *Obſequens* and *Caſſiodorus*. *Cuſpinians* book and the Greek records, ſhew *Lentulus* and *Perpenna*. This *Claudius* haply was adopted into the family of the *Cornelii*. Moreover, *Cicero* in his third book of Laws, and in the Oration for *Plancius*, calleth this man C. *Claudius*. This alſo is confirmed by an old table of ſtone commonly known, wherin is to be ſeen this inſcription, *C. Claudius* and M. *Perpenna* Coſſ. Which evidence *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* following, named him *C. Claudius* and not *Appius*. Of this M. *Perpenna* as many as wrote the war of *Ariſtonicus*, have made mention, and namely, *Valerius* in his 3 book and 4 chapt. *Velleius*, *Strabo*, *Oroſius*, and *Eutropius*.

625

C. *Sempronius.* *M. Aquilius.*

THis year had conſuls, M. *Aquilius* and C. *Sempronius*, as witneſſeth *Caſſiodorus*. But *Aquilius* and *Tuditanus* according to the Sicilian regiſters. C. *Sempronius Tuditanus*, and M. *Aquilius*, after *Oroſius*. *Cicero* ſpeaketh of them in his book of the nature of gods, and to his brother *Quintus*. *Paterculus* alſo in his ſecond book. *Strabo* in his 14 book. *Appian* in his firſt book. And both of them are taken out of the triumph records in the capitol.

626

Cn. *Octavius.* *T. Annius.*

NExt followed as conſuls *Cn. Octavius* and *T. Annius*, ar *Caſſiodorus* teſtifieth and none but he. For *Cuſpinians* book and the Sicilian catalogue have *Octavius* and *Rufus*. *Plutarch* alſo writeth, that one *T. Annius* contended with *Tib. Gracchus* in a ſedition. As for this C. *Octa-*

vius, ſon he was to that *Cneus* who was Conſul in the year five hundred eighty nine.

627
L. *Caſſius.* *L. Cinna.*

CAſſiodorus nameth for this years Conſuls, L. *Caſsius* and L. *Cinna*. The Sicilian records *Longinus* and *Cinna*. *Cuſpinians* books ſet out *Rulla*, corruptly for *Ravilla*, and *Cinna*. This *L. Caſsius* was his ſon who bare the conſulſhip in the year 590, and he was afterwards Cenſor in the year 629 ſurnamed *Ravilla* by *Frontinus*.

628
M. *Æmylius.* L. *Aurelius.*

C*Aſſiodorus* and *Obſequens* reckon for Coſſ. this year, Mar. *Æmylius* and Lu. *Aurelius*. The Sicilian catalogue ſheweth *Lepidus* and *Oreſtes*. *Cenſorinus* hath M. *Æmylius Lepidus*, and L. *Aurelius Oreſtes*. *Cicero* in *Brutus*, *Mar. Lepidus*, and *L. Oreſtes*.

629
*M. Plautius.* M. *Fulvius.*

C*Aſſiodorus* and *Obſequens* avouch Conſuls this year, M. *Plautius* and *M. Fulvius*. The Sicilian regiſters, *Hypſeus* and *Flaccus*. *Oroſius* and *Frontinus* in his treatiſe of water-conduits, M. *Plautius Hypſeus* and Mar. *Fulvius Flaccus*. *Valerius* alſo in his diſcourſe of *Pride* maketh mention of them.

630
*C. Caſsius Longinus.* *C. Sextius.*

C*Aſiodorus* and *Obſequens* report, that the conſuls following were *C. Caſsius Longinus*, and *C. Sextius*. The Sicilian catalogue ſheweth *Longinus* and *Calvinus*. *Vellems* writeth, that the colony *Fabrateria* was planted by *Caſsius* and *Calvinus*. *Cicero* in *Brutus* ſpeaketh of *C. Sextius Calvinus*. *Eutropius* declareth for conſuls, *C. Caſſius Longinus*, and *S. Domitius Calvinus*, not without ſuſpition of a fault or errour.

631
*Q. Cæcilius.* *T. Quintius.*

C*Aſſiodorus* nominateth for conſuls this year, *Q. Cæcilius* and *T. Quintius*. The Sicilian records *Metellus* and *Flaminius*. *Eutropius* and *Oroſius*, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* and *T. Quintius Flaminius*. *Cicero* in his Oration pleading for his houſe, calleth them *T. Flaminius* and *Q. Metellus*. This *Q. Metellus* was the eldeſt of the four ſons of *Macedonicus*, whom *Plutarch* in his treatiſe of the Romans fortune, calleth *Q. Metellus Balearicus*, of the Baleares whom in this magiſtracy he conquered.

632
*Cn. Domitius.* *C. Fannius.*

C*Aſsiodorus* and *Obſequens* join in fellowſhip of the conſulate this year, *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Fannius*. The Sicilian records, *Ænobarbus* and *Fannius*. *Cicero* writeth of them in his *Brutus*, and *Pliny* in his ſecond book and 32 chapter. Three moons (qd. he) appeared when *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Fannius* were Coſſ. which moſt men called the night-ſtars.

633
*L. Opimius.* *Q. Maximus.*

THis year had for conſuls, *Lu. Opimius* and *Q. Maximus*, as witneſſeth *Ceſſiodorus*. The Sicilian catalogue ſheweth *Opimius* and *Maximus*. But *Obſequens*, *L. Opimius* and *Qu. Fabius Maximus*. *Pliny* ſpeaketh of them in his ſecond book, ſaying, About the ſun there appeared an arch or bow, when *L. Opimius* and *Q. Fabius* were conſuls. This *Qu. Fabius Maximus* is by *Cicero* in *Brutus*, *Florus* in his Epitome, *Velleius* in his 2 book, and *Pædianus* upon the Orations againſt *Verres*, rightly named the nephew of *Paulus*, and ſon of *F. Æmylianus*. And ſo may *Strabo*, *Appian*, and *Pliny* be well reproved, for making him and his father *Æmylianus*, all one. The ſame man, as *Cicero* and *Pliny* teſtify, was ſurnamed *Allobrogicus*, upon a victory over the Allobroges. Of this L. *Opimius* conſul, after whoſe name there was a wine called *Opimianum*, *Pliny* maketh mention in his 14 book and 4 chap. *Plutarch* alſo in *C. Gracchus*, and *Velleius* in his ſecond book.

634
*P. Manlius.* *C. Papyrius.*

C*Aſſiodorus* inferreth for this years conſuls, P. *Manlius* and C. *Papyrius*. The Sicilian records *Manlius* and *Carbo*. This is that *Caius Papyrius Carbo*, who being a Tribune of the commons when *Claudius* and *Perpenna* were Coſſ. was afterwards by C. *Gracchus* appointed for one of the Triumvirs to divide lands: who firſt took part with the commons, but afterwards ranged with the nobility: of whom *Cicero* in many other places, and namely, in his ſecond book of a perfect Orator, maketh mention.

635
L. *Cæcilius.* L. *Aurelius.*

C*Aſsiodorus* and *Obſequens* put down for conſuls, *Lu. Cæcilius* and *Lu. Aurelius*. The Sicilian catalogue, *Metellus* and *Cotta*. *Plutarch* in *Marius* ſpeaketh of C. *Metellus* and *Cotta*, conſuls. Which *Marius* he writeth to have born the Tribunſhip of the commons, when theſe were conſuls, and to have caſt *Metellus* the conſul into priſon. This is that *Cotta*, in whoſe conſular room *Velleius* reporteth, that C. *Cæſar* Flamin of *Jupiter*, was created.

636
M *Cato.* Q. *Martius.*

THis year had for conſuls *Mar. Cato* and *Q. Martius*: witneſs *Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens*. *Cato* and *Martius*, according to the Sicilian regiſters. But *Eutropius* nameth them M. *Porcius Cato* and *Q. Martius*. *Valerius* ſpeaketh of

of them in his fift book, and *Pliny* in his ſecond book 31 chap. *Gellius* alſo in his 13 book and 19 chapt.

637

L. *Lucillus.* Q. *Mutius.*

CONſuls next enſuing by *Caſſiodorus* his ſaying, were *L. Cacilius* and *Q. Mutius.* After the Sicilian regiſters, *Metellus* and *Scævola*, if ye go by *Eutropius*, *L. Cacilius Metellus* and *Q. Mutius Scævola.* Now is this that *L. Cacilius Metellus*, who afterwards upon ſubduing the Dalmatians, was ſurnamed *Dalmaticus*, whom *Plutarch* in *Coriolanus* and in his book of the Roman fortune, nameth *Diadematus*, for that a long time he bound up his forehead with a frontlet or wreath which they cal a diadem, to hide an ulcer that he had there. Hereupon, when *Pompeius* bound up his leg with a white band or garter, It makes no matter, qd. *Favonius*, in what part of the body a man weareth the diadem: upbraiding and reproching him for his Kinglike power. in terming a ſmall clout or peece of cloth by that name. This is that *Q. Mutius Scævola* the Augur, of whom *Cicero* in his book *Lælius*, and in the fift book of an Orator maketh mention.

638

C. *Licinius Geta.* Q. *Maximus.*

*Caſſiodorus* coupleth together in ſociety of Conſulſhip this year, *C. Licinius* and *Qu. Maximus.* The Sicilian regiſters name them *Geta* and *Eburinus.* Of this *Q. Maximus Cicero* ſpeaketh in his Oration for *Murena.* That this man was of the houſe of the *Fabii*, his ſurnamed *Eburinus* ſheweth, of whom writeth *Feſtus* in this manner: *Qu. Fabius* was called *Pullus Jovis*, ſurnamed *Eburinus*, of whiteneſs, for that his buttock was blaſted with lightning. *Quintilian* in his third Declamation reporteth, that this *Fab. Eburinus* had a ſon unchaſt of his body, whom he examined at home in his houſe, and thereupon put him to death. The ſame man *Valerius* calleth *Q. Fabius Serviliānus.* As for the name of this *Licinius* his father, obſcure and unknown heretofore, *Goltzius* out of an old antiquity of coin hath reſtored it, wherein, as he ſaith, was written plainly, *C. Licinius Geta*, ſon of *Publius.*

639

M. *Metellus.* M. *Scaurus.*

THe conſuls next following by *Caſſiodorus* his report, were M. *Metellus* and M. *Scaurus.* As for *Metellus*, the third ſon he was of *Macedonicus.* But as touching *M. Scaurus*, whom the writer of the book entituled of famous perſons, calleth M. *Æmylius Scaurus* thus writeth *Padianus*, *M. Scaurus* (qd. he) was a Patritian indeed and of noble blood, but ſo, as the gentry of his houſe, for thoſe diſcents before him lay obſcure. for neither father, nor grandſire, by reaſon of their poor eſtate, and for want of putting forth themſelves in the world, attained to dignity in weal publick. Moreover, of him *Cicero* maketh mention oftentimes in his Oration for *Murena* and in *Brutus.* *Valerius* alſo in his 5 book and 8 chapt. and *Pliny* likewiſe in his 2 book and 36 chapt.

640

M'. *Acilius Balbus.* C. *Cato.*

*Caſſiodorus* ſetteth down for conſuls this year, M. *Atilius Balbus*, and C. *Cat.* The Sicilian catalogue *Balbus* and *Cato.* *Obſequens* M. *Acilius* and *C. Portius.* Of the ſame conſuls *Pliny* ſpeaketh in the 2 book, chap. 29. and 58. *Plutarch* in *Marius* giveth to *Acilius* the forename *Manius.* This C. *Cato* is the brother of that M. *Cato*, who four years before was Conſul, nephew to M. *Cato Cenſorinus*, and *Africanus* ſiſters ſon, as ſaith *Velleius*, *Cicero* againſt *Verres*, and in *Brutus.*

641

C. *Cacilius.* *Cn. Papyrius.*

*Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens* ſet down for next Conſuls, C. *Cacilius* and *Cn. Papyrius.* The Sicilian regiſters *Metellus* and *Carbo.* *Eutropius*, *C. Cacilius Metellus*, and *Cn. Carbo.* The ſame men *Tacitus* in his book of the manners of Germans reported to have born the Conſulſhip, anno 640 after the foundation of *Rome*: in which year, both he and *Obſequens* do report, that the people of *Rome* began firſt to war with the Cimbrians and the Teutones. This C. *Metellus* was the fourth ſon of *C. Metellus* the ſon of *Macedonicus*: whom, when he died, he left a man of Prætors calling, and in ſuit and election for to be Conſul. This man got a ſurname by way of reproach, as *Cicero* teſtifieth in his ſecond book of a perfect Orator. Now ſurnamed was he *Capriarus*, as *Plutarch* ſaith in the Life of the Romans.

642

M. *Livius Druſus.* *L. Piſo.*

*Caſſiodorus* exhibiteth unto us for this years Conſuls, M. *Livius Druſus* and *L. Piſo.* The Sicilian catalogue *Druſus* and *Piſo.* *L. Piſo* ſurnamed *Cæſonius* a man of Conſular degree, was ſlain after by the Tigurins, when *Ln. Caſſius* was Conſul, as *Oroſius* teſtifieth.

643

P. *Scipio.* *L. Calpurnius Beſtia.*

*Caſſiodorus* nameth this year for Conſuls, P. *Scipio* and *L. Calpurnius Beſtia.* The Sicilian records *Naſica* and *Beſtia.* *Obſequens*, *Pub. Scipio* and *L. Calpurnius.* *Saluſt*, *Eutropius* and *Oroſius*, P. *Scipio Naſica* and L. *Calpurnius Beſtia.* Of theſe Conſuls, *P. Naſica Scipio* and L. *Beſtia*, *Valerius* likewiſe maketh report lib. 1. chap. 6. Moreover, *Cicero* in his *Brutus* writeth that P. *Scipio* the ſon of *Pub. Scipio* ſurnamed *Serapion* and fellow Conſul to *L. Beſtia*, died in his Conſulſhip. Of this *Beſtia* there is ſome mention to be ſeen in a capitol fragment.

644

Sp. *Posthumius.* M. *Minutius.*

C*Assiodorus* setteth down for Consuls, *Sp. Posthumius* and *M.* Minutius. The Sicilian registers *Albinus* and *Rufus*. *Salust*, *Sp. Albinus* and *Q. Minutius Rufus*. Of M. Minutius, *Velleius* and the threescore and seventh Epitome make mention.

645

Q. *Metellus.* M. Silanus.

C*Assiodorus* saith that the Consuls next following were *Q.* Metellus and M. *Silanus*. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth *Metellus* and *Silanus*. *Padianus* and *Eutropius*, *Q.* Cæcilius *Metellus Numidicus*, and *M. Junius Silanus*. Of them also *Cicero* speaketh in *Brutus*. This *Metellus* was surnamed *Numidicus* for the conquest of *Numidia*, as witnesseth *Velleius*.

646

Ser. *Galba.* *M.* Scaurus.

C*Assiodorus* and *Obsequens* deliver for the Consuls of this year, *Servius Galba* and M. *Scaurus*. The Sicilian evidences, *Sulpitius* and *Scaurus*. *Cicero* in the Oration for *Rabirius*, saith that S. *Galba* was a man of Consular degree, when *Marius* was the sixt time Consul. Of M. *Scaurus* the Consul, *Velleius* and *Tacitus* make mention. This is that M. *Aurelius Scaurus*, who being afterwards in embassage was by the Cimbrians murdered, as appeareth in the threescore and seventh Epitome.

647

L. Cassius. C. Marius.

C*Assiodorus* joineth in the consulship this year, L. *Cassius* and *C. Marius*. *Cuspinians* book and the Sicilian records, *Longinus* and and *Marius*, *Pliny* also maketh mention of them in his 10 book and 13 chap. *Cicero* in his oration for *Plancius*: *Plutarch* in *Marius*; and *Cicero* again in his third book of *Duties*, writeth, that C. *Marius* having taken the repulse twice for the office of Ædileship, was created consul.

648

Q. *Servilius Cæpio.* *C. Atilius.*

O*Bsequens* and *Cassiodorus* match consuls together this year, *Q. Servilius Cæpio* and C. *Atilius Serranus*. The Sicilian monuments *Cæpio* and *Serranus*. In this year upon the third day of *January*, M. *Tullius Cicero* was born, as *Gellius* in his fifteenth book and eight and twentieth chapt. hath left written. Much mention there is made of these consuls in *Cicero* and other ancient writers.

649

P. *Rutilius Rufus.* C. Manilius.

P*ublius Rutilius Rufus* and C. Manilius, are put down by *Obsequens* and *Cassiodorus* for this years consuls. This P. *Rutilius*, *Cicero* in *Brutus*, calleth the son of *Marcus*. About the other consul the Annals do vary and disagree: some forename him C. others *Cneus*. Some name him *M. Manlius*, others *Mallius* or *Manilius*. But all this controversy is decided by an old antiquity in stone at *Puteoli*: the inscription whereof testifieth that *P. Rutilius* and *Cn. Mallius* were Consuls; as also the evidence of the Sicilian registers, wherein written it is *Rufus* and *Mallius*. Of this *Mallius* mention there is made in *Cicero's* Orations for *Plancius* and *Murena*: likewise in *Valerius*, *Salust*, *Tacitus*, *Florus*, *Eutropius* and *Orosius*. That he was not only a base man and of low birth but also without all vertue and wit, in the course of his life also vile and contemptible, *Cicero* writeth in his Oration for *Plancius*. Whereby it easily appeareth, that the *Mallii* were a kinred different from the *Manlii*. For of *Cn. Manlius* a Patritian, and that of a most noble house, *Cicero* would never have spoken in such terms.

650

*C. Marius II.* *C. Flavius Fimbria.*

THe next Consuls are set down by *Cassiodorus*, *C. Martius* the second time, and *C. Flavius Fimbria*: by *Obsequens*, C. *Marius* and *C. Flavius*. By the Sicilian registers *Marius* and *Fimbria*: by *Padianus* upon the Oration for *Cornelius*, C. *Marius* the second time, and C. *Fimbria*; Item, *C. Marius* and *Caius Flavius*. Besides, *Cicero*, *Velleius*, *Valerius*, *Plutarch*, and others speak often of these Coss.

651

*C. Marius III.* *L. Aurelius Orestes.*

C*Assiodorus* reporteth for this years Consuls, *C. Marius* the third time, and *L. Aurelius Orestes*. The Sicilian catalogue *Marius* and *Orestes*. Moreover, *Marius* even in his absence was elected Consul the third time, for fear of the Cimbrian war which was defeated, as *Velleius*, *Eutropius*, the Breviary, and *Cicero* in his Oration concerning Provinces, do testify.

652

C. *Marius IV.* *Q. Lutatius.*

NExt after them are put down for Consuls by *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*, C. *Martius* the fourth time, and *Q. Lutatius*. The Sicilian registers exhibit unto us *Marius* and *Catulus*. *Plutarch* and *Eutropius*, *Caius Marius* the fourth time, and *Q. Lutatius Catulus*. Of these Consuls, *Cicero* and *Pliny* oftentimes make mention.

653

653

*C. Marius V.* *M'. Aquilius.*

THen ſucceeded in the Conſulſhip by the teſtimony of *Caſſiodorus*, C. *Marius* the fift time and *M'. Aquilius*. Of this *C. Marius* five times now Conſul, *Plutarch* and *Florus* give report. And *Cicero* in his ſecond book of a perfect Orator, nameth *M'. Aquilius* for the companion of *C. Marius* in his fift conſulſhip. Of whom *Plutarch* in *Marius* ſpeaketh and calleth him μάνιον ἀνάλιον as alſo *Appian* in *Mithridatica*. Now this *Manius Aquilius* a Conſular man is the ſame who afterwards being an Embaſſador, was by King *Mithridates* taken priſoner and moſt villanouſly tormented and mangled.

654

*C. Marius VI.* *L. Valerius Flaccus.*

*Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens* ſhew unto us for this years conſuls, *C. Marius* the ſixt time, and *Lu. Valerius Flaccus*. The Sicilian records, *Marius* and *Flaccus*. This *L. Flaccus* (afterwards Cenſor) was Preſident of the Senat and maiſter of the horſemen under *Syll.* Dictator. Of theſe conſuls *Cicero* ſpeaketh very often and namely, in his *Brutus*. in his oration for *Rabirius*, againſt *Catiline* and *Antonie*: and alſo in the defence of *Plancius*. *Pliny* likewiſe in his ſecond book *Vallius*, and *Padianus* upon the oration againſt *Piſo*. Moreover, *Plutarch*, and many authors beſides. In this year (upon the twelfth day of *July*, then called *Quintilis*, as *Macrobius* witneſſeth) was *Cæſar* born, who afterwards was ſurnamed *Dictator*.

655

*M. Antonius.* *A. Poſtumius.*

REported it is by *Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens*, that *M. Antonius* and *A. Poſtumius* were Conſuls this year. The Sicilian regiſters ſhew *Albinus* and *Antonius*. In a fragment alſo of the capitol marbles, mention there is of *An. Poſtumius*. *Cuſpinians* book and the Greek records, have *Antonius* and *Albinus*. Of theſe Conſuls, *Cicero* ſpeaketh in his oration to the citizens of *Rome*, after his return out of exile. Likewiſe, *Pliny* in his 8 book and 7 chap. where he noteth this the 655 year. Alſo *Gellius* in his 4 book and 6 chapt.

656

*Q. Metellus.* *T. Didius.*

*Quintus Metellus* and *T. Didius* ſucceeded Conſuls next in this year, as *Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens* do write. And *Padianus* upon the oration for *Cornelius*, nameth them: *Curio* (ſaith he) accuſed *Q. Metellus Nepos*, ſon of *Balearicus*, and nephew of *Macedonicus* who was Conſul with *T. Didius*. *Cicero* ſpeaketh of the ſame man in his oration after his return.

657

*Cn. Lentulus.* *P. Craſſus.*

NOt only *Caſſiodorus*, but the Sicilian regiſters alſo, do teſtify, that *Cn. Lentulus* and P. *Craſſus* were Conſuls this year: and *Obſequens* nameth them, *Cn. Cornelius* and *P. Lacinius*. *Pliny* writeth of them in his tenth book and firſt chapt. alſo in his 33 book and ſecond chapter.

658

*Cn. Domitius.* *C. Caſſius.*

THis year had for Conſuls, *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Caſſius*, as *Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens* do witneſs. *Cuſpinians* annals and the Greek regiſters ſhew *Ænobarbus* and *Longinus*. A fragment of *Ver. Flaccus* his marbles *Ænobarbus* and C. *Caſſius* ſon of *Lucius*. *Padianus* ſpeaketh of them upon the oration for *Cornelius*.

659

*L. Craſſus.* *Q. Scævola.*

*Lucius Craſſus* and *Q. Scævola* were conſuls next following according to *Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens*. In a fragment of the capitol records as touching Conſuls, is to be ſeen *Craſſus* and *Mutius*. In *Cenſorinus*, we find *Lu. Lacinius* ſon of *Lucius*. *Cicero* in his *Brutus* writeth, that *Craſſus* the orator bare all dignities of magiſtracy, together with *Scævola* the high-prieſt, except the Tribunat of commons and the Cenſorſhip: alſo that whiles they two were Conſuls, *Q. Hortenſius* pleaded the firſt cauſe that ever he undertook at the bar. *Padianus* upon the oration of *Cicero* for *Cornelius*, maketh mention of *L. Licinius Craſſus* the Orator, and *Q. Mutius Scævola* the arch-biſhop an orator beſides and a profeſſed lawyer, both Conſuls together.

660

*C. Calius.* *L. Domitius.*

*Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens* declare for this years Conſuls, *C. Calius* and *L. Domitius*. The Sicilian regiſters, *Caldus* and *Ænobarbus*. In a capitol fragment, they are *Caldus* and *Lu. Domitius* ſon of *Cn.* As for *Caldus* it is the ſurname of *Calius*. For *Velleius* maketh mention of one *C. Caldus* under *Auguſtus*. In like manner *Cicero* in his book entituled, The ſuing for a Conſulſhip and in his oration for *Murena*. Alſo *Padianus* upon the Oration for *Cornelius*. Again, *Cicero* in his *Brutus*, nameth them next before *Herennius*.

661

*C. Valerius Flaccus.* *M. Herennius.*

THere are matched by *Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens* for conſuls this year *C. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Herennius*. The Sicilian records, *Flaccus* and *Herennius*. A broken ſtone of the capitol hath *Flaccus* and *M. Herennius*. *Plinius* in his 29 book and 3 chapt. *Cicero* alſo in his Oration for *Murena*, and in *Brutus*, ſpeaketh of them.

662

662

C. Claudius Pulcher. M. Perpenna.

CONsuls this year, were *C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *M. Perpenna*, as witneis *Caſsiodorus* and *Obſequens*. Likewiſe in a capitol broken monument and in the Sicilian regiſter it is *Pulcher* and *M. Perpenna*. *Cicero* maketh mention of this *Claudius* as Pretor of *Sicily* in the fourth Oration againſt *Verres*: and as Ædile Curule in his ſecond book of *Offices*. So doth *Pliny* in his 8 book.

663

*L. Martius.* *Sext. Julius.*

*Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens* name for conſuls this year, *L. Martius* and *Sext. Julius*. The Sicilian records, *Philip* and *Cæſar*. *Eutropius* and *Oroſius* *Sex. Julius Cæſar*, and *L. Martius Philippus*. A capitol fragment, *Philip* and *Sex. Julius*, ſon of *Caius*. *Pliny* ſpeaketh of them in his 2 book 8 chapt. alſo in the 33 book and 3 chapt. In like manner *Cicero* many times, and *Valerius*.

664

*L. Julius Cæſar.* *P. Rutilius Lupus.*

ACcording to *Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens* the Conſuls this year were *L. Julius Cæſar*, and *P. Rutilius Lupus*. And ſo it is in *Padianus*, *Velleius*, and the 73 Epitome: as alſo in other authors who have written of the Marſian war. In a fragment of the capitol, they are ſeen written, *Cæſar*, and *P. Rutilius* ſon of *Rufus*. In the Sicilian records *Cæſar* and *Lupus*. *Cicero* in his book of Divination, ſpeaketh of them both: and in his oration for *Plancius* he writeth, that *L. Cæſar* miſſing of an Ædileſhip became a Conſul.

665

*L. Portius.* *Cn. Pompeius.*

*Caſſiodorus* ſetteth down for Conſuls this year *L. Portius* and *Cn. Pompeius*. *Padianus* upon the Oration for *Cornelius*, ſurnamed *Cn. Pompeius Strabo*; and *L. Porcius Cato*. The Capitol fragment ſhew no more but *Strabo* and *Cato*. *Appius* hath made mention of theſe conſuls: ſo have *Oroſius* and others that have penned the Marſian war. This *Cn. Pompeius* was father to that *Cn. Pompeius* the Great: as *Appianus* witneſſeth, and *Padian* upon the Oration againſt *Piſo*.

666

*L. Sylla.* *Q. Pompeius.*

*Caſſiodorus* ſheweth for this years Conſuls, *L. Sylla* and *Q. Pompeius*: and the ſame is written in *Obſequens*, *Velleius*, *Eutropius*, *Oroſius*, *Appian*, *Plutarch*, and others. The Sicilian records have *Sylla* and *Rutilius*. *Sylla*, after his victory in the civil war, would needs have himſelf ſurnamed *Fœlix*: and therefore *Padian* and the avouchers of the capitol monuments, in reporting this conſulat, write thus; *L. Sulla*, who afterwards was called *Fœlix*. The ſame man in his ſecond Conſulſhip, (which appeareth upon record in the capitol) is named the ſon of *Lucius*, and nephew of *Publius*. Moreover, of *Q. Pompeius Rufus*, *Cicero* maketh mention in his *Brutus*.

667

*L. Cornelius Cinna.* *Cn. Octavius.*

REported there are by *Caſſiodorus* and the Sicilian regiſters for Conſuls this year *L. Cinna* and *Cn. Octavius*. *Appian*, *Velleius*, and the reſt, who have recorded the hiſtory of this time, name them *L. Cornelius Cinna*, and *Cn. Octavius*. *Plutarch* writeth, that *L. Cinna* being of the adverſe faction to *L. Sulla*, was by him made conſul, upon condition that he ſhould not croſs nor ſtand againſt the proceeding of the ſaid *Lu. Sulla*: and ſo ſoon as he was entred into place of government, he began to trouble and diſquiet the preſent ſtate of the common-weal, yea, and intended an action againſt *Sulla*, by the means of *Virginius* a Tribune of the commons. Howbeit *Sulla* contemning *Virginius*, made an expedition againſt *Mithridates*.

668

*L. Cinna II.* *C. Marius VII.*

AFter this were Conſuls, *C. Marius* the ſeventh time, and *L. Cinna* the ſecond time, according to the records of *Sicily*, *Caſſiodorus*, and thoſe that wrote of the civil war. *Plutarch* ſaith, that *Marius* was the firſt man that was ſeven times conſul of *Rome*. Moreover as it is to be read in *Appian*, and in the Breviaries *L. Cinna* and *C. Marius*, without any lawful aſſembly for Election, declared themſelves Conſuls againſt this year, and the very ſame day that they entred into their magiſtracy *Marius* commanded *Sext. Licinius* a Senator, to be thrown down from the rock *Tarpeia*: who, after he had committed many hainous crimes and outrages, ended his daies upon the Ides of *January*: in whoſe room was ſubordained, *L. Val. Flaccus*, even he (as men think) who before-time was colleague to *C. Marius* in his ſixt Conſulſhip: of whom *Cicero* maketh mention in his Oration for his ſon *Flaccus*.

669

*L. Cinna III.* *Cn. Papirius.*

*Caſſiodorus* witneſſeth that the Conſuls ſucceeding in this year were *L. Cinna* the third time, and *Cn. Papirius*. The Sicilian records, have *Cinna* and *Carbo*. In the 83 Breviary it is written, that *Lu. Cinna* and *Cn. Papirius Carbo*, for two years together uſurped the Conſulate. Alſo in the book entituled, Of famous perſons, we read that *Cinna* made himſelf Conſul a ſecond and third time. Of theſe Conſuls *Plutarch* ſpeaketh in *Sulla*, *Appian* in *Mithridatica*, and in the firſt book of civil wars.

670

*L. Cinna IV.* *Cn. Papirius II.*

NExt were Conſuls, after *Caſſiodorus* and the Epitomiſt, *Lu. Cinna* the fourth time, and

and *Cn. Papirius* the ſecond time. *Cicero* in his Tuſculan queſtions mentioneth *Cinna* four times Conſul: ſo doth *Suetonius* in *Cæſar*. And of *Cn. Papirius Carbo* twice Conſul, the capitol tables do yeeld teſtimony. As for the Sicilian records, they put down for conſul, (not without ſuſpition of error) *Carbo* and *Scribonius*.

671

*L. Scipio.* *C. Norbanus.*

BEſides the Sicilian tables, *Caſſiodorus*, *Obſequens*, *Appius*, *Eutropius*, *Florus*, and *Tacitus* in his ninteenth book do witneſs, that *Lu. Scipio*, and *C. Norbanus* were Conſuls. In the capitol fragments it is written, *Lu. Cornelius* ſon of *Lucius*, nephew of L. *Scipio Aſiaticus*.

672

*M. Carius.* *Cn. Carbo III.*

I Find in *Caſſiodorus*, *Appianus*, *Velleius*, and others, the next conſuls to have been, C. *Marius* and *Cn. Carbo* the third time. This *C. Marius* was the brothers ſon of *C. Marius* ſeven times conſul, according to *Appian*: but *Velleius*, *Paterculus*, *Plutarch*, *Eutropius*, and others, ſay, that he was the ſon of that *C. Marius*: and haply indeed he was adopted by *C. Marius*. Certainly, in the capitol tables, he is called *C. Marius*, ſon of C. and nephew of *Caius*. *Cicero* ſpeaketh of theſe Coſſ. againſt *Rullus*: *Pliny* alſo in his 17 book, and they who have ſet down in writing the civil wars of *Sylla*.

673

*M'. Tullius.* *Cn. Dolabella.*

NExt to thoſe, *Caſſiodorus* bringeth in for conſuls, *M'. Tullius* and *Cn. Dolabella*. The Sicilian records, have *Decula* and *Dolabella*. *Appian* alſo reporteth, that *Sylla* Dictator, to the end that the ſtate and common-weal might ſeem to retain ſome ſhew yet of her ancient dignity, permitted *M'. Tullius* and *Cornelius Dolabella* to be created conſuls, whiles himſelf after the manner of K. ſate aloft in a throne above them. *Cicero* in his oration againſt *Rullus*, and *Gellius* in his 15 book and 33 chap. maketh mention of *M'. Tullius* and *Cn. Cornelius* conſuls. In a capitol fragment, this *M'. Tullius*, ſon of *M.* nephew of *A.* is ſurnamed *Decula*.

674

*L. Sylla II.* *Q. Metellus.*

*Caſſiodorus* and the Sicilian regiſters, ſet down for Conſuls, *Lu. Sylla* the ſecond time, and *Q. Metellus*. *Appius* ſaith moreover, that *Sylla*, Dictator though he was, yet ſtood content and willing to be declared conſul with *Q. Metellus Pius*, to the end that the common-weal might ſeem to have ſome likeneſs yet of a free ſtate. Of theſe conſuls, *Cicero* maketh mention in his Orations againſt *Verres*, and elſewhere. *Gellius* likewiſe in his 15 book and 28 chapter, together with *Caſſiodorus*. This *Metellus* was ſurnamed *Pius*. He it is, who was by lot appointed to manage the wars in *Spain* and againſt *Sertorius*; and ſon he was to *Numidicus*.

675

P. *Servilius.* *App. Claudius.*

THe next conſuls, were *P. Servilius* and *Ap. Claudius*, as witneſſeth *Caſſiodorus*. In the Sicilian tables, it appeareth that their ſurnames were, *Vatia* and *Pulcher*: of whom *Appianus* writeth thus; The people of *Rome* in obſequious manner to court *Sylla* the Dictator, requeſted of him that he would continue conſul ſtill another year: But *Sylla* would none of that: and took order, that *Ser. Iſauricus* and *Claudius Pulcher*, ſhould be declared Coſſ. In a fragment of the capitol he is thus written; *Pub. Servilius Vatia*, called afterwards *Iſauricus*: which ſurname he took of the Iſaurians, a nation in *Cilicia* whom he ſubdued. My authors are, *Padianus* upon the Orations of *Cicero* againſt *Verres*; *Strabo* in his 14 book; *Marcellinus* likewiſe in his 14 book, with others.

676

*M. Lepidus.* *Q. Catulus.*

*Mar. Lepidus* and *Q. Catulus*, are by *Caſſiodorus* named Conſuls for this year. *Plutarch* reporteth, that when *L. Sylla* had given up his Dictatorſhip, and reſtored again to the people of *Rome* the free liberty to diſpoſe of conſular dignities in their ſolemn aſſemblies for elections; M. *Lepidus* an enemy to *Sylla*, and an audacious perſon, was declared Conſul before *Catulus*, and had the preheminence above him, by the earneſt endeavour of *Cn. Pompeius*. Of theſe Conſuls, *Pliny* maketh mention in his 36 book, wherein he ſaith, that they governed in the year 676. Likewiſe, *Cicero* in his Oration for *Cornelius*: *Florus* out of *Livy*: *Valerius* 2 book 3 chap. and *Eutropius*.

677

*M. Æmylius.* *D. Brutus.*

THis year had for Conſuls, by the teſtimony of *Caſſiodorus* and *Obſequens*, M. *Æmylius* and *D. Brutus*. *Macer*, a Tribune of the commons, ſpeaketh of them in *Saluſt*, complaining that the commons were by the nobles oppreſſed. In like ſort, *Cicero* in *Brutus*, and in his ſecond book of *Duties*, as alſo *Valerius* in the 7 book and 7 chap. This M. *Æmylius* was ſurnamed *Lepidus* and *Livianus*: for out of the family of *Livies* he was adopted by *M. Lepidus*, and therefore right well he is called, ſon of *Mamercus*.

678

*Cn. Octavius.* C. *Curio.*

*Verrius Flaccus* ſetteth down for Conſuls, *Cn. Octavius* ſon of *M.* nephew of C. and C. *Scribonius Curio*. The ſame doth *Cicero* report in *Brutus*. So do *Saluſt*. *Obſequens*, *Lactantius* in his firſt book, and *Pliny* in his ſecond book

and

and 35 chapter. *Cic.* in his *Brutus*, and *Pliny* in his 7 book and 41 chapt. make report of three Cais Curions, all Orators to wit, the father, the ſon, and the ſons ſon or nephew.

679

*L. Octavius.* *C. Cotta.*

*Caſſiodorus* putteth down for conſuls this year, L. *Octavius* and C. *Cotta*. *Obſequens*, C. *Aurelius* and *L. Octavius*. *Pliny* in his ſecond book and 35 chapt. *Cicero* likewiſe in his third and fifth Orations againſt *Verres*, maketh mention of *L. Octavius*, and *C. Aurelius* conſuls. Upon the broken marbles of the capitol, they ſtand to be ſeen, *L. Octavius* ſon of *Cn.* nephew of *Cn.* and *C. Aurelius*. This year the Sicilian regiſters over-skip. *Padianus* writeth, that there were at this time three *Cotta's* brethren, and all of conſular degree, namely, *Caius*, *Marcus*, and *Lucius*.

680

*L. Licinius Lucullus.* *M. Cotta.*

FOr this years conſuls, *Caſsiodorus* regiſtreth *L. Lucullus*, and *M. Cotta*. The Sicilian records, *Lucullus* and *Cotta*, *Eutropius*, *Appianus* in *Mithridatica*, and *Plutarch* in *Lucullus*, nameth them, *L. Licinius Lucullus*, and *M'. Aurelius Cotta*. Mention there is made of them by *Cicero* againſt *Verres*; and by *Florus* in the 93 and 94 Epitomes. This *L. Lucullus* had for his grand-father that *Lucullus*, who was conſul with *A. Albinus*, as *Cicero* and *Plutarch* do teſtify.

681

*M. Lucullus.* *C. Caſſius.*

THis year (by the teſtimony of *Caſsiodorus*,) had for conſuls, *M. Lucullus*, and C. *Caſſius*: but the Sicilian records, nominate *Marcellus* and *Caſſius*: whom *Cicero* in an oration againſt *Verres*, nameth *M. Terentius* and C. *Caſſius*: ſaying that the laws *Terentia* and *Caſſia*, were by them promulged. For, ſo far forth as we may conjecture by the capitol fragments, M. *Licinius Lucullus*, was adopted by *M. Terentius Varro*, and therefore called *M. Terentius Varro Lucullus*. *Cicero* in *Lucullus*, and *Plutarch*, call L. *Lucullus* and M. *Lucullus* brethren, whom *Eutropius* nameth coſin germans by two ſiſters. That the ſurname of *Caſſius* was *Varus*, appeareth both by a conduit pipe or waterſpout of lead found in *Rome*, and alſo for that *Appian* in his fourth book, writeth that *C. Caſſius Varus*, a man who had been Conſul, was condemned and outlawed by the Triumvirs.

682

*L. Gellius.* *Cn. Lentulus.*

THe conſuls next following, by the report of *Caſſiodorus*, were L. *Gellius* and *Cn. Lentulus*. In like ſort *Cicero* maketh mention of them in his oration for *Balbus*, and elſewhere. *Plutarch* alſo in *Craſſus*, with *Eutropius* and *Oroſius*. *Cuſpinians* book ſheweth *Poplicola* and *Lentulus*. Now the ſurname of L. *Gellius* was *Poplicola*, as witneſſeth *Onuphrius*.

683

*Cn. Auſidius.* P. *Lentulus.*

*Caſſiodorus* ſetteth down for conſuls this year, *Cn. Auſidius*, and *P. Lentulus*. The Sicilian regiſters have *Lentulus* and *Oreſtes*. *Eutropius*, *C. Lentulus* and *Cn. Auſidius Oreſtes*. This *Cn. Auſidius Oreſtes*, when he went beſide a Tribunſhip of the commons, was choſen conſul, as *Cicero* writeth in his oration for *Plancius*. This is that *P. Lentulus* ſurnamed *Sura*, who afterwards, being a man of conſular calling, and who had been twice Pretor, was hanged and ſtrangled to death when *Cicero* was conſul, for that he had conſpired with *Catilin*: whoſe grand-father was *P. Lentulus* Preſident of the Senat, as *Cicero* ſaith, pleading for his houſe, and inveighing againſt *Catilin*: as alſo *Padianus*.

684

*M. Craſſus.* *Cn. Pompeius.*

NExt to them were Coſſ. *M. Craſſus* and *Cn. Pompeius*, according to *Caſſiodore*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and the Sicilian records. Their ſurnames for certain, were *Dives* and *Magnus*. All the old writers ſpeak much of this their firſt Conſulſhip. *Plutarch* reporteth that L. *Craſſus* attained to the Conſular dignity, by the means of *Pompeius* the conſul. Beſides, *Cicero*, *Saluſt*, *Padian* writing upon the oration for *Cornelius*, and all other authors ſpeak of theſe conſuls.

685

Q. *Metellus.* *Q. Hortenſius.*

THen followed conſuls, Q. *Metellus* and *Q. Hortenſius*, as *Caſſiodore* and the Sicilian catalogue do teſtify. *Padianus* matcheth *Q. Metellus Creticus* with *Q. Hortenſius* that great Orator! Likewiſe, *Joſephus* in his fourteenth book of Jewiſh antiquities. *Cicero* in *Brutus* calleth this *Q. Hortenſius*, the ſon of *Lucius*. Q. *Metellus* afterwards upon the conqueſt made of *Crete* ſurnamed *Creticus*, was the ſon of *L. Dalmaticus*, as may be gathered out of *Padianus* upon the Oration of *Tully* [called *Divinatio*] againſt *Verres*.

686

L. *Metellus.* *Q. Marcius.*

PÆdianus writing upon *Tulli's* Oration againſt *Piſo*; *Dio* likewiſe and *Caſſiodorus*, join together in the conſulſhip this year, *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, and *Q. Marcius*. The Greek records, *Marcius Rex*, and *Metellus*. This *Metellus*, *Dio* writeth to have died in the very beginning of his magiſtracy: that he alſo who was ſubſtituted in his room, left this life before he entred into the government: and theruponit was not thought good to ſubelect any more: and by that means *Q. Marcius* bare that dignity alone: and him *Saluſt* entituleth with the ſurname of *Rex*. This *L. Metellus* was brother to *Q. Creticus*, as *Padian* witneſſeth.

687

687

*C. Piſo.* *M'. Glabrio.*

THere ſucceeded Conſuls, *C. Piſo* and M'. *Glabrio*, witneſs *Caſſiodore* and the Sicilian records. And in *Dio* they follow immediatly by the name of *Manius Acilius* and *C. Piſo*. *Cicero* in his twelfth book of Epiſtles to *Atticus*, ſpeaketh of *C. Piſo* and M'. *Acilius Glabrio*, men of Conſular place and calling. *Pædian* in his comentaries upon the oration for *Cornelius* maketh mention of C. *Piſo* and the law *Calpurna* by him made, as touching inordinate and indirect ſuite after dignities of ſtate. Moreover, of them *Valerius* in his fourth book writeth.

688

M'. *Lepidus.* *L. Volcatius.*

*Caſſiodore* putteth down for Conſuls, *Manius Lepidus*, and with him *L. Torquatus*, but untruly, The Greek records have *Volcatius Tullus*. *Dio Lu. Tullus*, and *Æmylius Lepidus*. *Saluſt* in *Catiline*, *L. Tullus* and *M'. Lepidus*. *Pædian* upon the oration for *Cornelius*, *M'. Lepidus* and L. *Volcatius*. *Cicero* in his oration for *Sulla* hath *L. Volcatius Tullus*: ſo as it appeareth it ſhould be, M'. *Æmylius Lepidus*, and *L. Volcatius Tullus*.

689

*L. Cotta.* *L. Torquatus.*

THe Conſuls elect, were *L. Antronius Patus* (as it appeareth upon a monument of a triumph in the capitol, and not *Antronius*, as commonly it is read) and *P. Cornelius Sulla*: who being condemned for ambitious ſeeking after that office, and having therefore ſuffered condign puniſhment, their accuſers ſtept into their place of government, namely, *L. Aurelius* ſon of *Marcus*, ſurnamed *Cotta*; and *L. Manlius* ſon of *Lucius*, ſurnamed alſo *Torquatus*: as teſtify *Saluſt*, *Dio*, *Pædian* upon the oration for *Cornelius*, and that which he made in his white robe: and laſtly, *Tranquillus* in *Cæſar*.

690

*L. Cæſar.* *C. Figulus.*

THe year next enſuing had for Conſuls, by the teſtimony of *Caſſiodore*, *Pædianus*, and the Sicilian records, *L. Cæſar* and *C. Figulus*, whom *Dio* calleth *Lucius Cæſar*, and *Lucius Martius* ſon of *Caius*, ſurnamed *Figulus*. *Cicero* in his oration for *Sulla*, nameth them *L. Julius* and *C. Figulus*: ſo doth *Saluſt* in *Catilina*. This *L. Julius Cæſar* is his ſon who was Conſul in the Marſian war.

691

*M. Cicero.* *C. Antonius.*

THe Conſuls this year, were M. *Tullius* ſon of *M.* ſurnamed *Cicero*, and *C. Antonius* ſon of M. as teſtify *Dio* in his ſeven and thirtieth book, *Caſſiodore*, *Saluſt* in his Catilinary oration, *Velleius* in his ſecond book, *Joſeph* in his Jewiſh antiquities 14 book 8 chapter. *Pliny* in his eight book and three and fiftieth chapter, *Tranquillus* in the life of *Auguſtus*, *Appian*, *Eutropius*, *Pædian*, and others.

692

*D. Silanus.* *L. Murana.*

THere followed conſuls next, *D. Silanus*, and *L. Murana*, as *Caſſiodorus*, *Saluſt*, and the Sicilian records do witneſs. *Dio* calleth them *D. Junius* ſon of M. ſurnamed *Silanus*: and *L. Licinius* ſon of *L.* ſurnamed *Murana*. *Eutropius* nameth them *D. Junius Silanus*, and *L. Licinius*, ſon of that L. *Murana* who in quality of Pro-pretor triumphed over *Mithridates* (as *Cicero* ſaith) pleading for *Murana* himſelf, being accuſed and in trouble for unlawful ſeeking to be Coſ. In this aſſembly for election of Coſ. L. *Sergius Catilina* ſuffered the ſecond repulſe: for anger whereof, in a melancholy he brake out into a conſpiracy, and practiſed againſt the ſtate; and likewiſe *Servius Sulpitius Rufus* the lawyer, who afterwards accuſed *Murana* for the crime aforeſaid.

693

*M. Pupius.* M. *Valerius.*

C*Aſſiodorus* ſetteth down for Conſuls this year, *M. Pupius* and M. *Valerius*. The Sicilian regiſters, *Piſo* and *Meſſala*. *Dio*, M. *Pupius*, ſon of M. ſurnamed *Piſo*: and M. *Valerius* ſon of *M.* ſurnamed *Meſſala Niger*. Of this *Meſſala Niger*, there is alſo mention made by *Pædian* upon the oration for *Scaurus*. Alſo of *M. Meſſala* and M. *Piſo*, in *Plinies* ſeventh book, and ſix and twentieth chapter, ſeven and thirtieth book, cap. ſecond, and the eight book, chap. ſix and twenty. And in *Cæſars* firſt book of the Gauls war. Of *M. Piſo Pædian* likewiſe ſpeaketh writing upon the oration againſt *Piſo*.

694

*Q. Metellus.* *Q. Afranius.*

C*Aſſiodorus* and the Sicilian regiſters nominate for this years Conſuls, Q. *Metellus* and L. *Africanus*. The like doth *Obſequens* and *Cicero* in his firſt book of Epiſtles to *Atticus*. *Dio* nameth them L. *Afranius* ſon of *L.* and *Q. Cæcilius*, ſon of Q. ſurnamed *Metellus Celer*. Both of them were advanced to the Conſulate (as *Dio* witneſleth) by the means of *Pompeius*, for they had been both twain his Lieutenants ſerving under him in *Aſia*.

695

C. *Cæſar.* M. *Bibulus.*

C*Aſſiodorus*, *Suetonius*, together with the Sicilian tables and the Breviaries, do match together for conſuls this year, *C. Cæſar* and M. *Bibulus*. *Dio*, *C. Julius* ſon of *C. Cæſar*, and M. *Calpurnius*. *Plutarch* and *Appian*, *C. Julius Cæſar*, and *C. Bibulus*. Albeit *Appian* as alſo *Eutropius* and *Oroſius* give *Bibulus* the forename of *Lucius*. Of *Cæſar* and *Bibulus*, *Cicero* ſpeaketh in his firſt book of Epiſtles, writing to *Lentulus*.

696

696

*L. Piſo.* *A. Gabinius.*

*Caſſiodorus* and the Sicilian records ſhew for Conſuls this year, *L. Piſo* and *A. Gabinius*. *Dio*, L. *Calpurnius* ſon of L. *Piſo*: and *A. Gabinius* ſon of *Aulus*. *Caſar*, *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, and *Caſſiodorus*, L. *Piſo*, and *A. Gabinius*. *Caſar* writeth of them in his firſt book of the Gauls war, and *Plutarch* in the life of *Cato* the yonger. *Cicero* alſo in his oration againſt *Piſo* and for *Sextius*. This *Piſo* the Conſul *Cicero* and *Pedian* ſurnamed *Caſonius*, for ſo his grand-father before him was called as appeareth in the capitol records for the year 606.

697

P. *Lentulus.* *Q.* Metellus.

THe Conſuls following for this year, were by *Caſſiodorus* and the Sicilian records, P. *Lentulus* and Q. *Metellus*. By *Dio*, *Pub. Cornelius* ſon of *Publius*, *Lentulus Spinther*: and Q. *Cæcilius* ſon of *Qu. Metellus Nepos*. Of them ſpeaketh *Valerius* in his ninth book. *Lentulus* (qd. he) and *Metellus* companions in the conſulſhip were beheld and ſeen both upon the ſtage like plaiers: but the one of them took the ſurname of *Spinther* * one of the ſecond ſort of actors: the other, but that he had gotten the name of * *Nepos* already for his lewd behaviour, ſhould have been called *Pamphilus*, after the name of * one of a third ſort, whom for all the world he reſembled. Of the ſame men, *Cicero* in his firſt book of Epiſtles, and in very many of his orations. *Pliny* alſo in his ſeventh book and ſecond chapter, *Plutarch* in the life of *Cicero*, and all other writers make much mention.

* *Secundarum.*

* *A ruffian.*
* *Tertiarum.*

698

*Cn. Lentulus.* L. *Philippus.*

*Caſſiodorus* putteth down for Conſuls, *Cn. Lentulus* and L. *Philippus*. The Sicilian records, *Marcellus* and *Philippus*. *Dio*, *Cn. Cornelius* ſon of *Publius*, *Lentulus Marcellus*: and L. *Martius* ſon of *Lucius Philippus*. Of *Lentulus* and *M. Marcellus* Conſuls, *Cicero* ſpeaketh in his Epiſtles to *Lentulus*. *Plutarch* alſo in the life of *Cato* maketh mention of *Martius Philippus* now Conſul. This *Cn. Lentulus* was the ſon of that *P. Lentulus*, as *Cicero* ſaith in his *Brutus*. And ſurnamed he was *Marcellus*, and not *Claudius*, that it might be known of what family of the *Claudii* he was deſcended.

696

*Cn. Pompeius.* *M. Craſſus.*

WHen as by the obſtinate perſiſtance of *C. Cato* Tribun of the commons, (who ever interpoſed his negative) there could be no ordinary aſſembly holden for the creation of magiſtrats, the whole degree of the Senators changed their weed in token of grief: ſo as upon an Interregency between, *Cn. Pompeius* was choſen Conſul, and with him *M. Craſſus* the ſecond time, as *Plutarch*, *Dio*, and *Appian* do witneſs. *Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus*, whom *Cato* and all good men accompanied and preſented, was in the common place by violence throughly beaten, and *Cato* himſelf wounded. Theſe Coſſ. *Dio* calleth *Cn. Pompeius*, ſon of *Cn. Magnus* the ſecond time: and M. *Licinius* ſon of *Publius Craſſus*, the ſecond time. Of them *Pedianus*, *Eutropius*, the Sicilian regiſters and others make mention.

700

*Ap. Claudius.* L. *Domitius.*

*Dio* in his nine and thirtieth book, for the year after the cities foundation 700. following the computation of *Varro*, avoucheth Conſuls, *Appius Claudius*, ſon of *Appius Pulcher*: and L. *Domitius* ſon of *Cneus*, *Ænobarbus*. *Caſſiodore* and *Obſequens*, name them, *Ap. Claudius* and L. *Domitius*, whom the Sicilian records call *Pulcher* and *Ænobarbus*: and *Pedian* upon the Oration for *Scaurus*, L. *Domitius Ænobarbus*, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*. Of this L. *Domitius*, ſon of *Cneus Ænobarbus*, *Cœlius* ſpeaketh in the eight book of *Ciceros* Epiſtles.

701

*Cn. Domitius.* *M. Meſſala.*

AGainſt this year there ſtood in election and laboured with much earneſtnes and ambitious deſire to be Conſuls, *Caius Memmius*, *Cn. Domitius*. M. *Meſſala* and M. *Scaurus*, as *Cicero* writeth to his brother *Quintus*. But at the laſt, even in the ſeventh month of this year there were created by means of an Interregency, M. *Meſſala* and *Cn. Domitius*. Neither had they been choſen then; but that Q. *Pompeius Rufus* a Tribun of the commons, who ſtill oppoſed himſelf to hinder and debar all election, was by order from the Senate committed: and the Senate made countenance to do the like by the reſt, as many as went about to croſs the ſaid election. Thus much *Dio*. But *Appian* ſaith, that the common-weal continued for eight months ſpace in Anarchy without any ſoveraign magiſtrats of ſtate. *Plutarch* writeth, that in this ſo great extremity of danger, *Lucilius* a Tribun of the commons, preferred a bill for the creating of *Cneus Pompeius* Dictator, who ſhould redreſs all enormities and ſet upright the ſtate again: but *Cato* gainſaid it, and ſo nothing was effected. *Dio* ſaith moreover, that the Tribuns of the commons moved for the chuſing not of a Dictator only, but alſo of military Tribuns in conſuls authority: but through the earneſt labour of *Pompeius*, Conſuls were created, *Meſſala* and *Calvinus*, which ſurnames ſtand to be ſeen upon the Sicilian records. Alſo in the capitol monuments, written it is thus. *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* ſon of M. nephew of *Marcus*, anno 708 and 717.

702
*Cn. Pompeius. Q. Metellus.*

WHen by reaſon of the contentions among ſo mighty competitors, the Conſuls could not be created by the Calends of *January*: there paſſed an Act of the Senat, according to the mind and advice of *Bibulus*, by vertue whereof *Cn. Pompeius* was by the Interregent *Serv. Sulpitius* created Conſul the third time, upon the five and twentieth of *February*, without a Collegue firſt, and preſently entred upon the government. But afterwards to avoid the envy that might ariſe thereupon, he took unto him as companion in the Conſulſhip for the five laſt months of the year behind, *Q. Cæcilius Pius Metellus Scipio*, his wives father. Thus writeth *Pedian* upon the Oration of *Cicero* in defence of *Milo*: *Plutarch* likewiſe, *Appianus* and *Dio*. This *Metellus Pius Scipio* was alſo called *P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica*, ſon of *Naſica Scipio*, who being adopted by *Q. Metellus Pius*, is called by *Cælius* in the familiar Epiſtles of *Cicero*, *Q. Cæcilius* ſon of *Q.* nephew of *Q. Metellus Pius Scipio*.

703
*M. Marcellus. Ser. Sulpitius.*

AGainſt this year were Conſuls created, *M. Marcellus*, and *Serv. Sulpitius*, as *Caſſiodorus*, *Plutarch*, and *Appian* witneſs. The Sicilian records call them *Rufus* and *Marcellus*. *Dio* nameth them *Servius Sulpitius* ſon of *Q.* ſurnamed *Rufus*, and M. *Claudius* ſon of M. ſurnamed alſo *Marcellus*. Of theſe Conſuls *Suetonius* alſo maketh mention in *Cæſar*: likewiſe *Cicero* in his Epiſtles, and the Epitome 118. This *Marcellus* was the coſin german of that *Marcellus* who the year next following was Conſul: and brother german to him who two years after bare the Conſulſhip, as may be collected out of *Verrius Flaccus*, *Dio*, and *Suetonius*.

704
*L. Paulus. C. Marcellus.*

THere ſucceeded Conſuls, *L. Paulus*, and *C. Marcellus*: witneſs *Caſſiodore*, *Dio*, *Suetonius*, *Hirtius* in his 8 book, together with the Sicilian records. The one of theſe is by *Dio* named *Lucius Emylius*, ſon of *Marcus* ſurnamed *Paulus*; the other by *Cicero* in his Epiſtles, *C. Claudius* ſon of *Caius*, *Marcellus*. *Dio* writeth, that this man by ſome was reported to be ἀνεψιὸς, *i.e.* the brothers ſon, others ἀδελφὸς, *i.e.* the brother of *Marc. Marcellus*, but *Suetonius* ſaith plainly, he was the brothers ſon.

705
*L. Lentulus. C. Marcellus.*

*Caſſiodorus* ſetteth down for Conſuls this yeat *Lentulus* & *C. Marcellus*, as alſo *Appian*, *Plutarch*, *Hirtius*, *Florus*, and *Cicero* in his Epiſtles do teſtifie. *Dio* calleth theſe Conſuls *Lu. Cornelius*, ſon of *Publius Lentulus*: and *C. Claudius* ſon of *Marcus Marcellus*. In the broken marbles of the Capitoll it is to be ſeen thus. *C. Claudius* ſon of *Marcus*, nephew of *Marcus Metellus*. This is that *Lucius Lentulus Crus*, who as *Cælius* teſtifieth in the former election took a repulſe, and by *Cicero* is called in the Oration againſt *Vatinius*, *Flamen Martialis*.

706
*C. Cæſar. P. Servilius.*

WHen *Caius Cæſar* the Dictator held the ſolemn aſſembly for the election in the latter end of the former year, Conſuls there were created *Caius Julius*, ſon of *Caius Cæſar*; and *Pub. Servilius*, ſon of *Publius Iſauricus*. For now was the year come, when as *Cæſar* by the laws might be choſen Conſul: for ſo in the third book of his own Commentaries he ſaith himſelf, and ſo *Dio* in his one and fortieth book, *Plutarch*, *Tranquillus*, *Appianus*, and *Caſſiodorus* do teſtifie of him. But he meaneth that law which expreſly forbad and debarred, that no man might be within ten years ſpace choſen Coſ. twice. As for *Publius Servilius*, he was the ſon of that *Publius Servilius* that firſt took the ſurname *Iſauricus*, who this year bare his Conſulſhip at *Rome*, while *Cæſar* warred in *Macedony*.

707
*Q. Fuſius Calenus. P. Vatinius.*

*Dio* ſaith, That the people of *Rome* having intelligence that *Pompeius* was murdered, endeavoured earneſtly, that there might paſs as honourable decrees for *Cæſar* the Conqueror as poſſible might be. And therefore they ordained, that he might be Conſul five years together, and Dictator not for ſix months as beforetime, but a whole year; and endued with the Tribunes authority for ever. Now *Cæſar*, albeit he was without *Italy*, immediatly entred upon his Dictatorſhip, having ſub-ordained under him for his Generall of the horſe, *Mar. Antonius*, a man who yet had not been Prætor. This appeareth by the Capitoll records, *Dio*, *Plutarch*, and *Cicero* in his ſecond *Philippica*. But under what pretence and colour *Cæſar* took upon him this Dictatorſhip and the reſt following, *Marcus Antonius* ſheweth in his Oration of *Cæſars* praiſe in *Dio*: wherein he ſaith, that *Cæſar* was created Dictator to make head againſt the enemies, and therefore the troubles and diſſentions of war was the cauſe of this creation. But certain it is that *Cæſar* became Dictator for another cauſe, namely, that by the means of that ſoveraign power, he might draw unto himſelf alone the whole managing and government of the State, which beforetime had been adminiſtred by many perſons. But *Dio* addeth moreover and ſaith, that in the beginning of this year there were neither Prætors nor Conſuls elected. For *Marcus Antonius* Generall of the horſe, arraied in his purple robes, with ſix Lictors, making way before him, reſembled a

certain ſhew of the ancient liberty. But within a while after he departed forth of the City, and that which never was before done by any Maſter of the horſe, he left *Lu. Caſar* an aged man, Provoſt and governor of *Rome*. Howbeit, in the end of the year, after the recovery and conqueſt of *Ægypt*, when King *Ptolomeus* was ſlain, and *Pharnaces* K. of *Pontus* vanquiſhed; Conſuls were created, *Q. Fuſius*, ſon of *Quintus, Calenus*; and *Pub. Vatinius*, ſon of *Publius*. And theſe the Capitoll tables do ſhew, and *Caſſiodorus* alſo. Of *Publius Vatinius* Conſul, *Macrobius* in his ſecond book maketh mention.

708
*C. Caſar. M. Lepidus.*

*Verrius* in his capitoll tables ſetteth forth Conſuls of this year, only without ever a Dictator. The ſtone record of *Colatia*, whereof *Onuphrius* ſpeaketh here, nameth *C. Julius Caſar* the third time, and *M. Æmylius Lepidus*. But *Dio* in his three and fortieth book, The next year following (quoth he) he bare the Dictatorſhip and the Conſulat both, the third time, and took unto him for his Collegue in both Magiſtracies, *M. Æmylius Lepidus*. Of the ſame mind ſeemeth *Tranquillus* to be in *Caſar*, chap. ſeventy ſix. Likewiſe *Hirtius* in the fift book. But *Onuphrius* ſuppoſeth that both *Tranquillus* and *Dio*, yea, and *Hirtius* alſo was in an errour. For with the capitoll records, *Plutarch* and *Eutropius* agree; who write that *Caſar* this year was Conſul the third time with *M. Lepidus*, and Dictator the ſecond time.

709
*C. Caſar. Q. Maximus.*

They who cut the capitol marbles, do ſhew unto us that *Caſar* this year was third time Dictator with *M. Lepidus* General of the horſe. From whom *Dio* differeth; who doth report that this year *Caſar* was Dictator the 4 time, and *Lepidus* ſecond time Maſter of the horſemen: alſo that *Lepidus* fellow-Conſul with *Caſar*, declareth himſelf againſt all law, Generall of the horſe. Thus much of the Dictator. But as touching the Conſuls this year, there is to be ſeen written in the Index or table of *Dio*, that the ſame year *Caſar* bare his fourth Dictatorſhip, and likewiſe his fourth Conſulat without Collegue. In that hiſtory alſo it appeareth, that *Caſar* preſently entred upon his fourth Conſulat, but bare it not throughout the whole year: and that ſo ſoon as he was returned to *Rome* out of *Spain*, he reſigned and ſubſtituted in his place for the reſt of the year, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Cn. Trebonius*. With *Dio*, the evidences agree that are written in the capitoll fragments: wherein it appeareth that *Caſar* was the fourth time Conſul, and that without a Collegue; as *Sigonius* maketh interpretation. For *Cuſpinians* Kalender, together with the Sicilian regiſters, do ſhew that *Caſar* was Conſul now alone the fourth time. In like manner, *Appian* and *Plutarch* make mention of *Caſar*, who being Conſul elect from the fourth time led an army into *Spain*. As for *Q. Fabius*, *Suetonius* calleth him a three months Conſul. *Dio* ſaith moreover, that *Caſar* upon the death of *Q. Fabius* the Conſul, declared the very laſt day of the year, *C. Cannius* to be the Conſul for thoſe few hours that were behind. Whereof *Cicero* in his ſeventh book of Epiſtles, writing to *Curius*, *Macrobius* in his ſecond book of *Saturnalia*, *Tacitus* in his eighteenth book, *Pliny* in his ſeventh, and *Suetonius* in *Caſar* do make report.

710
*C. Caſar. M. Antonius.*

*Dio* ſetteth down for this year *Caſar* Dictator the fift time, together with *M. Æmylius Lepidus* Maſter of the horſemen. But the capitoll tables avouch him Dictator now the fourth time. *Dio* and *Appian* write that he created himſelf Conſul together with *M. Antonius*. Likewiſe *Caſſiodorus* and the Sicilian regiſters give record, that *Caſar* was this year Conſul the fift time, together with *M. Antonius*. And *Macrobius* in his firſt book ſpeaketh of them. Moreover, written it is in the capitoll and Colotian tables, that *C. Caſar* was Coſ. the fift time, with *M. Antonius* ſon of M. and that in the room of *Caſar* there was choſen *P Cornelius* ſon of *Publius*. And this was *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, whom *Caſar* himſelf (if he had lived) meant to have ſubſtituted in his own room. *Plutarch* writeth, that *Caſar* Conſul now the fift time took unto him for his companion in government M. *Antonius*. And when as he would have ſubordained *Dolabella* in his own ſtead, *Antony* gainſaid it in an oration: and afterwards, when *Caſar* a ſecond time would have had *Dolabella* to be declared Conſul, and ſtill *Antony* croſſed and withſtood it, *Caſar* gave over his enterpriſe. But after *Caſar* was murdered, *Antony* (as *Dio* writeth) fearing ſome inſurrection and commotion if he ſhould have rejected *Dolabella*, took him into the fellowſhip of government. *Appian* ſaith, that immediatly after *Caſar* was killed, *Dolabella* entred into the Magiſtracy. So ſaith *Velleius* alſo. And this verily was the year, in which the conſpiracy was contrived againſt *Caſar*, whereof the captains were M and *Decimus* both *Bruti*, *C. Trebonius* & *C. Caſſius*: and upon the fifteenth day of *March*, when he ſat in Councill together with the Senat in the court of *Pompey*, he was was ſtabbed, and received in his body three and twenty wounds: which done, the murderers who had wrought the feat ſeized the capitoll. And *C. Octavius* his nephew or ſiſters ſon, whom *Caſar* had made in his will his half-heir, and adopted to bear his own name, came out of *Epirus*, whither *Caſar* had ſent him before, minding to make war upon the Parthians, and after all lucky and happy proceedings, took upon him the name of *Caſar*, according to his laſt will and teſtament.

711

711
*C. Pansa. A. Hirtius.*

*Dio, Cassiodorus*, and the rest, nominate Consuls for this year, *C. Vibius Pansa Caprolianus*, and *A. Hirtius*, son of *Aulus*. *Cuspinians* book sheweth *Cretonianus* and *Hirtius*. Whereby it may be understood, that *Cretonianus* was the surname of *Pansa*, but peradventure written for *Capronianus*. In the Colotian table they are named *C. Vibius*, son of *Caius*, and *Au. Hirtius* son of *Hirtius*. This *Hirtius* was one of their sons who were out-lawed by *Sulla*, and whom *Cæsar* (as *Dio* reporteth) advanced to honourable dignities. Both these, and the Consuls of the year following, were by *Cæsar* elected and destined thereto, before he was slain. *Dio, Appian*, and others report, that of these two Consuls, *Hirtius* in the time of the civill war, in a battell before *Modena* against *Antonius* was slain; and *Pansa* some daies after, upon a hurt received in the same fight, died at *Bononia*. In the room of *Pansa*, *C. Octavius* was sub-elected Consul, the nineteenth of *August* in the same year, and he instead of *Hirtius*, took unto him for his Collegue *Q. Padius*.

712
*M. Lepidus. L. Plancus.*

*Cassiodorus* and the Sicilian records put down for Consuls, *M. Lepidus* and *L. Plancus*. *Dio, M. Æmylius Lepidus* the second time, and *Lu. Munatius*, son of *Lucius*, surnamed *Plancus*. Of these Consuls *Suetonius* speaketh in *Tiberius*, saying, That *Tiberius* was born after the battell of *Philippi*, when *Mar. Æmylius Lepidus* was the second time Consul with *Munatius Plancus*. Now had there been before appointed Consuls against this year by *Cæsar*, *D. Brutus* and *Lu. Plancus*. But by reason that *Brutus* the year before was by the law *Pedia* condemned and after killed, and so the three Triumvirs usurped the rule of the common-weal; agreed it was, that *M. Lepidus* one of the Triumvirs who beforetime also had been Consul with *Cæsar* in his third Consulship, should together with *Plancus*, (who also taking part and siding with *Antony*, had revolted from the Common-weal) administer the Consulat. Moreover, this *Brutus* was by *Plutarch*, *Appian*, *Dio*, and *Zonaras*, called also *Albinus*; I suppose, for that out of the race of the *Bruti* he was adopted and incorporat into the house of the *Albini*. In this year, during the civill war, *Brutus* and *Cassius* were slain in battell before *Philippi*, as *Dio*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and others write.

713
*P. Servilius II. L. Antonius.*

THe Colotian tables, *Dio*, and *Cassiodorus* match Consuls together for this year, *Lu. Antonius* son of *Marcus*, surnamed *Pietas*, and *P. Servilius*, son of *Publius*, *Isauricus*, the second time. Of these Consuls, *Suetonius* writeth in *Tiberius*. This *P. Servilius* was first Consul with *Cæsar* in his second Consulat; whose father *Isauricus* died a little before, as *Dio* and *Eusebius* report. As for *L. Antonius*, named he is by *Dio Pietas*, for that being Consul, he together with *Fulvia* the wife of his brother *Marcus*, managed the affairs of state with that mind, as if his whole care had been for his brother the Triumvir, in regard of which brotherly and affectionat kindness, he challenged the surname of *Pietas*.

714
*Cn. Domitius. C. Asinius.*

A Colotian table, *Dio*, and *Cassiodorus* joyn in the Consulat of this year, *Cneus Domitius* son of *Marcus*, *Calvinus*, the second time; and *C. Asinius*, son of *Cneus*, *Pollio*. Of these, *Josephus* speaketh in his fourteenth book of the Jews antiquities and three and twenty chapter. Toward the end of this year, *Dio* writeth, that these Consuls gave up their place and that other Consuls were substitute for those few daies that were to come: and one of them was *L. Cornelius Balbus Gaditanus*. And therefore in the Colotian table these subordained Consuls stand under these names, *L. Cornelius*, son of *Lucius*, and *P. Canidius*, son of *Lucius*. Of *Pub. Cornel. Balbus* Consul, *Pliny* writeth in his seventh book and three and fortieth chapter, and *Velleius* in his second book.

715
*L. Censorinus. L. Calvisius.*

*Cassiodorus* inferred for the next Consuls, *Lucius Censorinus* and *Caius Calvisius*. The Sicilian records have *Censorinus* and *Sabinus*. *Dio*, *L. Martius* and *C. Sabinus*, *C. Calvisius* son of *Caius*, is named by *Dio* in the catalogue or table, *Sabinus*, although it be read there commonly, but amiss, *Asinius*.

716
*Ap. Claudius. C. Norbanus.*

COnsuls that follow, were *App. Claudius* and *C. Norbanus*, as *Cassiodorus* saith. But as the Sicilian registers, purport, *Censorinus* and *Sabinus*: as *Dio* writeth, *App. Claudius* son of *Caius*, *Pulcher*; and *C. Norbanus*, son of *Caius*, *Flaccus*. As touching *Tadius Asper* the Consul elect, and substitute in the room of another, who before he entred into government, being terrified with the minatory threats of *C. Cæsar*, threw himself down headlong, and so brake his neck, see *Tranquillus* in *Augustus*.

717
*M. Agrippa. L. Caninius.*

*Cassiodorus* putteth down for Consuls, *M. Agrippa* and *Lu. Caninius*. The Sicilian registers *Agrippa* and *Gallus*. *Dio*, *M. Vipsanius*, son of *Lucius*, *Agrippa*: and *L. Caninius* son of *Lucius*, *Gallus*. *Josephus* in his fifteenth book of Antiquities, avoucheth Consuls, *Mar. Agrippa* and *C. Canidius Gallus*. *Nepos* also in the life of *Atticus*, calleth *Vipsanius Agrippa*. In the capitol

marbles and in other old monuments of *Rome* his gentile name is paſſed over, and namely, in the forefront of the Temple, called *Pantheon*, wherein is engraven *M. Agrippa* ſon of *Lucius*, Conſul the third time. *Tacitus* alſo in his firſt book mentioneth this *Agrippa*.

718
*L.Gellius. M.Cocceius.*

*Caſſiodorus* nameth for Conſuls this year, *L.Gellius* and *M.Cocceius*. The Sicilian records ſhew *Publicola* and *Nerva*: *Dio* hath *Lu. Gellius* ſon of *Lucius Poplicola*, and *M.Cocceius Nerva*. Out of the capitoll fragments it appeareth, that *L.Gellius* was the ſon of *Lucius*, and nephew of *Lucius*. By the report of *Dio*, this *Lu. Gellius* was brother to *M.Valerius Meſſala*. For it is the ſame man who was pardoned before by *M. Brutus*: whereby it may be underſtood, that *Poplicola* was his ſurname by way of adoption: for they were not the *Gellii* but the *Valerii*, that carried the ſurname of *Publicolæ*. The ſame fragments do ſhew, that the ſaid *Gellius* left his place, and that another was put in his room. And haply it was *L. Munatius*, ſon of *Lucius*, nephew of *Lucius Plancus*: whom *Pliny* in his thirteenth book and third chapter, ſaith to have been twice Conſul: but in what year he was the ſecond time, a man cannot find, unleſs it were in this.

719
*Sext.Pompeius.* L.*Cornificius.*

*Caſſiodorus* and the Sicilian records teſtifie, that this years Conſuls were *Sex. Pompeius* and L.*Cornificius*. *Dio*, L.*Cornificius* ſon of *Lucius*, and *Sextus* Pompeius ſon of *Sextus*. This year *Sex. Pompeius*, ſon of *Cneus* was ſlain.

720
*M. Antonius.* L. *Scribonius Libo.*

*Caſſiodorus* putteth down for Conſuls, *Lu. Scribonius* and *Lu. Atratinus*. The Sicilian catalogue *Antonius* and *Libo*. *Dio*, *M. Antonius* ſon of *Marcus* the ſecond time, and L.*Scribonius*, ſon of *Lucius*, *Libo*. The ſame *Dio* ſaith moreover, that *M. Antonius* the Triumvir, preſently upon the very Calends of *Jannary* gave over the Magiſtracy, and ſubſtituted in his own ſtead *Lu. Sempronius Atratinus*: and therefore many there be that affirm how it was not *Antonius* but *Atratinus* that was Conſul this year with *Libo*. That Conſuls alſo were ſub-elected to bear out one part of the year, it is to be found in ſome authors that have ſet forth the Municipal Annals. And verily *Dio* maketh mention of *Paulus Æmylius* Conſul, for one part of the year, and that he built a ſtately porch or gallery at his own charges, and dedicated it in his Conſulſhip.

721
*C.Cæſar.* L.*Volcatius.*

*Caſſiodorus* exhibiteth unto us for Conſuls, *C. Cæſar* and L. *Volcatius*. *Dio*, *Cæſar* the ſecond time, and L. *Volcatius* ſon of *Lucius Tullus*. They who compoſed and digeſted the Sicilian regiſters, very unfitly ſet down *Cæſar* and *Cicero* for this years Conſuls. Of this Conſulſhip of *Cæſar*, *Suetonius* and *Dio* ſpeak, ſaying, that he held it very few hours, as *Antonius* alſo beforetime. Inſtead of *Cæſar* was Lu. *Antonius* ſubrogated, and many other for one part or other of the year, who in the book entituled, Old inſcriptions, are reckoned in this manner:

Emperor *Cæſar II.* L.*Volcatius.*
Kal. Januarii. L.*Antonius.*
Kal. Maii. L.*Flavius.*
Kal. Julii. *M.Atilius.*
*C.Fonteius.*
Kal. Sept. L. *Vinutius.*
Kal. Octob. L. *Lanonius.*

Of L. *Flavius* made Conſul by *M. Antonius*, and depoſed, *Dio* likewiſe maketh mention.

722
*Cn. Domitius. C.Soſius.*

*Caſiodorus* nominateth for Conſuls this year, *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Soſius*. The Sicilian records, *Ænobarbus* and *Soſius*. *Dio*, *Cneus Domitius*, ſon of *Cneus*, nephew of *Cneus*, *Ænobarbus*; and *C. Soſius* ſon of *C.* nephew of *Caius*. *Nepos* writeth, that *Atticus* died, when *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Soſius* were Conſuls.

723
*C.Cæſar II. M.Meſſala.*

*Caſſiodorus* avoucheth Conſuls this year, *C. Cæſar* the ſecond time, and *M. Meſſala*. The Sicilian regiſters, *Octavius* and *Corvinus*. *Dio*, *Cæſar* the third time, and *M. Valerius*, ſon of *Marcus*, ſurnamed *Meſſala Corvinus*, and that right truly. For *Caſſiodorus* maketh no reckoning of that Conſulſhip of *Cæſar* which he bare with *Pedius*, becauſe he was ſubordained in the place with another. But *Dio* and *Appius* do witneſs, that *Cæſar* and *Antony* were marched together this year, both of them in their ſecond Conſulſhip, at what time as upon peace made with *Sextus Pompeius*, they were appointed Conſuls beforehand for eight years next enſuing: howbeit, in the firſt year the people turned *Antony* out of his Conſulſhip, and proclaimed war againſt him and *Cleopatra*, and ſo in his place was *Mar. Meſſala* declared Conſul. As touching the Conſuls this year ſubordained, thus we find written in the ancient inſcriptions.

Emperour *Cæſar IIII.* M.*Valerius.*
Kal. Maii. *M.Titius.*
Kal. Octobris. *Cn.Pompeius.*

724
*C.Cæſar III.* M.*Craſſus.*

*Caſſiodorus* nameth for this years Conſuls, *C. Cæſar* the third time, and M.*Craſſus*. The Sicilian records *Octavianus* and *Craſſus*. *Dio*, *Cæſar* the fourth time, and M. *Licinius*, ſon of *Marcus Craſſus*. He added moreover, and ſaith, *Cæſar* in the midſt of that water croſſed the ſeas out

of

of *Macedony* into *Italy*, wherein he was the fourth time Conſul with *M. Craſſus*. *Oroſius* likewiſe noteth, that *Cæſar* called Emperor, was Conſul the fourth time with *M. Livius Craſſus*. Of other Conſuls ſubſtituted after *M. Licinius*, this we find in the old inſcriptions.

Emperor *Cæſar IV. M. Licinius.*
Kal. Jul. *C. Antiſtius.*
Ibid. Septembr. *M. Tullius.*
Kal. Novembr. *L. Sanius.*

Of *M. Tullius* Conſul with *Auguſtus*, *Dio* maketh mention in his ſtory of this years acts. *Pliny* alſo in his 22 book and 6 chap. and *Plutarch* in *Cicero*. By *Velleius* and *Tacitus* it appeareth that *Antiſtius* had for addition the ſurname of *Vetus*, and *Sanius* of *Savinus*.

725
*C. Cæſar IIII. Sex. Apuleius.*

IN *Caſſiodorus* the Conſuls be *C. Cæſar* the fourth time, and *Sixt. Apuleius*. In *Di*, *Cæſar* the fift time, and *Sext. Apuleius* ſon of *Sext.* In the Sicilian records, *Octavianus* and *Apuleius*: in the Antique inſcriptions, Emperour *Cæſar* the fift time, and *Sext. Apuleius*. *Dio* ſaith, this was the year 725 from the foundation of the City. Of *Cæſar* five times Conſul, there is to be ſeen an old Epigram or inſcription in this manner.

*Senatus Populuſq́ Romanus,*
*Imp. Caſ. Divi Julii Fil. Coſ. Quinc.*
*Coſ. Deſig. Sext. Imp. Sept.*
*Reſp. conſervata.*

That is,

The Senat and people of *Rome*. By Emperour *Cæſar*, ſon of *Julius* of famous memory, Conſul five times, elect Conſul the ſixt time, and Emperor the ſeventh, the Commonwealth ſaved.

726
*C. Cæſar V. M. Agrippa II.*

*Caſſiodorus* declareth for Conſuls this year, *Cæſar* the fift time, and *M. Agrippa* the ſecond time. *Oroſius* and the Sicilian records, *Cæſar* the ſixt time, and *Agrippa* the ſecond time. *Dio*, *Cæſar* the ſixt time, and *M. Vipſanius Agrippa* the third time: but it is to be read the ſecond time, as *Sigonius* advertiſeth, ſo as the next year it ſhould be written the third time. And this plainly appeareth by the ſuperſcription of that Temple (which he erected and named *Pantheon*) in this form, [*M. Agrippa ſon of L. third time Conſul built it.*] For *Dio* ſaith, that this Temple was finiſhed two years after that he was Conſul with *Cæſar* the ſeventh time Conſul, in which year himſelf bare his third Conſulſhip, and not the fourth. For otherwiſe in the front of the ſaid Temple, he would have written, [*Conſul the fourth time.*]

727
*C. Cæſar VI. M. Agrippa III.*

*Caſſiodorus* ſaith, that the next Conſuls were *Cæſar* the ſixt time, and *Mar. Agrippa* the third time. But *Dio*, *Cæſar* the ſeventh time, and *Agrippa* the fourth time. But what is to be thought of them both, is evident by that which hath been ſaid before. In the Sicilian regiſters verily it is written *Octavianus* the ſeventh time, and *Agrippa* the third time.

728
*C. Auguſtus Cæſar VII. T. Statilius.*

*Caſſiodorus* putteth down for Conſuls, *Cæſar Auguſtus* the ſeventh time, and *T. Statilius*. The Sicilian monuments *Octavianus* the eighth time, and *Taurus*. *Dio*, *Cæſar Auguſtus* the eighth time, and *Statilius Taurus* the ſecond time. For he had been Conſul firſt, for a part of the year, *anno* 727, and now is the ſecond time: of whom *Suetonius* writeth thus in *Nero*; *Nero* took to wife *Statilia Meſſalina*, daughter (in the fourth deſcent) of *Taurus*, one who had been twice Conſul, and alſo triumphant: he writeth alſo, that *Auguſtus* entred upon his eight and ninth Conſulat at *Tarracon*.

729
*C. Cæſar Auguſtus VIII. M. Silanus.*

*Caſſiodorus* ſheweth for Conſuls next, *Cæſar Auguſtus* the eighth time, and *M. Silanus*. *Dio* and the Sicilian records, *Auguſtus* the ninth time, and *M. Silanus*. A fragment of the capitol, Emperour *Cæſar Auguſtus* the ninth time, and *M. Junius Silanus*. This year *Auguſtus Cæſar* was Emperour the eight time, and ſhut up the Temple of *Janus* the fourth time now that ever it was ſhut: which he had ſet open before in regard of certain wars, as *Dio* reporteth.

730
*C. Cæſar Auguſtus IX. C. Norbanus.*

*Caſſiodorus* putteth down for this years Conſuls, *Cæſar Auguſtus* the ninth time, and *C. Norbanus*. The Sicilian regiſters, *Auguſtus* the tenth time, and *Flaccus*. *Dio* and a fragment of the capitoll marble, *Auguſtus* the tenth time, and *C. Norbanus Flaccus*. This *Norbanus* ſeemeth to be the ſon of *C. Norbanus* the Conſul, *anno* 716. for he had not the numerall note teſtifying a ſecond Conſulſhip.

731
*C. Cæſar Auguſtus X. Cn. Piſo.*

*Caſſiodorus* ſetteth down for Conſuls, *Cæſar Auguſtus* the tenth time, and *Cneus Piſo*. The Sicilian records, *Auguſtus* the eleventh time, and *Piſo*. And *Dio*, *Auguſtus* the eleventh time, with *Cn. Calpurnius*, ſon of *Cneus Piſo*. By a fragment of the capitol ſtone it appeareth that *Auguſtus* entered the Conſulſhip the eleventh time, together with *Aulus Terentius Varro Murana*: alſo that *Murana* died in his Magiſtracy, in whoſe ſtead was elected *Cn. Calpurnius Piſo*; and *Auguſtus* went out of his government. Of which matter *Dio* thus writeth; *Auguſtus* went to the Alban hill, and there reſigned up the

the Conſulſhip. For whereas both he himſelf and many others, ever ſince the time that the C.W. was ſet in frame and eſtabliſhed, had born the yearly Magiſtrats, he thought that from thence forwards he was to forbear the ſame, to the end, that the honourable dignity of Conſuls ſhould be open to as many as might be. And this did he without the City, becauſe he would not be hindred and letted in the action: and therewith ſubſtituted in his place *Lucius Seſtius*, a man that of all others moſt affected and loved *Brutus*: who alſo wrote of his praiſes and commendable parts.

732
*M. Marcellus. L. Aruntius.*

THis year had for Conſuls, as ſaith *Caſſiodorus*, *M. Marcellus* and *L. Aruntius*: as *Dio*, *M. Claudius* ſon of *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Æſerninus* ſon of *Lucius*. In the Capitoll ſtone theſe Conſuls are thus ſet down, *L. Aruntius* ſon of *L.* nephew of *L.* and *M. Claudius* ſon of *Marcus*, nephew of *M.* Whereby it is given to underſtand, that in the Sicilian records the Conſuls are not well put down to be *Octavianus* the twelfth time, and *Aruntius*. In this year, the conſpiracy of *Fannius Capio* and *Varro Murana* againſt *Auguſtus* was diſcovered: and the Temple of thundering *Jupiter* was dedicated, witneſs *Dio*.

733
*M. Lollius. Q. Lepidus.*

THe Colotian ſtone and *Caſſiodorus* ſhew for this year Conſuls, *Q. Æmylius Lepidus* and *M. Lollius*. *Dio* writeth, when *Auguſtus* was in *Sicily*, and the people of *Rome* at the aſſembly for Conſuls election, there aroſe a ſedition and commotion. For *M. Lollius* only entred upon the government, by reaſon that the other place was reſerved and kept for *Auguſtus*: but when he made refuſall, *Q. Lepidus* was created. Of theſe Conſuls *Horace* in his firſt book of Epiſtles writeth thus:

*Me quater undenos ſciat imſleviſſe Decembres,*
*Collegam Lepidum quo dixit Lollius anno.*

Know he, that 40 winters old and four, I was that year,
At *Rome* when Conſul *Lollius*, choſe *Lepidus* his feer.

734
*M. Apuleius. P. Silius.*

AFter *Caſſiodorus*, the Conſuls that followed for this year, were *M. Apuleius* and *P. Silius*. But in *Dio*, *M. Apuleius* ſon of *Sextus*, and *Publius Silius* ſon of *Publius Nerva*. In the Sicilian records, *Apuleius* and *Nerva*.

735
*C. Sentius. Q. Lucretius.*

THe Colotian ſtone, *Euſebius* in his treatiſe of Times, *Dio* and *Caſſiodorus* ſet forth as Conſuls this year, *Caius Sentius*, ſon of *Caius*, *Saturninus*; and *Quintus Lucretius* ſon of *Quintus Viſpillo*. Of this years conſuls thus writeth *Dio*. *Caius Sentius* was declared Conſul: but for that there was to be given him a companion, and *Auguſtus* refuſed the ſecond place of Conſulſhip reſerved for him, there aroſe a ſedition, untill *Auguſtus* pronounced Conſul *Quintus Lucretius* one of the Embaſſadors, whom the Senat had ſent unto him about the appeaſing of the foreſaid ſedition; notwithſtanding he was a man in times paſt proſcribed and outlawed. The ſame writeth *Velleius* in the ſecond book. In the broken Colotian ſtone it is to be read, that the Conſul elected inſtead of *Sentius Saturninus*, was *Mar. Vinucius* ſon of *Marcus*. *Velleius*, unto *Vinucius* adjoyneth as Collegue, *Agrippa*. In this year, after the firſt ten years were expired, for which ſpace *Auguſtus* together with *Agrippa* at the firſt received the Cenſorian authority and dignity, he was created a ſecond time by the people over-ſeer of mens behaviour for the term of five years; and reſumed the Cenſors power for the ſame time, and the Conſular authority for ever. So as, at all times and in all places, he might have twelve Lictors go before him with their bundles of rods, and be allowed to take his place and ſit with the Conſuls.

736
*Cn. Lentulus. P. Lentulus.*

PUblius Cornelius ſon of *Publius*, *Lentulus Marcellinus*: and *Cn. Cornelius* ſon of *Lucius*, are ſet down for Conſuls by the Colotian ſtone table; by *Dio* alſo and *Caſſiodorus*. In this year *Marcus Agrippa* by the motion and authority of the Emperour *Ceſar Auguſtus*, obtained of the Senat and people of *Rome* the Tribunitian power for five years.

737
*C. Furnius. C. Silanus.*

THere ſucceeded Conſuls next, according to *Caſſiodorus*, *C. Furnius* and *C. Silanus*. After *Dio*, *C. Furnius* ſon of *C.* and *C. Junius* ſon of *Caius Silanus*. But in the Colotian fragment *C. Furnius* ſon of *Caius*, and *C. Junius*. Whiles *C. Furnius* and *C. Junius Silanus* were Conſuls, the ſolemn plaies, called *Seculares* were now the fift time ſet out by *Auguſtus*, as *Cenſorinus* and *Dio* affirm.

738
*L. Domitius. P. Scipio.*

CAſſiodore nameth for Conſuls *Lucius Domitius* and *P. Scipio*. The Sicilian records, *Ænobarbus* and *Cornelius*. *Dio*, *L. Domitius* ſon of *Lucius*, nephew of *Lucius*, *Ænobarbus*: and *P. Cornelius* ſon of *P.* nephew of *Publius*, *Scipio*: In like manner the Colotian table, wherein it ſtandeth, that for *P. Cornelius* there was ſubſtituted *L. Ta. i.e. Tarius*: of whom *Pliny* in his eighteenth book and ſeventh chapter writeth thus, *L. Tarius Rufus*, a man moſt baſe for his

parentage,

parentage, deſerved a Conſulat under *Auguſtus Caſar* of happy memory, only for his military ſervice. In this Conſuls year was the Quinquennal ſolemnity performed, as writeth *Dio*, in memoriall of the Empire of *Auguſtus*: and *Agrippa* one of the Quindecemvirs, had the ordering and ſetting out thereof.

739
M. Druſus. L. Piſo.

THe Conſuls next following, were *M. Druſus* and *L. Piſo*, as *Caſſiodorus* ſaith. The Sicilian regiſters name them *Libo* and *Piſo*. *Dio*, *M. Livius* ſon of *Lucius*, *Druſus Libo*: and *L. Calphurnius* ſon of *Lucius Piſo*, *M. Druſus* ſon of *Marcus*. *L. . . .* according to the Colotian fragment.

740
*Cn. Lentulus.* M. *Craſſus.*

THis year next following had for Conſuls, after *Caſſiodorus*, and the Sicilian monuments, *Cn. Lentulus* and *M. Craſſus* whom *Dio* calleth, *M. Licinius* ſon of *Marcus*. *C. . . .* and *Cn. Cornelius*, ſon of *Cneus Lentulus*. The Colotian fragment ſheweth *Marcus Licinius* ſon of *Marcus*.

741
*T. Nero.* Q. *Quintilius*

*Tiberius Nero*, and *P. Quintilius* were Conſuls this year, as *Caſſiodorus* reporteth. They are named *Nero* and *Varus* in the Sicilian Catalogue. And *Dio* calleth them *Titus Claudius* ſon of *Tiberius Nero*: and *P. Quintilius*, ſon of *Sextus Varus*. The Colotian fragment, *Tiberius Claudius* ſon of *T. Suetonius* writeth, that *Tiberius* bare his firſt Conſulſhip but a few daies. For this is that *Tiberius Nero*, *Auguſtus Cæſars* wives ſon, who after the death of *Auguſtus*, attained to the Empire, having been firſt by him adopted.

742
*M. Meſſala.* P. *Sulpitius.*

*Caſſiodorus* putteth down for Conſuls, *Meſſala* and *P. Sulpitius*. The Sicilian records, *Meſſala* and *Quirinus*. *Dio*, *M. Valerius*, ſon of *Marcus*, *Meſſala Barbatus*: and *P. Sulpitius* ſon of *Publius Quirinus*: of whom *Suetonius* in *Claudius*, and *Tacitus* in his ſecond book write. Moreover, this is that *Sulpitius Quirinus*, who by *Joſephus* in the ſeventeenth book of antiquities and firſt chapter, is ſaid to have born the Conſular dignity, and was Lieutenant in *Syria*. At which time, our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* the Redeemer and Saviour of mankind, was born: of whom Saint *Luke* maketh mention, ſaying, This was the firſt enrolment or taxation which was made by *Quirinus* Preſident and governour of *Syria*. After theſe Conſuls, others were ſubſtituted in their place, as the Colotian ſtone ſheweth, wherein it is thus read:

*M. Valerius. M. F.*
*C. Volgius. C. F.*
*Suff. C. Caninius.*

Likewiſe in *Cuſpinian* his Calender, theſe Conſuls are written with their ſurnames:

*Meſſala Quirinus.*
*Rebilus Saturninus.*
*Maximus Tubero.*

By which it appeareth that *Rebulus* and *Saturninus* were the ſurnames of *Caninius* & *Volgius*. By a fragment of the capitoll marble, it is evident, that the ſurnames of *Valerius* was *Æmylianus*; of *Volgius*, *Rufus*; and *Rebulus* of *Caninius*: and that as *Rufus* was put in the place of *Valerius*, ſo *Rebulus* inſtead of *Rufus*. There remaineth alſo the memoriall of *Rebulus* and *Saturninus* in the Sicilian records. In this year, *Dio* reporteth, that *Auguſtus* was a ſecond time made over-ſeer for mens manners and demeanours five years more: and that he reſumed ſtill the ſame authority by times, as alſo the Empire, and therein *Agrippa* died.

743
P. *Fabius.* Q. *Ælius.*

*Caſſiodorus* exhibiteth for this years Conſuls, *Paulus Fabius* and *Q. Ælius*. *Dion*, *Paulus Fabius*, ſon of *Quintus Maximus* and *Tubero*. Of *Q. Ælius Tubero*, and *P. Fabius Maximus* Conſuls, *Frontinus* ſpeaketh of in his book of water-conduits: and *Pliny* in his eight book and ſeventh chapter, where he writeth, that the Theater of *Marcellus* was dedicated when *Quintus Tubero* and *Fabius Max.* were Conſuls.

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*Julus Antonius.* Q. *Fabius.*

*Caſſiodorus* nameth for Conſuls this year, *Junius Antonius Africanus* and *Q. Fabius*. *Dio*, *Jul. Antonius Africanus* and *Q. Fabius* ſon of *Quintus Maximus*. The Sicilian Catalogue and Calender of *Cuſpinian* ſhew *Africanus* and *Maximus*. *Dio* nameth *Julus*, the ſon of *Antonius*. Unto him *Horace* writeth in this manner:

Pindarum *quiſquis ſtudet æmulari*
*Iule, ceratis ope Dædalea,*
*Nititur pennis, &c.*

With wings deviſ'd by *Dædalus*
And glew'd with wax, they flie:
Who ſtrive (O *Iule*) with *Pindarus*
To match his Poetry.

And after,
*Tendit (Antoni) quoties in altos*
*Nubium tractus.*

——O *Antoni*, ſo ſoft
As he doth mount the clouds aloft,

745

745
*Druſus Nero. Titus Quintius.*

THere ſucceeded Conſ. according to *Caſſiodorus*, *Druſus Nero*, and *T. Quintius*: but after *Dio*, *Nero Claudius*, ſon of *Tiberius Druſus*; and *T. Quintius*, ſon of *Titus Criſpinus*. *Druſus* and *Criſpinus*, by *Cuſpinians* Calender and the Sicilian regiſters. This *Druſus* brother of *Tiberius Nero* was *Auguſtus Cæſars* wives ſon: who being Conſul, died in *Germany*, and both he and his children had the ſurname of *Germanicus*, as *Dio* writeth: which addition the Senat gave him firſt of that Province, as *Eutropius* ſaith. With the death of this *Druſus* endeth *Livies* hiſtories: for thus it is written in the laſt Epitome, *&c.* Look in the ſaid Breviary.

## *To the Reader.*

*I doubt not but many of them who ſhall take delight and pleaſure in reading the Roman ſtory above-written, will preſently grow into a liking of the very place, which hath afforded ſo worthy perſons and rare examples. The love whereof hath moved many a man to undertake a voyage to* Rome, *only to ſee the river* Tyberis, *thoſe ſeven hils, and the monuments remaining of that famous City. The journey they have found, for way long and tedious; for expence of money heavy and chargeable; for hazard of religion, conſcience and good manners, exceeding dangerous: ſo far degenerate are the inhabitants now from that ancient people, ſo devout, ſo vertuous and uncorrupt, in old time. To ſatisfie the Readers in this behalf, and to avoid the peril of that travell, I thought it not amiſs to bring* Rome (*as it were*) *home to them, even to repreſent unto their eye the Topography thereof, that is to ſay, the deſcription of the places, with the memorable edifices, or rather the ruins of thoſe antique buildings, mentioned in the ſtory aforeſaid. And for aſmuch as* Bartholmew Marlian *hath [illegible] plains, and made a Treatiſe thereof, worthy in his conceit to be dedicated unto that noble Prince of famous memory,* Francis *the French King, the firſt (I take it) of that name: and for that thoſe learned men, who firſt ſet* Livy *forth in print, have thought good to adjoyn thereto, as a neceſſary dependant, the foreſaid Treatiſe; I for my part, having ſtrugled with the difficulties of the* Alps, *and in ſome ſort overcome them; croſſed* Rhoſne *and the* Po; *paſſed over the hils* Olympus *and* Æmus, *and ſcrawled through the rough ſtreights of* Thermopylæ *and* Tempe, *ſeem now I would not at my return to ſtick at the pleaſant mounts,* Palatine, Capitoll, Aventin, *&c. with the plains and valleys between, or the river* Tyber *and* Mars *field underneath them, beautified eſpecially with ſuch ſtately Temples, triumphant Arches, glorious Palaces, Theatres, Cirques, Columns, and Coloſſes, wonders of the world. And albeit I found* Marlian *far unlike himſelf, and the book that goeth in his name much corrupt in the print, yet by conference with other Authors, I have reformed the fault, and endeavoured that our Engliſh edition might in ſome meaſure be anſwerable to the Latine.*

# A Summary collected by *John Bartholmew Marlianus*, a Gentleman of *Millain*, touching the Topography of *Rome* in ancient time.

## The Firſt Book.

### CHAP. I.

*The ſituation of the City.*

BEfore we enterpriſe to ſhew the edifices and buildings of the City of *Rome*, ſomewhat would be premiſed of the ſite thereof. Begin therefore we will at the very habitation of the immortall gods; with the invocation of whom, the Poets are wont in every hard and difficult work, to lay their firſt ground and make their entrance.

The Capitol hill, where it is broadeſt, exceedeth not 800 foot: in length it lyeth out toward the Northweſt 1500. It hath a point or wing on either ſide in faſhion of a ſemicircle, and in compaſs containeth well-near ſeven * furlongs.

* *Stadia.*

From this mount as it runneth out in length, the *Palatine* hill is divided by a valley of the ſame breadth, or ſomewhat more; making a ſquare with four angles of unequall ſides, containing 1200 paces. For, the one of 600 foot boundeth upon the *Capitoline* hill: a ſecond of ſeven hundred foot, bendeth to the Northeaſt: the third, being almoſt twice as long, looketh toward the Southeaſt and the mount *Cælius*: the fourth, which of all others is biggeſt, and comprehendeth the liſts or ſhew-place, called *Circus Maximus*, directly regardeth the *Aventine*. On the ſecond ſide thereof there is one plain, reaching from the head and top of the *Forum Rom.* to the utmoſt skirt of the hill *Quirinalis*, which bendeth toward the *Suburra*, and taketh up in breadth 500 foot: but it lieth out in length almoſt a mile from both fronts, between the Capitoll, the *Forum Nervæ*, and the mount *Cælius*: in like manner from the ſaid mount *Cælius* and *Palatine*, *Suburra* and the *Eſquilie*, as far as to the Church of Saint *Marcelline*. A ſecond plain there is,

under

under the other point and top of the Capitol, near the Theatre of *Marcellus*, which ſtretcheth out 500 foot from the mount it ſelf, as far as to the *Tyber*; and anon over-againſt the valley from the crooked reach and courſe of the river, and the nook whereby the *Aventine* is divided from the *Palatine*, it ſpreadeth broader: but afterwards between the ſaid hils it groweth narrow, untill ye come to *Cœliolus* and the very gate *Capena*, where the *Aventine* is parted from *Cœliolus* only by the breadth of the ſtreet or high way. The length of this plain is likewiſe a mile, having on the right hand, *Tyber* and the *Aventine*; on the left, *Capitoline* mount, the *Palatine*, and *Cœlius*.

Then followeth the mount *Cœlius* (ſeparate from the *Palatine* by a plain) reſembling a pyramidal form of a ſpire, ſo as the Baſe thereof containeth 500 foot near to the Amphitheatre. Divided alſo from the ſame it is by the ſtreet *Appia*, faſt by the grand Cirque, which reaching to the gate *Capena*, leaveth on the left hand a valley 600 foot broad, between *Cœlius* and *Cœliolus*, lying out in length 4 *Stadia*, and within a while to the wals which joyn cloſe to the mount *Cœlius*, as far as to the gate *Aſinaria*. This hill then from thence lyeth along the City wall for 4 *Stadia*, toward the Northeaſt. From hence the wals meet afront for the ſpace of two *Stadia*, even to the gate *Navia*: from whence as they turn to the Northeaſt, it is parted from the *Eſquilia* by the ſtreet *Labicana*: and anon ſhewing it ſelf afront near S. *Marcellines*, it beareth forward as far as to the Amphitheatre. Thus keeping no certain form, it taketh in circuit about 2500 paces. Moreover the *Cœliolus* is incloſed within the ſaid valley, the ſtreet *Appia*, and all along Northeaſt and Southeaſt, with the City wals: and hath in compaſs well-near a mile.

The *Aventine* ſeemeth to contain two hils; the broader part whereof toward the *Tyber*, and in like manner in length from *Tyber* along the wals, and anon near the gate *Hoſtienſis*, is divided and cut with a crooked ſtreet-way which leadeth to the angle of the grand Cirque and the mount *Cœlius*: leaving the other part thereof, divided on the right hand from the mount *Cœlius* by the ſtreet *Appia*, untill you come to the gate *Capena*. It had in compaſs 18. *Stadia*, as *Dionyſius* alſo teſtifieth; and on the Southeaſt, a moſt ſpacious and large plain of 4 unequall ſides: toward the South containing almoſt 6 *Stadia*, Weſtward five, ſomewhat leſs Eaſtward, but toward the *Tyber* not above four.

The *Eſquilia* on the South part is divided with the ſtreet *Labicana*; on the Northweſt, with the valley lying between *Cœlius*, *Palatinus*, and it ſelf; on the North the *Suburra*; and from the *Viminal* hill, the ſtreet called *Patritius* parteth it, untill a man come to the bath of *Dioclefian*. In circuit it containeth about 4 miles, and hath no certain form; inſomuch as *Varro* (not without good reaſon) thinketh it two hills, and cutteth it into many parts.

The *Viminal* hill on the Weſt ſide regardeth the *Quirinal*, having about a furlong ſpace the plain *Suburra* lying between: on the North it hath the valley *Quirinalis*. Between the ſame hils there lyeth as it were 4 *jugera* in breadth, but about a quarter of a mile in length. And anon it joyneth to the *Quirinal* and *Eſquilia* along the wall of the City, by a continuall row of many arches, whereby theſe mountains are made even. The compaſs thereof taketh up two miles and an half; the form thereof is longwiſe, and the breadth not in every part alike, but variable.

The *Quirinal* mount on the left hand, directly from the tower called [*Militiarum*] for the ſpace of 4 *Stadia*, over-looketh the levell plot of the City which lieth Weſtward: but on the right hand (as clearly appeareth by that which we have ſaid) it is oppoſite to the *Viminalis*: on the third ſide, Northward, for the ſpace of 6 *Stadia*, it lieth to the hill called [*Hortulorum*.] It hath a valley lying between, in breadth 4 *jugera*, reaching near to the gate *Salaria*: and in the whole compaſs it taketh almoſt three miles.

Next to it is the little hill *Hortulorum*, although it ſtandeth without the old pomœry of the city: for the ſpace of 3 *Stadia* it beareth over the valley *Martia* lying between it and *Tyber*. It carrieth in length along the wall of the City, from the gate *Flumentana* to *Collina*, a full mile more than any other ſides. The circumference thereof is much about 18 *Stadia*.

There remaineth now the mount *Janiculus*, on the other ſide of *Tyber*: the one half thereof and not above, is contained within the walls: from the *Vatican* plain, for the ſpace of 3 *Stadia*, whereas it ſtretcheth toward the South, it adjoyneth to the river: the other part thereof is incloſed within the walls, for the compaſs of five *Stadia*.

Moreover, above the *Vatican* plain, there is a little hill of the ſame nature, which putteth forth two points like horns; the one toward *Janiculum*, the other Northward, much like a bow full bent: the convexity or outward compaſs whereof containeth a mile.

Now will we run over the plain and baſe plot of the City: which beginning at the Capitol hill near the gate *Flaminia*, at this day on the Northeaſt ſide (or rather the North) comprehendeth a Diameter or race almoſt of 8 *Stadia*, environed with the hils *Quirinalis* and *Hortulorum*: but on the Weſt ſide, the *Tyber* runneth by it, where along the banks thereof it beareth a greater ſpace. Moreover, by a ſtreight and direct line being drawn for two *Stadia* from the hill *Hortulorum*, and namely, where it over-looketh the Piere of *Domitian* called *Naumachia*: along the bank of *Tyberis*, over-againſt the *Pile Hadriani*, it maketh a quadrangle of four uneven ſides, containing within it more than three miles: without which ſquare is left the valley *Martia*, namely, as much as lieth between the hill *Hortulorum*, the wall of the City, and *Tyberis*: ſo as the bredth draweth narrower ſtill unto the gate *Flaminia*.

There reſteth yet the Tranſtyberin region, which together with the *Janiculum*, taketh in compaſs about three miles. This will be more eaſily obſerved and marked by the very channell of

*Tyberis*

*Tyberis*; which entring into the city, keepeth his course directly on the right hand of the gate *Flaminia* through the vale *Martia*, and soon after by little and little turneth from the North, Westward, and representeth the form of a semicircle, in the convexity whereof is the *Vatican*, and within the concavity, the *Mars* field. Moreover, beneath the *Moles* or pile [*Hadriani*] returning to his former course, as far as to the utmost foot of the *Aventine*, winding somewhat crooked into the South, not far from the gate *Portuensis* it runneth forth of the city.

Thus much concerning the situation and form of *Rome*, and the plot wherein it standeth, which at this day is so far changed, that hardly a man may find any token or memoriall of it, as it was in old time.

## CHAP. II.

### *Of the founders of the City of* Rome, *the KK. and Inhabitants thereof.*

THe region (on which *Rome* was after built) West of *Tyber*, a hundred and forty furlongs distant from the sea, the Sicilians (by constant report) first inhabited. Afterwards, the *Aborigines* leaving *Arcadia*, by the conduct of *Oenotrius* the son of *Lycaon*, came into the said quarters: and being grown into a liking of the place for the fertility thereof, they expelled the Sicilians, and held it for their own use. In process of time the Pelasgians, a people of *Greece*, together with the Thessalians, who came to aid the *Aborigines* against the nations their neighbor borderers, remained also in these parts (with the good will and contentment of the said *Aborigines*) untill the Trojan war: but they all retained the name of the *Aborigines*, which prerogative they held because they were the first, that by arms conquered that seignory and kingdom. Long time after, *Saturn* being chased out of *Crete* by *Jupiter* his son, fled into *Italy*: where he taught *Janus* the King of the *Aborigines* the skill of planting vineyards, with the use thereof, and likewise the handling of the sickle: in regard of which good turn, he was freely feoffed by *Janus* in part of his realm, yea, and after the decease of *Janus* enjoyed the kingdom alone. After this, the Arcadians, who forsook the city *Palantium* (as weary of their own native country) and by the leading of *Evander*, seeking some other place of habitation, arrived at the place where now *Rome* standeth; received of *Faunus* the K. of the *Aborigines*, a portion of ground; built a fort upon a little hill not far from *Tyber*, and named it *Palantium*, in remembrance of their native city which they had abandoned. After all this, the Peloponnesians, Phanetians, and Epians, by reason that *Elis* their native country was wasted before by *Hercules*, were by him brought away into *Italy*, and they planted themselves upon the mount *Saturnine*. These men lived a long time according to their own laws and customs, untill they being vanquished and subdued by the *Aborigines*, were incorporated by them into one Commonalty. Then raigned *Latinus* the son of *Faunus*, untill such time as *Æneas* the son of *Anchises*, after the overthrow and finall ruin of *Ilium*, after many adventures and much variety of fortune, which he had endured together with the Trojans his companions, came by the instinct of the destinies to K. *Latinus*. Whose daughter *Lavinia* he took to wife, and so was by *Latinus* admitted into the society and fellowship with him of the kingdom. When the *Aborigines* and the Trojans were thus linked and joyned together, he called both nations by the name of Latines. Then was *Æneas* warred upon by *Turnus*; for that he had married *Lavinia*, who was espoused and affianced to him before. But *Æneas* won the victory, and in single combat slew *Turnus*. At that time also *Latinus* died, and left his son in law *Æneas* heir to the crown. certain years after was *Æneas* killed by *Mezentius* K. of the Tuscans; and *Ascanius* his son succeeded in the kingdom. He built the towns *Lavinium* and *Alba*: and when he departed this life, made over the crown to his brother *Sylvius*. After him followed Kings, *Æneas Sylvius*, *Latinus Sylvius*, *Alba*, *Atys*, *Capys*, *Capetus*, *Tyberinus*, *Agrippa*, *Romulus*, *Aventinus*, *Procas*, and *Amulius*. This *Amulius* usurped the kingdom by fraud, which in right of eldership was due to his brother *Numitor*. And for fear least there might arise from his brothers off-spring, some one to make claim and recover the royall seat, and thereby himself be thrust out of his place, he consecrated *Rhea* the daughter of *Numitor* to *Vesta*, for to be a professed Nun. She being thus made a votary, and devoted to perpetuall virginity, happened to be with child by *Mars*, and was delivered of two boies, twins, namely, *Romulus* and *Remus*. *Amulius* advertised hereof, commanded both the babes to be cast forth to perish. Found they were by *Faustulus* a shepheard upon the bank of the river *Tyber*, and by his wife *Faustula* fostered and brought up among other shepheards. *Remus* being grown to mans estate, was taken by certain thieves and robbers, and brought to K. *Amulius* his great-uncle. Accused he was, for that he used to raise booties and drive away whole droves of *Numitor* his cattell. Whereupon delivered he was to *Numitor* for to be punished according to his discretion. But *Remus* after much discourse of speeches to and fro, was by certain tokens found and known to be *Numitor* his daughters son. And at the very time came *Romulus* also with *Faustulus* in place, purposing to rescue *Remus* his brother. Soon they entred into a conspiracy, and at unawares surprized and murdered *Amulius*: and so restored their grandsire *Numitor*. In the second year of *Numitor* his reign, *Romulus* and *Remus* built the City of *Rome*, in the very place where they had been laid forth to perish, which was the 432 year after the winning of *Troy*, and the twelfth day before the calends of *May*. Afterwards in a fray that arose between *Romulus* and *Remus* striving for the soveraignty, *Remus* came by his death, and then *Romulus* gave name both to the City and Citizens also of *Rome*.

CHAP.

## CHAP. III.
### *The form and bigneſs of the City of* Romulus.

*Romulus* ſet out the City fourſquar, as *Plutarch* witneſſeth: whereupon of ſome it is called *Quadrata*. Others affirm, that the form and compaſs thereof is uncertain, and by reaſon of Antiquity unknown at this day. The hill *Palatinus* was by *Romulus* firſt fortified, becauſe therein he was brought up: at the foot thereof began the *Pomœrium*. Afterwards the Capitol and the Roman *Forum* were laid to it.

The City began to be marked and bounded out from the beaſt-market; from whence in certain places were ſtories pitched and ſet between, along the bottom of the mount *Palatine*, as far as to the altar of *Conſus*: and ſo within a while to the old *Curia*: then, to the Chappell of the *Lares* and the Roman *Forum* the bounds were extended, untill a place was aſſigned for the wals, and a ſpacious plot to build the City upon.

*Titus Tatius* began the wall from the rock *Carmentalis*, and brought it to the way, which is not far from *Tyber*. From thence, Southward unto the fartheſt part of the grand Cirque: and ſo North-eaſt-ward he ranged it into the *Forum* of *Nerva*, and in the end joyned it to one of the points of the Capitol hill, and within it compaſſed both the Capitol it ſelf, and alſo the *Palatine*. And finally, to enlarge the City, he ſet to it the hils *Quirinalis* and *Cœlius*.

## CHAP. IIII.
### *The gates of* Romulus *his City.*

*Romulus* when he died, left the City of *Rome* with three gates, namely, *Carmentalis*, *Romana*, and *Pandana*. Others add a fourth thereto, to wit, *Janualis*.

*Carmentalis* took the name of *Carmentis* the mother of *Evander*, whoſe Chappel *Carmentale* ſtood before the gate. This gate ſtood under the Capitol on the right hand, between the cliff *Tarpeius* and the *Tyber*, over-againſt the Church now of S *Katherine*, toward the ſhew-place *Flaminius*. This was afterwards named *Scelerata*, for that without this gate, in the Temple of *Janus*, the act of Senat paſſed, for the ſending of the three hundred *Fabii* to *Cremera*, who went forth at this gate, and were ſlain every one at *Cremera*.

*Romana* was ſo called of *Romulus*: built it was where now the gardens are belonging to the new Church of S. *Mary*, not far from the angle of the mount *Palatine*, in the bottom of the cliff of *Victoria*. Some affirm, that this gate was afterwards called *Mugonia*, of the lowing of kine and oxen: others name it *Trigonia*, of three corners that it had.

*Pandana* was ſo named, becauſe it ſtood open for things to be brought through it into the City. The ſame alſo was called *Libera* or *Romulida*. The place for it they aſſigned where the gate *Saturnia* ſtood, bearing the name of the old City ſo called and after deſtroyed.

*Janualis* carried the name of the Temple *Janus*, which is not far off. It ſtood ſometime at the very foot of the hill *Viminalis*.

## CHAP. V.
### *The variety of the compaſs and walls of the City.*

WHen the Romans one while made war upon their neighbor nations of *Italy*, and otherwhiles defended themſelves againſt their violence, it hapned for the moſt part that they got the upper hand, and ever as they vanquiſhed any and ſubdued them under their ſubjection, in the end made them Citizens of *Rome*: by which occaſion, the City built by *Romulus*, was not ſufficient to receive ſo great a multitude. *Tullius* therefore after his conqueſt of the Sabins and Albans laid to the City the mountain *Cœlius* and the *Eſquilia*, and ſo enlarged it. Afterwards, when *Politorium* was won, and a number of the inhabitants tranſlated to *Rome*; *Ancus* made a ſecond enlargement of the City, and granted theſe new commers the mount *Aventine* to inhabit. The old Romans therefore dwelt in *Palatine*; the Sabins in *Capitolium*; the Albans in *Cœlius*; and this new-come multitude in *Aventine*. But after the Latines alſo were received into the City, they joyned *Janiculus* alſo to the city by a woodden bridg made over the *Tyber*; and caſt a trench called *Foſſa Quiritium*, about the low and levell places of the city. So the Tranſ-tyberine quarter was united to the city, and made it more ſpacious and ſtately: laſt of all, *Servius Tullius* by adjoyning the hils *Viminalis* and *Quirinalis* to the five abovenamed, amplified the city. And as before it was mounded about with rubbiſh, and the ſame rudely laid, *Tarquin* the proud was the firſt that encloſed it with a wall of good aſhler ſtone. And the very ſame wals which ſtand at this day, were by the poſterity that followed, repaired and reedified upon the old foundations. But the city in old time, when as it flouriſhed in greateſt glory, extended far more in bounds and compaſs. For in *Plinies* time the circuit thereof within the wall contained about 20 miles. But in theſe daies hardly 12. And the whole compaſs of the city, with the ſuburbs and buildings about and without the walls (which although they ſpred far, were comprehended yet under the name of city) in the ſaid *Plinies* time, was 50 miles.

CHAP.

## CHAP. VI.
### *The* Pomœry *of the City.*

THat void ſpace of ground within and without the walls, which might not lawfully be either ploughed or inhabited, is called *Pomœry*. And ſometime it is put for the circuit of the whole City. This *Pomœry* was oftentimes ſet out farther, and altered by the Roman Emperors. But none had power granted ſo to do, ſave only they that either conquered ſomewhat to the Roman dominion, or endowed the City with ſome ſingular and eſpeciall benefit; as the Emperor *Claudius* and many more. And like as the Romans had no certain limits of their Empire, ſo no ſet bounds confined either the City or the *Pomœry*.

## CHAP. VII.
### *The gates of old* Rome, *which at this day are not to be ſeen: thoſe alſo that are now extant.*

EVen as the bounds of the City and *Pomœrium* were many times altered, ſo the gates alſo; ſome were left within the City, by occaſion that the walls were farther ſet out and loſt their names: others in time were ſo old, that they fell down; and albeit their name remain, yet the place where they ſtood is not known. Some again were made new, and took either new names, or elſe kept their old: others changed the place, and held their old name: and finally, there were ſome that had two names; and others more. And theſe in manner were all the names of the gates:

*Flumentana*, or *Flaminia*.
*Numentana*, or *Viminalis*.
*Eſquilina*, or *Taurina*.
*Capena*, or *Appia*.
*Tergemina*, or *Hoſtienſis*.
*Ratumena*, or *Vientana*.
*Quirinalis*, *Agonenſis*, or *Collina*.
*Janualis*, or *Sabiuſa*, leading into the Sabins country.
*Nævia*, or *Labicana*.
*Cœlimontana*, or *Aſinaria*.
*Portuenſis*, or *Navalis*.
*Triumphalis*, or *Vaticana*.

*Carmentalis*, *Magonia*, *Pandana*, *Querquetulana*, *Raduſcula*, *Saginalis*, *Saucualis*, *Collatina*, *Interaggeres*, *Tiburtina*, *Gabinſa*, *Latina*, *Aurelia*, *Catularia*, *Laurentia*, *Fontinalis*, *Lavernalis*, *Ferentina*, *Minutina*, *Saluta-is*, *Mutia*, *Piacularis*, *Preneſtina*, *Libitinenſis*, *Valeria*, and *Tarpeia*.

*Flumentana* took name of the rivet *Tyberis*; for it ſtood at the firſt upon the bank of that river, not far from the bridg of *Xyſtus*, in the end of the Broad ſtreet, and at the head of the way or ſtreet *Flaminia*: but afterwards, tranſlated it was to the place where now it ſtandeth. In time following, it was called *Flaminia*, of the cauſey of *Flaminius*: at this day it is named, The peoples gate, and is ſituate in the hill *Hortulorum*.

*Collatina* bare the name of *Collatia*, a town not far from *Rome*: now it is *Pinciana*, of one *Pincius* a Senator, whoſe name it keepeth. This alſo ſtandeth in the hill *Hortulorum*: between it and *Flumentana* is a mile ſpace.

*Quirinalis* took name of the Chappel of *Quirinus*: or becauſe in old time the way lay through it for them that went to the hill *Quirinalis*. It ſeemeth to be called *Agonenſis*, *quaſi ἄγωνος*, *i.e.* without a corner; afterwards, *Collina*: and at the laſt, *Salaria*; for that by it ſalt was carried into the City. This name it holdeth ſtill and ſtandeth 6 *Stadia* from *Collatina*.

*Viminalis* is from *Quirinalis* diſtant 5 *Stadia*; ſo named, as they ſay, of a wood of Oſiers, which (as it is ſuppoſed) ſometime grew thereby: or elſe, of a Chappell of *Jup. Vimineus*. This alſo men called *Figulenſis*, of the potters works made without it: but now they name it the gate of S. *Agnes*, and *Numentana*.

*Interaggeres* ſtandeth in the Plain *Viminalis*, between the gate *Viminalis* and *Eſquilina*: it had the denomination of *Tarquinius* his mures and banks, among which it was built.

*Tiburtina* ſtood between *Eſquilina* and *Numentana*, ſo as it was 12 *Stadia* diſtant from *Eſquilina*, upon the plain of *Eſquiliæ* in the very place where the conduit is of the *Mary* water.

*Eſquilina* took that name of the hill *Eſquiliæ*, the ſame in ancient time was called *Taurina*, of a bulls head there found: for many a day after was the ſaid bulls head ſeen painted in the inner front of the ſaid gate. At this day, S. *Laurence* gate.

*Nævia* drew the name of certain *groves or woods near adjoyning. In times paſt *Labicana*, and now *Major*. An arch there was ſo called and erected in the ſame place by the old Romans.

*Cœlimontana*, ſtanding from *Nævia* 8 *Stadia*, ſeemeth by affinity of name to be ſo called of the hill *Cœlius*, in the edge whereof it ſtandeth: and *Aſinaria* it was called, of the Aſſes which were wont to be ſent out to *Naples*, by that gate. At this time they call it S. *Johns* gate.

*Gabinſa*, built cloſe to the mount *Cœlius*, Southeaſt: which ſeemeth by all likelihood to take the name of the City *Gabii*, which it directly regardeth. It carried the name alſo *Metrodium*, of meaſuring and is ſituat from *Cœlimontana*, as it were 5 *Stadia*.

*Latina* is 5 *Stadia* likewiſe from *Gabinſa*, ſeated not far from the Church of S. *John Baptiſt*: ſo called, for that men go forth of it into *Latium*.

*Capena* is ſo named of the Capenats, a Latine nation, againſt which it lyeth. This alſo is called ſtill *Camœna*, of a grove and Chappel of the Muſes, built juſt before the ſame gate. *Appia* likewiſe, of the high-way *Appia*; which *Appius* the Cenſor paved, and ſo it bare his name. They call it alſo

*Nemoribus.*

also *Triumphalis*, for that in triumph the pomp is that way carried with ſtate. Of ſome it is named *Fontinalis*, for the plenty of ſprings there. At this day S. *Sebaſtians* gate.

*Tergemina* took that name of an old gate ſo called, at which the 3 twins *Horatii* went forth againſt their enemies, and gave the firſt name to it. Some ſhew remaineth yet of this gate to be ſeen, neer the *Saliga*.

*Hoſtienſis*, was in ancient daies ſo called, for that it led to the City *Hoſtia*: now *S. Pauls* gate: ſituate it is from *Capena* wel-neer 8 *Stadia*.

*Portuenſis* is a gate beyond the *Tyber*, within half a *Stadium* of the ſaid river; ſo called, for that it leadeth to the haven of *Hoſtia*. Now a-daies men call it, *Porta ripæ, i.* The bank gate.

*Aurelia*, looketh toward *Janiculum*; diſtant from the former almoſt 7 *Stadia*. In this age they call it *S. Pancrace* gate.

*Aalia*, was built by *Ælius Hadrianus*, of whom it took that name.

*Septimiana*, bare ſhe name of *Septimius* the Emperor: and becauſe it ſtandeth under Janiculum, is at this day called, *Subtus Janum*. Some affirm, that this is *Fontinalis*, becauſe out of the mount called *Aureus*, there iſſue fountains: for to the ſaid hill this gate ſtandeth cloſe. From it to *Aurelia* are 5 *Stadia*; and to the river *Tyber* 7 *jugera* or acres.

Thus much for the gates of the City of *Rome*, and their names.

The wall in old time had upon it 360 turrets. Some of theſe are decaied and gone; others repaired, and many this long time are ready to fall.

NOw is it time, and the courſe of the Story doth require, that leaving the towrs and walls, we enter into the City, and ſhew the beginning and the place of thoſe edifices, which within the walls, either upon the hills or the plain plot of the City, were built by men in old time. Firſt therefore, begin we will at the worthieſt earthly habitation of all their Gods, to wit, the *Capitol*.

# *The ſecond Book.*

## CHAP. I.

### *The ſundry names of the Capitol.*

THe Capitol was by the old Romans called Mount *Saturnius*, either of a City named *Saturnia*, which under the very hill was built in that place where now *Rome* ſtandeth: or becauſe *Saturn* in times paſt dwelt in that hill: or elſe (as ſome think) for that the mount it ſelf had *Saturn* for the tutelar God and Protector therof. But afterwards it was named the mount *Tarpeius*, of the Virgin *Tarpeia*, of whom *Livy* writeth. Laſt of all, *Tarquinius Priſcus* going in hand to build upon that hill a temple to *Jupiter*, when he digged for to lay the foundation, chanced to find in the bottom of the trench a mans head; whereupon they called it *Capitolium*. And the Auguſts being ſought unto and demanded, What the finding of that head might ſignify? anſwered, That this Caſtle ſhould be the See of the empire and the head of the whole world. This hill they divide into the Caſtle and the Capitol. The Caſtle they built Northward, as a ſtronger and more fortified place: but the Capitol, toward *Tyberis*, a place naturally defended.

## CHAP. II.

### *Who firſt laid the foundation of the Capitol: who finiſhed it: how often it was burnt, and by whom reedified.*

IN the Sabine war, *Tarquinius Priſcus* vowed to build the Capitol temple: but after the war was ended, ſo ſoon as he had laid the ground-work, he died. After him, *Tarquinius Superbus* finiſhed the building, of 4 ſquare ſtone: and defraied the charges thereof out of the pillage of *Pometia*, a Towu that he won. When he for his tyranny was baniſhed *Rome*, *Horatius Pulvillus* the Conſul, dedicated the ſaid Capitol to *Jupiter*. It ſtood upright and ſound for the ſpace of 415 years, until the Marian wars, and then (in the Conſulſhip of *Scipio* and *Narbo*) it was conſumed with fire. *Sylla* re-edified it, and *Q. Catulus* conſecrated it: and ſo it continued until the Vitellian war. During which troubles, it was a ſecond time burnt, at what time it ſtood with the dores ſhut, undefended, and not rifled. *Veſpaſian* built it again; and in his life, a third time it was deſtroied by fire: and together with the Capitol, *Veſpaſian* alſo himſelf died. Afterwards, *Domitian* rebuilded it in more magnificent and ſtately manner than it had been ever before, and diſburſed therein above 12000 talents. Of the Capitol turrets and pinacles, the ſtatues and images ſmitten with thunder-bolts and blaſted oftentimes with lightning, divers writers have made mention.

## CHAP. III.

### *The Temple of* Jup. Feretrius, *of* Jup. Opt. Max. *of* Juno, *and* Minerva's.

THe Capitol, *Cicero* calleth The houſe and habitation of the gods, becauſe it contained the chappels, ſtatues, and images in manner of all the gods: but the firſt of all other in *Rome* was

that of *Jupiter Feretrius*, vowed by *Romulus* in the war againſt the Cenenians. After which war ended, and he returned to *Rome* with victory, he reared a temple in the very pitch and top of the capitol hill. But *Jupiter* was by *Romulus* named *Feretrius*, as ſome would have it; for that *Jupiter* aſſiſted him in ſtriking the enemy, in thar very place where he vowed the temple. Or elſe, becauſe the Romans uſed in making of peace, to ſwear by his ſcepter and the flint. The roof of this Church faln down for very age and through neglect of the Romans, *Auguſtus* repaired. This temple firſt built by *Romulus*, was afterwards enlarged by *Ancus Martius*.

But the temple of *Iup. Opt. Max.* of all other was the greateſt and moſt renowned. This alſo was called *Capitolinum*; and *Tarq. Priſcus* vowed it. After him, *Tarq. Superbus* expended in the foundation thereof 40000 pound weight of ſilver: but before that he finiſhed it, he was deprived of his Kingdom for his tyranny, and left the work unperfect, to be accompliſhed by the Romans. Built it was upon the hanging of the Capitoline hill toward *Tyberis*, as hath been ſhewed before. For the form, the greatneſs and beauty of this temple, read *Dionyſius* and ſundry other authors, who have written of the Roman acts and of *Rome* it ſelf. Upon the top or lantern thereof, ſtood *Summanus* the God, made of potters earth, whoſe head was ſmitten with lightning and fell into *Tyberis*. It had within it beſides, a ſanctuary or ſecret chappel, which no Lay perſon might enter into. Within the ſaid cell or chappel, were two coronets of gold: the one of them, the Gauls conſecrated to *Iup. Opt. Maximus*: the other, the Carthaginians ſent to *Rome* in the honor of *Iupiter*, in token of joy for their victory over the Samnits. Morever, in the ſaid temple were other three chappels, to wit, one of *Iup. Opt. Max.* in the midſt; a ſecond of *Minerva* on the right hand: and a third of *Iuno* on the left. And becauſe men in old time attributed unto *Minerva* the invention of numbers, a law was ſet down in writing, That the chief and higheſt Pretor for the time being, ſhould drive a ſpike or great nail neer unto her image, whereby the computation of the years might be known. This ſo rich and coſtly edifice, was burnt all at once in the Vitellian war. Now at this day the place wheras it ſtood, is prophane: howbeit there remain yet to be ſeen, ſome tokens thereof, and the foundations; but all deformed and broken peecemeal.

## CHAP. IV.

*The Temples of* Saturn, Jupiter Tonans, Jupiter Cuſtos, *of* Fortune, *of* Vejovis Mercy. Juno Moneta, *and of* Janus. *The ſepulchre of* Oreſtes, *the common Treaſury, the houſe of* Manlius, *and chappel of* Carmenta.

SInce that we have deſcribed the temple of *Iupiter* K. of the Gods, in what place it was ſituat, and by whom built; meet it is to make report alſo of other gods in order, who had their houſes in the capitol: and firſt of *Saturn*, *Iupiters* father.

*Saturn* in old time had an altar erected unto him in the very way as ye go out of the *Forum* up to the capitol, as ſome think. There be, that would have this temple or altar of *Saturn*, built by the companions of *Hercules*: others again ſay, that *Tatius* reared it. But of this variety in opinion of Writers, this may be the reaſon, becauſe ſome affirm, that there were two temples conſecrated to *Saturn*, but reared in divers places and at ſeveral times: one at the rock of *Carmenta*, even before the capitoline cliff (wherein the bones alſo of *Oreſtes* brought from *Aricia* were beſtowed:) the other in that very place, where now ſtandeth the chappel of S. *Saviour*: where yet at this day there is a turret to be ſeen, which they call, the Tower in *Ærarium*: for there firſt was the common treaſure houſe of *Rome*. In the temple of *Saturn*, dedicated by *Catulus Luctatius*, there ſtood *Ianus* with four faces: ſignifying the four times of the year: of whom the firſt month *Ianuary* took name.

The temple of *Iupiter Tonans* *Auguſtus Cæſar* firſt built, on the capitoline cliff or ſide of the hill, South-eaſt; upon this occaſion: It hapned, that in the Cantabrian expedition, as he was carried by night in a litter, the lightning ſlightly glanced thereupon, and killed the ſervant that was the guide; and therefore he both vowed this temple, and alſo finiſhed it to the honor of *Thundring-Iupiter*. A temple alſo to *Fortune* was built not far from it.

The temple of *Vejovis*, ſtood between the caſtle and the capitol, in that part where now the chappels are to be ſeen of conſervators. In old time they called this Idol-devil, *Vejovis*, becauſe he was deprived of all power to help and do good. To him they ſacrificed a ſhe goat: becauſe he held arrows in his hand, moſt men thought he was *Apollo*.

*Aſylum*, that is to ſay, the temple of *Mercy* ſtood likewiſe upon the capitol hill, neer a ſhadowy grove, in the very valley amid the capitol, and the caſtle. Called it is the temple *Intermontium*, between two oke rows. This, *Romulus* erected; that what offender ſoever thither fled, he ſhould be priviledged as in a ſanctuary. But *Tyberius* afterwards, ſuppoſing that this place miniſtred occaſion of miſchief, deprived it of that liberty. This *Aſylum*, by report, the poſterity of *Hercules* firſt erected.

The temple (as alſo the mint-houſe) of *Iuno Moneta*, was built upon that plot of ground, where ſomtime ſtood the houſe of M. *Manlius*. This chappel, ſome report that *L. Furius* vowed; others, that *L. Cicereius* the Pretor; and *Ovid*, that *Camillus*. Now was *Iuno* called *Moneta*, of giving warning; for that from the very place where afterwards the temple was ſet, there was a voice heard of *Iuno*, admoniſhing them of the future overthrow by the Senones. In this place now ſtandeth a Senators houſe of *Rome*.

The

The temple of *Janus* keeper of the Capitoline caſtle, ſtood in that place, whereat that day is the goal and priſon for malefactors and ſellons, toward the Southweſt, over-gainſt the *Forum Romanum*. This *Janus* upon the Capitol, *Romulus* and *Tatius* deviſed to have two faces preſenting therby the two nations. Others would have him to be pourtraied 2 faced, for his cunning and providence: for he was the firſt that invented the roiall crown; alſo boats; the skill of navigation; braſen coin and many other things. *Janus* took that name *ab eundo*, of going, for that he turneth about the heaven and all things elſe. For which cauſe he alſo named *Vertumnus*: In old time they beleeved there was but one *Janus*; but poſterity in later age, have imagined more.

The temple of *Jupiter Cuſtos*, *Domitian* (after he was inveſted in the empire) built: and placed his own image in the lap and boſome of that god. It ſtood where at this day the *Salara* or ſaltpits are, neer to the temple of *Janus*.

## CHAP. V.

### *The temple of gods which have no certain place now in the Capitol.*

AMong thoſe gods, whoſe determinat place aſsigned to them in the Capitol, is not known where it was, the firſt was *Terminus*, as to whom in all the world throughout, there is no proper place appointed. Now this *Terminus* was a rude and formleſs ſtone. Unto him *Tatius* firſt vowed a temple: and ſome ſay, that *Numa* dedicated it. How ever it be; no doubt verily ancient it was, as eaſily may be collected by that which followeth. But why, that in the Capitol was of men in old time reputed for a god, this was the cauſe: when *Tarquinius Superbus* determined to build a temple to *Jupiter*, he conſulted with the Augurs about the place, becauſe he would begin nothing without the approbation of the birds. They ſhewed unto him the mount *Tapeius*, but this place was already taken up with other gods, whoſe chappels there, were conſecrated and hallowed. Theſe therefore were by certain ſacrifices to be conjured out from thence, for to give way to *Jupiter*. and to be tranſlated into ſome other quarter. All the gods willingly yeelded their places up to *Jupiter* as their K. only *Terminus* refuſed to be diſplaced; and ſo remained there ſtil. When he had finiſhed the temple and fore-part of the roof which regardeth the ſaid ſtone, was left naked and open for that god, as who neither ought nor could be encloſed. the augures therfore being ſought unto and demanded, For what reaſon *Terminus* alone abode ſtill with *Jupiter*; when all the other gods were gone? made anſwer, that thereby ſignified, that together with religion, their empire alſo was eternall. To this god they ſacrificed not but in open air and publickly abroad, as being the god and keeper of bounds. Saint *Auguſtine* witneſseth, that *Mars* alſo and *Juventus* together with *Terminus* would not agree to give place to *Jupiter*: for that the dominion of *Rome* ſhould not be bounded out, nor yet decay with age and continuance of time.

To *Mars* and *Venus Ericina*, *Attilus* and *Q. Fab. Max.* being Dnumvirs, dedicated chappels upon the Capitol, ſevered aſunder by one vault or ciſtern.

To queen *Juno*, *C. Flaminius* in the Ligurian war, vowed a temple.

To *Ops*, *Tatius* the K. conſecrated a temple; for that ſhe is called the earth, and is the mother of all things, as bringing forth all, and receiving all again. The ſame *Ops* is called *Maia*, *Fauna*, and *Bona Dea*. This temple was blaſted with fire from heaven, as *Livy* teſtifieth.

*Mars* revenger, *Auguſtus Ceſar* erected a temple upon the Capitol, within the hill *Saturnius*.

To *Faith*, on the ſame hill, *Attilius Collatinus* dedicated another.

To *Health*, *Concord*, *Liberty*, and *Victory*, they built temples: and many there were within the city erected to *Concord*.

To *Fortuna Primigenia* and *Obſequence*, *Tullus* dedicated a temple.

To *Venus*-bald they alſo ſet up a temple in the Capitol, in memoriall and everl ſting praiſe of the Roman dames, for willingly parting with the hair from their heads, toward the making of engins, that during the Gauls war, were deviſed and made againſt the enemies.

*Tarquinius Superbus* built a temple to *Jupiter Sponſor*, and *Sp. Poſthumius* dedicated it. Likewiſe to *Jupiter* * *Piſter* the old Romans conſecrated a temple in the Capitol.

* The bakers

## CHAP. VI.

### *Of the ſtatues which either in old time were or now remain in the Capitol.*

OF ſtatues in old time were ſundry ſorts, and the ſame made of divers matter: ſome of marble, ſome of braſſe, ſome of ſilver, and others of gold. Many of theſe were ſet up in the capitol to the immortal gods for divers cauſes, and namely, for their benefits beſtowed upon mankind; which a long time were honoured and worſhipped. To noble men likewiſe and ſuch as had deſerved well of the common-weal, the uſuall maner was in old time to ſet up ſtatues and images in the temples, to provoke others by their example to do the like.

To *Jupiter* in the Capitol, *Sp. Carvilius* erected a ſtatue in his temple, after he had vanquiſhed the Samnits, taking the proportion or form thereof by the pattern of *Jupiter Latiarius* his image. *Floras* maketh mention, that this ſtatue was ſmitten with lightning. He alſo ſet up another to thundring *Jupiter*.

The old Romans ſet up in the temple of *Jup. Opt. Max.* ſtatues to *Victory* and *Faith*, to either of them one.

*For Nemesis* also was an image erected in the Capitol, for that this goddesse punished proud and faithlesse persons. She is named also *Rhamnusia* of *Rhamnus* a village in *Attica*, where she was worshipped: & *Adraste*, of *Adrastus*, who was the first that built a temple in the honor of her.

Unto *Hercules*, for his notable and famous acts, they erected many statues in the Capitol: and namely, *Pub. Sulpitius* and *Pub. Sempronius* one; and Q. *Fabius Max.* another, which he brought from the Tarentins by him subdued.

The images of good Event, and good fortune (the workmanship both of *Praxiteles*) were within the Capitol.

The image of *Apollo* with a diadem, and his *Colossus* thirty cubits high, in the making whereof were bestowed 140 talents, *Lucullus* translated out of *Apollonia* in *Pontus*, into the Capitol.

An image there was of *Janus* likewise in the Capitol, holding in his right hand the number of 300 and in his left of sixty five, to signifie the daies of the yeer.

Two golden statues of *Castor* and *Pollux*, were by the Emperor *Claudius* of famous memory, dedicated in the temple of *Jupiter*.

The counterfeits resembling the rivers, *Nilus* and *Tygris*, half naked, were set up in the forefront of the temple of Conversators: the one cary upon the shoulders, Sphynx: the other a Tygre; two wild beasts: both of them hold in their right hand *Cornucopia*, which signifieth plenty.

The personage of *Hercules* pourtraied naked, of brasse and double guilt, without beard, holding in his right hand a club, and in the left the golden Apples of Hesperides, was found neer the Greek school and the beast market, in the ruins of *Ara Maxima*.

There be certain portraitures also of the Parthian and Dacian triumphs, enclosed within wals which were taken out of the church now called *S. Martina*.

## CHAP. VII.

### *Statues of famous and noble men set up in the Capitol.*

TO *Scipio* they erected in the Capitol, a statue * wearing a souldiers cassock and slippers or pantoses in regard of his victory over *Antiochus*, for an everlasting memorial of his worthy deeds.

To *Sylla* there was also a statue erected in the Capitol, in habit of a footman.

For *Æmylius Lepidus*, when he was but a boy, the people of *Rome* set up a statue, because he had in a battel vanquished the enemie, and saved a Citizen.

The like honour to the rest they did to *Metellus*, for that he had preserved out of the temple of *Vesta*, being on fire, the image of *Pallas*.

They erected an image to *Cornelia* the mother of the *Gracchi*, in recompence of a benefit of hers for that in a great dearth of corn, she served the people at 3 farthings a Modius. The same they did to *Trebius* the Ædile.

*Fabius Maximus* made for himself a cast or molten image, and erected it just by that of *Hercules*.

Unto *Brutus*, for delivering *Rome* from the tyranny of *Tarquinius*, the Romans erected his image in the midst of the KK. statues.

*Domitian* would not suffer any image of his to be erected, unlesse it were of molten silver or gold, and of a certain weight.

The emperor *Commodus* took off the head from the coloss of *Nero*, & set upon it his own statue which he had in the Capitol. This Colossus is to be seen broken as it was, in the houses of Conservatores.

In the said houses of Conservatores, is extant yet the brasen portraiture of a she-wolf, at whose teats, *Romulus* and *Remus*, the first founders of *Rome*, are to be seen how they hang sucking.

The image of *Romulus* and *Remus* remained in the Capitol, resembling two youths; the one, standing upon the feet in servil habit and attire: the other sitting like a shepheard or heardman, bending forwards with the body, plucking a thorn out of the sole of his foot, which rankled and festered withall.

An infinit number of statues were in the Capitol, of gods especially, brought from other parts to *Rome*. For the Romans robbed the churches of forrein nations, for to enrich and adorn their own.

* *Cum Chlamyde & crepundiis*. but for [*crepundiis*] read [*crepidis*] out of *Cicero pro Rabirio*: signifying the Greekish and Asian habit: for the Roman statues were *Togatæ*.

## CHAP. VIII.

### *Of the Capitol cliff*, Tarpeia *rock*, *the stone of* Carmenta, *and the gate* Stercoraria.

IN old time, they called that place and way whereby men go up to the Capitol, *Clivus Capitolinus*: but where that place was in times past, sundry opinions there be. Some affirm, that it lay toward that part of the hill which looketh to the *Aventine*, where now standeth *S. Gregories* Church in *Velabrum*: others between the temples of *Saturnus* and *Concordia*, neer to the arch of *Severus*, and at the staïs and standings, called *Senatoris Stabula*. Now the arch of *Severus* was raised at the foot of the Capitol hill, in the very head and top of *Forum Romanum*: under which they passed, that in triumph ascended up into the Capitol. The Capitol cliff then, was neer unto the Roman *Forum*: which by the Censors was paved with flint: who also set up a gallerie from the Chappell of *Saturn* unto the Capitol Temple close to the

*Sanaculum*

*Scalarum* and the *Curia* over it. *Corn. Tacitus* writeth, that in former times there were many avenues and waies upon the Capitol, and thereupon arose so many and divers opinions concerning the *Clivus Capitolinus*. In the place of the feast *Floralia* was in old time celebrated, wherof some tokens remain at this day to be seen. In it stood *Milos* house, which was full of shields and other armor, *Cicero* maketh report.

That place was called *Tarpey* rock which standeth over the *Forum Romanum*: from whence in times past tellonious malefactors found guilty, were pitched down head-long, and wherein at this day offenders are punished.

*Carmenta* stone, regardeth *Tyberis*, just over-against the Senators bridg.

The Dung-gate called *Stercoraria*, stood upon the Capitol cliff aforesaid; thither was thrown out all the filth rid out of the temple of *Vesta*, for to be caried away and soon after to be cast into the *Tyberis*.

## CHAP. IX.

### *Of tables, of the brasen columns or pillars, and of the silver Goose.*

IN the Capitol there were two sorts of tables; the one of Pictures containing the noble acts or battels, with the siege and assault of Cities, exploited by valiant martial men. For some of them were so desirous of praise and renown, that they could not be content to behold their own statues erected in the Capitol, unlesse their acts were described also and depainted in tables set up in publick place; and by that means left their glory behind them, commended likewise to posterity. Another kind there was of tables, wherein were written in the most ancient laws, to wit, of *Romulus*, *Numa*, and the other KK. Likewise the statues of the later lawgivers: the publick acts and ordinances; the leagues and covenants with other nations; the sacred rites and divine service, and the ancient records and monuments, which were engraven and cut in brasen tables: of which, some at this day are extant; others by continuance of time, by war, fire, and careless negligence are lost and perished. For the keeping of these, there were certain persons appointed, that in so serious and important matters, there should be no forgery and corruption.

Pillars likewise of brasse, were by *Domitian* set up in the Capitol; the which, *Augustus* the conqueror of *Ægypt*, caused (of many brasen beak heads of ships molten together) to be made into four huge columns, and brought them to *Rome*. *Sylla* likewise took out of *Iupiters* temple in *Athens*, certain brasen pillars, brought them to *Rome*, & there consecrated them to *Iupiter* in the Capitol.

The Portraiture of a goose in silver, was set up within the Castle by the Romans for perpetuall memory, because a goose by gagging gave warning of the enemies coming, to the warders of the castle and therby saved the Capitol. For which cause geese a long time after, were fed & kept in *Rome* at the Cities charges. There are besides, many other antiquities within the Capitol, cut in tables of brasse and marble both, and namely, Epitaphs, which here for brevities sake are left out.

## CHAP. X

### *Of certain edifices and buildings upon the Capitol hill, and of other things in general.*

NOw that we have made declaration of the statues, tables, and columns, worth the noting: something by the way would be said in the place, as touching the ancient houses there.

The court called *Calabra Curia*, *Romulus* built the Capitol, and covered it with reed. Into this place the King-sacrificer was wont to assemble the Senat and people of *Rome*, that from him they might learn and know the daies of solemn game, plaies, and sacrifices.

Not far from the said *Curia*, was the cottage of *Romulus*.

And almost the same place stood the stately porch or gallery of *Metellus* and *Constantinus*. The Library also called *Majorum*, built artificially upon marbles pillar: and besides the publick court-yard.

There was an hallowed place likewise upon the Capitol from whence they gathered *Verbena*, or sacred herbs, to make garlands for the fæcials heralds and the *Paterbatratus*: wherewith they were crowned when they purposed either to make any accord and peace, or to proclaim war.

The flint stone also was here found, which they held in their hand when they sware by *Jupiter*, pronouncing these words, *If I made default with my knowledg, then let* Diespiter *cast me out of all that I have (saving the City and the castle) as I hurl from me this stone.*

The Capitol had certain vaults like cisterns, into which were thrown all things over-worn, or so old that they were good for nothing. The six steeds drawing in one team, were there to be seen, which *Cneus Cornelius* set up, the twelve gilded shields likewise, made of that mony wherin the Ædils condemned and fined the corn-mongers that hoorded and kept in their corn. The shield also * *Martius*, set out with the image of *Asdrubal*; and the column garnished with ship beak-heads of brasse, whereof *Livy* speaketh, were here to be seen. Within the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* there was a short cloak or mantle and purpole wollen, to which, of other purple garments were laid, they shewed the colour of ashes in regard of the excellent bright gloss and lustre that it caried. A present this was (by report) given to *Aurelianus* by a Persian K. who had it from the furthest Indians. The lintell, cheeks and sill of the Capitol dore, were made all of brass. The brasen tiles likewise upon the roof, *Q. Catulus* gilded over: the place where *Numa* took his auguries

* Toward the end of the 35. book.

was on the Capitol; but *Tatius* used rather the castle cliff: where also stood sometime the house of *Manlius*, but afterward, therupon was built the chappel of *Juno Moneta*. The books also of *Sibylla* were kept in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, by ten Wardens in a stone coffer under the ground. Over & besides so many edifices were there, so beautiful was the Capitol, and the riches thereof so great, so many goodly ornaments and shrines of the gods most artificially wrought, that right worthily of men in old time, it was called the earthly habitation of the gods & *Jupiter* himself. For during the upright and flourishing state of *Rome*; so curiously built and richly beautified it was: that as heaven surpasseth the earth, so far this edifice went beyond all other works and wonders whatsoever of the world; insomuch as it seemed to have been built by the gods: so far surmounted it all the device and reach of mans wit. But as excellent as these things sometimes were, now at this day they are to be seen, all naked, forlorn, and desolate.

## CAHP. XI

### *The Temple of* Concord, *and* Jupiter Stator: *moreover what the* Curia *is.*

BEtween the Capitol hill and mount *Palatine*, there lyeth a valley, whereof we have spoken before. The Temples and buildings wherof, as also the places behind the Capitol, by order and course we are now to describe. In this valley therefore the temple of *Concord* deserved to be visited first: which word, being derived (as it were) from the unity and agreement of heart, maintaineth, augmenteth, and preserveth alone, all things in the world whatsoever.

A temple to this *Concord*, *Camillus* vowed, in case he could reconcile the Commons to the Nobles. When as therfore the people were brought into grace and favour again with the Nobility, he built the church of *Concord*, beginning above the *Comitium* and so forward unto the *Forum*. The porches belonging to this temple, are yet to be seen at the foot of the Capitol. From it, there was an ascent of an 100 steps up to the chappel of *Juno Moneta*. That temple of *Concord*, faln in long time to decay, was afterwards by the Senat reedified. Therein many a time the Senat met and sat in counsell, and orations were made unto the people. In this also there was a vault or shroud under the ground, wherein oftentimes theeves, armed men, cutters and hacksters were kept as in a prison, untill the assemblies of the people were dismissed. This house had many statues and images curiously and cunningly wrought, namely, of *Juno*, *Apollo*, and of *Latona*, bearing and holding her two babes *Apollo* and *Diana*. Likewise of *Æsculapius* and * *Hygia*, the handy-work of *Niceratus*. Also of *Jupiter*, *Ceres*, and *Minerva*: likewise of the Dames weeping and adoring the said images all made of *Stones*. Moreover, the images of *Mars* and *Mercurie*; the workmanship of *Piscrates*. Also of *Marsyas*-bound, made by *Zeuxis* the painter. Likewise father *Liber* and *Cassandra*, painted by *Theodorus*. As for the image of *Victory* in the porch and entrance of the said temple, it is to be seen how it was smitten with a thunderbolt.

* i Health.

To *Jupiter Stator*, *Romulus* in the Sabine war vowed a temple, that he might stay the flight of the Romans: whereupon he was called, the upholder of the Roman state. Therefore after victory obtained, he built a temple at the foot of the Palatine hill, just over-against the church of *Concordia*, where at this day be most high battlements of wals. In this house also, like as in that other of *Concord*, the Senat assembled oft. Likewise in other temples. The courts, wherein the Senat gathered together in Councel, were temples all, and therein were there acts made: but in the sacred churches of the gods, neither met the Senat, nor any orations were made to the people. This temple of *Stator* was burnt to the ground in that fire of *Nerons* making, and never after reedified.

## CHAP. XII.

### *The temple and grove of* Vesta: *the temple of* Faith *and of Romulus.*

THe temple of *Vesta* was built by *Romulus*, between the Capitol and the *Palatine* hils, not far from the *Forum Romanum*; where at this day is to be seen, the church of *S. Mary* of graces. Neer unto it the palace of *Numa* was built. The Roman Pontifies, when they would consult of great matters concerning religion, met in the court-yard of *Vesta*; like as the Senat and people of *Rome*, debated in councel of their weightiest affairs within the temple of *Faith*. Now this was a most ancient temple built in *Palatium* by *Romulus*, or, as some will have it, by *Numa*.

There was a grove also consecrated to *Vesta*, which reached from the root of the *Palatine*, as far as to the large street called *Nova via*. Out of that grove (before *Rome* was taken by the Gauls) a voice was heard, giving warning, that the City should be lost, unlesse the wals and gates were repaired.

The temple of *Romulus* was seated at the foot of mount Palatine, in the midst of that side which regardeth the Capitol, in that very place were now the church is of *S. Theodore*. In this said temple there is a most ancient monument, the portraiture of the she wolf, yeelding her teats unto the founders of the City, to be sucked.

## CHAP. XIII.

### Lupercal, *and the figtree* Ruminalis.

THe *Lupercal* was a cave at the bottom of the Palatine hill, overspread and covered with trees having springs deep beneath under the rock. In the most inward and secret place of this cave there

there was an altar consecrated to *Pan*. But as touching the etymology and derivation of the name, as also of the situation thereof, there go divers opinions; for as in times past the place was close hidden and unfrequented, so now it is inhabited on every side; insomuch as there remaineth no mark and token at all where *Lupercal* was. Howbeit the greater part of writers affirm, that it was in that quarter of the City, where at this day *S. Theodors* church is seen. For to this place upon a time the *Tybre* overflowing, made a creeke thither: and hard by it was, where the two infants were cast forth. In the *Lupercal* therefore, certain authors confidently avouch, that *Romulus* and *Remus* were laid to perish, and so carried by water to the place called afterwards *Ruminalis*, were under a fig-tree there, nourished by a she wolf. This wolf haunted & kept in the den called *Lupercal*, & from thence ran to the bank side under the fig-tree *Ruminalis* for to the suckle the said babes, and so gave the name unto the cave to be called *Lupercal*, as it were the lurking hole and den of the wolf. There be again that would have *Evander* to give the name to the same hollow cave: for he, as is before declared, was descended from *Arcadia*, where the people after most ancient rites and ceremonies, do right devoutly worship *Pan*, the god of herdmen. Vnto whom also a mountain in *Arcadia* to him dedicated, was called *Lycæus*, for that he keepeth, λυκὰς, i wolves from the sheep, and preserveth the flocks and herds. This *Evander* therefore coming upon a time into *Italy*, and resting in these parts, consecrated both this grove and cave to *Pan*, and according to the manner of his countrey, there honoured him. In the said cave therefore reared was an altar, and a goat thereupon sacrificed unto him, as to the god and preserver of the flocks: and seeing that he chased wolves from them, therfore the place wherein he was worshipped took the name* *Lupercal*.

* *Quasi lupis arcens.*

Now the feast *Lupercalia* was by *Romulus* and *Remus* instituted. For they having obtained of *Numitor* a plot of ground to build them a City on, in that very place where they had been set forth, called all their companions to a feast and merry meeting: where, after they had killed sacrifices, and refreshed themselves with meat, and withall taken their wine liberally to the full, they grew to disport, and in the merry fit clad themselves in the skins of the goats which they had sacrificed, and then fell to hopping and dancing full jocundly. Hereupon their posterity, celebrating the memoriall thereof, held a festivall solemnity called *Lupercalia*, which retained the name of the place where first they began. Hereof see more in *Valerius Maximus*, *Servius* & *Plutarch* in the life of *Antonius*. As for the fig-tree *Ruminalis*, it was so named of the river *Tyber*, called at the *Rumon*. Some would have it take the name of *Romulus*. Others of the milk given to the said infants, for that part of the throat which draweth milk ir called *Ruma* in Latines. This place was over against the house of the two lords *Cosmus* and *Damianus*, on the side of the mount Palatine, opposit against the shew-place, called *Circus Maximus*. *Romulus* and *Remus* thus laid forth about *Lupercal*, and caried by the water to this place, were fostered for a while under the figtree *Ruminalis*, in the place where the *Comitium* after was. The tokens of this tree remaineth unto the time of *Augustus Cæsar*, as *Ovid* testifieth.

## CHAP. XIIII.

### *Of the new way, the streets Jugarius and Tuscus.*

THe street called the new way over against the temple of *Jupiter Stator* goeth along the valley between the Capitol hill and the Palatine, and reacheth to the *Forum Romanum*. This, howsoever it be called new, was well known to be most ancient, and is different from that, which *Caracalla* repaired under his bains.

The street *Jugarius*, otherwise called *Thurarius*, leadeth from the gate *Carmentalis*, along the foot of the Capitol hil, to the *Forum Romanum*. In it was the altar of *Juno Juga*, who was thought to make marriages, and to couple folk in matrimonies, and she it was that gave the name to *Vicus Jugarius*.

*Vicus Thuscus* beginneth at the *Forum*, and along the foot of the Palatine sheweth the way to *Velabrum*. The reason of the name was this. The Tuscans upon a time fighting against the Aricians, were by them overcome; and after many thousands of them slain in battel, the rest being few in number fled to *Rome*: who taking delight in the pleasant seat of the City, & the commodiousnes of the place, determined there to remain. Whereupon having a plot of four *stadia* granted them by the Senat, between the Capitol and Palatine, they inhabited the same. Herupon the street was called by them *Thuscus Vicus*, & many a 100 yeer after retained that name. In it afterwards there kept bawds and such kind of people, whereupon it grew out of credit, and lost also the first name.

## CHAP. XV.

### *The Arches of* Romulus, *the* Senaculum, *and the dwelling house of* Ovid.

THe old arches (which some think *Romulus* erected) continued a long time built of brick, neither would the Romans suffer that any man should make them of marble: to the end, that the memorial of their City founder, should remain more firmly in the minds of men. But in continuance of time long after, they decaied and fell down, in that very place where now is the church of Saint *Mary of Grace*, and were never afterwards reedified. The Romans named that place *Senaculum*, between the Capitol and the *Forum*, wherein the Senat kept a consistory for counsell and consuation.

That

That *Ovids* mansion house stood under the Capitol, himself witnesseth, even where as now the church is of S. *Marry* of *Consolation.*

Thus much of the buildings of the Capitol and the valley to it. Now followeth the mount Palatine.

# *The third Book.*

## CHAP. I.

*The divers etymologies of Palatine.*

ALbeit the hill Palatine were along time inhabited before the City was builr, and namely, first by *Valentia* the daughter of *Italus*; then by *Evander*, who also therein set up a castle: whom there succeeded after the City was founded, KK. and Emperors; insomuch as scarcely any one place of *Rome* is more renowned by writing, then this hil: yet the certain reason of the name why it should be so called, and which a man may be bold to follow, can hardly be set down. Some would have it so called, because the Arcadians wandring with *Evander* disorderly, and the Palatines out of the *Rheatine* territory (called likewise *Palatium*) came to that mount and it inhabited: others of *Palas* the great grandfather of *Evander*. *Livy* thought, that of *Palanteum* a City of *Arcadia*, it was first called *Palantium*, and afterward Palatine. There are besides, who of *Palatia* the wife of *Latinus*, fetch the original of the denomination: or of *Palatho*, the daughter of *Hyperborens*, who bare *Latinus* unto *Hercules*, and inhabited this mountain: or of *Palantia* the daughter of *Evander*, who there was buried: or of *Palas*, who was himself interred in it. Some there was also, of the bleating of sheep, which pastured there in times past, before the hill was by men frequented and peopled, imagine it was so named: or else because flocks were wont there *palare*, that is, to wander and grase up and down. And hereupon it is, that *Navius* called it *Balantium*, of *Balatus*; or *Palantium* of * *palare*. *Tremellius* calleth it the mount *Romuleus*, of *Romulus* his *image*, found at the very foot of the said hill. This may suffice of the derivation of the name.

* *Baletus*, ie. Bleating.

## CHAP. II.

*The temple of* Victory, Ceres, Juno Sospita, *and the mother of the gods: the temple of* Liberty *and the porch thereof, as also the house of* Cassius.

NOw that we have declared the reason of the name of *Palatium*; we will go forward to shew the temples and houses of the mountain, like as we have done in the description of the Capitol hill.

When the Romans had performed fortunatly many martiall exploits, and oftentimes returned with victorie over their enemies, because they would not be found unthankfull to the gods, unto whom they were beholden for their happy atchievements, and thereby afterwards misse of the like fortunat successe: they consecrated unto the goddesse *Victory* a temple in that part of the Palatine, which looketh toward the hortyards and gardens of *Maria Nova* in the very bottom of the descent, hard at the gate *Romana*. *L. Posthumius* an Ædile Curule took order for the building thereof, out of certain mony raised by fines and penalties; and when it is finished, he dedicated it to the goddesse *Victoria.*

Neer thereto there was a chappel, consecrated to *Victoria*, which *M. Porcius Cato* vowed.

Besides in the same place was the temple of *Juno Sospita.*

The Arcadians, which with *Evander* came to the Palatine hill, built a temple also in *Palatium* to *Victory*, but as different from this above-named, as far more ancient and to the honor of that goddesse, solemnized yeerly sacrifices.

They built a temple also to *Ceres* in the Palatine.

In the fatall book of *Sibylla* there was a propheſie found, That the forrein enemy and strange born should be chased out of *Italy*, in case the mother of the gods might be brought to *Rome* from *Pessinus*. Now a stone it was, which the inhabitants of that countrey so called. Sent therefore were Embassadors into *Asia* as far as to *Pessinus* a town of *Phrygia*: who brought with them that Great mother of the gods in *Italy*. Then *P. Cornelius* caried it from the sea into the Palatine, and bestowed it into the temple of *Victory*, until such time as one was built of purpose for her. Afterwards *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius* the Censors, took order for a temple to be made to this great mother of the gods, & the same set out with statues, pillars and pavement of divers stones of great price. And *Junius Brutus* dedicated it. The plaies also and games called *Megalesia*, wherof *Cicero* speaketh, were first instituted at the dedication thereof.

Unto *Liberty*, *P. Clodius* built a temple and stately gallery, in part of *Cassius* his house, neer the temple of *Jupiter Stator.*

CHAP. III.

## CHAP. III.

*Of the Chappell and altar* * Febris: *the temple of* Lares: *the chappel of the goddesse* Viriplaca, *of* Faith, *and* Jupiter Victor.

* The fever.

NOt to those gods only that did good to mankind the Romans consecrated temples, but dedicated chappels to those also that did them hurt; to the end, that they should do less harm, and punish them more gently. For certein it is, that on the hill Palatine there was a temple & altar both consecrated to the *Fever*: likewise to *Nemesis* the goddesse of vengeance; wherof before in the second book.

Besides, they erected a chappel of the *Lares* in the Palatine.

In like maner, there was a chappel in the Palatine, consecrated to the goddesse * *Viriplaca*; into which, if man and wife came together, although they disagreed and were falln out before, they returned home again good friends from thence, and all was well.

* Not much unlike, but somewhat a better saint, then S. *Uncumbre* of Paris.

After that *Æneas* with his son *Ascanius* and daughter *Roma* came into *Italy*, they reared a temple to *Faith*, in Palatine: they which was dedicated notwithstanding in the name of the daughter, and the same was written in the forefront of the temple: and therefore many yeers after, when *Romulus* and *Remus* strove who should give name to the City, the Senat and people of *Rome* reading the name of *Æneas* his daughter in the frontispice of the laid temple, resolved to name the City after her, *Roma*.

*Q. Fabius* in the Sabin war, vowed a temple to *Jupiter* conqueror: and afterwards built it on the Palatine hill, and there dedicated it.

## CHAP. IIII.

*The temples of* Heliogabalus, Apollo *and the* Penates: *the house of* Orcus; *the place of the* Palladium *or image of* Minerva; *and the temple of* Augustus.

ANtonius *Heliogobalus* consecrated a god in the mount Palatine, which he called *Heliogabalus*, and built a temple in the place, where before stood that of *Orcus* or *Pluto*. But to win credit and name to this new and counterfeit god with great reverence and worship; he endeavoured to translate into this temple of his, * the sacred cup of that great mother of the gods, the fire of *Vesta*, the image of *Minerva*, called *Palladium*, the heaven, escutcheons, and all things else which the Rom. honoured above the rest. The Christian and Jewish religion also he there counterfeited, to the end, that no man in the religious worship of that temple and god might alledg any pretence why he should not with good conscience so do.

* *Stephum* or rather *typhum*, the figure.

Moreover, in the Palatine, there was built a most ancient temple of *Apollo*. This chanced to be overthrown by thunder and lightning; and when the soothsaiers gave out, that the god misled it & required another, *Augustus Cæsar* adjoined a porch to the ruins therof and reedified the temple a new that there stood: wherein himself, when he grew aged, many a time sat in councel with the Senat, and empanelled the decuries of judges. In it likewise were pendant candlesticks, branched with arms like trees, whereon the approved poets bestowed their writings. Certain marks and tokens of this temple are to be seen (although obscurely) neer to the vineyard of *Fedra*, where the house of *Tiberius* stood. Unto him were instituted the Apollinare games wherof read *Cicero*.

The temple of the City-protectors, called *Penates*, stood in that part of the Palatine which looketh into the North, even to *Velia* not far from the *Forum*. In it were the images of the Trojan gods. In the same are portraied two yong men sitting together, and holding a ball in their hand. In like maner, the crooked augurs staves called *Litui*, of iron and brasse. Besides, an earthen Trojan vessel of potters work. *Apollo* also and *Neptune* were there to be seen.

When the temple of *Vesta* was on a light burning fire, the image of *Pallas* being saved out thereof, was transl ted into *Velia*, and gave the name unto temple of *Palaca*, now S. *Andrews* church, standing in the same place.

Some report, that there was a temple built in *Palatium* to *Augustus Cæsar* of famous memory by his daughter *Livia*.

## CHAP. V.

*The Palatine houses, and the court of the* Salii.

THat *Romulus* and *Remus* being shepherds abode some time in these parts, the sheds and cottages, which long time after were found here, made of slight wood & reed, do testifie: which as any of them in continuance of time decaied and fell down, the shepherds repaired with the like matter to their ancient form, that the perpetuall memorial of *Romulus* and *Remus* the City founders, what kind of persons they were, and what maner of houses they lived in, might be delivered to posterity. In that corner of the Palatine hill, which leadeth unto the grand cirque or shew-place, there stood (many ages) the cottage which they called *Casa Romuli*.

*Tullus Hostilius*, before he built his court dwelt upon *Velia*, in that very place were afterwards the chappel of the *Penates* stood.

Not far from thence, even in that part of the Palatine which regardeth the *Forum*, *Catiline* (by report) had his house built.

More-

Moreover, between *M. Scaurus* his house and *Catilins*, there was but a small step over. *Cicero's* house purchased of *Crassus*, was in the most frequent and conspicuous place of the mount Palatine, above the Church of *Jup. Stator*, neer the *Palatium*.

*Pliny* testifieth, how the houses of *Crassus* the Orator, and *Viterbius*, in the *Palatium*, were in old time overturned.

One Captain *Varus* likewise had an house in the *Palatium*.

Also *Tiberius*, whereof we have written in the former chapter.

*Augustus* (born in the region about *Palatium*, in a place called *Capita bubula*, *i.* the oxe heads; and where after his death, they erected a chappel unto him) dwelt first neer the Roman *Forum*, above the round stairs called *Scalæ annulariæ*, in the house sometime of *Calvus* the Orator. Afterwards he built the stately Palatine at his own charges and gave it to the City, and himself dwelt on the Patine hill in the small house of *Hortensius*.

The Guild, or religious court of the *Salii*, built in the mount Palatine, chanced to be burnt; and in the ashes thereof, the staff of *Romulus* called *Lituus* was found, without any hurt.

*Publicola* dwelt in an house standing over the *Forum*, which was called *Subvelia*.

That the dwelling house of *Tarquinius Priscus* was neer unto the Temple of *Jup. Stator*, may soon be proved out of *Livy*.

## CHAP. VI.

### *Of the top of* Velia; *the statues in Palatine, and other things in general.*

THe pitch of the hill called *Summa Velia*, was in that higher part of *Palatium*, which looketh into the South-east, whereas now is the Temple of *Mary* the new. Called *Velia* it was, because in old time before the device of shearing sheep the shepherds were there wont to pluck the wooll from the sheeps back.

*Augustus* set up a Library of Latine and Greek books in Palatine, and adorned it with the money raised of the most excellent brass of that huge colossus of Tuscan *Apollo*. He adjoyned thereto a porch or gallery, which they called *Palatium*.

In it was erected by the Senat, a statue unto *Numerianus* the Emperor, and a singular oratory. In the same porch the Romans also set up a statue unto *M. Varro*, whiles he lived.

The *Augeratorium*, which was a place where they used to take auguries, was upon mount Palatine. *Apollo Palatinus* likewise, the workmanship of *Scopas*, was in *Palatium*. *Latona* in the same was placed.

*Titus* the Emperor set up a golden statue in Palatine to *Britannicus*.

Moreover, the tree which grew out of *Romulus* his spear, was in the *Palatium*. For he, after he had taken his auguries in the mount *Aventine*, lanced his spear from him into the Palatine, which sticking in the earth, budded forth leaves and grew to be a tree.

Likewise the bay tree, which the same day that *Augustus* was born, sprung with him and suddainly appeared, was in *Palatium*. Of this laurel tree, they that afterwards triumphed, were wont to wear their wreathed garlands.

The Palatine bains, whereof *Cicero* maketh mention in his Oration for *Roscius*, were in the same *Palatium*: and of them there remain yet some tokens, above the *Circus max.* not far from the vineyard of *Fedra*.

In the same mountain also there was a place called *Sicilia*, and *Jupiters* parlor.

The most beautiful streets called *Antoniaca*, paved with Lacedæmonian and Porphyret stones, were in *Palatium*. The streets also of *Padus*, and *Fortuna respiciens*, were to be seen in Palatine. And there were the games and pastimes celebrated, which they call *Palatual*.

## CHAP. VII.

### *The* Palatium *now called the Greater: the court-yard of the* Palatium *: and the old gate of the very* Palatium *it self.*

HOw great a compass the *Palatium* took up in old time, how gorgeously it was built, how rich, how frequent and full of houses, the huge ruins, the pictures, statues, and most pretious pillars there found, do easily declare. For no man ever hath left in writing, who first built so great and stately edifices: who afterwards enlarged the same, and in so conspicuous a place erected those houses. By little & little it grew to so great an height, as if all writers should be ignorant of those antiquities: neither was any thing at one time done at once, which seemed worth the memorial. For Historiographers are wont to deliver unto posterity those things only which are rare and worthy of admiration. The mount Palatine at this day is called *Palatium majus*, and setting aside the Church of Saint *Andrew*, hath scarce two houses inhabited. The rest being either replenished with vines or fit for pasture, yeeldeth grass and food, for sheep, caples, and goats. So as it seemeth it may be called *Balantium* of the bleating that sheep make, rather than *Palantium*.

This *Palatium* had also a place therein called *Atrium*, built in old time and hallowed by Augury: in it the Senat sate in councel, because they might not assemble in any place unaugurate or unhallowed. Therein also rams were sacrificed.

The old gate of the *Palatium* was neer the *Rostra*, over-gainst S. *Laurence* Church in *Miranda*. Some would have this to be called the gate of *Romulus*, in old time.

CHAP.

## CHAP. VIII.

### *The Temples of* Janus, Auguſtus, *and* Fauſtina.

After the deſcription of the Temples and edifices of *Palatium* the third part of the city, now followeth a fourth: namely, the Roman *Forum*. Therein is the moſt ſtately Temple of *Ianus*, (for me thinks we do well to begin at *Ianus*, who is counted the dore and entrance as it were of all things) having four gates. For *Ianus* himſelf, who was therein worſhipped, had four faces: and from *Faliſci* a city in *Tuſcany* forced by the Romans, he was tranſlated to *Rome* into the *Forum*, named after *Tranſitorium*. His Temple was built in that part of the ſaid *Forum* which looked toward the Roman *Forum*. *Procopius* ſaith, that in his daies it was built in the mids of the *Forum* over-againſt the Capitol, a little above the place which the Romans called, The three Deſtinies. Other Temples there were beſides of *Ianus*, and namely, in the Capitol neer the theatre of *Marcellus*, with two fronts all of braſs, and had two braſen dores, which in time of peace were ſhut: and againſt war, were ſet open.

The temple of *Auguſtus* was builded in the Roman *Forum*. This was begun in the time of *Tiberius* the Emperor, but left unperfect. *Caligula* finiſhed it. Above it, he made a bridge which joyned the Capitol and Palatine together.

There remain yet to be ſeen certain monuments and marks of the temple of *Fauſtina*. *Hadrianus* the Emperor her husband founded it at the foot of the Palatine hill (where the braſen image of a bull ſtandeth) for her ſake that ſhe might be honoured as a goddeſs. The ſame his ſon *Antonius Heliogabalus* afterwards would have to be a temple for himſelf, or *Iupiter Syrius*, or elſe the Sun. At this day it is the church of *S. Laurence* in *Miranda*.

## CHAP. IX.

### *The Temple of* Caſtor *and* Pollux, *and the* Roſtra.

NO man doubteth but that the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* was ſomtime in the Roman *Forum* before the *Roſtra*, neer to that aboveſaid of *Fauſtina*. This ſacred houſe *A. Poſthumius* the Dictator dedicated: and L. *Metellus* afterwards repaired and beautified it, with the Dalmatian ſpoils. In it, as in many other, the Senat uſed to ſit in councel, and therein were publick Orations made to the people. *C. Metellus* adorned the ſame with ſtatues, pillars, and excellent painting: wherein alſo he ſet up the portaiture and reſemblance of *Flora*, a picture of ſingular beauty. A table beſides, which contains the records and monuments touching the free burgeoſſie granted to the horſemen of *Capua*. The ſteps and greeces going up to this temple, *Clodius* afterwards plucked up as witneſſeth *Cicero*.

There was a temple or conſecrate place called *Roſtra*, at the foot of the hill *Palatium*, over-againſt that before-named of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, whereas now is the little chappel of *S. Mary de Inferno*. From theſe *Roſtra*, were the ſentences and acts of the Senat, brought and propounded to the people.

## CHAP. X.

### *The Temple of* Cæſar, Venus Genitrix, *and* Mars *revenger*: *and the court of* Venus.

CÆſar of famous memory had a temple neer his own *Forum*, at the broad-ſtreet called *Sacra*, behind the temple of *Fauſtina*. In it were ſet up as Saints *Victory* and *Caſtor*.

In the ſame *Cæſars Forum*, there ſtood a chappel of *Venus Genitrix*, behind the ſaid temple of *Fautina*. This, *Cæſar* vowed in the Pharſalian war, and dedicated it. After victory in the war againſt *Pompey*, *Cæſar* encloſed the temple of the ſaid *Venus*, within a court-yard and a cloiſter, which *Hadrian* afterwards repaired and built new.

*Auguſtus Cæſar* in the battel of *Philippi*, vowed a temple to Mars the avenger, which afterwards he edified in his own *Forum*, wherein were certain iron pots dedicated to *Mars*: and two ſtatues, bearing up the tabernacle of *Alexander* the Great. This is thought to be at this day the church of Saint *Martina*.

## CHAP. XI.

### *The Temples of* Vulcan, Concord, Peace, Romulus, *and* Venus Cloacina.

THe temple of *Vulcan*, *Romulus* founded, above the *Comitium* and *Forum Romanum*, at the bottom of the Palatine hill: but *Tatius* dedicated the temple of *Vulcan*, as alſo of the Sun and Moon, of *Saturn*, *Rhea*, *Veſta*, *Diana*, and *Quirinus*. In the temple of *Vulcan* there was dedicated unto *Vulcan*, the braſen chariot of *Romulus*, wherein he rode in triumph a ſecond time. Therein remained alſo the ſtatue of *Cocles* there erected. Many a time were Orations made to the people in this time.

In the yard belonging to *Vulcans* temple, *Fulvius*, the ſon of a Libertine or enfranchiſed citizen, 303 years after the building of the capitol, vowed the temple of *Concord*, if he could reconcile the States of Senators and Gentlemen to the people. Afterwards he built it of the amercements and penalties that he took of Uſurers condemned, at the foot of the mount Palatine. *Opimius* the

Conſul

Conſul afterwards repaired it anew. In it, *Pliny* teſtifieth that an altar ran blood for two daies.

*Livia Druſilla* in her open gallery, erected a chappel of *Concord*, in regard of the mutual and loving agreement between her husband and her: which afterwards *Tiberius* dedicated.

In that place where *Druſilla* firſt founded the ſaid chappel of *Concord*, *Veſpaſian* afterwards with wonderful celerity and ſpeed, (after the civil wars ended) finiſhed the Temple of *Peace*, begun before by *Claudian*. A large building this was and four ſquare, ſet out with moſt ſtately and fair columns, and of all other Temples the richeſt. In it *Veſpaſian* beſtowed the holy veſſels and pretious ornaments of the Temple in *Hieruſalem*, which *T.* had ſhewed in triumph. It had alſo the ſtatue of *Ganymedes*, and an infinite number of other ornaments wherewith it was decked and beautified. This Temple caught a fire, and at once ſuddainly was conſumed whole: and never was it known to this day how this fire came; unleſs it were (as ſome imagine) by reaſon of an earthquake which hapned the ſame hour, the ſtones rubbed together and ſtruck fire.

An altar of *Peace* was by *Auguſtus* firſt reared; but in what place, the poſterity knoweth not. The ſame, *Agrippa* afterwards enlarged and adorned. Between the Temple of *Peace* and *Fauſtina*, there is at this day a moſt ancient Temple, and two pillars of the porch to it, which now is dedicated to the two brethren Saint *Coſmes* and *Damians*. Some think it was the Temple of *Romulus* and *Remus*, the ſame that *Carvilius* the Conſul, after he had ſubdued the Samnits, dedicated, and of the infinit maſs of ſpoils adorned it.

That the Temple of *Venus Cloacina* ſtood neer the broad ſtreet *Sacra*, *Ovid* teſtifieth. Now the image of this *Cloacina* was found in a privy or draught, called *Maxima*, and *Tatius* conſecrated it. And becauſe it was not known whoſe reſemblance it was, it took the name of the place wherein it was found.

## CHAP. XII.

### *The Temples of* Tellus, Salus, Victoria, *the Sun and Moon, the houſe of* Caſſius, *and the* Armory.

WHere the Temple of *Tellus* ſtood, ſome ſay it is uncertain: others think it was not far from the *Eſquiliæ*, neer the riſing of the hill that leadeth to *S. Peters* Church in *Vinculis*, where as now ſtandeth the Temple of *Pantaleon*. *Sempronius* vowed it: for whiles he fought a battail with his enemy, at *Aſculum* the head Town of the Picentins, the earth quaked: and becauſe he would pacify the goddeſs *Tellus* (*i.* the earth) which he thought was angry, he vowed this Temple unto her. Built it was in the ſame plot of void ground, where the houſe of *Spurius Caſſius* (who ſought to be a King) was overthrown. Neer unto this Temple of *Tellus*, there was an Armory; where of *Cicero* alſo maketh mention in a certain place. Within the ſaid compaſs, *C. Junius Bibaculus* the Conſul, vowed a chappel to the goddeſs *Salus*, in the time of the Samnits war. The ſame was by him put forth to building when he was Cenſor, and dedicated by him Dictator.

*L. Volumnius* an Ædile, cauſed the Temple of *Victoria* neer the Roman *Forum* to be made, of the penalties and fines taken.

In this place alſo was the altar of *Apollo*.

Some would have, that the Temples of *Concord* and *Æſculapius*, were neer the Amphitheatre, in the place where the gardens be of S. *Mary* the new.

The Temple of *Mercury* alſo was in the *Forum*.

The Temples likewiſe of *Iſis* and *Serapis* were in the Burſſe called *Emporium*. And ſome think, that theſe were the Chappels of the Sun and Moon, dedicated by *Tatius*.

## CHAP. XIII.

### *The* Forum *of* Trajanus: *the things now therein, or that have been heretofore.*

THus much of Temples, of holy and religious places, which ſeemed worth the noting, hath been briefly written. Now from hence forward we will ſpeak of thoſe things, which ſhall concern the honour and memorial of mortal men, and firſt begin we will with that excellent Prince *Trajanus*.

*Forum Trajani* was built (with wonderful Art and induſtry of man) by *Apollodorus*, between the *Forum* of *Nerva*, the Capitol hill, and the mount Quirinal. The ſame workman built alſo (at the commandment of *Trajanus*) *Metodeum* and *Gymnaſium*. The roof of that *Forum* or Hall was of braſs, within round about in every place the forms and images of horſes, and militaryenſigns all guilt. Now were theſe foreſaid images erected there at the cities charges in memorial of them that had deſerved well of the common-weal, or otherwiſe of ſome notable act.

The triumphant arch in like manner with many other monuments reared to the praiſe of *Trajanus*, adorned this *Forum* or hall of his.

The porch of this *Forum*, built upon moſt mighty and high pillars, and reſting upon large chapiters, yeelded ſo great admiration to the beholders, that they ſeemed rather the works of gyants than men. Into this, *Alexander Severus* in the honor of *Trajanus*, tranſlated moſt beautiful ſtatues of ſingular men.

*Trajans* horſe in like manner ſtood in the mids, bearing upon high columns.

In a coin alſo there is found the image of *Trajan*, with this inſcription: S. P. Q. R. *Optimo Prin-*

*Principi, The Senat and the people of* Rome *to the beſt Prince.* But hereof *Lampridius* writeth much.

He likewiſe is reported to have adorned the palace, made of ſundry marbles, with pictures and ſtatues within.

In the midſt of the *Forum*, there ſtood the column of *Trajan*, built with winding ſtairs. This had round about it the ſummary of the acts of *Trajan* engraven and chaſed moſt cunningly; but above all the Dakes war: within there be 185 ſteps up to the top; and it hath 40 little windows to let in light unto them that ſhall go up: 120 foot high it was, or (as *Eutropius* writeth) 140. In the louver or lantern thereof were the bones of *Trajan* kept within a golden ball. This pillar *Trajan* himſelf never ſaw: for whiles he warred againſt the Parthians, the Senat dedicated it unto him in his abſence. But he in his return from the Perſians, died in the way at *Seleucia*, a City in *Syria*, of a flix of blood. His dead corps was brought to *Rome*: and of all the Emperors, he alone (as *Eutropius* writeth) was interred within the City. The reaſon why his bones are left in that Column is this: The manner in old time was, for Princes and Noblemen to be buried under hills: but there being not mountains enough whereupon to raiſe ſepulchres in every place, it hapned that ſuch ſteeples and high pillars were ſet over their dead bodies inſtead thereof.

## CHAP. XIV.

### *The* Forum, *the Palace, and porch of* Nerva.

NExt to our ſight cometh the *Forum* of *Nerva*, and it is behind the Church of S. *Hadrian*. In the midſt of it there ſtood a Column of braſs of an huge bigneſs; covered with plate of latten or copper, and hath within it, light every way. This *Forum* was garniſhed with divers ſtatues and Columns, containing the whole order of the acts of *Nerva*. This was afterwards called *Forum Tranſitorium*, for that from it there was the way to the *Forum* of *Auguſtus*, and the Roman.

There appeareth as yet ſome part of the Porch or gallery belonging to the *Forum*: for being conſumed by fire, yet it left certain obſcure tokens, witneſſing, that in the ſame place was the *Forum* of *Nerva*.

Part alſo of the Palace of *Nerva*, built of 4 ſquare ſtones and pillars, together with the Church of S. *Blaſe*, are yet ſeen encloſed between the *Comitium* and the tower of *Militia*.

## CHAP. XV.

### *The Roman* Forum, *the* Comitium, *the priſon* Tullianum, *and the Image of* Marforius.

THe Roman *Forum*, which alſo is called *Latinum*, began at the foot of the Capitoll, and reached in length to the Church now of S. *Mary* the new, which is in *Velia*. But at the firſt, the circuit and bounds thereof were much narrower. For from the head thereof abovenamed, it went no farther than the neareſt foot of the mount *Palatine*. Many a year after, *Auguſtus Caſar* enlarged it.

The *Comitium* joyned to the *Forum*, or rather it was a part thereof: for it beginneth at the gate of *Palatium*, and endeth at the Church of S. *Mary* the new.

At the foot of the Capitoll hill, South-eaſt-ward, *Ancus Martius* built a priſon for malefactors to be laid up in. After him K. *Tullius* adjoyned to it that part which is under the ground, and called that dungeon, *Tullianum*. Made it was of huge and mighty big ſtones, with narrow long holes, for to receive the ſhadow, as it were, and reſemblance of a light. The dungeon within was vaulted with ſtone, ugly for darkneſs, and loathſome by reaſon of a ſtrong and ſtinking ſent. This whole priſon was divided into two parts, the upper room and the nether. *Carcer* it was called in Latine *à coërcendo*, becauſe it kept them there encloſed from coming forth.

Juſt before this priſon there lieth a huge marble-idoll which they call *Marforius*. Some think it was the Image of the bakers god, others, of *Jupiter*, ſurnamed *Panarius*, of the tumours that bear out, like to loaves of bread. For the Romans in times paſt, when they were beſieged by the Gauls in the Capitoll, had warning by *Jupiter* in a dream, to make bread of all the corn that they had left, and to throw it into the enemies camp. Whereby the Gauls deſpairing that the Romans could poſſibly be tamed with hunger, brake up the ſiege. Whereupon the Romans in perpetuall memoriall of this benefit, erected an altar and a ſtatue to *Jupiter Piſtor*.

This image is thought to be the reſemblance of the river *Rhenus* in *Germany*, becauſe it is upon a rock. But why it ſhould be called *Marforium*, I know not, unleſs it be becauſe it ſtandeth in the *Forum* of *Auguſtus*.

## CHAP. XVI.

### *The Secretary of the people of* Rome; *the arch of* Septimius; *the Temple of* Saturn. *Of the Treaſury, and the mint-houſe where they coined mony.*

BEhind the image of *Marforius*, overagainſt the arch of *Septimius* is the Church of S. *Martina*: where, as it appeareth by an evidence engraven in marble, was ſometime the place called the Secretary of the people of *Rome*.

Right againſt the ſaid Church of S. *Martina* at the bottom of the rock *Tarpeia*, ſtandeth the

arch of *Septimius*, which in both the fronts thereof containeth the deeds of that Emperor both by land and ſea.

Directly there followeth the Temple, ſometimes of *Saturn*, now, S. *Hadrians* Church. The ſaid Temple was of great antiquity. Some report *L. Largius* for the builder thereof; others *L. Tarquinius*: albeit more likely it is that *Largius* dedicated it. *Livy* writeth, that when *A. Sempronius* and M. *Minutius* were Coſſ. *Numantius Plancus* reedified it. The treaſury of the people of *Rome*, no writer denieth, but that it was tranſlated out of the Capitol into this Temple. But why men in old time would have the treaſure to be within *Saturns* Temple, there be divers opinions. Some ſay, becauſe in *Saturns* daies there was no theft committed: for under him all things were common; no covetous miſer nor lewd perſon laid wait for his neighbour, but all things were adminiſtred with righteouſneſs, faith, and love. *Cyprian* alledgeth this cauſe, becauſe *Saturn* was the firſt that in *Italy* ordained money to be coined. Moreover, in this treaſure-houſe were kept the publike ordinances. Alſo the books called *Elephantini*, containing the five and thirty tribes of the people of *Rome*. Moreover, all the books of the Cities accounts: alſo the ancient writings and records of the old *Ærarium* and the City debts. Furthermore, the ſtandards and enſigns of war. Over and beſides, whatſoever was by the Generals and Captains after the conqueſt of Provinces carried in triumph, was thither brought. Laſtly, whatſoever was expedient and profitable for the Common-weal to be reſerved, as laws, letters, and other common regiſters of a City. The Cenſors likewiſe were put to take their oath in the Temple of *Saturn*.

Between the Church now of S. *Hadrian*, and that which ſometime was the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, ſtood in old time the work-houſe wherein they coined money.

## CHAP. VII.

### *The golden* Miliarium *the bridge of* Caligula, *the* Roſtra *and the* Curia.

*Miliarium aureum* ſtood in times paſt at the head of the Roman *Forum*, under the Temple of *Saturn*, near to the arch of *Septimius*. A pillar it was, ſo called, wherein all the high-waies of *Italy* were cut and engraven, and there ended, and from which the meaſures began and went on to every gate of all quarters.

*Caligula* brought a bridg of marble through the Roman *Forum*, from the mount Palatine to the Capitoll. A more ſtately and curious piece of work there never was throughout all the City: for the bridg was ſuſtained with fourſcore mighty pillars of moſt white marble: whereof at this day three are to be ſeen at the foot of the one hill, and as many at the other, in ſuch manner as they were in times paſt by *Caligula* built for the bridg. In the midſt of the *Forum*, over-againſt S. *Hadrians* Church there ſtandeth a pillar, which is verily thought to be one of them that ſupported the brazen horſe of *Domitian* gilded all over. At the foot of this horſe was the reſemblance of *Rhene*, a river in *Germany*; for that *Domitian* the Emperor had triumphed over that Province. And this is the Image which afterwards they called *Marforius*.

Of the beakheads of the Antiat ſhips, a pulpit was built in the Roman *Forum* by the Romans at the foot of the mount Palatine, which Temple they called *Roſtra*, that therein the acts of the Senat ſhould be made. Now of this *Roſtra* there were twain, the new at the bottom of the Palatine as is before ſaid, and the old, near the *Curia* in the *Comitium*. In this *Roſtra* were laws publiſhed, cauſes pleaded, and Orations made to the people. On the ſame the manner was alſo to erect the Statues for moſt famous and noble men.

In the moſt conſpicuous place of the *Forum Romanum*, before *Roſtra*, upon a lion of ſtone was the portraiture ſet for *Fauſtulus* the foſterfather of *Romulus* and *Remus*. For he, whiles he was deſirous to part the fray between *Romulus* & *Remus* the founders of the City, was there ſlain, where, afterwards they erected unto him his ſtatue. Behind the *Roſtra* was the ſepulchre alſo of *Romulus*. Moreover, before the *Roſtra* ſtood the ſtatue of *Hercules*, clad in a coat after the Eleans habit, with a grim and ſtern countenance. Three ſtatues alſo of *Sibylla* in the ſame place. The manner of the Romans beſides, was to ſet up the heads of thoſe that were put to death, there to be ſeen.

Two *Curiæ* or Councill-houſes at *Rome* there were: one near the *Forum*, faſt by the Temple of Peace, named *Hoſtilia*; the other in the mount *Cœlius*, whereof we will ſpeak hereafter.

## CHAP. XVIII.

### *The Lake* Curtius, *the great ſink or town ditch, and the* Doliola.

THe lake *Curtius* was in the midſt of the Rom. *Forum*, near *Domitian* his horſe. This lake took that name of M. *Curtius*, who to ſave the Common-weal, willingly of his own accord caſt himſelf headlong, armed as he was, together with his horſe into a chink of the ground in the midſt of the Roman *Forum*. Some would have it ſo called of *Metius* a Sabine, who through this lake eſcaped ſafe to his own company.

The vault or ſink called *Cloaca Maxima*, was made by the commandment of *Tarquin*: for by reaſon that the hils were digged under, and the City ſtood hollow upon arches, it received & carried away all the filth thereof. At the Temple of *Jup. Stator*, divided it was into three conveyances or channels, whereof two of them are now ſtopped up, the third runneth with moſt clear water by the Lake *Curtius*, under the Roman *Forum*, along the foot of the mount Palatine into *Velabrum*, and from thence in a ſink made of four-ſquare ſtone, it diſchargeth it ſelf into *Tyber*. In old time there

there were many ſuch vaults, and thoſe for publike uſe. But after the City was won by the Gauls & burnt, whiles every man made haſte to rebuild his houſe, where he could meet firſt with a convenient place; they took no heed to the ſtreets as they were before: ſo as neither the City was divided as aforetime into quarters, nor yet the ſinks which in times paſt went under the ſtreets, were marked where they lay: but afterwards were conveyed under privat mens houſes, whereby it came to paſs, that each houſe almoſt at this day hath a ſink or privy belonging to it. Hereupon alſo it is, that this author, whoſe epitome or abridgment we write, hath not divided the regions of the City, agreeable to the old writers. But to the end that thoſe things which he ſetteth down might be ſooner underſtood, and better remembred, he hath parted it into thoſe quarters as now it ſtandeth and when he ſheweth in what part of the city any place in times paſt was, he declareth them in: thoſe coaſts which at this day are known to the Inhabitants. But as at firſt theſe ſinks were common (as I have ſaid) ſo there were appointed publike overſeers to look unto them.

Near the foreſaid great ſink there was a place, which of certain barrels under the ground was called *Doliola*. This place was reputed ſo holy, that a man might not ſpit thereupon. In it were ſuppoſed to have been certain ſecret myſteries of *Numa*. And yet, there be that think verily the aſhes of the French Senones were there beſtowed.

## CHAP. XIX.

*The* Comitium, *the Temple of* Venus Genitrix. *The Statues and Images that were in the* Comitium *and Roman* Forum. Cæſars *ſtatue and pillar.*

WHere the *Comitium* was, from what place it began, and in what part of the City it ended, we have ſhewed before, in the fifteenth chapter of this book. Called it was *Comitium*, as *Plutarch* ſaith, for that *Romulus* and *Tatius* were wont to meet together in this place, to make covenants between them. In which place afterwards, the Senat and people of *Rome* aſſembled, when they would decree any thing for the good of the C.W. and namely, when Conſuls, Tribunes Conſular, and ſuch Magiſtrats were created, and other affairs concluded, whereof authors make mention in all their writings. That place was neat the *Senaculum*, at the very foot of the mount *Palatine*. This *Comitium* was open above-head for many years: whereupon oftentimes, albeit aſſemblies were ſummoned, yet they were empeached holding for them, fearing ſome tempeſtuous weather toward. Long time after, when *Annibal* came into *Italy*, they ſet a roof over it: and afterwards *Cæſar* repaired it again. In this *Comitium* the plaies were many times exhibited. In the ſame (as *Livy* reporteth) the books of *Sibylla* were burnt. In like manner many lewd and outragious acts were committed in the aſſemblies there, whereof elſewhere we will ſpeak.

In the *Comitium* ſtood the ſtatue of *Cocles*; which being afterwards ſtrucken with fire from heaven, was tranſlated into the court-yard of *Vulcan*. In the cantons and angles of the *Comitium*, were the ſtatues likewiſe of *Pythagoras* and *Alcibiades*: Alſo in the aſcent and ſtairs thereof, on the left hand of the *Curia* ſtood the Image of *Accius*, together with his whetſtone and razor.

The image reſembling the Mother goddeſs, was ſet up in the *Forum*. They that worſhipped this goddeſs were of this opinion, that the ſtone whereof ſhe was made, could not poſſibly be conſumed with fire: which they gueſſed hereby, for that albeit many fires were made in the night eſpecially at her Image, yet it took no hurt thereby; and therefore gave they out, that there was ſuch vertue herein, as I have ſaid. And from thence it came, that in all ſtreets almoſt they began to worſhip her and to erect altars and little chappels unto her.

The Temple of *Venus Genitrix*, as is ſhewed before, was in the *Forum*: Juſt before this Temple ſtood the ſtatue of *Cæſar*, carrying a blazing ſtar upon the head. In like maner a Column of *Cæſar* made of Numidian marble 20 foot high there remained. Before the Temple of *Caſtor* there was the ſtatue of *Q. Martius* in horſemans habit: of *Tremellius* clad in a ſidegown; of M. *Atticus* covered with a vail.

## CHAP. XX.

*The column called* Mœnia: *the pillar* Horatia: *the houſes of* Cæſar, Conſtantine, *and* Domitian, *The Temple and Court-yard of the ſaid* Cæſar.

IN that part of the *Forum* was the Column *Mœnia*, where ſtood the palace of *Portius*. Called *Mœnia* it was, of *Mœnius* the Cenſor: for he (when as he ſold unto *Cato* his houſe, and when *Flaccus* the other Cenſor gave order, that the palace aforeſaid ſhould there be built, reſerved in the ſale ſo much ſpace for himſelf, as pillar or column would take up: upon the which he might put out aloft to jut forth, made of joiſts and boards upon them: from which place both he and his poſterity might behold the ſport of ſword-fencers. And this priviledge he obtained: whereupon, others alſo, as many as might be allowed, were as induſtrious, and built them columns in the *Forum*.

There ſtood a rock of ſtone in the *Forum*, whereupon the ſpoils of the three twins *Curiatii* were hanged.

In like manner the pillar callar *Horatia*.

The houſes of *Cæſar*, *Conſtantine*, and *Domitian* beautified the *Forum*.

Likewiſe the court and cloiſter of *Minerva*; and the ſhops [of Bankers] as well old as new.

The dead corps of *Cæsar* was brought out of the *Curia* into the *Forum*, and interred in that place, where afterwards they built unto him an altar and Temple.

Likewise in the *Forum* the manner of the Romans was, to lay down their Magistracy.

## CHAP. XXI.

### Cæsars Forum: *the Palace of* Paulus, *and his Library.*

BEsides the Temple of *Saturn*, or the common treasury (whereof we have written before in the 16 chap. of this book) in the Roman *Forum* toward the Northeast was *Cæsars Forum*, even in that very place which seemeth lower than the rest, behind the Temple of *Faustina*. There was the Temple of *Venus Genitrix*, about which *Cæsar* made a cloister and a *Forum*, not of wares and merchandise to be sold, but for them that repaired thither for justice in law matters. In this *Forum*, among other statues (whereof there were many and those most fair and beautiful) he suffered his own to be made, all armed. The *Forum* it self contained but a small compass, but it was most excellently set out. The very level of the plot stood him in an hundred millions of Asses and above.

*Cæsar* purchased with 1500 talents, *Paulus Æmylius* the Collegue of C. *Marcellus* in his Consulship, to be his friend and to stand with him. *Paulus* having received this sum of money built in the midst of the *Forum* near to the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, a most excellent and wonderfull Palace, of Phrygian columns which afterwards they named, *Basilici Pauli*.

A Library also the same *Paulus* erected, near unto his own *Basilica*.

## CHAP. XXII.

### *The* Forum *of* Augustus: *the galleries of* Antonius, Faustina, *and* Livia: Cæsars *house.*

THe Roman *Forum*, those also of [*Julius*] *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, were (as it is well known) near one to another. That of *Augustus*, they affirm to have been at the image of *Marforius*, in the most frequented place of the City: it was but in little compass, as the other of *Cæsars*, but excellently wel adorned with brave statues and other things. For it had the statues of *Castor* and *Pollux*, with the victory of *Alexander* the Great: the image also of *Corvinus*, and of the raven that upon his helmet fought. Also *Apollo* in Ivory; and besides these, other ensigns and ornaments of vertue and valour.

In this Hall or *Forum*, publike justice was administred: and the judges from thence were empanelled: herein they debated in councill, of wars, of triumphs, and other weighty affairs. From hence they used to go when they took journey into their Provinces with soveraign command. Hither, they that returned victors, brought the ensigns and tokens of their victory. This *Forum* being by time decaied, *Hadrian* reedified.

This *Forum* had two porches, wherein were the statues set out & decked in triumphant manner.

*Augustus* dwelt in the street *Sacra*, in a house not so large and stately, but marvellously furnished by his neece *Livia*. And *Augustus* not able to abide this wastful superfluity of riches, pulled it down and laid it even with the ground: in the void plot and court-yard whereof, was afterwards built the gallery of *Livia*; which also was called *Claudia*. *Nero* cast it down, but *Domitian* built it up again under the old name.

The goodly galleries of *Antonine* & *Faustina*, adorned with divers and sundry marbles wel built in old time, were whereas at this day standeth the Church of S. *Laurence* in *Miranda*.

## CHAP. XXIII.

### *The rafter or beam, called* Sororium Tigillum: *the street* Cyprius, Sceleratus, *and* Patritius: *the house of* M. Antonius.

S*Ororium Tigillum* was a place hallowed for the expiation and assoiling of *Horatius* for killing his sister, set up near the street *Carina*, to the honour of *Jupiter*.

The street *Cyprius* is near to the cliff or rising of the Capitoll, which leadeth to the Church of S. *Peter* in *Vinculis*, so called of *Cyprus*. In it dwelt the Sabins first, when they were aranchised and made free denizons. Surnamed afterwards it was *Sceleratus*, upon the wicked and devilish act of *Tullia*, whereof *Livy* speaketh. Some think this was one with the former: others say, it was divers from it.

The street *Patritius* was so called, because of *Patritii*, who were by K. *Tullus* commanded there to dwel. For this was a place raised somewhat higher than others: from whence as from the upper ground, they might easily defend themselves against the sudden violence of others, if it should be offered.

M'. *Antonius* dwelt in that house, where sometimes stood the Temple of *Tellus*. After *Antonius*, the Church of S. *Pantalion* was in the same place built.

## CHAP. XXIV.

### Busta Gallica, *and* Æquimelium.

B*usta Gallica*, was a place in the heart of the City, where the dead bodies of the Frenchmen that held *Rome*, were burnt and buried. It was in that part of the City where at this day standeth the

the Church of S. *Andrew* (in *Busta Gallica.*) Now they call it by an awk name, *Portugallo*: and it is not far from the Amphitheatre. *Varro* setteth the *Busta Gallica* near the *Æquimelium*. As for *Æquimelium*, it was so called, because the house of *Melius* who sought to be K. was there laid level with the ground.

## CHAP. XXV.

*The street called* Via Sacra: *the arch* Fabian *and* Vespasian.

THis street beginneth at the old *Curia*, in the angle of *Palatium* near the arch of [Great] *Constantine*. *Varro* supposeth that it began at the *Carinæ* and the chappel of *Sternia*. Whereby a man may gather, that the *Via sacra* sometimes went through the gardens now of S. *Mary* the new, to the Temple of *Peace*, the *Forum* of *Cæsar*, and so directly up to the Castle of the Capitol. The name of *Sacra* it took for that the Augurs when they came from the Capitol hill, went through it as they took their Augury: or because monthly, they went in procession with sacred reliques along that way: or last of all, in regard that in it there was a league and covenant made between *Romulus* and *Tatius*. At the head and top of it, *Ancus Martius* in times past dwelt, near the chappel of the Lares.

In this street was the famous statue set up of *Cloelia*.

The arch *Fabian* likewise, near the Kings Palace, fast by the *Basilica* of *Paulus*, was reared by *Fabius* the Censor, who subdued the *Allobroges*. In which arch was the scutcheon with his arms, and other tokens of the victory engraven. Fast by it, *Scribonius Libo* erected a seat and Tribunal for the Prætor named *Puteal*.

In the same street-way was the marble arch of *Vespasian*, (the ancientest of all others that are now to be seen) erected by *Vespasian* after he had won *Hierusalem*. In it were his victories cut and engraven, with the ark of the covenant of one side, and on the the other, his triumphs and spoils; and namely, the golden candlestick; the seven other lights, the two tables of *Moses*, the vessels of the Temple of *Hierusalem*; the golden table, weighing one great talent; and many things else, whereof *Josephus* writeth.

## CHAP. XXVI.

Græcostasis; Senaculum; *the* Curia; *the Palaces of* Opimius *and* Porcius.

*Græcostasis* is a place on the right hand of the *Rostra*, as men go forth of the *Comitium*; where, the Embassadors of forrain nations being sent unto the Senat, used to stand and give attendance untill they were admitted to audience.

The Palace of *Opimius*, and the *Curia*, stood near unto the *Græcostasis*. Above the *Græcostasis* was the *Senaculum* at the Temple of *Concord*. Called it was *Senaculum*, because the Senat or the elders were wont there to meet. In Greek it is named Γερουσία.

*Curia* was in the *Comitium*, and some think it is all one with *Senaculum*; so called, because the affairs that required publike care were there debated. There was a *Curia* also of Priests, where Church-matters were handled and treated of. Now this *Curia* where the Senat met, was a Temple or hallowed place: for neither might the Senat meet, nor act of Senat pass, but in the place set out and appointed by augury. Hereupon *Curia Hostilia*, *Pompeia*, and *Julia*, being profane places before, were by inauguration consecrated Temples. In this *Curia* was the altar of *Victory*: and upon the stairs of the said *Curia* stood the image of *Victory*, made of fine pure gold.

*Cato* the elder in the time of his Censorship, built (with the City money) a palace near to the *Forum*, under the *Curia*, which after his own name he called *Portia Basilica*.

The palace also of *Romulus* (as men think) stood where the Church is now of S. *Mary* the new. These places therefore which have been thus described in the fourth region of the City, joyned together in one place in a manner, and were all contained within this circuit, as you go from the *Comitium* toward the Temple of *Peace*, and the Church and gardens of S. *Mary* the new almost as far as the *Esquilia*.

# *The fourth Book.*

## CHAP. I.

*The Temple of* Janus *and* Piety: *of the publike goal of Rom. Commons.*

SEeing that four parts of the City are described, the fifth ensueth; which includeth those places that comprehend *Tybre*, part of the *Aventine* on the right hand, and the rock *Tarpeia* on the left: the valley also which lyeth between those very hills. Wherefore begin we will at the memorable places, which are next after the Theatre of *Marcellus*, and so run through the plain and levell plot of the City. And with *Janus* first, whom men in old time believed to be the very door, and as it were the entrance of all things. Unto *Janus Numa* built a Temple at the gate *Carmentalis*, (afterwards the chappell of S. *Katharine*) at the bottom of the *Argiletus*, close

close unto the theatre of *Marcellus*. This Temple had two doors: in time of peace they were shut, but in war opened by that Consul, who, as the worthier person, was first created. It is found in records, that this Temple was shut but only thrice. First, by *Numa* himself: secondly, by *T. Manlius* the Cos. and a third time by *Augustus*, after the battel of *Actium*. But why in time of war it stood open many reasons are given: and this is thought the chiefest, namely, an accident that befell when *Romulus* warred against the Sabins: for when the Sabins were now possessed of the gate *Carmentalis*, and about to rush violently into the City, all on a sudden unlooked for there issued forth upon the enemies a plenteous river and stream of hot scalding water out of the Temple of *Janus*, which stood near to the gate: whereupon they were driven to flee, and so the City was saved. From hence it is that posterity coming after, open the doors for *Janus* that he might be at liberty, when he is called forth, as it were, to help in time of war.

Others report, that *Tatius* and *Romulus* both were the founders of that Temple: as who, when the covenant was made betwixt them, agreed together of that two-faced god as an indifferent and common witness to them both of the accord contracted between two Kings and two nations; and so erected unto him this Temple in that very place where now the ruins of S. *Katharines* Church are to be seen.

Moreover there be who affirm, that *Cn. Duilius* vowed it, and *Tiberius* built it: but the variety of these opinions seemeth hereupon to arise; for that it is received and held for certain, that there were many *Jani* worshipped as gods by the posterity; whereas they in old time believed but one: so as that which is spoken of divers, is falsly supposed, as said of one. Which may be seen before, whereas we wrote of *Janus* with four fronts or faces, whose Temple was erected in the *Forum*. For it is said, that *Janus* was the first who erected Temples and ordained divine service and ceremonies for the gods; and therefore in sacrifices deserved the first place.

Pourtraied he is with a key and a wand; as who is the porter to keep the gates, and the guide to direct the waies.

*Augustus* besides, brought his image out of *Ægypt* to *Rome*, and in the herb-market built a Temple in the honour of him.

To *Piety* in the said herb-market, *M. Atilius Glabrio* dedicated a Temple in that very place where at this day standeth the Church of S. *Nicholas* in the prison: for even there *Ap. Claudius* the Decemvir by a decree of the Senat built a prison, for that the common goal (whereof we have written before) was not sufficient; and called it The prison for the Commons of *Rome*: wherein himself afterwards being found guilty wrought his own death. In which also many years after, a certain silly poor woman of base and obscure parentage, being newly brought a bed, being apprehended for an heinous offence, was condemned to be starved to death. Her daughter, being a milch woman, and delivered lately of a child, made humble request to the goaler, that she might have leave to go to her mother: and when he had made streight search before, whether she brought with her any food; and saw her have nothing about her, let her in: and so she went and came many times. At the last known it was that the prisoner within was nourished by the breast-milk of her daughter: whereupon the mother was delivered and set free; and both mother and daughter were allowed their food ever after by vertue of a decree, at the Cities charges: and in regard of that kindness and affection of the child to the mother, they consecrated this place to the goddess *Pietas*. *Livy* supposeth, that it was not the mother but the father that in this manner was by the daughter nourished.

## CHAP. II.

*The herb-market: the Temple of* Juno Matuta, *and of Hope: the Oratory or Chappel of* Numa: *the Column called* Lactaria: *the Altar and Chappell of* Carmenta.

THis place hath the name of *Forum Holitorium*, for that therein is great store of worts and pot-herbs without the gate *Carmentalis*, where, where, in times past was the old market kept: and at this day called it is the street *Montanaria*.

Within the compass or the said market-place, *C. Cornelius* the Consul, in the time of the Gauls war, vowed a Temple to *Juno Matuta*: which afterward being Censor, he put out to building, in that very place where afterwards stood the Church of S. *Andrew*, surnamed in *Mentuza*.

The same *C. Cornelius* built in the *Forum Holitorium* the Temple of *Hope*, and the same adorned with divers and sundry marbles: which afterwards *Collatinus* consecrated. Many a day after, it was smitten with lightning; and in the end set on fire and burnt.

A Column also there was in the same market-place, named *Lactaria*: unto which the sucking babes that were to be nourished with milk, were presented.

The Oratory of *Numa* stood in the bottom of *Argiletum*, near the theater of *Marcellus*.

The Altar *Carmentalis*, consecrated by *Evander* to his mother *Carmenta*, stood before the gate *Carmentalis*.

In the same place also was the Chappell of *Carmenta* built by the matrons of *Rome*. At the first, she was called *Nicostrata*: but for that she delivered Oracles in verse, she took the name of *Carmenta*.

## CHAP. III.

### *The fish-market, and Temple of* Fortuna Virilis.

THe fish-market standeth along the *Tybre*, near to the [*Forum*] *Junium*, between the Churches of S. *Mary in Portico* and *Ægyptiaca*, within the gate *Carmentalis*, not far from the *Forum Boarium*, *i.e.* the ox-market.

The Church of S. *Mary Ægyptiaca* is at this day near the *Tybre*, and a bridg of the said name. Some go about to affirm and prove that this was sometime the Temple of *Mercy*; others, of *Fortune* and *Chastity*; but all in vain: for those Temples were not in this place, but in the ox-market: as for this Temple of *Fortuna Virilis*, whereof we now speak, it was near *Tybre*. In it stood the statue of *Serv. Tullius* made of wood and guilt all over, which in a great scare-fire when all things else were burnt, remained only safe and sound.

## CHAP. IIII.

### *The Temple of* Vesta, *the* Salinæ, *and the arch of* Cocles.

NEar the Church of *Mary* surnamed *Ægyptiaca*, there remaineth at this day a most ancient Temple, now dedicated to S. *Stephen*, the frame whereof is circular, and the pillars are set round about and bear up the roof: which being one entire piece of work, carrieth the whole Temple. Consecrated it was in old time to *Vesta*: and *Numa* taking that circular platform, from the Temple which was at *Alba*, made it with a lover in the top, having a hole to give light.

Howbeit, of this goddess her self there is no image nor resemblance; for that fire, whereof she is the goddess, can have no certain and permanent form. As for *Vesta*, the Latines call her so, because she is arraied with divers and sundry things. Of the Greeks she is named *Isia*, for that her force and power appertaineth to altars and herths where fire is kept. This is not the Temple wherein the sacred fire is preserved: but that whereof we spake before, which *Romulus* built between the Capitoll and *Palatium*.

*Salinæ* were the store-houses of the salt which served the City; and they stood upon that bankside of *Tybre*, which from the foresaid Temple of *Vesta* reacheth into the *Aventine*.

The arch of *Horatius Cocles* stood at the very foot of the *Aventine* hill, where the rising thereof beginneth between the mount and the *Tybre*.

## CHAP. V.

### *The* Forum Boarium.

HItherto from the beginning of this fourth book, are described those things which on the right hand of the *Tybre* were worth the noting. Now forward we will after our manner, run through all the memorable things which are on the left side of that river: and first, as concerning the beast-market.

The beast-market was near to *Velabrum* and *Janus*, between the mount *Palatine* and the Greek school, close to the Temple, now called S. *Gregories* Church. In it there was a most ancient image in brass of a bull, whereupon some think it took the name *Boarium*. Others, for that oxen were there sold: or because they used in old time to sacrifice those kind of beasts there: or else, for that *Evander* in that place killed an oxe in sacrifice to *Hercules*, for killing *Cacus* and recovering again his kine and oxen. In the same place were kept the instruments wherewith the Ministers belonging to sacrifices, the sacrificers also themselves, were furnished when they went about their sacrifice. In this market-place was the first fight exhibited of sword-fencers.

## CHAP. VI.

### *The Temple of* Hercules Victor, *and the Altar called* Maxima.

THe round Temple of *Jupiter Victor* was built in the beast-market, near the Greek school: where sometime *Evander* reared unto *Hercules* the altar called *Maxima*. This Temple (as they say) was so religious and venerable, that neither flie nor dog would enter into it. For *Hercules* at what time as he distributed a dole of flesh to his followers and ministers in his sacrifice, prayed unto *Myiagrus* [the god that gathereth flies.] He it is therefore that driveth away all flies from this Temple: and at the door thereof he left his club behind, which as soon as the dogs see they run away far off: and thus unto the daies wherein *Pliny* lived it was free from flies and dogs. At the sacrifice and divine service of this *Hercules*, neither women nor bondslaves, nor yet freed men that had been in villenage might be present. At the last, this Temple was consumed in that fire which *Nero* the Emperour made.

Over and besides, *Evander* erected unto *Hercules* a statue, which was called, *Hercules* Triumphant because so often as there was any triumph in the City it was clad with a mantle, and other habiliments of triumph.

All the time that *Evander* raigned *Hercules* had no more but an altar which they called *Maxima*: and this *Evander* reared unto him for killing of *Cacus*, and restoring his kine and oxen again.

Upon

Upon this altar he ſacrificed the tenth part of the fruit of his kine: for *Hercules* had given out and promiſed, That they ſhould live an happy life who dedicated unto him the tenth part of their goods. Hereupon cometh the name of *Decima Herculana, i.e. Hercules* Tithes.

## CHAP. VII.

*The Temples of* Chaſtity, Proſperous Fortune, Matuta, *and* Fors fortuna: *of the place called* Vicus Publicus, Velabrum: *and the ſepulchre alſo of* Acca Laurentia.

NEar to the Temple of *Hercules*, well known it is that a chappell was built by *Æmylius* to *Pudicitia Patritia, i.e.* Gentlewomens chaſtity. Now the image that repreſented this Saint, ſtood in the beaſt-market. To the ſervice and ſacrifices celebrated unto this goddeſs, virgins that were Commoners daughters might not come. And therefore a certain maiden of commoners degree, reared a chappell alſo to *Pudicitia Plebeia*. From the ſervice and ſacrifices thereof, the Patritian virgins were likewiſe debarred. Many other places & Temples beſides were conſecrated to *Pudicitia*.

The Temples of *Proſperous Fortune* and of *Mutata*, *Servius Tullius* conſecrated in the beaſts-market: And that *Fortune* he called *Proſpera*, which was not blind. In that place (ſay they) an Olive tree ſometimes ſtood, and upon a time when honey dropped and flowed from it, the Soothſayers gave order, that a little coffer or box ſhould be made of the wood thereof; wherein thoſe lots were put and laid up which by the direction of *Fortune* were either handled or ſhuffled together by the hands of young boys: as if ſuch ſhould prove happy, fortunat, & excellent. *Servius Tullius* aſcribed all his acts whatſoever to *Fortune*, who being born of a bondwoman, had many times found good by her, and was in the end advanced to princely dignity. And hereupon he dedicated Temples to *Fortuna Primigenia*, *Maſcula*, *Converſens*, *Bene ſperans*, and *Videns*, as who would ſay, ſhe ruled and did all. Likewiſe, a Temple he conſecrated to little *Fortune*, ſignifying thereby, that nothing can happen unto us, be it never ſo ſmall, but we muſt attribute it, as coming from the gods.

A Temple to *Matuta Camillus* vowed in the Veientian war and dedicated it; which long before that time *Servius Tullius* had erected. To *Matuta* and *Fortuna Primigenia* the Romans did ſacrifice upon one and the ſelf-ſame day: and likewiſe in one and the ſame day both their chappels were burned and conſumed with fire together. *Carvilius* the Conſul cauſed a Temple to be made unto *Fors Fortuna*, or [*Fortis Fortuna*] near unto that of *Matuta*, of the money raiſed out of the ſpoil gotten from the Tuſcans.

The ſtreet called *Vicus Publicus* began at the *Forum Boarium*, and went from thence unto the *Aventine*, as far as to the Temple of *Juno*. In this ſtreet near the ſaid *Forum* was the Chappell of *Velabrum*, in that very place where now ſtandeth the Church of Saint *Gregory* in *Velabrum*, ſo called.

*Aventine* hill was ſometime ſeparated from the other mountains by the *Tyber* between: for before that *Tarquinius Priſcus* turned the chanell of *Tyber*, it brake out many times, and having found a frith or creek, it beat upon the foot of the *Aventine*. And therefore of neceſſity, whoſoever would go to the *Aventine* was to make a fare, that is to ſay, by paying his quadrant, ferry over thither in a Wherry. Hereupon that place is at this day called *Velabrum, à vehendo, i.e.* ferrying over, where ſometimes the *Tyber* had wrought out a frith.

*Antias* hath left in writing, that the ſepulchre of *Acca Laurentia* was in *Velabrum*.

## CHAP. VIII.

Vertumnus *and his Temple*; Janus *with four faces*; *the houſe of* Africanus; *the Court or Palace* Sempronia, *and the wooll-ſhops*.

MEn in old time called *Vertumnus*, not only the god of buying, ſelling, and of fruits; but alſo him that ruled mens minds, ſo named *à Vertendo*, for that oftentimes he turned & changed at his will and pleaſure the purpoſes and thoughts of men another way far divers. His Temple & image they erected in the Tuſcan ſtreet, near to the altars of *Ops* and *Ceres*. The feſtivall daies of this god, celebrated in the month of *October*, are called *Vertumnalia*. Some there be that would have *Vertumnus* and *Janus* with four faces to be all one; upon this reaſon, for that they affirm the Temple of *Janus* aforeſaid to be in *Velabrum*, whereas they built that of *Vertumnus*. But now that Temple whereof we have before ſpoken, upon four pillars beareth up one roof, and hath four gates beſides, and in each foretront twelve little windows, which ſignifie the four quarters of the year, and the twelve months. In old time they put *Janus* before, in all ſacrifices, and gave him that name *ab eundo, i.e.* going and hereupon the entries and doors of houſes be called *Janua*.

Near the image of *Vertumnus Pub. Africanus* had an houſe, which *Sempronius* afterwards bought together with the wooll-ſhops, and built the palace which they call *Sempronia*, near the Temple of S. *Gregory* in *Velabrum*

## CHAP. IX.

Argiletus; *the houſe of* Cornelius; Æquimelium; *the Chappell of Surquedry or ſloath*.

THe *Argiletus* beginneth at the bottom of the Tuſcan ſtreet, and endeth at the Theatre of *Marcellus*. But *Fabius Pictor* ſaith, it began at the head of the ſaid Tuſcan ſtreet, under *Cœlolus*, between

between it and the great Lists, and so reacheth to the Aventine. The name it taketh of a kind of clay or lome, whereof there is plenty in that place: or else of one *Argus*, who being entertained as a guest by *Evander*, laid await for his life, intending after he had murdered him, to be K. and raign himself. But the friends and company about *Evander* discovered his trains, and so he was by them slain. Unto him therefore *Evander* reared a tomb even there, and consecrated the place.

Now *Imus Argiletus* is just by the Theatre of *Marcellus*. In this street were divers shops of artisans or artificers, and especially of stationers or booksellers, and those they commonly called the Argiletan shops.

*Cornelius Domitianus* is said to have dwelt in *Velabrum*.

*Æquimelium* is between *Velabrum* and the Capitol, near to the staplers and wooll-shops. The name arose hereupon, for that *Sp. Melius*, a Roman Citizen who aspired to be K. sometime there dwelt: who being detected of that crime, was killed, his goods confiscat, and his house laid levell with the ground, and the plot where it stood by the Romans was made a void-yard.

The Temple of *Murtia*, goddess of Idleness, was under the Aventine, upon the ascent of the hill called *Clivus Publicus*, in that part whereas folk go up to the Church of S. *Prisca*. Hereupon the mount Aventine was sometimes called *Murtius*.

Moreover, some there be that in this place would have the *Asylum* to stand: but we have shewed before that *Asylum* was first built by *Rom.* upon the Capitol. But in process of time, after that so great riches and wealth was gathered and laid up there in the Capitoll, and that otherwhiles the Senat used there to meet and sit in council; the Rom. thought it not with the safest for them that thieves, fellons, and other lewd infamous persons of all sorts, should come for refuge thither, and there abide: and therefore they supposed it better for their security to translate this priviledged sanctuary to some othre place. Whereupon not there alone, but in many other parts afterwards there began sanctuaries to be set up, not at *Rome* only, but also in other quarters of the world.

## CHAP. X.

### Circus *what it is, why it was so called, and for what cause ordained.*

THe place where games & exercises of disport were performed, was called the Cirque: so named, for that the scaffolds were built in circuit round about to behold the pastimes; and within that compass the said solemnities were exhibited: also for that the pomp was carried in shew, and the horses ran about the goals there. Built it was round, but longwise like an arch or bow, having in the circuit about it steps one above another, with apt seats for the beholders, that one should not hinder the prospect of another: in the midst were two marks or goals distant alike one from the other. Also the barriers or *carceres*, so called because the horses stood there pent and kept in untill the Magistrate gave the signall to begin the course.

Now these solemnities of games and plaies are festivals in the honour of their gods: for ordained they were first, and still are observed and kept, either for their birth-daies & nativities, or dedications of Temples. And at the very first verily were hunting and baiting of beasts, which they called (*Munera*) to the honour of *Saturn*. But the stage-plaies were due to *Liber*: the Circensian games to *Neptune* and *Ceres*. Thus these pastimes were assigned, some to these gods, and others to those; and in honour and memoriall of them yearly solemnized. As for the games Circenses, they were so called, because when they were to be performed, they had the bank of the river of one side, and swords set to flank the other. But of these games, plaies, and solemn sights, *Sisinius* hath written at large.

## CHAP. XI.

### *The great shew-place called* Circus Maximus.

TArquinius *Priscus* instituted first this large circuit for running of races, and laid the foundation thereof between the two mounts *Aventine* and *Palatine*. But *Cæsar* was he that enlarged it, and made it more magnificent and stately. For being (as it was) three furlongs and an half in length, and four acres broad; it is thought that it was *Cæsar* and not *Tarquin*, who set it out to that largeness: and this soundeth like to a truth, considering that in *Tarquins* daies the City was not so populous, neither given so much to these shews and sights, as in the time of *Cæsar*, and therefore the place required not so great a compass of ground. Now this Cirque for three parts thereof to wit, the two sides and one of the ends, had a ditch digged ten foot deep, and as many broad: behind that ditch were galleries built three stories high; and these had seats made beneath with stone, and above of timber: all which galeries had one and the same bases for they closed together round like a globe. Able they were to receive a hundred and fifty thousand men. See more hereof in *Dionysius*, *Pliny*, *Livy*, and others who have written of the Roman Edifices. This Cirque *Augustus* adorned and beautified afterwards: for he made the barriers of marble, and guilded the goals, and many other ornaments he set it out withall. Lastly, when it was decaied and fain down, *Trajan* reedified it, made it more ample, and trimmed it up. Yea, and after him, *Heliogabalus* set thereto besides most fair and goodly Columns, and garnished them with gold, and paved the very floor with *Chrysocolla*. But as touching the beauty of this Cirque, *Nazarius* writeth much. For, by report, so elegant it was, that men resorted to it, not so much to behold the exercises and masteries there, as the pleasant and delectable beauty of the place. *Maximus* therefore it was called, either because consecrated it was to *Vortumnus*,

the

the greateſt of the gods, or for the excellency and ſumptuouſneſs of the games: or elſe becauſe in compariſon of other Cirques, to wit, *Flaminius*, and the other called *Intimus*, *i.e.* the inmoſt, this was the biggeſt. For *Pliny* hath left in writing, that it lay out in length three furlongs, and one in breadth, ſo as it would well ſerve for two hundred and ſixty thouſand men to ſit within it.

## CHAP. XII.

### *The Temples and Altars which we read to have been in the* Circus Maximus, *or about it.*

*Conſus* is reported to be the god of Counſell, either for that he concealeth mens counſels, or openeth them unto men. This God had an altar in the great ſhew-place covered over: which betokeneth, that counſell ought to be cloſe and covert. For which cauſe, this altar as we read, was by the old Romans to him conſecrated. For they at what time as they conſulted about the raviſhing of the Sabine maidens, fearing leſt they ſhould have been detected before the time dedicated this altar to this god, and erected the portraiture and image of him thereon. Which altar verily, either by ſome injury of the times, or through mens neglect of the gods, continued ſo forlet, as in the end it was altogether unknown where it ſtood. At length found it was again, and at all other times remained covered, but in the time of horſe-runnings, and then it was uncovered and ſet open. To this god was the feaſt alſo inſtituted, called *Conſualia*. And thoſe diſports and paſtimes which they deviſed for the raviſhment of the Sabin Virgins, were celebrated at this altar by certain Prieſts belonging to that god.

In like manner *Neptune*, ſurnamed the Chevalier, had a Temple in this *Circus Max.* which in the year of our Lord 1526 was found behind the Temple of S. *Anaſtaſia*, at the foot of the mount *Palatine*, in the very foundations of the *Circus*: for ſuch marks and tokens were there to be ſeen, that by good evidences it appeared that this was the very Temple of *Neptune*. For the honour of this *Neptune*, the games *Circenſes* were by men in old time ſolemnized.

Alſe to *Genius* the guide and director of ſecret plots, they directed an altar in the great Cirque. Over and beſides theſe, this Cirque contained three other altars: one to the Great gods: a ſecond to the Penats: and a third to thoſe gods of heaven and earth, from whom all things ariſe and have their beginning. Theſe gods above ſaid, the Romans called *Genii*, *Penates*, Preſidents, and keepers of the City.

*Liber*, *Libera*, *Ceres*, and *Proſerpina*, had their Temples about this place called *Circus Max.* which *Poſthumius* when he warred againſt the Latines, vowed: and the ſame man upon his return with happy victory built and dedicated them accordingly.

To conclude, in the ſame compaſs were the Temples of the ſun, and of *Flora*.

Moreover, a Temple there ſtood near this *Circus*, unto *Venus*: which *Q. Fabius Gurges* the Coſ. cauſed to be made of the money raiſed upon the fines of certain wives that were condemned for playing falſe with their husbands.

*Lucinus* dedicated a Temple to *Juventus* without the great cirque, not far from that place.

In like ſort, *Mercury* had a Temple near this *Circus Max.*

In *Plinies* daies there was ſeen in the *Cirque Max.* the image of *Fortuna Seia*.

## CHAP. XIII.

### *The* Naumachy *of the great Cirque.*

Naumachy is a place ſo called ὅτι ἀντὶ τῶν ναῦσι μαχέσιντο, *i.e.* for that in it they uſed to skirmiſh with ſhips. For there were places digged deep like ponds, where were repreſented ſome ſhews of navall fight for the exerciſe of the Roman youth, that they might know how to charge and annoy the enemy at ſea alſo. And theſe kind of ſports were exhibited and practiſed not in the cirques only, but alſo in the Amphitheatres.

## CHAP. XIV.

### *The two Obelisks of the* Cirque Max.

The Obelisk (as *Marcellinus* teſtifieth) was a very huge and rough ſtone riſing like a ſpire or broch, by little and little to a mighty height: and that it might reſemble a ray or ſun-beam, it groweth ſmaller and ſmaller in faſhion of a ſteeple, with four ſides or edges, and in the top it is very narrow, and there made plain and ſmooth right artificially. In moſt of them are engraven and cut certain Hieroglyphick notes, and namely, ſuch as teſtifie either the founder thereof, or elſe other memorable matters. Of theſe figures and characters, the ſame *Marcellinus* ſpeaketh in this wiſe: Moreover the infinite variety of forms and characters, called Hieroglyphicks which all about we ſee engraven, the ancient authority of the firſt learning did ſet forth and mark ſo. Thus much ſaith he. Now they drew and portraied therein ſundry forms and ſhapes of living beaſts and birds, and oftentimes deviſed new and ſtrange reſemblances, whereby they reſerved and kept for their poſterity whatſoever was memorable and worth remembrance. This manner continued not in *Ægypt* only, but alſo in other parts of the world, untill ſuch time as letters were found: and then this was given over. At the firſt one letter implied a whole word and one word went for a whole ſentence. But hereof ye ſhal find much in authors that have written of theſe characters. Moreover, as *Pliny* witneſſeth, theſe Obelisks were made of the ſtone *Simithes*. Them they erected and

conſecrated

consecrated to the gods, and principally to the Sun: and therefore in hewing and cutting them, they resembled the sun-beams, as we said before. The first that ever devised these Obelisks, was K. *Methres*. At *Rome* were none of these Obelisks wrought and cut out, but brought thither from other parts, and so for beautifull shew and to wonder at were erected. Therefore in the Cirque aforesaid, called *Maximus*, two Obelisks were seen, one standing upright aloft, 80 foot high: the other lying along in the *Naumachi*; it carried in length a hundred and thirty foot and 8 inches, besides the base or footstall, which *Augustus* translated to *Rome* out of *Hieropolis*, a City of *Ægypt*: but when he would have set it up on end it fell down and brake in twain. This was hewn out of the quarry, by King *Samnefreteus*, in whose raign *Pythagoras* was in *Ægypt*.

## CHAP. XV.

*The arch of* Settinius *in the Cirque. The place of the Tuberoes in the Cirque. The stews, the house of* Pompey, *and the fountain of* Juturna.

*Sertinius* having made conquest of *Spain*, brought great store of money into the City chamber: and of the spoils taken from enemies he reared two arches; the one in the beast-market, called *Forum boarium*; the other in the great shew-place, named *Circus Maximus*. Upon these arches he set golden images, and other ornaments to beautifie them.

The house and family of the *Helii* was none of the wealthiest, but yet of great credit and esti-estimation with the Romans. Among whom there was so great concord & unity, that 16 of them at one time dwelt and agreed well together in one and the same house. For their (ngular prowess and worthy acts they were allowed by the Senat and people of *Rome* a scaffold by themselves in all the shew-places and Theatres, to behold all sights and masteries of activity.

About the *Circus Maximus* stood the stews and brothel-houses, where sometimes harlots and naughty-packs kept, such as made profession of whordom. But this place was afterwards laid even with the ground, and is now a void place.

The house of *Pompeius* was near the *Circus Max.* & therein was the statue of *Hercules* erected.

The fountain or well of the nymph *Juturna*, is yet (as some think) to be seen, boiling up in the *Velabrum* near the common sinck or vault called *Maxima*.

## CHAP. XVI.

*The* Septizonium *of* Severus.

THere should follow by course after the great Cirque, the sixt part of the City, namely, the mount *Cœlius*. But because we meet with the *Septizonium* of *Severus*, & the arch of *Constantine* (before we come to *Cœlius*) between it and the mount *Palatine*, something would first be spoken of them, especially being so excellent building as they are. The *Septizonium* therefore is a mighty mount or terrace raised from the plain ground 4 square, compassed about with seven articles, that is to say, courses of rows of pillars one above another, yielding as it were as many porches or galleries: and in this order they are disposed, that the higher the pillars stand, the lesser and shorter they be. In the midst hereof, four wals arise, containing within them certain hollow places like cabinets. In the top thereof were bestowed and laid the ashes of Kings and Emperors deceased. *Jul. Capitolinus* nameth this mount *Septodium*, for the Greeks call places much frequented; whereunto many waies lead, *Heptodia* of ἑπτὰ, *i.e.* seven, and ὁδὸς *i.e.* a way. *Pliny* calleth it *Septisolium*, of seven lofts or solars. For in every course thereof the columns meet together in the head with marbles transomes. Other beams there be are besides, reaching inward from them to the mount it self, so as every such course yielded a stage like a gallery or walking place. Two of these *Septizonia* we read there were at *Rome*, to wit, the one of *Titus* in the street called *Via nova*, of right great antiquity, not far from this of *Severus*: of which at this day there is to be seen no shew or token at all. The other of *Severus*, whereof there remain still ouer against S. *Gregories* Church 3 Zones or girdles (as it were) of curious work; for the beauty and statelines of the pillars worth the seeing, and pleasant to behold. Reared it was in the broad street called *Appia*, and built by *Severus* himself. That which now is left thereof leaneth out so, as it seemeth ever and anon ready to fall.

## CHAP. XVII.

*The triumphant arch of* Constantine *the Emperor.*

THese triumphant arches were erected for them only, who having subdued whole Provinces or conquered forrain nations & obtained braue & fortunate victories, seemed worthy of triumph, and thereupon they are called Triumphant arches. Upon these arches for the perpetuall and everlasting memoriall of acts atchieved, were cut and engraven the portraitures of the very places where the war was performed; the resemblances of Fabricks and ranged battels, if the service was on land; and of ships if it were at sea. Howbeit, untill the time of the Emperors, no man raised any arches, and in *Plinies* daies they began first to be built: so as that of *Titus* is of all others most ancient. For before their age, only statues and trophies were set up. But in process of time following, many of these arches were raised: among which, that of *Constantine* is to be seen above the rest, at the corner of the mount Palatine, near the Theatre, beautified with triumphall ornaments;

and

and remaineth at this day in a manner ſound and whole without any hurt. This arch *Conſtantine* erected for himſelf, upon the victory which he obtained over *Maxenitus* at the bridg *Milvius*.

## CHAP. XVIII.

### Cœlius *the mount, and* Cœliolus.

THe mount *Cœlius* in old time was named *Querquetulanus*, for the number of oaks there growing: but afterwards it was ſo called of one *Cœlius Vibennus*, a Duke of the Tuſcan nation, unto whom the Romans granted a place in that mountain to inhabit. For when as the Tuſcan people, by reaſon of their multitude, and the ſtrong fenced places which they held, were ſuſpected, commanded they were to remove into a ſtreet which of themſelves was named *Thuſcus*. But ſuch as were without ſuſpition, kept the hill *Cœliolus* or *Cœlicolus*, *i.e.* the little *Cœlius*; a place where ſometime the goddeſs *Diana* was worſhipped: and at this day there ſtandeth the Church conſecrated to S. *Evangeliſta* the virgin. This mountain afterwards by *Tiberius* was named *Auguſtus*.

## CHAP. XIX.

### *The Temples of* Faunus, Venus, *and* Cupid: *the Court* Hoſtilia: *the forrain camp*: *the houſe of the Laterans*: *the Palace of* Conſtantine, *and* Cæſorianus: *the horſeman ſtatue of* L. Verrius.

VPon the ridg or ſide of the mount *Cœlius* there ſtandeth a round Church, now patronized by S. *Stephen*, but hallowed and conſecrated in times paſt to *Faunus*. *Faunus* he was called, ἀπὸ τοῦ φαίνω, for that he foretold things to come by voice and not by ſigns. The Albans in old time inhabited that part of the hill, where at this day the Church ſtands of S. *Mary Dominick*.

In the hill *Cœlius* ſtood ſometimes the Temples of *Venus* and *Cupid*, not far from the gate *Nævia* where now is the Church of the holy Croſs in *Hieruſalem*.

The Court *Hoſtilia* was in two places of *Rome*, the one in the common *Forum*, hard by the Temple of *Peace*, where King *Hoſtilius* firſt dwelt, the other in that place, where afterwards the Church of S. *John* and S. *Paul* was built.

A place there was in the mount *Cœlius* called *Caſtra Peregrina*, toward the Northeaſt and the *Eſquiliæ*, where at this time the Church of the four crowned Saints is frequented.

The houſe of the Laterans alſo was built upon the ſame mount, at the Palace or ſtately Hall of the Laterans.

The Palace of *Flavius Conſtantinus*, near the houſe of the Laterans, ſtood between the gates *Calimontanus* and *Gabiuſa*.

The Palace of *Cæſorianus* was built at the gate *Nævia*, and the Church of S. *Holy-croſs* in *Hieruſalem*.

In the ſtreet called *Lateranenſis*, ſtood the ſtatue on horſeback of *L. Verrius*. Some ſay it was made for *M. Aurelius Antonius*, others, for *Septimius Severus*.

## CHAP. XX.

### *Of the* Amphitheatres, *and firſt of that of* Statilius Taurus.

NOw it followeth to ſpeak of the Amphitheatre of *Statilius Taurus*, but before we write thereof, it would be briefly ſhewed what an Amphitheatre is. Now this word *Amphitheatrum* cometh ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀμφὶ, καὶ θεᾶσθαι, *i.e.* of looking round about: for two proſpects joyned in one, make the form of an hemiſphere or half circle. Some think, that *Titus* deviſed the Amphitheatre firſt, but ſome avow and prove, that *C. Cæſar* built the firſt that ever was in *Mars* field: but by the authority of *Suetonius* it is proved, that *Statilius* reared one Amphitheatre before *Titus*.

In theſe Amphitheatres were prizes and rewards propounded to them that would fight with beaſts. Condemned perſons likewiſe yielded there to the eyes of men a horrible and fearfull ſight to behold, for thither were thoſe priſoners brought by the Lictors, within that encloſure to wreſtle and maintain conflict with wild beaſts.

Moreover, the Emperors before they took their journey to any war or expedition, exhibited unto the people in theſe Amphitheatres ſhews of ſword-fencers at the ſharp for life and death, to the end, that the ſouldiers ſhould be acquainted with fight, and learn not to be affraid of weapons, of wounds, no, nor of bloudſhed, nor to draw back and avoid the perils of war to come, for the novelty and ſtrangeneſs thereof. A great part of *Statilius* his *Amphitheatrum*, is yet to be ſeen near the wals at S. *Croſſes* Church in *Hieruſalem*. And at the ſame time he built it, when *Auguſtus Cæſar* encouraged and exhorted the Citizens of *Rome*, every man according to his ability to beautifie and adorn the City.

## CHAP. XXI.

### *The water conduits why they were deviſed, by what means waters were conveyed into the City, to what purpoſe, by whom firſt, and how many.*

THe *City* of *Rome* in the beginning, as hath been ſaid in the firſt book, was but narrow of compaſs, and contained within ſmall bounds: and the people for commodity and ſtore of water, ſetled

ſetled upon the river *Tyber*. But as the city daily more and more encreaſed, neceſſary it was that ſome ſhould build them houſes and habitation in one place, ſome in another, farther from the river: whereupon diſtreſſed it was for want of water, which was to be fetched ſo far off, and that with great pain and labour: beſides, thoſe places which had no current of running waters to waſh away the filth, and carry it into *Tyber*, became (by the noiſome air which was infected with their loathſome and ſtinking ſmels) unwholſome, and ſubject many times to the peſtilence. Prince *Nerva* therefore (the Emperor) undertook to redreſs and remedy this miſchief (and others after him by his example) and deviſe by the wit and ſubtile invention of men, conduit-pipes, to bring water into thoſe parts of the city which otherwiſe had none. And this verily they did two waies, the one by arched work, when by digging certain rills or rivulets the water was carried level above ground, forced by certain weights, ballaſes, and counterpoiſes: the other by vaults under the ground, bringing water into the city by ſecret under-waies through pipes, ſpouts, and rocks. By which means it came to paſs, that in the city every where ſuch ſtore there was of water, that each houſe almoſt had a well in it. But eſpecially at the bottom and foot of the hill *Quirinalis*, and all the ſide thereof, in the ſtreet *Patricius*, *Suburra*, the Latine way, the Aventine, the Jews ſtreet, and in many other places: ſo as in this our age full it is of ſuch water-works under the ground. Now were theſe waters conveighed from divers places, and ſome conduits eſpecially, ſuch as were deviſed by arches were higher or lower than other. In the beginning and all the former times, there were (by report) five heights or depths: The higheſt of all was new *Anio*; next, the waters *Claudia*; in the third place the water *Julia*; *Tepula* in the fourth; then *Martia*, and after it old *Anio*, the levell or current whereof, *Virgo* followeth and *Appia*, and the loweſt of all others, *Alſietina*, which ſerves that quarter of the city beyond *Tyber*, and other low places built upon the plain. Theſe waters were firſt brought into certain great conduit-heads, and from thence they were by a certain meaſure diſtributed by the conduit officer, and ſo ran into places appointed. Now that great conduit-head was called *Caſtellum*, which receiveth firſt the common water, and afterwards ſendeth it out into divers and ſundry parts: and the keeper or officer that overſeeth it is named *Caſtellarius*. There were beſides levell or above ground certain ciſterns or receptacles of water, which kept water to ſerve curriers, fullers, and other ſuch artificers for their neceſſary uſe. Over theſe waters were appointed certain wardens and keepers, and a ſet number of labourers and workmen to ſee thereto. Finally, a grievous puniſhment was to be inflicted upon them that either marred and hurt the conduit-heads, or derived and conveyed water to other places than the laws or publike ordinances, or the Cenſors or Ædiles permitted; or took more water than at the firſt was allowed them. *Appius Claudius* (by report) was the firſt man that brought water into the city by arched work. But of the Roman waters, of the conduits, and other matters ordained thereabout, of the manner of conveyance, the inſtruments, meaſures, and weights thereto belonging, read *Frontinus*, who of theſe things hath written truly and at large. Alſo have recourſe to *Sex. Ruffus*, who of the ſame argument hath made a good treatiſe. In the time of *Frontinus* there were but nine waters and no more brought into the City, namely, *Appia*, old *Anio*, *Martia*, *Tepula*, *Julia*, *Virgo*, *Alſietana*, called alſo *Auguſta*, *Claudia*, and new *Anio*. *Ruffus* reckoneth ten more, whereby it appeareth, that he wrote long after *Frontinus*.

## CHAP. XXII.

### *The conduit or conveyance of* Aqua Claudia.

*Caligula* began two conduits, but left them unfiniſhed when he died, *Claudius* the Emperor of famous memory, took them in hand again, and in moſt magnificent manner made an end. To the one of them, namely, which beginning at the ſources or ſprings called *Cæruleius* and *Curtius*, was drawn to the City, he gave the name *Aqua Claudia*: the other, for difference ſake of the two conduits of *Anio* he called his own, or the new *Anio*; and diſtinct it was from that which is named old *Anio*. The water *Claudia* therefore was brought from the gate *Nevia*, along the ſide of the mount *Cœlius* into the *Aventine*. A part alſo thereof *Caracalla* derived into the Capitoli hill.

## CHAP. XXIII.

### *Of thoſe things which now in mount* Cœlius *are not known where they ſtood.*

*Brutus* the Conſul having expelled *Tarquine*, built a Temple to the goddeſs *Carna* in mount *Cœlius*, to which goddeſs alſo, upon the accompliſhment of his prayer and vow, he offered ſacrifice. They in old time ſuppoſed that ſhe had power over the vitall members of the body, and to her tuition they committed thoſe parts, and that ſhe ſhould preſerve them ſafe, they did ſacrifice upon her altars, and preſented oblations.

*Agrippina* likewiſe began to build a Temple to *Claudius Cæſar*, which after her death *Veſpaſian* finiſhed, and *Nero* utterly deſtroyed to the very foundation: this alſo was erected in the ſame hill.

*Mamurra Formianus*, Maſter of *Cæſars* Carpenters in *France*, was the firſt Roman that adorned and ſet out his houſe which he had in *Cœlius* hill with marble rough-caſt. Moreover, the houſe of *Claudius Centimalis* ſtood upon the ſaid hill. Alſo the houſe of the *Tetritici*, who were two of the thirty tyrants. Likewiſe the houſe of *Junius* Senator, wherein, when as all other edifices and buildings upon that mountain were conſumed with fire, the image of *Tiberius* remained unhurt. There alſo it is ſaid of *Titus Claudius Clytus*, the maker of hymns. In this hill was the great *Macellum*, the cave or den of *Cyclops*, the *Spoliarium*, and the armory.

## CHAP. XXIV.

*The waies* Appia, *and* Nova. *The Temples of* Isis, Vertue, Honour, Quirinus *or* Mars, *and the river* Almo.

NOw follow those places which are worth the remembrance upon the hill *Cœlius* toward the *Aventine*. And therefore the way or street called *Appia* we meet with first, which taking the beginning from the arch of *Constantine*, reacheth as far as *Brundusium*: and because afterwards it was paved and repaired by *Caracalla*, it took the name of *Nova*, *i.e.* the new causey. But that which properly is called *Nova* beginneth at the gate of *Palatine*, and along the foot of the *Palatine* hill, over the great Cirque called *Maximus*, stretcheth out as far as to the lowest fish-pool, where now standeth the Church of S. *Sixtus*. Many other streets there were, called *Nova*. Take heed therefore that in their names you be not deceived, and lest ye think that to be spoken of one, which oftentimes was meant of many.

Between the Church of *Sixtus*, the Fish-pools, and the ruins of the Antonian bains, there was the Church of *Isis Antenodorica*, built by *Antonius Bassianus*.

The Temple of *Honour* and *Vertue*, not far from the street *Appia*, was vowed by the father of *Marcus Marcellus* at *Clastidium* in *Gaul*; and seventeen years after dedicated by his son *Marcellus*.

Two Temples there were of *Mars*, one called the Temple of *Quirinus* within the City, near to the gate of that name, the other upon the way *Appia* without the City.

The river *Almo* runneth along the way *Appia*, under the foot of the *Aventine* into the *Tyber*. It beginneth ten miles from the City in the territory *Marinum*; which commonly afterwards they called the river of *Appius*. In this river the goddess named the mother of the gods, was every year wont to be washed by her Priests, called *Galli*.

## CHAP. XXV.

*Of baths and bains in generall.*

*Therma* properly hath the signification from a Greek word, θερμὸν, which betokeneth hot. But we use to call those places which either having hot waters, or without them are heat with a stouph, appointed either to wash and bath, or to sweat, by the Greek name *Therma*. That the Romans used in old to bath and wash themselves oftner than we now adaies, is testified by many and divers authorities of writers: and for sundry causes they were wont so to do [as yet the manner is amongst us] namely, to scour away sweat, or to wash dust off, in like sort for health and pleasure: whereby it came to pass, that every man, if he were but of mean wealth, had in a manner a privat bath or hot-house by himself: but the same were devised and contrived after divers and sundry sorts. For many publike baths there were ordained for the common people to use at their pleasure. *Serv. Orata* invented first and made the pendant or hanging baths. But after that riot and superfluity abounded in excess, the bathing houses were built with wonderfull cost and magnificence, so as they seemed to keep no mean nor measure: as appeareth by the very reliques and ruins thereof at this day. And those places where they built these bains and hot-houses they called *Therma*; which contained within them divers places, and an infinit number of roomes, bearing sundry names, and serving to as many uses. For some were appointed to heat water (and those were round built) from whence hot water was let into the bains, not to them only that were on the ground beneath, but also to those which were pendant and hanging aloft: which water after they had done washing, being foul and good for nothing was conveyed by certain pipes and spouts into sinks. They had other rooms also called *Apoditeria*, wherein they that were to go into the bath put off their cloaths and laid them by. In the same places were court-yards, having about them most spacious porches or cloisters, built with arched and embowed roofs most stately; wherein were marble pillars, garnished with divers and sundry colours. In like manner pavements of stone, and walls seeled and hung with marble tables. Also close walking galleries, groves, and swimming places, all for the pleasure and contentment of the people, where they might refresh and solace themselves. These delights so drew and allured mens minds, as that they would wash oftentimes in one day, yea, and in these bains the Princes were wont to sup and bath with other persons whosoever, as it fell out. They had besides private baths to themselves most sumptuously built, and gorgeously set out. And namely, *Antoninus Caracalla*, at his own charges edified certain baths, which by his name were called *Therma Antoninæ*. The huge ruins thereof are yet to be seen: some of the pillars still stand, others are thrown down. Some say, they were begun only by *Antoninus*, but finished and adorned by *Severus*. They stood about the foot of the *Aventine*, near the street-way leading to *Ardea*, where now is the Church of S. *Balbina*. Under these baths there stood a most goodly Palace, built by the same *Antoninus*, but at this day there is scarce any example or shew thereof.

# The fifth Book.

## CHAP. I.

### The Etymology of the mount Aventine.

THe *Aventine* is of the Roman hils the fourth in order. The compaſs and form whereof, becauſe we have already deſcribed in the firſt book, needleſs here it is to repeat. But it remaineth to declare, how it came ſo called, what Temples of the gods, and what other edifices be therein. The *Aventine* therefore, ſome think, took the name of birds which were wont to flie unto this hill, there to neſtle: others, of a * King of the Albans, ſlain and buried there. There be again who ſuppoſe, that the Sabins, who being by the Romans enfranchiſed Citizens, there ſetled and made abode gave the name to this hill of *Avantes*, a river in their Province. *Varro* affirmeth that it was ſo called of a ferriage: For as it hath been ſaid a little before, this mount was divided from the reſt, and from the City by certain lakes and the *Tyber*, whereupon, they that would go to it uſed to ferry over in ſmall punts or wherries. Some gueſs, that it came to have that name of reſort unto it, for that the Latines uſed in great frequency to repair unto the holy Temple of *Diana* there. *Remurius* alſo it was named of *Remus* who choſe a place in the top thereof to ſit, for to take the flight of birds for Augury, and in the end was there enterred: *Romulus* therefore commanded that it ſhould not be inhabited, becauſe he would have had it wholly conſecrated to his brother. This hill *Ancus Martius* afterward compaſſed with a wall, and granted leave to as many as would there to dwell: howſoever, there be ſome that think it ſtood void untill the time of *Claudius* the Emperor of happy memory, as being an ominous place and unfortunat, by reaſon of foul birds that hanted it, and therefore not to be received within the wals. But the truth is, when the Romans grew populous, they joyned this mountain alſo to the reſt of the City.

* *Aventinus.*

## CHAP. II.

### The Temples of Diana, Dea bona, Hercules Victor, Queen Juno, Moneta, Luna, Victory, Minerva, and Liberty. The Altar of Jupiter Elicius.

IN the top of mount *Aventine* toward the *Tyber*, there ſtandeth the Church of S. *Sabina*, that very place where aforetime was the holy chappel of *Diana*. The feaſt and holiday of bondſlaves was wont to be kept at *Rome* the thirteenth day of *Auguſt*, for upon that day *Servius Tullius*, whoſe mother was a bond-woman, conſecrated a Temple to *Diana* in *Aventine*, and ordained it to be a feaſtival day for bond-ſervants, who as yet were patronized by *Diana*. Some think that this chappel was built by K. *Ancus* of that money which the Citizens conferred and contributed, who lately had been tranſlated thither from *Politorium*. This Temple was common unto all the Latines, whereupon oftentimes they reſorted thereunto.

Very neer unto that place ſtood the Church of S. *Mary*, called *Aventina*. But in times paſt the place was conſecrated to the goddeſs *Bona*, *i.e.* good. For *Claudia* a veſtall virgin or Nun, built a chappel unto her in the honour of *Fatua*, * ſiſter of *Faunus*, a moſt chaſte maid.

* Or rather daughter.

Upon the ſame bank and brow of the hil, where at this day S. *Alexius* Church ſtandeth, was ſometime the Temple of *Hercules Conqueror*. And near unto it another of *Juno Regina*, built by *Camillus* with the pillage got in *Veii*. In the ruinat place of *Decius* the Emperors bains there was a Temple alſo of *Hercules*, where the Chriſtians afterwards conſecrated a Church to S. *Priſca*.

On the ſide of the *Aventine* hill ſtood the chappel likewiſe of the Moon, as *Ovid* doth witneſs.

Thus much of thoſe buildings in the *Aventine*, which had a certain place thereupon in our knowledge: the reſt following were doubtleſs in the *Aventine*, but in what part thereof they ſtood, it is unknown after ſo long time, and namely, the Temple of *Victory* built by the Arcadians, and in honour of whom they offer ſacrifice yearly. *Minerva* and *Juno* had their Temples there in the ſame hill, by the teſtimony of approved authors. To *Liberty* a Temple was built and dedicated by the father of *T. Gracchus*, with the money taken for fines and forfeitures. The cloiſter belonging to that Temple was by *Ælius Patus* and *Cornelius Cethegus* Cenſors repaired and enlarged, and laſt of all by *Pollio* alſo re-edified. Now this S. *Liberty* the Romans honoured above all others, and in defence and maintenance thereof, they ever ſhewed themſelves moſt reſolute and conſtant.

Upon the ſame hill, *Numa* reared the altar of *Jupiter Elicius*, ſo called *ab eliciendo*, *i.e.* of fetching out ſecrets and hidden myſteries.

In like manner there ſtood an old altar of *Murcea* in that hill. Now they named *Venus Murcea*, of the Myrtle tree conſecrated unto her; or as ſome interpret, becauſe *Venus*, immoderate and exceſſive, maketh a man to be *Murcus* or *Murcidus*, *i.e.* ſluggiſh, ſloathful, idle, and good for nothing.

The Temple of *Juno Moneta* was likewiſe built and dedicated upon that hill.

*Camillus* in the ſame mount conſecrated a chappel to dame *Matuta*.

The wood or grove, alſo called *Laurentum* or *Laurentina*, conſecrated unto *Jupiter*, was there: in which Emperor *Valentinian* [the ſecond] ſon of *Conſtantine*, and *Galla Placidia* was ſlain, as *Pliny* witneſſeth.

## CHAP. III.
### Cacus, *and his hole or Cave.*

*Cacus*, by report of the Poets, was the ſon of *Vulcan*, whom they believed in old time to breath out of his mouth fire and ſmoak. This *Cacus* infeſted the places near unto him with robbing and ſpoiling. But more probable it is, that he was a moſt lewd and theeviſh ſervant of *Evander*, and therefore the Arcadians called him κακὸν, *i.e.* naught. A cave he hanted, as by very good conjectures is certainly gathered, in *Aventine* toward *Tyber*, over-againſt the Church of S. *Mary Aventine*, whereas the river runneth neareſt to the hill, and whereas there hangeth over a vaſt and huge craggy rock, as fit a place as might be to make a ſtarting hole and cave for ſuch an one, and near it is to the gate *Trigemina*. Him when *Hercules* had killed and ſacrificed, he reared an altar unto *Jupiter Inventor*, near to the ſaid cave or den.

## CHAP. IIII.
### *The* Armiluſtrium, *and ſome other things in generall.*

*Armiluſtrium* was a place where ſouldiers ſhewed themſelves and their armor, and where they uſed to muſter; where alſo in their arms they ſacrificed and did ſervice to their gods, with reſounding loud trumpets. Some would have it to be in the *Aventine*, others in the Cirque *Maximus*: but that matters not much. Hither the ſouldiers uſed to repair when they were returned from war, and here they laid up their harneſs and weapons. For armor of their own and in their privat cuſtody the Romans had not, to uſe in the wars: but delivered all up to be kept ſafe either in the *Armiluſtrium*, or the tower or caſtle upon the rock *Tarpeia*.

In *Aventine*, near the Temple of *Juno Regina*, were the *Scalæ Gemoniæ*, that is to ſay, a ſteep place with a downfall; where wicked malefactors, drawn with a crook, were moſt miſerably executed and killed.

There ſtood ſometime this hill, near the Temple of *Diana*, the houſe of *Phyllis*.

A part of this mountain was called *Remuria*; which *Remus* choſe to dwell in: and being there by his brother *Romulus* committed to the earth, he gave it his name.

The Senat and people of *Rome* built in this mountain, to the honour of *Decius* the Emperor, the baths called *Decianæ* and others alſo near them, named *Variana*. Moreover, the bains of *Trajan* were in this place, where now the vineyard of *Francis Albertinus* is.

The caves of *Faunus* and *Picus* alſo were in the *Aventine*, as fables report. *Italus* likewiſe dwelt in the *Aventine*, as *M. Cato* recordeth.

The Temples and edifices of this hill all in generall were (by report) burnt in the daies of *Tiberius*, ſometime Emperor.

## CHAP. V.
### *The ſheard hill, and other things within that compaſs.*

THe plain and levell ground between *Aventine*, *Tyber*, and the City wall, hath four ſides, but uneven; in which there riſeth a little hill, commonly called *Teſtaceus*. The whole compaſs hereof will hardly be meaſured with 2000 paces; the height is about 160 foot. It reſembleth in ſhew the form of a gourd; and the one ſide of it which regardeth the *Tyber* is broader than the other. Near to this hill was the glaſs-makers ſtreet (and the potters) alſo the carpenters habitation. And no man doubteth, but hereupon aroſe and grew the mount called *Teſtaceus*. For in old time, at *Rome* and elſewhere, as alſo in ſome places now adaies, much uſe there was commonly of earthen veſſels made by potters: which even by this may be certainly collected, for that in *Numa's* daies there were four colledges or ſocieties of potters: and theſe made of clay, not only veſſels, but alſo the images of the gods, and ornaments to beautifie and ſet out their Temples: pillars and wals were by potters work ſeeled in the outſide, nay, the very dead bodies were beſtowed in cophins of baked clay. Since then, in ſo great ſtore of earthen veſſels and potters work, much of neceſſity muſt needs be broken, which if they had been caſt abroad in the corn-field and paſture grounds, would have made all barren and unfruitful; again, if they had been thrown into the water, would in time have choaked up the chanell of the current, and forced the river to ſwell and overflow the banks: *Numa* therefore commanded this kind of workmen to dwell in one place, and gave order to fling all that was good for nothing, as filth, riff-raff, and broken ſheards into one place: whereupon, in proceſs of time aroſe a mount which they called *Teſtaceus*. Among theſe potters there was a place hallowed to *Venus Myrtea*, as we find in ſome records.

## CHAP. VI.
### *The* Pyramides; *the ſepulchre of* C. Ceſtius, *and the garners of the people of* Rome.

THe *Pyrmides* were huge towers four-ſquare, riſing up in height, ſharp like to a flame, whereof they have the name ἀπὸ τῦ πυρὸς, *i.e.* of fire. But *Stephanus* ſuppoſeth they were ſo called, ἀπὸ τῶν πυρῶν, *i.e.* of wheat, becauſe into that place where they were erected, wheat was brought out of

of all *Ægypt*; which made a great dearth of corn. Theſe at the beginning were reared by the Kings of *Ægypt*, thereby to ſpend and conſume their ſuperfluous wealth and ſubſtance, whereof they had no uſe; for fear leſt if they had gathered goods, and heaped up a deal of gold, ſilver, and other riches, they ſhould thereby have given occaſion unto ſome for to lie in wait to take their lives away: alſo, that the common people ſhould not live in idleneſs. Afterwards, at *Rome* likewiſe they beſtowed their money thereupon, for to make the world wonder, and to ſhew their vain-glory. There is yet one of them to be ſeen, ſtanding upright at the gate *Hoſtienſis*. encloſed within a wall. And commonly it is ſaid, that it was the monument or ſepulchre of *C. Ceſtius*, one of the ſeven Septemvirs, called *Epulones*. But *Blondus* would ſeem to prove, that it was the place for buriall of the whole Colledg and Society of thoſe Septemvirs *Epulones*. Now were they called *Epulones*, who had the power to ordain and make feaſts and ſolemn bankets to the gods.

It is written, that there were 140 garners of the people of *Rome*, between the mount *Teſtaceus* and *Tybre*.

In the ſame compaſs of ground near *Tyber* was the lake or pool *Hylerna*.

Some alſo affirm, that there ſtood ſometime in that quarter a little town called *Capena*.

## CHAP. VII.

### *The ſweating ſteeple, and the image of* Jupiter.

BY courſe the *Eſquilia* ſhould next follow; but becauſe it lieth between the way *Labicana* on the Southeaſt ſide, and the valley (which for the breadth of 400 foot encloſeth that way) on the Weſt; we will rehearſe what memorable things ſoever there be in the Labican way and the valley aforeſaid, before we come to the mount *Eſquilia*. In our return therefore to the triumphall arch of *Conſtantine*, whereof we ſpake before, we will as we go diſcourſe of the reſt. Near then unto this arch there appeareth the half rundle or circumference of an old ſteeple made of brick, which *Victor* calleth the ſweating ſteeple: for that the report goeth, how ſometime there guſhed water out of it; whereby the common people, ſtanding to behold the games and plaies in the next ſcaffolds of the Theatre until they were athirſt quenched their drought.

In the top hereof ſtood the brazen image of *Jupiter*, becauſe their anceſtors in old time were wont when they made ſolemn leagues to uſe the image of *Jupiter*. But for that it was a trouble either to carry with them or to ſend the ſaid image, eſpecially if they were to contract and eſtabliſh any accords in far remote countries, therefore inſtead of the compleat image they took the ſcepter only; which might betoken *Jupiter* the King of the gods, as well as if he had been there preſent full and whole.

## CHAP. VIII.

### *The Amphitheatre of* Titus Veſpaſianus. *The Temples of* Fortune *and* Quies.

BEtween the two hils *Cælius* and *Eſquilia* was there an Amphitheatre. This *Veſpaſian* built firſt, and afterward *Titus* his ſon dedicated and beautified it with the bains, built near unto it with right great celerity and ſpeed. This Amphitheatre was commonly called *Coloſſeum*, of *Nero's Coloſſus*, which was ſet up in the porch of *Nero's* houſe. In the ſame place of the Theatre were the pooles beforetime of *Nero*, whereof we will ſpeak hereafter in this very book. This *Amphitheatrum* they called alſo *Arena*, *i.e.* the *Sand-floore*, becauſe the ground was ſpread over and laid with ſand, that the wreſtlers might fall ſofter and take leſs hurt, alſo that the bloud ſhould be drunk up, to the end that the ſword-fencers in combat might not be affraid upon the ſight thereof, and ſo with leſs chearfulneſs and courage ſet upon their concurrents: and laſt of all, that the champions, whoſe bodies were anointed with oyl being beſtrewed with the ſand, might with more eaſe take hold one of another. The whole Theatre and place it ſelf within (which during thoſe daies of the games was covered over with tent-cloath) would receive 80000 men. But hereof ſee more in *Pliny*, *Pompeius Latus*, and other writers of the Roman acts.

*Fulvius Flaccus* built unto *Fortune* (faſt by this Amphitheatre) ſo goodly a Temple, as for ſtate and magnificence there was hardly another in all *Rome* comparable unto it. Beſides it, there were many other chappels at *Rome* conſecrated to *Fortune*.

Likewiſe a Chappell of *Quietneſs* and reſt was built in the broad ſtreet *Labicana*.

## CHAP. IX.

### *Of* Eſquiliæ.

THe mount *Eſquiliæ* as well by *Varro* as others, is divided into many parts, and each part thereof took name of thoſe captains who in times paſt, before the City of *Rome* was built, there inhabited. For one was called *Ciſpius*, another, *Oppius*, and a third, *Septius*. But hereof *Varro* writeth at large. The poſterity following changed thoſe names, as we ſhall hereafter hear. Some think that *Eſquiliæ* took the name of *Excubiæ*, *i.e.* watch and ward. For when *Romulus* had no very great truth in *Tatius*, he uſed to have a ſtanding watch by night for fear he ſhould be ſecretly forlaied and killed, or elſe turned out of his kingdom. Others ſuppoſe it was ſo named of foulers, who there uſed to caſt forth chaff, and ſuch refuſe of light corn, to beguile and catch the poor birds.

The ſide of the hill toward the broad way *Labicana*, which lieth between the Churches of the 40 martyrs of S. *Clement*, S. *Peter* in *Vinculis*, and S. *Martin*, was called by the name of *Carinæ*, as *Livy* ſeemeth to teſtifie. From that part therefore, becauſe it was firſt inhabited, we ſhall do well to begin our treatiſe.

## CHAP. X.

### *The* Carinæ, *the old* Curia *and the new.*

THeſe *Carinæ*, according to their model and form were houſes like to keels of ſhips, ſtanding within the Temple of *Tellus*. Their ruins are yet to be ſeen near the Church of S. *Peter* in *Vinculis*, *i.e.* in bonds.

Near to that place was the old *Curia* built by *Romulus*: but the new was erected near to *Compitum Fabricium*, *i.e.* the Quarrefour or croſs way of *Fabricius*.

## CHAP. XI.

### *The bains of* Titus *and* Philip; *the ſtatue of* Laocoon; *the Palace of* Veſpaſian; *the houſes of* Balbinus *and* Pompey.

THere remain yet to be ſeen the tokens and prints (as it were) of *Titus* the Emperors bains, not far from the Church of S. *Martin* in the hils: for there be great ciſterns to receive water, which at this day be called *Septem Sala*, accotding to the number of thoſe ciſterns: and ſo far reached the houſe of *Nero*, called *Aurea*, *i.e.* golden.

Not far from thence, in the year of our Lord 1506 one *Fœlix* a Citizen of *Rome*, chanced to find in his vineyard the ſtatue of *Laocoon*, made by thoſe excellent workmen, *Ageſander Polydorus* and *Athenodorus*, Rhodians, who with wonderful cunning portraied and cut moſt artificially in one intire ſtone, *Laocoon* himſelf, his children, and the admirable windings and foldings of the ſerpents about them. And now at this day is to be ſeen at the Vatican, in the palace of *Veſpaſian* near the ſaid bains of *Titus*. See more of this you may in *Pliny*. As for the ſtory it ſelf, moſt learnedly and lively it is ſet out by *Virgil*, and there to be read. Behind theſe bains of *Titus*, between Eaſt and North, the ruins of others beſides are thought verily to be thoſe of *Philip* the Emperor.

Above the bains of *Titus*, ſome ſet *Hadrians* bains; for that this place is yet called *Hadrianus*.

By the teſtimony of *Lampridius* it appeareth that *Balbinus* his houſe was in *Carinæ*. There alſo was *Pompeys* houſe, in which *Lenæus* his freed-ſervant taught grammer.

## CHAP. XII.

### *The cliff* Virbius, *the houſe of* Servius Tullius, *the golden one of* Nero, *and that of* Virgil. Mecænas *his tower and hortyards; the Temples of* Fortune *and* Felicity.

THat part of the *Eſquilia*, which overlooketh the Church of S. *Laurence* in *Fontana*, is named *Clivus Virbius*: there alſo is the grove *Fagutalis*, wherein ſtood the manſion houſe of *Servius Tullius*.

*Nero's* houſe, called Golden took up all that ſpace, which from that quarter wherein now Saint *Gregories* Church ſtandeth, lay between *Conſtantines* arch, the *Coloſſeum*, the *Carinæ Eſquiliæ*, and *Mecænas* hortyards. His houſe before was in his own fire wherewith he burnt the City, conſumed alſo: and when he re-edified it anew, he called it *Aurea*. The ſpacious largeneſs whereof was ſuch, that it had about it three porches of a mile compaſs apiece. It contained alſo a pool like another ſea: walled it was about, and reſembled a very City. There were to it belonging holts and hamlets country-like, vineyards paſtures, woods, and beaſts both tame and wild, of all ſorts. The houſe and the porches were double guilded all over, and ſet out with precious ſtones. And in one word there was nothing wanting that might ſerve for pleaſure or prodigall riot.

In the entry of this houſe there ſtood an huge image giant-like, called a *Coloſſus*, 120 foot high. After *Nero's* death, dedicated it was to the ſun, and then changed the name. Now men think it was called *Coloſſus* after his name who was the firſt deviſer of all ſuch ſtatues.

Within the ſame houſe, *Nero* included alſo the chappell of *Fortune*. This goddeſs being made of the ſtone *Phengites*, when all the doors were ſhut, gave light to the whole houſe within: ſuch raies of radiant brightneſs caſteth this kind of ſtone from it. This goddeſs *Servius Tullius* firſt conſecrated, and of *Segetes*, *i.e.* ſtanding corn, called her *Seia*.

At the bains of *Dioclesian*, there is a ſtreet-way leading up to S. *Antonies* Church in *Eſquilia*, where ſtood ſometime a moſt noble tower of *Mecænas* within his own hortyards: for thoſe moſt pleaſant hortyards were in the plain of *Eſquilia*. Here-within was *Priapus* worſhipped: upon which ill-favored Idol *Virgil* hath plaied much in verſe.

Near the hortyards of *Mecænas* ſtood the ſaid *Virgils* houſe.

The Temple of *Felicity*, which took up a part of that plot where *Nero's* Gold-houſe ſhould ſtand was by him burnt.

Above thoſe gardens or hortyards of *Mecænas* was raiſed a wonderful piece of work, called *Aggeres Tarquinii Superbi*, *i.e.* *Tarquinius* bulwarks.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XIII.

*The Palace of* Siſiminus; *the plain and market place of* Eſquiliæ; *the grove* Querquetulanus; *alſo that of* Juno Lacinia, *and of* Mars; *the chappell and altar of* Ill-Fortune.

THe palace of *Siſiminus* in *Eſquilia*, ſtood (as they ſay) where the Church of S. *Mary* the greater now is.

The plain or field *Eſquilius*, near the tower of *Mecenas* (called *Inter montes*) i. among the hils, is between the foreſaid bulwarks and the City wall. This plot of ground was in times paſt called *Foculus*; becauſe dead bodies were therein burnt. But when the ſtinking ſteam thereof was noiſom to the City, the Citizens and *Auguſtus Cæſar* by a generall conſent gave the field unto *Mecanas*, where he made his goodly hortyards and moſt dainty gardens. Of which *Cicero*, with other, ſpeaketh much.

In like manner, the market place *Eſquilinum* was in the ſame hill.

That ſide of the *Eſquilia* which looketh toward the grove *Querquetulanus* had in it the grove of *Juno Lacinia*.

In the ſame *Eſquilia* was the chappel and altar of *Ill-Fortune*.

In the way which goeth to the gate *Interaggeres*, even in the very bulwarks or rampiers of *Tarquinius* ſtood the arch of *Gordian* made of marble, garniſhed alſo and ſet out with ornaments of triumph. Of the ruins thereof was S. *Gregories* Church in *Damaſus* built.

## CHAP. XIV.

*The cliff* Suburranus; *the arch of* Galienus; *the ſhambles or fleſh-market of* Livia, *or, as ſome would have it*, Livianum; *the Præneſtine way, and the Trophees of* Marius.

AT the top or upper end of *Suburra* was the *Clivus Suburranus*, ſo called of *Suburra*, yielding an eaſie aſcent from thence up into the *Eſquilia*.

Anon you meet with the triumphal arch of *Galien* the Emperor (where now ſtandeth the Church of S. *Vitus*) making a goodly ſhew of the Tiburtine ſtone, whereof it was made. Near unto it was the ſhambles or market-place, called *Macellum Livia*, or *Livianum*. This, as ſome think, took the name of one *Macellus*; who being a notorious thief, and practiſing much to ſteal into the City, was in the end apprehended, and by the Cenſors condemned: and his houſe being ſeized as confiſcat to the City was converted to a place wherein they ſold meat and all other victuals; and ſo it kept ſtill the name (as is ſaid) of *Macellum*. Some are of opinion, that the ſaid houſe was pulled down, and another built in the ruins thereof, which retained the name ſtill of the former.

From hence beginneth the port-way *Præneſtina*, and leadeth to the gate *Eſquilina*.

In this way you ſhall meet on the right hand with a huge bank of brick, half ruinat; upon which were erected two Trophies of marble; that is to ſay, certain poſts [like *Quintins*] ſtanding upright with ſpoils of enemies hanging thereupon; and they reſembled men that were taken priſoners. It is ſaid, that theſe Trophees were ſet up by *Marius* in his triumph for the Cimbrian war: which when *Sylla* had caſt down and overthrown, C. *Cæſar* (afterwards Dictator) erected again. The place of the inhabitants thereabout, is at this day called *Cimbrum*. As touching Trophees, look to read more in *Plutarch*, *Valerius Max.* and others.

## CHAP. XV.

*The houſe of the* Ælii: *the chappell* Marianum; *the region or quarter called* Tabernola; *the baths and dwelling houſe of* Gordian; *the Palace of* Caius *and* Lucius; *alſo the Palace* Licinianum.

THe houſe of the *Ælii* ſtood in that place where now be the monuments *Mariana* and the chappel of that name.

The plain part of the *Eſquilia*, between it and the mount *Celius*, and the *Baſilica Lateranenſis*, is at this day called *Merulana*, for *Mariana*; and in old time, the region of *Tabernola*.

Near the Church of S. *Euſebius*, in the way of *Præneſtina*, was built the baths and habitation of *Gordianus*. The ruins of thoſe hot-houſes are yet to be ſeen, whereby a man may ſoon give an eſtimat, how fair, how ſtately, and large they were at firſt.

Between the gates *Eſquilina* and *Nævia*, not far from the walls, there be to be ſeen certain notable ruins: this they commonly call, the baths of *Galutius*. But in that place ſtood, in old time, that beautiful and famous palace which *Cæſar* erected under the name of *Caius* and *Lucius* his nephews. Hard by the Church of S. *Balbina*, whereas now is the Bear called *Pileatus*, ſtood ſometime the Palace *Licinianum*.

## CHAP. XVI.

*The water* Martia *or* Trajana; *and the Temple of* Iſis.

THe current of the water *Martia*, paſſing by the gate *Trajana* through the plain of *Eſquiliæ* went as far as to the baths of *Diocleſian*, unto the hils next adjoyning. This in old time was called *Anfera*. It ariſeth out of the ſpring *Piconia* in the mountains of the *Peligni*, and paſſeth by the

the Martians country and the lake *Fucinus*, and ſo runneth to *Rome*; the coldeſt and moſt wholſome of all other waters that run into *Rome*. This water *Ancus Martius* began firſt to bring into the City: afterward, *Q. Martius* ſurnamed *Rex*, took it in hand; and a long time after *Agrippa* repaired the conduit thereof. Of it read more in *Pliny* and *Frontinus*.

The Temple of *Iſis* is by *P. Victor* placed in the quarter *Eſquilina*.

## CHAP. XVII.

*Of* Suburra; *the houſe of* Cæſar *and* Lælia; *and the ſtreet* Patricius.

*Suburra* is a ſtreet of all other moſt frequented: it beginneth at the *Forum Romanum*, and goeth on forward directly by the *Forum Nervæ* up to the hanging or riſing of the hill called *Clivus Suburranus*, whereof we have written before in this book; and it endeth where the way *Præneſtina* beginneth. Called it was *Suburra*, either for that it ſuſtained and bare up the *Carinæ* and the wall under it: or becauſe it lay under the old City: or as *Varro* thinketh, of the burrough or ſtreet *Succuſanus*. In this ſtreet *Suburra* was the houſe of *Cæſar*, ſo long as he contented himſelf with a mean eſtate.

In it were ſometimes certain ſtews and brothel-houſes, as *Martial* writeth.

The ſtreet *Patritius* windeth crooked from the hill *Viminalis*, and endeth at the bains of *Diocleſian*. Of it more hath been ſaid in the former book.

The houſe of *Lælia* likewiſe was in the ſame ſtreet, as *Martial* witneſſeth.

## CHAP. XVIII.

Subburra *in the Plain*; *and the Temple of* Sylvanus.

THe mount *Viminalis* on the Weſt-ſide of it hath part of the *Quirinalis* oppoſite againſt it: and the vale lying between was named *Suburra* the plain.

In the ſame valley in times paſt were the ten *Taberna*; ſo called of the number.

The pit alſo of S. *Proba* was in the ſame hill; which *Proba* her ſelf made near to the Church of S. *Maries* in the field.

At the foot in manner of the hill *Viminalis*, over-againſt S. *Agatha's* Church there ſtood the Temple of *Sylvanus*, as appeareth by many good tokens.

## CHAP. XIX. &c.

*Of the hill* Viminalis; *the Palace of* Decius; *the Laver of* Agrippina; *the bains of* Olympias *and* Novatus; *the dwelling houſes of* Q. Catulus, Craſſus, *and* C. Aquilius.

VArro reckoneth the hill *Viminalis* among the *Eſquilia*. *Viminalis* it was named of *Jupiter Viminetus*, whoſe altars were in that hill: or elſe of plenty of Oſiers there growing.

In the higheſt riſing and aſcent of that hill, there ſtood in old time, (where now is the Church of S. *Laurence* in *Paniſ-perna*) the Palace of *Decius* the Emperor, as may be ſhewed by the ruins thereof.

Not far from the ſame place, toward the Church of S. *Vitalis*, were the lavers or waſhing places of *Agrippina* mother to *Nero*.

The bains of *Olympias* were ſituat toward *Suburra*; the tokens whereof are now found in the brow of the hill.

Likewiſe the bains of *Novatus* were built upon the hill *Viminalis*, where the Church of S. *Prudence* ſtandeth.

The hill *Viminalis* had alſo three goodly houſes of moſt noble perſonages, to wit of *M. Craſſus*, *Quintus Catulus*, and *Caius Aquilius*: the marks whereof are evident to be ſeen in the ſide of the ſaid hill.

Upon the ſame hill in times paſt a certain feaſtivall ſacrifice was ſolemnized, which the dwellers and inhabitants there, call *Fagutal*.

## CHAP. XX.

*The bains of* Dioclesianus; *the Library* Ulpia; *the plain* Viminalis; *the gate* Interaggeres; *and the vale* Quirinalis.

THe bains of *Diocleſian* are to be ſeen all ruinat on the ſide of the hill *Viminalis*: and by their ruins a man may eaſily gather how ſtately and magnificent they were ſometime. Theſe were begun by *Diocleſian* and *Maximinian Herculanus*: in the building whereof 40000 Chriſtians were held to work many years together in moſt ſlaviſh manner.

Theſe were afterwards finiſhed and dedicated by *Conſtantine* and *Maximinian* new Emperors. Of the vain and ſuperfluous expences which the Romans laid out upon Bains, read *Seneca*, who depainteth out their waſtfulneſs moſt excellently.

In the ſame bains was the Library *Ulpia*, which by *Hadrian*, or (as ſome think) by *Trajan* was thither tranſlated; wherein were the linen records, and thoſe huge volumes called the Elephantine books: in which the acts of the Emperors, and all the ſanctions and ordinances of Senat were, as *Pollio* witneſſeth.

Behind

Behind these bains, from above the rampier or bulwark of *Tarquinius Superbus*, was the plain field *Viminalis*, which spreadeth out as far as to the City wall. There is seen as yet the gate *Interaggeres* shut; albeit it seemeth more probable and like to a truth, that it stood in the plain *Esquilinus*.

In that very place there was a pit or well of spring running water, which the neighbours dwelling thereby called the pit of the *Vivarium*, or the park pit, within which park they kept enclosed divers and sundry kinds of wild beasts. The harbors and dens of these wild beasts are yet to be seen: whereupon it cometh, that those places or parks which are set out and appointed for feeding of Deer, we use to call *Vivaria*.

The space between *Diocletians* baths and *Constantines* arch is named the vale *Quirinalis*: in which they say, that *Romulus* met with *Proculus*.

In the same was the sacred chappell of *Fortuna Publica*.

## CHAP. XXI.

*The mount* Caballus: *the Etymology of* Quirinalis: *the tower* Militiarum: *the bains of* Paulus: *the chappell of* Neptune: *the bains of* Constantine: *the house and street of the* Cornelii.

THe hill which at this day they name *Caballus* was in old time called *Quirinalis*, as by many signs and reasons may be proved; so as no man skilfull in the Roman story, need to doubt thereof.

This Quirinall hill, the sixt in order of the mountains of *Rome*, (as *Varro* testifieth) taketh that name of the Temple of *Quirinus*: after others, of the *Quirites*, who coming with *Tatius* from *Cures*, there pitched their tents and lodged. This mountain is shaped long, for it comprehendeth that little hill which is between the gate *Collina* and *Collatina*. Upon it standeth the Obelisk of the Moon, engraven with Ægyptian hieroglyphick characters. In breadth, from the North Southward, it reacheth to a tower, now called *Comitium*.

In the pitch and top of the hill above the *Forum* of *Trajanus*, you shall see the tower called *Militiarum*; where in old time the souldiers of *Trajan* kept their standing guard, and gave the tower that name.

On the same ridg were the bains of *Paulus* built: which place at this day by a corrupt name, is called *Bagnana-Poli*.

In the descent and hanging of the Quirinall hill toward *Suburra* stood sometime the chappell of *Neptune*, which appeareth by the pictures and other reliques there found.

From hence toward the North were the hot-houses of *Constantine*, as the ruins of the place do testifie.

The house of the *Cornelii* was built in the street so called, and at this day the name it keepeth still. But more hereof elsewhere.

## CHAP. XXII.

*The Temples of* Saturn, *the* Sun, *and* Bacchus; Quirinus *his Temple and porch*; *the old Capitoll*; *the Chappels of* Jupiter, Juno, *and* Minerva; *the house of* Pomponius Atticus.

IN the Cornelian street (whereof a little before we made mention) were two gyant-like images, called *Colossi* resembling two old men, naked, and holding *Cornucopiæ* in their hand. It is commonly received, that these were the statues of *Saturn* and *Mars*; for that certain it is how their Temples stood hard by: and many evidences there are, besides the very ruins thereof, which testifie so much.

Over-against the hot-houses of *Constantine*, upon the very brow of the hill, there standeth to be seen one half of a marble tower, which the people dwelling thereby call *Mesa*. This, men think, was the tower of the Sun, by the ornaments there reared and set up by *Aurelian*: for this Emperor worshipped the Sun above all other gods; and therefore you shall see stamped in his coin this inscription; *Soli invicto*, *To the invincible Sun*. His mother also, a Priest of the Sun, thereupon reared a Temple unto the Sun.

In the side of the hill near the foresaid baths are two horses seen standing; the handy-work of *Praxiteles* and *Phidias*. These were (by report) *Tiridates* the Kings, and translated to *Rome*.

That part of the *Quirinalis* which boundeth upon *Vallis Martia* was called the mount and Temple of *Clatra* and *Apollo*.

Not far from thence, behind this hill, there is another rising and ascent; where, by antique letters it is evident, that the old Capitoll stood, together with the chappel of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*.

Over-against these places, enclining toward the right hand, where now standeth the Church of S. *Vestalis*. *Pomponius Atticus* dwelt in an house which came to him by inheritance from his grandfire, and was called *Pamphiliana*. They write, that this was a most sweet and pleasant seat, by reason of a wood near unto it.

In the same place was built afterwards the Temple of *Quirinus*, kept alwaies shut, to signifie that it was an unknown secret: whether *Romulus* were enterred and lay in the earth, or were translated into the number of the gods in heaven.

There was a porch or walking place there of that name; where folk used commonly to meet, to dispatch businesses and contract espousals.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXIII.

*The path-way or causey called* Alta; *the house of* Sabinus; *the street and statue of* Mamurrus; *the Court and gardens of* Saluſt, *and the field or plain* Sceleratus.

THe high causey reaching from the baths of *Conſtantine* to the gate *Viminalis* along the ſide of *Quirinalis* was paved with fourſquare ſtone.

Upon that causey, at a place called the *Pomgranat*, *Flavius Sabinus* had an houſe, wherein, by report, *Domitian* was born.

It is avouched in old time there was a ſtreet of *Mamurrus*: and that his ſtatue there ſtood where now is S. *Suſans* Church.

Not far from that Church was the Court of *Saluſt*, and his moſt neat and fine hortyards, where the field called *Sceleratus* lay, and reached near the gate *Collina*. Of thoſe hortyards, as alſo of the hamlet *Tiburtina*, there yet continue ſome marks and remnants in the bottom of the valley, between the very hill and the way which bringeth to the gate *Salaria*. On that little hill is ſeen the very houſe of *Saluſt*, which the people there inhabiting call *Saluſtrium*. Of this matter ſee more in *Cicero* and others.

Beyond the hortyards of *Saluſt*, near the gate *Collina*, there is an high place like a mount: where in times paſt the veſtall votary Nuns, ſuch as were condemned for incontinency and inceſt, were buried quick; and thereupon all the plain about it was called *Sceleratus*, together with the way that leadeth thereto.

## CHAP. XXIV.

*The Temples of* Salus, *of* Dius, Fidius, *of* Fortuna Primigenia, *of* Honor, Hercules, *and* Quirinus; *alſo the Senat-houſe of women.*

THe mount *Quirinalis* had very many Temples & Chappels, although the certain place where they ſtood is not ſo well known at this day, namely, one of *Apis*. That of *Salus* was painted by *Fabius Pictor*, and burnt in the time of *Claudius*. By *Junius Bubulcus* Dictator when he triumphed over the Æquians it was vowed: by him (Cenſor) put to making, and in his ſecond Dictatorſhip dedicated.

* *Deus Trivominis Sabinorum.*

* *Sanctus*, *Dius*, and *Fidius*, were the Sabins gods, which, when they left their native country and home, with all their other houſhold gods, they carried with them into mount *Quirinalis*. This god (forſooth) was in words and name three, in deed and truth but one, as they ſaid. Theſe three therefore had one temple built them upon this hill, and were called by one name, *Sanctus*. The opinion received of which godhead was ſuch, that an oath was thought to carry a great power of ſanctity and holineſs, whereby a man in that threefold name and one Deity, avowed and ſware thus, *Mc Dius Fidius*.

*Domitianus*, a Prætor or Lord Chief Juſtice within the City of *Rome*, built a Temple upon that hill to *Fortuna Primigenia*.

Beſides, in that mount were the Temples of *Honor* and *Hercules*.

Likewiſe the Council-Houſe of women was in the mount *Quirinalis*, at which in former times the wives and dames of the City met yearly upon certain ſolemn ſet daies.

Moreover, it is recorded, that the feaſt *Agonalia* was celebrated in *Quirinalis*.

## CHAP. XXV.

*The Court or* Forum Archimonium; *the pillar* Tiburtina; *the houſe of* Martial; *the Cirque of* Floralia; *the Temple of* Flora; *the ſhops of* Minium, *and the common aſcent called* Clivus Publicus.

BEtween the hill *Hortulorum* (whereof ye may read before in the firſt book and the chapter next following) and *Quirinalis* there is a valley fourſquare, but lying ſomewhat in length. In that part thereof which lieth under the mount of *Clatra* and *Apollo*, was the Court called *Archimonium*. For the very Church of S. *Nicholas*, which at this day ſtandeth upon that place is named *De Archimoniis*.

Not far from it there is another place, to wit, *Pila Tiburtina*: There ſtood the houſe of *Martial*, as he himſelf witneſſeth.

Next to it followeth the round Cirque (*Floralium*) where yearly to the honour of the goddeſs *Flora*, the feaſtivall *Floralia* is celebrated. Now this *Flora* was a famous curtezan or ſtrumpet at *Rome*, who having by her whoriſh trade gathered a mighty deal of goods together, in her laſt will made the people of *Rome* her heir, with this condition, That every year they ſhould celebrate the memorial of her birth day. But the Senat thinking this a ridiculous mockery, to honour and dignifie ſo filthy a thing with ſuch a remembrance, they deviſed a goddeſs of flowers, forſooth, called *Flora*, and her upon thoſe holidaies they ſeemed to pleaſe and content, that ſhe would be good to the growth of trees and corn, and that they might do well in their flowring and blooming time. To this goddeſs we read that a Temple likewiſe was conſecrated: Anon you meet with the work-houſes where they make *Minium*, *i.e.* *Vermilion*. Near unto which was the *Clivus Publicus*.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXVI.

*The hill* Hortulorum, *the Temple of the* Sun, *and the ſepulchre of* Nero.

THis little hill (*Hortulorum*) containeth but a few things worth the writing. Among which is the houſe of *Pincius* a Senator, who gave the name both to a gate and a mountain, which in theſe daies are called, Mount *Pincius*, and gate *Pinciana*.

The reliques and marks of his houſe are ſeen in that very place, near the old wall. And about the ſame wals we meet with an huge building in form of an hemiſphere or half circle, which men imagine, was the Temple of the Sun.

Upon the ſame hill over-againſt the tomb of *Marcellus* in the very port way *Flaminia*, faſt by the monument of *Domitian* ſtood *Nero's* ſepulchre alſo.

Now this hill *Hortulorum* took the name of certain hortyards and gardens under it, which in old time, by reaſon they were continually ſo well watered were moſt fruitfull. Down this hill all they were wont (in times paſt) to deſcend into *Campus Martius*, who meant to ſue and ſtand for any Magiſtracy.

# *The ſixth Book.*

## CHAP. I.

*Of the flat plot of the City, and the Theatre in generall.*

THat it may be underſtood more certainly in what place of the plain and levell part of the City every thing ſtood, let there be a ſtreight and right line drawn from the Capitoll, through *Pantheon* to *Tybre*, near the Church of S. *Roch*. So ſhall the City be in manner divided into two equall parts. The one ſhall lie from the front and ſide of the *Tyber*, the other from the *Forum* of *Trajanus* to the gate *Flumentana*, along the foot of the two hils *Quirinalis* and *Hortulorum*.

Begin we will therefore at the Theatre of *Marcellus*, and recount the places in order, as hitherto we have done. As for *Theatrum*, a Greek word it is, and in Latine may be aptly tranſlated *Viſorium*. The firſt Theatres were appointed among the Athenians, and thoſe in regard of husbandmen, who on feſtivall daies viſited the Temples of the gods: afterwards, at *Rome* they began to be taken up. The firſt, and that the greateſt of all others was built of timber by *M. Scaurus*: for, the concavity within would receive 80000 men. After it, were Theatres made to turn about and and ſhew their front one while this way, another while that. But as touching Theatres, ſee more in *Caſſiodorus* and *Vitruvius*, who have written plenteouſly thereof, and namely, by whom they were firſt ordained, and in what manner built.

## CHAP. II.

*The Theatre of* Marcellus *and the Library: the gallery and court of* Octavia.

*Auguſtus* built many things under the name of others, as we find written by authors in ſundry works. And among the reſt was the Theatre of *Marcellus* his nephew or couſin by his ſiſter *Octavia*. A part hereof is yet to be ſeen between the Capitoll and *Tyber*, where now ſtandeth the palace of the *Sabelli*. It was able to contain 80000 men. See more thereof in *Aſconius*.

Hard by the very ſame Theatre was the gallery of *Octavia*, reared by the ſaid *Auguſtus* for his ſiſter *Octavia's* ſake. Therein were certain curious pieces of work wrought by *Praxiteles*, and namely, the raviſhing of *Proſerpina*. The portraiture of *Bacchus* & *Satyrus*. Alſo *Apollo*, *Diana*, and the nine muſes, the workmanſhip of *Timarchides*. Within this gallery or walking place, *Pliny* ſaith, there ſtood a chappel of *Juno*, and the image of the ſaid goddeſs. Faſt by the ſaid gallery ſtood the court or palace of *Octavia*, and in it *Cupid* portraied with lightning in his hand. It took up in times paſt as great a ſpace, as at this day the Churches of S. *Nicholas* in *Carcere*, and S. *Mary* in *Porticu*.

After the death of *Marcellus*, *Octavia* his mother ſet up a library near his Theatre. Now the firſt that ever ordained, That books of all learning ſhould be in ſome publike places beſtowed for to be read of all that would come; was at *Athens Piſiſtratus* the tyrant, and at *Rome Aſinius Pollio*.

## CHAP. III.

*The Cirque or ſhew-place* Flaminius, *and the Temple of* Apollo.

THat this Cirque *Flaminius* ſtood in that place where at this day the dark ſtore-houſes and ſellars be, hard by S. *Katharins* church, the marks yet remaining teſtifie. *Flaminius* it was called, either becauſe it was built about the plain called *Campus Flaminius*, or elſe by *Flaminius* the Coſ. who was ſlain at the battell of the lake *Thraſymenus*. In it were the plaies and games exhibited, which they call *Apollinares*: and therein the horſe-runnings were performed. To it the Senat uſed oftentimes to come down from the Capitoll to ſit in councill. *Neptune* alſo had a chappell there.

*Apollo's*

*Apollos* Temple was in that very place, as it evidently appeareth, where now S. *Maries* Church is under the Capitoll, between the herb-market and the Cirque *Flaminius*, neer to the gate *Carmentalis*.

## CHAP. IIII.

*The Temples of* Vulcan, Mars, Bellona, Hercules, *and* Jupiter Stator: *the columne or pillar* Bellica: *the altar of* Neptune: *the gallery* Corinthia: *and the Colosse of* Mars.

WIthin the Cirque *Flaminius* stood most famous Temples of the gods, to wit, of *Vulcan*, *Mars*, and *Bellona*, to wit, that which was toward the gate *Carmentalis*. Before the said gate there stood a marble pillar, which the Romans called *Bellica*, for it shewed when war was to be made. The Romans in old-time used and retained this manner in proclaiming war: The publike beadle, or one of the heralds called Fœcials, lanced a spear with some other ensigns of war, into that land upon which they meant to levy arms. But when after many conquests they had enlarged their empire and dominion, and that they were oftentimes to give defiance to nations far remote and distant, because they should not need to fling a spear or javelin, as I said before, into that land they did but stick one in the pillar abovenamed, on that side which regardeth that part whither they were to make their expedition.

To *Hercules* the Great, protector and keeper of the cirque *Flaminius*, they built a Temple in the same place: for his statue was there erected in the very entrance thereof, on that side where now standeth the Church of S. *Lucy* in the dark *Apotheca*.

*M. Fulvius* built another Temple of the allowance that he had of the Censors stock, to *Hercules Musarum*: for he had heard in *Greece* how *Hercules* was *Musagetes*, *i.e.* the leader and companion of the Muses. The same *Fulvius* translated the images of all the Muses out of the town *Ambracia* to *Rome*, and consecrated them under the protection and safeguard of that most potent and mighty deity, to the end that they might have mutuall help one of the other: namely, the quietness of Muses by the defence of *Hercules*; and the valour of *Hercules*, by the sweet voice of the Muses. This Church much decaied and disfigured by time, *Martius Philippus*, *Augustus* his father in law, *i.e.* his mothers husband repaired.

In the same Cirque they would have the Temple of *Jupiter Stator* to stand.

There also (as they gather by certain presumptions) was the altar of *Neptune*, which in old time ran bloud.

*Octavius* reared a porch or gallery, built and born up with brazen pillars, and thereupon named *Corinthia*. This stood between the Cirque and S. *Nicholas* Church, and was also called *Chalcaria*, *i.e.* brazen or copper.

The Colois or stately of *Mars*, at the Cirque *Flaminius*, was in the Temple of *Brutus Callaicus*.

## CHAP. V.

*The porch or gallery of* Mercury: *the Theatre of* Octavius: *his house, cloister, and gallery*: *and the Temple of* Venus Victresse.

BEtween the Cirque *Flaminius* and the *Tyber*, in the very entry of the Church of S. *Angell* in *Piscina*, there is a porch or gallery, consecrated sometime to *Mercury*, or, as some would have it, to *Juno*. This being consumed with fire, *L. Septimius Severus* reedified. But the porch which standeth in the Jews street called *Ceura*, they say was builded by the Emperour *Severus*.

Between the gallery of *Marcellus* and the mount reared by *Hadrian*, *Pompey* was the first that built a Theatre to continue. For all others before were taken down when the games and shews were once done and past: and when need required, new were set up. A great part of this Theatre when *Pompey* had finished, comes *Caligula* and made an end of the rest. Afterward, *Theoderick* K. of the Ostragoths reedified it. This also received eighty thousand men.

Near unto this *Theatrum* there was a court or stately Hall called *Atrium*, the same which at this day they name *Satrium*; also the house of *Pompey*. & a porch before it. These edifices of *Pompey*, at what time as *Philip* exhibited the stage-plaies, were consumed with fire. Near to the same theatre the emperor *Claudius* of famous memory, reared an arch of marble for memorial of *Tiberius Cæsar*.

In the foresaid Theatre (men say) was the Temple of *Venus* the Victres.

## CHAP. VI.

*The bains* Agrippinæ: Pantheon, *and the porch thereof*: *also the Temple of good speed.*

FRom the arch of *Pompey*, as you go northward, you shall meet with the baths *Agrippina*, the marks whereof are seen in that place which now of the inhabitants there, is called *Cyambella*. Now, *Agrippina* they were named of *Agrippa* who built them: See *Pliny* hereof in his discourses of Nature.

Near unto the foresaid bains, there is a Temple of greatest antiquity, and among other old Temples of the city, the noblest of all the rest, which at this day remaineth in manner whole and sound. Because it was dedicated almost to all the gods, they thought good to name it *Pantheon*. In form it was like the world, representing a sphere or globe. At this day they call it S. *Maries* the round. Of this

the temple, *Pliny* and others have made mention, unto whom I refer the readers. In the very porch and entry of this temple, were the ſtatues of *Auguſtus* and *Agrippa*. The images of *Mars* and *Venus*. At the lappet of *Venus* eat, there hung as a pendant that moſt coſtly pearl of *Cleopatra*. Likewiſe there ſtood the image of *Minerva*, the handy work of *Phidias*. Moreover, *Hercules* at whoſe ſtatue the Carthaginians in old time uſed yeerly to ſacrifice mankind. They aſcended up to this temple as in the reſt, by many ſteps: for men in times paſt uſed to rear the temples on high and made but one way to go into them. A porch to this temple *Agrippa* joined: a peece of work worth all admiration, which of ſome was called *Prothyron*. For this word *Porticus*, betokeneth nothing elſe but an ornament or porch, πρὸ τῆς θύρας, *i.* before the dore. Herof alſo have authors written much. This temple firſt *Hadrian* the emperor of happy memory, and afterwards *Antonius Pius*, reedified.

Certain reliques and remnants four angled and ſomewhat long, of Good-ſpeeds temple, are evidently ſeen in the ſtreets of *Minerva* and S. *Euſtachius*. This god was long ago worſhipped, that all things might faſt out happily in the end. Portraied he was in habit of a poor man, holding in his right hand a charger, and in the left an ear of corn.

## CHAP. VII.

### *The baines of* Nero *and* Alexander: *the Cirque named* Agon.

BEhind S. *Euſtachius* church, between *Pantheon* and *Lombards*-ſtreet, the remnants are ſeen of the baines and vaults of *Nero*.

Neer unto theſe *Alexander* built others new (by conveighance of water into them, which they they call *Alexandrina*) and thoſe very fair and delectable: Wherof *Lampridius* hath written much.

Neer unto them (ſome think) were the baths of *Hadrian*: and they would have them to ſtand in that very place where now is S. *Aloiſius* church.

In the plain part of the City there appear moſt evident tokens of a long and ſpatious Cirque: which they call at this day *Agon*. It took that name either of the games *Agonalia* inſtituted by K. *Numa* in the honour of *Janus*, which in that ſhew place are repreſented the 9 day of *January*; or becauſe all manner of ſuch ſhewes and diſports, called by the Greeks *Agones*, were wont there to be exhibited. Some would have it to be built by *Nero* or *Alexander*, upon this reaſon, that other ornaments of theirs were to be ſhewed there. For the maner of the Princes and Emperors was, ordinarily to beſtow their monuments and memorials in one place.

## CHAP. IX.

### *The temple of* Neptune, Terentus: *the Altar of* Dis *or* Pluto: *the mariſh* Caprea.

ON the ſtrand of *Tybre*, where now *S. Blaſes* Church ſtandeth, ſometimes *Neptunes* temple ſtood. The ſame was rebuilt by *Hadrian*. Therein were the painted tables hung, were repreſented the ſhipwracks.

*Terentus* is a place in *Mars* field, ſo called, for that in it the altar of *Dis* was hidden: or becauſe the water of the *Tybre* running thereby, eat away and wore the banks of that ſide: or laſtly by occaſion of *Evander*, who arrived with a fleet in that place, and there abode. There alſo in time of the Alban war, they hid the altar of *Proſerpina* under the ground, that they only might have knowledg thereof, where it was.

In the ſame *Mars* field (ſome think) was the fen or mariſh *Caprea*, where *Romulus* in a tempeſt which ſuddainly aroſe, was taken away. Of which matter *Livy* writeth.

## CHAP. X.

### *The houſe* Corvina: *the broad way or gate: and the temple of Iſis.*

THe ſecond part of the flat City, reached along the foot of *Quirinalis*, from the *Forum* of *Trajanus* to the gate *Flaminia*. In which part neer the Capitol, was the houſe *Corvina*, built by that name and family, and to this day keepeth ſtill the old name; for commonly called it is *Macellum Corvorum*.

From that houſe unto the bars or railes in *Mars* field, extendeth the way *Lata*, retaining yet the antique name: and there ſtandeth the church of S. *Maries* in the broad way.

In the ſame way ſtood ſometime by report, the temple of *Iſis* neer the rails above-ſaid, where now is the church of *S. Marcellus*. Now this *Iſis* was a goddeſſe of the Ægyptians. She was honoured and worſhipped alſo at *Rome*, together with *Oſiris* ſurnamed *Serapis*: of whom the publick plaies in the quarter *Flaminia*, *Iſeum-Serapeum* bare the name. It hapned in the temple of *Iſis* that inceſt was committed; whereupon the Emperor *Tiberius* cauſed the Prieſts of that temple to be crucified, & the place it ſelf to be demoliſhed. Other temples of this goddeſſe there were at *Rome*, for *Caracalla* tranſlated all her ſacred rites and ceremonies to *Rome*, and daily with exceeding great reverence obſerved the ſame.

## CHAP. XI.

### *The arch of* Camillus : *the temple of* Minerva ; *and the ſwine market.*

AS a man goeth down from the broad-gate aforeſaid toward the *Pantheon*, he ſhall ſee a moſt ancient arch. Some think (but untruely) that erected it was for *Camillus* : for many a fair day after his time, theſe arches were in no requeſt and uſe : and therefore it belonged to ſome other L. Generall. Between this arch and *Pantheon*, *Cn. Pompeius* built a temple to *Minerva*, wherein he compriſed in a compendious ſum, the memoriall of his acts and exploits. Other enſignes alſo in the honour of the City of *Rome*, he there ſet up, and thoſe he garniſhed and adorned. Whereof read *Pliny*.

At the foot of the mount *Quirinalis*, in the hort-yards and the *Columnenſes*, neer to the aſcent & riſing of the hil which leadeth now into the mount *Caballus*, there was ſomtime the market-place *Suarium*, ſo called of ſelling of ſwine there. For *Varro* witneſſeth, that in old time they had certain ſet and appointed places for the ſelling of certain things, and thereof the markets tooke the name. Thus of oxen, the market *Boarium* ; of fiſh, *Piſcarium*, of ſwine, *Suarium* ; of worts or herbs, *Holitorium*, was called, &c.

## CHAP. XII.

### *Of the field called* Martius, *or* Tyberinus.

FOraſmuch as in the former book it hath been ſufficiently declared as touching *Mars* field, where it lay, it ſhall be needleſſe to make any repetition thereof in this place : but why it was called *Martius*, would be here in briefe conſidered. Named ſo it was, becauſe it was conſecrated to *Mars* : for when the *Tarquins* were expelled out of their Kingdom, what ground or ſtanding corn they were poſſeſſed of, they divided amongſt thoſe Citizens who were not landed at all, reſerving only this field *Martius* : which becauſe it was conſecrated to *Mars*, that in it the games and plaies ſhould be ſolemnized and the youth exerciſed, they thought that the fruit alſo there growing ſhould likewiſe be counted ſacred and accurſed, and ſo deemed it unlawful that any diſtribution thereof ſhould be made, but threw it all into the *Tybre*, wherof aroſe the Iland called *Tyberina*, of which we will ſpeak in the laſt book. In this field therefore (beſides the native beauty of the place and the delectable ſight of the medows) were erected the ornaments and ſtatues of brave & renowned perſons : yea, and out of the very Capitoll (when the place began to be peſtered and over-ſtraight by reaſon of ſo many ornaments which thither were daily brought, many of them were from thence tranſlated into *Campus Martius*. This field was called of men in old time, *Tyberinus*, like as *Tybre* alſo was named *Martius*.

## CHAP. XIII.

### *The porch, the temple, Column, and* Palace *of* Antonius Pius : *the rails or encloſure, called* Ovilia.

BEtween the *Sciarra* & *Pantheon* ſtreets, neer to Saint *Stephens* Church in *Trullio*, there ſheweth a ſtately porch, which moſt men ſuppoſe was that of *Antonius Pius*, for that his temple ſtandeth ſo neer. The Column alſo of *Antonius* is not far off. This he raiſed of an exceeding height with winding and turning ſtairs, like that of *Trajanus*, whereof we have ſpoken before. Between this Column and the porch, the ſaid Emperor had (by report) a goodly palace. Between the ſaid Column and the water *Virgo*, they ſay, the rails or encloſure within *Mars* field ſtood, called *Septa*. Now this place was encloſed within wooden rails, and ſtrongly fenced with poſts on every ſide, wherein the people of *Rome* when at the creation and election of magiſtrats they were to paſſe their voices were kept cloſe : and for the reſemblance of ſheep pens, *Ovilia* of ſome they were called. By *Livy* they are ſet down, neer the waies *Fornicata* and *Flaminia*.

## CHAP. XIV.

### *The hill* Citatorum : *the* Villa Publica, *temple of* Neptune, *and the bridg in* Mars *field.*

BEtween *Antonines* Colnmn and *S. Laurences* church in *Lucina*, there is raiſed a mount, called now *Citorius*, for *Citatorum* ; not it was a mount indeed, but becauſe the people of *Rome*, when in the chuſing of magiſtrats they were to give their voices, as they were cited, went thither as it were unto ſome hill. Some ſay it was called *Acceptorum*, of taking the peoples ſuffrages : others *Septorum*, for the vicinity of thoſe *Septa* beforeſaid. This little mount, there be that would have to riſe and increaſe by the ruins of ſome porch or ſtately gallery ; or elſe of the common Hoſtelry, called *Villa Publica*. For there was in times paſt a place called *Villa Publica*, a large building in manner of a court or hall ; wherein were received and entertained all embaſſadors of enemies, who might not be allowed either to enter into the City, or go into the publick lodging or Hoſpital called Græcoſtaſis.

Neer to the *Septa*, *M. Agrippa* (as *Denis* writeth) built a goodly temple with a moſt beautifull porch to it, in the honour of *Neptune*.

At this foreſaid hillock called *Citatorum*, and the Column of *Antonius*, there was a bridg faſt by

by the *Septa*, whereupon they that were cited, when they had given their voices, passed by and went their waies: and so were severed from the rest that were to give their suffrages, because they should not be entermingled amongst them, nor be able to shew unto them, on whose side they had passed their voices.

In the same *Mars* field, it is recorded that in times past stood the temple of *Piety*, even whereas now the church of S. *Savior* is.

## CHAP. XV.

*The water* Virgo: *the lake and chappel of* Iuturna, *as also that of* Piety.

THe water *Virgo*, which reteineth still the pleasant sweetness to the tast in drinking, and keepeth yet the old name, beginneth to gather to an head neer the bridg *Salarius*, and being carried in a most deep gutter entreth into the City at the gate *Collina*, and so is raised to the hill *Hortulorum*: where, by arched work it is conveighed through *Mars* field, and yeelds all the way to the inhabitants, water for their use; and endeth at the length in the hortyards of *Lucullus*.

Moreover in *Mars* field, there was (as men say) a fountain and well or cistern of *Iuturna*, sister of K. *Turnus*, yeelding most holesome water. This water-Nymph, they avouch (and that right well) to have been called *Iuturna*, *a juvando*, *i.* of helping; because she was thought to help the sick. The very place is at this day by a corrupt word, named *Lavreglio*.

## CHAP. XVI.

*The arch of* Domitian: *the obelisk of* Mars *field*: *the* Amphitheatre *of* Claudius *the Emperor*.

THe triumphant arch, so dismembred (as it were) and bereft of all his ornaments, standing between churches of S. *Sylvestre* and *Laurence* in *Lucina*, and taketh up a peece of the way or street *Flaminia*, is attributed to *Domitian* the Emperor. And hereupon besides others presumptions) they appropriate it to him, for this emperor reared many such arches in every place.

The Obelisk also there is in this *Mars* field, which *Augustus* transported from *Hieropolis* a City in *Ægypt* to *Rome*. Besides, the native ensigns and wonderfull hieroglyphick inscriptions which it brought with it of the own, therein to be seen, *Augustus* adjoined other ornaments no lesse ormirable. But hereof it is better to read *Pliny*.

*Claudius* the Emperor built neer the *Septa* in *Mars* field an Amphitheatre, which he decked & adorned with fair statues and most beautiful columns.

## CHAP. XVII.

*The vale* Martia; *the palace*: *the porch of* Augustus: *the Naumachie of* Domitian *and the temple of the family* Flavia.

THe vale *Martia* taketh the name of *Campus Martius*: it lyeth between *Tybre* and the hil *Hortulorum*: within the which, in a place lower then all the rest about it, appear the Naumachies of *Domitian*; where in old time he exhibited shews of naval fights. In which place beforetime likely it is, that *Augustus* had his Naumachie; which being cleansed and scoured by *Domitian*, reteined afterwards his name. Read *Suetonius*.

Neer to the Naumachie, was the temple (as it is thought) of the kinred *Flavia*.

In this place, *Julius Capitolinus* proveth that the porch and palace of *Augustus* was built.

## CHAP. XVIII.

The Mausoleum *of* Augustus: *and the two obelisks neer it*: *also the tomb or sepulchre of* Marcellus.

IN the vale *Martia*, between the way *Flaminia* and the bank of *Tybre*, hard by S. *Roches* church, *Augustus* made a *Mausoleum*, to serve for a sepuchre as well to himself and all the Emperors, as also for his whole house and name. This building is like unto a turret standing at the gate called *Populi*, which sheweth it self spoiled now of all the ornaments that set it out. Men would have it to be the sepulchre of *Marcellus*. And *Augustus*, named this sepulchre of his, *Mausoleum*, for the resemblance it had of that of *Mausolus* K. of *Caria*, which *Artemisia* his wife built for him. Read *Cassiodore* *Strabo*, and others thereof.

Close unto the *Mausoleum* of *Augustus*, were two obelisks, as the ruinat remnants thereof do testifie.

## CHAP. XIX.

The *way* Flaminia: *the Trophees of* Marius, *other goodly ornaments of the field* Martius *in general*.

CNeus *Flaminius* the collegue of M. *Lepidus*, having vanquished the Ligurians, paved the causey or street *Flaminia*. This was led from *Placence*, through *Narnia*, *Fulignenum*, *Nucera*, *Callium* to *Fortunes* temple, to *Pisaurum*, and so forward to *Ariminum*. See *Livy* and *Suetonius*.

Between the *Mauſoleum* of *Auguſtus*, and the hill called *Hortulorum*, were the Trophees of *Marius* over *Iugurtha*. Trophees as *Varro* witneſſeth, were ſo called of τροπή a Greek word, which ſignifieth, flight; for that the manner was to hang up the ſpoils and diſrobings of enemies put to flight and ſlain, upon trunks and poſts.

In *Mars* field, were the ſepulchres of *Sylla*, *Hirtius*, and *Panſa*, of *Iulia*, *Britannicus*, *Druſus* the Emperor *Claudius*, and other right hardy and valiant knights, beſide infinit ornaments more, whereof we have written before in this book.

# The ſeventh Book.

## CHAP. I.

### *Of the river* Tybre.

IT ſhould follow by due courſe and order, to treat of *Ianiculum* and all that quarter of the City on the other ſide of *Tybre*: but becauſe theſe parts are ſeparate from the reſt of the City by the river *Tybre* between; thereof alſo it is meet to ſay ſomewhat briefly. And firſt verily the reaſon of that name ſhould be ſhewed. Some think therefore, that the river was called *Tyberis* ἀπὸ τῆς ὕβρεως. For the Sicilians when as in old time they had overcome the a Carthaginians in battel, and taken a number of them priſoners, enjoined them, for the better fortification of their own City, to caſt a trench about it, and to let water thereinto: and this ditch in reproach of their enemies, they called ὕβριν. And the ſame men upon a time afterwards, when as they encamped neer *Rome*, gave this very name unto this river alſo, whereas before it was called *Albula*. Some think it was named ſo of *Tyberis* a King of the Tuſcans, ſlain upon the banks thereof. *Varro* is of opinion, that it took the name of *Tiberius*, a neighbour Prince of the Veientians. In holy writings we read it *Tyberinus*. In vulgar ſpeech they call it *Tyberis*: in poetry, *Tybris*. In old time it was termed *Rumon*, as it were, gnawing and eating the banks thereof. Alſo at one ſide of the City it was named *Terentus*, as a man would ſay, wearing the banks. It ſpringeth from the Apennine, above *Arnus*. At the firſt it is but ſmall and ſhallow, but before it entreth into *Rome*, it (having received 40 other rivers) is encreaſed to ſuch bigneſs, that ſhips of burden and the greateſt hulks, may come up in it as far as *Rome*. This river divideth *Tuſcan* from *Vmbria*, the Sabins countrey and the Latins, entreth at the North part of the City, and ſo paſſeth through Southwards, between the gates *Hoſtienſis* and *Portuenſis*, leaving *Ianiculum* on the right hand and the City on the left, and ſo neer unto *Hoſtia* is diſcharged into one mean broad ſtream, and falleth into the Tyrrhene ſea. Upon the banks thereof, as if they were conſecrate to ſome divine power, it was not lawfull to ſet up any building. Certain warders and keepers there were appointed, for the chanell and the banks. But of this river, *Pliny* and others have left much in writing.

## CHAP. II.

### *Of the bridges built upon* Tybre.

THe *Tybre*, as is aboveſaid, being ſo deep as that it is navigable, and beareth the greateſt ſhips, hath no foord in any place that can be waded through; and therefore neceſsary it was to make bridges over it, and ſo to join that part on the farther ſide of *Tybre*, to the reſt of the City. *Hercules*, after he had killed *Geryon*, built a bridg, where afterwards ſtood that which they called *Sublicius*. Alſo before the foundation of the City, there was a bridg over *Tybre*, called *Sacer*; upon which they ſacrificed men to *Saturn* by throwing them down into the river. But when *Hercules* afterwards had put down that maner of ſacrificing, he gave order, that mens images made of reeds and bulruſhes (which they called *Argeos*) ſhould be caſt down in ſtead of them. But after the City was built, there were other bridges made to the number of eight; to wit, *Milvius*, *Ælius*, *Vaticanus*, *Ianiculenſis*, *Ceſtius*, *Fabricius*, *Palatinus*, and *Sublicius*. And all theſe, ſave the ſublician only, *Totilas* overthrew.

## CHAP. III.

### The *bridge* Milvius.

THe bridg *Milvius*, which men now call *Molvius*, ſtandeth upon the way *Flaminia*, a mile and more from the City. Built it was in the troubleſome times of *Sylla*, by *Scaurus* when he was Cenſor. Many a time they ſay it was caſt down, and as often ſet up again.

## CHAP. IIII.

### The *bridg* Ælius, *now* S. Angel, *the Vatican or* Triumphal *the* Ianiculenſis *or* Aureliauus.

THe bridg at this day called *S. Angel*, in times paſt *Ælius*, took that name of *Ælius Hadrianus*, for he built that brdg, and neer unto it a ſepulchre, which they call *Moles Hadriani*.

Beneath

Beneath this is another which giveth paſſage into the mount *Vatican* and the plain thereof, and thereupon they named it *Vaticanus*; alſo *Triumphalis*, for that over it they went up in triumph to the Capitol, to give thanks to *Iupiter* and rejoice. The piles are yet to be ſeen in *Tyber*, overagainſt the ſpittle or the Capitoll of *S. Spirit*. The third bare the name *Ianculenſis* of *Ianiculum* neer unto it, and *Aurelianus* of the port-way *Aurelia*, or the gate ſo called. *Antonius Pius* paved it over with marble, and being demoliſhed in the civil wars, was called the broken bridg. Afterwards Pope *Xyſtus* the fourth reedified it, and gave unto it his own name.

## CHAP. V.

### *The brigdes* Fabricius *and* Ceſtius.

BEneath the bridg *Aurelius* one furlong, over-againſt the Theatre of *Marcellus*, in the very midſt of the channell of *Tyber*, there appeareth a ſhelf or Iſland, this was united to the City by the bridg *Tarpeius*, ſo called firſt of the rock *Tarpeia* neer unto it, afterwards *Fabricius*, of L. *Fabricius*, who by that bridg conjoined the City and Iſland together. The ſame at this day is called the bridg of four heads, taking the name of four marble images with four faces apeece, ſtanding at the entry of the bridg, but that bridg which cloſeth the ſaid Iſland with the part within *Tyber*, was called *Eſquilinus* or *Ceſtius* in times paſt, but now S. *Bartholmews* bridg.

## CHAP. VI.

### *Of the Iſland* Tiberina.

OF this Iſlands beginning, we have treated before in the deſcription of *Mars* field. *Livy* and *Dionyſius* alſo ſet down this ſtory at largh. It reſembleth the form of a bireme gally, and where it is broadeſt, it is not above a dart ſhoot over, in length it containeth about two *ſtadia* or a quarter of a mile. This was in times paſt called *Lycaonia*, and was hallowed to the honour of *Æſculapius*, whoſe image from out of *Epidaurus* was thither brought. Of *Æſculapius* and his temple read *Pliny*.

A temple alſo of *Jupiter* ſtandeth in it, dedicated by C. *Servilius* the Duumvir, which had been vowed by *L. Furius* ſix yeers before the Gauls war.

In the ſame Iſland were ſick folk preſented unto *Æſculapius* (in the field.) And neer unto the temple of the ſaid god, was a lazar-houſe, for that this god was the inventer and maintainer of Phyſick.

In it alſo ſtood the chappell of *Faunus*, neer to the very river: but ſcarcely remain there any tokens therof. This *Faunus* (as men ſay) was reported to have been the firſt that conſecrated chappels and temples to the gods, and for this cauſe, all ſuch places conſecrated to the gods were called *Fana*. By the teſtimony of *Cornelius Tacitus* and *Suetonius* the ſtatue of the emperor *Julius* ſtood there.

## CHAP. VII.

### *The Senators bridg called alſo Palatine, and that which is named* Sublicius.

BEneath the abovenamed Iſland, as it were a darts caſt off, was the ſeventh bridg, *Senatorum pons*, of the Senators, alſo *Palatinus*, of the mount Palatine neer adjoining: and at this day named it is the bridg of S. *Mary* in *Ægypt*, by reaſon of S. *Maries* church neer by.

Now followeth the laſt bridg *Sublicius*, and which alſo is counted the moſt ancient of all others. This was firſt made of timber by *Ancus Martius* at the very foot of the Aventine mount: framed only with a floor of planks without any iron ſpikes and nails or props to ſhoar againſt it, ſo as in times of war and trouble it might be taken in peeces one from another. Now *Sublicius* it was called *a Sublicis*, *i.* great ſtrong poſts, But afterwards *Æmylius Lepidus* made it of ſtone, and thereupon named the marble bridg. Upon it in old time ſat beggers craving of alms of the paſſengers. From it alſo leud and wicked malefactors, were thrown down headlong into *Tyber*. This brigd as well as other, was often demoliſhed and built up again by one or other.

## CHAP. VIII.

### *Of that ſide of the City which is beyond* Tyber. *The City and temple of the* Ravenats *and* Fors Fortuna: *the baths of* Severus: *the hort-yards of* Cæſar: *the water* Alſietina, *&* *the meadows of* Mutius

THe region beyond *Tyber* in old time had the name of *Ianiculum*, the hill which overlooketh and commandeth the greateſt part thereof. We find it alſo called of men in thoſe daies the City of the *Ravenates*, who with a fleet having aided the Romans, were permitted to dwell in the *Ianiculum*, for fear leſt at any time that mountain and hold ſhould be ſeized and kept by the enemies. Now for as much as this quarter was enhabited by baſe people, ſuch as followed vile occupations, there were in it but few things worthy of any remembrance. *Severus* therein built certain baths: *Cæſar* made hort-yards and prepared alſo a fair pool called the Naumachie for ſhipfight there. Alſo the temple of *Fors fortuna*, was (in *Tib Cæſars* daies) dedicated in that quarter. The water called *Alſietina*, was derived out of the poole *Alſietinus*, by the high way or cauſey-

*Claudia* into the foresaid Naumachie, and served all those parts. This water was also called by some *Augusta*. See *Frontinus*, who hath written much of the Roman waters.

*Mutius*, who willingly had exposed and offered himself to die for the love of his country, was for that good service endowed by the people of *Rome* with land on the other side of *Tyber*. The place at this day is yet called *Prata Mutia*. Neer unto the Arsenal and ship-docks on the side of *Tyber*, were the plaies and games of Fishermen in times past celebrated.

## CHAP. IX.

### *The sepulchre of* Numa, *and* Cæcilius *the* Poet. *The Tribunal of* Aurelius, *the* Ianiculum, *and the hort-yard of* Marcellus.

THat the sepulchre of King *Numa* was under the hill *Ianiculus* a chist of his, with his books long time after digged there, do sufficiently prove. See *Livy*, *Solinus*, and others.

The Tribunall *Aurelia*, and the Arsenal was on that side of the *Tyber*, as appeareth by those authors.

The hill *Ianiculus* took the name of *Ianus* who there dwelt, & therein was afterwards buried. He also built a town or City there, as they say, so called. This *Ianiculus* was also called *Antipolis* as *Rome Saturnia*.

Commonly also it is received, that *Cæcilius* the Poet was under the same hill *Ianiculus* buried. *Martial* the Poet, as himself witnesseth in his first book, had most pleasant and delectable hort-yards in the same *Ianiculus*.

## CHAP. X.

### *The hill and field Vaticane, the temple of* Apollo *and* Mars, *the Naumachie, the cirque hort-yards, and Obelisk of* Cæsar.

THe mount Vaticane and the plain thereto, were without the City, in the parts beyond the *Tyber*, and in that very place, where at this pay is the church of *S. Peter*, and the Popes palace. Called it was *Vaticanus*, of the god *Vaticanus* by whose instinct & inspiration it was beleeved in old time that prophesies were delivered. And this god they called *Vaticanus*, for that in power was the beginning of mans voice, for as much as infants, so soon as ever they come into the world, presently pronounce and utter the first syllable of this gods name, ** Va*.

*Va* from hence cometh *Vagire* in Latine.

The temple of *Apollo* was in Vaticane, in that very place, as men think, whereon at this day is S. *Petronels* or *Parnels* church, also another of *Mars*, wherein standeth S. *Maries* in *Febribus*, upon the port way called sometime *Triumphalis*. *Gellius* writeth, that *Iulius Paulus* the Poet had hort yards in the Vaticane.

The vale Vaticane is there also to be seen, wherein *Nero* enclosed a compasse of ground like a ring for to ride and break horses in. The conventicles also and wine-taverns there he adorned. Moreover, *Nero* had hort-yards in that place, which he set forth for divers and sundry punishments and tortures of Christians. All this place thus enclosed, he called the Cirque. Also the pools made for ship-fight, called *Naumachiæ* were there, and the Obelisk of *Cæsar* in the way *Triumphalis* is yet to be seen standing upright.

## CHAP. XI.

### *The way or street* Triumphalis, *the water* Sabbatina, *the sepulchre of* Scipio.

OF the Triumphall way, there hath been some mention made before. Called so it was, for that the solemn pomp of triumph used to go that way up into the Capitol. This as well as others was paved with flint stone. It went on still to the back porch of S. *Celsus*, towards the plain field of *Flora*: and so forward to the temple sometime of *Juno*, now S. *Angelo*, and from thence to S. *Georges* church in *Velabrum*. In the pontifical hort-yards there be many antiquities found, brought thither from other places: and namely, the protraiture and counterfet of *Nilus*, also of all sorts of creatures living and encreasing there. Likewise of *Tyber*, with the yeelding her teats to be sucked of the founders of *Rome*. *Apollo* with his bow and arrows; the statue of *Laocoon*, whereof hath been spoken before, *Cupid* hard by *Venus*. Many other things before appear in the gallery, and those hort-yards.

The water *Sabbatina*, was derived to *Rome* from the Sabbatine pool, called *Angillaria*: and afterwards when the conduct and conveighance thereof was by *Hadrian* restored, it was brought into the palace of S. *Peter*, to serve the priests there.

In Vaticane plain, not far from the mount reared by *Hadrian*, there stood a Pyramis or steeple in times past, under which they say *P. Scipio Africanus* lay enterred.

## CHAP. XII.

### *The mount of* Hadrianus, *and the meadows called* Quintia.

A*Elius Hadrianus* reared a huge and mighty mount for his own sepulchre neer the bridg *Ælius*, overagainst the *Mausoleum* of *Augustus*. In which were bestowed first his own ashes, and afterwards the relicks of all the *Antonies*. This is at this day the fort of the *Popes*. The same also is called the tower of *Crescentius*, because one *Crescentius*, a factious captain, held it a long time. See more in *Procopius*.

The

The meddows *Quintia* in the plain *Vaticanus*, took the name of *Quintius Cincinnatus*. Read *Pliny* hereof. Now they be called *Aprata*.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Of those things which either have been, or remain now without the gate Flumentana.*

THe first thing presented to our sight when we are out of the gate *Flumentana* is the port-way or causey *Flaminia*: which, as we have before shewed, was by *Cn. Flaminius* brought along as far as *Ariminum*. Within the City he paved it with flint or peble: without he laid it with gravell. And in that order be all the port-waies laid about *Rome*. Upon this way *Augustus* made four bridges, whereof at this day there remain scarcely any tokens. Neer unto the causey *Cæsar* had a farm or manor house, which he called *ad Gallinas*. The reason of that name *Livy* sheweth. To the way *Flaminia*, another named *Claudia* joined upon which were the Hort-yards of *Ovid*.

The way *Æmylia*, made and paved by *Lepidus* the colleague of *Flaminius*, leadeth from *Ariminum* as far as *Bononia*. Now, two causeies there were of that name, the one which met with *Flaminia*: the other which *Scaurus* laid and made, which went through *Pisæ* and *Luna* to the Sabatii. In likemaner there was a way called *Tyberina* and *Cassia*, without the gate now called *Viridaria*, which passed along time by *Sutrium*, *Tetrella*, and *Viterbium* into the way *Vulsinensis*.

Certain places there be in the way *Flaminia* somewhat hollow and flat like saddles, called therfore *Clitella*.

Without the gate *Collatina* there is a causey of the same name.

## CHAP. XIIII.

*Of those things that are reported to have been without the gate* Collina.

THe port-way from the gate *Collina* is called *Salaria*, because the Sabines at it brought salt into the City. There upon stood the bridg *Salarius*. And it reached to *Numentana*. In it was the temple of *Venus Erycina*, vowed by *Fabius* the Dictator, and dedicated by *L. Portius*. There stood the image of *Venus Verticordia*, so called, for that she averted mens minds from wanton lust. Likewise the temple of *Honor*, and an altar in it. Finally, the monument or tomb of *Licinius* the barber of *Augustus*.

## CHAP. XV.

*The things that either were, or at this day are without the gates* Numentana *and* Intraggeres.

WIthout the gate *Numentana*, there beginneth a causey of the same name, by which men go to *Numentum*. The same is called *Figulensis*, of the potters furnaces there standing. The goddesse *Nænia*, which was wont to wait & attend upon funerals with dolefull plaints and lamentable mones, is reported to have had a temple without this gate. In like maner, other gods and goddesses, which are supposed to hurt mankind, they erected temples, but without the gate, because they should do the lesse harm: and namely, to the *Fever*, to *Mars* the revenger, to *Nemesis* and such other. Upon this way *Numentana* there appeareth a most ancient temple of *Bacchus* about *S. Agnes* church, and over the same standeth the bridg *Numentanus*, built by one *Narsetes* an Eunuch. Between this way and *Salaria*, was a withdrawing house in the countrey of [Phanotus] *Neros* freedman, in which *Nero* killed himself. Without the gate *Interaggeres*, was a tower or castle called *Custodia*, where the souldiers of *Diocletian* kept a *corps de guard*. There also is a park called *Vivarium* (now *Vivariolum*) to be seen, where divers wild beasts were kept, more for pleasure and delight, then profit and use.

namely of ill fortune and sloth.

## CHAP. XVI.

*Of those things that without the gates* Esquilina, Nævia, Cælimontana, *and* Gabiusa, *either have been or now are.*

FRom the gate *Tiburtina*, there goeth a way of the same name leading to the City *Tybur*. Upon it there is a bridg *Mamæus*, commonly called *Mamulo* and bearing the name of *Mamæa*, *Alexander* the Emperours mother, who repaired it. A place there is by it called *Puticola*, of a multitude of pits there. Also the bridg *Lucanus*, without the said gate standeth over the river *Anio*. And without the same gate, the two riverets called *Anio* the old and new do gather a current and runto *Rome*.

Without the gate *Esquilina* are waies *Labicana* and *Prænestina*. In this way the water *Appia* hath his head and beginneth, which by *Appius Claudius* was brought into the City.

The water *Virgo* likewise, which in time past was shewed by a maid to the souldiers, is the way, and from thence is conveighed to the City.

But the Roman waters see *Frontinus*, who describeth right excellently, the source and beginning the conveighance and carriage, the end also and use of every one of them.

At the end of the way *Calimontana*, beginneth another called *Campana*, which closeth with *Latina*, the Between the gate *Calimontana* and *Latina*, standeth the gate *Gabinsa*. From which there

there went away ſome time called *Gabina*, leading to *Gabii* (but it runneth ſoon into *Preneſtina* for that the Gabians dwell upon it.

## CHAP. XVII.

### *Of thoſe things which were or are without the gates* Latina *and* Capena.

THe gate *Latina* gave both name and beginning to the cauſey *Latina*, which through *Levicanum*, now called *Val-montone*, and *Latium* reacheth to *Campaine*. In which there ſtood in old time, the temple of *Womens-fortune*, and the image of the ſame goddeſſe. Of which writeth *Valerius Max.* In the ſaid way the water *Tepula* gathereth to an head and current. From the gate *Appia*, beginneth a cauſey of that name, paved by Ap. *Clandius* as far as to *Capua*, whereof look in *Strabo*.

At the gate *Capena*, was the temple of *Mars* the warrior, or *Grandivus*; and therein the ſcutcheon of *Mars*. Hard by the ſame temple was the ſtone *Manalis* brought into the City of *Rome* in time of a drought, and preſently there aroſe a ſhowr of rain; whereupon he was called *Manalis*. In the way *Capena*, ſtood the oratory or chappell of *Dea bona*: and neer to it, they ſay, that *Clodius* and *Papirius* were ſlain. Neer to the gate *Capena*, was the altar of *Apollo*, the ſacred grove of *Honour*, and the temples of *Hope* and *Minerva*. Like wiſe of *Tempeſt*, built by *Marcellus*. Moreover, another of *Ridiculum*: becauſe *Annibal* having there encamped, was enforced to depart from thence mocked and ſcorned. Upon the way *Appia* was the bridg *Valentinus*, built by the Emperor *Valens*, and thereupon, neer the hill *Maſſica*, ſtandeth the town *Sinneſſa*.

This way had certain notable ſepulchres, namely of *Collatinus*, the *Scipios*, the *Servilii*, *Metelli Tullii*, of *Ennius*, *Pompeius*, the *Horatii*, and other. And in that part is to be ſeen the plain, whereupon the *Horatii* fought that famous combat to the utterance. In it alſo there is a water and welſpring, conſecrated to *Mercurie*. To it upon a time when the people of *Rome* ran, every man dipped therein his branch of laurell, and therewith beſprinkled them that were next, with an invocation to *Mercurie*; that as many as had this aſperſion and ſprinkling, might be aſſoiled of their ſinnes, and of perjurie eſpecially. The grove alſo of *Egeria* was this gate. The way *Laurentina* fell into *Appia*: wherein S. *Sebaſtian* (by report) ſuffered even in the very place where they uſed to ſolemniſe the feaſt *Terminalia*, to the god of Meers and Bounds *Terminus*

## CHAP. XVIII.

### *Of thoſe things that be without the gate* Hoſtienſis, *and others in gen* era

FRom the gate *Hoſtienſis* beginneth the way *Hoſtienſis* which leadeth to *Hoſtia*, built by *Ancus*. This was called in old time, the gate of the three twinns brethren, or *Trigeminorum*: and without it, *Livy* ſetteth the purſe or marchants hall, *Emporium*.

In that part of the City on the other ſide of the water, were three gates, *Portuenſis*, *Aurelia Fontinalis*. At *Portuenſis*, beginneth away of that name, and leadeth to the port town *Oſtia*: where there was a temple of *Portunus*, the god of havens: and wherein the feaſt *Portunalia* was celebrated to the honour of that god.

From the gate *Aurelia*, the way alſo *Aurelia* taketh beginning; which along the ſea-coaſt of *Thuſcia*, leadeth to *Piſa*. The ſame was called *Trajana* of *Trajanus* who repaired it: wherein were the hort-yards of *Galba* the Emperor; and there alſo was his ſepulchre.

[At the gate *Fontinalis*, was the feaſt *Fontinalia* celebrated at *Rome*, namely, to the goddeſſe of Fountains, as ſaith *Sext. Pompeius*.

# To the Reader.

*FOr as much as* Titus Livius *is prolix and full of variety: and howſoever otherwiſe willing enough to ſpeak our language, yet moſt loth to forbear and forget certain Roman words wherwith ſo long time he had been acquainted: alſo for that now & then he ſaith one in his Engliſh tongue and in his French and Italian another; whereby he may be thought either to trip, or to have forgotten himſelf, and the fault imputed to his teacher: in theſe regards (me thought) I owed thus much for their ſake and converſe with Engliſh* Livy, *as to ſatisfie them in that behalf. A twofold Index therfore I have digeſted: the one directing and leading readily to the moſt material and principal matters conteined in the whole body of the Hiſtory: the other expounding thoſe things that may ſeem at firſt ſtrange to the moſt: and withall, ſhewing here and there the reaſon of the foreſaid diſagreement, hoping that as uſe will make them more familiar in thoſe ſtrange phraſes: ſo deeper and farther conference with him in the primitive Latine (the only touchſtone of his true ſpeech) ſhall excuſe and acquit me of juſt blame, who have endeavoured that he might deliver his mind in Engliſh, if not ſo eloquently by many degrees, yet as truly, as in Latine.*

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FINIS.

# *A Second Index,*

## Containing the expoſition of thoſe terms in *Livy* which are not yet familiar in Engliſh, and of ſome places omitted in the Marginal notes.

*Whereunto the Reader may have recourſe, when he meeteth with any ſuch difficulty in the Hiſtory.*

A A

*Aulus*, the ſurname to divers families in *Rome*.

*Ædils*, certain inferior magiſtrats in *Rome*: who were of two ſorts; *Plebeii* and *Curules*. *Plebeii*, of the Commons only, two in number more ancient then the other, choſen by the people alone to ſecond and to aſsiſt the Tribunes of the Commons as their right hands. This name they took of the charge they had of temples, chappels, and oratories; albeit they regiſtered the Sanctions and acts of the people called *Plebiſcita* and kept the ſame in their own cuſtody; and were clarks of the market: alſo they exhibited the games and plaies called *Plebeii*. *Curules*, were likewiſe twain elected out of the order and degree of the *Patritii*: ſo called of the ivory chair wherin they were allowed to ſit, as officers of greater ſtate. They ſet forth the great ſolemnities called *Ludi magni*, or *Romani*; were overſeers of the buildings throughout the City as well publick as privat, in manner of the ἀσυμνοι in *Athens*; they had regard to the Publick vaults, ſinks, conveiances, and conduits of the City waters; looked to the Arſenal, &c. Moreover, they had power to attach the bodies of great perſons; and were charged to ſee unto the proviſion of corn and victuals. At the firſt, none but *Patritii* might be advanced to this place: but in proceſs of time, Commoners alſo attained thereunto. Theſe as well as the *Plebeii* were *Sacroſancti*, *i.* unviolable.

*Ærarii*, they were, who being citizens of *Rome*, were by the Cenſors deprived of giving their voices in their Century or Tribe; paid all tribute with citizens according to the valuation of their goods: and ſerved in the wars of their own charges: and either becauſe *æra pendebant*, or, *æra non merebant*, it ſeemeth they took that name.

*Agmen quadratum*: *Agmine quadrato ducere*, is taken in a three-fold ſence. Firſt, The ſame that *infeſto exercitu*, *infeſto agmine*, or, *inſtis ſignis*: which ſignifieth the ordinary manner of enemies marching with banners diſplaied, either to a battail, or to the ſiege and aſſault of a fort: and this manner of phraſe addeth a grace only to the ſentence. Secondly, To march or fight in a four ſquare battaillon, though not alwaies with equal ſides & right angles: and the ſame not charged with the carriages at all. Thirdly, When an army is ſpread and diſplaied at large, encloſing the *impedimenta* or baggage in the mids, for ſafety and ſecurity.

*Agraria*, were laws preferred by the Tribuns of the Commons, as well for diviſion of lands (conquered from the enemies) among the Commons; as to reſtrain the poſſeſſions of the Nobles within a certain limit and compaſs.

*Ambitus*, The inordinat and exceſſive deſire to be in office of ſtate, appearing by indirect and unlawfull means; either to their friends and kinsfolks, or to the people: againſt which, many laws in *Rome* were provided; namely, *Acilia*, *Babia*, *Æmylia*, *Licinia*, and others.

*Ancilia*: *Ancile* was a buckler or ſcutcheon, that (as they ſay) fell from heaven into the hands of K. *Numa* in time of a plague: and he being advertiſed by *Egeria*, That it was for the health of the City, and ought to be kept ſafe; cauſed 11 more to be made unto it, ſo like, as they could not be known from the pattern: which hereby was preſerved. The keeping hereof was committed to the twelve *Salii*.

*Annales*, were brief memorials, Chronicles, or commentaries, containing the names of conſuls every year, the date of times, and all memorable occurrents hapning therein. The high Prieſts, called *Pontifices maximi*, had the charge by their place to gather the ſame into tables, and to ſet them up in their houſes for to be ſeen: and hereupon they were called *Annales maximi*, *à Maximis Pontificibus*; and not of their greatneſs, as thoſe huge volumes, named *Libri Elephantini*.

*App. Appius*, a forename appropriate to the Houſe of the *Claudii* in *Rome*.

*Appia via*, A notable ſtreet or high-way; begun by *Ap. Claudius*, reaching from *Rome*, as far as *Capua*: and afterwards by *Julius Cæſar* and *Trajan*, it was extended to *Brindis* in *Calabria*. Of all other it ſeemeth to be the principal, by the teſtimony of *Papinius* the Poet, who writeth thus of it:

*Appia conctarum fertur Regina viarum.*

Called it was *Triumphalis* (as alſo the gate *Capena*;) becauſe through it the triumphs ordinarily paſſed at the ſaid gate.

*Ara maxima*, The great altar reared by *Hercules*, and took the name of a great heap of ſtones about it.

*Arbor infœlix*, Is commonly taken for a tree that naturally beareth no fruit.

*Argiletus imus*, Is the baſe or low part of a ſtreet in *Rome*; in regard of the upper end thereof, called *Summus*: in like ſort as *Janus ſummus & imus*.

*Area*, is taken for ſome void place, whereupon nothing groweth, *quia aret*: as *Forum boarium* in *Rome*. *Area quæ poſito de bove nomen habet*, and differeth from *Campus*, for that it is leſs. Alſo a plot of ground made levell and clean for to build upon: as in *Suetonius* 26. *Forum Cæſar de manubiis inchoavit*, the *Area* whereof, (*id eſt*, the trimming and levelling of the plot) coſt H-S. *millies*, *id eſt*, 100 millions of Seſtertii. Laſt of all, the broad yards before temples, not covered but compaſſed about with columns, like a cloiſter with an altar in the mids, be called *Area*.

*Aruſpices*, were wiſards or ſouth-ſayers, directed by the bowels and inwards of beaſts killed for ſacrifice, called alſo *Extiſpices*, and in Greek ἱερῳσκοποι, who prying into them, had eſpecial regard of the liver; whereupon their whole Art and learning was termed ἡπατοσκοπία, albeit they obſerved alſo the heart, lungs, ſpleen, and kidnies.

*As*, or *Aſſis*, uſually in *Livy* is taken for a Roman poiſe, or coin in braſs, the tenth part in value of their ſilver *Denarius*. At firſt it was a pound weight of twelve ounces: but afterwards, the Sextans, *id eſt*, the ſixt part therof, was valued worth the whole: and howſoever otherwiſe it altered in poiſe, it went alwaies for 3 farthings or thereabout of our engliſh money.

*Augurium*. See *Auſpicia*.

*Aurei Romani*, Peeces of gold coin currant in *Rome*: in round reckoning equivalent to our ſpur-roial of 15 ſh. For 100 Seſtertii made *aureum*, which amount to 15 ſh. 7 d. ob. the 4 part of *mina*, *i.* a *lib.* in ſilver, and of an ounce of angel gold.

*Auſpicia*: *Auſpices* were properly the obſervation of the birds, either by their ſinging and flying in the air: or by their geſture and manner of feeding in their *cavea* or coup: whereby their Augurs & Pullarii knew in their learning, the pleaſure and will of the gods, whether they favoured their enterpriſes or no. The birds that gave ſign by their voice and ſinging, they called *Oſſines*. *quaſi ore canentes*, as the crow, raven, and owl: and therof came *Augurium*, *quaſi avium garritus*. Thoſe that ſhewed ought by their flight & wings, were named *Alites* or *Præpetes*, as the buzzard, eagle, crane, grype, ſwan, and broad-winged fouls. παντὶ ἰέντες. The good ſigns were called *Siniſtra auſpicia quaſi ſiniſtima*, *quod ſinant fieri*. whether they came from the left hand or the right. In pullets or chickens kept in cages, they obſerved whether they came forth willingly to their meat (for to abſtain from it was thought unlucky) whereas their feeding heartily, was a good ſign, and called *ſoliſtimum tripudium*, *quas terripavium & terrapudium*, when ſome of the meat falleth out of the mouth, *& ſerram pavit*, *i.* beateth upon the ground; as it muſt needs do, when they pecked either corn, or gobbets called *offa*.

## B

*Baliſts*, were certain wars-like engins for to ſend out and level mighty ſtones, to batter and ſhake City wals, made with ropes of ſinews and womens hair eſpecially twined together: as appeareth by *Venus Calva* at *Rome*, unto whom, by occaſion that the women of the City parted with their hair for that purpoſe, a Temple was dedicated. According to the weight of ſtones or bullets that this engin would carry, they were called *Centenaria*, or *Talentaria baliſta*.

*Baſilica*, were ſtately edifices or halls at *Rome*; at firſt ſerving to plead in under covert, wherin they differed from *Fora*: and alſo to miniſter juſtice, of βασιλεύς, which ſignifieth a Judge, as well as a King: but afterwards they uſed to meet there in conſultation; alſo to negotiate and traffique: and theſe had not only benches and bars like law-courts, but ſhops alſo for the better ſort of wares and merchandiſe.

*Bellona*, The goddeſs of war; whoſe temple ſtood before the gate *Carmentalis*, and neer adjoining thereunto was a column named *Bellica*: from which the Romans were wont to lance a dart or javelin towards thoſe parts where they intended to make war: whereas in former times they ſent their heralds to the very confines of their enemies, to perform that ceremony.

*Bigati*, were the Roman *Denarii*, having the ſtamp of a chariot drawn with two horſes, called *Biga*.

*Baotarchæ*, The chief magiſtrats of the Bœotians.

## C

C. *Caius*. Cn. *Cneus*. } The forenames of ſundry families in *Rome*.

*Calends*, was among the Romans, the day of the new Moon, which fell out with them ordinarily the firſt of every month: ſo named ἀπὸ τῶν καλεῖν, *id eſt*, *a calando*, becauſe the petty Pontify uſed then to call the people to the court *Calabra*, and there to pronounce unto them how many daies were to the Nones of each month, &c.

*Candidati*, were they that ſtood in election and ſued for dignities of magiſtracy: during which time, they wore whiter and brighter gowns than ordinary, that they might be the more eaſily ſeen and diſcerned a far off among others.

*Cataphracti*, as well horſe as foot, were they that were armed at al peeces with compleat harneſs: and ſuch horſmen were named *Defenſores*.

*Catapults*, were engins of war to ſhoot arrows or ſuch like offenſive weapons, far off: and by that name was called not only the inſtrument it ſelf, but the arrow or whatſoever was

was ſhot out of it: as *Turneb.* writeth in his 15 *Adverſar. cap.* 1.

*Cenſors*, Magiſtrats of State in *Rome*: whoſe charge was to value and eſtimate mens goods, and enrol them accordingly in their ſeveral ranges. Alſo to demiſe unto certain Farmers, called Publicans, the publick profits of the City for a rent, and to put forth the City works unto them, to be undertaken at a price. Likewiſe to overſee mens manners, whereby oftentimes they would deprive Senators of their dignity, take from gentlemen their horſes of ſervice and their rings; diſplace Commoners out of their own tribe, diſable them for giving voices, and make them *Ærarii*.

*Centuries*, were ranges and degrees of men according to their worth, as they were aſſeſſed and enrolled by the Cenſors.

*Centuriata comitia*, were thoſe aſſemblies and elections, wherein the people of *Rome* gave their voices and ſuffrages according to their behaviour & wealth, by Centuries. And ſuch were at all times moſt favourable to the nobles.

*Circenſes ludi* (as one would ſay) *Circu-enſes*. For in the beginning before the great liſts and ſhew-places (called Cirques) were built, the plot of ground wherein were performed the horſe-runnings and other maſteries, was flanked of the one ſide with the river, and environed on the other with ſwords. *Vide Turneb. Adverſar. lib.* 3. *cap.* 5.

*Ciſtophorus*, A peece of ſilver coin in *Greece* and thoſe parts neer adjoyning, leſs than *Drachma* or *Denarius*: ſo called of the ſtamp, repreſenting a man carrying a panier or casket with holy reliques, in *Cybeles myſteriis*, in *Bacchi orgiis*, or *Cereris imitiis*. If it be true, that 7500 of them go to the Euboick talent, which containeth 4000 *Denarii*, it is juſt our groat ſterling: but if *Denarius* have *proportionem ſeſquiquartam* to it, and that 4 *Denarii* are 5 ciſtophors, (as *Glarean* collecteth out of *Budæus*) it cometh to our teſton of 6 pence.

*Cloacina*, ſuppoſed to be the image of *Venus*, found by K. *Tatius* in the great vault or ſink conveighed under the city, called *Cloaca maxima*. And for that it was not known what goddeſs it reſembled, he gave it the name of that place. Others ſay, it is written *Cluacina*, of the old word *Cluo* (to fight:) for that the Romans and Sabins (ready to ſtrike a battail) were by means of myrtle branches conſecrated unto *Venus*, pacified and reconciled, in that very place where afterwards the ſaid goddeſs was by that name worſhipped.

*Coemptionalis ſenex*, *Paulus Manutius* upon the familiar Epiſtles of *Cicero*, giveth this attribute to *Scaptius* in the end of the third book of *Livy*, whereas in all editions it is, *Concionalis*. Now theſe *Coemptionales ſenes* (ſaith he) were thoſe old men, in whoſe tuition and authority, men by their laſt will and teſtament left their widows or daughters; and without whom they might not paſs *in Dominium virorum per coemptionem*, *i.* be married according to the ceremony called Coemption, whereby the husband and wife ſeemed to buy one another.

*Cohort*, was ordinarily a band of 500 ſouldiers; although once or twice in *Livy* we read of *Quadragenaria cohortes*.

*Comitium*, was a publick place or Hall within the *Forum Romanum*, where the people uſed to aſſemble for audience of juſtice, pleading of cauſes, and other occaſions: whereupon *Comitiales dies*, were ſuch daies upon the which they might ſo aſſemble and meet together.

*Comitia*, or *Comices*, were the ſolemn aſſemblies of the people at *Rome*, ſummoned by the magiſtrats lawfully; to chooſe officers, to enact new laws or cancel old, by their voices: whereof were three ſorts.

*Curiata*, inſtituted by *Romulus*. *Centuriata*, by *S. Tullius*. *Tributa*, brought in by the Tribuns of the people: and the firſt author thereof was *P. Voliro*.

*Curiata* and *Centuriata*, were *Auſpicata*, *i.* performed with the ſolemnity of obſerving the approbation of the birds, and the Senators.

*Tributa*, were held by the Commons only, *penes quos non erant auſpicia*, and required neither *Auſpicia* nor *authoritatem*, *i.* the allowance of the *Patres*. And as in *Comitiis Centuriatis*, the richer and greater men had the vantage: ſo in *Curiata* and *Tributa*, the poorer ſort (for their number) went away with the better.

In the *Curiata comitia*, at the firſt (until S. *Tullius* his reign) paſſed the election of KK. and other magiſtrats, judgements in capital matters, and laws. But in later times, they ſerved only for two laws: *i. de imperio*, or, *de re militarium*; in which the conſul or others (choſen to their magiſtracy in *Centuriatis comitiis*) had authority of command in the army: the other, *de adoptione*; and theſe laws were called *Curiatæ*.

In the *Centuriata comitia*, from the time of *Ser. Tullius*, paſſed the elections of conſuls, Decemvirs, Tribuns conſular, Cenſors, Pretors, and ſuch greater magiſtrats; and confirmed they were by *Curiata*. Alſo, judgment of capital matters, & the laws named *Centuriatæ*. In this, there was one centurie drawn forth by lot out of all the reſt, to give their voices firſt, and that was called *Prærogativa*. After which, were called to their ſuffrages, the Centuries of the firſt and ſecond Claſſis, and they were named *Primo-vocatæ*: the reſt which followed, were called *Iure-vocatæ*.

*Tributa*, ſerved for the creation of Tribuns, Ædiles of the Commons, and other inferior magiſtrats. Alſo the laws as touching peace, or enfranchiſing allies, judgments penal and fines, and thoſe ordinances concerning the good of the Commons, called *Plebiſcita*.

Some have thought amiſs, and *Curiata* and *Tributa comitia*, were both one: but *Curiata* were more ancient, and of greater ſtate as

being *Auſpicata*, and *ex authoritate Patrum*. Herein only they agreed together and differed from the *Centuriata*, that in delivering their voices, the Tribes and Curiæ were intermingled: wheras the Centuries were ſorted and gave their voice according to their degree, age, and ability in the Cenſors book.

*Congius*, or *Chus*, A meaſure among the Romans containing 6 *Sextarii*, and every *Sextarius* about 20 ounces: ſo that *Congius* receiveth *X. libraleſ menſuras*; as appeareth by the old pourtraict thereof in braſs, with theſe two characters, X.P. *i.* ten pound. Whereby in round reckoning it may go for our wine gallon or ſomewhat better. And for that great perſons were wont at firſt to give dole unto the common people, of wine or oil by the *Congii*; all other donatives and largeſſes of that kind, were afterwards called *Congiaria*.

*Conſul*, one of the ſoveraign yeerly magiſtrats in *Rome*, ſucceeding in the place of KK. ſo named *a Conſulendo* either of asking counſel of the people and Senate in State matters, and withal giving his own advice and providing for the good of the weal-publick: or elſe of judging, for ſo *Conſulere* ſignifieth; as when we ſay, *boni conſulere*. And *Livy* ſaith, that *Prætores*, *Conſules*, and *Judices* may be taken one for another. Two of them were uſually choſen every year, as appeareth by the law of the 12 Tables: *Regio imperio duo ſunto: iique præeundo, Judicando Conſulendo, Prætores, Judices, Conſules, appellantor*, &c.

*Corona*, hath divers ſignifications in *Livy*, *Corona urbem cingere*, *i.* to inveſt a City round about with armed men, and to give the aſſault from all parts at once. *Sub corona vendere ſervos*, *i.* to ſell ſlaves in open market, either having garlands on their heads as the manner was; or environed about with a guard of ſouldiers, which alſo is called *Corona militum*. Sundry garlands or chaplets there were moreover, called *Coronæ*, wherwith ſouldiers were rewarded by their captains, or they honored by their ſouldiers; (beſides thoſe that were preſented to Generals by their friends and well-willers, or offered to the honour of the gods:) as *Obſidionalis* or *Graminea*, which was a wreath of a cuich graſs called *Gramen*, given to him that delivered an army from ſtreight ſieges, and was by the whole army beſtowed upon that ſavior. *Civica*, made of oke branches, for him that in battel ſaved the life of his fellow citizen. *Muralis*, reſembled the battlements of walls; which he received of his captain, that firſt ſcaled the walls and mounted over in the aſſault of cities. *Caſtrenſis*, in form of a pallaiſade or rampier made with pales or ſtrong ſtakes: the honor of him who firſt entred the enemies camp. *Navalis* or *Roſtrata*, pourtraied with the ſtems or beak-heads of ſhips, called *Roſtra*: his reward that firſt boorded the enemies ſhip, and gave the firſt means of a naval victory: Theſe were the principal. For, others there were not ſo ordinary, as namely, *Exploratoria* garniſhed and ſet out with the ſun, moon, and other ſtars; beſtowed upon them that did ſpecial ſervice in eſpial and diſcovery of the enemies quarters.

*Curiæ*, were pariſhes in *Rome*, 30 in number, inſtituted by *Romulus*. Certain halls beſides, appointed for aſſemblies and convocations about Church matters and Religion: whereof ſome were old, called ſimply *Veteres*; others new, named *Novæ*. As for *Curia Hoſtilia*, it was the ordinary ancient place of publick counſel within *Rome*.

*Curio*, the Prieſt belonging to each *Curia* or pariſh aforeſaid: and *Curio Max.* the chief ſuperintendent over them all.

## D

D. *Decius*, a forename: for *Decius*, although it were the gentile name of a houſe, grew afterwards to be a forename, as *Paulus*: and likewiſe forenames at the firſt, came to name families, as *Poſthumius*.

D. *Decimus*, a forename likewiſe, as of that *Brutus* ſurnamed *Albinus*, who killed *Cæſar*.

*Decemviri*, were magiſtrats, officers, or fellowſhips, ten in number.

*Decemvirs legibus ſcribendis*, were ten men choſen to make laws in *Rome*: who afterwards uſurped the ſoveraign authority, and tyrannized.

*Decemviri ſacrorum*, were certain Prieſts, who had the keeping and peruſing of Sibyls books of deſtinies, and thereout gave order for ſacrifices and expiation of prodigies.

*Decemviri*; ten Judges or miniſters of Juſtice, ſelected out of the great court or counſel of the 100 Centumvirs, and they were called, *Decemviri de litibus judicandis*: aſſiſtant they were to the Pretor or Lchief juſtice.

*Dictator*, a ſoveraign magiſtrat above all others in *Rome*, from whom no appeal was granted, mere abſolute and King-like: but that his time of rule was limited within ſix months ordinarily: ſo named, either becauſe he only ſaid the word and it was done, or becauſe he was *Dictus*, *i.* nominated only by one of the Conſuls, and not otherwiſe choſen, uſually in ſome time of great danger of the ſtate. He was called alſo *Prætor Maximus*: and namely, when he was made for the ceremony of ſtriking up or driving a nail: alſo *Magiſter Populi*, as *Cicero* 3 *de fin.* Moreover, he was ſometimes appointed to ordain and hold ſolemn feaſts, in regard that it had rained ſtones.

*Duumviri*, magiſtrats two in number, of divers ſorts.

*Duumviri capitales*, judges to ſit upon life and death: from whom it was lawfull to appeal to the people.

*Duumviri ſacrorum*, out of the Patritians, ordained for dedication of temple, preparing the ſacred beds for the gods, called *Lectiſternia*; and for the books of *Sibylla*: theſe afterwards were increaſed to five, and ſo to ten. See *Decemviri*.

*Duum-*

*Duumviri Navales*, two wardens of the navy, ports, and sea-coasts.

E

*Epulones*, were certain Priests whose office was to prepare and set out the solemn feast for *Jupiter* called *Epulum*, and for other gods. Of them were three, called *Triumviri Epulones*, and after seven, *Septemviri Epulones*.

F

*Fœciales* were the Heralds: of whom there was a colledge of 20, the principal of them was *Paterpatratus*, as it were their Dean. And according to *Plutarch*, he ought to be a man that had children of his own, and his father living: for having the charge of making peace and alliances, it behoved that he should be a person accomplished, and as well to look before as behind ἅμα πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω, to regard what is past and what is to come: the one was signified by his father, the other by his children.

*Fasti* signifieth sometimes *festos dies*, i. holidaies: and in that sence *Ovid* entituleth his books *Fasti*, wherein he setteth down the ordinary feasts of every month. Otherwhiles they are put for law-daies, wherin the L. chief justice or Pretor might use these three words, *Do*, *Dico*, *Addico*, which betoken to give leave to the party for to plead, to minister law and justice between plantif and defendant, and to pronounce the sentence and award.

*Flamines*, certain Priests among the Romans: they took that name of *Filamen*, a filet of wollen yarn, that they used to wear upon their heads. Three of them there were Patritii, and those were called *Majores*, namely, *Dialis*, for the service of *Jupiter*. 2 *Martialis*, of *Mars*. 3 *Quirinalis*, of *Romulus* deified. Of Commoners were 12 more, called *Minores*, deputed to inferior charges, and the meanest of them all attended the service of *Pomona* the goddess of apples and such fruits.

*Fortune* a great goddess in *Rome*, entituled with many and sundry surnames.

*Fors Fortuna*, a goddess of *Rome*, whose temple was in *Transtyberina* region, where she was honored & worshipped of idle persons, such as professed nothing, but lived of their rents only, and namely, for that she came unlooked for and undeserved.

*Fortis Fortuna*, i. strong fortune, so called for her power, especially in battail. *Publica*, when she favoured the common-wealth. *Mascula*, good to the male kind, and *Muliebris*, to the female. *Virilis*, kind to folk of ripe years. *Primigenia*, gracious to the first begotten or the eldest. *Equestris*, either for running to help with great speed, or assistant in horse-service. *Obsequens*, pliable and easily intreated to accomplish all their vows and desires. *Parva*, for advancing mean and obscure persons to wealth and worship. *Seia*, for the kind and seasonable ripening of corn and fruit. *Prospera*, which was alwaies present and vouchsafed her helping hand. *Mala*, when contrary-wise she was backward and evermore crosled their designs. *Viscata*, for that many a one hath been by her enticements snared & entangled. *Redux*, ἐνέλπις, *Bene Sperans*, *Respiciens*, *Propria*, *Virgo*, *Calva*, *Convertens*, *gratis* τύχη ἐνεπτῶ, *quasi æstuans*, *cæca*, *Vitrea*, &c See *Alexander ab Alexandr*. *Marlian*.

*Forum Romanum*, or *Latium*, The great common place at *Rome*, wherein causes were pleaded, and audience given to publick Orations. Under the name of *Forum* were other places also and courts, as also markets, distinguished by their proper adjuncts, as *Forum Boarium*, *Olitorium*, &c.

*Furca*, Whereof slaves were called *Furciferi*, was a kind of fork or gibbet which slaves carried upon their shoulders when they were scourged by their masters, either about the *Forum* or Cirque: whereupon afterwards they were crucified and executed: howbeit, some think they bare it only for a publick shame.

G

*Gabinus cinctus* was a kind of habit and wearing of a gown after the Gabines fashion, when it was cast over the shoulder so backward, that it seemed to compass and gird round the whole body. In that manner the Consul clad, used solemnly to set open the dores of *Ianus* Temple, before he went to the wars.

*Genius*,] *Genii* were supposed to be μέσιται and *pararii*, brokers (as it were) between men & the gods, or rather interpreters and *Salutigeruli*, messengers between, of a middle nature betwixt the one and the other, *Cœlius Rhodigin*. *lib*. 2. *chap*. 3. But according to *Empedocles*, each one was thought to have his angel from the very day of nativity, unto whom they used to sacrifice upon their birth day, as to their protector. Also every place had their peculiar *Genii*, and then were they called *Lares*, as *Rurales*, and *permarini* in *Livy*.

*Galli*, Priests of *Cybele* that guelded themselves in a frantike fury, and used in their service to her, for to strike and beat upon tabers and drums.

H

*Hasta*, Besides the ordinary signification, signifieth the Centumviral or Decemvirrall jurisdiction in supply or assistance of the Prætorian, for that they set up a spear to be seen at the place of judgement. Also it betokeneth port-sale, when they sold either goods or slaves to him that would bid most at such a spear. Moreover, the putting forth of the Cities works, called * *Ultro tributa*, to certain Publicans or undertakers by the great, at a price, and it was called *Subhastatio*.

* ἐργολαβίαι.

I

I *Anus* is a God in *Rome*, ſometime repreſented *Bifrons* with two faces, ſignifying the time paſſed, and that to come: otherwhiles *Quadrifrons*, & betokeneth the four times of the year; having in his right hand a character reſembling 300, in the left another, ſhewing threeſcore and five, according to the daies of the year. But in the plural number *Iani*, betoken certain hals or great fourſquare buildings, with four proſpects and croſs thorowfares, whereof were divers in *Rome*.

*Ides*, Eight daies in every month; of an old word *Iduo*, to divide: for that they commonly fall about the midſt of the month, namely, upon the thirteenth or fifteenth daies, according to *Horace*, *Idus tibi ſunt agenda, qui dies menſem Veneris marinæ, findit Aprilem.*

*Interdicted* of water and fire, were they who for ſome crime were baniſhed. Which judgement, although it was not by expreſs ſentence pronounced, yet by giving order, that no man ſhould receive ſuch an one into his houſe, but deny him fire and watet (the two neceſſary elements of life) he was condemned (as it were) to a civil death: and this was called *Legitimum exilium*. But voluntary exile was, when a man to avoid the payment of a grievous fine, or impriſonment, went out of the way of his own accord, and left his native countrey.

*Iugerum*, which commonly I tranſlate Acre, ſeemeth among the Romans, to be in meaſuring of land the *Baſis*, ground, and foundation of all other meaſures in that kind; like as, the Aſs or Aſſis, of weights: of which it borroweth the terms in ſub-diviſion and multiplication, whereof the leaſt is *Semiſcrupulum*. Now is the *Scrupulum* in land meaſure fifteen foot ſquare, according to which, it may ſoon be gathered, how much *Iugerum* containeth, conſidering it hath that name, *a duobus actibus junctis*: by which reckoning it beareth 28800 foot of ground within the ſquare. But for that, others think that *Iugerum* is aſmuch as *unojugo boum uno die exarari poteſt*, *i.* one daies work of a yoke or teem of oxen: for want of another fitter word (except I would call it a journel) I have expreſſed it by our familiar term of an acre, which is not much under or over a daies work in plowing of oxen here in *England*.

*Interregnum*, or *Interregency*, is properly the time between the former King deceaſed, and the creation of a new: and he that ruled in the mean ſpace, was called *Interrex*. Which terms continued afterwards in the free ſtate when there were no Kings, in the caſe of vacancy of head-magiſtrats.

H-S. This Character compounded of two capital II, and the letter S. thus coupled together, is *Seſtertius*, that is to ſay, a ſilver coin among the Romans, conſiſting of two Aſſes and an half, and thereupon it hath the name *Seſtertius* as a man would ſay, *Semis tertius*, *i.* two, and half the third: and therefore you ſee the numeral note of two, and S. for *ſemis*, which is half. It is the fourth part of the Roman *Denarius*, and in value among us is three half pence farthing cue. But *Seſtertium* in the neuter gender, betokeneth aſmuch as *mille Seſtertios*, *i.* a thouſand Seſterces, ſo that *decem Seſtertia* ſignifieth ten thouſand *Seſtertii*, and *decem Seſtertium* is as much: for you muſt in this maner of ſpeech underſtand *millia* for the *regimen* of the Genitive caſe. But if you add unto *Seſtertium* the numeral adverb, it ſheweth the ſame *Seſtertium* in the neuter aboveſaid, multiplied a hundred times ſo much as the ſaid numeral beareth. For example, *decies Seſtertium*, is *decem Seſtertium*, a hundred times told, and as much to ſay as *decies centena millia Seſtertium*, which is a million of Seſterces in the primitive ſignification: whereby a man may ſoon reckon how much is *millies Seſtertium* and the reſt, either under or over *decies*. The ſame is to be ſaid of *Numus* and *Numum*, for it is the ſame that *Seſtertius* and *Seſtertium*. Moreover, *decies*, *millies*, and ſuch like adverbs, whether you put *Numum* or *Seſtertium* thereto, or no, is all one: ſo that by this form of ſpeaking, *ejus bona fuerunt vicies*, is meant thus, his goods amounted unto two millions of Seſterce peeces. Thus much for *Livy* and other Hiſtorians and writers in proſe: for I am not ignorant that Poets for the verſe ſake confound theſe two words many times, and put *Seſtertii* for *Seſtertia*, as *Georgius Agricola* hath well obſerved.

*Iupiter Indiges*, Indigetes were theſe called, *aut quia nullius rei indigeant*, becauſe they need nothing, or *quaſi in deis agentes*, *i.* converſing among the Gods, having been ſometimes men; or by reaſon that they might not *indigitari*, *i.* be named; or rather for that they were eaſy to be entreated; and laſt of all, *quaſi in loco degentes & ideo propitii*, *i.* the tutelar gods and protectors of this or that place: which I rather encline unto.

*Iuſtitium*, was the ſtay of civil juriſdiction and pleas for the time, upon ſome ſuddain troubles, as *Tumultus Gallicus* &c. Which vacation, if we will be ſomewhat bold, may be called not unfitly a Lawſteed, as *Solſtitium* the Sun-ſteed.

K

K. *Kaius.* } The forename of many Romans.

L

L. *Lucius.* } The forename of many Romans.

*Latinæ ſc. feriæ*, Certain holydaies *Conceptivæ*, *i.* appointed by the Prieſt or Magiſtrate, as occaſion required, and not ſet feaſts. The ſolemnity was publiſhed and held by the Roman Conſuls newly created, upon the mount *Albanus* to *Iupiter Latialis*: and a ſacrifice was there

there offered which they call *Latar*, for the health of the Latine people: at which, the manner was to give a dole of fleſh called *Viſceratio* to the Latine States.

*Lectiſtern*, is in ſome ſort declared in the fift and two and twenty books of *T. Livius*, and is as much to ſay, as the ſolemn ceremony of trimming and ſetting out a bed, not for repoſe but repaſt, according to the ancient maner: wherein they laid the images of their gods, reared upon bolſters and pillows: the principal whereof was that in the honour of *Jupiter* at the *Epulum Jovis*, wherupon *Jupiter* was laid, *Juno* and *Minerva* ſitting of either ſide by him.

*Lectus* is uſually to be underſtood in *Livy* for the bed whereupon they laid themſelves at eaſe when they took their refection, and *Triclinium* is taken for *Conclave*, *i.* the parlor where they were wont to ſup, becauſe the uſual manner was to ſet three ſuch beds or pallets together: (whereof the room had the name) and a table raiſed ſomwhat higher from the floor, and placed ſo, as it ſerved all three pallets, and was open at one ſide for the ſervitors to come unto it, and either ſet meat thereupon, or to miniſter what was called for. Upon each of theſe beds there ſate or leaned ordinarily three perſons: ſo as nine was the full number of gueſts at the boord, according to the rule, *No fewer than the graces, nor more than the muſes.* For *Horace* in this verſe, *Sæpe tribus lectis videas cœnare quaternos*, ſeemeth to glance at the niggardiſe of that would rather want meat than gueſts, and ſo ſet twelve at the table which was but for nine, whereby alſo they were pent up together too ſtreight.

*Legati*, are uſually taken for Embaſſadors ſent from one Prince or State to another. Alſo for Lieutenants in an army, having the charg of a legion under the General, and in his abſence, the charge and command of all. Who likewiſe were ſent as Nuntioes or meſſengers of credence from the Generals in the field, to make true report unto the Senat, of the ſucceſs of their affairs. Moreover, they are oftentimes put for deputed-delegats, or commiſſioners aſſiſtant to the Coſ. or L. General, in matters of ſtate; having their principal directions from the Senat, but commiſſion to deal in the particulars after their own diſcretion: much like to thoſe that be called *Legati à latere.*

*Libitina*, the goddeſs of funerals; and after a ſort, the ſuperintendent over ſepultures; ſuppoſed to be *Venus Epitymbia.* In whoſe Temple were all things to be ſold neceſſary for the interring and burial of the dead. Whereupon they alſo who were employed to carry forth and bury corpſes, were called *Libitinarii* as well as *Veſpillones*; in Greek νεκροφόροι and νεκροδάπται. It is put for death in *Horace*, when he ſaith, *Non omnis moriar, magnaque pars mei, Vitabit Libitinam:* and in *Livy*, as well for the miniſters as furniture to ſepultures belonging. The Chappel to this goddeſs ſtood without the City, and a gate there was *Libitinenſis*, at which they carried forth their dead. For at *Rome* they might not commonly bury or burn a dead corps within the City, unleſs it were upon a ſpecial priviledge: and the law of 12 tables provided therfore in theſe expreſs words, *In urbe non ſepelito neve urito*: but in ſome barren part of their land, each man beſtowed the aſhes or bodies of their dead. The practiſe whereof is evident by many examples in hiſtories; and at this day are monuments ſtanding of their tombs reared neer the great cauſey *Appia*, and elſewhere about *Rome.* The conſideration hereof, with ſome other circumſtances of a place in the 3 book of *Livy*, gave me occaſion haply to tranſlate amiſs. There hapned to be a great mortality in *Rome* and the territory about it, not only of men but of cattel alſo; at what time as the Volſcians and Æquians were encamped within three miles of *Rome*, with a purpoſe to give the aſſault to the City; but they were ſuddainly ſtriken with a fear that they durſt not approach neer, *tectaque procul viſa atque imminentes tumuli avertere mentem eorum*, &c. where I have engliſhed *imminentes tumuli*, tombs & graves neer at hand, in oppoſition of *tecta urbis* [*Romanæ*] *procul viſa*: and the rather, becauſe it preſently followeth, *In deſerto agro, inter tabem perorum atque hominum*: where *tumuli* may wel be put for tombs and monuments; and [*imminentes*] neer at hand: as *Livy* and others do take thoſe words. But if any man would have it meant rather of the 7 hills of *Rome* commanding and overlooking thoſe houſes aforeſaid, I will not be againſt it, but rather my δευτέραι φροντίδες ſhall go with him: and pardon me I hope he will, if either there or elſewhere I have ſeemed to nod and take a little nap, *Nimque opere in longo fas eſt obrepere ſomnum*: ſeeing that I have taken my ſelf in the manner, and not ſlept untill my neighbour awaked me.

*Lictors*, in *Livy*, are miniſters or ſergeants attending upon the magiſtrats of *Rome*; namely, Dictators, Conſuls, Prætors: for thoſe only were called ſomtime magiſtrats κατ' ἐξοχὴν, as ſuperior to the reſt: ſo called (as *Feſtus* thinketh) *quod faſces virgarum ligatos ferant*, for that they carried rods tied up in bundles; which rods were of birch, willow, hazell, or the Carpine-tree, [a kind of Plane or Maple] and within them ſtuck an axe, all to ſignify whipping and death. Theſe officers made way before thoſe magiſtrats, and were miniſters alſo of the execution.

*Lituus*, was the Augurs ſtaff, much like a biſhops croiſier, crooked at the end.

## M

*Magiſter Equitum.* Maſter or general of the horſemen. This was an office or dignity among the Romans, incorporate as it were in the Dictator alone, who ever had the abſolute naming and chuſing of him: and ordinarily

narily he was subject to him, howsoever *Minutius* was by strong hand and a violent course of the people, made equal to *Q. Fabius* his Dictator. Commander he was under him of the Cavalry: also his Lieutenant-general and coadjutor with him in all executions. The same that *Tribunus celerum* in the time of the KK.

*M. Marcus.*

*M'.* with the note of Apostrophus, *Manius.* } The forenames of certain Romans.

*Manipulus*, in an army, was at the first a petty company of ten souldiers following one javelin, having a wisp of herbs or hay fastned to the upper end, as a man would say, an handful of men: used after, for a small band or squadron of souldiers: and Manipulares were they termed, who served in one such *Manipulus*.

*Matuta*, otherwise called *Leucothea* or *Ino*, the daughter of *Cadmus*. Into her temple, at the time of her solemn feast, might no maid servant enter: and if any did, they were sure to be beaten forth by the dames or wives there assembled; in remembrance of one *Antigera*, the chamber-maid of *Ino*, with whom her husband *Athamas*, as she thought, was more familiar than she liked well of.

*Megalesia*, were plaies or games at *Rome*, not (as the letter seemeth to import) *Magni*, which were *Romani*, but in the honour of *Cybele* the goddess, named also *Idæa*, *Magna mater i.* the great mother of the gods.

*Multa decem millium æris gravis, &c.* was no doubt, a fine of brasen mony set upon a mans head, after the weight of so much; every As weighing a *lib.* of 12 ounces. For before that silver was cast and stamped for coin, *Æs grave plaustris ad ærarium convehebant* (as *Livy* saith) when they paid tribute or subsidy to the City chamber, as they were assessed.

*Mundus Muliebris*, the Elegancy of women. *Nam quem κόσμον Græci nomine ornamenti appellaverunt, cum non perfecta al solutaq; elegantia mundum.i.* the world. *Plin.* first book fourth chapter.

*Murcea* or *Murtia*, one of the names attributed to *Venus*, *quia prater modum, non moveret sed faceret hominem murcidum.i. nimis desidiosum & inactuosum:* contrary to that other goddess *Agenoria. quæ ad agendum excitaret.* And hereupon it is that *Murtea* is put for the goddess of sloth and litherness.

## N

*Novæ tabulæ*, was an easment proposed in favour of debters at *Rome*, whereby the old debt-books and obligations were cancelled, or the *Nomina* dashed out. Among the Athenians this practise was called *Sisacthia.i.* an easing of burden, or *Chreocopia*, a cutting off or striking out of debts.

*N. Numerius*, a forename to some houses of *Rome*.

*Nundinæ*, were the market daies appointed every ninth day at *Rome*, for the peasants of the country to repair unto the City, to sell commodities or to buy their necessities. And hereupon *Trinundinum*, is the space of 27. daies, comprehending three market daies.

*Nones*, were daies in the month so called, because they began the *9th* day ever before the Ides: honored by the Romans both for the birthday of K. *Servius*, and also for the chasing out of the KK. for otherwise it was not festival (as *Ovid* saith) *Nonarum tutela Deo caret.*

## O

*Ovales* or *Ova*, were eggs set upon the goles in the solemnity of the horse-running, at the plaies *Circenses*, to reckon or score up (as it seemeth by *Livy*) the races, which were performed with 24 courses, to represent four and twenty hours of the day. Neither was it for nought, that choise was made of egs, rather than other things: for as egs are laid by birds (the swiftest of all other living creatures) so they also were to contend and strive to be most active, &c. or else because *Castor & Pollux* (those renowned horsemen) came of an egg, as Poets fable.

## P

*P. Publius*, a forename to some Roman families.

*Panætolium* or *Panætolaik*, was a solemn diet or counsel, wherein all the states of *Ætolia* assembled to consult of publick affairs.

*Patres*, were at *Rome* 100 Senators or Noblemen, counsellers of state; chosen in this manner: 3 out of every one of the 30 Curio, and those make 90; 3 more out of each tribe, (which then were but three) and one by *Romulus* himself: and as this number made the body of the Nobility or Senat at the first; so, out of every Curia, he chose ten of the most personable and active yong men, to the number of 300, (which he called *Celeres*) to guard his person. From whence came the order of the knights or gentlemen of *Rome*; a mean degree between the two estates of Nobles and Commons, as it were the seminary, to replenish the Senat, when the places were void, and to augment the number of them. These were called *Patres Conscripti, Ascripti, & Selecti.* And like as the former were named *Patres Majorum gentium*; so the latter sort, *Minorum gentium*; alluding to the several ranges of the gods, who were some of them, *Majorum gentium*, such as ever were counted in heaven; termed also *Selecti*: others, *Minorum gentium*, who had been men, and were after canonized gods. The off spring and progeny of the *Patres*, were *Patritii*, in opposition evermore of *Plebei, i.* Commoners.

*Porticus*, were either the porches & other stately buildings before temples, as belonging unto them: or else goodly galleries and walking places apart by themselves; under which men retired in the rain, and where they used to walk to cool themselves in summer.

*Præda*, booty, pillage, or saccage in the own kind, as it was gotten from the enemy, to wit, slaves, prisoners, beasts, goods, armor, &c. *Manubia*, the mony raised of such pillage or prey, sold.

*Prætor*, one of the superior magistrats of *Rome*. In the City he ruled as L. chief justice: in the province he commanded as L. governor and deputy; and was General in the field as well as the Consul. At first, the name of Consul, Pretor, and Judges, was all one.

*Prærogativa centuria*, were those centuries in *Comitiis Centuriatis*, which by lot had the first place in giving their voices: the rest that followed, were called *Primo-vocata* and *Iure-vocata*, and delivered their suffrages in their course.

*Prætexta toga*, a robe embrodered of purple, common to men and women, *Ingenuitatis insigne, & ornamentum. Cicero* in *Verrem*. 3. Whereby it appeareth, that it was allowed but to certain persons; and, as *P. Manutius* writeth, to 6 sorts.

1 The children of the *Patritii*, until 17 years age. 2 All Senators upon festival daies. 3 Wardens at the games or plaies called *Compitalitii*. 4 All magistrats, as well in the City, as in the colonies or borrough Towns incorporate, called *Municipia*, and Masters of *Confraternities*. 5 All Priests, and among them, the Augurs. 6 They that triumph. And this differed from the rest, being wrought with gold and damask work.

It seemeth that these differed likewise one from the other, in the manner of the guarding: laid broader or narrower: as also in the rich or deep colour, wherupon they were called *Dibaptra*: or that some of these robes were all one purple, other but parcel. And wheras the gentlemen of *Rome* are said *Purpuram induere*, it is to be understood either of *angusti-clavus*, or else of some lighter colour, as the violet, and not of that rich red purple, which is scarlet. For that robe which was done upon our Saviour Christ, * one of the Evangelists called κοσκίνω, and other two, ποφύρεαν.

*Pullarius*, the Chickmaster or pullitier: one that had the charge and overseeing of the sacred chickens, kept in a pen or coup for *auspicia*: who by observing their gesture or feeding betimes every morning, related what was foretokened thereby good or bad. See more in *Auspicia*.

*Pro-consul.* *Pro-pretor.* *Pro-questor.* Some have thought, that they should be writtē otherwise thus, *Pro consule. Pro pretore. Pro questore.* but they are in mine opinion out of the way: for in deed Pro-consul is he, who having bin Consul, went out of his magistracy at the years end, and nevertheless was sent forth into his Province again with full Consular authority: whereas *Pro-consules* (to speak precisely) is the Viz-consul, namely, one that having never been Consul created, but some privat person, yet upon an urgent occasion, might for the while supply the place of the Consul. The same is to be said of the rest. And hereof you may read in the oration of *Cicero, pro lege Manilia*. Howbeit in my translation of *Livy*, I have somtime used Viz-pretor and Viz-consul, for Pro-pretor and Pro-consul: because that manner of composition frameth well with our terms in English. Moreover, we read once in *Livy* of a Pro-dictator, in the proportionable signification to the other.

## Q

*Quadrigati*, were the *Denarii Romani*, having the stamp of a chariot drawn with four horses, called *Quadriga*.

*Quadrans*, a peece of base brass coin or poise at *Rome*, the fourth part of As, which is a cue and a c.

*Quæstors*, were inferior officers in *Rome*, as treasurers to receive and lay out the City-mony, whereof there were *Urbani*, *Provinciales*, and *Castrenses*.

*Quæstorium*, a plot or quarter in the Roman camp, where the treasurer lodged and other officers of the camp.

Q. *Quintus*, the forename of sundry Romans.

*Quindecemviri*, the same that *Duumviri* first, and *Decemviri sacris faciundis*. Their number was 15, and albeit they were encreased by *Sylla* Dictator to 60, yet they retained stil the name of *Quindecemviri*.

*Quintana* was a gate in the Roman camp, at which, provision was brought in to serve the market. Read the annotation in the end of English *Tacitus*.

*Quinqueviri Mensarii*, were certain men, five in number, appointed upon occasion to discharge the debts of the commons, so called of *Mensa*, a table set out in publick place; upon which they either counted or weighed their mony.

*Quinqueviri muris reficiendis*, were five officers at *Rome* chosen extraordinarily for repairing of the walls and turrets of the City.

*Quinquatrus* or *Quinquatria*, were certain feasts and games at *Rome* in the honor of *Minerva*. They continued five daies, and began the fift day after the Ides of *March*. *i*. the 20 of *March*: and these were called *Quinquatrus Majores*. For others named *Minores*, fel about the Ides of *June*, and that was the minstrels holiday, as appeareth in the ninth of *Livy*. * *Math.* 27. * *Marc.* 15. *Iohn* 19.

*Quintilis*, the month of *July*, before *Iulius Cæsars* time.

*Quirinalia*, was a festival day to *Quirinus*, appointed for them to sacrifice, who had neglected or missed to do divine service in their parish at the feast *Fornacalia*: and it was called the fools holiday; for that they were ignorant of the time of the former feast, or knew not their own Curia.

*Quirites*, the name appropriate to the citizens of *Rome*: and so they loved to be called within the City: but in the camp, if the General gave them that term, it was taken for a great disgrace unto souldiers and men of arms.

R

*Rorarii*, were light armed footmen, reſembling our forlorn hope: ſo called *à rore. i.* Dew. For like as there falleth commonly a driſling dew before a good ſhour of rain: ſo theſe *Rorarii* skirmiſhed looſly, before the legionary ſouldiers came to the battail.

*Roſtra*, were three-tined pikes of braſs, ſet in the noſe or beak-head of war-ſhips to offend the enemy, as appeareth by *Virgil*, *Roſtriſq; tridentibus*: and thereupon by *Synecdoche*, the ſtems of ſhips were ſo called. And for that the publick pulpit for orations at *Rome*, was reared and adorned with ſuch, it alſo was called *Roſtra*.

*Rudera*, [*Cum milites religione tacti rudera jacerent.*] To make ſenſe of this place, I have tranſlated *Rudera*, peeces of braſs mony: for that I cannot ſee what ſhould be meant by rubbiſh ſtone in that place, which was not demoliſhed by *Annibal*, for any thing that I can find; but only robbed of the ſilver & gold within the chappel of *Feronia*: in ſtead whereof were found *aris acervi*: by reaſon that the ſouldiers, who had ſome ſence of religion & touch of conſcience (whereof their leader *Annibal* had never any) caſt from them [*Rudera.*] Now, probable it is that *Rudera*, is corruptly put for *æra*, the later end of the word: or if we admit *Rudera*: it is well known that *Rudus* as well as *æs* ſignifieth braſs and braſen mony, as appeareth by *Ruduſculum* the diminutive: for as of *æs* came *Æſculum*, ſo of *Rudus* (no doubt) *Ruduſculum*: and like as of *Æſculum*, *Æſculanus*, a god of the Painims, father of *Argentinus* (becauſe copper & braſs mony was before ſilver coin:) ſo, of *Ruduſculum*, the gate *Ruduſculana* in *Rome*, ſet out with braſs. Now that *Ruduſculum* is put for a ſmall peece of braſs coin, it is proved by the form of words in buying and ſelling, and in manumiſſion (*Ruduſculo libram ferito*) which is all one with *ære Libram percute* or *feri*. By which I collect that *Rudera* in this place may ſtand for *æra*, *i.* peeces of coin. For there went afore, *æris acervi*, which *Horace* putteth for heaps of braſs mony, and not for braſen images. And well it may be, that the ſouldiers upon ſome devotion, threw into the Church their oblations of ſuch mony as they had in their belts or bandoliers. This conjecture & conſtruction of mine may ſerve, untill ſomewhat here may be made of rubbiſh ſtone, or better expoſition come in place. The word (I am ſure will bear it,) and the context in all ſence and congruity, doth require it.

S

*Salutare Deos*] after a devout and reverent manner they bowed unto the Idols or gods of the heathen as they paſſed by, and withal, touched their hands: which *Lucretius* ſheweth in theſe verſes,

——— *Tum portas propter, aliena*
*Signa manus dextras oſtendunt attenuari*
*Sæpe ſalutantum, tactu præterque meantum.*

*Sceleratus Vicus*, a ſtreet in *Rome* named beforetime *Cyprius*, which in the Sabine language ſignifieth [good:] but upon occaſion of a wicked act committed therein, it was by the contrary, called *Sceleratus*.

*Seceſſion*, was a general inſurrection and revolt of the commons in *Rome*, wherein they left the City, until ſuch time as they had the authority of their Tribuns ſtrengthned and confirmed: yea, and certain laws enacted and eſtabliſhed by a ſolemn oath, with a curſe denounced to all them that went about to abrogate or aboliſh the ſame: which thereupon were called *Sacratæ leges*.

*Sex.* *Sextus.*
*Serg.* *Sergius.* } All, forenames to Ro-
*Serv.* *Servius.* } mans

*Sextilis*, the month of *Auguſt*, ſo called by the Romans before *Auguſtus Cæſar* his daies, for that it was the ſixt in number: as *Quintilis* the fift, beginning at *March*.

*Suburra.* 97 a. *In Iuventutem graſſantem in Suburra.* It might well be that yonkers there made a fray or committed ſome riot and felony: for it was a ſtreet moſt of all others frequented; and beſides, in it kept ſtrumpets and curtiſans, like enough to give occaſion of much quarrel & miſrule among youth, as appeareth by *Iuvenal* and *Martial* in this Diſtichon.

*Fama non nimium bona, puellæ,*
*Quales in media ſedent Suburra.*

*Suffrages*, were the voices of the people given by Centuries, Curiæ, or tribes, which in *Rome* went affirmatively under this form, *Uti rogas*, *i.* be it according to your bill: and negatively thus, *Antiquo*, *i.* I deny or reject it.

*Sordidati*, were they that changed their weed in *reatu. i.* (whiles either themſelves or their friends were in trouble and danger of judgment) that is to ſay, put off white, which was the ordinary colour, and did on black: but if they changed their apparel upon ſorrow and mourning for the loſs of friends or any publick calamity, they were called rather *Pullati* and *Atrati*.

*Sella Curulis*, a ſeat or chair of eſtate. One of the regal ornaments at *Rome*, belonging to the Kings firſt: afterwards, during the free ſtate, uſed by Dictators, Conſuls, Pro-conſuls, Pretors, and Propretors, Cenſors and Ædiles, namely, thoſe called curules, for diſtinction from thoſe that were Plebeii: and laſt of all, by the emperors in the time of the monarchy. This chair was made of Ivory: on which the aboveſaid magiſtrats uſually ſat, not only in the Senat-houſe when they conſulted or gave audience, or when they beheld the publik games & plaies, & rode either in triumph, or otherwiſe in the ſtreets, mounted upon their Chariots; but alſo at home within their private houſes, & wherſoever elſe it pleaſed them: & this badge or enſign of honor they had both in time of their magiſtracy, & afterwards: &

as

as ſuch Senators were called Curules (for the reſt, who had not attained to thoſe dignities, they named *Pedanei*, as ſome think, for that they went on foot to the Senat or places before mentioned) ſo thoſe magiſtrats likewiſe aboveſaid, were entituled by the name of Curule. And *Curulis* was that chair called either of *Currus* a chariot, for that they ſate thereupon within their chariots; or, *quaſi Curva*, becauſe it was made crooked or curbwiſe, like unto our folding chairs.

*Senator*, A Counſellor of ſtate. A name it was of honor, and not of age, as the word implieth: for to that place men attained often times very yong. Senat was the body of that degree and common Councel, oppoſite unto *Plebs* at *Rome*, namely, when it was *biceps* and the whole people comprehended under *Senatorius ordo* and *Plebeius*.

*Sextans*, a ſmall braſen peece of mony at *Rome*, which being the ſixt part of As, cometh to a cue or half a farthing.

*Sextarius* was the Baſis of meaſures in *Rome*, as As of weights: and look how As was divided into twelve ounces, ſo *Sextarius* into twelve *cyathi*, and in meaſures *Sextans* was the ſixth part of *Sextarius*, which weighed twenty ounces, much about a wine pint and a half among us.

Of *Sibyls* books ſo often mentioned in *Livy*, which being three in number, were bought of *Sibylla* by King *Tarquin* the proud, at the price of nine, after ſhe had burned ſix of them before his face: which books were kept diligently in the Capitol: and wherout the Decemvirs by their learning made report of the will and pleaſure of the gods, See *A. Gellius*, 1 book 19 chapter.

*Signum*, was the general name of all the enſigns in the field. But *Aquila* more particularly was the main ſtandard to a whole legion: ſo called, for that upon the top of a ſpear was reared and faſtned an Eagle in ſilver at full relief, and the ſame ſometime was gilded ſtanding upon a baſe or footſtal of the ſame mettal. The other enſigns, as well of cohorts, which were bands of five hundred men uſually, as of centuries, *i.* companies of hundred, named more eſpecially *Vexilla*, and were generally called *Signa*, had the portaiture of Minotaures, wolves, bores, horſes, dragons, with ſundry other devices according to the fancy of the Colonels or captains, containing alſo the name of the cohort or Century, and the legion to which they belonged.

T

*Talentum Atticum*, As wel *ponderale* which was weighed, as *numerale* or *nummarium*, which was counted in mony, was of two ſorts: The leſs, of ſixty pound Attick, and every one of them conſiſted of a hundred *Drachmæ* or *Denarii Romani*. If *Mina* then, be three pound two ſhillings ſix pence, ſterling, the leſs talent Attick amounteth to 187 pound ten ſhillings of our Engliſh mony. The greater, or ſimply the great, talent, in *Livy*, is fourſcore *minæ*, and hath *proportionem ἐπιτρίτου* or *Seſquitertiam*, *ad minus*, which cometh to two hundred and fifty pound ſterling. Now was the Euboick talent (whereof *Livy* alſo ſpeaketh) half of *Talentum majus Atticum*.

*T. Titus.* A forename to many houſes of the Romans.

*Teſtudo*, A target-fence, which the legionary Romans ſouldiers, made either in the open field when they were overcharged with their enemies, or in approaching the walls of Towns to give aſſault. In the former, after they had encloſed within them their baggage and light armed men, they reſted themſelves upon their knees, with their targets cloſe couched together over their heads, to avoid the enemies ſhot: and after they had well breathed they would riſe up all at once again, freſh and luſty to a new skirmiſh. In the later, they had the like target-roof, but pent-houſe wiſe, one overlapped the other after the manner of tiles, and ſo they ſcaled walls without offence from above.

*Templum* hath in *Livy* three ſignifications. 1. a ſacred houſe or chappel dedicated to ſome god or goddeſs for divine ſervice, as the temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitol, &c. 2. An open place, from whence a man might ſee all about him, as having nothing to hinder his proſpect, and which likewiſe might be ſeen from all parts, whereof cometh the verb *Contemplari*, *i.* to behold. And ſuch did the Augurs chuſe for to take their ſigns of bird-flight. 3. Any place hallowed, although not for divine ſervice, yet for debating of ſerious human affairs, as their Curiæ and Counſel-Chambers, yea, and the Roſtra at *Rome*.

*Thalaſſio*, An Auſpicate or lucky word uſed at Bridals or weddings in *Rome*, like to this among the Greeks. ὑμὼ ὦ ὑμέναε, ὦ ὑμὼ *Hymen, O Hymenæe, hymen, &c. Catul.*

*Thenſa*, wherof *Livy* writeth in the fifth & ninth books, were certain petty chariots or dreyes of ſilver or ivory, carrying the images and ornaments of their gods in great pomp upon certain high daies: and they who led the horſes drawing the ſame, wore their richeſt apparel, holding in their hands and training the falſe reins ſtretched out at length in ſolemn wiſe, whereupon *Feſtus* thinketh they took the name *Thenſa quaſi Tenſa*.

*Trabea* was a roial robe or mantle of eſtate, all of deep purple or ſcarlet only, at the firſt: but afterwards, embrodered richly with gold. *Livy* ſeemeth to confound it with *Veſtis purpurea*, *Picta*, *Palmata*, and *Triumphalis*. And in truth, all one they were in the principal ſubſtance and matter thereof, namely purple or ſcarlet: but different in the ſetting out, being embrodered with gold, more or leſs, diſtinguiſhed alſo with white among (for that was a roial colour) as may appear by the diadem, which was a white wreath, or band done about the head of Kings, or in the manner of the work: for either it was *palmata*, ſo called

called *à latitudine claverum*, *i.* of the broad buttons of gold, *ad inſtar palmarum*, *i.* to the bredth of ones hand, as *Feſtus* thinketh: or branched and damasked with flour-work, like to the date-tree: or elſe *picta*, *i.* of tiſſew or embrodery.

*Tribuns* of the Commons were certain Magiſtrats, as Provoſts or Protectors of the Commons, to reſtrain and keep down the exceſſive power of the nobility; choſen and confirmed by the general oath of the people, whereby they were *Sacroſancti*, *i.* ſacred or inviolable, and no violence might be done to their perſon. They had a negative voice and power of inhibition, called *Interceſſio*, whereby they might croſs and ſtop the proceedings of the Senat, or any magiſtrat, ſave only the Dictator: even the very Conſuls, whom in ſome caſe they might command.

*Tribuns* military in Conſuls authority, or *Conſulary*, governed the ſtate of *Rome* many years in ſtead of Conſuls.

*Tribuns* military in the army, were Colonels over a thouſand.

*Tribuni erarii*, were the keepers of the City chamber or common Treaſure, as it were, the maſters of the exchequer.

*Tribes* in *Rome*, firſt three, containing each of them ten *Curiæ*: but afterwards they were five and thirty, containing all the natural citizens of *Rome*.

*Tribu moveri*, was a kind of ignominy and diſgrace, when a man was diſplaced by the cenſors out of his own tribe into another more baſe than it, and namely, *è ruſtica in urbanam*; of which *urbana* there were four, *Suburrana*, *Eſquilina*, *Palatina* and *Collina*: into which King *Servius* diſtributed thoſe that were manumiſed, and *Rullus* afterwards *forenſem turbam*.

*Triumviri capitales*, Three Judges delegat to ſit upon life and death, touching felonious crimes. They were called alſo *Quæſtores parricidii*, &c.

*Triumviri Monetales*, Three officers for the mint of mony, either braſs, ſilver, or gold. They are repreſented in old coins by theſe five letters ſtamped thereupon, Æ.A.A.F F. for *ære*, *auro*, *argento*, *flando*, *feriundo*: that is to ſay, for the melting, coining, and ſtamping of braſs, ſilver, and gold. They were afterwards four in number, and named *Quatuorviri*.

*Triumviri* or *Treſviri nocturni*, Three overſeers of the night-watch, for fire &c.

*Triumviri Menſarii*, Three Commiſſaries deputed for the time, and as occaſion required, in ſtead of bankers or treaſurers to receive a ſtock of mony, and to lay the ſame out upon extraordinary charges, as in the time of the ſecond Punick war when the City chamber was without mony. Which ſtock was put into their hands out of private mens purſes, by way of a voluntary benevolence and contribution, as appeareth in the ſix and twentieth book of *Livy*.

*Triumviri* [*Extraordinarii*] Three likewiſe to levy ſouldiers and able men for to bear arms (without the uſual order of muſters) throughout *Italy*, upon ſome ſpecial occaſion.

*Triumviri coloniis deducendis*, three commiſſioners who had authority to enrol new inhabitants into any colony: alſo to ſet out and divide the City lands gotten by conqueſt, at their diſcretion among them.

*Triumvirs* alſo there were three, Wardens to overſee the ſacrifices, the oblations and offrings to the Gods.

*Taurilia*, certain feaſtival games inſtituted (as *Feſtus* ſaith) by King *Tarquin* the proud, for to pacify the infernal gods; upon occaſion of a contagious malady that hapned to women great with child, endangering both them and thoſe they went with: which aroſe upon the corrupt fleſh ſold abroad in the market of oxen and bulls, killed for ſacrifices: whereupon the mony emploied about thoſe ſolemnities, was called *Tauricum æs*.

*Solitaurilia* or *Suovitaurilia*, was a ſolemn ſacrifice at the luſtration, review, or purging of the City every fifth year; and this was called *Luſtrum conditum*. It was performed by killing a bull, a ram, and a bore. At which ſolemnity all that were able to bear arms, aſſembled in order of battail.

*Triumph*, a ſolemnity in honor of them who have vanquiſhed their enemies: ſo called, for that their ſouldiers reſounded, *Io triumphe*; (as *Varro* thinketh) or of θριαμβος for διθυραμβος one of *Bacchus* names, the firſt inventer thereof: or of τρεῖς ὀμφοὶ three voices: becauſe it was granted by the ſuffrages of ſouldiers, Senators, and common people: as it may appear in *Livy*, by the triumph of L. *Paulus Æmylius*, who had like to have been diſappointed thereof, by his own ſouldiers.

## V

*Venus Erycina*, *Ovid. 4. Faſt.* *à ſiculo nomina colle tenet*: ſhe was ſo called of a promontory in *Sicily*, called *Eryx*, where there was a goodly temple built in the honour of *Venus*; and afterwards at *Rome* alſo in memorial thereof.

*Verſus Feſcennini*, certain licentious and unchaſt ſongs, uſed among the Painims at weddings; the manner whereof, came firſt from the city *Feſcenninum* (as ſome think:) or as others, *Quia faſcinum putabantur arcere*, becauſe they were thought to have vertue to withſtand witchcraft and ſorcery.

*Veſtales virgines*, were certain profeſſed Nuns vowing virginity, who had the keeping of the ſacred fire of *Veſta*. *Nec tu aliud veſtam, quam puram intellige flammam. Ovid.* This *Veſta* was brought from *Troy* with the image of *Minerva*, called *Palladium*, and other holy reliques.

*Vltro tributa*, ἐργολαβίαι, were certain City works, for which the cenſors did bargain with the Publicans or undertakers, at a price.

*Verbena*,

*Verbena*, although it ſignifieth a ſpeciall herb, called *Verbenaca*, *i.e.* verven in Engliſh, and in Greek περιστερεών, becauſe doves delight much to be above it: yet the word is attributed to divers other herbs put to holy uſe among the Painims, which are called *Sagmina* in Latine, and in Greek ἱερόβοτανα. But *Dioſcorides* deſcribeth one ſort thereof which runneth by the ground, and groweth not ſo high as our vervin doth, and it ſeemeth to be that which the Phyſicians, Herbariſts, and Apothecaries call *Gramen* ἀγρωστὶς in Greek, *dent de chien* in French: and the coich graſs in Engliſh: according to which ſaith *Livy*, *Fa-cialis ex arce puram graminis herbã attulit.*

*Victoriatus*, *i.e. quinarius nummus*, A piece of Roman ſilver coin, half *Denarius*, and a double *Seſtertius*, having the image of *Victory* ſtamped upon it, either ſtanding on foot crowned with a chaplet of bay, or elſe carried in a triumphall chariot drawn with four ſteeds, holding forth in her right hand the foreſaid garland, as is to be ſeen in divers antiquities of coin.

*Veteres* ſignifieth a place in *Rome* called *Veteres*: *Curiæ* in reſpect of *Novæ*, or certain ſhops called *Argentariæ* of bankers, in regard of others alſo, named *Novæ*.

# A Table of all the Orations in *Titus Livius*, by way of diviſion of the general into particular members, fitted for all ſorts of ſpeaking or writing, and digeſted according to the ſeverall places of the three principall heads of all Cauſes in Oratory, to wit, the *Deliberative*, the *Demonſtrative*, and the *Judiciall*.

To reconciliation and peace-making, between Romans and Albans, by *Metius Suffetius* Prince of the Albans, to *Tullus Hoſtilius* King of the Romans. 14.H

Of *Appius Claudius* a Tribune military to the people of *Rome*, for the continuance of war and keeping ſouldiers in wintering camp at the ſiege of *Veii*, againſt the Tribunes of the Commons. 105.A

Of *L. Lentulus* the chief of the Roman Embaſſadors to the army and the Conſuls that they would of their own accord yield themſelves unto the Samnits at the place called *Caudinæ furcæ*, where there was no hope of eſcaping. 257.C

Of *Decius Mus* the Conſul to the people, that there might be Augurs and Pontifies choſen out of the Commons. 290.H

Of *Acedux* the Spaniard to the captain of the Saguntins, for the ſending back of the hoſtages into their own Cities, whom *Annibal* had demanded of all the States, and beſtowed in ſafe cuſtody at *Saguntum*. 359.F

Of *Minutius* the Maſter of the horſe unto his ſouldiers for joyning camp with *Fabius*, when he perceived that both he and his were ſaved by the proweſs of the ſaid *Fabius*, after himſelf had unluckily fought againſt *Annibal*. 363.G

Of the Roman captives in the overthrow at *Cannæ* to the Nobles of *Rome*, that they might be ranſomed. 378.H

The perſwaſion.

Of *Varro* the Conſul, to the Campan Embaſſadors, that after ſo great loſs and foil of the Romans they would ſo undertake war with the Carthaginians, that neither *Annibal* might think himſelf conqueror, nor the Romans conquered. 383.G

Of *Fabius Maximus* to the people, That the command in war being taken from *Otacilius*, they ſhould conſider what Generall ſhould make head againſt *Annibal*. 414.G

Of *P. Sulpitius* the Conſul to the people about removing the war into *Macedony*, and to aid the Athenians againſt *Philip*. 626.I

Of *Ariſthenus*, a Prince of *Achæa* to the Achæans, for the demands of the Roman Embaſſadors, that they would ſtand for them againſt *Philip*. 658.H

Of *M. Porcius Cato*, in maintenance of the law *Oppia*, which *C. Oppius* a Trib. of the Commons in the Punick war had made for reſtraint of womens apparell againſt the Nobles and Tribunes of the Commons, who went about to abrogate the ſame. 684.H

Of *Annibal* in the councill of King *Antiochus* concerning the contracting of peace with King *Philip*, and the whole courſe of war, which *Antiochus* prepared againſt the Romans. 739.C

Of reconciliation by *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* to *M. Lepidus* and *M. Fulvius* Conſors, who for many years together had born a deadly malice and enmity one againſt another. 1088.K

Of *M. Servilius* for *L. Æmylius Paulus*, that he might have triumph granted over the Macedonians by him conquered, when his own ſouldiers withſtood the ſame, for that they were ſcanted in the pillage: and *Servius Sulpitius Galba* oppoſed himſelf againſt it. 1226.H

Dissuasion

Of *Cneus Martius Coriolanus* to the nobility against the Commonalty and the Tribune in distributing the old provision of corn. 55.D

The fraudulent dissuasion of *Accius Tullius* King of the Volscians, to the end that the Volscians might not be present at their solemn games, and so he might after stir them up against the Romans. 56.O

Of *M. Furius Camillus* the Dictator, to the people against the Tribunes of the Commons, for going to dwell at *Veii*, when *Rome* was in a manner rased. 174.N

Of *Appius Claudius* against the Tribunes of the commons, that the laws concerning debt, the proportion or stint of lands, the elections of Tribunes military, and that one of the Consuls should be of the commons, might not pass. 52.I

Of *Titus Manlius Torquatus*, that the Roman captives at the Cannian overthrow might not be ransomed. 379.B

Of *Q. Fabius Maximus*, surnamed *Cunctator*, that the Province of *Affrick* might not be decreed to *Scipio*. 564.M

Of *L. Valerius* a tribune of the commons, in the behalf of women (against the sentence of *Cato*) that the law *Oppia* should be annulled, which was made to suppress the superfluous expence of women. 686.L

Of *Tanaquil* the wife of *Tarquin. Priscus*, to *Servius* her son in law, that he might succeed in the place of his father in law deceased, who was murdered by two shepherds. 24.M

Of *Tullia* the daughter of *Tarquinius Priscus* to *L. Tarquinius* her husband, to aspire unto the kingdom, against her father. 27.E

Of *Accius Tullius* a Prince of the Volscians to his countrimen, wherein he stirred them up against the Romans, for that they were commanded by them to depart the City, so as they might not be present at the publike games. 57.D

Of the ancient Senators of *Rome*, for the putting down of the Decemvirship, and restoring the Tribunship of commons. 101.E

Of the legats of the commonalty of *Rome*, which was gone into mount *Sacer*, by reason of the obstinacy of the Decemvirs, who would not give over their Magistracy: that now having dispatched their business, they would return into their native country, to their own houses, wives, and children. 102.H

Of *Valerius* the Consul to the horsemen, that they would valiantly fight against the armies of the *Æqui* and *Volsci* joyned together in *Algidum*. 108.H

Of *Horatius* the Consul, Collegue of *Valerius*, to his men, That if their hearts served them, they would set up such a shout, as at the charge of a battell. 107.C

With a grievous complaint, Of *Caius Canuleius* a Trib. of the Com. unto the commonalty, against the nobility, for the publishing of laws concerning marriage of nobles with commons, and that there might be one Consul a commoner. 115.D

Of *Vectius Metius* King of the Volscians to his people against the Romans, that they would with sword make way, where they saw him go before. 130.L

Exhortation

Of *Mamercus Æmylius* the Dictator to his souldiers, being frighted with the strange sight of the burning fire-brands which the Fidenats and Veientians did carry. 132.M

Of *Sextus Tempanius* a Decurion of horsemen to his souldiers, in a desperat battell, by occasion of the rashness of *Caius Sempronius* the Consul. 135.E

Of *Camillus* being banished to the Ardeats, That they would take arms for the Romans against the Gauls, who had won the City of *Rome*, all but the Capitoll. 171.C

Of *Mar. Furius Camillus* the Dictator to his souldiers, terrified at the great number of their enemies, to wit, the Antemnats, Volscians, Latines, and Hernicks. 182.H

Of *Aulus Cornelius Cossus* the Dictator to his souldiers, and to *Quintius Capitolinus* the Master of the horsemen, against the huge multitude of the Volscians. 184.N

Of M. *Manlius Capitolinus* (after his imprisonment) to the Commons, whom by gifts and largess he had allured against the Nobility for suppressing and deposing of Magistrats. 188.L

Of M. *Popilius* a commoner consul and collegue of *Scipio*, to his souldiers; against the Gauls who had encamped in the Latine territory. 217.E

Of M. *Valerius Corvinus* the Consul to his men against the Samnits. 222.L

Of *Pub. Decius* a military Tribune, to *Aulus Cornelius* Consul, when there was no hope seen of escaping out of the hands of the Samnits. 223.F

Of *P. Decius* a military Tribune, to break in upon the enemy from the hill which he had seized. 224.L

Of *Mar. Valerius Corvinus* the Dictator to the mutinous and wicked souldiers (who being snared with the pleasures and delights of *Capua*, had plotted to dispossess the Capuans of their City) that they would not fight against their own country. 227.F

Of *Titus Quintius* the Roman, chosen captain against his will by the mutinous Roman souldiers, That laying aside anger and hope, they would not make triall of the fortune of a battell against them. 228.L

Of *L. Annius Setinus* a Prætor of the Latines unto his souldiers, to demand of the Romans, that

that if they would have them to be in league and ſociety, they ſhould elect from among them one of their Conſuls and part of the Senat. 231.D

Of *Quintus Fabius* the Dictator, to break upon the enemy, to revenge the death of the Roman Citizens, and to recover the Colony from the Samnits. 269.F

Of *Virginia*, the daughter of *Aulus*, a Patritian, and wife of a Commoner Conſul, to a laudable contention in vertue, at the dedication of the altar called *Ara Pudicitiæ plebeiæ*. 279.B

Of *Alorcus* the Spaniard to the Saguntins in exceeding great deſpair of their ſtate about the articles of peace which *Annibal* at the point of victory did impoſe upon them as conquered perſons. 323.G

Of *P. Scipio* the Conſul to his men againſt *Annibal* and the Carthaginians. 335.D

Of *Annibal* to his ſouldiers againſt *P. Scipio*. 616.H

Of *Cneus Lentulus* a military Tribune to *Lucius Æmylius Paulus* Conſul, to ſave himſelf by flight at the overthrow of *Cannæ*. 373.C

Of *Lu. Æmylius* the Conſul unto *Cn. Lentulus*, for fortifying of the City of *Rome*. *Ib.*D

Exhortation

Of *P. Sempronius Tuditanus* a military Tribune to his ſouldiers, who had eſcaped out of the Cannian overthrow, That they would make way by ſword and valour through the thickeſt troops of the enemies. 374.I

Of *L. Pinarius* captain of the Roman garriſon at *Ænna* to his ſouldiers: for to prevent treaſon and treachery intended. 432.I

Of *L. Martius Septimius* the General, to his ſouldiers, That they would charge upon the army of *Aſdrubal* to revenge the death of the *Scipio's* 466.L

Of *P. Scipio* to the old ſouldiers, to make war beyond *Iberus*. 518.L

Of *Scipio* to his ſouldiers at the ſiege of new *Carthage*. 497.F

Of *Porcius Cato* to his ſouldiers, That they would recover by arms and prowеſs the rule and government which the Romans had loſt beyond *Iberus*. 691.A

(A cold exhortation) Of *T. Quintius* to his ſouldiers at the ſiege of *Lacedæmon*. 699.C

Of *Acilius* the Conſul to his ſouldiers againſt *Antiochus*. 744.O

Of the Rhodians in the Senat, with a petition for reward, after *Antiochus* was overcome by *L. Scipio* with the help of the Rhodians. 977.C

Of *Cn. Manlius* the Conſul to his ſouldiers againſt the gallogreeks, for that they had aided *Antiochus* againſt the Romans. 996.H

Of *Perſeus* the Macedonian King, in regard of the hope of victory againſt the Romans. 997.E

Dehortation

Of *M. Furius Camillus* to the people of *Rome* againſt the Tribunes of the Commons, that leaving the ruins of *Rome*, they would not go to *Veii* another City. 174.N

Of *M. Valerius Corvinus* Dictator, to the mutinous and rebellious ſouldiers from fighting againſt their native country. 227.F

Of *Pacuvius Calavius* the Campan to his ſon, not to kill *Annibal*. 386.K

Of *Vibius Virius* to the Campans, That they ſhould not yield themſelves to the Romans. 478.N

Admonition

Of *Metius Suffetius* captain of the Albans, to *Tullus Hoſtilius* King of the Romans, about peace making between Romans and Albans. 15.K

Of *Tullus Hoſtilius* King of the Romans to his own ſouldiers, concerning the treachery of *Metius Suffetius*. 17.D

Of the two Delegats, *Valerius* and *Horatius*, about the demands of the Commons, who through the Decemvirs fault were departed into mount *Sacer*, for that they having finiſhed the time of their government refuſed notwithſtanding to leave their Magiſtracy. 102.M

Of *Appius* the Decemvir at the reſigning of the Decemvirſhip. 103.A

Of *M. Duillius* a Commoner, for hope of liberty after puniſhment taken of the Decemvirs. 106.L

Of *Camillus* to the Tuſculan Senators, about ſending Embaſſadors to *Rome* for treaty of peace. 193.D

Of *Quintus Cincinnatus* the Dictator to *Aulus Sempronius* the Generall of the horſemen, concerning the manner of war againſt the Preneſtins. 195.B

Of *Camillus* the Dictator to the Quirites, concerning the oppoſition of the Tribunes of the Commons. 200.L

Of the Roman Conſul to the Campans that they ſhould not take arms againſt the Samnits, with the anſwer of the Campan Embaſſadors. 221.F

Of *Furius Camillus* to the LL. of the Senat, as touching the Latines ſubdued, and by what means they might keep them quiet in continuall peace. 238.K

Of *Spurius Poſthumius* the Conſul (who was put under the yoke at *Caudinæ Furcæ*) in the Senat, of the peace made at *Caudium*. 259.E

Of *Aulus Cornelius Arvina* the Fæciall herald to the Samnits at the delivery of the ſureties that undertook the peace. 261.D

Admonition

Of *Annibal* to the Spaniſh ſouldiers, about removing the war. 327.B
Of *Fabius Maximus* the Cunctator to *Æmylius* the Conſul, concerning *Varro*, and the order of war-ſervice with the enemy. 363.F
Of *Maharbal* the captain of the ſouldiers to *Annibal* the *Victor*, that he would make uſe of his victory: with the anſwer of *Annibal*. 374.L
Of *Perolla* the Campane to *Pacuvius Calavius* his father about the killing of *Annibal*, with the anſwer and dehortation of the father from that wicked deed. 386.L
Of *Annibal* to his ſouldiers againſt *Claudius Marcellus*. 514.I
Of *P. Scipio* to *Maſaniſſa* King of the *Maſeſſili*, who fell in love with *Sophonisba* wife of *Syphax*, King of the Numidians and daughters of *Aſdrubal*. 604.L
Of *T. Quintius Flaminius* in the generall councill of *Greece*, for making war upon the tyrant *Nabis*, by reaſon of *Argos* the noble City of *Greece*, which by him was held. 694.M
Of *P. Sulpitius* the Roman Embaſſador to *Minio* the chief of the friends of *Antiochus* who was fled, for that he refuſed conference with the delegates. 719.F
Of *T. Quintius* to the Achæans concerning the Iſland *Zacynthus*, which they pleaded to be under their ſubjection. 749.B
Of *T. Quintius* to *M. Atilius* the Conſul in defence of the Ætolians. 752.I
Of *T. Quintius* to the ſtates of the Ætolians about reconciliation with the Romans. *Ib.*L
Of King *Eumenes* to *L. Æmylius* the Prætor, that he would not conclude peace with *Antiochus*, but by the authority of the Senat and grant of the people of *Rome*. 765.C
Of *Scipio* to the petition of *Heraclides* the Embaſſador of *Antiochus* for peace. 774.D
Of *Scipio* to the petition of *Zeuſis* the Embaſſador of King *Antiochus* about conditions of peace. 778.M
Of *P. Scipio Africanus* accuſed for robbing the common treaſure to the commons; as touching his exploits. 986.L
Of King *Eumenes* in the Senat, concerning *Perſeus* King of the Macedonians. 1187.B
Of *P. Licinius Calvus* to the people, that they would beſtow the honor of the Tribuneſhip freely offered unto him, upon his ſon that ſued for it. 999.F

Petition

Of Embaſſadors yielding *Falerii* to the Senat. 163.E
Of peace by the Tuſculan legats in the Senat. 203.C
Of *Sextus Tullius* to the Dictator, that he would give the ſouldiers leave to fight. 211.D
Of the Campan legats in the Senat for aid againſt the Samnits. 220.M
Of *Annius Setinus* the Prætor of the Latines to the LL. of the Senat, that one of the Conſuls might be choſen out of the Latines. 232.I
Of *Quintus Fabius Maximus* the Conſul elect to the people, that he might appoint *Publius Decius* a ſtaid and diſcreet man to be his collegue. 297.C
Of *Minutius* the Maſter of the horſemen, to *Fabius* the Dictator, when he joyned camp with him. 364.I
Of *Sophronisba* the wife of *Syphax*, to *Maſaniſſa*, that he would not ſuffer her to come in the proud and cruell hands of any Roman. 603.A
Of *Annibal* to *Antiochus*, that he would account him amongſt his chiefeſt friends, in oppoſition to the Romans, againſt whom he had fought ſix and thirty years. 721.A
Of peace by *Zeuſis* the legat of King *Antiochus* to the Romans. 778.L
Of King *Eumenes* in the Senat, for reward and recompence of labour emploied, and charges ſpent in the Roman wars againſt *Antiochus*. 781.E

Prayer

Of *Romulus* to *Jupiter Stator* that he would aſſiſt the Romans againſt the Sabins. 8.N
Of *Quintius Fabius* the chief of the City, to the Tribunes of the Commons, that Quinquevirs might not be created, for ſetting down laws and conditions concerning the Conſuls power. 88.H
Of *Virginius* to the ſouldiers, whoſe offer of honourable dignity he refuſed. 100.L
Of *Camillus* the Dictator to *Apollo* and *Juno* at the ſiege and aſſault of *Veii*. 159.G
Of *P. Decius* the Conſul, when he devowed himſelf for the Roman legions in the Latine war, who afterward by his death recovered victory to the Romans. 235.D
Of *Ariſthenus* the Prætor of the Achæans, to *T. Quintius*, that he would deliver and ſet free from the tyrant *Nabis*, the moſt ancient City of the Greeks, *Argos*. 695.C

Thankſgiving

Of *Romulus* to *Jup. Feretrius*, at the offering up of ſpoils, and dedication of the Temple. 8.H
Of the Saguntins to the LL. of the Senat, with a gratulation for their victory. 563.D

Reconciliation

Between Romans and Albans by *Metius Suffetius*. 14.H

An Intimation

Of *C. Mutius Scævola*, to *Porſena* King of the Cluſines. 43.B


Of

Congratulation
- Of *Papyrius* the Dictator to the people, about the absolution and pardon of *Q. Fabius* Master of the horsemen, who against his Edict had fought. 251.B
- Of the Syracusians to *Marcellus*, for killing of *Annibals* favourits, who held and oppressed *Syracusa*, and for reconciliation with the Romans. 460.M

Commendation
- Of King *Eumenes* son of K. *Attalus*, for the Romans victory against *Antiochus*, with a petition of rewards for cost and labour employed in that war. 782.I
- Of *P. Scipio* to *Luceius* Prince of the Celtiberians, for rendring to him his spouse. 503.F
- Of *Spurius Ligustinus* the Centurion to the Commons, with a request that they would assign him a place of service worthy his deserts in the Macedonian war. 1057.F

Praise
- Of *Scipio* by *Annibal*, with a petition of peace. 613.A
- Of *Antigonus*, by *Philip* King of the Macedonians, whom he thought worthy to wear the crown of *Macedony*, disinheriting his son *Perseus* a parricide. 983.C

Dispraise
- Of the arrogancy of *Caso*, by *Aulus Virginius* to the Commons. 80.H
- Of the school-Master of the Falisians Treachery, by *Camillus*. 163.B
- Of the filthy ceremonies of the Bacchanals, with a solemn invocation of the gods, by *Posthumius* Consul, to the people. 959.C

Accusation.
- Of *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* the Consul, to the people against *Aulus Virginius*. 84.H
- Of *Aulus Virginius* against *Appius* the defendant. 104.K
- Of *L. Sextius* a Commoner Tribune, against *M. Posthumius* a military Tribune to the people. 142.H
- Of *T. Manlius* The Consul against *T. Manlius* his son, whom he had beheaded, for that in the Latine war he fought against the enemy without his commandment. 234.H
- Or a recrimination of *C. Mœnius* the Dictator against certain noblemen, who accused him of ambition or unlawful suing for dignities, because they might not come to their answer when they were accused. 272.H
- Of P. *Sempronius* a Tribune of the Commons against *App. Claudius*, who within the lawfull time that is to say, eighteen months, would not resign up his office of Censorship. 276.K
- Of *Hanno* against the Carthaginians, about the league broken with the Romans by *Annibal*, whom the Roman Embassadors required to have punished, as the author guilty of that crime. 322.I
- Of P. *Scipio* against the mutinous souldiers, who in his absence had thrust the Colonels out of the camp, and bestowed the soveraign command upon the chiefest heads of that sedition. 556.H
- Of the Legats of King *Philip* in the Councill of the Ætolians against the Romans, with a disswasion that the Ætolians should not side with them. 637.A
- Of *L. Furius Purpurio* and P. *Æmylius*, against *Cn. Manlius*, that he might not have a triumph granted. 935.C
- Of *Perseus* the son of *Philip* the Macedonian against his brother *Demetrius*, whom he accused of Parricide. 957.F
- Of *Q. Martius* the Roman Embassador against *Perseus* King of the Macedonians, for the covenants of league broken. 1045.G

Defence
- Of *M. Manlius Capitolinus* before *Corn. Cossus* the Dictator, and the LL. of the Senat. 186.M
- Of *Sp. Posthumius* against the Tribunes of the Commons, who hindered the submission made unto the Samnits at *Caudinæ Furcæ*. 297.C
- With a perswasion, Of *Hanno* to the Carthaginians, that they would think that joy vain which was risen upon *Annibals* victory over the Romans at *Cannæ*. 388.L
- Of the Embassadors of those souldiers who remained after the Cannian overthrow to *Mar. Marcellus*, concerning the disgrace offered to them by the Senat, with a petition of a better state and condition. 442.O
- Or a recrimination, Of *M. Marcellus* against the Syracusian Embassadors, who complained of injuries done unto them by him. 490.O
- Of *Cornelius Scipio* Consul, against *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who disswaded that the province of *Affrica* should be granted to *P. Scipio*. 567.D
- With a recrimination Of *Annibal* to the Carthaginians, who blamed him when he laughed in the generall mourning of the City. 607.F
- Of the Roman Legats in the Councill of the Ætolians against *Philip*, with a perswasion, that the Ætolians should abide in league and amity with the Romans. 927.G
- Of *Philip* the King, to those imputations which the Romans and others did challenge him for. 666.H
- Of *Nabis* tyrant of the Argives to *T. Quintius* in the generall Councill of *Greece*. 698.L
- Of *Cn. Manlius* the Cos. against *L. Furius* and *P. Æmylius*, who interposed their negative, that he should not triumph for the war which he managed against the gallogreeks. 975.D


Of

Defence
- Of crimes objected to the Achæans by the Lacedemonians, by *Lycortas* their Prætor, before *Appius Claudius* chief of the Roman Legats. 929.E
- Of *Demetrius* K. *Philip* his son, accused of parricide, against his brother *Perseus*. 933.B
- Of *Arco* brother of *Xenarchus* the Prætor of the Achæans, for *Perseus* K. of the Macedonians against *Callicrates*, who had perswaded that no society was with him to be contracted. 1087.A
- Of *Perseus* the Macedonian K. to *Quintus Martius* the Roman Embassador. 1021.F
- Of *L. Æmylius Paulus* for making delay in his going into *Macedony*, with an admonition to the people that they would not feed the rumours of war, but keeping in their prattling, for that it was a great hinderance to them that were to be emploied in war-affairs. 1015.C
- Of *L. Æmylius Paulus* to his souldiers, wherein he sheweth the reason why he delayed battell. 1019.G

Excuse
- Of *Scipio* to the petition of *Annibal* concerning the conditions of peace. 614.L

The upbraiding
- Of *P. Horatius* to the people of *Rome* for his son accused of felony. 16.L
- Of *Himilco* a man of the Barchine faction, against *Hanno*, who accused the Carthaginians for the breach of the league with the Romans by *Annibal*. 388.L

Invective
- Of *Lu. Quintius Cincinnatus*, against the licentiousness of the Nobles in creating of Magistrates. 84.H.85.D
- Of *C. Pontius* Generall of the Samnits against the intolerable pride and inhumane cruelty of the Romans, with a perswasion to a just and lawfull war. 255.B
- Of the same *C. Pontius* to the Roman Fæciall herald at the delivery of Consuls, Captains, Treasurers, and Colonels, sureties for the Caudine peace. 697.G
- Of *M. Ruffus Minutius*, Generall of the horsemen against *Quintus Fabius* the Dictator, for his delaies and cowardise against *Annibal*, besieging *Sinuessa* a Colony of the Romans, even before their eyes. 355.E
- Of *T. Quintius* against *Nabis* the Argive tyrant, for that he accounted of the Roman allies as enemies, and had joyned himself with their enemies against the Romans. 699.C

Expostulation
- Of *Veturia* to *Coriolanus* her son, making war upon the Romans for the Volscians. 58.L
- Of *Minio* the principall friend of *Antiochus*, to the Roman Embassadors. 719.D
- Of Rhodian Embassadors in the Senat with a clearing of crimes objected. 1014.O

Purgation
- Of *P. Valerius Publicola* Consul to the people, in the case of seeking to be King. 82.H
- With a challenge, Of one of the Carthaginians to the Roman Legats, shewing upon what plot and advice *Annibal* had besieged *Saguntum*. 325.E

Complaint
- And lamentation of *Lucretia* to her husband, her father and friends, for the violence offered her. 34.I
- Of *P. Valerius Publicola* Consul, to the Tribunes and the whole Communalty against *Appius Herdonius*, who with banished men and slaves had in the night seized the Roman Castle. 82.M
- Or a grievous lamenting with an exhortation of *T. Quintius Capitolinus* the fourth time Consul to the Commons, touching the discords of the Citizens. 108.M
- Of *Perolla* the Campan, to *Pacuv.* his father, that he had thrice betraied his country. 386.B
- Of *Magius Decius* to the multitude of the Campans gathered about him, untill by the commandment of *Annibal* he was bound and led to execution. 387.C
- Of the Samnit Embassadors to *Annibal* that he would aid them against the Romans. 405.F
- Of the Locrensian Embassadors in the Senat, against *Q. Pleminius* Captain of the Roman souldiers, for the great injuries offered to them by him and his souldiers. 581.G
- Of *Philip* the Macedonian to the Roman Legats. 892.L
- Of *Philip* the Macedonian touching the unfortunate estate of him and his children. 899.G
- Of *Callicrates* the Achæan against *Perseus* King of Macedony. 953.B
- Of *Lu. Æmylius Paulus*, as concerning his wonderfull calamity and of his triumph, which was (as it were) a spectacle and mocking stock of this worlds mutability. 1113.F


Of

**Rebuke**

- Of the Volſcians to the Roman Legats, who after the loſs and ruin of *Saguntum*, required of them to ſtand firm in league and ſociety with the Romans againſt the Carthaginians. 404.N
- Of *M. Marcellus* to his ſouldiers, in that they abandoned their camp with that fearfulneſs, whereby they loſt the opportunity of fight, which *Hannibal* refuſed. 637.A
- Of *Ariſthenus* Prætor of the Achæans againſt them: for that in their Councill they were ſilent, and anſwered not to the Roman Legats. 620.I
- Of *L. Æmylius Paulus* to K. *Perſeus*, becauſe he ſubmitted to the Roman Legats, with an admonition to his men of the change and alteration of this world. 1205.F

**Humble intreaty.**

- Of *L. Virginius* to his ſouldiers, whereby he refuſed the majeſty of a Decemvirſhip offered unto him without his ſeeking. 122.H
- Of *Titus Manlius* the Conſul to the Latine Embaſſadors, requiring of the Senat, That one of the Conſuls might be choſen out of the Latines, and that they might have a part in the Senat. 283.E

**Commination, or threatning.**

- Of *Icilius* againſt the Decree of *Appius* the Decemvir, to the end that *Virginia* his Spouſe ſhould not remain without her fathers houſe. 118.H
- Of *Lu. Virginius* the father againſt *Appius Claudius* for his daughter *Virginia*. 119.A
- Of *Cornelius Coſſus* Dictator againſt *Marcus Manlius Capitolinus*, for that by his exceſſive gifts he had ſtirred up the people againſt the nobility. 224.L
- Of *Caius Fabius* the Dictator, touching the raſhneſs of *Rufus Minutius* Generall of the horſemen.
- Of *P. Cornelius Scipio* againſt *Cæcilius Metellus* and other young men of *Rome*, who plotted to abandon *Italy* for fear of *Hannibal*. 495.E
- Of *Tib. Gracchus* to his ſouldiers, of penalty to be inflicted upon thoſe ſlaves who refuſed to fight. 519.C

**Interrogative.**

- Of *Caius Junius*, a Tribune of the Commons, To *Tempanius* an horſeman, about *Sempronius* the Conſul, who had ſhamefull abandoned his Camp in the war againſt the Volſcians. 194.M
- Of *M. Manlius Capitolinus* to the gods, when he was led to priſon for a ſedition. 231.B
- Of *Lu. Papyrius* the Dictator, to *Fabius Maximus* General of the horſemen, for that againſt his Decree he had fought with the Samnits. 304.H
- Of King *Philip*, and of *Titus Quintius* the Conſul, touching conditions of peace. 829.D

FINIS.

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# HISTORY.

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AND

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It happens often to these Stars on Earth as to those in Heaven, that some indeed are the greater though others seem to be so. But this is manifest, that God had Ordained by two Princes especially to advance the glorie of this Kingdom, even by GUSTAVUS the Great, and his Daughter CHRISTINA. He indeed was the more endowed with Warlike Virtues, yet so as when he had leisure from the Field, he did most Accurately and Skilfully manage affairs at Home: God having reserved Your selfe, Madam, to a greater work, the Recoverie, Establishment and Ornament of Peace, hath every way accomplished You for so great a Task; yet so, as while there was a necessitie of War, You could not complain of any thing wanting in Your self to the highest Praise in such an Employment. For whereas little is to be attributed to bodily exercise, You were found eminent in all those Virtues of the Mind which are required in the best Emperors, as Counsel in Perlexities, Constancy in Adversity, Moderation in Prosperity, Diligence, Wisdom, Faithfulnes in all things; whereby after many and famous Victories, You concluded Peace with Denmark in the first year of your Reigne, and in the fourth year a most glorious and advantageous one with the German Emperor. Which peace how and by what means you have adorned, I cannot in this Hast declare; I shall only name the encrease of the City, many Towns built and well constituted, Justice established, the People eased in their Taxes, Manners amended, the Honor and Reward of Learning encreased, the Universities enriched, Schools erected, Merchandize flourishing, many Manufactures newly invented, the Ground manured beyond the simplicity of the Ancients; your care and diligence adhibited toward the Commodity of Travel, measuring of High-wayes, building of Inns, and indeed toward all things which we see, which we are sensible of, and the benefit whereof we enjoy; so that I may justly account those my Countrymen of Germany happy who shal hereafetr rest under your Protection: whom I would have, with my self and all other Your Subjects, think no sign surer of God's Anger or Favour toward them, then as he shall long preserve, or suddenly take away such a Prince from amongst them. If there be any who dare not lift up their Eys by reason of the misery of times past, or are so hindred by the Interposition of clouds that they could not hitherto behold this Bright Star, be comforted with its Aspect, and refreshed with its Heat: They may justly be encouraged to expect all things happy and prosperous near at hand, not only by the greatnesse of so Benigne and Favourable a Light, but also by the Constancy thereof. For the Splendor of it is not derived, as that of a Candle or Torch, which failing, the remaining substance appears fouler; but like that of the Sun, True, and Pure, and Innate, neither to be consumed by Time, or extinguished by Violence: which now shineth openly to those who dwell afar off, and will so dispell all Clouds from before their Eyes, that you shall find none so blind as cannot see it, or impudently injurious to their own judgments as to denie they see it. But though it be troublesome to me to draw my mind from this sweet and pleasing Contemplation, I shall not endeavour to comprehend the mention of these Virtues within the narrow Limits of this Paper, this Time, or this my little Wit, which ought in whole Volumes to be declared to all Nations and Ages. I shall make bold to be more Prolixe in the Commemoration of your benefits

bestow-

*bestowed on me, as being not so well known to the World, and more properly belonging to the Causes of this Dedication, as likewise not unworthy Monuments of your Virtues. But I must first acknowledge the Providence of God which I have alwaies found most manifestly present in this businesse. When for many years in* Germany I *continued in such a condition of life (for many reasons thereunto perswading me) as not resolutely addicted to any particular Profession, yet ready to accept of any which should lawfully offer it self: in all that while no man determined my liberty with obligation to any calling. In the mean time I spent not that my leisure in idlenesse, but bestowed it in those Studies to the which (by what afterward hapned, I evidently understood) I was from my infancie ordained. The time now grew on,* Madam, *wherein I was to be dedicated to Your Majesties Service, and* Benedict Skytte *came to* Argentoratus, *whom Your Majestie hath deservedly honoured with many Favors, and lastly with the Dignitie of a Senator. By him invited I came to Your Universitie, where instructing the Youth with care and diligence, though I had an earnest desire to see Your Majestie, yet I preferred the necessitie of my present Office, before the sweetnesse of an happinesse not yet due to me. When I had now three years been debarred of any Conference with your Majestie, having lately taken upon Your Self the Administration of Your Realm, upon occasion of a Funeral You came to* Ubsal. *And from that time I shall begin the Commemoration of Your Favours towards me. The last Office of Love was then performed to my Patron* John Skytte *Senator, whose praises according to the Dutie of my Place, I endeavoured to set forth in a Funeral Oration; and this was the first Speech I made in Your hearing: But when by the cheerfulness of your most Serene Countenance, You discovered both Your understanding of what was spoken, and Your Favour to the Speaker, I was so infinitely possessed with Pleasure and Admiration, that thenceforward I resolved to esteem You not only as a Queen of Me and Your Kingdomes, but Princesse of all Virtues and Wisdom. The same Favour I received two years after, when as often as you came to* Ubsal, *you heard my Discourses upon any Subject you propounded. Intending afterward to accumulate more Favours upon me, You invited me to Court, not only beyond my Hope, but besides my Thoughts of any such thing: what You there bestowed upon me, can scarce by a long Oration be declared: You made me Keeper of Your Librarie, then which I know none so soon after its first beginning, more plentiful in Books, which hath been a main help to me in Compiling this Supplement. You gave me the Title of your Historiographer, that when you should think fit I might deliver to Posterity the Memory of things done or to be transacted. You afforded me Lodging in your Court, not only very convenient, but (which is rarely found in so frequented a Place) very private and quiet also, and a Stipend, which by experience I have found, very subject to Envy. And whereas these may be esteemed Favours of the highest rank, you have, by what after followed, caused them to be esteemed small ones: For when you desired the Knowledge of the Greek Tongue, that you might from their own Mouths understand the sense of the most excellent writers in Civil and Moral VVisdom, you did so by degrees induce me to the Office of your Instructer therein, being ignorant of your Purpose, that at length I understood I had taught much indeed, when on the sudden I found you had Learnt so much. By this your Art in that small time you could allow out of two years to such a* Study *(being a Queen actually Reigning, waging VVar, often holding Parliaments, every day Councels, and constantly distracted with other businesse) you made such an improvement that after Trial in* Polybius *and* Plutarch, *you read* Plato *also, and that with such understanding, that little wanting my help, you could hastily Translate him into Elegant Latine in most*

*sig-*

ſignificant Expreſsions, and of Your ſelf obſerve and for true reaſons Correct the Error of Tranſlations made with the great pains of Learned men. Whereby I reaped ſo great and various fruits of pureſt pleaſure, as I could not but often ingenuouſly confeſſe to my moſt intimate acquaintance, That whatſoever Time, or Labour, or Study, or Care I beſtowed in this employment (for Trouble, I call my Conſcience to witneſſe, I never felt any) I thought all abundantly recompenced with that reward I could every hour receive from you. For to omit other benefits, what an advantage was even in this, to be every day in the preſence of ſo great a Prince, to be ſeen and countenanced by You, to obtain the Title, Place and Honour of a Favourite? Truly my Happineſſe ſeemed ſo great to me, that I began to be afraid of it. For though, by the Grace of God, I ever put off theſe my worldly Accoutrements, as knowing I muſt one day leave them or they me, yet out of impotency of mind I might by too great happineſs have grown inſolent, but that by certain Arguments I learnt in time to know that ſo great a fortune was not conferred as Due to any man's Merits, but as the free gift of your Grace and good will. And in this ſo high and great an Happineſſe there are many excellent Circumſtances particularly conſiderable, I am tied only to my own Vocation, employed only in mine own Studies, that is, I am ſo free that I am not employed and wearied in any ſervice not proper to my own Office and calling. Neither have you a care of my Time and Health only, but alſo of my Modeſty and Baſhfulneſſe: I appear not but at the time of your Studies, neither then do I break in without command, to ſtand as an idle and dumb Spectator, vainly looſing time, or boldly vaunting of my Liberty and Familiarity Neither is my work baſe or vile, we do nothing which requires either Secrecy or Excuſe; whoſoever will not betray his own ignorance muſt needs confeſſe the employment, on my part worthy of a man, on yours becoming a Prince. Hitherto I have related part of the Favours you have beſtowed on my Perſon; it remains likewiſe I ſhould acknowledge thoſe Favours (as much more beſtowed on me) which you have conferred on others by my Interceſſion: In which confeſſion I have cauſe to fear, that I ſhall not only contract Envy to my ſelfe, but give Occaſion to others to accuſe your Majeſtie, as being two Facile in granting what is requeſted. To theſe I ſhall anſwer, That I do indeed acknowledge and admire your Goodneſſe, which hath far exce[illegible] my Deſerts, and that others alſo may obtain equal or greater Favours if they ask them with the ſame Reſpect that I have done: as firſt, I never deſired any thing but what was Juſt and Equal; nor ſecondly, any thing misbecoming the Office and Majeſtie of my Prince; thirdly, by all thoſe Boons I have obtained for others, I know not that I am a penny the richer. But in this ſtrait, wherein it is eaſier to think of more things then to write them, many things come into my mind which I am forced to pretermit. This I ſhall ſay, I am in doubt whether I am more beholding to your Majeſtie for ſmall favors beſtowed at my Requeſt, or for the great ones; for as theſe carried the greater Price, the others did more manifeſt your Humanitie. That your mind capable of higheſt things would condeſcend to ſo little ones. We Read of a King, who when a Philoſopher asked of him a Groat, ſaid, It was too little for a King to give; when he preſently asked a Talent, ſaid, It was too much for a Philoſopher to receive. Your Majeſtie hath more magnificently uſed the ſame Method, in Your ſmaller favours, regarding what was fit for me to receive; in the greater, what became Your ſelf to give. With the like Clemency You have had compaſſion on ſome miſerable men (whom I therefore commended to Your Majeſtie becauſe none had pity on them) and done that which I dare yet ſcarce ſpeak, both for the Greatneſſe of the Thing, and for the Greatneſſe of the Thanks due, which

cannot

*cannot at present be expressed. But I may happly be accused of Folly, that I should think your favours may be more Elegantly declared or praised by any man's Oration, then by your own Deeds and Works; or that I should think you stand in need of my Commendation for having bountifully remitted to the City of the* Vangiones *the greater part of their Taxes, by which benefit I believe the City was preserved, and shall do well and justly if they honour your Majestie as a second* Foundress; *You have hereby for ever obliged the Commonwealth of the* Vangiones, *and me in particular, making us your everlasting Debtors. For I know not who of Right oweth most to you, they who received the benefit or he who procured it at your Hands. Is there any thing can be equalled to, or preferred before what I have already said? Yes surely, even this, In that you have promised to make me a better man, not, as all men are improved, by Laws and Manners, nor, as many, by Example, but, as yet none, by Your care and Diligence in Conversing with me: For you have promised to make Enquiry with me (that is to direct and shew me) how Wise and Prudent men ought to be qualified, and by what signes they may be discovered; which when I have learned, I make no question of being much better then now I am. And I so much value this your Promise, that I would not free your Majestie from your Obligation for half your Kingdom: And I shall not refuse, whensoever You Command, to declare the Reasons of this my Resolution. And to perform this, will, I suppose, be neither unpleasant to You, nor yet Difficult, seeing You tend forward to the height of that Wisdom, which even among the Learned you shall find more who pretend to teach then do indeed truly know & understand it. In this thing I may wel boast whereby I am more happy, not only then ordinary men, but the servants of* Solomon *himself, who are justly esteemed happy in having opportunity of hearing his Wisdom, but would have been much more happy if he had taken peculiar Care to have instructed them in his own Person; which we read not he ever did. But I perceive that contrary to my will and the nature of my Argument, the very Paper admonisheth me to make an end. I shall therefore now be silent, humbly adoring your Majestie, and giving You to understand, That not only this Book is Dedicated to Your Majestie, but my whole self with all my Soul and the Affections thereof, with what I am, or have, or can do, being for Your sake simply willing to do any thing whatsoever without exception, unless what is against Conscience, or beyond my Abilities to perform.*

MADAM,

The Lord Preserve and Keep you.

At *Holmia* the 15th of the Calends of *December*. Anno Dom. 1649.

THE

# THE SUPPLEMENT OF LIVIE'S HISTORY

By *J. FREINSHEMIUS.*

## THE FIRST BOOK.

### In place of LIVIE'S XI^th Book.

*Collected out of Authors whose Names are in the Margin annexed.*

THE Power of the Samnites was now by many Battels much broken, neither was any doubt made of happily finishing the War, in case the Enemy in this low and weak condition were prevented of time sufficient to recollect and strengthen his spirits. Therefore *Q. Fabius* the Consul, now in the heat of his Youth, and assuring himself the glory of putting an end to this War, having made a sudden levy, marcheth incontinently with his Army into *Campania*. For the Samnites being an hardy people, and by all their overthrows brought rather into Despair then Fear, while the former Consuls carried back the Legions to *Rome* attending on their Triumph, laid hold on that opportunity, and what with the Relicks of their former Armies, and some new Levies, had gathered together a considerable force, and because they knew the Plague was at *Rome*, and had heard that the present Consuls were men not much to be feared, either for any experience in Marshal affair, or for any great Authority they had, they grew confident, invaded, depopulated, and wasted the Territories of the Campanians whom they had alwayes hated, but now more vehemently, looking on them as the Authors of the dangers and calamities they now sustained. The Roman General had a heart no way misbecoming the dignity of his *Fabian*-Family, but the small account he made of a Nation so often beaten by his Country-men, and his earnestness of being in action, did at this time quite bereave him of all Counsel and Deliberation. He marcheth swiftly towards the enemy, and having discovered the Samnite scouts, who upon sight of the Roman troops retired back to their own main Body, and judging this to be a flight of the whole Host, without any consideration had either of the place or the condition of his men, he commands in all hast that may be the Battel to be begun, as if the hope of Victory consisted only in Expedition: But the Samnites having notice of their approach, were very circumspect, had seized on advantageous places, marshalled their Army, and incensed the minds of their Souldiery with their commanders Orations; and consequently the Event of the Battel was accordingly; for the Samnites being in good Rank, and well prepared, made no great business to rout the Romans, being very weary with their journey and furious march, out of all order, as if they came rather to plunder then to fight. Three thousand of *Fabius* his men were lost, a greater number wounded, and only by the benefit of the Night was the total destruction of his Army prevented. Then retiring to a more commodious place, as well as in such a Consternation may be expected, they fortified their Camp, where there was little better comfort or confidence then in the field, the Weary had no conveniencie of rest, the Hungry wanted food, and the Wounded had no application of Medicines, for issuing out with their weapons only, they had left all their carriage and baggage in the former Camp:

In the year from the foundation of the City 661. *Zonaras. Tom. 2*

*Livie* Book 7 ch. 31

*Zonaras*

*Eutropius* B. 2. *Suidas in Fab. Maximus.*

*Zonaras.*

So that the whole night was passed away with the Groans of the dying, and the Complaints of the living, every one with horror and despair waiting for the next day as their last. For being tired with labour, distempered with long watchings, weakned with wounds, terrified with an unlucky overthrow, and their number much diminished, they thought it impossible to resist the enemy, whom when they were sound and entire both in body and mind, and filled with hopes of Victory, they were not able to encounter upon even terms. Things being at this ill passe, the Remedy (as it often happens) proceeded from the enemies mistake, who daunted with the Rumour of the other Consul's approach, and fearing lest while he assaulted *Fabius* his Camp, the new forces would surround him, contented himself with what successe he had above his hope obtained, and diverted his course another way. The Enemy being removed, the Romans likewise betook themselves to a safer Refuge: when these tidings were brought to *Rome*, the City was exceedingly moved, not so much with the losse, as the disgrace of the business, and took it deeply to heart, That the longest war they were ever troubled with, when it was now just at a period, should by the rashness of one Consul be revived again, and that more formidably then before, by reason of the great hopes and confidence which the Samnites would assume in contemplation of this their success. Neither was this the sense of the Tribunes of people alone, whose proper art it was by their frequent Orations to fill the Citizens minds with envy and hatred, but even the Fathers, upon discuss of the business, pronounced very heavy and severe sentences, and a Decree was made by the Senate, *That* Fabius *the Consul should be commanded at a certain day appointed to come and plead his cause at* Rome. He was no sooner at *Rome*, but a swarm of accusers flew about him; and indeed the fault could not be excused, and what was only left of moment on his behalf, even the esteem of old *Fabius*, was made use of as an argument against him; for they thought him least of all men to be pardoned, who being extracted from so Illustrious a Parent, and brought up in the midst of his Fathers triumphs, had, by his Imprudence with so foul an overthrow, cast a stain not only on the Roman Glory, but on the renown of his own Family, and the many victories of his Ancestors obtained. Their minds being thus exasperated (that it was not likly the Desendant should have a fair hearing) were first by the consideration of his Fathers eminent Piety, and afterward with his Oration totally appeased. For he fearing least for this miscarriage his person would be removed from his Command, insisted not at all in excusing the Crime, but modestly recounting his own and his forefathers merits, desired there might not be in his old age so ignominious a Character imprinted 'on the *Fabian* Family: Neither did he require that for the sake of so many other *Fabii*, who 'almost from the foundation of the City, had by their virtue and counsel augmented the Roman 'Empire; nor that for the sake of those three hundred *Fabii*, who by their own deaths, and 'almost the total loss of the *Fabian* Name, had protected the Commonwealth, the error of one 'single person should be forgiven, if it were found remedilesse, and that a greater commodity 'would accrue from the punishment then the preservation of his son. But whatsoever was in 'this young man to be feared, is already come to pass, whereas unless we cut off our own hopes, 'I cannot say by an unjust, but by an untimely severity, Those many good deeds which his spirit 'and lively Genius, which likewise his virtue (by me, in your esteem, none of the worst Tu-'tors, being disciplin'd and directed) doth fairly promise, are yet justly to be expected. It hath 'turned to the improvement of many mens wisdom and circumspection, that they miscarried in 'the beginning of Affairs, who being admonished of their error, have often recompenced small 'losses with larger success; and I doubt whether it ought not rather to be imputed to the Envy 'of Fortune then to any man's fault, that the constant felicity both of the Commonwealth, 'and our Family, is by a small detriment thus interrupted; though indeed it is rather to be ac-'counted the good will then the envy of the Gods, by whose providence it is come to pass, that 'with this overthrow, not so fatal to the City as effectual to our instruction, we are put in mind 'of our humane condition, to abate that deadly pride which is usually the effect of excessive 'Prosperity. Whatsoever the matter is, Countrymen, I did certainly foresee some ill luck, when upon 'the Convention of the Senate, I did earnestly solicit you would not create my son Consul. For 'when I considered that my Father, Grandfather, Great-Grandfather, and other my Ancestors 'had frequently, and my self five times born that Office, I began to mistrust whether the Gods 'or Men would willingly. and with an equal mind, suffer the supreme Honour to continue in the 'same Family. And I wish my prayers had then prevailed, or that you would be pleased still 'to continue the benefit bestow'd, lest what against my will, you confer'd on my son as a To-'ken of Honour, prove an occasion of unheard of Infamy to us both; nay, lest your selves be 'suspected of Rashness, for posterity will judge, that either you conferred the command on 'Q. *Fabius* without cause, or that without cause ye deprive him of it, if by a contrary Judg-'ment ye shall destroy your former Sentence. But if you will please to decree things more fa-'vourably, both your own Authority, and the reputation of the *Fabian* Family shall yet stand 'sound and his youthful folly, as it was committed with some loss to the Commonwealth, shall 'be amended to its greater emolument and profit. But who dares promise these things? Truly, 'Countrymen, I will, even I will engage my self to the Commonwealth for my son, and happy 'may it prove to the Senate and People of *Rome*, and our own private Family; I will also go 'Legate to the Consul, and partake of whatsoever fortune he shall happen either to find or 'to make. My spirits are yet vigorous, neither, considering mine age, is the strength of my body 'much

*Livie's* Epitom. 11

*Dio* apud *Valesium.*

*Polyænus* Stratagem 8.15

*Valerius Maximus* 4.1.5

*Valerius Maxim.* 5.7.1

'much decayed, I can performe a ſouldiers duty, I can ſtand in Battel, and if to all things elſe I 'were impotent, yet with the Memory of my Former victories I can both terrifie the Enemy 'and Encourage our own Souldiers; and, which is of greateſt concernment, I can with Coun-'ſell and Caution temper and direct the impetuous Heat of the Conſull's youth which is the on-'ly Cauſe of the laſt Misfortune; If I knew not the Diſpoſition of my ſonne, and were not 'aſſured he would embrace any good direction, I would not certainly now neer the end of my 'life hitherto led without Blemiſh, after the bearing ſo many Conſulſhips both to my owne 'likeing and yours, after ſignal victories and illuſtrious Triumphs, I would not hazard all my Glo-'ry purchaſed with ſo many yeares travel and danger, at home and abroad, by truſting it to the 'Raſhneſs of one in conſiderate young man.

This Oration did both move the mindes of all who were preſent, and alſo ingenerate a Confidence of better ſucceſs for the future. Old *Fabius* was by an Unanimous conſent created Legate, all preparations were made with what diligence care and Expedition might be; and the Conſul took the field with no leſs favour and Hope of the People, then he had lately returned with their indignation and reproaches. Henceforward both in their march and in their Camps nothing was omitted either of good Diſcipline, or what the art and experience of an old General could ordaine, and thoſe Companions whom Q. *Fabius* the Father had by good turnes, or by the admiration of his virtue obliged to himſelfe, were very ready to perform whatſoever was enjoyned them; the Souldiers alſo greedy to blot out their former diſgrace, and confiding in the Counſel of a Leader, under whoſe conduct they remembred the *Samnites* to have been often beaten by themſelves: and their Fathers did earneſtly deſire opportunity of encountring the Enemy. On the other ſide the *Samnites* were no leſs elevated with contemplation of their late victory; ſo that one Party ſtriving to retaine their purchaſ'd Glory, the other to repair what was loſt, they joyned iſſue moſt vehemently with all the force and might on both ſides; And now behold the *Romans* in a worſe condition then before, *C. Pontius Herennius* the Enemies General having hemm'd in the Conſul with a ſelect band; when *Maximus* obſerving the danger his ſon was in, ſetting ſpurre to horſe flings himſelf into the thickeſt of the Enemies Troopes: He was followed immediately by a Party of Horſe, who beſide the motion of their own Courage were aſhamed to ſee one Old man aſſault with a reſolution to overcome ſo many ſpirightful young Lads in the flower of their ſtrength. This ſudden ſtorme govern'd the Fortune of the whole Battel; The *Roman* Legions animated with the boldneſs of their Cavalrie, at firſt well received the Enemy, and ſtraightway repell'd them: *Herennius* in vaine reſiſting, who, that day performing all the Offices both of a good General and a good Souldier, endeavouring to rally his files to retaine the Cowardly, and withſtand the aſſailants, could neither hinder the Flight of his men, nor afterward find opportunity of eſcape for himſelf. Four thouſand *Samnites* were taken with their General, The Battel and the flight ſwallowed up 24000. The Enemies Camp was likewiſe ſeized on with vaſt plunder in it, which was quickly much encreaſed by Forrage of their Grounds, and taking in of Towns both by ſtorme and upon Mercy; This great change of Affaires was wrought by the acceſs of one onely Perſon, inſomuch that the lately Victorious army is now routed by the Conquer'd party, and the Conſull carries away captive that General by whom he was formerly himſelfe ſhamefully beaten, which was a pleaſing ſpectacle to the *Romans*, and a great Ornament to his Triumph, which by the ready good-will of the People he made into the City the next yeare. While the *Fabii* thus order'd things in *Samnium*, the other Conſull *D. Brutus* (whoſe Province was among the *Faliſci*) had the like happy ſucceſs: For being aſſiſted by *Sp. Carvilius* his Legate (for 'twas thought fit to joyne a Legate alſo with him, a man as skilful in war, ſo one that had experience of the Enemy, againſt whom laſt year he did fourtunately mannage affaires) he did waſt no ſmall of the Reſidue of *Etruria*, and overcame in a ſet battel the Faliſci daring to encounter with him. Theſe newes being brought to *Rome*, when the time of Conveneing the Senate was come, and it ſeemed not fit for the Common-wealth to withdraw the Conſulls from their charges, an Interregnum was agreed upon; The Regent *L. Poſthumius Megellus*, in a Court of his own holding, was himſelf declared Conſull; a precedent till that day unhear'd of, unleſs in the Perſon of *Appius Claudius*, which nevertheleſſe no good man approved. But *Poſtumius* behaved himſelf in his Magiſtracy with as much arrogance as he aſſum'd it; Being vainly puff't up with the Nobility of his Extraction, and this his third Conſulſhip, he did utterly deſpiſe his Colleague for this year, *C. Junius Brutus* as one much below him, being but a Plebeian. When the Provinces came to be diſputed on, he would not ſuffer *Brutus* to be compared with him. nor lots to be caſt; out of all Order claiming the Adminiſtration of the *Samnitick* warre as his Due, inſomuch as according to his own ſaying, *he had in his two former Conſulſhips done great things againſt that Enemy.* The buſineſs being canvaſ'd with much contention in the Senate, when *C. Junius* perceived he was not able to maintaine his Right againſt the Grace and Power of his Colleague, did at length declare *he would deſiſt, leſt by the diſcord of the Conſulls the Publick good might be hindred.* The Peſtilence did ſtill continually rage both in City and Countrey, for which having tried all remedies now for three yeares, they could not either with their divine or humane applications allay it. Wherefore conſulting either with the books of the *Sybills* or the Oracle of *Delphos* (for this alſo is reported) they ſent Ten Ambaſſadours to fetch *Æſculapius* to *Rome* from *Epidaurus* where it is ſaid he was borne; For though the Anſwer were doubtful, neither could the Fathers foreſee the

*Dio* apud *Valeſium*

*Oroſius* 3. 22.

*Zonaras*

*Eutrophius* lib. 11.

*Zonaras*

Liv. 27. 6.

Liv. 3. 35. From the Foundation of the City 662.

*Dionyſ.* apud *Valeſium.*

Liv. 9. 44. and 10. 33.

*Suidas in Poſthum.*

*Val. Max.* 1. 8. 2.

*Ovid Metamor.* 15.

*Pauſanias. B.* 2.

event of things, they thought fit to obey the Gods who would themselves open a way for their fortunes to proceed by. A very strange thing then fell out, but of most undoubted truth, by reason of the sincerity of so many Authors affirming it, as likewise appeares by the structure of the *Val Maximus.* Chappel in *Tibur* then erected and consecrated; When the Roman Embassadours had deliver'd their Message, the Epidaurians entertain'd them kindly, but because it did not appear what was convenient to be granted them, they were conducted to the Temple with liberty to *Plutarch. Quæst. Rom.* 94. convey away what should seem convenient for their use. The Altars of this God among the *Gracians* was most commonly in open and high Places; the *Epidaurians* also five miles from their City had a Temple of greatest Fame in those dayes, and very rich by the gifts of men who believed their health to proceed from thence; Being brought hither, while they stand in admiration *Livie*, 45. 28. *Parian Auth. de viris illust. c.* 22. of the Largeness of the Statue which was cut by the excellent skill of *Thrasymedes* the *Parian*; Behold an huge Serpent creeping out of a secret place fills all their mindes with horrour and Devotion: For the Priests with great veneration cryed out, *The God himselfe is in this Snake, and being sometimes seen in this shape, it alwayes imports a good and healthful Omen.* Two dayes *Pet. Diacon. Hist Miscella. 2.* 11. was he seen in the Temple and then again withdrew himself; the third day through the midst of the throng of Spectatours and Adorers he went directly to the Port where the Roman vessel *Liv. Epit.* 11. attended them; and entring into the Ship, he rolls himself up according to his spiral manner, in the Cabbin of *Q. Ogulnius* President of the Embassy. There is an antient story that *the Pausan.* *same Æsculapius having assumed the forme of a Serpent was carried from Epidaurus to Sicyon by a Yoake of Mules, one Nicagora, the wife of Echetimus driving the waine.*

The *Romans* rejoyceing at the good Omen, as having the God himself present among them, hoised sail, and in a few dayes with a prosperous Voyage, crossed the Seas and arrived at *Antium*; where the Sea being troublesome, and their navigations hindred; the serpent which had *Aust. de viris Illust. Ovid. Val. Maximus.* kept it self still and quiet all the voyage, creeping out the Ship, glided to the Porch of the most eminent Church in that City, and there abode three whole dayes together: The *Romans* much fearing they should never draw him from thence, seeing he had not in so long time returned to his wonted sustenance; but at length having regained, him with much cheerfulness they conveyed him to *Rome*: The whole City ran out to the sight of so incredible a wonder; on the *Ovid.* banks of the river as he passed by many altars were erected, incense and sweet odours prepared, and sacrifices slain. They were now just come to that place, where *Tibur* a little dividing it self, suffereth an *Island* to appear in the midst of it; when the Serpent forsaking the Ship betakes *Suetan in Claudio. c.* 25. himself into that *Island* by swiming, and was not afterwards any more seen by man; hence was the place call'd the *Island* of *Æsculapius*. The Fathers all agreeing that the Gods had chosen that place, decreed a Temple to be there erected to *Æsculapius*. The sickness whether by *Tab. marmorea apud Mercurium de arte gymnastica. l.* 1. this remedy, or that it had otherwise run its full course did suddenly cease; the Temple was quickly inriched with many extraordinary offerings, and its renown wonderfully spread abroad by those who profest to have received help in their diseases from this God. *L. Posthumius* the Consul carried the same pride with him into his Province which he had exercis'd against his Col- *Diony. apud Vales.* league at home: For whereas *Q. Fabius Gurges*, the last years Consul, did by order from the Senate mannage affairs in *Samnium* as Proconsul: *Posthumius* arrogantly writes to him commanding him to depart the Province, in as much as himself was sufficient to wage that War. *Fabius* answering with the Dercee of the Fathers, and that it was not safe for him to desert a business imposed on him by the Senate; the Romans upon this news feared lest by the discord of the Commanders, the Common-wealth would be damnified: Wherefore 'twas thought fit to send Legates to the Consul, to desire in the Senates name that *Fabius* might be suffer'd to continue *Dion apud Valesium.* with the Army in *Samnium*. *Posthumius* having returned an absurd and broken Answer; added withall a speech of singular impudence: *That during his Consulship, he was not obliged to obey the Senate, but they him*; and that his actions might correspond with his words, forthwith dismissing the Legates, he marcheth with his Army to *Cominium*, which City *Fabius* did then besiege; resolving (if by no other means he could) by fight to remove his Rival: The Roman Armies had afforded the enemy a foul spectacle, if *Fabius* had resisted with the same he was assaulted; but he being better temper'd both by nature and his Fathers documents departed the Province, having profest *that he yeilded not to the Consuls fury, but to the good of the Common-wealth.* *Posthumius* in a few dayes reduced *Cominium*, whence leading his Army to *Venusia*, and taking that also, he carried about the War to other Towns; many whereof partly by force, partly by treaty were brought under his power. In this Expedition ten thousand of the enemies were slain, six thousand two hundred casting down their arms, yeilding themselves to the mercy of the conquerours. The Consuls atchievements were no way contemptible, but the grace of them were spoiled by his pride and Insolence: Wherefore when he did by Letters advise the Fathers that the City aud Territory of *Venusia* was very convenient for a Colony therein to be planted, the counsel indeed was accepted, but without mention made of the Author of the Victory and the counsels, other men had the conduct of the Colony of twenty thousand men; for so I find it in Authors of no small credit: A great number indeed and almost exceed- *Horatius satyr. 2.* 1. ing belief, but that it seems reasonable, that in the midst of Nations, yet unsubdued they should think of placeing a considerable force, as a double guard both against the *Apulians* and the *Lucanians*. Now the stubbornes of *Posthumius*, as besides other grudges and offences, it contracted him much envy; so it tended much to encrease *Fabius* his Favour and good opinion with

with all men, ſo, that when he came to the City, and had made relation of his performances, his triumph was readily aſſented unto. Being now Proconſul he did on the Calends of *Auguſt* make his triumph over thoſe *Samnites* who are called *Pentri*: Old *Fabius* followed his Chariot on horſ-back, whom the people beheld, and by their acclamations acknowledged not only an Aſſiſtant, but the author of the Victory. He accumulated all the glory of the enterprize upon the peoples Conſul, uſing himſelf as the name, ſo the modeſty of a Legate; beholding his ſons honour with as much complacency, as when, being yet a little one, he did in his own triumph carry him about in his Chariot. Part of the plunder was by the Conſul divided among the ſouldiers, the reſt laid up in the Treaſury; and *C. Pontius* the Samnite being firſt led in Triumph was afterward beheaded: A ſtout man he was and of worthy memory, who in thoſe dayes did a long time ſuſtain the Roman violence, gave them many conſiderable overthrows, but of all the moſt ſhameful one at the Caudine Spinnies: He was reported to ſay, *That had he been reſerved to thoſe dayes wherein the Romans ſhould have learn't to receive money, he would no longer have ſuffered them to bear ſway.* It ſeems then the fortune of the City was not better defended by their induſtry in Arms, then their innocence of manners: In the mean time *Poſthumius* fretting no leſs at the honour had been granted his Rival, then that the like had been denyed him, by weakneſs of mind oppoſing his own contumacy, to the authority of the Fathers, did both exaſperate the wound of his own ſpirit, and imitate thoſe imaginations againſt him, which ought by modeſty of ſpeech and carriage to have been aſſwaged. He abſtained not from complaints againſt his enemies, nor from reproaches againſt the Senate, and to ſpite the Fathers, he deſtributed the whole prey among the ſouldiers, and disbanded his army before a ſucceſſor could be ſent him. He triumphed likewiſe contrary to the pleaſure of the Senate, which, though ſome refer to his ſecond Conſulſhip, I believe more fitly agrees with this conjuncture, and it is ſo affirmed by authors of no mean credit in Hiſtories: By theſe doings he drew new hatred upon himſelf, and he was no ſooner out of office, but the two Tribunes of the people upon a ſet day accuſed him: Beſides what hath hitherto been mentioned, 'twas objected againſt him, that *before he march't armed out of the City, he employed two thouſand choice men out of his Legions to digg up a piece of ground, and detained them many days in this work, not remembring they were his ſouldiers, not his ſlaves, and were leavied to enlarge the Publicks Land, not to manure his.* Being earneſtly preſſ't with theſe Crimes, and in vain ſtriving to clear himſelf, he was by the ſuffrage of all the Tribes condemned; his ſuit was valued to ſtand him in two hundred thouſand pieces of money. Now *P. Cornelius Rufinus*, and *M. Curius Dentatus* entered their Conſulſhips. Each of theſe with his Legions did utterly waſt *Samnium*, depopulating their grounds, and ruining their Cities, and in many ſet battels having the upper hand compelled them at length to ſue for peace, for having in ſo many battels loſt the prime of their Youth; and in *Pontius* the chief counſel and conduct, they did by their Embaſſadours ſent firſt to the Conſul, and by their leave to Rome, obtain that now this fourth time a League might be renewed with them. 'Tis likely too the Romans even weary with beating, were willing to conclude a difficult and miſerable War, with the tranquility of a certain peace. I find the war with the *Samnites* to have begun when *M. Valerius* was the third time Conſul, *A. Cornelius Coſſus* being his Colleague, and being through four and fifty Conſulſhips, with various ſucceſs continued (only by ſome ſhortliv'd truces ſuſpended) it held both parties in play with much trouble and vexation; whether *Cornelius* triumphed for this War is uncertain; as for *Manius* there is no doubt, for his fortune being more eminent in that he ſubdued other enemies, he Triumphed twice in the ſame Conſulſhip: For the *Sabines* a Warlike Nation, now grown wealthy with a long peace, whether they were moved with their own proper compaſſion, and Entreaties of the *Samnites*; or whether willing timely to prevent thoſe miſeries, which (having ſwallowed up their neighbours) they foreſaw approaching to themſelves, having put their young men into Arms, invaded ſome places under the Roman Juriſdiction: Againſt theſe did *Curius* lead forth his Army; and that he might both divert the enemies, and give the *Sabines* ſome taſtes of the miſeries of War, he ſent part of his forces by privy journies into their territories with inſtruction, that ſpreading themſelves as much as could be, bringing terrour and vaſtation on every place: This ſtraight did ſoon diſſolve the formidable Army of the *Sabines*, ſeveral troupes running ſeveral wayes to the defence of their own ſubſtance; ſo that the Conſul had an eaſie Victory over the diſperſed forces. In this Expedition they proceeded as far as the Adriatique Sea, gaining the poſſeſſion of ſo much ground, and ſo many men, as the ſaying of *Curius* began to be famous, who (according to the genius of thoſe times being more ready in deeds then in words) when he could not expreſs every ſingular circumſtance, in groſs expreſ't himſelf, *That he had taken ſo much ground, it muſt needs have turned into wilderneſs, but that he had taken a proportionable number of men; and that he had taken ſo many men, they muſt of neceſſity have periſhed with hunger, but that he had taken a proportionable extent of ground.* When the *Sabines* ſued for peace, not only that was afforded them, but likewiſe the Freedome of the City, (though without the ſuffrage of the Tribes) this favour was in memory of their old Affinity under *Tatius*, the late War not being carried on with any malignant hatred. Of the next years Conſulſhip (underwent by *M. Valerius Corvinus*, and *Q. Caditius Noctua*) we have arrived to little underſtanding; onely I find ſome Colonies about this time deduced to *Caſtrum*, to *Adria* (from whence the Sea taketh its name) and to *Sena* in *Gallia*: Nevertheleſs conſidering thoſe Regions were not as yet to ſuch a purpoſe ſufficiently ſetled, I think fit rather to encline

*Columna capitolina.*

*Plutarch. in Q. Fabio Cunctator. c.43.*

*Livie Epitom 11.*

*Livie.10.37.*

*Dioniſius.*

*Liv. Epitom.11.*

From the foundation of Rome 663.

*Eutropius. B.2.*

*Oroſius.32.2.*

*Livie Epit. 11.*

*Livie 7.29.*

*Livie Epit.11.*

*Florus B.1.15.*

*Aurel. de viris Illuſtr.c.33.*

*Florus vellius. 1.14.*

From the foundation of the City 664.

*Florus.*

to

*Cicero* de Legibus 3.3. l.2 §.30.ff.de O.I. *Liv.*Epit.11.

to other Authors who refer the beginning of those Colonies to after-times: But in the City for restraining many villanies and outrages daily committed, there was a new Magistracy constituted under the name of *Capital Triumvirs*, who were appointed Judges and Moderators to take cognizance of offences, to imprison the guilty, and, when occasion was, to inflict punishments.

The words of the Law in that case made by *L. Papirius*, Tribune of the people, I find to be these, *Whosoever shall hereafter be Prætor to give Judgment among the Citizens, let him require of the people three Capital men, and those three men, whoever shall be chosen, let them exact sacraments, let them judge, let them be of equal authority, as by the Laws and decrees of the people they ought to Exact, to Judge, and to Be.* In which clause commission is likewise given of requiring Mulcts or Fines, for in those dayes that piece of mony which was disbursed by way of punishment, was called a Sacrament, because (the publick sacrifices being many, and the Treasury but low) it was destin'd to be expended in sacrifices.

Of the Taxes that year, there is no other memory left, but that two hundred seventy three thousand Citizens were rated. That this years Censors did likewise choose *Q. Fabius Maximus* Prince of the Senate, there is a likely conjecture, which is otherwise confirmed, for that honour did constantly remain in three of that Family successively; as for example, *Maximus* received it from *Ambustus* his father, and transmitted it to his son *Gurges*. While affairs were in a good state abroad, they were troubled with discord and sedition at home. The Comminalty being far in debt required a general discharge by publick authority for all debts and bonds passed aforetime, without any satisfaction; this was an old divice, and for two hundred years and upwards variously agitated, even as any turbulent Tribune should exasperate them, or the Extortion of Usurers move their indignation. Under the former Consuls, the fear either of the Pestilence or the Enemy did smother these contentions in some measure; but *Q. Marcius Tremulus* and *P. Cornelius Arvina* being Consuls, and the year ensuing *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *C. Nautius Rutilus* bearing office, they broke out most violently, for the appeasing whereof, more then for any other occasion, a Dictator was created, whom I take to be *Appius Claudius*, who was afterwards sirnamed *Cæcus*, in as much as among ancient monuments I find him to have been Dictator.

*Plin.*Nat.Hist. 7.41.

*Zonaras.*

*Florus* 1 From the Foundation of *Rome* 465,466

*Tab. Marmorea* apud *Onuphrium* in fastos. *Val. Maximus* 5.1.9.

Besides the harshness of unconscionable usury, the villanous lust of *C. Plotius* added fire to the peoples minds now already hotly disposed, causing them the sooner and more vehemently to break out into flame. *T. Veturius* (the son of that *Veturius* who being Consul was delivered up to the Samnites for an unworthy League made with them) by reason of his domestick calamities, overcharged with debt and not able to pay, was forced to yield himself slave to *Plotius*, patiently performing all servile duties. *Plotius* not content to have reduced to this base condition a young man of excellent Beauty, of a Consular Family, and likewise of great hopes, did moreover attempt to corrupt his Chastity, having before deprived him both of Estate and Liberty.

*Dion.* apud *Valesium.*

But *Veturius* disdaining and resolveing to suffer any thing rather then commit so horrid a wickedness, was with most grievous stripes tormented, whereupon he thrust himself forth into the publick, and being by the multitude conducted to the Consul's Tribunal, he complains of the cruelty and lust of his Creditor, shewing withal the bunches and fresh marks of the lashes. The Consuls therefore judging it a business not to be neglected, informed the Senate thereof, where upon sentence past, *Plotius* was condemned to prison, and by a Law in that case established, All men whosoever through the whole City had bound themselves slaves for debt, were set at liberty. I am not ignorant that instead of *T. Veturius* some Authors make mention of *Publius* the son of a Colonel, who was one of the contrivers of the Caudine peace. Forty years before this, for the like cause, was a Law made for the annulling such Indentures; nevertheless the Usurers growing so hard-hearted, and the former Law, by the patience of Debtors (refusing nothing in the midst of their penurie) being by degrees neglected, 'twas though fit they should be admonished by so fresh an example to provide more full and diligent caution for the future. But the people desiring to be freed not only from their Indentures, but from the Extortion of Use mony, were not satisfied with that Law though favourable to their revengeful minds. And (as in some more accute diseases, the pain is rather intended by a gentle application of medecines then remitted) not long after the matter was so Exulcerated, that when the Tribunes of the people with their greatest endeavours contended for a Law concerning Letters of Protection from Creditors, and that the Creditors did with equal force and animosity resist: The Commonalty after the example of their Ancestors, quitting the City, retired cross the water to Mount *Janiculus*, resolving never, without obtaining their request, to return to their own household-Gods. The Consuls finding little remedy against this combustion (*M. Valerius Potitus*, and *C. Ælius Paetus* are thought then to be Consuls) they were fain to flie to the last refuge in distressed times, and create a Dictator, who was *Q. Hortensius*; he applying what the Time and the Cause seemed to require, and understanding the main breach of peace to consist in this, That the people were sensible of the violation of their Decrees, and the Publilian Law, thought fit to yield to the times, (though many strove against this opinion) and by a new Law made in the Esculete, he diligently provided, That whatsoever the Commonalty should ordain, all the Romans should be obliged unto. With these Lenitives the people being reduc'd to concord, and returned to their own houses, the Dictator, either by the sudden force of his disease, or overwearied with care

*Dionysius.* *Liv.*8.28

*Zonaras.*

*Livie* Epit.11 From the Foundation of *Rome* 467

*Plin.*16.10 *Agellius* 15.27

care and pains, dyed during the time of his Magistracy, which had hapned to none before. Henceforward for a while there was less dissention at *Rome*; but the Dignity of the Empire began insensibly to decrease, in as much as the Commons not being guarded against the fraudulent proceedings of Ambitious men, and yet earnest to manifest their authority, accepted of any motions, and decreed many things tending to the disgrace of the Publick, and at last struck at the very Foundation. A singular Lesson to those who are invested with the guidance of affairs, seeing the vulgar, if their own private business proceed fairly, seldom meddle with things of an higher nature, not to provoke them by injuries and oppressions of great ones to aspire to a Dominion they know not how to manage. About this time I believe was the Law made concerning sufferages, which the Fathers, to the danger of their own Courts, were fain to authorize. For hitherto it had prevailed that no man executed any magistracy by the peoples votes, unless the Senate assented thereunto.

*Augustin* de Civ. Dei.

*Livie* 1. 17
*Cicero* pro Pla.

The Improvident vulgar did for some time contain themselves within their former bounds, and though they seldom contradicted the Fathers Sentences, yet they were alwayes feared as having power to do so. But then *Manius* the Tribune made a Law whereby the peoples Authority was much augmented, but the wholsome, and honourable severity of the Senate much weakned. *Q. Hortensius* the Dictator being dead, some report another was chosen to administer affairs, to wit, *Q. Fabius Maximus*; if so, this was his third Dictatorship. *L. Volumnius, C. F. C. N.* is said to have been Master of his horse; For there was war at this time with the Volsinians of the *Etruscan* Nation, which was very seasonable to clear *Rome* of the seditions, and those who retained the spirit of the former Discord. There was likewise occasion found of waging war with the Lucanians, who being troublesome neighbours, had by many injuries compelled the Thurines (a City of that part of *Italy* called *Great Greece*) to betake themselves to the Roman Protection: And *C. Ælius* the Tribune propounding a War against the Lucanians, the people decreed it. The armies therefore were drawn into the field, and in each place things performed, the memories whereof, with the Annals of those who wrote them, is perished. The Thurines bestowed on *C. Ælius* a statue and Crown of gold. Next follows the Consulship of *C. Claudius Canina*, and *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, whereof no memorable thing is delivered to posterity; only the Etruscan and Lucanian war seem to have been still in being. There is also on Record an Oration of *Curius* concerning the Lucanians, which is to be referred to one of his four Triumphs, for so often I find he Triumphed. But in what yeare, or with what Magistracy invested, he manag'd those affaires is uncertain.

*Cicero* in *Bruto*
*Piggius* in Annal. Rom. anno 466

*Livie* Epit. 11

*Plinie* 34. 6

468

*Aust.* de viris illust. cap. 33

But things of greater weight were now ingendring, which were attended with a very considerable slaughter, for a war was now arisen against the Senones a people of *Gallia*. They had often warre and often peace with the Romans; and now, after their last overthrow in the fields of *Sentinas*, where, *Decius* haveing Devoted himselfe to Death, a great Number of their men were slaine, had lien still for almost ten yeares; Onely they had suffer'd their young men to be hired by the Etruscans against the Romans. But now marching into *Etruria*, with a greater power then they had usually done, they Besieged *Aretium*. Now the Aretines had before this requested a league with the Romans, which beeing denied they did nevertheless obtaine a Truce, whose Terme was not yet expired. But herein did their chiefest Hope of succour consist, because the Romans alwayes thought it mainely concernd them to have the *Gaules* beaten. Wherefore sending Embassadours to *Rome* they craved assistance against the common enemy. In the mean time the yeare was gone about wherein *C. Servilius Tucca* and *Lucius Cæcilius Metellus* were Consuls; in stead of *Cæcilius* some annals mention *Cælius*; But the lesser Nobility of the Cælian family is thought not to have attained the Consular dignity till the yeare from the foundation of the City six hundred and sixtie.

*Polyb.* 2
*Livie* 10. 29
*Polibius.*
*Livie* 10. 37

Anno 469.

BOOK

# BOOK II.

470. *Polibyus* *Marianus Scotus*

*Cornelius Dolabella*, and *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* being Conſuls, when the Terrour of the Gallique warre began again to move it ſelfe, and news was brought that many of the Tuſcans had joyned forces with the Senones, the Fathers thought the Danger of the Aretines a thing not to be neglected by them: And becauſe they could neither recall *Dolabella* from the Volſinians, nor *Domitius* out of Lucania without great hindrance to their affaires, *The* Fathers *ordain* L. Cœcilius Metellus *the laſt yeares Conſull, and now Prætor, with all haſte to Leavy an army, and raiſe the ſiege of* Aretium; Nevertheleſs leſt the warre ſhould ſeem to be raſhly undertaken, they thought fit to ſend Embaſſadours before, to Declare that Aretium *was under the Roman Protection, and that the Gaules being in League with them would do more juſtly, if they would not lead their Army againſt their Friends and Companions.* The meſſage being proclaim'd among the Senones, *Britomaris* a fierce young man of the Royall Blood, whoſe Father had been ſlain by the Romans amongſt the Etrurian auxiliaries, burning with deſire of Revenge, cauſed not only the men, but the Enſignes of their ſacred Office to be hewne and torne in Pieces. The Rumour of ſo horrid a fact being related in *Rome* and in the Camp of *Dolabella*, their mindes were vehemently incenſed, and warre proclaim'd againſt the Senones; and *Dolabella* forthwith leaving the Etrurians, marcheth with his Army through the Sabines, and Picenians territorys with very long journeys into the Countrey of the Senones, who terrified with this ſudden Invaſion, now in the abſence of their main ſtrength, taking the field with a ſmall and inconſiderable body were eaſily routed and overcome. The Conſull giving the Enemy no Breath, Burnes up his Townes, demoliſheth his Buildings, waſteth the whole land, and having ſlain the youth and carried away the weaker multitude of Women and Children, left very little ſigne that ever that Countrey had been inhabited by Mankind. *Britomaris* himſelfe being taken and puniſhed with various and exquiſite Torments was reſerved for the Triumph: At the ſame time things ſucceeded not ſo proſperouſly at *Aretium*; For *L. Cœcilius Metellus* had ill fortune in his fight before the Town with the Senones and Etrurians, ſeven Colonells with many other men of Note, together with the *Prætor* himſelf were ſlain, and of their Legions and Auxilliaries about Thirteen Thouſand were wanting.

*Appianus* apud *Fulvium Urſinum.*

*Livie Epit.* 12. *Appian*

*Dionis* apud *Fulvinum Urſinum.* *Appian.*

Miſt. *Miſcell.* 2.13. *Polybius.* *Aug. de Civ. Dei.* 3.17. *Oroſius* 3. 22.

But the Joy for this victory prevailed not ſo much with the Gaules, as ſorrow and Conſternation for the Lamentable Deſolation of their Country; Wherefore gathering together all their Country men then in Armes in Etruria, full of Grief and Anger, void of counſell and hope; having no habitation whereto to be received at home, (I know not what Fate drawing them to their deſtruction) in a heat of Reſolution they drive toward *Rome*, thus Computing, *That there is no other way to recompence the deſolation of their own Countrey, but by forcing the Romans to ſee the like Ruine of their City; That their Spirits and Forces were now no whit inferiour to, nor the cauſe of their March from Aretium of leſs importance, then that of their Anceſtours who marched from Cluſium of the ſame Etruria and took Rome*: With the like ſpeeches incenſing themſelves they Ruſh on, by nature impatient of Delay, and now haſty in their Counſels, that they might overwhelme their Enemies unawares; But travelling through an Enemies Countrey, they met with many obſtacles, ſo that the Romans had Leiſure to provide againſt this Fury. At length wandring through unknown and unfriendly places, guided by no certaine Line, they light upon *Domitius* the Conſull, and immediately joyne Battell with him; But their unhappy raſhneſs confounded both their Reaſon and Diſcipline: many being ſlaine in Battel, the Reſidue growing mad with Rage and deſpaire ſheathed in their own Bowells, thoſe weapons they had in vain drawn againſt the Enemy. Inſomuch as ſo ſudden and vehement a Judgement overtook a late moſt flouriſhing People for their villany in murthering Embaſſadours, that in the ſpace of few months they were totally cut off, and ceaſed any more to be numbred among Nations, whoſe laws they had violated and Tranſgreſſed: For even the ſmall Remnant of the Senones who had betaken themſelves to their Neighbours, and Kinſmen the *Boii*, were the next year by *Dolabella* the Conſull with an univerſal ſlaughter clean ſwept away. For whereas the Boians and Etrurians were involv'd in theſe late diſaſters, and poſſeſſed with fear of the ſame Calamities, they were at the Lake called *Vadimonis* in a ſet Battell overcome, many of the Etrurians ſlain, few of the Boians eſcaped, the very name of the Senones ſo utterly extinct, that

*Appian.*

*Florus.* 1. 13. *Polybius.*

that there is not thought to be left alive one Man of that Nation which had set *Rome* on fire. About this time I think it more probable that the Colony was planted in *Sena*, the Romans having now an entire possession of their Countrey, and quite taken away their Name out of that part of *Italy*. Nevertheless the Etrurians and the Boians next year recruiting their army with young men now grown up, ventred once more to try the Fortune of a Battell. Then it was I believe by *Q. Æmilius Papus* that they were beaten, for his and *C. Fabricius* his first Consulship hapned that year, and 'tis certain the Province of *Etruria* fell to *Papus* by Lot. But in most Annalls yet extant, the Memory of these Transactions is swallowed up by the Intervening of greater matters. For whereas the Romans had by so many continuall fights and victories very mightily encreased their Virtue and Power, all the free Cities and Nations in *Italy* being brought into feare, conspired in a great and most dangerous warre; joyning together all their Counsells and forces as against a Common Enemy, and Plunderer. Neither thought they fit any longer to deferre their Designe, while now the Remnant of the Boians and Etrurians sufficed to distract the Roman Powers. And first of all the Samnites, again breaking their League and openly joyning force with the Lucanians and Brutians, commenced the Warre. But these were overcome by *C. Fabricius* in many pitch'd fields; especially in one most remarkable when they joyn'd battell neer the City of the Thurines, which *Statius Statilius* had again streightly besieged; where the Enemy was with a very great slaughter beaten, and their Camp likewise forced and taken. It is reported that while the camp was strenuously defended, A young man of large proportion of Body was seen to bring Ladders to the works, whereby the Romans being animated obtained a complete victory. Twenty Thousand are said to be slain in the fight and in the Camp, Five thousand together with the General taken Prisoners, and twenty Colours. The next day the Consull resolving to reward those whose valour had been eminent, and promising a CORONA VALLARIS *to him who first entred the Enemies Camp*. After diligent Enquiry made after the man, the souldier was not to be found (if so be he were a souldier) who would claime this Honour; 'Twas therefore believed and voiced abroad *that Mars was the Author of this feat, and the Cause of Victory*; And by the Consull's order supplication was made unto him, which the souldiers with Laurells on their heads performed with great Joy and Gladness. The Tarentines had not as yet assisted the Accomplices with any open aid; for though they were the Principal Authors of the Confederacy, yet they thought it wiser to let the Roman forces be provoked and the Fortune of warre tried with other men's danger then their own. But this Dissimulation served not their purpose, for a meer accident provoking the Rarshness of the Giddy rabble betrayed all their Counsels. Even at this Time, that part of the Italian shore, after the Manner of the Græcians (by whom *Tarentus* and most of the other Cities were builded) did excessively delight themselves with sights, and stage playes: The Tarentines above others were most Luxurious in this kind, insomuch as it is said they had more Feasts and Solemn Playes then Dayes in the Yeare. It hapned they were then set at their sports in the greater Theatre by the Haven side, when *L. Valerius* (some say *Cornelius*) one of the Admiralls of the seas was descryed entring the Haven with ten Roman Vessels; A Fatall Errour to both Parties; For the Romans ignorant of all things betook themselves thither as to a friendly and amicable shore; the Tarentines on the other side Conscious of their own Privy practises interpreted this Navy to be sent with an hostile Intention. There was then present one *Philocharis* whom for his loose Conversation the Citizens call'd *Thais*; He mentioning the articles of some former Leagues, said it was not lawful for the Romans to saile past the Promontory of *Lacinium*, *that therefore they should go out and meet the foole-hardy Barbarians, and suppress their Pride with a Mischiefe*. The giddy Rout besotted with continual drinkings manifest their assent by Acclamation, so that one scandalous persons opinion in a matter of so great importance was generally received, and without further Consideration they take up armes, and assault the Ships: The Romans as not dreaming of any such Encounter, being utterly unprepar'd to fight, betook themselves to flight. The Tarentines swiftly pursuing, Five ships onely made their Escape; as many being hemm'd about were brought into the haven, whereof Foure with the *Admirall* were drown'd and one taken; The Men, as many as were of age and strength fit for Warre, were slaine, the rest made slaves. Presently with the same vanity they wage warre against the Thurines, accusing them, *That the Romans came into these parts by their meanes, who though they were Græcians, had yet in the time of their distress chosen a Barbarous Nation to be their Protector, rather then the Tarentines their Neighbors and Kinsmen*. The City is taken and plundred, the Chief men cast out and banish'd, and the Roman Garrison compounding for their own safety are dismissed. The Romans hearing the Newes, were according to the Greatness of the Injury most exceedingly incens'd, yet thought it not convenient at that season to undertake a new warre: An Embassy was decreed to complain of the Outrage, and instruction was given the Legates to Require, *That the Captives should be set at Liberty, the Thurines goods or the just value of them should be restor'd, the Exiles call'd back, and the Authors of these Misdemeanours deliver'd into the hands of the Romans*. The Tarentines according to the Greeke Custome were wont to assemble their People together in the Theatre; whether the Embassadours being with much Difficulty admitted, they find a Rabble-rout totally debauch't with Drunkenness and Idleness, for this likewise was a great Holy-day with the Tarentines. There when *L. Posthumius* the Prince Legate begin to declare his

*Florus.* *Polybius* *Plinie.* *Polybius.* 471. *Dionys.* apud *Fulvium Ursinum.* *Livie Epit.* 12. *Plinie.* 347. *Val. Max.* 1. 8. *Ammianus Marcellius* 24. 15. *Val. Maximus.* *Ammian. Marcell.* *Val. Max.* *Strabo.* 6. *Florus* 1. *Appian* apud *Fulvium Ursinum.* *Zonaras.* *Appian.* *Florus* *Dion.* apud *Fulvium.* *Appian.* *Orosius* 4. 1. *Zonarus* *Appian.* *Dio.* *Livie.* *Epit.* 12. *Appian.* *Dio.* apud *Ful. Ursinum.*

message, he was entertained with such mocks and scoffs of the wanton multitude, that he carried home greater causes of hatred then he came to complain of. For they had him in such contempt, that not regarding any thing else he spoke; when, as being a Roman, he chanced to pronounce any word not so exactly according to the Greek manner, the whole company would burst out into laughter, crying out upon him and reviling him as a Barbarian, they jear'd and flouted at the Habit of the Embassadors, for they came in their gowns, and at last fairly thrust them out of doors, in vain claiming the priviledge of the Laws of Nations. Now, what is scarce fit to be spoken, but may prove of good example to curb the insolence of popular licence, it is reported, That as the Embassadors pressed through the croud of the Tarentines out of the Theatre, a certain Buffoon, one *Philenides* (for in this the Tarentines were beholding to their good manners, the Names of their Jesters were recorded in their Annals, though their Princes were forgotten) like an impudent Dog, piss'd upon the sacred Vestments of the Embassadors. This might seem the crime of one only mad furious fellow, but that forthwith the whole drunken society did own it, and the whole Theatre resounded with laughter, and clappings of the hands, as approving the fact. *Postumius* lifting up his voice, *We accept this, O men, O Jupiter* (saith he) *seeing ye bestow those things upon us we required not at your hands.* And when he turned himself to the multitude shewing his defiled garment, they renew'd their laughter, and began to dance, singing scurrilous and reproachful Verses against the people of *Rome*, wherefore *Postumius* again crying out, *Laugh on*, saith he, *laugh on, Tarentines, while ye may, for hereafter ye shall weep sufficiently*: Whereat the Tarentines being nettled, *Nay*, saith he, *to vex you the more, I tell you before hand, this garment shall cost you much blood the washing.* After this, receiving no other answer, they sailed home. Now at *Rome*, *L. Æmilius Barbula*, and *Q. Marcius Philippus*, had begun their Consulship, by whom the Senate being convened, and the Robe defiled, as it was, being shew'd by the Embassadors, who declared to the Fathers the whole series of affronts and indignities heaped on them by the Tarentines: Their spirits were in an high manner incensed, and not so much as any scruple made of vindicating their reproach by Arms. But because they had already to deal with so many mighty Nations, they could not resolve whether now immediately, or hereafter to send an Army against the Tarentines, and the debate continued many dayes even from morning till night: Some were of opinion, *That nothing should be enterprized before the other Cities, at least those near Tarentus were reduced*; others contended, *That the war should incontinently be commenced*; at last, numbring their votes, it was decreed, *That the business of the Tarentine war should be referr'd to the people.*

*Dionys. apud Fulvium Ursinum. Dionysius. Dionys.*

*Appian apud Fluvium Ursinum. Valerius Maximus 2, 2, 5*

*Dion.*

*Dion. Zonaras.*

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*Appian*

*Dion.*

The people with an unanimous consent agreed upon the War, and accordingly letters were sent to *Æmilius* the Consul, who was then gone to the Army into *Samnium*, *That omitting all things at present, he should pitch his Camp in the Tarentine Fields, and, unless he could procure satisfaction for the injuries received, that he should prosecute them with a just and holy War.* The Tarentines perceiving they had now no longer to deal with a few unarmed men, but a just and well order'd Army, rouzing themselves out of their accustom'd sottishness, began seriously to enter into counsel, what was to be done; to accept of the war was dangerous, to do what the Romans required in satisfaction was base, and to avoide both impossible: While their opinions were thus doubtful, one among the rest stood up and said, "*Why do we thus, O Tarentines*, wast the time in vain altercations? the times are come which require Deeds rather then "Words, which that they may be order'd to the publick benefit, there is need of free Speech "and sincere Counsel. Neither am I much moved that heretofore, by a strange disease incident "to Free Cities, ye have been delighted with flattering and sugar'd Orations, though of ill consequence, because then, as in time of Prosperity, ye regarded not much what mainly tended "to the good of the Commonwealth: But now the Roman Army is upon our Borders, and the "fear of the enemy before our Gates, and this is sufficient to instruct us to prefer what is Profitable before what is Pleasing. Neither would I have you so interpret me, as if I stood up to "hit you in the teeth with past misdemeanors; for unseasonably to object old crimes is the part "of an enemy, and one who wanton only insults over others infirmities: And an honest man that is "careful of the common safety, will hide and excuse the faults of his City, unless the remembrance of them be of concernment to the avoiding some publick Calamity. For seeing we "are but men, to pretend freedom from all error, would argue too much Pride: But often to "fall at the same stone, and not to grow wiser when the very event plainly chastiseth our rashness, is not consistent with right reason. We have at one man's warning all sunk and drown'd "the Roman ships, and presently with open war vexed our Kinsmen the Thurines, because they "had rather be protected by the Romans, then swallowed up by the Lucanians and Brutians; "moreover, we have suffered shameful indignities to be cast on the Roman Embassadors; so "that a war we might have avoided, a heavy dangerous war we are not provided for, hath in a "most unlucky time overtaken us. Finally, the Roman Camps are now pitch'd in our fields, and "and we as yet wavering in our counsel, deliberate still whether it be safer to accept a formidable war, or make a dishonourable peace. And I would to God at length, that laying aside "all self flattery, and forgetting self-interest, and aiming at the publick honour and profit, we "might freely and truly consult together, there might certainly a way be found of making an "honest league, or a safe war. But now I see you clearly divided into two parts, I may say factions, not taking counsel out of judgment or as the state of things require, but every man "by-

*Eclog. ex Diodori b. 22*

*Florus 1. 18*

'byaſſed by his own inclination. For how comes it to paſs that ſo few of the young men, and 'poorer ſort ſtand for peace? and why do none of the rich and ancient men deſire war? what *Zonaras* 'other reaſon can be given of ſo equal a diviſion in the City, but theſe that would fain in quiet reap 'the commodity of their Lands and Uſury, the other in time of war, hope for command and 'liberty of plunder? This is an old diſeaſe amongſt us, neither of a long time hath our Com- 'monwealth wanted ſuch men, who even with the danger and detriment of the City have ſtu- *Diodorus* 'died to increaſe their own private wealth. All which may happily be prevented (for I muſt 'ſpeak what I think at preſent moſt conducible) if ye will neither buy peace on ſuch baſe condi- 'tions as ſhall infringe the priviledges of a Free City, nor yet truſt ſingly to your own Forces in 'ſo difficult a war. Our Anceſtors have often committed the conduct and command of their *Appian* 'Armies to forreign Leaders: Either out of *Peloponneſus* or out of *Sicilie* we have ſent for *Strab. book 6* '*Archidamus* the ſon of *Ageſilaus*, afterward for *Cleonymus*, then preſently for *Agathocles*. 'Even in our own memory when we were infeſted by our Neighbours, our Fathers made uſe of '*Alexander* the Epirot: By which means they did not only themſelves ſucceed proſperouſly, *Liv. 8. 24* 'but left things in a flouriſhing condition to us. There is at this day the ſame friendſhip between 'us and the Epirots, neither are they now leſſe potent in an Army and a Commander: And the 'benefit is freſh in memory, which *Pyrrhus* received from us, in that with our whole Navy we 'aſſiſted him in his attempt againſt the Corcyræans. Therefore eſteem this not as my counſel, *Pauſan. book 1* 'but as the counſel of the wiſeſt men who have heretofore happily governed this Commonwealth, 'which ye ought therefore at leaſt to follow, becauſe in the former example you may diſcern 'both the reaſon and ground, as alſo the iſſue and ſucceſſe of it. And yet otherwiſe, there may 'be arguments moſt evident and ſufficient to the ſame purpoſe: There is no man amongſt us ſo 'ſingularly eminent, to whom all the reſt will willingly ſubmit themſelves, and what danger there 'is in emulation, when we have to do with a fierce and potent Enemy, ye are not ignorant. And 'whoſoever ye ſhall make General, either by his too great affection to peace, or by his am- 'bition of carrying on the war, may wrong your affairs; not to ſay, that 'tis not ſafe to 'commit a war into the hands of any ordinary perſon againſt the Romans, an hardy ſtout Na- 'tion and inur'd to Arms. But the truth is, which none can doubt of, that *Pyrrhus* is not by 'any man exceeded in virtue and experience of Maſhal affairs. But perhaps he will not come? *Plutarch. in* 'Certainly, being a man deſirous of action, and having no other war at preſent, he will not only *Pyrrho. 6. 25* 'come himſelf, but bring a formidable ſtrength, and that of no freſh-water ſouldiers. And if 'ye fear his encroachment upon your Liberties, ye may treat with him on ſuch conditions as 'the Commonwealth may be ſecur'd. By this means ye may either obtain an honourable peace, 'or beſtow a glorious one. Though indeed it be not the leaſt of my hopes, that the Romans 'will rather beforehand deal with us on equal terms then admit of *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*, having 'heretofore feared a King of much leſſe glory and renown out of the ſame *Epirus*. This counſel prevailed not only ſo far, as to make them ſee a probable way opened to the publick ſafety, but likewiſe the aſſembly being divided into two contrary opinions, neither part being able to prevail over the other, they did all unanimouſly concur in this, as ſeeming indifferent to both ſides.

'Tis reported, when the Rumour was ſpread about the Citie, that a decree was made for *Plutarch.* the invitation of *Pyrrhus* that one *Meton* a coveteous fellow, taking a dry wither'd chapplet upon *Pyrrho. 6. 26.* his head, after the manner of Drunkards, together with his minſtrel, entred the Theatre; the people according to their idle cuſtome, commanded him to ſing and his woman to pipe, after a while ſilence being made, *Meton* crys out, *Ye doe well, O Tarentines, in that ye grant Liberty to them that pleaſe, to ſing and Dance; for when* Pyrrhus *once comes into the Citie we ſhall ſcarce be allow'd to live after our owne minds.* The People being ſomewhat moved at this ſaying, and murmurings and whiſperings ariſeing; Thoſe who were authors of the injuries againſt the Romans (fearing leſt if peacefull Counſels prevailed they ſhould be delivered up to puniſhment) having chid the people, *That they would ſuffer themſelves to be unworthily derided by a raſh fellow*, forcibly thruſt *Meton* out of the Theatre; ſo that afterward without contradiction on the Decree was ratified. But the Roman Conſul, hearing nothing from the Tarentines *Zonaras* tending to peace, and underſtanding that Embaſſadours were ſent with preſents to *Pyrrhus*, *Oroſius 4. 2* ſets himſelf to the War, waſteth their grounds, taketh their Cities ſome by force, ſome by compoſition, and fills all places with loſſe, and terrour. The Tarentines ſend forth forces *Zonaras* to hinder the ſpoile, but, after a ſharpe conflict, the Romans having the better, the Græcians are droven backe into the Citie with great loſſe. Then *Æmilius* without reſiſtance waſteth and burneth the whole Country round about. The Tarentines terrified with theſe calamities, (like a people, the more inſolent in proſperity, the more dejected and fearefull in adverſity) ſubmit themſelves to the Goverment of *Agis*, who was a conſtant authour of maintaining the Roman friendſhip. Their deſire and hopes of peace were much augmented by the diſcourſe of ſome prime men who were diſmiſſed by the Conſull, and declared his Humanity, *With what Indulgence and candour he entertain'd thoſe who were taken in ſeverall places of the Countrie, or in the laſt fight.* But the confidence of *Cineas* who was now come with Auxiliaries from *Epirus* changed their minds, and erected their ſpirits. For *Pyrrhus* being a man of vaſt conceits, and in emulation of *Alexander* the Great, comprehending large Empires in his fancy, believed now a way to be laid open to accompliſh all his deſignes, as if the Fates themſelves had invited him.

*Aug. de Civ. Dei.*

'Tis said he was much confirm'd by the Oracle of *Delphos*, whose words were indeed of an ambiguous sense, which yet the Kings ambition did favourably interpret. For consulting about the War he was now to undertake, Answer was made, *Posse eum Romanos vincere*, that he should overcome the Romans, or the Romans him. But I think his chiefe encouragment was from the Tarentine Embassadour who affirm'd, *That out of their own Cities, with the help of the Lucanians, the Messapians, Samnites and other the confœderats, they could easily raise twenty thousand horse and three hundred and fifty thousand foot.* With this strength, when he should once have brought the Romans under subjection, he hoped with little paines to attaine the Lordship of all *Italy*; then a short cut into *Sicilie* would present him with an Island much at discord and void of a Ruler (the families of *Agathocles* being destroyed) and this he thought he might claime by right of Inheritance, as having begotten Children on *Lanassa* the daughter of *Agathocles*; these things happily succeeding he was resolv'd to make War with the *Carthaginians*. Tis reported that *Cineas*, a man of excellent wisdome, willing to have the King by his own confession acknowledg that his immoderate desires, whereby the enjoyment of his present felicity was disturbed, were in reason to be restrained, asked him, *What he would doe when he had overcome the Romans? Pyrrhus* then declaring how one victorie would beget another, *And what shall we doe*, saies he, *when all these things are accomplish'd? Why then*, saith *Pyrrhus*, *we will enjoy the fruits of Peace, the benefit of ease and Idlenesse.* To which *Cineas* replied, *And why, O King, can we not at present enjoy the same things, while they are in our hands? whereas the undertakeing of new Wars may utterly deprive us of them.* But a second embassy comeing from the Tarentines, *Pyrrhus* overcome by his own ambition, answer'd, *That 'twas the custome of the Epirots to wage War, not only for themselves, but for their companions and friends also.* But to dissemble his more secret counsells, he articles very resisely with the Embassadours, *That assoone as he had reliev'd them, he should be suffer'd to returne home; and not be detain'd in* Italy *any longer then necessity should require.* Then with all might and maine intending himselfe upon preparation for the War, he causeth a great number of long ships to be made ready, and likewise trims up others for transportation of men and horse. Now having Employed most of the Italian Embassadors (whom under a pretext of honour he detain'd as hostages and pledges) in levying and conducting of forces; he sent the rest beforehand to *Tarentum*, with three thousand armed men, and *Cineas* for Commander. By their arrival all hopes of peace were broken off, *Agis* his government abrogated, and by decree of the people the guidance of affairs committed to one of them who were now returned from *Epirus*. Not long after *Milo* being sent by the King, secures the Tower of *Tarentus* with a Garrison, and claims the custody and defence of the walls, with the very good will of the multitude, who were glad to see strangers undertake all the trouble and labour, while they safely enjoy'd their rest; they therefore chearfully decree Corn for the souldiers and Mony for *Pyrrhus*.

*Ennius apud Cicer. de Divin.* 2,20

*Justin.* 18 1

*Justinius. Diodori Eclog.* book 22 *Zonaras Pausan.* B. 1

*Zonaras. Plutarch*

*Zonaras*

In the mean time *L. Æmilius* understanding of the Arrivall of these beyond-sea souldiers, that he might have the safer winter quarters, resolv'd to draw his army into *Lucania*. His journey was by certain narrow passages shut in on the one hand with the Sea, on the other with ragged and impassible Rocks. The Tarentines having intelligence of his purpose, sail'd by that shore with their ships furnished with Cross-bows and Slings, assaulting the souldiers as they passed through strait and open paths with stones and darts. But *Æmilius*, not being able to help himself by virtue, secur'd his passage by cunning; the Captives which before he had placed in the Rear, he now draws to that side of the ranks which was obnoxious to danger, in pity of whom, the Tarentines fearing to hurt their own men, spared also the enemy. These things were done at *Tarentus* this year. At *Rome C. Fabricius Luscinus*, who in his Consulship had egregiously overcame the Samnites, and Lucanians entred the Capital in Triumph. *Q. Marcius* not many daies after obtained the same honour, being returned out of *Etruria* with prosperous success. The reason why, the Etrurian war not as yet being finished, he was called out of his Province at such a time of year (for *Fabricius* triumph'd the third of the Nones of March) is not recorded. I conceive he was recall'd by the Senate, who being troubled with expectation of *Pyrrhus*, did from every quarter gather together what strength they could. The *Proletarii*, the sixth and last rank of Citizens, who of old were priviledg'd from going to war, were now listed, and being not able by reason of their poverty to provide themselves with arms, they were furnished by the publick; for at this time war being on every side commenced, it was necessary the Commonwealth should be defended by many Armies. These mens office was, while the Legions were otherwise imployd, to guard the City with watch and ward, being disposed in several stations upon the walls, and in the Market-place. Neither by all these contrivances could the Imminent calamities have been averted, but that the fortune of a City ordained to Rule did in these most dangerous times produce men of so great Excellency, as I know not whether ever she could boast of better: Men, not so eminent for their Riches or Extraction, as truly ennobled by their Virtue and contempt of wealth. This Age had its *Curii, Fabricii, Coruncani*, men of no great Ancestors or Possessions, but of most ample fame, which they obtained by their upright example, exact skill in Marshal affairs, and an answerable innocence of Manners, who were every where helpful to their Country, which had now need of Champions, which were able not only to resist the sword of the enemy, but to scorn his gold, having to deal with a King who was potent in both. In the mean time *Pyrrhus*, not waiting for the spring, coming with

*Frontinus* 1,4

*Zonaras.*

*Capitolini fragmenta*

*Aug. de Civ. Dei.* 3.17

*Orosius* 4,1

*Ennius apud Agellium* 16,10

with two and twenty Thousand foot, three thousand horse, twenty Elephants, and a considerable band of slingers and archers, was in the midst of his Voyage so tossed with a Tempest, that he narrowly escaped being cast away. For the Navy being dispersed, and most of the ships distressed, when the Admirall was in danger, *Pyrrhus* leapt into the sea, and with very great paines at length hardly swam to shoare: But the strength and spirit of his minde did much helpe the weakness of his Body, together with the dilgence of the Messapians, on whose shoare he was cast, who with all offices of humanity did foment and cherish him: with their assistance likewise, some few ships, which had escaped the violence of the storme, being brought into the Haven, there were gathered together some few horse, with two Elephants, and under two thousand footmen, with this force he marched to *Tarentus*, being met by *Cineas* who came forth with his souldiers to conduct him thither, and being entertained with much joy he took his rest for some dayes; In which space having observed the Manners of the City to be so order'd, that unless they were amended, there was no possibility of protecting it, but that rather the Patrons themselves would likewise be undone by it, he took no open notice at the present. But a while after, his dispersed ships meeting together, when he had strength sufficient, he shut up their wrestling places, and Porches, where the idle youth use to spend whole dayes in walking and fooling; he forbad their Banquets and Drinking-matches, and reduced their solemn Games from Intemperancy to a just Mediocrity.

After this he made a very strict Leavy of their young men, commanding his Pressers *to choose out those of the larger size, he would make them valiant*; Mixing these among his own Companies lest being apart they should prove seditious, he traines them up with the same hardness and severity of Discipline, threatning pain of Death on those who should fly from their Colours. Those who were not in armes he compell'd to be most part of the day in the Market-place: by which strange usage the Citizens borne and bred up in shamefull Luxury were grievously perplexed, calling it a slavery to be thus served against their wills, choosing rather to perish with idleness and Lust. The offence was aggravated by the Insolence of some of the King's Guard who choosing Quarters at their own pleasure, possessed them against the will of their Landlords, using much license towards their Wives and Children. Wherefore many being wearied out, forsook the City, and settled themselves in the Country, till at length that likewise was forbidden, the Ports being shut, and guards appointed. Then indeed the Tarentines perceiv'd that in stead of a Companion they had got a Master, and what onely Comfort was left them, when they had any handsom occasion of meeting, they bewailed their Condition with indignation and Complaints, and that more freely, when besides their other Passion, they were heated with Wine; There wanted not those who informed *Pyrrhus* of this, and some of them being sent for, were accus'd for having spoken dishonourably of their *King* at their Banquets; But one Man's simple and ingenuous Confession freed them all from Punishment, for saies he, *We said these words indeed, and should have said worse but that we wanted Wine*; whereat *Pyrrhus* smiling, dismist them, being willing the fault should be imputed to the wine rather then to the men; But not confiding either in the Mindes or manners of the City, what men he observed to be of greatest Note for Authority or Counsell amongst them, he either found or made some Cause arise to send them to his Son *Ptolomy* (who being then fifteen yeares of Age he had left *Viceroy* in his Realme) others by secret Ambush he cut off, and some to make them suspected to the People, he did with much seeming humanity embrace, as if he held them among his dearest Friends. Of this number was *Aristarchus* a principal Man much beloved of the Citizens, and of great repute for his Eloquence. *Pyrrhus* perceiving him to be very Popular, upon a certain emergent Occasion commands him to saile into *Epirus*. *Aristarchus* (knowing it was present Death to disobey the King; and that to obey him was, though not of so sudden, yet of as certain ill Consequence) taking ship, after he had sailed a little way, steer'd his course to *Rome*, where being received into credit, he inform'd the Senate of many Affaires of great Concernment: While *Pyrrhus* thus busied himselfe at *Tarentus*, the Romans were no less careful in making Leavys for the warre they had raised Money, and sent *Fabricius* to their Confederate Cities, either by his Authority or Grace to restrain them from Innovation in State; Those who were most suspected were kept in awe by Garrisons conveniently placed amongst them. For the strength of so many Nations combining themselves against one Commonwealth, and their expectation of so Warlike a King, had very much moved the humours of the Italians who were either desirous of Change, or provoked with the perswasion of Injuries receiv'd; which made the Romans the more diligent to provide for their own safety by a timely suppressing all Occasions of sedition. About this Time an Accident befell the *Praenestine* Nobles very remarkable, for they being brought to *Rome* late in the Evening were for Custody's sake lock't up in the Publick Treasury, whereby at length they understood the Deceit of an Oracle, which they did make use of to stirre up their Countrymen to Rebellion, often averring, it was Decree'd by the Fates, *That the* Roman *Treasury should be possessed by the Praenestines*. The Fathers being already much perplexed, had further Intelligence that *Fabricius* was detained by their Confederate and Companions as a Pledge to secure the safe return of their hostages from *Rome*, and that Embassadours were sent to incite the Etrurians, the Umbres and the Gaules against the People of *Rome*; whereat they were infinitely troubled as at a fact in it selfe horrid, so of ill Example, lest in such a Dangerous time the *Roman* faith and honesty should be call'd in question, and held suspected by all

*Frontinus Strat. 4.1.* *Zonaras*

*Plutarch* *Zonaras*

*Plutarch* *Appian.* apud *Valesium.*

*Zonaras*

*Val. Maximus.* 5.1.3. Ext.

*Zonaras*

*Plutarch in Pyrrho. C.16.* *Zonaras*

*Justine* 18.1. *Zonaras*

*Dio.*

*Zonaras* *Zonaras*

*Dion.* apud *Fulvium Ursinum.*

all the Italians. In the utmoſt part of the *Italian* ſhoare over againſt *Sicilie* is ſeated
*Polybius.* the City of *Rhegium*, (by a Græcian name ſo called) very wealthy and flouriſhing in thoſe dayes: The Citizens thereof judging by the Arrival of *Pyrrhus* that a great and terrible warre would enſue, and frighted likewiſe with the *Carthaginian* Navy floating up and down in thoſe ſeas, not truſting in their own ſtrength, thought fit to ſend for a Guard from
*Livie Epit. 11.* *Rome.* The Romans ſent them Four thouſand ſouldiers (which being leavied out of the Co-
*Livie 28.28.3.* lonies of *Campania*, were call'd the *Campanian* Legion) under the Conduct of *Decius Jubellius* their Colonel; Theſe at their firſt coming were very faithfull, and very diligent in defending the City. At length ſeeing no warre approach neer them, and being by degrees debauch'd with idleneſs and imitation of the Greek Cuſtomes, they began to compare the Advantage they had now in their hands with the hard and laborious life they had hitherto led; and with much Covetouſneſs and Envy did frequently diſcourſe in all their meetings and quarters of the con-
*Polybius.* venient ſcituation of the City, and the happineſs of the Inhabitants. *Decius* was well pleaſed
*Dion.* with this, who being himſelf grown as Licentious, had long ago conceived an inward deſire of ſeizing upon the City. The deſign was favour'd by occaſion of the preſent warre, which ſo wholly took up the Romans, that they had no Leiſure to mind the affaires of *Rhegium*; Beſides on the oppoſite ſhore were the *Mamertines*, an Example of the like ſucceſsfull villany, and ready no doubt to defend the like Treachery in others, eſpecially being tyed with the Relation of the
*Polybius.* ſame Common Country; For they likewiſe were of *Campania*, and of late yeares going to
*Diodor. ex excerpta ex. lib. 21.* warre amongſt the Auxiliaries of *Agathocles*, and being entertained by the Meſſenians as Friends, having ſlain and caſt out the Citizens, poſſeſs'd the place themſelves: ſharing likewiſe among themſelves their houſes, wives and Eſtates. They called to mind alſo the Campaniams of old, who by the like wicked art got *Capua* from the Tuſcans. When they had now agreed upon the Buſineſs, there was nothing left to be conſulted on, but only the Manner, how ſafely to execute their Deſign, leſt in ſo populus a Citie, the leſſer number ſhould be ſurrounded and ſlain by the greater. *Decius* counterfeiteth Letters as wrote from the Rhegians to *Pyrrhus*, to betray the *Roman* Garriſon to him; theſe Letters as if they were intercepted, are read to the ſouldiers in private, *Decius* bitterly complaining of the Perfidiouſneſs of the Rhegians; and ſome ſouldiers being ſubborned to it, cry out, *'Twas time to provide for their own ſafety by the ſword, and turn that Deſtruction which was deſtin'd to them, upon the heads of the Authors*; and as the buſineſs was ſet, a Meſſenger comes in with newes, *That Pyrrhus his Navy was ſeen by the ſhore, and ſecret diſcourſes were had between him and the Rhegians.* The ſouldiers now beſide their former Covetouſneſs, were much incenſed with the Treachery of the Enemy, and fear of Danger; It is therefore by Common Conſent reſolv'd upon, *That the Townesmen ſhall be oppreſſed unawares and unprepar'd, that having ſlain the Men, all the Publick and Private wealth of the City ſhall be diſtributed to the Legion.* Behold now an unworthy and horrid fact; *Decius* having invited ſome of the Prime men to Supper, againſt the holy Rites of Hoſpitality, takes away their Lives; others were every where ſlain in their own houſes; the greater part of the Rhegians being thus murthered, the reſt were baniſhed their Country, even by thoſe whom of late they had entertain'd under the Name of Friends and Companions, for preſervation of themſelves and their Countrey. Execution being done, there is now a new face of Publick affaires; the houſes and Eſtates of the poore wretches like the Plunder of an Enemy, is divided amongſt the Thieves; and while the Blood is yet freſh and warme, the Matrons and Virgins are forced to Marry the murtherers of their husbands and Parents; and the Cruel Perfidious Legion arrogates to it ſelfe the Title and Rights of the City of *Rhegium*. But it hath pleaſed God well to provide for Mankinde, that ſuch rare examples of high Miſchiefe ſhould prove likewiſe as manifeſt Examples of Vengeance and Divine Juſtice; Leſt we ſhould onely by conſideration of the ſucceſs be animated to the like Villany, and not by the Iſſue and event be deterr'd from evil doing, ſo that no true Felicity attends the Wicked, neither can there be a greater Madneſs then for any man to perſwade himſelf that he can grow happy by doing Miſchief: For ſuppoſe there were no Puniſhment after Death, which all wiſe men acknowledg to be the greateſt, (for the folly of ordinary men is ſo great they will ſcarce believe what is before their eyes, much leſs be moved with the terrour of things unſeen and afarre off,) yet let all things as to outward ſhew ſucceed proſperouſly, nevertheleſs the Conſcience of offences committed doth by ſecret wounds continually lacerate and torment the minde: the Name of the Living, and the memory of the Dead is had in perpetual hatred and Deteſtation among men: and what is by ill meanes gotten, and with care and labour preſerved is moſt commonly to their great grief ſnach't away again, neither God nor men ſuffering Wickedneſs to go long unpuniſhed. It will not be amiſs briefly to relate the
*Livie 28. 28.* puniſhment of *Decius Jubellius*, and his mad Accomplices, as in theſe dayes it befell; for their Final deſtruction after great variety of troubleſome Chances, was deferred to the Tenth year, as ſhall in fit time be declared. Theſe Raſcalls did not long enjoy Comfort or Tranquility amongſt
*Diodorus* themſelves; The feare of the Romans and *Pyrrhus* they did indeed avoid, as by reaſon of the preſent Conjuncture of Affaires, ſo by holding ſtrict ſociety with the *Mamertines*, and reſolving to Offend neither Party: For 'twas thought ſafeſt in their firſt beginnings to abſtain from warre at the preſent, while their New City which had ſo violent and ſudden an Original, ſhould have time to ſtrengthen, compact and knit it ſelfe well together: they ſaw that without Danger they could not moleſt the King, and were in hopes the more readily to obtain Pardon from

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the Romans, if they bore not arms againſt them. The firſt cauſe of diſſenſion, as is uſual among Thieves, aroſe from an unequal diviſion of the Plunder. *Decius* in the ſedition was caſt out and betook himſelf to *Meſſana*, the Souldiers at *Rhegium* choſe *M. Cæſius* his Secretary for their Commander, and *Decius* carrying with him a great bank of mony, was honour'd with the ſame dignity by the *Mamertines*, though his fortune was neither proſperous nor of continuance. For it hapned, that being troubled with ſore eyes, he cauſed ſome Eminent Phyſician to be ſought out for him; the Divine Vengeance hereby overtaking the wicked man with moſt ſharp and bitter puniſhments: A Phyſician was therefore brought unto him, who prov'd to be by birth a *Rhegian*, but becauſe he had lived ſo long at *Meſſana*, his original was not only unknown to *Decius*, (who would never have truſted himſelf to the mercy of a *Rhegian*) but likewiſe to moſt of the inhabitants of the City. *Val. Maximus* 2, 7, 15 *Diodorus*

He being mindfull of his Country and reſolving now to be revenged for its Calamites, perſwaded *Decius* that the remedie he brought, was indeed ſtrong in Operation, but of quick and moſt certaine efficacy: So applying the medicine which he had temper'd with the Juice of Cantharides, and giveing order it ſhould not be removed till he returned to the Patient, without delay he taketh ſhip, and flyeth from *Meſſana*. *Decius* being along time ſufficiently tormented with incredible paines, ſeeing his Phyſician came not at him commanded the Medicament to be removed, which being waſhed off, he perceived himſelf to be ſtarke blind. So that being now a blind Exul, infamous and diſpiſed, he is reſerved to judgement, as if he were bound in Chaines; by a wonderfull Method of Divine Vengeance, in that he received this Plague from one to whom he had truſted his health, even as he himſelfe had by Cruelty and treachery circumvented thoſe whom he ought to have protected. Tis fit ſuch Examples as theſe ſhould be recorded in Hiſtory and tranſmitted to poſterity, for the Benefit of mankind which is never ſufficiently convinced how farre theſe Cunning practiſes are different from wiſdome and right reaſon; ſo that neglecting the Rules of Virtue, Honeſty, and Fidelity, they doe for love of falſe and onely ſeeming good things by foul and villanous luſts involve themſelves in true *Evills*. *Diodorus* *Appian*

# BOOK III.

NOW at *Rome*, part of their forces being kept at home for guard of the City, and for a reſerve againſt the uncertain chances of war, the Armies and Provinces were committed to the charge of the new Conſuls. *P. Laverius Lævinus* was deſigned againſt the Tarentines and *Pyrrhus*, and *Ts. Coruncianus* ſent to finiſh the *Etrurian* War. *Lævinus*, thinking it would much avail as to his own reputation, ſo to the Terror of the enemies to provoke them firſt; and that it was profitable to the Commonwealth, to avert the fear and inconveniences of War, as far as might be, from the Roman Territories; leading his Army into *Lucania*, did there fortifie a Caſtle in a convenient place, furniſhing it with a ſtrong Garriſon, both to retard the proceedings of *Pyrrhus*, and to keep the Lucanians in awe, whoſe treachery was feared, leſt they ſhould dare to revolt to the enemy. *Pyrrhus* having intelligence of the Roman Conſul's approach, though his forces were not yet aſſembled together, judging it both diſhonourable and hurtful now in the beginning of the War to manifeſt any token of Fear, with what ſtrength he had at preſent, did forthwith march out to meet him. But that he might find ſome colourable pretence to draw out the buſineſs and gain time, he ſent a Meſſenger with Letters of theſe Contents: Pyrrhus *the King wiſheth Health to* Lævinus, *I underſtand that thou art come forth* 473 *Zonaras*

*forth with thine army againſt the Tarentines, but leaving it for a while, come thou unto me with a ſmall Retinue, and I, taking cognizance of the quarrel, will compel even thoſe who are unwilling, to yield one to the other in what is equal and right.* To this *Lævinus* anſwer'd, *We neither accept of thee as an Arbitrator of our Controverſies, nor fear thee as an Enemy. But thou ſeemeſt to do very abſurdly in aſſuming to thy ſelf the Judgment of other mens Cauſes, who art thy ſelf guilty of a Crime, and haſt not as yet received due puniſhment for entring* Italy *without our conſent. Know then, that I come no leſſe againſt thee then the Tarentines, to try our Right and Title with a Juſt army, by the Judgment of* Mars *the Author and Founder of our Nation.* And without delay moving his Enſignes, he ſits down between the Cities of *Pandoſia* and *Heraclea*, in a Champian ground, being divided from the Enemies Camp by the River *Sirius*.

'Tis reported that *Pyrrhus*, walking downe to the River ſide to view the Roman campe, when he had well and diligently conſider'd it, ſaid to one of his freinds, *Megacles* by name, *Theſe Barbarians have martiall'd their Army after no barbarous manner, but wee ſhall ſoone try what metall they are of.* Then having placed ſtrong guards upon the bankes, to hinder their Paſſage through the Fordes, he reſolved to expect the comeing of his Companions; not onely for the Reaſon of War, hopeing the Romans in an enemies Country would quickly be in want of neceſſary accommodations, but as much regarding the ſpirit and confidence of *Lævinus*; whoſe admiration was by a new Teſtimonie encreaſ'd with him, in that he had freely without puniſhment diſmiſſed thoſe ſpies, which were ſent to view his Campe, telling them moreover, *That he had another Army bigger then this.* In the meane time the Campe being ſo neer, there were many Pickeereings and light skirmiſhes which tended nothing to the main chance. Almoſt fifty dayes being now ſpent in theſe light skirmiſhes, the Conſul being moved with the ſame reaſons to haſten the fight, as *Pyrrhus* was to defer it, aſſembling his Souldiers together, gave them to underſtand his Intentions, and encourag'd them againſt the fear of a new enemy, extenuating, as much as might be, the fame of *Pyrrhus*, and the Terror of the Elephants; at length preparing himſelf for all aſſayes, he reſolves either to fight the enemy by Conſent, or compel him to Battel. Therefore ſeeing *Pyrrhus* ſtill continue in his reſolution, he ſendeth out beſorehand all his horſe, as if to forrage the Country, himſelf with his Legions in Battel Array, expecting till the tumult and noiſe on the other ſide of the River ſhould give them warning. The horſe fetching a compaſs far from the Camps, croſs the River where no Guard was, and immediately advance to the enemies ſtations on that ſide the River: The *Epirots* terrified with their ſudden approach, betook themſelves to their Camp. *Pyrrhus* underſtanding the enemie was ſo near, marcheth in all haſt to the River with his whole body of horſe, conſiſting of three thouſand, hoping the Romans in their paſſage through a blind Ford, ſtriving with the ſtream and unevenneſs of the ground and breaking their orders, might there be vanquiſhed. But the Roman horſe interpoſing themſelves, *Pyrrhus* riding at the head of his Troops, conſpicuous in his ſhining armor, of ſingular ſtrength of Body and Reſolution of mind, he managed the fight every way correſpondent to his Fame and Reputation. He ſo exactly order'd the whole Battel with his Counſel and Directions, as if he were free from all other labour; yet, as occaſion ſerv'd, he would charge and fight in perſon, as if to him belong'd only the Office of a Private Souldier, and that the care of the General iſſue were another man's buſineſs. In the mean time one *Leonatus* a *Macedonian*, having obſerved a certain enemy, who neglecting all others, intended himſelf only againſt the King, as he flew up and down the field, directing his horſe to whatſoever quarter he ſpied him in, gave *Pyrrhus* notice of it, who anſwer'd, *No man can avoide the Fate of Mortals, but neither this* Italian, *nor any other, ſhall grapple with me without his reward, and due puniſhment.* He had ſcarce ſpoken the words, when *Oplacus* (ſo was the man named, a Captain of one of the *Frentan* Troops) wounded the Kings horſe with his Spear, *Leonatus* likewiſe wounding his, whereupon the Kings friends round beſetting him killed *Oplacus*, ſtoutly fighting for himſelf, and delivered the King. But this accident did much daunt the Kings party, as believing him to be ſlain: Wherefore to confirm his Souldiers, as likewiſe to decline dangers intended againſt him, he changed his Armour and weapons with *Megacles*, and leaving him in the Fight, went himſelf to order and lead up the Regiments. The Roman Legions were now come up, and the Battel a long time fiercely continued with ſo doubtful ſucceſs, that 'tis reported Fortune ſeven times changed, ſometimes the Romans ſometimes the Epirots turning their backs.

But the death of *Megacles* had like to have reduc'd *Pyrrhus* his affairs even to a moſt deſperate condition, who being in the Kings armour was aſſaulted by every valiant Enemy who affected the Glory of ſlaying the King: And at length an Horſeman, *Dexter* by name, having kill'd him, and taking off his Helmet and Gorget, with loud crys carried them to the Conſull, thereby ingenerateing a beliefe in both the Armies of the Kings Death. Hereupon the *Gracians* were full of Terrour and Conſternation, and no doubt had immediately quitted the Feild, but that *Pyrrhus* aſſoone as might be, uncovering his head rode up and down, with a loud voyce witneſſeing, *That he was a live, and preſent amongſt them*, hereby taking away as much Confidence from the Romans, as feare and Deſpaire from his owne ſouldiers. *Lævinus* perceiving the Time come, wherein to trie the utmoſt Remedie, gave the Signe to his Horſemen whom he had placed in Ambuſh, to fall upon the backe of the enemie. But *Pyrrhus* againſt this

Zonaras

Frontidus

Zonaras
Gotefridus.
Viterbienſus.
Otto.
Friſingenſis
Zonaras

Plutarch

Zonaras
Plutarch

Frontinus Stratagem. 4
Plutarch

Zonaras

this Troupe commanded his Elephants to be led, which he had likewiſe reſerved for the laſt Terrour to the enemie. This one Contrivance daſh't all the Romans hopes, and gave the Iſſue of the Battaile cleerly on *Pyrrhus* his ſide. For the men themſelves being aſtoniſhed at the vaſt bulk of their bodies, and the terrible ſhew of armed Warriers on their backs thought they had rather ſeen ſome ſtrange and formidable Monſter, then the ſhape of any Creature by Nature produced; and as for the horſe, they being frightned with the ſight, ſmell and noiſe of beaſts they had never before ſeen, did forthwith, confounding their ranks, flie every one what way was moſt open; and either ſhaking off their riders, or againſt their wills forcing them to flight, they ran upon their own battel, and filled all things with fear and tumult. The Rectors of the Elephants following the perſuit, many of thoſe that fled were wounded from thoſe who ſtood in the Towers upon the Elephants, and more were kill'd and trodden under foot by the beaſts themſelves. The Conſul making uſe of his beſt skill, did as yet keep his main battel together, till, by the command of *Pyrrhus*, the Theſſalian wing being ſent amongſt them, did rout and ſcatter them, not being able to reſiſt. And no queſtion but in the place they were hemm'd in, they had every man been ſlain or taken priſoners, but that, beſides the Cuſtom of *Pyrrhus*, who thought it not General like too ſeverely to preſs upon thoſe who fled, leſt by deſpair of ſafety they ſhould be provoked to make more ſharp reſiſtance, the evening likewiſe being far ſpent compelled them to relinquiſh the perſuit. Fortune likewiſe favour'd the remnant of the unfortunate Army, in that an Elephant being wounded turned back and with its braying confounded the reſt. This putting a *Remora* to the enemy, gave liberty to thoſe that fled to croſs the River into *Apulia*, where they ſheltered themſelves in a fenced City againſt the preſent danger. I find that in this fight there were fourteen thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy foot of the Romans and their friends ſlain, with two hundred and fourſcore horſmen; there were taken in all eighteen hundred and twelve, in which number were eight hundred and two horſmen; there was loſt likewiſe two and twenty Colours. Whereby I wonder the more why ſome Authors, who undertake exactly to relate this encounter, deny that any notice was taken how many were wanting on the Kings ſide; whereas *Dionyſius* writeth, that *Lævinus* loſt little leſſe then fifteen thouſand, and that on the Victor's ſide thirteen thouſand fell. But *Hieronimus Cardianus*, an impartial writer of thoſe times, affirms, That of the Roman army there fell but ſeven thouſand, and of the Kings army under four thouſand. But this is by all agreed on, That the Victory coſt *Pyrrhus* the very Flower both of his Captains and Souldiers, and that he was heard to ſay, *He was no leſs Conquer'd then Conqueror in that Battel.* And when he offer'd the ſpoiles and gifts to *Jupiter* of *Tarentus*, he confeſſed as much, inſcribing that ſentence in the Title, and when his friend complain'd, he repli'd, *Of a truth, if I obtain ſuch another Victory, I ſhall return into* Epirus *without e're a Souldier.* I have likewiſe an Author that the King himſelf received a grievous wound in this fight, but becauſe others report no ſuch thing, and that I often ſee the circumſtances of ſeveral battels confounded, I dare not in the generall ſilence of ſo many and thoſe more accurate Authors, give credit to one ſingle one.

*Frontinus* 2 4. *Pauſan.* 1 *Florus* 1. 18 *Plin.* 8. 6 *Zonaras* *Plutarch* *Frontinus* 2 6 *Eutropius* b. 2 *Gotefreidus. Viterbienſius* *Oroſius* 4. 1 *Plutarch* *Oroſius* *Juſtin.* 18. 1 7

That it was fought with great animoſity and valour, this one argument is ſufficient, That when *Pyrrhus* next day view'd the ſlain corps (which for the reputation of his Humanity and Clemency he cauſed to be buried) he finding that all the Romans died with honourable wounds, having their faces turn'd to the enemy, he cry'd out, *How eaſie were it for me to gain the Empire of the whole world, if I had but Roman ſouldiers!* Neither did he deſer with any compliment and large promiſes to court thoſe who were in his power, to receive pay under him, and not being able to perſwade them, he did, nevertheleſs treat them with great humanity and clemency, freeing them from chains and whatever other reproach uſually attends the fortune of priſoners. But the Romans thus batter'd by the late fight were terrified with another misfortune, though not of ſo great loſs, yet which cauſed more fear and Religious horror. For it was imputed to the manifeſt anger of the gods, that their men who were ſent forth for forrage and relief, were overtaken by a ſudden and moſt violent Tempeſt, wherein four and thirty were amidſt the ſtupendious noiſe of the Heavens, ſtruck dead by Thunderbolts, and two and twenty ſmitten and left half dead, their Cattel alſo by the ſame ſtorm were moſt of them ſlain or made of no uſe.

*Liv. Epit.* 13 *Eutropius* *Florus* 1. 18, 17 *Dio.* apud *Valeſium* *Oroſius*

*Pyrrhus* in the mean time having taken the empty and forſaken Camp of the Romans, made quick uſe of his victory, waſting all the Neighbour Countries, and turning many people from the Roman friendſhip. The Lucanians and Samnites then come in to him, whom lightly chiding, *That they had not aſſiſted him in the battel*, he nevertheleſs gave them part of the ſpoils; therein much rejoycing and exulting, *That by his own ſtrength, with no other aid but that of the Tarentines, he had ſlain ſo many of the Romans.* *Pyrrhus* being thus intent in reaping the fruit of his Victory, *Lævinus* on the other ſide curing his wounded, and recollecting his diſperſed men, had gathered together a force no way contemptible, and the Senate (though many imputed the loſſe only to the Conſul's default, and *Fabricius* ſaid, *It ſeem'd to him, that the Romans were not beaten by the Epirots, but* Lævinus *by* Pyrrhus) decreed a recruit and ſupply to be ſent him. When the Cryer proclaimed, *That they who would ſerve their Country in the place of them who were ſlain, ſhould give in their names*, they liſted themſelves ſo faſt, that preſently they compleated the number of two Legions.

The Conſul recruited with theſe forces, follow'd the ſteps of *Pyrrhus*, vexing his Army with what inconveniencies he could. And underſtanding the Kings Reſolution to ſeize upon *Capua*, leading his Army thither in haſt, he prevented him, and preparing all things for Defence, he deterr'd him from aſſaulting the City. *Pyrrhus* turning his Courſe to *Naples*, and there likewiſe being fruſtrated of his Expectation, forthwith by long journeys marcheth toward *Rome* in the Latine high way, and now having paſſed through *Anagnia*, and the Hernician Territories, taking in *Fregella* by the way, he was come to *Præneſte* within Twenty miles of the City; But the Magiſtrates there, aſſoon as they underſtood of the Overthrow, had by Order of the Senate armed their choice young men: and the Fortune of the Roman People had in this the time of their Neceſſity, provided them another very ſtrong help and ſuccour; For the other Conſull *Tib. Coruncianus* encountring the Etrurians with better ſucceſs, had tied the whole Nation to new Covenants, and being called back by the Senate to the Defence of his Countrey, having no other Enemy to diſtract him, came home with his Victorious Army. *Pyrrhus* having in vain attempted to draw the Etrurians again into Armes, and conſidering that, beſides a City ſecure with its own guards, he had two Conſulls with their Armies, one on the Front, the other on his Reare, returned back into *Campania*; where meeting *Lævinus* with greater forces then before his Overthrow; he ſaid, *He had to deale with a* Lernæan Hydra, *whoſe heads bring lately ſtruck off, ſpring up again in a greater Number*; yet confiding in his former Victory, he drew out his Army and martiall'd it as reſolving to fight, and that he might diſcover the Cheerfulneſs of his ſouldiers, and likewiſe terrifie the Enemy, he cauſ'd his men to ſhout and the Elephants to be provoked to bray. But the Romans returned a farre greater and more terrible ſhout, whereby conjecturing the Spirits of each, he judged it fit to abſtain from fight at the Preſent, and complaining of ill omen in the Entrailes of ſacrifices, he drew back his Army firſt into his Camp, and afterward with much plunder and a great Troop of Captives, to *Tarentus*.

*Appian.*
*Florus.* 1.18. 24.
*Plutarch.*
*Zonaras*
*Appian.*
*Eutropius*
*Zonaras.*
*Florus* 1.18. 19.
*Zonaras*

The Romans (who in their hardeſt times had remitted nothing of their Conſtancy, but as to the main Iſſue of the warre alwayes ſpake high, as conceiving ample hopes) thinking this a moſt fit time to give rewards and Encouragement to Virtue, decreed a Triumph to *L. Æmilius Barbula* for thoſe exploits performed in his Conſulſhip. He triumphed *A. D.* the fourth of the Ides of *July*, over the Tarentines, Samnites, and Salentines who were Auxiliaries of the Tarentines. But *P. Valerius* was order'd *to draw the Remnant of his Conquer'd Army into the Setine fields, there to fortifie his Camp, and cauſe them to winter in their huts*; About the ſame time the Senate diſputing whether it were fit to redeem the Captives, reſolved affirmatively; that which chiefly perſwaded them, was I believe the Horſemen's Caſe, for they had ſtoutly maintained the fight during the abſence of the Elephants, at whoſe approach the horſe without any fault of the Riders yielded them up to Death, and to Bonds; upon this Errand were ſent Embaſſadours of Principall Dignity, *P. Cornelius Dolabella* famous for his Deſolation of *Sena* in *Gallia*, *C. Fabricius Luſcinus*, and *Q. Æmilius Papus*, who two yeares ſince were Colleagues in the Conſulſhip: *Pyrrhus* by Nature was Endow'd with humanity, the inſeparable Companion of great Spirits, and that he did encreaſe by his Ambition, according to the Vulgar Errour, eſteeming all Virtues the ſervants to Domination, to which onely being intemperately given, he did direct all his Counſells for the attaining it; And though he were not inferiour to any Commander of that Age in Boldneſs of mind and the Arts of Warre, yet was he wont to try all meanes before he came to Blows; he would ſolicite the mind of his Enemy as he ſaw moſt opportune with Feare, or Deſire, or Pleaſure, or Mercy, or with equality and benefit of Conditions. Therefore underſtanding Embaſſadours were coming from *Rome*, and judging ſo many Conſular men were not ſent but upon ſome Grand Affaires, he was in good hopes they would treat of Compounding a Peace. Therefore that their acceſs might be the ſafer and the more honourable, he ſent *Lyco* (by nation a Moloſſian) even to the borders of the Tarentine Territories, to meet them with a Guard. Himſelfe on Horſeback with rich Capariſons met them without the Gates, and having magnificently brought them in, he entertain'd them with all Reſpect, liberality and plenty that might be.

*Tabula Capitolinæ*
*Frontinus* 4.1.
*Dionyſ.* apud *Fulvium*
*Cicero Bruto* c. 14.
*Polyænus Stratagemat.* 6. 6.
*Zonaras*
*Val. Max.* 5 1.
*Dion* apud *Fulvium Urſinum.*

They premiſing ſomewhat tending to Moderation of the mind, *as how great the Inconſtancy of Fortune is, how ſudden the Changes of warre, and that future Contingents cannot be foreſeen*, deliver their Meſſage, *That they came to receive their Captives, whether he would ſuffer them at a Certain price to be redeem'd*, or *to be exchanged for Tarentines and others. Pyrrhus* whoſe Cuſtom it was, not to tranſact any thing of moment without advice of his friends, convened them now together; and *Milo's* Opinion was, *That he ſhould detain the Captives, make uſe of his fortune*, and *not ceaſe the Warre till he had throughly ſubdued the Romans*; *Cineas* his Counſell was very different, for, *ſpeaking firſt of the Conſtancy of the Senate and People of Rome, which they had often ſhewn even in the hardeſt times to be invincible*; he added moreover, *As for other Enemies 'tis likely we may hate their manners or contemne their Armes*, but *with this Nation, O King, 'tis better making Friendſhip then Warre, and 'tis convenient not only to return the Captives, but freely to diſmiſs them without Ranſome; Neither is any delay to be made, but that you ſend back the Embaſſadours* with *Preſents*, to *conclude Peace upon equall Termes*: *For this I take to be the time, wherein with honour and Credit* you *may accompliſh a Buſineſs* (*in my judgement*) *very neceſſary. For now your affaires having ſucceeded proſperouſly,*

*Dion.*

*you*

*you ſhall both more eaſily by Treaty obtain what you deſire*, and *likewiſe ſeem for no other Cauſe but the innate Greatneſs and Goodneſs of your mind, to offer Peace unto thoſe whom you might by force have reduced into ſlavery. And farre be it from Thee, but that Thy Deſignes ſhould proſper as they have begun; Yet We are but Men, and if Fortune change her ſide, neither will it be ſo eaſie a matter to Obtaine Peace, neither can it with ſo much honour be treated on.* When the reſt agreed in the ſame Opinion, the King himſelfe likewiſe aſſenting, commanded the *Roman* Embaſſadours to be called, to whom he ſpake in this Manner; *Your Errand, Romans, ſeemeth to me very unworthy, for having no Conſideration of entring into Friendſhip with me, you require back the Priſoners of Warre, whom being reſtor'd, you are ready preſently to make uſe of againſt me. If therefore you will intend your Minds on better Counſell, beneficiall to both Parties, and make a League and Society with me, I will reſtore all your Citizens and Companions in Armes without price or Ranſom; otherwiſe if you continue hoſtility, I ſhall think it no wiſe part, to ſtrengthen your Hatred againſt me with the hands of ſo many Valiant men. Neither is Money ſo ſcarce with me as to need any from the Romans whom it would better become, if we were Friends, to be enriched by my bounty;* Withall he commanded gifts of good value to be given the Embaſſadours, *with promiſe he would beſtow more and of greater Price.* Theſe things were ſpoken and acted openly in the Preſence of all the Embaſſadours. But with *C. Fabricius* he had afterward a longer and more ſerious diſcourſe. Neither ſhall I think it unfit to relate what I find in good Authors; When therefore they had ſpeech together in ſecret without witneſs, among 'other things 'tis reported the King ſaid thus: My deſire is to have all the Romans my Friends, 'but eſpecially your ſelfe, whom I eſteem above all others, as moſt eminent in Civill and Military 'virtues, onely one Thing I am troubled to find wanting in you, that having but ſlender ſubſtance 'you are not able to maintaine that Port and Splendour which juſtly attends Great men as their 'Due; But I will not ſuffer you any longer to be ſenſible of this Injury, and diſpite of Fortune, 'I will freely beſtow ſo large a ſumme of Gold and Silver, as you ſhall eaſily exceed the Reve-'neues of the Richeſt. For I am perſwaded it belongs to my Place and Fortune, to relieve the 'hard Wants of Worthy men, who have endeavour'd more to obtaine Glory then Wealth: 'Truely I think it to be a faire and honourable Work, and that there cannot be, either a more 'illuſtrious monument of Kingly Magnificence, or a more precious and Acceptable Offering unto 'the Gods: ſo that I ſhall rather think you do me a Courteſie, then receive one at my hands, if 'you will ſuffer your ſelfe to be relieved by my Plenty. Neither truely would I urge this to you 'if on my ſide onely the Bounty ſhould ſeem Glorious, on your ſide the Acceptance diſhonou-'rable But now ſeeing I tempt you not to Treaſon or the commiſſion of any Fact misbecoming your Grave Manners; what Reaſon is there why you ſhould with a reſolute and obſtinate 'mind refuſe a ſmall Gift, with a free and Friendly intent offered? For I deſire nothing of 'you, but, what may, nay of duty ought to be done by the beſt of Men, and moſt tender of 'their Countrys Good, that you would perſwade the Senate to forſake their wilful ſtubborn-'neſs, and recall their mindes to Equity and milder Counſells, giving them to underſtand the 'Truth; that neither can the Warre be continued without your great Loſs and Danger, neither 'can I (having promiſed help to the Tarentines, and proved Victor in the firſt Battell) without 'manifeſt breach of faith, and dimunition of mine Honour relinquiſh it; Neither indeed do 'I delight in fighting with you whom I judge farre more worthy my Friendſhip then my Hatred, 'and had much rather return home into mine own Kingdom, where many buſineſſes in the inte-'rim ariſe, which require my preſence. And for this I will give you what aſſurance you ſhall de-'ſire, whereby you may be ſatisfied concerning my Intentions, and reſolve the Doubts of o-'thers; if any ſhall think it not ſafe to truſt to Kings, by reaſon of the fault of ſome, who, 'ſtanding to their Agreements and Covenants ſo long onely as it ſeemeth for their Profit, when 'they perceive any benefit to be gain'd by Change, have choſen rather to break their Faith then 'loſe an Advantage. And when the Peace ſhall be concluded, there is nothing will pleaſe me 'better, or be more commodious to us Both, then that you would bear me company into *Epirus*, 'where you ſhall have the Principal place among my Subjects, be my Lieutenant in Warre, and 'Partner of all my Fortunes. For I eſteem no Poſſeſſion more precious then that of a Valiant 'and Faithfull Friend, and certainly the ſplendour of a Kingly Fortune, and the Majeſty of Roy-'all affaires will well become your great Mind. Theſe things if we ſhall in Common conferre, 'mutually helping one the other, we ſhall without any difficulty attain to the greateſt Happineſs 'that man is capable of or can imagine.

*Dio. apud Fulv. Urſinum.*

*Appianus apud Uſſinum.*

*Zonarus*

*Plutarch in Pyrrho. C. 43.*

When the King had thus made an end of ſpeaking, after a little diſtance *Fabricius* anſwer'd, '*Concerning my Vertue*, if any could be obſerv'd either in my military or Civill employments, 'it is needleſſe for me to diſcourſe ſeeing you have already truſted the Relation of others concern-'ing it. Neither is it neceſſary to declare my poverty, that, being the maſter of a little ground 'and a ſmall Cottage, I maintaine my ſelf neither by uſury nor the ſweat of ſervants, but by 'the labour and excerciſe of my owne Body, ſeeing this alſo you have truly learn't by the diſ-'courſe of others. But if, either on your owne accord, or following the Opinion of others, 'you judge me, by reaſon of my poverty, to be in worſe condition then any other Roman, you 'are wonderfully deceived. For deſpiſing Riches, embracing Vertue, and doeing my duty, 'I was never ſenſible of any miſery; neither in private or publick buſineſſe did I ever repine at 'my Fortune. For what Reaſon have I to ſpeake ill of fortune, unleſſe I ſhould impute it as a

'crime to her, that I enjoy all those things which to greate and high spirits are most desireable,
'not only with the Rich, but many times before them? I am dignified with the greatest hon-
*Ammian. Marcellinus* 24 9 *Dionysius* 'ours our country affordeth, The heavieſt wars are committed to my Charge, I am entruſted
'with the care of our moſt holy Devotions, I am call'd into the Senate, my opinion is asked con-
'cerning the moſt weighty affairs, I am commended and chearfully imitated by many; neither
'am I of leſs eſteem then the moſt potent man in the City; I ſeem unto others an example and
'pattern of attaining Virtue and Glory; to all this beſtowing no coſt either of mine own or
'others. For in other places, where particular mens wealth is great, and the publick ſtock but
'ſmall, the Magiſtrates ſuſtain the dignity and ſplendor of their office by their own expence:
'In our City the cuſtome is much different, no private mans fortune being on any ſide bur-
*Zonaras Dionysius* 'thened. All this great and glorious pomp, wherewith our Citizens, who are choſen to the
'adminiſtration of grand affairs, are ſo magnificently ſet forth, is of publick allowance; which
'order maketh all men equal, ſo that the pooreſt man ſhall want nothing for the maintaining
'either the publick or his own grace, neither ſhall the richeſt in any thing abound. Wherefore
'ſeeing, though I am the pooreſt of all, yet I do in no good thing yield to the richeſt of all;
'why ſhould I complain of Fortune? ſhould I deſire to be equal with Kings, who may hoard
'up vaſt ſums and heaps of gold? But hitherto I have ſpoken in reference to my life in Pub-
'lick, even in private alſo my indigence is ſo far from being a burden or inconvenience to me,
'that contrariwiſe, as often as I compare my ſelf with the rich ones, my condition ſeemeth in-
'comparably more happy, and I reckon my ſelf among thoſe few who have attained to as
'much Felicity as this life admits of, in which regard I mightily rejoice and give thanks to
'my Poverty. For it ſeeming to me idle and fooliſh to purſue after things ſuperfluous, and that
'my little ground being rightly till'd and manured yieldeth all neceſſaries; I know not to what
'end I ſhould be ſolicitous of greater Riches. My Meat hunger makes ſweet to me, and thirſt
'my Drink; after labour my ſleep is eaſie and quiet; my garments, if they defend me from
'cold, are of proof ſufficient; and my houſhold ſtuff, according as it is apt and fit for thoſe
'uſes it was ordained to, ſo it very well pleaſeth me. So that herein alſo I ſhould be injurious
'to accuſe Fortune, that it hath not allowed me larger ſubſtance then nature deſires, which
'hath neither ingenerated in me a covetouſneſs of what is too much, nor a dexterity of ſcrap-
'ing it together. Wherefore with this my poverty I judg my ſelf more wealthy then the rich-
*Zonaras* 'eſt men, yea, then thy ſelf alſo; for I have ſo much that I deſire no more, whereas unleſſe
'you thought your ſelf poor notwithſtanding your poſſeſſion of *Epirus*, and all other your Te-
'ritories, why came you over into *Italy*? But Riches you may object, gives one a fair op-
'portunity of doing good to mankind, and that I in my poverty can be bountiful to no body.
'Truly this troubleth me no more then that in other things alſo I do not abound: That the
'gods have not endowed me with knowledg ſuperexcellent, and the Art of Prophecying, and ma-
'ny other the like things, whereby I might benefit thoſe who in theſe kinds want help. But if I
'freely communicate to my friends and fellow-Citizens thoſe things which are in my power, and
'ſuffer every one in common to participate of what may any way pleaſure them, I *ſhall think*
'my ſelf free from that crime of being uſeleſs or unprofitable to mankind. Neither would I
'have you eſteem thoſe things ſmall and contemptible, becauſe others ſeem greater in your
'eyes, and therefore you are ready to buy men with large bribes. But, if for ſupplying
'the neceſſities of the poor, Riches were altogether to be deſired, and that in this reſpect the
'poſſeſſion of moneys were to be reckon'd as a part of Felicity, as you Kings ſeem to be per-
'ſwaded; which, think you, were the better way of purchaſing wealth, that I ſhould now with
'diſgrace receive it at your hands, or that I ſhould, when it was in my power, have long agoe
Above in the year 471 *Dionyſ.* 'gather'd it upon moſt honeſt accounts? For my proſperous management of Publick affairs,
'hath given me fair opportunities of growing Rich; as often at other times, ſo eſpecially when
'four years ſince, being Conſul, and ſent with an army againſt the Samnites, Lucanians and Bru-
'tians I overcame thoſe large and fertil Territories waſting and ſpoiling, when being conqueror
'in many Battels, I took by force and demoliſh'd wealthy Cities, whereupon the Souldiers being
'largely rewarded, and all debts paid which the Commonwealth had contracted with private men
'for carrying on the War, there was yet ſo much remaining that I carried into the Publick
'Treaſury four hundred Talents. Now after I have ſcorn'd to acquire juſt and honeſt Riches
'by thoſe ſpoils which were in my hands, and by the example of *Valerius Publicola* (and others
'who have advanced the Roman State) have preferred Glory before mony, ſhall I receive gifts
'of thee, and embrace a ſhameful and dangerous opportunity of growing Rich, having neg-
'lected a fair and honourable means? And truly, that wealth I could freely, with pleaſure,
'and good conſcience have expended in juſt and honeſt uſes, which what I receive of you I
'cannot do: For that money is rather to be accounted lent then beſtow'd which proceeds from
'another's bounty, and however it be given and received under the ſpecious pretence of hoſpitality,
'friendſhip or good will, 'tis burthenſome to an Ingenuous and high Spirit till it be reſtored. And
'what do you think will be the iſſue of this buſineſs when it is known (as conceal'd it cannot be)
'if the Cenſours, who with ample authority exerciſe the ſuperinſpection of Manners amongſt
'us, ſhall (according to that power wherewith they are inveſted to enquire into the Lives of the
'Citizens, and puniſh thoſe who deviate from the Inſtitutions of our Fathers) publickly ſummon
'me to give an account of the reaſons, why I received any *Gifts from thee*?

Many

Many report that *Pyrrhus*, reſolveing at any rate to winne a man of ſuch Excellent vertue, did yet more earneſtly tempt his Conſtancy, and after other magnificent promiſes, makeing a proffer of half his Kingdom could not therewith move him, but that ſtill he perſiſted to deny the Accompliſhment of the Kings deſires, *For*, ſaies he, *if I am an evill man, why doe you court me? If good, why would you corrupt me?* adding moreover, *That this buſineſſe would prove neither pleaſeing nor profitable to* Pyrrhus *if it ſhould ſucceed, for if he ſhould make uſe of his liberty, 'twould be hatefull both for the King and his Friends, as for his Juſtice and Abſtinence, if the Epirots once had experience of them, they would forſake the King and apply themſelves wholy to him.* These things, and what hereafter I ſhall add, being by various Authors related, I thought neither inconvenient nor unprofitable to collect and declare, that the mind and ſenſe of thoſe men may be known, who ſupported the Roman State in moſt difficult times, and improv'd it to that incomparable height of Glory and Empire it attain'd to: and that by a clear example it may be apprehended, what Virtues and Manners ought to be practis'd by thoſe men, who would become objects of Admiration, and tranſmit to their poſterity a more flouriſhing Commonwealth then they received from their Anceſtours. These things being ſpoken and heard on both ſides, the King at preſent contented himſelf, but on the morrow, cauſing *Fabricius* to be ſent for, he prepared an Elephant before hand to frighten him, who ſtanding at their backs behind the hangings, as they were diſcourſing, the hangings being on a ſudden withdrawn, at the Maſters command laid his ſnout on *Fabricius* his head, making a moſt horrid noiſe; but he, being a man of a ſetled ſpirit, gravely turning himſelf about, ſmiled, ſaying, *Neither yeſterday did your gold entice me, nor to day your beaſt terrifie me.* Afterwards being ſet at ſupper, when he heard *Cineas* diſcourſing of the *Grecian Philoſophers of the Sect of* Epicurus, *that they eſteemed Pleaſure the greateſt good, and the cares of the Commonwealth the chiefeſt hinderance of Felicity: That the gods in their opinion led ſuch a life free from the care of humane affairs, free from all affections either of anger againſt the wicked, or favour to the good, giving themſelves over wholy to idleneſs and pleaſure*: *Fabricius* thereupon is ſaid to cry out, *The gods grant that* Pyrrhus *and the Samnites would practice this wiſdom while they wage War with the people of* Rome. These were the manners of thoſe times, this was the Emulation of great men, to excel not in wealth or Luxury, but in Virtue, in Counſel, in Patience, in the Love of their Country. Neither were theſe ſudden Motions and fits, or ſpeeches premeditated out of hypocriſie for the preſent occaſion, but they did confirm the faith of their words by the conſtant Tenour of their Lives, whereby they are rather to be admired then imitated by our Age. The ſame *Fabricius* when all his ſilver plate conſiſted of one Salt-celler and a little diſh, which yet was ſuſtained by an horning foot, the Samnite Embaſſadors preſenting him with a gift of money and very rich houſhold ſtuff, ſet his hands to his ears, thence to his eyes, noſe, mouth, throat, and at length to his belly, ſaying, *As long as I can command theſe, nothing ſhall be wanting to me, carry ye back your mony to thoſe who ſtand in need of it.*

*Eutropius*
*Florus.* 1.18,21
*Auth. de viris Illuſt.* c.35
*Zonaras.*
*Appian* apud *Fulvium Urſinum.*
*Plutarch Pyrrho.* C.44.
*Plutarch* c.43
*Cu. Catiline* c.12
*Plutarch* c.42
*Val Maximus.* 4.3.6
*Val. Max.* 4.4.3
*Florus* 1.18
*Iul. Hyginus* apud *Agellium* 1.14

After the ſame manner he ſpent his whole life, inſomuch as in all his Patrimony there was not ſufficient whereby to raiſe Portions for his Daughters; (an Honourable poverty!) ſo that the Senate cauſed money for that purpoſe to be diſburſed out of the Publick Treaſury, being aſham'd to let thoſe Virgins paſſe without Dowry, whoſe Father was not aſhamed to leave ſo. The ſame vertue and continence was found in other Princes of the Senate; among the reſt *Q. Fabius* who had ſo often been in Chiefe command, and having once borne the Cenſourſhip denied to be made Cenſour againe, ſaying, *It was not for the good of the Commonwealth, that the ſame men ſhould often be choſen Cenſour*; he died with the ſame Teſtimony both of his poverty, and the peoples Love; for after his Death they beſtow'd ſo much money that his ſon *Q. Gurges* did beſtow a dole of fleſh upon the people, & likewiſe made a publick Feaſt. *Curius* out of the ſame gallantry of mind refus'd the gifts of the Sabines as *Fabricius* did the Samnites: *Æmilius Papas*, who was in moſt offices Colleague with *Fabricius*, alſo *Tib. Coruncianus*, and many other men of great note, by reaſon of their likeneſs in manners, lived together in great love and friendſhip: So that the Poet ſeems to me to have conceived in his mind the *Idea* of thoſe times, when he ſaid, *The Roman State was upheld by men and manners of the old Faſhion.* *Pyrrhus* ſeriouſly conſidering and pondering theſe things, was inflamed with a great deſire of compoſing all differences with this Nation, and immediately reſtored two hundred of the Captives without Ranſome, and gave leave likewiſe to all the reſt to go to *Rome* and viſit their friends at the Feaſt of *Saturn* now approaching, relying only on the word of *Fabricius*, who promiſed, *That when the Holy-dayes were paſt they ſhould return, unleſſe peace were in the mean time concluded.*

*Val. Maximus* 4.4.10
*Author* de viris illuſt.
*Cicero* in Lelio
*Ennius* apud *Cic.* de Repub. l.5 *Citante Aug.* de Civ. Dei. 2.21
*Juſtin.* 18.1
*Plutarch Pyrrho* c.44

And ſuch was the Gravity of the Senate, and the fidelity of every ſingle Perſon, that at a Day by the Fathers appointed, they every man redelivered themſelves up to *Pyrrhus*, having in vain urged their Country-mens obſtinate minds to Articles of Peace. For the Crafty King, thinking this to be a nick of time for his purpoſe, while the Romans being mollified with the ſight of their deareſt friends, and deſirous of retaining them, might happily be the more ready to lay down all thoughts of hatred and hoſtility, reſolved now to ſend an Embaſſage to *Rome* to Treat of Peace on thoſe Conditions he had propounded to *Fabricius* in Perſon. He deſired, *That the Tarentines might be comprehended in the League, That the other Gracians inhabiting Italy might continue free, living according to their own Lawes: That whatſoever the Romans*

*Appian* apud *Fulvium.*
*Florus* 1.18,14
*Juſtinius.* 18.2
*Appian*

*Romans had taken away from the Samnites, Apulians, Lucanians and Brutians might be reſtored; and in Lieu, the Romans ſhould receive their Captives without Ranſom.* *Cineas* of whom mention hath formerly been made, was at that time with *Pyrrhus*, a man as of great knowledg in Civil affairs, ſo of very honeſt principles, and who had by exerciſe improved his natural wit to a marvellous eloquence: For theſe his qualities he was very dear to the King, who often acknowledged, *He had won more Cities by the Eloquence of* Cineas, *then by his own Armes.* This man being ſent Embaſſador to *Rome*, with much cunning delay'd making his addreſſe to the Senate, till he had in *Pyrrhus* his name diſtributed many gifts in the houſes of the principal men. Being then brought into the Court, when he had in many words, *Extolled the virtue of Pyrrhus, and his inclination towards the Romans*, he diſcourſed of the Equity of the conditions he brought, inſomuch that great part of the Senate were moved to accept them: becauſe beſides other conveniencies, he promiſed, If they would deſiſt moleſting his friends, he would furniſh them with aid ſufficient for the Conqueſt of all the reſt of *Italy*. But, becauſe the Conſultation laſted many dayes (the Fathers being very ſolicitous in a buſineſs of ſo great conſequence) and thereby a ſuſpicion and rumor was ſpread, that peace would be concluded, *Appius Claudius*, who by reaſon of his Age and blindneſs, had of a long time been abſent from the Senate, cauſed himſelf now to be carried thither in his Litter, where he no ſooner appeared, but his ſons and ſons in law with all Reverence and Duty receiving him, conducted him to a place becoming his Dignity. Every one being ſilent both at the novelty of the thing, and with the reſpect they bore his perſon, and expecting for what cauſe, after ſo long abſence and retirement, he ſhould now come into the Senate: he beginning his diſcourſe with the affliction of his ſickneſs, ſaid, 'His Blindneſs had indeed hitherto been very grievous to him, but now 'he was not only delighted in it, leſt he ſhould behold thoſe things which were doing, but was 'ſorry that his eares alſo were not deaf, that he might not hear things ſo ſordid and unworthy the name of the Romans. For what is become of your noble minds? whither are your 'ſpirits fallen? Ye were wont to be of opinion, when ye heard the Fame of *Alexander* the 'Macedonian renowned as of an invincible King, that his glory was more to be imputed to his 'Fortune then his Virtue; that if the Fates had allotted him a Roman War, both the event, 'and likewiſe his eſteem amongſt men would have proved far different. But now, behold how 'ye are degenerated from that your Magnanimity; ye once thought ye were able to conquer 'the Macedonians, and now ye ſtand in fear of Moloſſians and Chaonians, the perpetual prey 'of the Macedonians. Ye once contemned *Alexander*, and now are frighted by *Pyrrhus*, not 'the ſervant of *Alexander*, but his ſervants ſervant, who flying from his old enemies rather 'then ſeeking new, is come over into *Italy* with a reſolution, ſhould it pleaſe the gods, to obtain the Empire of *Rome*, with thoſe forces wherewith he was not able to keep and defend his 'little ſhare of *Macedonia*. Unleſs therefore we ſend him back well beaten, laden with great 'misfortune, aſſure your ſelves, any other Party, deſervedly ſlighting and ſcorning our Power, will greedily venture into *Italy*, as to a prey ready prepared to their hands. For what can 'be thought of us, but that we are a cowardly ſlothful people, if *Pyrrhus*, being received into 'friendſhip, ſhall carry back a Reward for that Diſgrace he hath done us, in as much as by his 'means it is come to paſs that the Romans are become a Laughing-ſtock to the Tarentines and 'Samnites?

*Plutarch Pyrrho* c. 28

*Cicero Philip* 1. 5

*Plutarch*

*Appianus* apud *Fulviam Urſinum.*

*Ennius*
*Plutarch*

This was the main ſcope of *Appius* his Oration, which did ſo inflame the minds of all the Senators, that, following him the Author of a ſevere Sentence, they with one conſent decreed, *That the War ſhould be proſecuted, that* Cineas *ſhould the ſame day depart the City, that* Pyrrhus *ſhould be given to underſtand, That neither he ſhould be admitted into the City,* (for that alſo was deſired) *neither would they ſo much as treat of friendſhip and ſociety, till he had quitted* Italy. A like ſad decree by *Appius* his motion was made concerning the Captives, *That they ſhould not be led in War againſt* Pyrrhus, *neither ſhould they any where be joyned in the ſame company, but that being ſent to ſeveral Garriſons, they ſhould, as a note of infamy, change their manner of fighting, that they who before ſerved on horſe-back, ſhould now be liſted among the foot, and they who were of the Legions, ſhould now ſerve in light armature; That no man ſhould recover his former order, till he had brought in the ſpoil of two enemies.* 'Tis reported, when the Embaſſadors returned with this ſharp anſwer, the King aſtoniſh'd at the wonderful conſtancy of the Romans, asked, *What they thought of the City and of the Senate?* and that *Cineas* anſwer'd, *The City ſeemed to be a Temple of the gods, and the Senate an Aſſembly of Kings.*

*Liv.* Epit. 13
*b* 2. *S.* 36 *de O. I.*
*Eutropius* b. 2
*B.* 1. *S.* 5 *de Poſtul.*
*Zonaras*

*Val. Maximus* 2. 7. 15
*Frontinus ſtrat.* 4. 1
*Plutarch*
*Juſtin.* 18. 2

After theſe Tranſactions, ſome think, *Fabricius* was ſent an Embaſſadour to the King: but they are eaſily convinc'd of Errour as by the Teſtimony of other Authours, ſo by a right Conſideration of the Series of Affaires. There being now no hopes of peace, they converted all their thoughts to War, and buſied themſelves on both ſides all winter in making diligent preparations. Theſe I take to be the Times wherein *Pyrrhus* is reported, (for the avoiding the Dangers of ſhipwrack, and a more convenient paſſage of the *Italian* and *Epirot* Succours one to the other) to have had thoughts of making Bridges between *Hydruns*, where *Italy* gets fartheſt into the ſea, and *Apollonia*, a Town ſcituate on the adverſe ſhore, ſome fifty miles diſtant: For that is the Bredth of the Sea in thoſe places between the Græcian and Italian ſhoares. *M. Terentius Varro* is ſaid afterward to have made the like Attempt, when, being *Cn. Magnus* his Lieu-

*Florus* 1. 18 2>
*Liv.* 9. 17. 12
*Plutarch* and *Appian.*
*Zonaras*

*Plin.* 3. 11

tenant

tenant in the warre againſt the Pirates, he guarded the Sicilian and Ionian ſeas with his Navy. *Appian in Mithridaticis Tabula Capitolin.* In the midſt of theſe doings *Tib. Coruncianus* the Conſul Triumphed *A. D.* of the Calends of *February*. This year was a remarkable Cenſourſhip in that a Luſtration of the army was then firſt made by one of a Plebeian ſtock. There were ceſſed two hundred ſeventy eight thouſand, two hundred twenty two Citizens. About theſe times it was that *Q. Fabius Maximus* was wont to be choſen Prince of the Senate; and by conjecture we gather, his ſon *Q. Gurges* was Cenſour at that Time. *Cn. Domitius* certainly was, for he luſtrated the Army, and his name is famous for enlarging the Priviledges of the People. *Pyrrhus* in the beginning of the ſpring, calling together the Forces of his Confederates, marched into *Apulia*, where he took many Towns, ſome by Force, ſome by Compoſition. Againſt whom the two new Conſuls *P. Sulpicius Saverrio*, and *P. Decius Mus* went forth with two Armies pitching Camp againſt Camp, neer *Aſculum* a City of *Apulia*, of the ſame name with that City of the Picentes. No doubt was made of Fighting, but they were many dayes hindred as by a deep Torrent running between them, ſo by mutuall fear on each ſide. The Romans were troubled with remembrance of the former Battell wherein *Pyrrhus* was victorious: The Epirots were daunted at the Roman obſtinacy, but chiefly at the name of the other Conſull, ſo fatall to the Enemies Legions: For it was given out that *P. Decius* after the Example of his Father and Grandfather would purchaſe the Victory with his Death; and the iſſue of thoſe Battells wherein they died, did make the expectation of the *Decian* Devotion to be terrible to all men.

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*Eutropius*
*Cluverius Italia.*
*Zonaras*

*Pyrrhus* thinking it a matter not to be neglected, aſſembling his ſouldiers together, Thus in- *Livie. 8. 9.*
'ſtructed them. That the Event of Battels was not in the Power either of the Goddeſs
'*Earth*, or the Infernal Deitys, who were invoked by that Charme, that they ought not to
'believe the Gods to be ſo unjuſt as to alter the fates of Armies, and beſtow conqueſts for one
'mad-man's ſake; that victories are not obtained by jugling tricks, and ſuperſtition, but by
'fighting onely; as appeares by the Teſtimony of the Romans themſelves, who come not into
'the field with troopes of Prieſts and Prophets, but with Legions of armed ſouldiers to oppoſe
'the Enemy: But becauſe the ignorant are commonly more terrified with theſe ſuperſtitious
'deluſions, then with true cauſes of feare, he ſhewed that this feare might be prevented, by *Zonaras*
'ſhewing the Habit wherein the former *Decii* had Devoted themſelves, and warning the ſoul-
'diers if they met any Man in the like accoutrement not to aſſault him with any weapon, but
'to take him alive. He cauſed likewiſe a Meſſage to be ſent to *Decius*, *That he ſhould forbear playing the foole amongſt armed men, neither ſhould his Plot take Effect, that if he came alive into his hands he ſhould perhaps endure more torments then he was willing.* 'Twas anſwer'd by the Conſulls, *They had Confidence enough in their Armes, neither had any need of ſo deſperate a Deſign, which that he might be aſſured of, they gave him his Choice, whether he would come over the River interjacent, or Expect the Romans on his ſide the water; that they would willingly withdraw their forces to give him a ſafe paſſage over, or, if he would retire, they would bring over their men, that on each ſide encountring with their ſtrength entire, demonſtration might be made, that they repoſed all their hopes of victory in their men, and their Courage, and in no other thing*: *Pyrrhus* was aſhamed of betraying any kind of fear or Doubt; he accepted therefore of the latter Condition and gave the Enemy Liberty of foording the River. The *Plin. 8. 7.* Terrour of the Elephants was not now ſo great to the Romans, as being accuſtomed to ſee *Flor. 1. 18.* them, ſo having had Experience that their ſnouts might eaſily be cut off, as one was in the *Oroſius 4. 1.* laſt fight at one blow by *C. Minucius* the foremoſt Pikeman of the Fourth Legion. But now *Vegetius de Re militari. 3. 24.* they bethought themſelves of ſafer guards and Defences; They cauſed horſes cloathed with *Zonaras.* Iron plates to draw Chariots, which were likewiſe full ſtuck with ſpears faſtned in Iron ſockets; *Ammianus Marcellinus* in the Chariots were placed ſouldiers who with darts or fire ſhould avert the fury of the Ele- *Prin. lib. 24.* phants. The Legions with this furniture having paſſed the River, *Pyrrhus* in a ſingular and *Livie 35. 14.* Excellent manner martiall'd his Army, according to his Cuſtom wherein he was thought to ex- *Plutarch* ceed all Commanders of his Time. Obſerving therefore the Nature of the place, which by *Pyrrho c. 46.* reaſon of the Ruggedneſs of the Ground, and the multitude of Oſiers thereabouts growing, *Frontinus* would well admit of a foot Army onely; he placed his horſe and Elephants in the Reſerve. The *Stat. 2. 3.* Right wing he ſtrengthned with his own ſouldiers and the Samnite Auxiliaries, The Brutians Lucanians and Sallentines he placed in the midſt, the Tarentines, whoſe virtue he leaſt confided in, he order'd in the midſt. The Conſull's main body conſiſted of their Legions, ſome of the light Armature being conveniently intermixt; and with the like Diſcretion they diſtinguiſhed the Orders of their Reſerves. The horſe were diſtributed into the Wings, being no hindrance to the Foot fight, and yet upon occaſion offer'd, ready for Action. The Armys being equal, not *Plutarch* only in Courage but in number (for they were fourty thouſand ſtrong on both ſides) diſputed the buſineſs with as much heat and animoſity as could be expected, and the Victory inclining to neither ſide, the night broke off the Fight. The next Morning *Pyrrhus* when he had guarded the moſt difficult places, forced the Romans to deſcend into a more even and open ground; there he had ſome uſe of his Elephants, which being ſuddenly brought in to that part of the Battell where the Chariots were prepared againſt them, they frighted the horſe (even as it hapned in the laſt fight) and cauſed them to fly; but to the Foot they did little harme. The Report of this Fight is much different from that of the former, for ſome Authors affirm, The Romans

*Plutarch Zonaras Frontinus Eutropius b. 2 Plutarch Florus. 1.18 Oroſius 4.1*

*mans had the upper hand, their Victory being occaſion'd by an accident, for the Apulians (who were by the Kings Order ſent againſt thoſe who came to ſurprize the carriages) by their departure ſeeming to fly, by a mear error and falſe fear caus'd all the Kings forces to quit the field and fly indeed.* The number of the ſlain is likewiſe expreſſed, *That on* Pyrrhus *his ſide twenty thouſand, on the Romans ſide five thouſand were wanting, that the King with a dart ſhot through his arm was grievouſly wounded, and that in vain endeavouring to ſtay the flight of his men, was by his Life-guard brought out of the field one of the laſt; that on his ſide three and fifty Colours were loſt, on the Romans eleven, and that* Fabricius *the other Conſuls Lieutenant was likewiſe wounded.* But contrariwiſe, others ſay, *This Battel had the like event with the former, though the Romans by reaſon of the vicinity of their Camps ſuſtained not ſo much loſs; but that they did confeſſedly fly, and loſt ſix thouſand men; that* Pyrrhus *loſt three thouſand five hundred and five, as is in the Kings Chronicles regiſtred, by the Teſtimony of* Hieronimus.

*Iuſtinius. 18.1 Plutarch*

*Livie Epit. 13*

And not only variety but Repugnancy of Authors moves me rather to incline to thoſe who report the event of this Battel to have been doubtfull: for 'tis ordinary after an equall encounter for each part to attribute the victory to themſelves, which by the negligence or Impudence of others is committed to writing, doing very ill to deliver to Poſterity for true and undoubted, thoſe things which are grounded on Idle report only, or for affection are partially related. Wherefore their hiſtory ſeemes more probable who affirmes, *That there was but one Fight were* Aſculum, *and that, after an hot diſpute and much blood-ſhed, the Sun being now ſet, the Kings wound and the loſſe of the Baggage did with much adoe breake off the fight: That then both Armies ſounded a Retreat, when on both ſides there were ſlaine about fifteene thouſand; and that this was the time when* Pyrrhus *anſwer'd one who congratulated his victory, If the Romans are thus to be Vanquiſhed we are undone our ſelves.* And indeed the ſequel confirmes this Opinion, for *Pyrrhus* retired to *Tarentus*, and the Conſuls, making no purſuite after the enemie, diſtributed their forces into winter quarters in *Apulia*, whereas the time of yeare gave them leave, and Reaſons of War might well have perſwaded them, to have proſecuted ſo glorious a victory. Moreover I find not that theſe Conſuls made any Triumph, and many think that *P. Decius* in this Battel devoted himſelfe, who dying as did his Father and Grandfather, yielded himſelf the Third ſacrifice, without intermiſſion out of the ſame family, for the good of the Commonwealth: Which as I had no thoughts to gain-ſay, So ſhould I not have related in the general ſilence of all Hiſtorys, but that a grave Author *M. Tullius Cicero* in his bookes of Phyloſophy more then once maketh mention of it. The fight at *Aſculum* thus ended, the reſt of the yeare was quiet and free from all warlike Expeditions, only the whole time ſpent in Conſultation and preparations. *Pyrrhus*, having loſt moſt of his old forces, friends, and Commanders, ſent into *Epirus* with order for a ſupply of Men and money for next ſpring. But before that Navy could be ſet forth, new hopes ariſing alter'd the Kings Counſels. *Pyrrhus* had ſometime the poſſeſſion of *Macedonia*, wreſting it out of the hands of *Demetrius*, and again loſt it by the Power of *Lyſimachus*; Now while *Pyrrhus* waged war in *Italy*, *Ptolomæus Ceraunus* being ſlaine by the Gaules, there ſeemed a new way open into *Macedonia*, being deſtitute of a Prince and the ſtate of affaires in Confuſion. This Reaſon perſwaded him not to leave *Epirus* naked of ſouldiers, leſt it ſhould be obnoxious to the injurys of the Gaules who now oppreſſed the Neighbour nation *Macedonia*. But *Pyrrhus* did not as then ſteere his Courſe homeward, being upon other Occaſions (as ſhall be related) call'd into *Sicily*. The winter being paſt over in theſe Cares the New Conſuls came to the Army *C. Fabricius Luſcinus*, and *Q. Æmilius Papus* (who before had born a Conſulſhip together) which *Pyrrhus* underſtanding drew forth his forces, intending to obſerve the Marches and Counſels of his enemy. Their Camps being not far diſtant, there hapned an Accident very remarkable, and by moſt men related much after the ſame manner; One *Timochares* an Ambracian, who held a good honourable place in the Kings favour, ſecretly came to *Fabricius*, and promiſed him, if he would give him an anſwerable reward to Poyſon the King; which he thought was eaſie for him to accompliſh by his ſons, who were Cup-bearers to the King. *Fabricius*, no way delighted with the Treaſon, informed the Senate of it. the Senate, not diſcovering the Treaſon of *Timochrares*, who had (by what means ſoever) intended the Roman profit, ſent Embaſſadors to *Pyrrhus*, who ſhould only in general warn him, *That he ſhould look well about him, and take heed of what mens ſervice he made uſe of, and enquire into their faithfulneſs and honeſty.* Thus *Valerius Antius* relates the buſineſs. But *Claudius Quadrigarius* in ſtead of *Timochares* make *Niceas* the undertaker of this Poyſoning, and that notice was given not by the Senate but by the Conſuls, reciting alſo the Letter of the Conſuls, wherein they diſcover *Niceas* his deſign, *That they are unwilling to fight by craft, or with mony, and wiſh the King ſafe from Treaſon, hoping he will become an Illuſtrious Ornament to their Victory and Triumph.*

*Zonaras*

*Tuſcul. queſt. 1.13 de Finibus 2.19*

*Plutarch Zonaras Plut. Pyrrho c.20,24 Plutarch Diodori Eclog. book 22*

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*Agellius 3. 8 Cic. de Offic. 3.22. Val. Maximus. 6,5,1 Zonaras Agellius Livie 39 51 Agellius Ammian. Marcel 30.5 Tacitus 2 28 Plutarch Pyrrho c.45 & in Apophteg Claudian in Bello Gildon v.271 Florus 1. 18 Eutropius Frontinus Strat. 4.42*

Some Report it was the Kings Phyſician who treated with *Fabricius* either in perſon or by Letter, and that upon his diſcovery, he was hang'd. As there may be doubt in theſe Circumſtances, ſo no queſtion they are deceived who ſay that *Curius* ſent back the Phyſician to the King. Tis ſaid that *Pyrrhus* at this time wondring at the Experience of ſo great Vertue in Enemies, cry'd out, *This is that* Fabricius, *who can with no leſſe difficulty ſwerve from the Rules of Juſtice and Honeſty, then the Sun be turned out of his Courſe.* He did immediately, leſt he ſhould be Overcome with Kindneſſe, return the Romans all the priſoners he had, and ſent *Cineas* again

to

to obtaine peace and friendſhip. It ſeemed diſhonourable to receive a gift from the enemie, whereby they might be thought to have abhorred wickedneſſe more for gain then for the love of Vertue, they therefore ſent back an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites that their captives might not be receivd *gratis*. This publick abſtinence was to their greater Credit ſeconded by the vertue and reſolution of private perſons, when the gifts of *Pyrrhus* (which *Cineas* in great Number and thoſe very pretious had Carried to Rome for both ſexes) were refuſed not only by the Men but by the women. For when upon the refuſal of ſome, he profer'd them to others, and others again, there was not ſo much as one man or woman to be found ſo mean or covetous as to open a door for the Receipt of a Kings gift. The Former anſwer was now again returned to the Embaſſadours, *That until* Pyrrhus *had quitted* Italy, *they would eſteem him an Enemie to the people of* Rome. While *Pyrrhus* was much perplexed at theſe paſſages, not knowing how to proſecute the War with any cheerefulneſſe, nor willing to depart *Italy* with any loſſe of Reputation, the Sicilian affaires did ſeem to help him, the management whereof (after long and doubtfull deliberation) he reſolved to undertake. For ſo he thought the Roman war might with credit be declined, and the command of a moſt Rich Iſland obtained, he had alſo an earneſt deſire of being revenged on the Carthaginians, as being firſt provoked by them. For they ſuſpecting the Kings deſigns, had a little before hand ſent *Mago* with a Navy of an hundred and twenty ſhips, ſaying, *The Romans ought by Forreigne aid to be aſſiſted againſt a forreign enemy*. And though the Romans uſed not their aſſiſtance, making anſwer, *That they were not wont to undertake any War but what could be managed by their own forces*; Yet now this fourth time was the League renewed between the two Commonwealths.

*Livie*, 34.4
*Juſtin.* 18.2
*Val Maximus.* 4.3.14
*Zonaras*
*Appian*
*Iuſtin.* 18.2
*Val Max.* 3.7
10
*Livie* Epit. 13
*Polybius* 3.25

To the former Articles it was added, *That whether the Romans or Carthaginians made peace with* Pyrrhus, *it ſhould be ſpecially excepted, that they might aſſiſt one the other, which ſoever of them were provoked to War*; *And, that when either had need of the others help, the Carthaginians ſhould provide ſhips, each party pay their own ſouldiers, the Carthaginians aid the Romans by ſea, but not be compelled againſt their wills out of their ſhips*. Which being agreed upon, *Mago* went to *Pyrrhus* under pretence of treating of peace, but indeed to diſcover the Kings Counſels, whom the Carthaginians had underſtood to be invited into *Sicily*: And they offer'd their Navy to the Romans not ſo much out of any good will or care of their ſafety, but further to involve *Pyrrhus* in his *Italian* War, leſt he ſhould ſpoil their ſucceſſes in *Sicily* which flouriſhed ſo proſperouſly. They had then alſo guarded the paſſage into *Sicily* with a numerous fleet, pretending the ſiege of *Rhegium*, but indeed reſolving to hinder *Pyrrhus* from tranſmitting his Army. For theſe cauſes did he wholly apply his mind to the Sicilian affairs, which filled him with great hope, as by the ſtate of things, ſo by the frequent Embaſſies which came one after another out of the Iſland, affirmed, *That he was deſired by the prayers of all men, as the only remedy of their calamities wherewith they were more ſharply afflicted then the moſt miſerable Nation under the heavens*. For after the death of *Agathocles*, more lamentable then undeſerved, one *Mano*, born at *Ægeſta*, a City of *Sicily*, who had poiſon'd the King, endeavouring to uſurp the government, was by *Hicetas* the Pretor expelled the City, and fled to the Carthaginian forces: Hence aroſe an heavy war and unfortunate to the Syracuſans, by which never the leſs *Hicetas* in particular ſtrengthened himſelf, and turning his forces againſt *Phintias* of *Agrigentum*, he held the Iſland long time in trouble, till by the boldneſs of one *Thænio* he was deprived of his Domination which he had held for nine years. *Thænio* endeavouring to retain the Soveraignty, was reſiſted by *Soſiſtratus* a Syracuſan Nobleman. Theſe two along time conteſted, *Thænio* poſſeſſing *Naſus*, an Iſland which is part of *Syracuſe*, *Soſiſtratus* exerciſing the Tyranny in the other parts of the City. When at length by theſe diſcords they ſaw nothing but deſtruction likely to enſue, with one conſent they decreed to ſend for *Pyrrhus*, who being the ſon in law of *Agathocles*, and next in ſucceſſion, as having a ſon by *Lanaſſa*, was thought fitteſt to bear rule, as being able by his courage and his forces to ſettle their affairs. Moreover, the principal men of *Agrigentum* and *Leontium*, offering the Government of their Cities, and conſequently of the whole Iſland, unanimouſly intreated him, *To come into Sicily as ſoon as may be, to ſuccour them with his preſence, being wearied with labouring under the heavy burden of a Barbarous ſlavery*. For the Carthaginians having waſted their grounds, had beſieg'd the City of *Syracuſe*, both by ſea and land, with a Navy of an hundred ſhips, and an Army of fifty thouſand men. *Pyrrhus* therefore without delay ſendeth *Cineas* before (whoſe wiſdom and faith he much truſted to) to agree upon Conditions and Articles of friendſhip with the Sicilian Cities. At his departure he comforted his Italian confederates, promiſing, *That if they were oppreſſed by the Romans he would in ſpeed come out of the neighbour Iſland much encreaſed with new forces*. But when he was about to leave a Gariſon in *Tarentus*, they taking it in ill part, deſired, *He would either perform his promiſed aſſiſtance on thoſe conditions he was call'd in, or that at leaſt he would leave their City free*. They could obtain neither, *Pyrrhus* returning no other anſwer, but commanding them, *To tarry his leiſure*. The Epirot King being thus imploy'd, the Conſuls had the eaſier war againſt their other enemies. I find they had about this time good ſucceſs againſt the Etrurians, Lucanians, Brutians and Samnites. It appears there was no great matter done againſt the Etrurians, in that there was no Triumph made for that war, neither was the whole nation, but few Cities engaged, who re-aſſumed againſt the Romans thoſe arms they had ſo lately laid down, being ſolicited by the Samnites, who found themſelves left naked by the departure of *Pyrrhus*. Among the

*Iuſtinius.*
*Diodori* Eclog. book 22
*Diodori* Eclog. b.21
*Diodori* Eclog. b.22
*Livie* 25 24
*Diodorus*
*Appianus* apud *Fulviam Urſinum.*
*Plutarch*
*Iuſtin.* 18.2
*Dioderus*
*Plutarch*
*Appian*
*Plut. Pyrrho* c.54
*Livie* Epit. 13

other nations as the war was more heavy, ſo was the Victory more Illuſtrious over them. *C. Fabricius* the Conſul (his Colleague, as is imagined, being gone into *Etruria*, inaſmuch as upon the Epirots departure one Conſular Army was thought ſufficient) overcame the Lucanians, Brutians, Tarentines and Samnites: Some Cities, among which were *Heraclea*, he drew into Covenants, and over thoſe people he Triumphed before the Ides of *December*.

*Eutropius* b. 2
*Cicero* pro Balbo. 22
*Tab. Capitolina*

An aſſembly of the people being held, New Conſuls were choſen for the year enſuing, *P. Cornelius Rufinus* again, and *C. Junius Brutus* again. Other Nobles were *Candidates* with *Rufinus*, but by *Fabricius* his favour he was choſen. Wherein *Fabricius* conſidering the times, preferr'd the publick ſafety before private quarrels; For by reaſon of their difference in Manners there was Enmity betweene theſe two, *Fabricius* being of proofe againſt Mony was guided only by his care of the common good; *Rufinus* more greedy of wealth then ordinary, many times order'd his counſels and actions to his private gain. But being otherwiſe Induſtrious and a good commander, *Fabricius* judged him to be preferr'd before his Competitours who were far inferiour to him in Marſhal affaires. 'Tis reported, when *Rufinus* gave him thanks, *That being at enmity with him he had helped him to the Conſulſhip, eſpecially when ſo great a War was on foot*; he anſwer'd, *'Twas not much to be wondred, if he had rather be pillag'd, then ſold to the enemy*. For there was great War remaining in *Italy*, and *Pyrrhus* finding all things goe according to his deſire in *Sicily* (whether he now was gone) 'twas reaſonably fear'd he would quickly return a more formidable enemy by the Acceſſe of the ſtrength of ſo Noble an Iſland.

*Quintilian* 12.1

*Dion. apud Valeſium.*

*Cicero* de Orat. 2.66
*Agellius* 4.8

# BOOK IV.

*Iuv.* Epit. 14
*Appian.*
*Diodori* Eclog. b. 22
*Dio.* apud *Valeſium*

*Diodori* Eclog *Iuſt.* 23. 2

WHILE theſe things were doing in *Italy*, *Pyrrhus* having ſhipp'd his Army and Elephants, ſailed from the Tarentine Port into *Sicily*, after he had continned two years and four moneths in *Italy*. Being conducted by *Thænio*, who met him with his Navy, he was received by the *Sicilians* with wonderful chearfulneſs, freely delivering up into his hands their Towns, their Forces, their Mony and their Ships. Being thus in a ſhort time poſſeſſ'd of the dominion of the Græcian Cities, he did alſo by force of arms extort from the Carthaginians all whatſoever they held, excepting only the City of *Lilybæum*, which the Carthaginians being helped by its convenient ſcituation, defended againſt all his aſſauls. Whence juſtly conceiving great and vaſt hopes in his mind, he reſolved, leaving his eldeſt ſon the Patrimony of his Father, to ſettle the other two, the one King of *Italy*, the other King of *Sicily*. Both the reputation and virtues of this King were indeed at that time very great; and the Sicilians having for many years ſuſtained both forreign and civil wars, and a plague worſe then both, the tyranny of uſurpers, ſeemed willing with joy to entertain any indifferent Prince over them. But when, a little after, he proceeded to raiſe moneys againſt their wills, and put to death ſome of their Nobles, he contracted much hatred, which was encreaſed by the covetouſneſs and arrogance of his Officers, whoſe vices did every where as much wrong him as his own; therefore next to the firſt and principal care Kings ought to have, of being themſelves Egregiouſly good, 'tis for their honour and ſafety to make a choice of virtuous Favourites, ſeeing private men are blamed only for their own faults, but other mens crimes are imputed to Princes. But theſe things

*Plutarch Pyrrho* c. 51
*Dionyſius*

things hapned afterwards. Now at Preſent, while their Zeal was hot, he was with the higheſt Honour and magnificence received, firſt by *Tyndarion* Prince of the Tanrominitans (for in that part of the Iſland he landed) then by the People of *Catanæa*, and ſo paſſed with his foot-Army to *Syracuſe*: His fleet he commanded to be brought about not farre from the ſhore, ready prepared for fight, as thinking the Carthaginians would not ſuffer him to approach the City without hazard of a Battell. But it hapned, that a little before Thirty of the *Carthaginian* ſhips were upon other Employment gone from the Navy, which becauſe they were not return'd the Admirall refuſed to venture on the Fight with the Reſt. Wherefore Entring without Reſiſtance, *Thænion* and *Piſiſtratus* yielding Poſſeſſion, he took into his hands the Publick Treaſure, an hundred and twenty Covered ſhips, Twenty open ones, their Weapons, Engines, and all other Furniture for Warre. *Dionyſ.* *Diodorus*

In the Interim came Embaſſadours from the Leontines, whoſe Prince *Heraclidas* offered the City and all his Forces, Four thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe. Neither were other Cities ſlower in their ſubmiſſion, but came in driven as it were by a Torrent of Fortune. *Pyrrhus* treating them all with much Humanity, and gaining their Good wills, ſent every one back to his own City, entertaining now more Ample Hopes in his mind, intending if affaires proceed ſo favourably to paſs over into *Africke*. Things went not ſo well with his Confederates in *Italy*, for *Milo*, who was left at *Tarentus* with part of the Army, was not able to protect them from the hoſtility of the Romans, now in the abſence of the King and his main ſtrength. But as yet it was well for them that the Romans deferring a while the *Tarrentine* warre, both the Conſulls converted their forces againſt *Samnium*. The Samnites (ſeeing their Fields burn't, their Caſtles ſurprized, the whole burthen of the Warre to fall on them, and that they were forſaken by their Friends) being inferiour both in ſtrength and Courage, forſaking their Townes and Villages, betook themſelves to the high and craggy Mountaines, carrying with them their Wives and Children, and what things of moſt value they could in ſuch a Tumult and feare convey away. Among the Romans beſides the Emulation of their Commanders, there was ariſen great Negligence and Careleſneſs (the Inſeparable Companion of Proſperity) cauſed by their own Conſtant good ſucceſs, and their Enemies Fear. Hereby they ſuffered ſome Loſs and more Diſgrace; for their ſouldiers confidently creeping up craggy and difficult paſſages were beaten back and deſtroy'd by the Samnites, who had poſſeſſ'd themſelves of advantageous places; many were ſlain, being overwhelmed with ſtones and Darts, or tumbled down the Precipices; others having no convenience either of retreating or fighting were taken alive. This Accident cauſed the Commanders to divide their Forces, for each laying the blame of the Misfortune upon his Colleague, boaſted he could have managed the buſineſs with better ſucceſs if he had been alone. *C. Junius* with his Legions remained in *Samnium*, *P. Cornelius* drew out his forces againſt the Lucanians and Brutians; where carrying about the Terrour of his Armes, waſting the Grounds and burning the Villages, he had occaſion offer'd of greater Attempts. In the utmoſt parts of the *Italian* ſhore, towards the Eaſt and the *Jonian* ſea, where the promontory of *Lacinum* ſtretcheth forth it ſelfe, is ſeated *Croton* of old very famous, and now alſo conſiderable for it's Wealth; Through the midſt of it in thoſe dayes ran the River *Æſarus*, on each ſide whereof the Multitude of Buildings were encompaſſed with a wall of Twelve miles circumference. This City the Conſull not daring to beleagure, had thoughts of obtaining by Treachery, for he was put in hopes by many of the Roman faction there, that if he would timely advance his forces to the walls of it, being now deſtitute of forreign Aide, he might eaſily take it by the help and aſſiſtance of thoſe who were weary of *Pyrrhus* his Domination. But it hapned about that time that either out of fear of the Enemies Neighbourhood, or ſuſpicion of Treaſon, which is ſeldom long hid, the Crotonians had procured aid from *Milo*: *Nichomachus* came to them with a ſtrong band of Lucanians, who iſſuing out upon the Conſull (not aware of any thing, but confidently coming up to the walls without fear of Danger) beat him back with the ſlaughter and wounding of many of his Men. *Rufinus* deſiring by Counſell to remedy that loſs he had by his Raſhneſs ſuſtained, on ſet purpoſe encreaſeth the Rumour of his Overthrow, and that he might ſeem ſtrucken with the greater fear pretends to deſiſt from his Enterpriſe, commanding the Baggage to be pack'd up as for a ſudden Departure; This News was quickly blaz'd about the City (as from a Camp ſo neer muſt needs be) and beſides a probable cauſe of the buſineſs, their Credulity was help'd forward by their deſire to have it ſo; when on a ſudden (their mindes being already thus inclin'd) a certain Captive (being thereunto ſuborned by the Conſull, in hope of Liberty and further Reward) comes into the City, as if in this haſty departure of the Romans he had taken opportunity to Eſcape; He informes them *that* Cornelius Rufinus, *having not ſtrength enough to force* Croton, *was gone to* Locri, *being invited by ſome who promiſed to betray it to him.* By and by comes another who confirming the former news, added moreover, *That the Romans were now on their March.* And withall they diſcover his Enſignes and Troopes moving that way which leadeth to *Locri*. *Nichomachus* being deluded by this Wile, marcheth ſwiftly with his forces the neereſt way to *Locri*, intending likewiſe to defend it, which when *Rufinus* by ſecret Meſſengers underſtood, he turneth back preſently to *Croton*, as upon better advice, ſo with better ſucceſs then before. His diligence was made proſperous, not only by the ſecurity of his Enemies, but by the favour of Fortune alſo, for a thick miſt chanced to ſurround him, ſo that he was almoſt within the walls with his

*Plutarch*

*Diodori Eclog. b. 22. Zonaras.*

*Ovid Metam 15.*

*Livie 24. 3. Zonaras*

*Frontinus Stratagem. 3. 6.*

*Zonaras*

*Frontinus*

*Zonaras*

*Zonaras* Victorious army before the Crotonians underſtood he was returned. The joy of this victory, of it ſelfe ample enough, was abundantly encreaſed by other as glorious ſucceſſes; Fortune ſeldom obſerving a mean on either hand. For *Nicomachus* perceiving himſelf to have ſaln into a remedileſſe Errour, not knowing what to doe, as he returned to *Tarentus*, was met by *Rufinus*, loſt great part of his men, and very hardly eſcaped himſelf with the Reſt; When not being content to defend one Citie he loſt two. For the Locrians likewiſe being animated with this ſucceſſe, having ſlain the garriſon *Pyrrhus* left among them, with the governour of it, whoſe oppreſſion they could no longer endure, betook themſelves to the friendſhip of the Romans. Notwithſtanding this Proceſſe of affaires, the Samnites and other nations were not ſo far dejected, but that ſtill they reſolved to endure the worſt that Fortune could bring upon them, encouraged, beſide their own innate obſtinacy, with their Hops of *Pyrrhus's* Returne, hearing the news of his victorys in *Sicily*. For *Pyrrhus* (that we may relate his actions out of *Italy* alſo, which were performed in thoſe times and places, having influence upon, and being joyned with the Roman affaires) having ſetled things at *Syracuſe* and *Leontium*, went about the ſame time with his Army to *Agrigentum*, meeting Meſſengers by the way with News, that the Carthaginian Gariſon was thruſt out of the City, and that the Agrigentines yielded themſelves and all they had into his protection; which accordingly at his coming they did. For *Soſiſtratus* (who had delivered up *Syracuſe* to him) together with the Citie, preſented him with eight thouſand foote, proper young men, and eight hundred horſe, a force nothing inferiour to the Epirots *Pyrrhus* brought with him. Thirty other Cities, which *Soſiſtratus* had the command of, did by his means ſubmit themſelves to the Kings diſcretion.

*Appian* apud *Valeſium.*

*Diodori* Eclog. b. 22

Theſe things thus tranſacted, he ſent to *Syracuſe* for all ſorts of weapons and engines, which were of uſe in the ſiege of Cities. For now his deſign was to aſſault the Cities under the Carthaginian Juriſdiction, having an army of thirty thouſand, beſides fifteene hundred horſe, and the Elephants he brought over into Sicily. The firſt he tooke was *Heraclea*, where was a Punick garriſon, then *Azona*; After which the Selinuntians, Halicyæans, and Ægeſtians following his fortune forſook the Carthaginian party, giveing an Example to many other Townes in the ſame quarter of doing the like. The Erycines, confiding in the number of their Auxiliaries and ſtrength of the place, he was reſolved with all his power to aſſault, having therefore order'd his men, himſelfe armed, coming up toward the walls, Vowed a Vow to *Hercules*, if that day he ſhould manifeſt himſelf to the Græcians a Warriour worthy of the Race he came of and the office he bore. After the ſigne was given, and that the defendants, with a cloud of arrowes being driven from their ſtations, gave way to the placeing ladders upon the walls, the King himſelfe firſt of all men entred into a moſt noble fight againſt all oppoſers, tumbling ſome down with his ſheild, ſlaying others with his ſword, and terrifying all with the greatneſſe of his Courage and ſtrength; neither was this fight more glorious to him, then in every conſideration proſperous; for without receiving any wound, with great honour he gained the Citie at that one ſtorm, his ſouldiers being no leſſe animated by his Example then fearefull of his danger, for both which reaſons they fought with the greater contention. He then did ſacrifice to *Hercules* according to his vow, and for many days exhibited Plays and Shows of ſeverall kinds in great Magnificence and Pompe. In this year I find there was a Triumph at Rome over the Lucanians and Brutians before the Nones of *January*. But I wonder to find it aſcribed to *C. Junius*, ſeeing *Rufinus* his Province was amongſt them, and that he tooke two famous Cities, and that other Authours ſtile him a Triumphal Man.

*Diodorus*

*Plutarch*

*Triumphi Capitolini.*
*Plinie* 18. 6 & 33 11

*Rome* being not very ſecure, conſidering the progreſs of *Pyrrhus* his affairs, was otherwiſe much terrified with Prodigies and Peſtilence; The moſt horrid Omen was, that the ſtatue of *Jupiter Capitolinus* being ſmitten with Thunder, the head thereof was ſtrucken off and carried quite away, neither could it be found but by the art and care of the South-ſayers. The Plague likewiſe committed great ſlaughter amongſt them, taking away man and beaſt by a common Murrain; but was moſt formidable in *Abortions*, for there was no young ones almoſt of man or beaſt which came forth ſafe and entire, inſomuch as it was believed the anger of the gods would conſume all living creatures. Which Affliction made the other Conſulſhip of *Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges* very famous, wherein he had *C. Genuſius Clepſina* for his Colleague. And yet they left not off their war againſt the Samnites and Lucanians; and two certain arguments there are that they made great ſlaughter of their enemies, for the ſame year *Q. Fabius* the Conſul Triumphed over the Samnites, Lucanians and Brutians in the Quirinals; and thoſe people ſent Letters to *Pyrrhus* and Embaſſadors, declaring, *They were utterly undone without ſpeedy help; that they could no longer ſuſtain the power of the Romans, but muſt of neceſſity prevent the uttermoſt extremity by yielding up themſelves.* This thing much inclined *Pyrrhus* to depart the Iſland and tranſport his forces again into *Italy*, ſeeing alſo his affairs now to be more difficult in *Sicily*, by reaſon the affections of men grew cold; and, by the conſideration of ſome injuries received, were turned into hatred againſt him.

*Liv. Epit.* 14

*Aug.* de Civ. Dei. 3. 17

477
*Zonaras*

*Capitol. Trium.*

*Plutarch Pyrrho* c. 52
*Iuſtin.* 23. 2

Which his reſolution, and the ſeries of enſuing affairs, that they may the better be underſtood, I have thought good more at large to relate his Actions at the preſent. When therefore he had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Eryx*, and placed a Gariſon in it, he marched to the City of the *Ægins* which is of a very convenient ſcituation, near the Haven of *Panormus*, and well fenced with works; there being received with the good will of the Citizens, he removed his Camp

Camp to *Panormus* it ſelf, which received its name from the fair and ample haven which leadeth to it: This he took by force, and having likewiſe taken a place called *Epirete*, ſeated in a pleaſant mountain, but upon hard paſſages, between *Panormus* and *Eryx*, he had now the poſſeſſion of all the Carthaginian Province, excepting only *Lilybæum*. This City was lately built by the Carthaginians, as an habitation for the Moztians, whoſe town *Dionyſius* the Tyrant had in the Punick War demoliſhed. Wherefore the Carthaginians, ſeeing that of all their dominions in *Sicily*, their hopes were confin'd to this only place, reſolved with their utmoſt ſtrength to defend it againſt the preparations they underſtood *Pyrrhus* made for the ſiege of it. Wherefore bringing in thither a conſiderable ſtrength of Souldiers, with plentiful proviſion, as likewiſe amunition of all ſorts (which they had opportunity enough to do, having the command of the ſeas) they diligently adhibited all care poſſible to fence it on every ſide: Eſpecially where it lay open to the land they erected many Forts and Towers, encompaſſed with large ditches: Their work was the ſooner finiſhed, in regard the town being for the moſt part of it built upon the Rocks of the ſea, needed no artificial Bulwarks in thoſe places. Now, though they made great preparations for the War, and had hired many forces, as from other Countries, ſo from *Italy* alſo; yet they ſent Embaſſadors, promiſing, *If they could obtain peace upon equal conditions, to aſſiſt him with mony and ſhips.* *Pyrrhus* would hear no mention of money, deſiring only to retain thoſe Cities he had taken, ſeeming willing to allow them the poſſeſſion of *Lilybæum*. But the Kings friends, and the Sicilian Princes enforming him, *That ſo long as the Carthaginians held* Lilybæum, *(as a ladder ready prepared whereby to ſcale all the reſt of* Sicily) *the Iſland would never be void of the fear of them*; cauſed him to return anſwer, *That there was but this one condition of peace he would agree to, to wit, That they ſhould clearly quit* Sicily, *and ſuffer the ſea to be the bounds of either's dominions.* The hopes of peace being thus broken off, he draweth his forces forthwith toward the City, and Marſhalling his army not far from the walls, in ſuch order as thoſe who were tired might (by turns) be relieved by freſh men, he began the aſſault. But the Lilybætans having a ſufficient number of ſouldiers to defend them, and being provided of Engines and Amunition kept the City ſafe. For the Carthaginians had brought in ſo many Catapults and Scorpians that the whole compaſſe of the walls was not able to receive them.

*Polybius* 1. 1. *Dionyſ. apud Valeſium* *Diodori Eclog* *Zonaras.* *Plutarch* *Pyrrho* c. 1. 58 *Diodorus* *Diodorus*

When therefore a ſhower of all ſorts of weapons and darts overwhelmed the Kings Men, ſlaying many and wounding more, they deſiſted from their Enterprize. *Pyrrhus* likewiſe ſet himſelfe to work to make Engines of Battery, beſide thoſe he brought from *Syracuſe*, and digging Mines under ground, he attempted all arts belonging to a ſiege: But the Carthaginians ſtoutly reſiſting, when he had for almoſt two months wearied himſelf in vaine, and ſaw that the beſieged having free egreſſe and regreſſe at ſea, the Citie could not be taken, he broke up his ſiege and employ'd his forces other where. For ſome Greek Cities, beſides other heavy oppreſſions, being compelled to pay tribute, implored his aſſiſtance againſt the Mamertines, living upon the ſea coaſt. *Pyrrhus* therefore leading his Army in haſt, when he had taken and ſlain ſome Mamertines he found gathering Taxes in thoſe places, Encountring their main body proved Conquerour, and took by force and demoliſh'd many of their Garriſon. And hitherto the King by his Illuſtrious performances had obtained great Power and Honour, having beſide his other Vertues, with his ſingular Humanity not only won, but deſerved the Love and Affections of the Cities. But this ſo great Felicity, which one would think ſo firmely grounded, was in a moment deſtroy'd, as by that Levity of Mind which was never wanting in this people, and by the Intemperance of his friends, ſo chiefely by the Kings own fault. Who, being in adverſity irreprehenſibly good, was puffed up with pride in his proſperity, in which Condition Mens minds are indeed generally found to be weakeſt. When therefore, as we have ſaid, he eſteemed a Fleet neceſſary for the accompliſhment of his undertaking, and that though he had many ſhips, yet they were not well furniſh'd with Sea-men, he very much offended the City with a ſtrict Preſs of Sea-men; being now on a ſudden changed, and from his former gentleneſs proceeding to proud commands, threats and extreme puniſhments; theſe things nevertheleſs were tolerated, as having the pretence of publick good. But, when they ſaw thoſe very men to be ſlain, by whoſe good will and aſſiſtance chiefly he had obtained *Sicily*, many people, not by degrees, or interpoſing delayes, but on the ſudden changing their minds, revolted from his friendſhip, and applied themſelves (as for every one was moſt opportune) ſome to the Carthaginians, ſome to the Mamertines. So that cruelty, which when it is alone is alwayes grievous, doth then become utterly intolerable, when being exerciſed againſt the well-deſerving, it contracteth (beſide the hatred properly due to it ſelf) the deteſtation of an unthankful and perfidious mind. He ſeemeth to have brought himſelf to this neceſſity of governing by violence, being too much over-ruled by the naughty Affections and counſels of his own men, for unto them (being no whit better) did he beſtow the riches which were ſequeſtred from the friends and kinſmen of *Agathocles*. The chief Magiſtracies of Cities he committed to his Penſioners and Captains, not according to the ſtatutes and cuſtoms of the Cities, nor for the due time preſcribed, but in what manner, and for as long as he pleaſed. Law ſuits, and controverſies, and the whole adminiſtration of publick buſineſſes he aſſumed to himſelf, referring many to his Familiars and Favourites, who were hateful for their avarice and luxury, a like intent upon gaining and ſpending mony by wickedneſs, who being greedy to ſatisfie their own luſt, make no diſtinction between

*Plutarch* *Polybius* 1. 8 *Plutarch* *Plutarch* *Fazellus* Hiſt. Sic. dec. 1. b. 1 *Plutarch* *Dion. apud Valeſium*

between Right and Wrong. Mens mindes being hereby incenſed they begun firſt to murmur, afterward openly to Complain, *why they had repented of their former Condition, if now the very ſame things were to be born withall? that in vain was* Pyrrhus *invited and received, if he ſtudied to imitate thoſe manners he came to puniſh; that no injury can poſſibly be of ſo ſharp ſenſe and Apprehenſion, as that whereof he is the Author who ought to have been the Avenger.* And now many began not very obſcurely to move ſedition, and cauſe a Revolution of things, whereas he hearkning to pernicious Counſell, choſe rather to encreaſe cauſes of Offence, then take them away: as if what evil was by Injuſtice committed, were by Cruelty to be mended. In the meane time the Carthaginians, obſerving that *Pyrrhus* was not very ſtrong in his own Country forces, and was daily leſs affected by the Sicilians, conceiving hopes of recovering their loſt Province, had ſent over an new Army which found buſineſs enough for the Epirots, many flying over to them who ſtood in fear of *Pyrrhus*'s cruelty. *Pyrrhus* under pretence of the Punick War, introducing Garriſons into the Cities, reſolved by falſe accuſations of Treaſon to take away the lives of the greateſt men, thinking afterward the more eaſily to keep the people in awe. At length he aimed at *Thenio* and *Soſiſtratus*, the principal men of the whole Iſland, by whoſe aſſiſtance chiefly (as we have declared) he obtained the command of *Sicily*. *Thenio* was ſlain, *Soſiſtratus* fled to the enemy affording him no leſſe help and authority to the caſting *Pyrrhus* out of *Sicily*, then he had before to the bringing him in and confirming him there.

*Plutarch*
*Zonaras*
*Dionyſius*
*Zonaras*
*Dionyſ.*
*Plutarch*
*Pyrrho. C. 52.*

Upon this many Cities revolting, greater part to the Carthaginians, ſome to the Mamertines, *Pyrrhus* his affairs were reduced from a moſt flouriſhing Condition to a very narrow and evil ſtate. In this Conjuncture the embaſſage of his Italians confederates came not unwelcome to him, complaining, *That having loſt all things, they had very few Cities left which were able with much ado to keep the Enemy from entring their walls.* This gave him a faire and honourable Pretence of departing, that he might ſeeme, not expelled out of *Sicily* by the Carthaginians, But to return into *Italy* for the Relief of his oppreſſed aſſociates. Being now juſt going, when he ſeriouſly conſidered the ſcituation and wealth of the Iſland, and diſpoſition of the Inhabitants, *O* (ſaith he) *what a fair field do we leave the Romans and Carthaginians to fight in for Superiority!* And his Preſage proved true, as was witneſſed by the wars ſuddenly enſuing, wherein ſo many Navies were deſtroyed, and Armies routed.

*Illuſt.* 23 2
*Plutarch*
*Appian* apud *Valeſium*
*Plutarch.*

But the Enemies Courage increaſing with their Fortune, *Pyrrhus* had neither a ſafe departure out of *Sicily*, nor a quiet Voyage to the Tarentines in *Italy*. The Carthaginians aſſaulting him in his Paſſage croſs the ſea, ſunk ſeventy of his ſhips, and made the reſt uſeleſs (the Epirots almoſt utterly unskilful in Maritine affaires, being not able to grapple with men of ſuch Experience therein) ſo he fled out of the Fight with Twelve ſhips into *Italy*, who had come thence, with above an hundred, beſides a greater number of ſhips of Burthen. But gathering together thoſe ſouldiers who made a ſhift from the Overthrow to eſcape to ſhore, he had preſently a ſtrength ſo great that he conceived hopes of taking *Rhegium* by ſtorme. But being beaten off by the Campanians who defended it, he preſently fell into a great danger. For as he led his Army through blind and difficult paſſages, the Enemy out of Ambuſh fell upon his Reare, and ſlew a great Number of his Men, with two Elephants. 'Twas no contemptible force, neither for Number nor the quality of the Warriours, which thus aſſaulted him; they were little leſs then ten thouſand old ſouldiers, moſt of them Mamertines, who truſting in their friendſhip and cognation with the Rhegians, having underſtood that *Pyrrhus* intended to return for *Italy*, had croſſed the ſea before him, and in hope of prey had privily diſpoſed of themſelves in advantageous places to make a ſudden irruption upon him.

*Pauſan.* b. 1
*Appian*
*Plutarch*
*Appian*
*Zonaras*
*Plutarch*
*Pyrrho. c.* 53
*Polyb.* 1. 18
*Plutarch*

*Pyrrhus*, according to his wonted Boldneſſe fighting in the front of his Battel, received a wound in his head, which when he was gone aſide to dreſs, one of the enemies of large ſtature, and gallant in his Armour, advancing before the reſt of his Fellows, Challeng'd him with a loud Voice, bidding him, *If he were a live, to come forth.* *Pyrrhus* burning with anguer, and Terrible in Countenance, the blood running about his face, his men not being able to hold him, made a ſudden aſſault upon him, and with a blow on his head ſtruck him to the ground. 'Tis reported, his ſword was ſo well temper'd and his Arme ſo ſtrong, that at one ſtroke he cleft the Man in ſunder, even from the head to the bottom of his body, his parts on each ſide divided falling to the ground. The enemie terrified with the ſtrange novelty of this ſpectacle, and admiring him as above the ordinary Ranke of Men, left off the fight. *Pyrrhus*, being rid of this trouble, had notwithſtanding little joy. For, inaſmuch as he now loſt part of his Carriages, and that the wealth he had gather'd by the ſpoils of the *Sicilians*, was loſt in his laſt fight with the Carthaginians, he was in great want of moneys, ſo that his ſouldiers murmuring for pay, knowing not how elſewhere to provide it, he was compell'd to ſeize upon the Treaſury of *Proſerpine*: Her Church at *Locri* was in thoſe dayes moſt famous for the Reputation of its holineſs; which town, when *Pyrrhus* had taken by the aſſiſtance of his faction within it, he committed many horrid facts by ſlaughter and rapine, more then the juſt revenge of his ſlain Garriſon did require. But there being nothing left which men would or could contribute to him, he laid hands on the holy money, being urged thereunto by his worſt friends, who had moſt commonly been the authors of every pernicious counſel: Theſe were *Evagorus* the ſon of *Theodorus*, *Balacer* the ſon of *Nicandar*, and *Dinarchus* the ſon of *Niceas*. They did not only perſwade

*Liv.* 29. 18
*Appian* apud *Valeſium*
*Dio.* apud *Valeſium*

ſwade *Pyrrhus*, telling him that all things muſt yield to Neceſſity, but were themſelves inſtruments in the ſacriledge, diging up a vaſt ſumme of Gold, which had many years been preſerved in vaults under ground. *Pyrrhus* rejoycing ſaid, *there is nothing more fooliſh then unſeaſonable Devotion, and not to accept of Money ready prepar'd to one's hand is the part of a mad man.* And putting it into his ſhips he gave order to have it carried to *Tarentus*, himſelf going by land. *Suidas in* Ἄκυος. *Appian.*

But this his fact was not more foule in the Commiſſion, then it was unhappy in the Iſſue. A ſtorme ſuddenly ariſing upon the change of Wind, in the night time, turned about the ſhips in the dark; breaking ſome into pieces, and forcing others into the Maine. The ſhips which conveighed the Holy Money being ſhatter'd and torne into pieces, were ſunk with all the men in them, but the money it ſelfe lying upon ſome looſe planks, was by the waves carried to the ſhore very neer the Temple, from whence it was the day before taken. *Pyrrhus* underſtanding the Accident, commanded the money to be diligently gather'd up and returned to its former place, thinking thereby to appeaſe the Angry *Deity*. Nevertheleſs henceforward he had no better ſucceſs, Fortune Eluding all his Deſignes whatſoever, even thoſe which were upon good advice, and Virtuouſly undertaken. Which he did alwayes after conſtantly impute to the Anger of the Offended *Goddeſs*, as *Proxcinus* the writer of his Hiſtory, and himſelf in his Commentary do affirme; and when the thing was newly done, not being able by many Sacrifices to make propitiation to *Proſerpina*, he put to death all the Authors of that unhappy Counſell, the inſtruments of the Fact, and every one who had but lightly conſented to the Commiſſion of it. And theſe being executed according to their Deſerts, *Pyrrhus* proſecuting his Deſign had afterward a quiet journey to *Tarentus*; The Romans being ſtill more afflicted with the Plague, and fearing a new war upon *Pyrrhus* his return into *Italy*, attempted all Meanes both Divine and Humane for their Reliefe. 'Twas an old opinion, that the Peſtilence might be ſtayed by the Dictatours ſtrikeing in of a Naile; for the Experiment of which hopes 'tis probable that *P. Cornelius Rufinus* was choſen Dictatour; for as the greatneſs of the Calamity might well provoke them to try all Remedies, ſo we find that *Rufinus* was the year after taken notice of by the Cenſours, when he had been twice Conſull and twice Dictatour, neither can there be found a more certain monument of, or a more convenient place for that his Dictatourſhip. Againſt the ſickneſs providing what Remedy they could, their Chiefeſt care and diligence was required in matter of Armes, eſpecially in regard of the Difficulty in raiſing Men. For beſides the length of the Warre, the continuance of the Peſtilence had made men weary of entring into action, inſomuch as the young Men did with wonderful Obſtinacy decline the ſervice. But the ſeverity and conſtancy of *M. Curius Dentatus* the ſecond time Conſull overcame this their wilfulneſs, for he now had entred the Magiſtracy with *L. Cornelius Lentulus* his Colleague. When therefore in the Capitoll he firſt began his Leavy, becauſe no man anſwered, he cauſed the names of all the Tribes to be caſt into an Urne, and the *Pollian* Tribe coming out firſt, he cauſed the firſt man of that Tribe whoſe name was drawn to be ſummon'd; and when he refuſed to appear, he ſequeſtred and ſold his Goods; when afterwards he appealed to the Tribunes complaining of the Conſulls Injuſtice, he ſold him alſo, ſaying, *The Commonwealth had no need of ſuch Citizens who knew not how to obey.* The Tribunes nevertheleſs did not relieve him, and afterward the example being judged very wholeſom grew into Cuſtome, that when a Leavy was rightly and duly made, he who would not be a ſouldier ſhould be ſold for a ſlave. Others being terrified by this Precedent did the more readily give in their Names, and having filled up their Legions both the Conſulls marched into the Enemies Country; *Lentulus* into *Lucania*, *Curius* into *Samnium*. *Pyrrhus* having intelligence of their motion, muſtered his army at *Tarentus*, and found himſelf almoſt twenty Thouſand ſtrong in Foot, together with three thouſand horſe. *Livie.29.1.* *Appian.* *Diodorus.* *Livie 29.8.* *Livie 29.18.* *Val.Max.1.1.1 Ext.* *Suidas in* παρασκευασθεὶς μεν. *Livius* *Dion.* *Appian* *Plutarch Pyrrho c. 53.* *Livie 7. 3.* *Pighius in Annal. Romanis* 478. *Varro in Satyra* Γέρων λος Διδασκάλω. *Val.Max.6.3.4* *Livie Epit. 14.* *Plutarch Pyrrho c.54.*

With theſe and the choice young men of the Tarentines he entred *Samnium*, but found not the Inhabitants ſo obedient as heretofore, they came not in ſo freely and readily as they had done, not only becauſe their courage was over-wearied with the great and many loſſes they had ſuſtained, but becauſe they were juſtly exaſperated, imputing all their calamities to *Pyrrhus*, which they had not ſuffered, had not he by his departure into *Sicily* betraid his Italian aſſociates. Nevertheleſs he gathered together ſo great a ſtrength, that he ſent one part into *Lucania* to buſie the other Conſul, while himſelf encountred *Man. Curius*, thinking if he once overcame him, he ſhould eaſily complete his Victory over the reſt. But the Roman very well underſtanding, that there is no *Battalia* comparable to the Macedonian Phalanx, when it hath *Rome* to ſpread and expatiate it ſelf, kept himſelf in craggy and difficult places; and becauſe he expected help from *Lucania*, and that the Auguries alſo and Entrailes of beaſts promiſed no good ſucceſs, he declined fight as much as might be: ſo much the more earneſt was *Pyrrhus* to engage before the two Conſullar Armies were joyned together. Chuſing therefore out of his Army thoſe who were moſt forward, he reſolved to aſſault the Roman Camp in the night time, when he might not be diſcovered. But while he prepared all things for his intended purpoſe, he fell into a deep ſleep and dreamt, that the greater part of his Teeth fell out, and that an abundance of blood flowed out of his mouth; in conſideration whereof being much perplex'd, he intended to deſiſt from his enterprize; but his friends earneſtly perſwading him, *Leſt he ſhould never again have the ſame opportunity offer'd him*, he gave order to advance. Near the City of *Male-* *Frontinus Strat. 2. 2.* *Dion. apud Fulvium* *Cluverius Italiæ antiquæ 4.8.*

*Maleventum* (for that was the name of it in thoſe dayes) are Mountainous and Woody places, which by degrees ſtretching themſelves into ſomewhat more even ground, at length end in a very fair and open plain which is called by the name of the *Tauraſine Fields.*

*Plutarch* Now *Pyrrhus* beginning his journey from the Lower grounds up to the hills and woods, when his lights failed, was wildred for want of knowledg in the wayes, in ſo much that (the day breaking) he was diſcovered from the Roman camp. The Romans being moved at the unexpected approach of the enemie, yet, (becauſe there was no doubt made but fight they muſt, and their ſacrifices now proveing more favourable) with the Conſull's conduct cheerefully iſſued out, and falling upon the foremoſt of the enemy, (who were far from the Main body, and not in very good order) drove them backward, killing no ſmall number of men, and taking ſome Elephants which the enemy left behind. This ſucceſſe encouraged *Curius*, to follow his Fortune and deſcend into the open field in Battel-aray prepared to fight. Neither did the Epirots make any delay. The encounter was very fierce and furious on both ſides, but the Romans having had the upper hand in the late skirmiſh, were much fuller of Courage and hopes. The Epirots giving back, *Pyrrhus* now again ſought Refuge from his Elephants, and thereby (one of his own wings flying) he forced one of the Romans Wings to retire even to their Reſerve. There had the Conſul placed a ſtrong force (reſolving upon this occaſion to engage himſelf) which he commanded, being now freſh, to renew the fight, and beat back the Elephants. Former experience had taught them an eaſie and ready way to oppoſe theſe beaſts, that they were ſooner diverted by fire then the ſword: Againſt them therefore were provided Iron inſtruments involved in much Pitch and Tar, which, being ſet on fire, were darted upon the backs and Towers of the Elephants, and whether they light on the skin of the beaſts, or on the wood of the Towers, they ſtuck faſt by reaſon of their hooked ſharp points. Theſe inſtruments and divers ſorts of darts, being flung from the upper ground, drove the Elephants into fury, partly by terror, partly by the pain of their wounds, ſo that their maſters not being able to govern them, they ruſhed back upon their own battel, filling it with fear and ſlaughter. The beginning of this Rout is reported to be by a young Elephant, which being wounded in his head, ſent forth a querulous noiſe, at which known voice the Dam was firſt ſtartled, and ſhe increaſing the tumult, at length the reſt were all in confuſion and turned into flight. Very remarkable was this fight, both for the number of the ſlain and the fruit of the victory. For *Pyrrhus* being hereby utterly overthrown, neither did the reſt of *Italy* long hold out, neither, after *Italy*, was any other Nation and King able to ſtand againſt them. 'Tis ſaid the King in that Battel had thrice the number of the Romans, even fourſcore thouſand foot, and ſix thouſand horſe; of theſe they who report the moſt ſay, ſix and thirty thouſand were ſlain, they who report the leaſt, ſay ſix and twenty thouſand; thirteen hundred were taken priſoners, and eight Elephants. *Pyrrhus* with a few horſmen eſcaped to *Tarentus*. The Camp of *Pyrrhus* being taken, as it cauſed admiration, ſo was it of great uſe to the Romans. For they heretofore, as other people, ordered their Camp ſcatteringly by companies in the manner of Cottages: *Pyrrhus* is held to be the firſt who rightly meaſuring and dividing ſpaces, contained the whole Army within one Trench; and by his example the Romans being aſſiſted, and adding what they thought convenient, attained to that moſt perfect manner of pitching their Camps which afterwards they uſed.

*Oroſius*
*Plutarch*
*Florus.* 1.8
*Zonaras*
*Plutarch*
*Florus* 2.1
*Dionyſ. apud Valeſium*
*Oroſius*
*Eutropius* b. 2
*Frontinus* Strat. 4.1

This year was very famous, not only for their happy war abroad, but by reaſon alſo of Domeſtick affairs, and the notable ſeverity of their City Diſcipline. *Q. Fabricius Luſcinus*, and *Q. Emilius Papus*, being Cenſors together, took away from many the Publick horſes, and paſſed by many in calling the Senate. But moſt remarkable was *Cornelius Rufinus* his note of Infamy, who having been twice Conſul and twice Dictator, was ejected the Senate by the Cenſors, and this reaſon given of his Puniſhment, *That they found in his houſe the weight of ten pounds in plate to ſerve at meals*: And in this Condition not only himſelf but his Family for a long time remained, whereof not any one attained to the higheſt honours, before *Sylla* the Dictator.

*Plutarch Sylla* c.1

Such was the Parſimony of this Citie in thoſe dayes, and afterward ſo great the extravagancy, that it was by the Fathers condemned as an argument of intolerable Luxury, what their children would ſhortly eſteem but a baſe and contemptible piece of houſhold-ſtuffe: Every mans eſtate being ceſſed and valued, the Army was purged by ſacrifices; there were ceſſed two hundred ſeventy one thouſand, two hundred twenty four Citizens. Both Conſuls entred the Capitoll in triumph, firſt *Curius*, whoſe triumph was the more illuſtrious, as for the fame of his Exploits, and great joy of his victory, ſo did it exceed in Pomp and ſplendour. For heretofore their triumphs being over poor People their neighbours, were ſet out only with broken armes and Gallick waggons, nor any ſpoiles led but flockes and herds of Cattel But now there was a worthy ſhew both for the varietie of Nations which were led Captive before the Chariot, and for the Beauty and Magnificence of the ſpoyls. Epirots, Theſſalians, Macedonians, Apulians, Lucanians, Brutians were led Bound, there were carried Painted Tables, the works of choice and rare Artificers, Gold, Purple, with other beyond ſea rarietie, and the inſtrument of the Tarentine Luxury. But the moſt wonderful and joyful ſpectacle were the Elephants with their four Towers on their backs. (for the reſt were dead of their wounds) This was the firſt time they were ever ſeen at *Rome*; the common people called them *Luca-Bulls*, giving them their name from the creature they were hitherto beſt acquainted with, and their deno-

*Val. Maximus* 2.9.3
*Liv. Epit.*
*Faſti. Capitol.*
*Florus* 1.18
*Seneca de Brev. vitæ* c.13
*Eutropius*
*Plin.* 8.6

denomination from the place they firſt ſaw them in; within few dayes after was the other Conſulls Triumph nothing ſo gallant, though his performances were not to be deſpiſed; he had overthrown the Samnites and Lucanians, and taken many Townes, but in compariſon of *Curius* his Glory the Eſteem of theſe things were not ſo high. Among the reſt who had Rewards beſtow'd on them for their Courage, he gave to *Sev. Cornelius Merenda* a Crown of Gold out of the ſpoiles, becauſe by his help chiefly a Certain Town of the Samnites was taken. *Plin. 33. 2.* While the Romans thus enjoy'd the comfort of their Victories, the Enemy was in a far different poſture. They had been long weary of *Pyrrhus* his Domination, but now after this unhappy fight, their mindes were ſo filled with fear and Indignation that they could take no Reſt.

The King having been a long time averſe from the Roman Warre, now utterly deſpairing of the Conqueſt, thought of nothing more then how to get ſafely and honourably out of *Italy*. But keeping his Counſell to himſelfe, he encouraged his Aſſociates, *That they ſhould not be caſt down by one unluckly Overthrow, that they had not received ſo much loſs by the laſt fight, as by the former they had cauſed to the Romans, who notwithſtanding could not be perſwaded to Peace upon equal Conditions; That now they ſhould imitate the Roman Conſtancy, and reſerve themſelves for better fortune, and all would yet go well; That there is yet ſtrength ſufficient left, whereby to maintain a long Warre; That in* Greece *he had many Potent Friends, from whom he might certainly expect ſuccour.* Neither were theſe things incredible, For he had already, eſpecially by *Ptolomy* (who was then King of *Macedon*) been manifeſtly aſſiſted; he being then in great Eſtimation both among Greeks and Barbarians, being much honour'd by the Etolians (then a moſt powerful Nation) as alſo by the Macedonians and the Kings of *Illyrium*, having obliged ſome by Courteſies, others by Fear. Yet all his boaſting was more with intent, to retain his Confederates (now ready to revolt) in Fidelity, till the ſeas were open for his Returne, then to continue the Warre in *Italy*, or that he put any Truſt in Forreign Aid. Sending nevertheleſs his Embaſſadours to the Kings of *Aſia* and *Macedonia*, of ſome he craved moneys, of others Men, of *Antigonus* (who was then King of *Macedon*) he craved both. With theſe hopes keeping his aſſociates firme to him (having in the mean time underhand provided all things for his Departure) his Embaſſadours now returned from *Antigonus*. Aſſembling therefore his own and the *Italian* Princes, he read unto them not thoſe Letters which now he received, but others which came before from *Antigonus*, promiſing plentifull Aſſiſtance ſuddenly to be ſent; By this Craft having deluded both his own Aſſociates, as alſo the Romans who garriſon'd neer him, the night following without any hindrance he hoyſed ſaile, and made the *Ceraunian* Mountaines a Promontory of *Epirus*. But that he might ſeem not diſhonourably to have relinquiſhed the war, and ingenerate a beliefe of his Return after he had accompliſhed the Deſign he was call'd aſide for, he left behind him *Milo* to defend the Caſtle of *Tarentus*, and that he might not onely by hope of Reward, but by fear of the like Puniſhment, continue faithfull, he gave him a ſeat whoſe cover mas made of *Nicias* his skin, whom he had put to death for his Treaſon againſt him. Leaving therefore with him a garriſon of ſouldiers, with the Reſt (to wit eight thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe) he returned into his Kingdom, having been ſix yeares abſent. At *Rome* not knowing but that *Pyrrhus* would renew the warre, they did at their Aſſembly chooſe *M. Curius* Conſull again, becauſe he onely having had good ſucceſs againſt the King, was thought like to carry on the warre with greateſt Authority, and beſt fortune, of the Patricians *Ser. Cornelius Merenda* was choſen, being promoted by his late purchaſed honour, and the Commendation of his Countreymen, under whoſe cómmand he was laſt year; Theſe being made Conſull, reconverted the heat of the warre againſt the Lucanians, Samnites and Brutians, who defending themſelves rather by the Difficulty of Places then by Armes, gave no occaſion of any Memorable action like the former. Neither was *Curius* his Glory hereby diminiſhed; every one ſtill judging, that that Valiant K. *Pyrrhus* fled not ſo much for the overthrow ſuſtain'd, as fearing ſuch a Captain as *Curius* now again coming forth againſt him. To him therefore was attributed the Glory of having chaſed *Pyrrhus* out of *Italy*, and finiſhing the Warre. In that year which followed *Curius* his Third Conſulſhip, there came Embaſſadours from the *Alexandrine* Kings with gifts to *Rome*, and in the Conſulſhip of *C. Dorſo* and *C. Claudius Canina*, *Ptolomeus Philadelphus* hearing of *Pyrrhus* his flight, ſent to congratulate with the Romans, and to deſire *to be Eſteemed their Friend and Aſſociate.* The Romans thought it very honourable that their Friendſhip was ſought by Kings ſo Potent and farre diſtant, therefore courteouſly receiving and entertaining the Embaſſadours, they agreed to enter League with *Ptolomy*, for the Confirmation whereof, and to return the like Kind office to the Kings, they ſent Embaſſadoures to him choſen out of their Principal Men, of the Conſulars *Q. Fabius Gurges*, and with him *C. Fabius Pictor*, and *Numerius Fabius Pictor*, and *Q. Ogulinus*. Theſe being gone, the Conſulls had good ſucceſs againſt the *Italian* People, who ſtill out of Neceſſity and Deſpaire kept up their Armes. The Triumph which *Claudius Canina* made in the *Quirinalls* over the Lucanians, Samnites and Brutians, is an Argument, that his Actions were of the greater Conſequence: But the Joy of all this Proſperity was ſomewhat diminiſh'd by *Sextilia* a Veſtall Virgin, who againſt the Rules of her Order being found guilty of Inceſt, was thought to provoke the Anger of the Gods.

*Plutarch Pyrrho. c. 57.*

*Livie Epit. 14. Eutropius. b. 2. 480. Zonaras Euſebius Numb. 1729. Dion. apud Ful. Urſinum. Epit. Livie. Zonaras. Val. Max 4. 9. 3. Livie Epit. Capitolin. Marmora. Livie Epit.*

But appeasing the gods by Sacrifices and Ceremonies, they turned the punishment on the head of the delinquent, and buryed her alive at the Colline Gate. While the same men were Consuls there were Colonies planted, *Cosa* among the Volscians, and in *Lucania Paestum*, which the Greeks call *Posidonia*; this City the Lucanians had taken from the Sybarites, and from them it lately came under the jurisdiction of the Romans. The memory of the year following is more notable, as putting an end not only to the war of the Samnites and others, but of the Tarentines also. *L. Papirius Cursor*, and *Sp. Carvilius* the second time Consuls, having *Lucania*, *Samnium*, with the Brutians and Tarentines for their Provinces, did by their wisdom and worthy deeds fulfil the expectation of all men, for indeed this pair of Consuls was on purpose chosen in hope of finishing the War this year. The Samnites being conquer'd by *Carvilius* the seventy first year after the war first began, did now with greater faithfulness receive the conditions of Peace imposed on them. *Lu. Papirius* with great slaughter having overcome the Brutians and Lucanians, compelled them to sue for peace. But (as it happens in one main war against many neighbouring People, the confines of whose Territories were interchangeably mixed) *Papirius* had to do also with the Samnites, *Carvilius* with the Brutians and Lucanians, and both of them with the Tarentines. Neither were the forces only of the Tarentines routed and put to flight, but their City also recover'd into obedience. Which business ought to be the more punctually related, because, besides the Victory of a most famous City, it comprehendeth the death of *Pyrrhus*, the subtilty of the Carthaginians, and the first beginning of emulation between them and the Romans.

Orosius 4. 2
Vellcius 1. 14
Plin. 3. 5
Strab. b. 2
481
Livie, 24. 9
Zonaras
Livie 31 31
Liv. Epit.

*Pyrrhus*, when two years since he sailed from *Italy*, left a Garrison in the Castle of *Tarentus*, thereby to beget hopes of his return, which afterward being the more confidently expected by reason of his success in *Macedonia*, did strengthen the minds of the Italians against their present losses. For being a man of a fierce stirring spirit, not able long to rest, he had made war upon *Antigonus*, because he sent him no assistance into *Italy*, and overcoming him in a set battel, had almost driven him out of his Kingdom. Whence the Romans were in perpetual fear least he should return into *Italy* with a more numerous Army, and renew the war more heavily then before. But his unexpected death did suddenly cut off both his hopes and fears of all men. For being insatiably desirous of encreasing his power, under pretence of resetling *Cleomens* in his Kingdom of *Sparta* (being then at odds with *Areus*) he entred *Peloponnesus* with a purpose to keep it in his own hands; and though he did in vain assault their City, yet he afflicted the Lacedemonians with great calamities: In *Argos*, in the mean time, there being two Factions, *Aristippus* the head of the one called in *Antigonus*, *Aristias* Patron of the other invited *Pyrrhus* to his relief and for the pulling down his adversary. For *Antigonus* was also come into *Peloponnesus* to assist the Lacedemonians against the common enemy. In the same night at divers Ports were both the Kings forces admitted into the City by the Argives. *Pyrrhus* understanding his men were hard put to it, entred the City himself, and beholding a Brass Statue of a Wolf and a Bull as fighting, was presently possessed with an opinion of his approaching death. For he was informed by an antient Oracle, That that place would prove fatal to him where he should see a Wolf and a Bull fighting; he was therefore resolved to draw back his forces and retreat out of the City. But the Elephants and souldiers coming in to his succour, meeting *Helenus* the son of *Pyrrhus*, quite stopped up the passage, so that some striving to go out, some to come in, the enemy likewise sore pressing upon those who gave back, the Argives, Macedonians, Epirots and Lacedæmonians who came along with *Areus*, some Elephants also, all crouding and being crouded one by another in narrow streets, caused great fear and tumult amongst them.

Pausan
Plutarch
Plutarch Pyrrho c. 57.

*Pyrrhus* in the midst of all, every where endeavouring to protect his own, and beat back the enemy (giving advice, crying out with his voice and lifting up his hand) was by a certain young man of *Argos* lightly wounded with a spear. This young man's mother a poor old woman (sitting among others upon the house top to behold the fight) when she saw *Pyrrhus* in fury and violence setting upon him who wounded him, being astonished at her son's danger, suddenly snatched up a Tile, and with both her hands flung it down on the Kings head. So miserable and void of honour was *Pyrrhus* his death, then whom that Age brought not forth any man more worthy, either for Courage of Mind, Soundness in Counsel or Skil in Marshal affairs, besides many other endowments both of Soul and Body. But by his Ambition he destroy'd the fruit of all his Labours, and defaced the Ornaments of his Virtue; he would have been much more happy if contented with his own fortune; and certainly the most potent Prince living had he used as much Wisdom and Circumspection in keeping what he got, as did Valour and Industry in the acquiring.

Strabo
Ovid in Ibim.
Dionys. apud Valesium
Justin. 25. 5
Justin. 25. 4

This news, being brought into *Italy*, did diversly, according to their several Affections, cause joy in some Cities, and sorrow in others. Other People who were at their own disposal, bought their Peace of the Romans upon what termes they could; But the Garrison of the Epirots, and *Milo* governour of the Castle restrained the Tarentines from using their Liberty. Between whom, by degrees from lighter injurys and Reproaches, at length brake out open Enmity; so that the Tarentines being on each hand pressed with great Difficulties, having the Romans their Enemies without the walls, and the Epirots within, sent Embassadours to crave succour from *Carthage*. The Carthaginians, who possessed great part of *Sicily* and wished the

Zonaras.
Orosius 4. 1.

Coast-

Coast-Towns of *Italy* rather in their own hands then the Romans, readily came with a mighty Navy, pretending only to cast out *Milo*, but resolving, if they gained *Tarentus*, to maintain it against the Romans. When therefore *L. Papirius* the Consul was also come, *Tarentus* was shut up on all sides, the Romans beleaguring that part of the Citie and Castle by land, the Carthaginians besieging the same Castle by sea. The Romans, in this state of affaires, being no lesse solicitous lest the Carthaginians should take the Castle then that themselves should loose it, subtilly attempting all means of victory, treated with *Milo* by Convenient Messengers, *That if by his means they obtained* Tarentus, *they would suffer himself, with all his Men, safely to depart with bag and baggage.* *Milo*, sending nothing at present more convenient for him, deals with the Tarentines. *That joyning Counsels together they might deliberate on their Common safety*: and at length perswades them, *To send himself Embassadour to Papirius, diligently to conclude on Articles for all their Benefits.* As they had willingly hereunto assented out of wearinesse of Cares and dangers: *Milo* accordingly, being gone to the Consul, with whom he had secretly contrived his Designe, brings back prety faire conditions, and a most certain hope of making an agreement not to be repented of. The Credulous Tarentines hereupon with much security and confidence lay aside all care and Circumspection, giving *Milo* opportunity of delivering not only the Castle, but also the Citie it selfe up to the Romans. The Carthaginians no whit contented with this Event, nevertheless pretending, *Themselves friends to the Romans, and that the only cause of their coming was to Expel* Milo, hoised sails and returned. Some Authors affirm that the Romans forwarned the Carthaginians, *That if they intermedled in the Tarentine affairs, they would make a breach of the League*, and that they not only slighted this admonition, but sent Auxiliaries to stand in Battel against them; upon which account chiefly the War brake forth between the Romans and Carthaginians in *Sicily*; though the Carthaginians, willing to cover their fault by Perjury, took Oath, *That they did nothing with evil or deceitful intent.* As I will not deny but that some such passage might happen between the Generals, or that the people commonly discourse so, while the Romans brooked not the others presence, and the Carthaginian endeavoured to keep close their design; so I think there afterwards arose more probable causes of that War, in that it brake not out on the sudden. And that it was occasioned chiefly upon the Mamertines account, while the League was entire between the Romans and Carthaginians.

Livie Epitom. 14 — *Frontinus* stratagem 3.3 — *Zonaras* — *Orosius* 4 3 — Livie Epitom — *Gotefreidus. Viterbiensis Paulus diac. Hist. Miscel.* 2.23

The Consuls returning home, were received with the joy and salutes of all, and triumphed in great Pompe, with much Goodwill of the People. In the mean time *Q. Fabius Gurges*, and the others who were sent to *Alexandria*, relate in Senate the Result of their Embassage, *That they were received and Entertained with all kind of Hospitality and Benevolence, that great and Magnificent gifts were sent to them at their first arrival, but much greater at their departure, that they thought it to become the Roman dignity and abstinence, modestly to refuse the first, that the other, which were by all means to be received, they had, before they did any other business, added to the publick Treasury; that at* Alexandria, *when being invited to publick feasts, they had Crowns of Gold sent them according to custom, they did for luck's sake receive them, but in the night time put them upon the King's Statues.* The Senate wonderfully rejoicing, both at the Succes of their Journey, and the Gravity of the Embassadors, giving them thanks, *That they had by their Continence rendred the Roman Manners Venerable to Forreign Nations*, commanded the gifts they had conveighed into the Treasury to be restored them. The people likewise decreed the like, saying, *The Commonwealth would be excellently well managed if the base means of growing rich by Publick employments were taken away*: And the Questors, according to command, willingly restoring the money, the Embassadors worthy of the reward of their Abstinence, did with as much credit receive the Ægyptian gifts as they had refused them. *Q. Fabius*, who was prime man in the Embassy, was, I believe, in this consideration also preferred before so many Egregious men, and chosen Prince of the Senate by *M. Curius* and *L. Papirius* the Censors, being now, by reason of the Nobility of his Family, his Fathers Merits, two Consulships, and as many Triumphs, Inferior to none in Honour. The same men being Consuls, *M. Curius* the Censor was at cost, out of the enemies spoils, to bring the water of the River *Anien* to *Rome*: So much scorning tō encrease his private wealth by them, that being on a time by some ill-willers taxed of having perverted the publick mony, producing a piece of wood which he was wont to use in sacrifice, took Oath, *That of all the enemies plunder, he never brought nothing else into his house.* He was a man indeed of high deserts, as for the greatnes of his Exploits, so for his many Illustrious examples in other Virtues; as we shall by the by manifest, by relating some of his Actions and Sayings; For I count it not unworthy or unbeseeming the Office of an Historian, to recount those things whereby those who are hereafter to undertake the management of publick affairs may be no lesse instructed to the attaining Felicity by Virtue, then by Military counsels and performances. In the *Sabine* War (when there was such plenty of spoils that *Fabius* the writer of the History, thinketh the Romans then to have had the first taste of Riches) *Curius*, claiming nothing of so rich a victory, but the conscience and fame of it, continued in his former poverty and hardinesse of life.

*Capitolina Marmora.* — *Iust.* 18. 2 — *Valer. Maxim.* 4.3.9 — *Tacitus* 2.57 — *Justinius* — *Zonaras* — *Val. Maximus.* — *Frontinus de Aquæductibus* — *Plinie* 7.11 — *Strabo* l. 5

For when the Grounds of the Enemy were appropriated to the Common wealth, he distributed to every private Person but forty Acres by the Man: And the Senate allotting him a greater portion, he being contented with the same Measure he had meted to others, said, *He*

*Plutarch in Apophtheg. Frontinus ſtrat. 4. 3 Plinie 18 3 Plutarch Auth. de viris illuſt. Cicero Cotone Plutarch Cato Major*

*was no good Citizen who would not be ſatisfied with as much as others were.* This was afterward the Curian Cottage among the Sabines, where when the Samnites (being lately overcome) found him frying of Carrots, and preſented him with a vaſt ſumme of Gold, *I had rather*, ſayes he, *eate theſe out of my Earthen platters, and rule over thoſe who are rich in gold.* Near this place *Cato* the Elder having a Farm, went often thither, and contemplating in his mind the poore Tenement and Little Ground, which ſo Eminent a Man after three Triumphs, tilled with his own hands, together with the Temperance and abſtinence of his Life, did thereby provoke himſelf, out of the Æmulation of his vertue, to the like Conſtancy and ſimplicity of Manners. And truly there needed ſuch men to lay the foundations of a future Empire ſo firm, as it might bear the weight of the ſuperſtructure, and not only reſiſt the ſtorms of the Enemie from abroad, but ſcarcely and with much adoe be ruined by its own inbred Vices.

# BOOK V.

*Zonaras Livie Epit. 15. Polybius 1.7*

THE moſt potent enemy of *Rome* being now after many battels vanquiſhed, and peace ſetled throughout all *Italy*, The Senators entred into Conſultation how to make a good uſe of their Victories. They concluded to fine all Nations who had born Arms againſt them; the loſs of part of their Territories, taking a more ſevere revenge of the Tarentines, by how much the more wantonly and intemperately they had offended; they were therefore commanded to reſign up all their Arms and Ships, their Walls were demoliſhed, a Tribute impoſed upon the City, and nothing granted them but Peace and Liberty. There was now nothing of an old ſcore more to be intended, then to puniſh the Treachery of that Legion, which circumventing the Rhegians by craft, had now for ten years poſſeſſed their City. They foreſeeing that the Roman affairs proceeding ſo proſperouſly, their wickedneſs would not paſſe unrevenged, had very diligently taken care for whatſoever belonged to ſtrengthening the City, and provided all things for their own defence, being very conſcious that what is obtained by cunning and violence, cannot but by the ſame arts be maintained. Beſides their own innate Fierceneſs, they much confided in the friendſhip of the Mamertines, and were puffed up with their ſucceſs againſt the Carthaginians and *Pyrrhus*, whereby they had ſufficiently made experiment of the ſtrength of their City, and the courage of their own minds, having quickly repulſed the enemies from the ſiege. They ſored therefore to ſuch an height of Rebellion, that daring to take *Croton*, which was by ſome betrayed to them, they ſlew the Roman Garriſon and demoliſhed the City. Wherefore *L. Genucius* the Conſul, who was that year Colleague with *C. Quinctius*, had commiſſion to execute vengeance upon them, and the Rebels being confined within the Walls, the City was beſieged. But while they ſtrongly reſiſted with their own and the Mamertine forces, the Conſul having ſuſtained ſome incommodities, and become in want of neceſſary proviſions, was aſſiſted with Corn and men by *Hiero*, who was at that time Prince of *Syracuſe*. For he, being offended with the Mamertines, did likewiſe hate their aſſociates of *Rhegium*; he was likwiſe moved by the encreaſe of the Roman power, to preoblige them to future benefits, as occaſion ſhould ſerve.

*Zonaras Oroſius 4.3 482*

*Zonaras.*

*Liv. Epit. 15 Zonaras Oroſius*

The Citie being at length forced to yield, the Mamertines were by the Conſul diſmiſſ'd upon certaine Covenants, the Runaways and thieves, many whereof had fled thither as to a ſanctuary,

ry, were put to death: The Legionary ſouldiers were carried to *Rome* that the Senate might paſſe Judgement upon them. Herein was ſhewed a notable Example of publick ſeverity, for the Senate decreed, firſt, *They ſhould all be ſecured in priſon, and afterward, be led to Execution*: And when *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, Tribune of the People interceded for them, declareing, *They ought not to take away the Lives of ſo many Citizens, contrary to the Laws and Cuſtomes of their Forefathers*, The Senatours perſiſting in their Reſolution neglected the clamours of the Tribune, and Juſtice was accordingly executed upon the guilty. But leſt by ſo ſevere an act they might contract an odium, and the ſorrow of the vulgar people be aggravated if ſuch a multitude ſhould at one time be put to death, they did every day execute fifty, firſt ſcourging, then beheading them. Moreover it was ordered that neither their Bodies ſhould be buried, nor any Mourning made for their Death. *Decius Jubellius* (who had lived unto that day, after the Loſſe of his ſight, that he might die with the more griefe) took away his own life in priſon. Following the greateſt number of Authours I have reported the whole Legion, even foure thouſand men, to have been beheaded in the Market-place at *Rome*; but I think it more probable what is related by *Polybius*, *That but three hundred of that Legion came alive into the Romans power, that the reſt, at the taking of the City, deſperately fighting, choſe rather to be ſlain, as well knowing that after ſuch hainous villanies, nothing could be expected upon ſurrender, but more torments and a cruel ignominious death.* The City of *Rhegium* with all its former Rights, Laws, and Liberties was reſtored to the ancient inhabitants, as many as could any where be found or enquired out.

*Val. Max.* 2.7 15

*Frontinus* ſtrat. 4 1

*Appian* apud *Valeſium*

*Liv.* 28. 28

*Polyb.* 1. 2

*Appian*
*Zonaras*
*Livie* 31.31.

This act of Juſtice did much increaſe the Reputation of the City of *Rome*, and thereby was gained no leſſe Love from all the Italians and neighbouring People, then their armes had cauſed fear. In the Conſulſhip of *C. Genuncius*, and *Cn. Cornelius* there was war with the Sarſinates, a people of *Umbria*, inhabiting the *Appennine* Mountains: By what reaſon provoked, or in what hopes truſting, they now oppoſed the Formidable power of the Romans (thoſe writings which are remaining making no mention) I am not able to Divine; Likewiſe the whole Proceedings of the war are utterly loſt, and of the memory of theſe things, nothing elſe is come to our knowledg, but that *Cn. Cornelius* Triumphed over the Sarſinates. 'Tis reported there was a moſt ſharp winter in theſe Conſuls time, in ſo much that the Sap being chill'd Trees withered; That *Tibur* was covered over with deep Ice, and that the Cattel periſhed for want of Fodder; ſo great and vehement was the coldneſs of the air, that monſtrous hills of ſnow lay unmelted in the Market place for forty dayes together. The thing being unuſual in that Climat, and by many look'd upon as a Prodigie, perplexed mens minds with wonderful terror, their fear being not long after much encreaſed, when *Q. Ogulnius Gallus* and *C. Fabius Pictor* being Conſuls, many ſtrange unheard of ſights were ſeen, and many more reported. At *Rome* the Temple of *Salus* with part of the walls was ſmitten with thunder and lightning; three Wolves before day brought a carkaſs half eaten into the City, aud being themſelves feared by the noiſe of men, left it in the market-place torn into pieces limb from limb.

483

*Polyb.* 2.16

*Columnæ Capitolinæ.*
*Zonaras*
*Aug. de Civ. Dei* 3.17

484

*Oroſius* 4.4.

At *Formii* the walls were ſaid to be often ſtruck and caſt down with thunderbolts; and news was brought that in the Calenian fields, the earth opened, and fire ſuddenly brake out, which flaming for three whole daies together, burnt five acres of ground to aſhes, inſomuch that not only all the fruits on that place were blaſted, but even the Trees died at the very Roots. Theſe things cauſed more feare then miſery at *Rome*; No great matter enſued, but that a War was made againſt the Picentians, which being the next yeare finiſhed, added likewiſe that province to the Roman Juriſdictions. Now in the Citie began the Coining ſilver, (their wealth being encreaſed by their victories) whereas before Braſſe only was uſed in all Exchanges; but then pennies and half-pennies were made of ſilver, which went for ten, and five pounds of braſſe; there were likewiſe leſſer pieces which being eſteemed at two pound and an halfe of braſſe, were from their value called, *Seſtercies*. It was called, *Moneta*, becauſe it was coined in the Temple of *Juno*, to whom that Name was given, by reaſon ſhe did *Monere*, that is, admoniſh the Romans when in the War of *Pyrrhus* and the Tarentines they Conſulted about their wants, *That money would not be wanting to thoſe, who obſerved Juſtice and proſecuted Wars.* The Conſulls *C. Gallus* and *C. Fabius* went forth to apprehend *Lollius* the Samnite, who having been Hoſtage at *Rome* had privily eſcaped, and now poſſeſſing a certain Caſtle, committed Plunder and Pillage round about, ſtirring up the minds of his Countrymen to Rebellion, when they were ſcarce well compoſed by the laſt peace.

*Livie* Epit. 15

*Zonaras*

*Plin.* 33.3

*Suidas* in μονήτα

But he with the forces he had gather'd (being for the moſt part unarmed) could not long reſiſt: The greateſt difficulty and danger was in the Province of the Carcines (a part of *Samnium* near the Frentanes) where the Romans aſſaulted a well fenced place, the Receptacle of *Lollius* his ſpoils, and from great hopes falling into as great fear, did at length obtain the Victory. Some of the Garriſon upon condition of Pardon, let the Romans into the walls in a bright Moon-ſhiny night, and the Townſmen muſtring themſelves together upon the tumult; when they firſt began to fight a great drift of ſnow fell and took away their ſight: This accident was a great help to the Carcines againſt the Romans, who were ignorant of the Paſſages, in ſo much that they were in very great danger, and now ready to give back and retreat (which in the dark could not have been done without much loſs) when on a ſudden the ſnow ceaſed and the Moon ſhone out again, and then being freed from blind fear, they did by their courage make way to

*Ptoloma*

Vi-

Victory. Theſe combuſtions were the cauſe why the *Picents* were not vanquiſhed in thoſe Conſuls time.

485 *Eutropius*

But the year following *P. Sempronius Sophus*, and *Appius Claudius Craſſus* the ſon of *Caecus* being Conſuls undertook the War, and happily finiſhed it. About theſe times was a Colony planted at *Ariminum* in the Picene grounds, which belonged to the Senones of *Gallia*, and another at *Maleventum* in *Samnium*, but changing the Name, which ſeemed Ominous, they called it *Beneventum*. The Sabines who were many years agoe admitted into the City, had now the liberty of Votes granted them. *Claudius* had alſo buſineſs in *Umbria*, where he took *Camarinum* and ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves. But becauſe the war ſeemed not very honeſtly to be managed by the General, the Romans preferring Juſtice before their own profit, decreed, *That the Camertes ſhould be ſought out and redeemed, that they ſhould be received into the City, have a place of habitation allotted to them in the* Aventine *Mount, and their ground reſtored to them.*

*Velleius* 1. 14
*Liv.* Epit. 15
*Velleius*
*Livie* Epitom.

*Eutropius* in an. 485

Greater was the joy for the Picentine Victory, which was thought worthy to be Coined in their new Pieces of ſilver, that it might the more publickly be known, and the Memory thereof tranſmitted to Poſterity. *Q. Caditius* the ſon of *Quintus*, by order of Senate, took care for coining the Money, repreſenting on one ſide *Picus* the ſon of *Saturne* (for he is thought to be the Father of that Nation) on the other ſide a Roman Magiſtrate reaching forth his hand to a ſuppliant. And that, by ſubduing of that Country, a great acceſſe of ſtrength was made to the Romans is Manifeſt, in that three hundred and threeſcore thouſand Picentians ſubjected themſelves unto them. For that War the Conſuls, as they deſerved, did Triumph, but *Sempronius* his Glory was the greater, in that with more dangers and hazzard he had fought againſt the ſtronger enemie; For a ſuddain Earthquake, being very prodigious, happened, as the battles were ſet in array now ready to encounter; But the Conſul compoſed the ſouldiers feareful minds, by an oration very fit for the occaſion, telling them, *The enemie was no leſſe troubled with unneceſſary devotion then themſelves, that theirs would be the Victory who firſt, ſhaking off fear, valiantly charged the enemie before he was well come to himſelf.* And vowing a Temple to the Goddeſſe *Tellus*, if ſhe would grant Victory to the Romans, he began the Charge, which was as Couragiouſly received and ſo great a ſlaughter made, that, 'tis reported, the leſſer half remained even of the Victorious Army. After this fight (as other the Townes of the Picentians, ſo likewiſe) *Aſculum* the Metropolis yeelded it ſelf to *Sempronius*, and by its example the whole Nation ſubmitting it ſelf in obedience, obtained peace of the Romans. All that part of *Italy* being now ſubdued, which lieth toward the Sicilian and Jonian ſea, there remained onely the Sallentines to be brought in, who live upon the utmoſt coaſt where the upper and Ionians ſeas meet, to theſe therefore as by a Contagion did the war proceed from the Picentians, *M. Attilius Regulus*, and *L. Julius Libo* being Conſuls: The quarrel was pretended becauſe they had received *Pyrrhus* into their Havens and Towns when he came firſt out of *Epirus*. But indeed the much truer cauſes of the war were thought to be the Conveniency of the Haven of *Brunduſium*, where ſhips may go in and out with the ſame wind, the eaſie paſſage from thence into *Illyrium* and *Epirus*, and that they eſteemed it very opportune to have the ſame Bounds both of *Italy* and their own dominions. Both the Conſuls triumphed for this war in one day, which was the eighth of the Calends of *February*.

*Plinie* 33.13
*Colum. Trium.*
*Eutropius*
*Frontinus Stratagem* 1.12
*Florus*. 1 19.
*Oroſius* 4.4
*Florus*
*Strabo*. b. 6
*Livie* Epitom.
*Flor*. 1.20.
*Eutropius*
Anno 486
*Eutropius* b. 6
*Zonaras*
*Colum. Capitol.*

Having overcome the Sallentines in a ſet battel, they took *Brunduſium*, the moſt famous Town in thoſe quarters; other ſucceſſes alſo they had, being aſſiſted, as is reported, by *Pales* the Goddeſs of Shepherds, who of her own accord, as a reward of the Victory, deſired to have a Temple dedicated to her in *Rome*. The greater part of the Sallentines being vanquiſhed by theſe, the war was finiſhed and the victory completed by the next years Conſuls, who were *Numerius Fabius C. F. M. N.* and *D. Junius. D. F. D. Nepos Pera:* To theſe both the Umbrians and Sallentines yielded themſelves. All *Italy* even between the River *Po* and the ſeas being generally ſetled, the Roman greatneſs began to be famed and taken notice of by the neighbour Iſlands, and the Continent adjoyning to the *Jonian* and *Adriatick* ſea, cauſing in ſome hopes, in others fear.

*Florus* 1.20
487.
*Livie* Epitom.

For they who by violence and injury to their neighbours enlarged their own power, feared the Romans would prove an hindrance to their proceedings, the others contrarywiſe looking on them as a Succour, ſent to them from heaven againſt the Oppreſſion of their adverſarys. The Apollonians were the firſt, who ſending Embaſſadours to *Rome* craved their friendſhip; their Citie is ſeated threeſcore furlongs from the ſea, being built by the Corinthians and Corcyræans, having a very commodious haven, where the neereſt paſſage is from *Brunduſium* into *Greece*. The Illyrians and Macedonians are adjacent to them, ſo that againſt ſtrong and Coveteous neighbours they had much adoe to preſerve their own liberty. The meſſage was wonderful welcome and with much Humanity received by the Romans, not ſo much for the wealth of the Citie which was but ſmall, as for Future hopes in that they thought a way laid open and occaſion given them of greater deſignes hereafter: Inſomuch that very ſevere puniſhment was inflicted on certain noble young men who upon a quarrel ariſing had ſtrucken the Embaſſadours. *Q. Fabius* was not protected either by the Dignity of his office, for he was then *Ædile* or the greatneſſe of his Extraction, but was delivered up to the Apollonians for his offence. *Cn. Apronius* who was likewiſe *Ædile*, was given up for the ſame crime, the Senate decreed, *they ſhould by* He-

*Strab.* book 7
*Livie* Epitom.
*Dion.* apud *Valeſium*
*Livie* Epitom.
*Dio.* apud *Valeſium*
*Zonaras*
*Val. Maximus* 6.6.5

*Heralds be delivered up into the hands of the Embaſſadours that a Quæſtour ſhould goe along with them to* Brunduſium *leſt their friends and Kindred ſhould reſcue them by the way.* This was a great teſtimonie as of their publick faith, ſo of their wiſdome; For having a deſire to draw forreign Nations into their friendſhip by the Reputation of their Juſtice, it much concerned them moſt preciſly to puniſh the injuries done to thoſe who firſt came to enter into their ſociety. Neither would any thing have proved more deſtructive to their deſigns then that the Appollonians ſhould have repented themſelves of their act, and others of their example. And hence ſprung that cuſtom, which was conſtantly in after times obſerved, That they who had ſtrucken the Embaſſadours of a free Citie ſhould be delivered up to it. But the Appollonians, when they were brought into their Citie, wiſely conſidering they ſhould gaine more by Clemency and humanity then Revenge, ſent them ſafe home again. This year each Conſul triumphed twice; *D. Junius* the fifth of the Calends of October, *Numerius Fabius* the third of Nones of the ſame Month over the Sarſinates, a people of *Umbria*. Againe they tryumphed over the Sallentines and Meſſapians who had aſſiſted the Sallentines, *Fabius* on the Calends of *February*, *Junius* on the Nones. And this was the Concluſion of all their Italian Wars; For what was acted in *Volſinia* next year, *Quintus Fabius Gurges* the third time Conſul, *L. Mamilius Vitulus* being his Colleague, was not ſo much a war againſt a juſt enemy, as vengeance inflicted upon ſlaves in behalf of their aſſociates. 488

B.17.ff. de Leguis. *Zonaras*

The Volſinians, the richeſt people of all *Etruria*, did implore the Romans aſſiſtance againſt thoſe who were formerly their ſervants. For by very ill and fooliſh advice (whether it were, that thereby they thought to increaſe their ſtrength ſo much broken in the late wars, or that themſelves tumbling in delights were loath to trouble themſelves with the labour of Arms) they made their ſervants free of the City, and committed the *Militia* into their hands. Afterward they began to be choſen Senators, and to bear Offices of State. In ſhort time oppreſſing the old Citizens, and uſurping the whole power of the Commonwealth to themſelves, they did moſt inſolently exerciſe their Liberty againſt their Maſters who gave it them. It was now grown common to Raviſh Virgins and honeſt Matrons by force, to heap Contumelies and Indignities upon Parents and Husbands, crying for juſtice according to Law; and all things were confuſedly hurried according to the pleaſure of the vileſt moſt petulant Knaves. And that we may not paſs over in ſilence a rare Precedent, to what iſſue the beaſtly impudence of ſlaviſh minds will proceed to when it hath gotten power, they made a Law, *That the Libertines might have licence of Copulation with the wives and daughters of their Patrons, and that the Maidenhead of a Virgin deſigned in marriage to a true Freeman, ſhould firſt be proſtituted to one of their Order.* Wherefore the old Volſinians being neither able any longer to endure theſe miſeries, nor by their own power to repulſe and avoid them, ſecretly conſulting together, reſolved to ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*. They having by private ſolicitations prevailed that the Senate would meet in ſome private houſe (for they ſaw unavoidable ruine over their heads if the buſineſs was known) they did by a very ſorrowful diſcourſe make them acquainted with their ſad condition, wherewith the Fathers being moved to compaſſion, promiſed them aſſiſtance for the recovery of their loſt Rights.

*Florus* 1.21. *Johannes Antiochenus.* apud *Vales Florus.* *Val.Max.9.1.2 ext.* *Zonaras* *Aucl.de viris Illuſ.* c.26

But theſe things which were thought to be agitated in ſecret, were by a Samnite diſcovered to the parties complained of; For he, a gueſt to the maſter of the houſe where the Senate met, being then ſick, was by forgetfulneſſe left in a place where he overheard all their diſcourſe and betrayed it. Therefore the Embaſſadours, after their Return from *Rome*, were called into queſtion, and the whole buſineſſe being found out, were with other prime Men of the Citie cruelly put to death. The Romans, now having a juſter cauſe of War, ſent *Q. Fabius* the Conſul with an Army againſt them, whom, daring to encounter him in open field he put to flight, and ſlew a very great Number in the Purſuit: The Reſt who betooke themſelves into their place of defence, he reſolved with counterworkes to beſiege. But they making ſtrong Reſiſtance, The Conſul (as there were frequent Pickerings and light skirmiſhes) unwarily venturing too far in the fight, received a wound whereof he dyed, which the beſieged underſtanding, made a Sally with the greateſt ſtrength they could, hoping if they ſuddenly aſſaulted the enemy now in trouble for the loſs of the Conſul, to force them to break up the ſiege. But the event of the battel was contrary, for being roughly received by the Romans, they were beaten in again with loſſe.

*Iulius obſequens de Prodigiis.* c.27.

In this fight I ſuppoſe *Decius Mus* to have had the Command; for he might happily have been *Fabius* his Lieutenant, and after his death be chief in managing the War till a ſucceſſor was ſent. And hence I conjecture it comes to paſſe that ſome negligent Hiſtorians have aſcribed to *Decius Mus* both the beginning and finiſhing of this War. *Cn. Cornelius L. F. Cn. N. Blaſio* and *C. Marcius* were created Cenſors that year, and this laſt having before born the ſame Office, was from this his Magiſtracy called *Cenſorinus*. The moderation of this *Marcius* was very remarkable, who being inveſted with Power which he ſought not after, aſſembled the people together, and in a grave ſpeech chid them, *That they had twice intruſted that Office to the ſame man, whereas their forefathers did in this very conſideration limit the time of it, becauſe the power was too Great.* Hereupon a Law was made, *That the ſame man ſhould not be made Cenſor the ſecond time.* The ſame year the number of the Queſtors was encreaſed; in former times there were but four, two for the City, and two to aſſiſt the Conſuls abroad in the Wars. But afterward

*Auth.de viris illuſt.* c.36 *Capitolina Marmora* *Val.Maximus* 4.1.3 *Plut.Cornl.*c.1 *Livie* Epit.15

*Tacitus* 11.12.6 489 *Agellius* 17.21

ward their Taxes and Customs encreasing with the Commonwealth, there was a necessity of doubling the number. *Appius Claudius* who in the time of his Magistracy was surnamed *Caudex*, and *M. Fulvius* were Consuls the year ensuing, which was very memorable, in that then first began the war between the Romans and Carthaginians in *Sicily*. Then first brake out Hostility between two most potent Cities, which after many years, after many bloody overthrows given and received, could not at length be ended without the utter ruine and destruction of one of them.

But, before we enter upon the History of the War, it will be necessary to relate something of former times concerning *Carthage*; for in the ensuing Narrative many things will occur, hard to be understood and judged of, unless both the Original and encrease of that City be first known.

# BOOK VI.

*Iustin.* 18.5 *Appian Libyc.* *Strabo* b.17 *Livie* 34.61. *Iustinius. Strabo*

THAT *Carthage* was built by the Tyrians of *Phanicia* (besides the constant agreement of old Histories) the perpetual friendship of those Cities while they flourished, as also the manifest likeness both of their Language and Manners doth clearly testifie. 'Tis reported that *Elisa* (who was likewise called *Dido*) the daughter of *Agenor* the son of *Belus*, flying out of her Country (by reason of the hatred she bore to her brother *Pigmaleon* for the unjust slaughter of her husband *Sichæus*) entred that Creek of *Africa*, and possessed that *Peninsula* where *Carthage* was afterward built; her small beginnings promising little hopes of so great power and wealth as afterwards was obtained: For 'tis believed *Dido* purchased no more ground then might be compassed with the hide of a Bull or Ox, which being cut out into very slender thongs contained a larger space, then the sellers did imagine, and it was sufficient whereon to Erect a Castle, which from thence is thought to be called *Byrsa*. Afterward seeing (many placing their habitation near them for Traffick sake) they began to look like a City, and that the Africans were willing to entertain among them men so rich and very gentle and quiet, they hearkned to the counsel sent from *Utica* (which was also a Colonie of the Tyrians) which advised them, *After their example to build a City*. So it was agreed, That the Africans should afford them ground, and that the *Phanicians* in recompense thereof should pay a yearly Tribute.

*Cato* apud *Solin.* חדשה קרת *Berneggerus* ad *Iustinum* 18.6.9 *Iustinus*

The work being finished, *Dido* gave it a name in her own Language, *Carthadas*; the Greeks called it *Carchedo*, and the Romans by an error in Pronunciation, *Carthago*. This City having Loving Neighbours, an Industrious people, and what was above all, a Wise Queen, did in a short time wonderfully increase. These things seeme to have been acted some seventy years before the foundation of *Rome*; for about so ancient a Circumstance Authors do not very well agree. But as *Elisa* her life was notable for variety of Chances, so was her death very remarkable. *Iarbas* a Petit King of some African Province, sought to marry her, threatning upon refusal to raise war against her. But as she was averse from marriage by reason of her singular Chastity and love of her former husband, so she very well understood that in these tender beginnings of affairs, a war would prove fatal and destructive; therefore taking time to deliberate, as if she had at length overcome her own Resolution, and were inclined to marry the African, caused, a

*Pile*

*Pile of wood to be erected before her intended marriage, whereon to sacrifice to the Infernal gods in behalf of her husband* Sichæus; And after many Sacrifices offer'd, she did at length ascend the Pile, and killed her self with a sword she brought with her; her love to her Husband and Subjects exceeding the care of her own health. The Carthaginians returned her what honour they could, and while the Commonwealth flourished, worshipped her as a Goddess, raising a Temple in the place where she lived, calling her *Dido*, which in their language signifieth a *Virago*. *Silius Italic.* 4 3 *Servius Fuldensis in Virg. Æneid.* 1. 344

When after her death no man was thought worthy to succeed her in the Kingdom, the Citie began to be governed by the Mixed Power of Nobles and Commons. The Name of Kings still remained, but they were like the Lacedæmonian Kings; but that the honour was not to any Certaine families annexed, but conferred on any Prime Man who exceeded others in Virtue and Riches. These had the management of Wars abroad (wherefore the Romans called them Pretours and Dictatours, comparing their power with the usuage of their own Commonwealth) at home they were Princes of all publick Consultations, with their advice the affaires of the Citie were ordered: Things of heigher concernement were referred to the people, their sentence decided all controversie between the Kings and Senatours: They also had authority to alter the Laws made by the Kings and Councel, if they seemed contrary to the good of the Publick, which any man had Liberty to question. Which too great power of the Commons, being augmented to an intolerable height, by flattering Parasites and Orators, did in after time infinitely wrong and obstruct the Carthaginian affaires. Moreover in the Senate there were thirty of the more Antient appointed as a supreme Councel, and these had greatest authority with all Men. There was likewise a Superinspectour of Manners, invested with the same power as the Roman Censors, to maintain publick Decency and Discipline. In processe of time, after many victories, their greatnesse being encreased, they chose a greater Number of Commanders for the War: Among which *Mago*, the most Egregious both in courage and fortune, having left behind him two sonnes well educated and instructed in the art of Warre, and they also to their more numerous offspring, as it were by hand, delivering the same skill and knowledg, it was thought fit by some meanes to curbe the too great power of that Family; to this purpose an hundred men were constituted to passe sentence upon the Generals themselves: Their power was very formidable, as for the largenesse of their Commission, so for the continuance, which was dureing life, whereas even the Kings now, were not for so long a time but yearly created, whom at home they commonly called *Suffetes*, that is to say, Judges, much like to the Roman Consul. But when the *Centumviri* or hundred men behaved themselves with much insolence, *Hannibal* by a Law reduced them into Order, it being decreed, *That the Judges should Yearly be chosen, and that no man should continue in office two yeares together.* Their gods and holy Rites they brought most from *Tyrus*, some they did afterwards add. *Juno* they chiefly adored, and *Æsculapius* not a little, in whose honour they erected a Magnificent Temple in the Citie; *Apollo's* house was likewise very rich, covered with plate of Gold, wherein was a famous statue which after the Ruine of *Carthage* was carried to *Rome* and placed in the great Shew-place called *Circus Maximus*. But to *Hercules* at *Tyrus* they every year sent a ship, with great care well trimmed, with the Tithes of their yearly fruits, and spoiles gotten in War.

*Polyb. 6. 49* *Livie, 30. 6* *Cornelius Nepos. Amilcar c. 3* *Justin. 19. 1* *Aristotle* *Aristotle* *Cornel. Nepos* שופבי *Liv. 36. 7* *Livie 33 32* *Virgil b. 1* *Strabo b. 17* *Appian Punicis* *Plutarch Flaminio c. 1* *Polyb. legat. 114.* *Diodorus 20. 14*

From the same Founders also they derived another most horrid Rite, to offer an humane sacrifice once a year to *Saturne*, whom they called *Belus*; the Relicks of which Barbarous Cruelty could not be quite abolished by the Destruction of the Citie. The other Manners and Customes of the Citie were more civilized by their conveniency of Commerce and Traffick, to which being by nature, and Education from their Forefathers much addicted, they did apply all their studies and Counsels. Hence by an unavoidable mischief the Love of Riches corrupted their Courts of Justice, made Vertue a servant to money, inflamed the Peoples minds with Covetousnesse, and infected them with a sordid custom of Cheating and Lying, forcing the Commonwealth wholly to give it self up to these arts. Insomuch as it came to passe that as little Faith was had in Carthaginian Contracts and Covenants, so the chiefest part of the publick strength consisted in ships, their Infantry the main support and pillar of all Empires, was had in no Request, Their Horse in very little: As often as they waged War by Land, they made use of Mercenaries, who had no true Love to the Commonwealth, whose faith was to be bought with money, their discord troublesome, and their conspiracies pernicious. Which error was so Capital, that before the utter destruction of the City, no other enemy but those did ever bring them so near to final ruine.

*Justin. 18. 2* *Hieron. in Isai. c. 46* *Plin. 26. 5. 37* *Frienshemius Comment. in Curt. 4 3, 17* *Arist. Politick. 2* *Cicero contra Rutilum 2. 35* *Polyb. 6. 49* *Polyb. 1. 67* *Polyb. 1. 65*

Neither did a lesser crop of misery spring from this, That their Magistrates and Publick Officers did by mutual connivance exercise Extortion and Purloin the state without punishment; so that 'tis the lesse to be wondred, that a war arising between these two Cities, the Romans proved conquerors, when as the Senators in all hard times added their wealth to the publick stock, and the Carthaginians made a gain of the Commonwealth. But these vices grew up together with the City, so that at first being weak and little they were prety well born withal, afterward for a while the greatnes of their Empire, and the singular virtue of their Commanders made them the lesse sensible, by whose means chiefly, I find, was both obtained and established the happines that ever attended *Carthage*. Their first beginning in Arms was against the Affricans, requiring Tribute for the ground the City was built on; neither could they extort that right out of their hands but by many battels: hereby they enlarged their Empire, and the best planted part of *Africa* was reduced into subjection to them. Their command of the seas gave them

*Livie 33. 32* *Justinius 19. 1* *Illust. 19 2*

fair opportunity of passing over into *Sardinia* and *Sicily*; the one was rude and Barbarous, not able to resist, into the other they were invited by its Beauty and Fertility, which was, by reason of the Inhabitants perpetual discords exposed to the injuries of the most Potent. Out of *Sardinia* into *Cersica* their passage was short, and they did the more easily possess the Island as being not very rich.

*Iust.4.3 Herodotus 1. 165*

But in *Sicily* for a long time they fought with various Fortune, obtaining many victories, and receiving many overthrows: *Amilcar* the son of *Hanno* when he had carried over three hundred thousand men, was vanquished by *Gelo* and slain. With which calamity being terrified, the Carthaginians did abstain from *Sicily*, till being called over by the Ægestans, who were oppressed by the Selinuncians, they sent thither *Annibal* the son of *Gesco* the son of *Amilcar*; he destroying *Selinunts* and *Himera*, did again encrease the Carthaginians power in *Sicily*. *Imilco* did at sea vanquish *Leptis* the brother of *Dionysius* the elder, and the Sicilians Admiral, he took and sunk an hundred ships, and slew above twenty thousand men, he surprised many Cities, and took also part of *Syracuse*, but a sudden Pestilence arising, which consumed most part of his Army, forced him to return home with very few men. Neither did they yet despair of gaining *Sicily*, but in few years after sent out *Hanno* with a fleet, commanding him to fight *Dionysius*. Afterward *Mago* being invited by *Icetas*, when he was in the City of *Syracuse* it self with threescore thousand foot, he was cast out by *Timoleon*; afterward the same *Timoleon* in a very great battel overcame *Annibal* and *Amilcar*, having in their army seventy thousand men, and forced their Camps likewise. But they had not a quicker and greater turne of fortune in any war then in that against *Agathocles*, who being beaten in *Sicily*, besieged in *Syracuse*, having no manifest hopes of safety, did yet of his own accord carry the war over into *Africa*, where having overcome the Carthaginians in many battels, and caused the Libyans every where to revolt, he brought them into very great danger and fear; and returning home again he expelled them clearly out of *Sicily*; till at length the death of the King, and the confusions which followed upon it, again gave them hopes, and opened them a way to regain possession. After this (as we have said) they variously fought with *Pyrrhus*, proving at length to be the superiours.

*Diodorus 13.43*
*Diodorus 14.60*
*Iustin.20 5*
*Plutarch Timoleon c.24 & 30*
*Ibid.c.37. & 42*
*Iustin.22 4*
*Iustin.22.8*

In the mean time some Cities also in *Spain* became Tributary to them, whether being called to the assistance of the Gaditanes against some oppressing Neighbours, they sent relief to their Kinsmen (for Gades likewise was founded by the Tyrians) and reduced some adjacent Regions of *Spain* into their own Jurisdiction. This was the posture the Carthaginian affairs were in when they took up arms against the Romans. But the Syracusans and their King *Hiero* possessed the greater part of *Sicily* which was not subdued by the Carthaginians; the residue was held by the Mamertines. They while they were in League with the Roman Legion at *Rhegium*, and could have assistance from them, were not content to secure their own Territories, but invaded those of the Syracusans and Carthaginians, forcing many Cities to pay Tribute to them to avoid plunder, wastings of their grounds, and other incommodities of war. But when *Rhegium* was taken, and their companions worthily executed, being bereaved of that help, they were not able to uphold their former greatnesse; and having lost whatsoever they held out of *Messana*, were now at war with *Hiero* for the City it self. Concerning which King *Hiero*, I think it not inconvenient somewhat at large to discourse, because he in these times being first an enemy to the Romans, afterward for many years a companion and friend, was of very great moment in the setling of affairs. For in him was found singular happinesse, great virtue, and most eminent wisdom; and in those dayes the power and state of *Syracuse* did with him flourish and with him fall.

*Iustin 44.5*
*Curtius 4. 4*
*Polybius 1.10*
*Polybius 1.8*

This man not being helped forward by any wealth or glory left by his Ancestors, owed all his fortune to himself, promoted from a low estate to vast power, not as many, by accusing great men, or by the slaughter and banishment of his opposers, but by wonderful modesty both in attaining and in exercising his power, as well knowing there is no Kingdom so well and firmly established, as that which is in such a manner order'd, that it more concerns the Subjects to fear the loss of it then the Prince.

*Polyb b 7 apud Vales.*

Having reigned therefore four and fifty years, in such a time when two most potent Cities on each hand did with most sharp contentions, fight for the dominion of the world, troubled with no War abroad (unlesse in his first year) nor assaulted by any Treason at home, he died being above ninty years old, his senses being at that age entire and his body sound, as a certain argument of his Temperance, being not only beloved by his own people, but had in great Estimation both with the Romans and Grecians; when he would often have divested himself of the Principality, the Citizenes did openly prohibite him; And his son *Gelon*, who, at above fifty years of age, died before him, did all his life time, even to the last, with constant faith and obedience honour him, shewing a rare example of Moderation, in that he chose rather for ever to want a Kingdom then lose his Father. This *Hieron* was by his Father *Hierocles* (who derived his Pedigree from *Gelon* an antient Tyrant of *Sicily*) exposed to the mercy of the world; forasmuch as he being a Noble man was shamed to bring up a child which he had begotten on a servant. But being destitute of all human succour, the Bees for many days fed him, puting honey into his mouth as he lay upon the ground. *Hierocles* being much affected with this Prodigie, and the answers of the Southsayers, who affirmed, That hereby Kingly power was pre-

*Livie 24.4.4*
*Polybius*
*Iustin. 23.4*

signified

ſignified, took home the Infant, acknowledged it for his own, and in hopes of his future greatneſſe took diligent care for his Education. As he was learning his book among his equals, 'tis reported, that a Wolf ſuddenly appearing in the midſt of the boyes took his book out of his hand. When he firſt entred into the Wars, 'tis ſaid, An Eagle pitch'd upon his ſhield, and an Owle upon his ſpeare; which was thought a ſigne of wiſdom and ſtrength, and by reaſon of the Kingly bird, of higheſt honour and dignity. But he himſelf ſhortly gave more certaine evidence, being of exceeding comelineſſe and ſtrength of body, but much more illuſtrious and beloved for his wit, Temperance, Gentleneſſe, Juſtice and Moderation; having often fought ſingle Combates ſometimes in the Battel, ſometimes againſt private Challengers, he was alwayes Victour, and by *Pyrrhus* frequently rewarded with many Military Gifts for his valour; and *Pyrrhus* his Kinſwoman *Nereis* was afterward married to *Gelon* the ſon of *Hiero*. *Pyrrhus* being driven out of *Sicily*, when (according to the ill temper of thoſe times) a diſſenſion aroſe between the army and Citie of *Syracuſe*, *Artemidorus* and *Hicro* were, in the Camp neer *Mergana*, by ſuffrage of the ſouldiers choſen Commanders. By the advice of *Hiero*, and the help of his friends, ſome ſouldiers being privily ſent into the Citie reduced it into their Power; where *Hiero* ſhewed himſelf a gallant Man, and fit for the government of any Realme whatſoever; For, of the ſeveral factions which were therein, he neither ſlew nor baniſhed any one Man, but by his clemencie, Moderation and upright Counſel ſo compounded their differenes, that he was choſen Pretor of *Syracuſe* with the good will and affection even of thoſe againſt whom he came, as much as of thoſe men who invited him thither. He with his whole heart as ſincerely tendring the publick good as his own (having obſerved an ill Cuſtome of a long ſtanding in *Sicily*, That the General could no ſooner lead his forces out of the City but there was either ſome ſedition raiſed in the Army, or ſome innovation made at home) began to conſult with himſelf, In whoſe hands to entruſt the City when he ſhould be forced to go out to War. He married therefore the daughter of *Leptis*, who was very popular, of great authority among the Citizens, of eminent honeſty and faithful to his truſt.

*Ioannes Zariſburienſis de regis Curialium. l.13*
*Juſtinus*
*Pauſanias.b.6.*
*Juſtin 23.3*
*Polyb.l.8*
*Juſtinus 23.4.*
*Polybius*

Having thus provided for Domeſtick affairs, he deviſed a remedy (very neceſſary indeed, but not altogether praiſe-worthy) againſt the inſolency of the mercenary ſouldiers: For drawing out his army againſt the Mamertines when they met him near *Centuripæ*, he order'd his battel near the River of the *Cyamoſians* with ſuch art, that he left a good diſtance between the Citizens and the Mercenaries, then commanding the Mercenaries to begin the fight, as if he and the City forces would on ſome other ſide Charge the enemy while they were already buſied The Mercenaries by this means being ſurrounded by the greater number of Mamertines, were ſlain; himſelf (having thus employed the enemy) marched fair and ſoftly with his other forces to *Syracuſe*.

Having in this manner purged the Army of thoſe who were ill diſpoſed and enclined to ſedition, he diligently Traineth his City forces, hireth new Auxiliaries, and now having the goodwill of all (the moſt inſolent being removed and the reſt not daring to murmure) he order'd the Government according to his own pleaſure. In the mean while, the Mamertines proud of their late victory and grown more fierce, raſhly, and without fear invaded and ſpoiled the Syracuſan Teritories. *Hiero* now confiding both in the City and Army, forthwith marcheth out againſt them, and pitcheth his Camp near the enemies City, almoſt empty by reaſon of having ſent out every way ſo many Troops. The Mamertines underſtanding the danger, ſuddenly return home to the relief of their City, with all their forces joyned. *Hiero* removing his Camp out of the Mamertine Fields, taketh the City of *Milæ*, and in it fifteen hundred ſouldiers; thence gaining by the way ſome Caſtles, he marcheth to *Ameſelum* (which is ſeated in the midſt between *Agyrium* and *Centuripæ*) which (though it were well fenced, and protected by a ſtrong Garriſon) he forced and demoliſhed, the ſouldiers he received into pay, and cauſed to fight under him; the grounds he divided between the Centuripines and Agyrines. Being animated with this ſucceſs, he again invaded the Mamertine Teritories, taketh *Aleſum* upon compoſition; but the Abacenines and Tyndarites voluntary ſurrender themſelves to him. Hereby were the Cities on each hand next to *Meſſana* on both the coaſts ſubject to *Hiero*, (for the Tindaritans inhabit toward the Etrurian Sea, the Tauromenians, who were at this time in friendſhip with the Syracuſans, toward the Sicilian Sea.) The Mamertines therefore being ſtreightned, ſend out their forces under the conduct of *Cio* their Pretor to oppoſe the enemy, who now was lodged near the River *Longanus* in the Mylean fields. The battel being begun, and the fight along time doubtful, *Hiero* ſuddenly ſending in freſh Troops upon the Flank of the Mamertines, made the Victory his own. For before the fight *Hiero* had placed together two hundred Meſſanian Exuls, valiant men, who hated the Mamertines, with four hundred choice men of his own Army, commanding them, *To go about the hill* Thorax, *and by a ſudden incurſion to fall upon the enemy on the other ſide*, which they ſtoutly performing were the cauſe why the whole Mamertine Army fell by the ſword.

*Diodori Eclog. b.22*
*Polib. l.9*
*Diodorus*

*Cio*, ſeeing all loſt, and deſiring nothing more then to dye, was taken priſoner, ſore wounded, and conveyed into the Syracuſan campe, finding the Prediction of the Entrailes and Southſayers true in another ſenſe then he expected. For before the Battel the Prophets looking into the Inteſtines of the ſacrifice promiſed, *He ſhould lie in the Enemies Camp that night*: Which he eſteeming an argument of victory too late found himſelf deluded by another

Interpretation, with grief and ſickneſs caſt down, when the next day among other horſes, he eſpyed that his ſon rode upon in the Field, conjecturing thereby his death, he reſolutely pulling the cloaths and plaiſters off his wounds made way to his own death. The Mamertines, underſtanding their overthrow, grew full of deſpair, and were now ready to preſent their humble ſupplication to the Conquerours, when an unexpected accident prevented them. It happened that at the ſame time *Hannibal*, the Carthaginian Pretor, was in the *Liparæan* Iſlands, which are adjacent to *Sicily*. He having intelligence of *Hiero*'s Victory, fearing leſt (the Mamertines being utterly vanquiſhed) the Syracuſan power would grow too great for the Carthaginians, came ſuddenly over under pretence of congratulating with *Hiero* for his Victory; and hindering him from directly marching to *Meſſana*, did himſelf make firſt enterance, and when the Mamertines were now ready to yield, did not only poſſeſſe them with hopes of retaining their liberty, but left a ſtrong Garriſon of his own ſouldiers amongſt them. *Hiero* underſtanding himſelf by this craft deluded, & being not ſufficiently prepared for a ſiege, made now more difficult, returned to *Syracuſe*, where being received by all with very great joy, he was by an univerſal acclamation ſaluted King, which Title he afterward retained with the conſent both of the Citizens and others of the Iſland without.

*Strab.* b.6
*Diodorus*

*Polyb.* 1.9

When *Hiero* was retreated, the Mamertines having a little ſpace of reſuming confidence, began to deliberate upon their preſent condition, but were divided into two Factions; ſome thought it not to be diſputed, 'But that they ſhould commit themſelves to the protection of the Carthaginians, which as for many other reaſons it was convenient, ſo having admitted their Garriſon, 'twas little leſſe then neceſſary. On the other ſide 'twas ſaid, 'The Carthaginians were no leſſe enemies to the Mamertines then *Hiero*, that without doubt their purpoſe of defending of the City was not out of good will, but deſire of Dominion; That of a long time they had aſpired to the Empire of *Sicily*, neither were caſt down from their bold hopes by loſſe of Armies and Navies, no not by wars in *Africa*, and fear of their own ſtate at home; That therefore without exception they muſt prove Vaſſals if they commit themſelves to thoſe who have ſo ſtrong a Navy, and poſſeſſe greateſt part of *Sicily* it ſelf. That 'tis therefore no way expedient to deſire aid from the Carthaginians, a covetous, unfaithful people, who will lay heavier burdens upon them then they could fear from the Syracuſans. If the Punick Garriſon came only with intent to preſerve the City from *Hiero*, they may now upon fair terms be diſmiſſed having done the work: But if they have ſome other Clandeſtine deſign, it behooveth them with the greater care to prevent the danger of their deceitful friendſhip. That they ſhould rather implore aſſiſtance from the Romans, as a people invincible, of unqueſtionable faith and ſincerity, who will have neither occaſion nor opportunity of keeping *Meſſana* under their juriſdiction, as having not a foot of ground in *Sicily*, nor any uſe of ſea affairs, and conſequently taking no care therein. That they would be abundantly content to keep *Italy* ſecure from *Hiero* and the Carthaginians, having made *Meſſana* ſtrong, as an obſtacle to their further proceedings. That therefore they ſhould continue to rely upon the Roman faith rather then any other Nation; that indeed they could neither with honeſty or any convenience change their former counſels, having already ſent Embaſſadors and obtained hope of *ſuccour and relief*. For the Mamertines before their laſt battel with *Hiero*, beginning then to diſtruſt in their own ſtrength had craved aſſiſtance of the Romans as their Kinſmen. And the people being perſwaded by the Conſuls who were deſirous of employment in the Wars, had decreed that aid ſhould be ſent to them; but the Senate out of ſhame to be counted authors of the buſineſs, did defer it. For they who had lately ſo ſeverely puniſhed their own Legion for the wicked ſurprize of *Rhegium*, if they ſhould now aſſiſt the Mamertines, who had by the like treachery obtained the maſtery of *Meſſana*, they ſaw they ſhould clearly looſe the reputation of their Juſtice and Fidelity, which by their former act they had acquired. But now having heard of the Mamertines overthrow, and not doubting but if they were forſaken by the Romans, they would apply themſelves to the Carthaginians, with one conſent they ordained to ſend them relief. For in the Senate many had before inclined to this opinion, as foreſeeing that otherwiſe *Meſſana* quickly, and not long after all *Sicily* would come under the Carthaginian power, which if it were once come to paſſe, they ſhould be forced to fight with the Carthaginians for their own poſſeſſions in *Italy*.

*Zonaras.*
*Polybius.*

*Zonaras*

*Polybius*

For this danger would prove unavoidable, as well by reaſon of the inſatiable deſire of Rule in thoſe who are potent, as by the convenient ſcituation of the places. For *Italy*, proceeding in a long tract between the two ſeas from the Ligurians and Venetians, to the Brutians, is there divided from *Sicily* by a very narrow Channel. For there is no doubt made but that theſe Regions in old times were a continent, afterward divided by the ſea; whether the grounds being low were eaſily overflown, or whether ſome earthquake or ſtrength of the Tides cut off the *Iſthmus*. From hence many think that Town to be called *Rhegium*, becauſe things which are broken, are by ſome ſuch word nominated in the Greek Tongue. 'Tis therefore very credible that the firſt inhabitants of *Sicily* came out of *Italy*, as may be conjectured by the very name. For the Opici are ſaid to have built a Citie on the adverſe ſhore over againſt *Italy*, which becauſe it was ſcituate in a Creek of the ſea bearing the figure of a Sythe, they called it, I beleeve, *Sicilia*, which the Grecians afterward coming, called *Zancle*, both thoſe words in the ſeveral Languages ſignifying a Sythe. From thence, as often it happens, the name was derived to the whole Iſland, Which was by many called both *Zancle* and *Sicilia*.

*Salluſtii frag.*

*Caſſiodorus Variarum* 12.14

*Cauſabon in Strab.*
*Strabo* b.6
*Macrobius*

This

This Iſland far excelleth all others in the *Mediterranean* Sea, both in extent of ground, and fruitfulneſſe of Soile, yeelding abundance of Oyl and Wine and Corn of the beſt; adorned with many, and thoſe very great Cities, even to wonder; and if you conſider the Commodity of the Havens, and ſcituation of the whole Iſland, there is ſcarce to be found in the world a place more fit for the chiefe ſeat of an Empire: For, being near adjacent to *Italy*, on the contrary part it looketh toward *Africa*, on another ſide lyeth *Sardinia*, and on eaſt it hath *Peloponneſus* devided from *Græcia* by the Ionian ſea: On every hand the voyage is ſhort, and the paſſage eaſy for ſhips whether bound outward or homeward. And truly, though other reaſons were alledged, yet the only cauſe of the War between the Carthaginians and Romans, was, without doubt, the great deſire each of them had to be Maſters of this Iſland. The Romans found fault, *That the Carthaginians contrary to the league had aſſiſted the Tarentines*; the Carthaginians on the other ſide charged them, *for having entred into Confæderacy with* Hiero *againſt them.* But to ſo great a power were now both theſe Cities advanced, that it could not be avoided, but that at ſome time or other for ſome cauſe they muſt needs find occaſion to fall out. For as Trees planted at no great diſtance, for a while do not much hinder one the other, but being grown to ſome bigneſſe bereave one the other of Juice and nouriſhment from the earth, and at ful growth enterwinding both root and branches mutually deſtroy one the other: So riſing Empires cannot long be at Amitie and friendſhip, but, ſwallowing up what is interjacent between each others Dominions, deſire to try the ſuperiority between themſelves, neither being able to put a limit to their own ambition or to enlarge their Territories without removing all Opponents.

*Diodori Eclog.* book 23

*Florus.* 22 *L. Ampelius* c. 46

To theſe cauſes may be added the great power the Comminalty had in each City, together with their earneſt deſire of undertaking the War. In *Carthage* the vulgar ſort did much prevail, and now in the encreaſe of their City, growing rich by many Commodities, were willing for gains ſake to have war upon war. The condition of the Roman people was not much different, for having in the former wars ſuſtained damage in their eſtates, they hoped by the riches of *Sicily* to recompence themſelves, and therefore, according to that power they had lately extorted from the Senate, did approve and confirm their ſentence who perſwaded the war. Hereby *Appius* the Conſul being commiſſioned (whereas otherwiſe the major part of the Senate had aſſented, overpowring the votes of thoſe who ſtood to old Rules) without delay ſendeth *Claudius* a Tribune of ſouldiers beforehand with ſome few ſhips, *to obſerve an opportunity, and if any were offered, to waſt over into* Sicily. When he was come to *Rhegium*, not daring to hazard his ſhips becauſe he ſaw the ſeas obſtructed with a greater fleet of Carthaginians, he entred into a Fiſhermans veſſel and croſſed over to *Meſſana*; there diſcourſing with the Mamertines as the preſent occaſion required, being not able to overcome the contradiction of the Carthaginians, he returned without having done his buſineſſe. But awhile after underſtanding there was a diſſention at *Meſſana*, ſome pleading againſt the Roman aſſiſtance, the greater part bearing ill will to the Carthaginian Garriſon, he again croſſed the ſea, and among other things to the preſent purpoſe told them, *His coming was only to ſet the City at liberty, which when he had effected he would immediately return.* The Carthaginians anſwer'd, *The Romans need not trouble themſelves for the liberty of a City which was under their juriſdiction, the Carthaginians had already out of their good will taken care that the Mamertines ſhould not be compelled to be ſubject to the Syracuſans: That therefore he might depart, or elſe give ſome other reaſon of his being at Meſſana.* *Claudius* denied, *The City was free ſo long as a Forreign Garriſon continued therein contrary to their pleaſure.*

*Ariſtot. Poliſt.* 2.11 *Zonaras* *Polyb.* 1.11

*Livie* Epitom. 16 *Zonaras.*

*Auct. de viris Illuſ.* c. 27

*Zonaras*

To this when no man returned any anſwer, the Carthaginians out of pride, the Mamertines for fear holding their peace, he cunningly and readily proceeded, *'Tis plaine*, ſaith he, *by this your general ſilence, that the Carthaginians cauſe is unjuſt, and that the Mamertines are deſirous of liberty, otherwiſe neither would the one forbeare to juſtifie their own Right, and the others; if they conſented with the Carthaginians, having no cauſe to diſſemble, would freely and openly ſpeak their minds.* At this there ariſing a kind of a noiſe in the aſſembly, many praiſing his ſpeech as true, and indeed agreeing with their inward thoughts; he (thinking he had, for the preſent, ſufficiently moved the Mamertines and tryed the diſpoſition of their minds) went back to *Rhegium.* And not long after, having made ready his ſhips, he attempted to paſſe over; but being much inferiour to the Carthaginian Commanders, both in number of veſſels, and skill in ſea affairs, and being beaten back by the violence of the Waves, in a ſudden ſtorme ariſing, he returned to his port, having loſt ſome ſhips, and hardly ſaving the Reſt. But being nothing terrified with this miſadventure, he new trinoned his ſhips, reſolving upon a better opportunity once more to make tryal of Fortune: When behold meſſengers came from *Hanno* (Governour of the Mamertine Garriſon, and Guardian of the ſeas) bringing with them all the ſhips and men which the Carthaginians had taken in the former fray: *Hanno*'s deſign herein was to caſt the blame of the breach of Covenants upon the Romans, he therefore alſo complained, *That they had by force attempted to ſail in thoſe ſeas which were in the poſſeſſion of the Carthaginians*; and furthermore perſwaded them to have a great care of preſerving peace and maintaining the league.

But hearing that *Claudius* would not admit of any conditions unleſſe they would withdraw their forces out of *Meſſana*, and that again he endeavoured to croſs the ſea, he vaunted, *That he would not ſuffer the Romans ſo much as to waſh their hands in that ſea.* Nevertheleſs he could not

not prevent *Clauaius*, who obſerving the Nature of the ſea, laid hold of an opportunity when the wind happily helped the Tide, and arrived in *Sicily* without oppoſition. There calling a Counſel of thoſe Mamertines he found in the Haven, he perſwaded them, *To call* Hanno *to them, as if they had ſome buſineſs at preſent to conſult with him about.* For *Hanno*, not much confiding in the Townſmens doubtful minds, had with the ſouldiers poſſeſſed the Caſtle, neither was he willing to truſt himſelf in any of their Aſſemblies: Yet fearing if he betrayed his Diffidence he might encreaſe their complaints, and by his abſence give them occaſion to joyn with the Romans, he came to diſcourſe with them, where the time being ſpun out with diſputation and wrangling, the Romans, with the Mamertines their approbation, laid hands on him and caſt him into priſon. So being circumvented by craft, and frightned with menaces, when no other condition would be accepted, he was compelled to reſtore the Mamertines their Caſtle, and draw away his Garriſon. The Carthaginians upon intelligence of the buſineſſe, were above meaſure exaſperated, and (whereas otherwiſe they uſed to puniſh their Commanders for evil counſels though they proſpered) exclaiming both againſt the folly and cowardize of *Hanno*, miſerably crucified him, and immediately ſent both ſea and land forces to *Meſſana* with another *Hanno*, the ſon of *Hannibal*, to order affairs in *Sicily*: He drawing his forces together at *Lilybæum*, marched to *Selinuns*, where pitching his Camp, he left his foot army and went to *Agrigentum*, and (having fenced the Caſtle there) he drew the people, being friends to the Carthaginians, into arms againſt the Romans: From whence being returned to his Camp, Embaſſadours came to him from *Hiero*, who being no whit content with the Romans arrival into *Sicily*, thought this the fitteſt ſeaſon wherein joyning forces for a time with the Carthaginians, both they and alſo the Barbarians in poſſeſſion of *Meſſana* might be driven out of *Sicily*. Having therefore had diſcourſe with the Carthaginian General, they eaſily agreed to enter into confederacy againſt the Romans, who had ſupplanted both to their equal loſſe, each of them having failed of their hopes of *Meſſana*: 'twas ordered they ſhould joyntly beſiege *Meſſana*, and ſuffer no part of *Sicily* to be ſubject to any power but the Carthaginians or Syracuſans. So the Carthaginian Commander with his whole ſtrength moved againſt the Mamertines, having firſt ſent an Herauld to charge the Romans, *If they would be eſteemed friends of the Carthaginians to depart* Meſſana, *and within a time prefixed to quit* Sicily. The ſhips were commanded to keep their ſtation about *Peloras*; the foot army fortified their Camp at a place not far from *Meſſana*, called *Cubilia*, in the Greek toungue Εὐναὶ. *Hiero* likewiſe, according to agreement, came with his Syracuſant Army, and laid ſiege to the Citie on the other ſide, about the Hill *Chalcidicus*, ſo the Citie, being round begirt, could not ſafely receive ſuccour either by land or ſea.

*Polib.* 1. 10 — *Valer. Maxim.* 2. 7. 1. x. *Polybius* — *Diodori* Eclog. b. 23 — *Polib.* 1. 11 — *Diodori* Eclog. b. 22 — *Zonaras.* *Diodori* Eclog. b. 23 — *Polybius* *Zonaras*

About the ſame time, when the Herauld brought back no peaceful anſwer from *Meſſana*, the Carthaginians, partly out of anger, partly out of diſtruct, cruelly put to death all their Mercenary ſouldiers which were Italians by Nation. Theſe things were no ſooner heard at *Rome*, but the Conſul *Appius* was forthwith ſent with a ſtrong Army to *Rhegium*, thence he ſent ſome before, to treat with the Carthaginians and *Hiero* about breaking up the ſiege, in the mean time, ſeeing the ſeas ſo ſtrongly guarded, he was very ſolicitous and intent in contriving how to croſs over with the leaſt danger. The Conſul's Embaſſadours brought back no friendly anſwer from the Carthaginians, but were by *Hiero* with an accurate oration ſharply reprehended, he firſt having recounted the many good offices he had done the Romans, proceed ſaying, 'I am 'in doubt, Romans, whether I ſhould grieve for my ſelf or for you; I indeed have loſt friends of 'you ſomewhat worſe then I took you to be, but ye have loſt that Reputation of Juſtice and In'tegrity for which ye were ſo famous among all Nations. With the Mamertins ye never had 'any friendſhip or ſociety, ye had heretofore League with the Carthaginians, and lately entred in'to one with Me. Being now willing to breake theſe Leagues, can ye give an account, by what 'injury from us, or merit of the Mamertines ye are thereunto provoked? But becauſe the 'Carthaginians are able to ſpeake for themſelves, omitting what concerneth them, I ſhall at pre'ſent put you in mind of things in reference to my ſelf alone. The Mamertines your good 'Country men, did, as you know, receive pay under the Syracuſan Banners, and being diſ'miſed for their Returne for *Italy*, after they had been entertained as freinds and Companions 'by the poore credulous Meſſenians, committed a moſt horrid fact, as hath not been remembred 'by man, ſlaying in the night time their Land-lords, and keeping in their own power, their goods, 'wives, children and the Citie it ſelf. Which unleſſe your ſelves (being of the ſame opinion 'with other men) had judged to be a moſt vile and execrable villany, you would not ſo ſeverely 'have puniſhed the ſelf ſame fact of the Campanians committed upon the Rhegians, by the Ma'mertines Example. By the ſame indignitie therefore wherewith ye were moved to take revenge 'of wicked villanies, by the ſame am I moved not to let the Mamertines goe unpuniſhed, eſpeci'ally ſeeing they have ſince committed ſo many Robberies almoſt all *Sicily* over, burying as it 'were the memory of their firſt offence with others afterward committed. For (to omit other 'things) in that they deſtroyed the Cities of *Camarina* and *Gela*, then under the Syracuſan prote'ction, is reaſon ſufficient why I ſhould with a Juſt and pious War proſecute the boldneſſe of ſuch 'moſt impudent Men. If ye therefore undertake to defend them becauſe, being born in the 'ſame *Italy*, they are as it were your kinſmen, how much more juſtly might you have ſpared 'the Rhegians which were your fellow-Citizens? When in the taking of *Rhegium* I helped 'you with Auxiliaries and Proviſions, how ſhould I poſſibly then Divine that ye would hereafter

*Diodori* Eclog. *Polybius* — *Diodori* Eclog. — *Diodori* Eclog. b. 21

'hinder

'hinder me when I ſhould upon as juſt cauſes beſiege *Meſſana?* But what need I uſe many 'words? if you have any care left of your reputation and faithfulneſſe, if any ſenſe of honeſty, 'at leaſt if any ſhame, I ought not to doubt but that you will with your forces rather aſſiſt me 'in my juſt cauſe then oppoſe me. But if the conſideration of theſe things ſeem light unto you, 'however the event of war be doubtful, 'tis moſt certain all the world will plainly underſtand, 'That the Romans were incited to bare arms againſt us, not out of any colour of Juſtice and E-'quity, not by any injuries received (for that ye can no way pretend) not out of any pity or 'good will to the Mamertines, but meerly by their own ambition, and inordinate deſire of ad-'ding this Noble Iſland to their Empire.

When this anſwer was returned, *Appius* having obſerved that ſo ſtrong a Navy guarding the paſſage he could not without manifeſt danger croſs over, plotted a very ſubtil and cunning device, he ſaid, *He did by no means deſire that* Hiero *ſhould be alienated from the Romans, that the war was not decreed againſt him, neither could be proſecuted without the peoples command.* At a day therefore appointed he commanded his Sea-men to be ready, having their ſhips prepared for the voyage as if he would ſail home. Now he was not ignorant that there were many both Carthaginian and Syracuſan ſouldiers in the Rhegian Port, under the pretence of being Merchants, by whom he thought this news would quickly be conveighed to thoſe who would have it true. And it hapned accordingly as he had foreſeen, for he no ſooner had entred into his ſhips on a clear Sun-ſhinie day, and ſailed along the Italian ſhore, but preſently news was carried to the Carthaginian fleet which guarded the ſeas, whereupon they now not fearing the enemy would make any attempt that way, left the paſſage open, ſailing themſelves likewiſe away whither it pleaſed them. The Conſul, who had forethought it would ſo come to paſſe, ſteared his courſe backward in the night time, and arrived in *Sicily* with his whole Navy, no body ſo much as obſerving, much leſſe hindring his coming. *Frontinus* ſtrategem 1.4 *Zonaras*

It was a bold Enterprize and full of hazard, for an army unskilful in ſea-affaires, in the night time, blindly to venture with rude and illbuilt ſhips through a ſea dangerous in it ſelf, though it had not been dark, nor any enemie to be feared: And the exploit was thought worthy to be made known to Poſterity, by a new Cognomen thereupon given to the Conſul. For, becauſe he made uſe of many veſſells, made of the Trunks of trees, for the tranſportation of his ſouldiers, he was, in admiration of the fact, by the ſimplicity of that age ſirnamed *Caudex*, which ſignifieth the trunk of a tree. For the Romans having no uſe of ſea affairs, had neither any covered ſhip or long boate, or good skiff in a buſineſſe of ſuch concernment as this was; but made uſe of thoſe *Triremes* which the Tarentines and Locrians had lent the Eleats and Neapolitans, together with little veſſels of Traffick of fifty Oars. But *Appius* landing not far from the place where the Syracuſans had pitched their Camp, Encouraged his ſouldiers and declaring to them, *The Victory would be certain if they came upon the Enemy unawares*, immediately proceeded to aſſault their Camp. *Hiero* being awakened with the ſudden tumult, marched out with what forces were ready; for a time the fight was very ſharp, the Roman horſemen were beaten back, but the Legions ſtoutly ſtanding to it, *Hiero* was overthrown, and with his men fearfully retreated into his works. *Appius* having commanded the dead bodies to be plunder'd, entred into *Meſſana*, freeing the Mamertines from great fear, and filling them with better hopes for hereafter. *Hiero* ſeeing himſelf beaten before he could ſee the enemy (as himſelf afterwards confeſſed) and ſuſpecting that the Carthaginians had betrayed the paſſage over the ſea, when he had revolved many things in his doubtful mind, began to be in fear of the main chance, and in the dead time of the next night he drew his army out of their Trenches, and marched directly without halting to *Syracuſe*. When he was gone, *Appius* thought fit to make uſe of the terror of his late Victory in vanquiſhing the Carthaginians alſo, and having ordered his ſouldiers to refreſh themſelves in time, marched out in the dawning of the day to aſſault the Carthaginian Camp, which was pitched in a very ſafe place, by nature and art diligently fenced, for on one ſide the ſea, on the other ſide deep Mariſhes and Bogs encompaſſed it in the form of a *Peninſula*: That narrow ſpace of ground where was paſſage to firm land was fenced with a ſtrong wall againſt all aſſaults. Here the Roman ſouldiers beginning the ſtorm, could not prevail againſt the ſtrength of the place and multitude of defendants, but being beaten back with darts and ſtones (as in the ſtorm of a City) they were forced to retire without having done their work. *Zonaras* *Polyb.*1.11 *Seneca* de Brev. vitæ c.13 *Polyb.*1.20 *Zonaras* *Polybius* 1.11 *Zonaras* *Florus* 2.2 *Diodori Eclog.* 22 *Polyb.*1.12 *Zonaras* *Polybius.* *Zonaras*

Many times it hapneth in war that ill ſucceſs in the beginning giveth occaſion of better fortune, while they who are worſted endeavour with better advice and more courage to make up their loſſe, and the enemy on the other ſide being bewitched with a flattering opinion of felicity, and taking no heed againſt future chances, are carried away with raſhneſſe, as at this time it came to paſſe to the Carthaginians, for they not being content to have repulſed the enemies, iſſued out of their Camp and purſued them as if they had fled, thinking the Romans had yielded not ſo much to the difficulty of the place, as to their virtue and courage.

When therefore they were come out of their works, the fortune of the fight changed with the place, and a great number of them were ſlaine, ſome fled into the Camp, others as they had convenience into the Cities round about; neither durſt they any more ſtir out of their Camp as long as *Claudius* was at *Meſſana*. The Conſul, conſidering the nature of the place and difficulty of its ſcituation, thought it no wiſdom to make a ſecond aſſault, and ſeeing his *Polybius* *Zonaras.*

time

time to be ſpent in vaine thereabouts; leaving a ſtrong Garriſon at *Meſſana*, Invaded the Territories of the Syracuſans and their Confederats; and having without oppoſition waſted the Grounds, he conceived ſuch Confidence, that he marched up with his army even to *Syracuſe* it ſelf: Where the Battel was very doubtful, and at one time the Conſul was in great danger, and had certainely been ſurrounded and taken, had he not ſuddenly bethought himſelf and ſent to *Hiero*, to treat on Conditions of peace. *Hiero* likewiſe ſent a friend of his to conſult about the buſineſſe, and the diſcourſe being on purpoſe drawn out in length, the Couſul had time to bring his men into a place of greater ſecurity: The Syracuſans likewiſe following the ſame example, had many treaties of peace with the Romans, and indeed an agreement had been made, but that *Hiero* was unwilling to be the author thereof. In theſe affaires the greater part of the year was ſpent; then the Conſul returned to *Meſſana*, where leaving ſome forces to protect the Mamertines, with the reſt of his men he croſſed over to *Rhegium*: From thence he went to *Rome* to his Triumph which he made, over the Carthaginians and *Hiero* King of *Sicily*, with great joy of the People, as being the firſt over a Forreign Nation. This was the firſt of the Romans deſignes by ſea, and ſuch was the ſucceſſe of their undertakings in *Sicily*. But theſe things and the actions of following times are much corrupted by the ambition of writers, the cheife whereof, *Philinus Agrigentinus*, and *Fabius Pictor*, the one ſtriving to advance the Carthaginians Glory, the other the Romans, they both neglect their duty, and the truth of Hiſtory: Whoſe Levity *Polybius* deſervedly reprehends. For if even in private cauſes it be held an accurſed Crime to circumvent any one by falſe Teſtimony; the author of an hiſtory is certainely to be eſteemed more fouly perfidious if he corrupt the acts of Princes and Commonwealths with falſhood: He ought to value truth more then any earthly Commodity or his own life, and the leſſe deſerveth pardon in that he cannot alledge ſo much as any faire pretence for his Lyes, for if he durſt not for ſome cauſes freely ſpeak all he knew, he might certainely without danger have held his Tougue. While *Claudius* in *Sicily* vanquiſheth *Hiero* and the Carthaginians, *M. Fulvius* the other Conſul bringeth the Volſinian ſiege to an Iſſue, having to deale with men who by deſpair were hardned and made valiant againſt all violence, he at length tameth them by famine. Upon delivery of the City, he did with exquiſite torments put to death that unthankful and inſolent crew of Libertines; the City it ſelf he demoliſhed, the other Volſinians who had not put off the faith of ſervants, and reverence toward their maſters, he diſtributed into ſeveral ſeats round about.

*Polybius* *Zonaras* *Silius* b. 6 *Eutropius* b. 2 *Livie* Epitom. 16 *Zonaras.*

This war was likewiſe thought worthy of a Triumph, which the Conſul made in the Calends of *November*, as over the Volſinians. While the ſame Conſuls were in office a Luſtration was performed by the Cenſors, *Cn. Cornelius* and *C. Marcius*, and there were regiſtred the names of two hundred ninety two thouſand, two hundred twenty and four Citizens; a very great and almoſt incredible number to one who ſhall conſider how many were loſt in the wars, which hardly ever ceaſed ſince the foundation of the City; and how many were alſo ſwallowed up by the Peſtilence and Malignant diſeaſes as raging as the war it ſelf. But indeed the Commonwealth was made invincible and not to be overcome by any calamity or ſlaughter whatſoever, by the wiſe advice of *Romulus* (which was conſtantly obſerved by poſterity) in daily admitting new people into their City, inſomuch that neither all the loſſes received by *Pyrrhus*, nor their many ſhipwracks in the firſt Punick war, nor the fights of *Thraſimene* and *Canne* in the ſecond, were able ſo much to afflict it, but that ſtill ſhe did riſe more chearfull, free and valiant out of all her troubles.

*Capitol. Colum.* *Liv. Epit.* *Eutropius* 2 *Suidas* in Ῥωμαίων πόλις. *Tacitus* 11 24

But in *Greece* the Lacedæmonians who were alſo very famous for their Diſcipline and Valour in war, not any whit inferior to the Romans, becauſe they forbade ſtrangers to coinhabit with them, were not long able to uphold their Dominion, nor long after to maintain their Freedom; when in the Leuctrian battel they loſt not much more then a thouſand men, their Empire preſently fell to the ground; and at *Sellaſia* with the loſſe of not quite ſix thouſand, their Liberty was taken away. But the Achæans, inhabitants of the ſame *Peloponneſus*, admitting freely any neighbours into equal priviledges with themſelves, did conſtitute a very fair and flouriſhing Commonwealth, and likely to have continued, had not ſome few of them, to their own and their Countries deſtruction, madly provoked the Romans, whoſe power then was grown formidable to all people. Such divers events are neceſſarily conſequent to divers inſtitutions: For as in nature it is agreeable, that thoſe bodyes who are to a competent meaſure daily refreſhed with wholſome food, ſhould be ſtronger and longer lived then thoſe who content with their own natural ingenite moiſture deſpiſe all nouriſhment from without: ſo it ſtands to reaſon, that thoſe Cities ſhould better flouriſh, who admit into themſelves and make their own what in any other place they find to be excellent, then thoſe, who by a fooliſh arrogance, deſpiſing whatſoever groweth not in their own ſoil, deprive themſelves of many good aſſiſtants in obtaining and preſerving their power and ſoveraignty.

*Dionyſ.* 2. 17 Plut. *Ageſil.* c. 49 *Plutarch Cleomen* 41 *Juſtinus* b. 34.

This year gave a beginning to a cruel cuſtom, which afterward was frequently and moſt intemperately uſurped, That the blood of man ſhould become a publick ſpectacle of pleaſure, being profuſely ſhed for the ſake of any mean and wanton ſpectator. The authors of this barbarous cuſtome were *M.* and *D. Junius Brutus*, who by a ſtrange kind of piety, intending to honour the Aſhes of their dead father, did with great favour of the Citizens exhibit a Fencing-Shew. But this injury to mankind was moſt ſeverely revenged by a Peſtilence, which all this and

*Livie* Epitom. *Val. Maximus* 4. 2. 7

and the next year did furiouſly rage. Concerning which when they had conſulted the books of the Sybills, 'twas found the anger of the gods was the cauſe thereof. There ariſing therefore a ſuſpition that their Religious affairs were not rightly handled, the Prieſts by diligent obſervation and inquiſition, found that many Chappels and Temples were converted into the uſe of private men, and that *Capparonia*, a Veſtal Nun, was guilty of Inceſt; ſhe prevented her doom by hanging her ſelf, but he who had corrupted her, together with thoſe ſervants who were privy to the fact, were executed according to Law. The holy places were redeemed out of private hands to their wonted uſe. So having cleared the City in matters of Religion, the Fathers applied their minds again to the care of the Commonwealth; and becauſe *Etruria* being appeaſed, there was no commotion in *Italy*, they ordered both the new Conſuls to be ſent into *Sicily* with their Legions: the Conſuls were *M. Valerius Maximus* the eldeſt ſon of *Marcus*, who in the time of his office was called *Meſſalla*, and *M. Octacilius Craſſus, C.F. M.N.* Theſe having ſafely tranſported their forces were attended with the ſame good fortune. For when after their taking the City of the Adranites by ſtorm they had laid ſiege unto *Centuripæ*, there came Embaſſadors to them from the Alæſines, offering to deliver up their town.

*Oroſius*

*Aug. de Civ. Dei. 3. 17*

*Oroſius*

*Zonaras* 490

*Fabulæ Romanæ.*

Thence the Conſuls, marching through ſeveral parts of the Iſland, ſometimes with their forces joyned, ſometimes aſunder, as they ſaw cauſe, overcoming both Carthaginian and Syracuſan, as often as they durſt ſtand to the hazard of a Battel, ſpread their fame and Terrour round about: And ſuch was their happineſſe in following their fortune, and ſo great their force, that in a while after their were reckoned ſixty ſeven Cities which had committed themſelves to their Protection, in which number were the Tauromenitans and the Catanæans: Out of which Cities the Conſuls leavying what Auxiliaries they pleaſed. did daily increaſe in ſtrength, and, pitching the Camp neere unto *Syracuſe* it ſelf, conſulted about the ſiege of it. Which thing *Hiero* maturely conſidering, when he began to diſtruſt in his own and the Carthaginian Forces, and withal thought the Romans were beſt to be truſted, he reſolved to enter into League with the Romans; and in order thereunto ſent Embaſſadours to the Conſuls to treate of Peace. Neither were the Romans at all averſe from making freindſhip with *Hiero* to ſeparate him from the Carthaginians, eſpecially becauſe thereby they might more eaſily ſupply their Legions with Corne for food. For the Carthaginians having command of the ſeas, they could not have Proviſion from *Italy*, by which incommodity the former Conſul reaped more trouble then from the enemy. But, when *Hiero* was once united to them, the Kingdome of *Syracuſe* being very fruitful, would plentifully afford them all Neceſſaries. The Peace therefore was concluded on theſe Articles, *That what places or priſoners* Hiero *had taken from the Romans or their aſſociates he ſhould reſtore without ranſome, and likewiſe pay an hundred Talents of ſilver; that he ſhould without moleſtation raigne over* Syracuſe *and all Cities under the Syracuſans Juriſdiction*; the chief whereof were *Acræ*, *Leontium*, *Megara*, *Elorus*, *Netini*, *Tauromenium*. The Embaſſadours being thence ſent to *Rome*, the ſame Conditions were there confirmed, and the Senate decreed that Peace ſhould be maintained with that King, and after a few dayes *Cn. Atilius Calatinus* propounding it to the people, they likewiſe aſſented. This League, being made for fifteen years, was perpetually kept enviolable: *Hiero* bearing ſuch Reſpect to the Roman Greatneſſe and they ſo bountifully requiting his good affection, that neither of them had cauſe to repent of their friendſhip. *Hannibal* the Carthaginian, being come as far as *Xiphonia* with his ſea forces, to raiſe the ſiege of *Syracuſe*, having intelligence of the Peace, returned with greater haſt then he came. The Romans being now ſtrengthned by *Hiero* their aſſociate and fellow ſouldier, made no delay, but quickly reduced many Cities from the Carthaginian Juriſdiction. From *Adranon*, a fenced village, and *Macella*, after many dayes ſiege they returned without effecting their Purpoſe: But the Segeſtans they received into protection, when they had ſlaine the Carthaginian Garriſon and voluntarily revolted to them: Among other Conſiderations, they ſaid they Loved the Romans for Kindred ſake, deriving their Pedigree from *Æneas* after his flight from *Troy*. And not long after the Alienæans came into the Romans; But at *Hilarus*, *Territus* and *Aſcelus* they were faine to uſe force and Engines, and therefore dealt the more ſeverely with the vanquiſhed party. Whereupon the Tyndaritans, being terrified, ſeeing themſelves next to danger, and help far from them, Entred into Conſultation about yielding themſelves to the Romans, but were prevented by the Carthaginians; for they, ſuſpecting what was in hand, ſent away the cheiſe of the Citie as Hoſtages to *Lilybæum*, and took in good ſtore of Corne and wine and other proviſions. About this time the ſeverity of *Octacilius Craſſus* the Conſul was of much advantage to the Roman Diſcipline, for thoſe ſouldiers who being taken by *Hannibal*, had baſely, for ſafeguard of their lives, ſubmitted themſelves to bondage, he cauſed to continue without the Camp to receive the firſt charge from the enemy, that ſo, having no fence but their own courage, they might be the more valiant, truſting only in their own courage, and not to any ſecurity of the place they ſtood in.

*Zonaras*

*Eutropius* b. 2

*Diodorus*

*Polyb.* 1. 16

*Pauſan.* book 6

*Diodori* Eclog. 24

*Polybius*

*Zonaras.*

*Polybius*

*Diodori* Eclog. 23

*Cauſabon in Polyb.*

*Tabula Meſſanenſis*

*Diodorus*

*Polybius.*

*Diodorus*

*Polybius.*

*Diodorus*

*Zonaras*

*Cicero Verrin.* 4. 33

*Zonaras*

*Frontinus ſtrat.* 4 1

After theſe and other exploits of no greater moment, winter now approaching, the Conſuls diſpoſing ſeveral Garriſons in convenient places, returned into *Italy* and ſo to *Rome* with the reſidue of their Armies. There was a Triumph decreed to *M. Valerius* (whoſe ſucceſſe and pains had been moſt remarkable) over the Carthaginians and *Hiero*, which was performed the ſixteenth of the Calends of *April*. Among the ſpoils was brought a Clock, which is therefore taken notice of, becauſe it was the firſt which was ſeen at *Rome*; it was taken at *Catina*, and by

*Zonaras*

*Feſti Capitolini.*

*Valerius* placed upon a Pillar in publick near the Roſtra: He alſo on the ſide of the Court built by *Hoſtilius* ſet up a Table, whereon was painted the Battel wherein he overcame *Hiero* and the Carthaginians, which before his time was not done by any man, but afterward by many. This *Valerius* had his Sirname *Meſſalla* from *Meſſana*; but I wonder that ſome Authors of no ſmall note ſhould imagine it was derived from his taking that City, whereas the ſeries of affairs doth evidently demonſtrate, that it rather proceeded from his delivering that City from the troubles it ſuſtained (after *Appius Claudius* his departure) from the Carthaginians and *Hiero*, removing the one enemy and reconciling the other.

*Varro* apud *Macrobium Saturn*

In the mean while the Peſtilence ſtill rageing, a Dictator was named for the knocking in of a Nail, who was *Cn. Fulvius, Cn.F. Cn.N. Maximus Centumalus*, he choſe for Maſter of the Horſe *Q. Marcius. Q.F. Q.N. Philippus.* In the ſame year the Æſernian Colony was planted, whereas the year before one was deduced to *Firmum*, or as ſome will have it to *Caſtrum*. After this *L. Poſthumius, L.F. L.N. Megellus*, and *Q. Mamilius, Q.F. M.N. Vitulus* were created Conſuls, and both of them had *Sicily* allotted for their Province: There were but two Legions allowed them, which were thought ſufficient, becauſe now having Amity with *Hiero* the war was more eaſie; they conſidered likewiſe that proviſions would be the better procured if the Army were but ſmall. The Conſuls having tranſported their forces into *Sicily*, and being joyned with their aſſociates, paſſing by things of leſſer moment, thought fit with their whole ſtrength to beſiege *Agrigentum*, which City the Carthaginians had plentifully furniſhed with all manner of accommodations, intending it for the Magazine of their wars. For they ſeeing *Hiero* had forſaken them, and that the Romans made *Sicily* their chiefeſt care, they thought it behooved them to make the more diligent preparation for the war. In the firſt place therefore they ſent the greater part of their forces into *Sardinia*, to lie in wait againſt the Italian ſhore, by that means to divert the Romans from *Sicily*, or at leaſt to compel them to ſend the ſmaller forces then otherwiſe they would have done.

*Capitolina Marmora. Livie* Epit. 17. *Vellcius* 1. 14 491 *Polib.* 1. 17

*Zonaras*

But being fruſtrated of their hopes (for the Romans had ſtrength ſufficient, both wherewith to guard their own Coaſts, and invade *Sicily* with a new army) they hired many Mercenary ſouldiers of the Ligurians and *Gauls*, but more out of *Spaine*, whom, together with great plenty of proviſions, they ſent to *Agrigentum*; reſolving to make that their Magazine of Corne, and the Receptacle of their Armies; being, by reaſon of its conveniency of ſcituation, and multitude of buildings, fitter for ſuch occaſions then any other Citie of *Sicilie* of their Juriſdiction. The onely ſeat of War therefore being about that Citie, the Romans, having confined the Carthaginians within their works, pitched their Camp within a mile thereof. The grain was then ripe in the fields, and becauſe they foreſaw the ſiege would prove long, the ſouldiers ſent out to reape and bring in Corne, wandred ſomewhat too far and more careleſsly then ought to have been done having an enemy ſo near. The Carthaginians omitted not to make uſe of this occaſion, and had indeed given a great overthrow to the Romans, but that they regained as much by their courage, as they had loſt by their negligence. For, when they who were ſent out to forrage were not able to reſiſt the aſſault of the Enemy, the Carthaginians purſued them even to the Camp, where deviding their forces, ſome prepared to ſtorme the workes, while the others maintained the fight with the guards without. Then, as often at other times, the Laws of warfare duely obſerved and the incorrupted Rigour of the Roman Diſcipline ſaved them from an hazard tending to the deſtruction of their whole army. For (it being a deadly crime among the Romans for any cauſe whatſoever to forſake their ſtation) the guard without, knowing it was to no pupoſe to fly back, though they were much overpowred in number, maintained the fight with wonderful courage, loſing many of their own men, but killing more of the enemies, till the Troupes had time to arme themſelves and come to their Relief, ſo the Enemie being there repulſed, and thoſe who had now almoſt entred the workes ſurrounded, the Romans made a very great ſlaughter of them, and purſued the reſt even to the Citie. This accident made both the Enemie more fearful of Iſſuing out, and the Romans more wary in their Forrage. Henceforth the heat of their Contention being not ſo great as before, (for the Carthaginians ſeldom made a ſally, and then only in manner pickeering and light skirmiſh) the Romans thought fit to divide their forces, and plant their Camps on two ſides of the Citie, on the one ſide near to *Æſculapius* his Temple, on the other in the high way leading to *Heraclea*. Their Camps were fenced with Trenches on both ſides, toward the Citie, againſt their Sallies, and toward the Country both to ſecure themſelves from any invaſion, and to hinder Relief from entering the Citie. The ſpace between the two Camps was guarded with many companyes of ſouldiers.

*Polybius*

In all theſe affaires they were much aſſiſted by the Sicilans, who lately had made friendſhip with them, of whom together with the Romans there were an hundred thouſand; They brought proviſions as far as *Erbeſſus*, from whence (it being not far off) the Romans fetched it into their Campe. Whereby they had very great plenty of all Neceſſaries. At this ſtay the ſiege continued for almoſt five moneths, neither much prevailing over the other (for they attempted nothing but light skirmiſhes) till at length the Carthaginians began to have the worſt on't. For a great number of men, little leſſe then fifty thouſand warriers, having been ſo long ſhut up in one town, had ſpent almoſt all their corn, and ſaw no likelyhood of procuring more, the Romans guarding all the paſſages; ſo that they were much afflicted both with their preſent miſery,

*Zonaras*

ſerie, and expectation of future. Therefore *Hannibal* the ſon of *Geſco* (who was Commander in chief at *Agrigentum*) by many meſſengers craving relief againſt hunger and other dangers, *Hanno* the elder was ſent into *Sicily* with ſome Elephants and Souldiers which were for that purpoſe raiſed. His Army conſiſted of fifty thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, and threeſcore Elephants, with which forces he ſailed to *Lilybæum*, thence he marched to *Heraclea*, whither forthwith came meſſengers promiſing to deliver up *Erbeſſus* to him: Being by their means made maſter of *Erbeſſus* (from whence the Romans hitherto had all their proviſions) he ſeemed to have effected a buſineſſe of great moment, as much afflicting the Romans now for want of neceſſaries as they had done the Agrigentines. *Polybius* *Diodori Eclog.* b. 23 *Polybius*

And now the Romans began to conſult about raiſing the ſiege, which they were very near giving over for a deſperate buſineſs, had not the King of *Syracuſe*, by trying all wayes, made a ſhift by ſtealth to convey to them ſome corn and other commodities, whereby their preſent want was in ſome meaſure relieved. *Hanno* conſidering the Romans now to be faint with hunger and other infirmities following it, whereas his own men were well and luſty and in perfect ſtrength, approached near the Romans, reſolving, if occaſion were offered, to fight them. Marching therefore with his fifty Elephants, and whole army from *Heraclea*, he ſends his Numidian horſmen before to play about the enemies Camp, to provoke the Roman horſmen, and, if poſſible, to draw them out into ambuſh. The Numidians according to order careleſſely flying about the Conſul's Camp, the Romans iſſue out, beat back thoſe who oppoſed, and purſued them as they fled out of order, that way which they knew *Hanno* to be coming. The further they followed the purſuit, the more difficult was their return to their own works, inſomuch that many of them were loſt after they had met with freſh forces, which cauſed thoſe who fled likewiſe to turn and fight. *Hanno* being by this much encouraged with hopes of the main Victory, placeth himſelf upon an hill called *Torus*, about a mile and a half diſtance from the Roman Camp; nevertheleſſe the battel was deferred longer then was expected between two Armies ſo near one the other; ſometimes the Carthaginian, ſometimes the Roman unwilling to hazard their whole fortune in one battel; while *Hanno* was deſirous to fight, the Romans contained themſelves within their Trenches, becauſe they were exceeded by the enemy both in number and chearfulneſſe, being themſelves terrified and dejected with the loſſe their horſemen had ſuſtained. *Zonaras*

But when they, (ſeeing their aſſociates troubled and daunted at this their fear, the Enemy on the contrary grow more confident, and thinking it better to fight with the Carthaginians then endure ſuch want) were reſolved upon the Battel, then *Hanno* began to fear, and decline the encounter. Two months were thus ſpent; nothing of greater moment being performed, but light skirmiſhes which happened every day. At length, being moved with frequent entreaties from *Hannibal*, who had daily ſent out Meſſengers, and by lighted fires given him often notice, That the beſieged were no longer able to endure hunger, and that many were thereby compelled to flee to the enemy; *Hanno* was reſolved no longer to defer the battel, giving order to *Hannibal* at the ſame time to iſſue out of the City. The Conſuls having intelligence hereof, kept themſelves very quietly within their Camps; *Hanno* the more furiouſly preſents himſelf in Battel-array, marcheth up to their very Works, boldly provokes them to fight, reproaching them with fear and cowardize. They on the contrary being content to repulſe the enemy from their Trenches, neither ranged battel againſt them while they ſtood, nor purſued them when they retreated. When things had been thus tranſacted for ſome dayes together, and the Carthaginians were fully perſwaded the Romans durſt not venture on any further action, *L. Poſthumius* the Conſul wiſely made uſe of the enemies ſecurity and contempt to his own good. For ſilently ordering his whole battel within the works, when the Carthaginians according to their cuſtome came up to the works, he iſſued out with a few and held them in action with light skirmiſhes from day break till noon, then the enemy withdrawing themſelves, he brought forth his Legions and made a charge upon them. *Polybius* *Zonaras* *Frontinus Strat.* 2.1

*Hanno*, though he ſaw a neceſſity of fighting contrary to his expectation, ſtoutly entring into battel, maintained it doubtful till the day was almoſt ſpent. But the Romans, having on purpoſe well refreſhed their bodies and prepared them to fight, were not ſo much troubled with heat, thirſt and Labour as were the Carthaginians, who, before the battel, being weary with faſting and ſtanding all day, the longer they fought, were the leſſe able to reſiſt by reaſon of the weakneſſe of their Bodys. At length the Mercenary ſouldiers who ſtood in the front were no longer able to endure the brunt, and did not only give back themſelves, but falling in diſorderly upon the Elephants and other Regiments behind, routed the whole battel and cauſed them to fly before the enemy who ſo hotly charged them. Things were managed with the ſame ſucceſſe in the other place, for *Hannibal*, iſſuing out to fight, was beaten back with the greater loſſe, and forced into the City again. The Carthaginian Camp was taken, three Elephants wounded, thirty ſlain, eleven came alive into the Romans hands: The men had the ſame fortune, for of ſo great an Army very few eſcaped with their General to *Heraclea*; they who were ſhut up in the City, ſeeing no way or means of ſafety left them, were afflicted with very great terror and deſpair: When *Hannibal* following the beſt counſel his ill fortune had left him, obſerving that the Romans, what with wearineſſe of their late fight, and joy of their Victory, kept not their guards ſo ſtrickt as heretofore, about the third watch of the night went out of the Town with his Mercenaries, and having croſſed the Trenches filled up with boats ſtuffed with *Zonaras* *Diodori Eclog.* b. 23 *Oroſius* 4. 7 *Polybius.* *Zonaras* *Polybius*

ſtraw (which he had beforehand prepared for this purpoſe) he was a good way on his journey before the Romans, at break of day perceiving what was in hand, ſurpriſed part of the hindmoſt Troops; *Hannibal* with the reſt betook himſelf into places of ſecurity. The Agrigentines ſeeing themſelves forſaken by the Carthaginians, either out of anger, or to curry favour with the Conqueror, ſlew many of thoſe who remained in the City. The Town was not therefore ſaved from deſtruction, above five and twenty thouſand Free-men were ſold into ſlavery.

*Zonaras*
*Polybius*
*Diodorus*

*Oroſius*

In this manner was *Agrigentum* taken, in the ſeventh moneth after it had been firſt beſieged, to the great profit and glory of the Romans, but with the expence of much blood, for of the Conſul's Army and his Auxiliaries, there periſhed by ſeveral means above thirty thouſand during this ſiege; for which cauſe, and by reaſon winter now approaching, nothing of moment could be undertaken, they returned to *Meſſana*. Theſe Commanders going to *Rome* in hope of Triumph the next year *L. Valerius*, *M.F. M.N. Flaccus*, and *T. Otacilius*, *C.F. M.N. Craſſus* being made Conſuls went into *Sicily*. The Carthaginians having ſet forth a great Navy as to the plunder and waſting of *Italy*, thought thereby to divert the Conſuls from the care of *Sicily*, but they having ſufficient guard upon the coaſts to repel the invaders, did nevertheleſſe croſs over into *Sicily*, where they received many towns which yielded themſelves to their protection, being terrified by the late example of the Agrigentine overthrow. The Carthaginians in the mean time made no reſiſtance, for beſides their late ill ſucceſſe they were vexed with the ſedition of their Mercenaries, the *Gauls* being chief in the Mutiny for want of many moneths pay; for the puniſhment of whom, *Hanno* deviſed this ſtratagem, firſt ſoothing them with fair ſpeeches he deſires them, *At preſent for a while to be quiet*, telling them, *He was in certain hopes of ſuddenly ſurpriſing a very rich Town, by the plunder whereof the* Gauls *ſhould be ſufficiently ſatisfied, both for their pay, as alſo for the forbearance of it.* Having by this means at preſent appeaſed them, and moreover received thanks, he takes a convenient time to treat with his Treaſurer, (who was moſt faithful to him) *That he would, as a Runegado, flie over to* Otacilius *the Conſul, under pretence of having perverted his Accounts, and inform him, That next night he might circumvent four thouſand* Gauls, *who would come to* Entellia *to take it with the help of ſome Traitors within.*

*Zonaras.*
492
*Eutropius* b. 2
*Zonaras*
*Polybius*
*Frontinus* ſtrat. 3 1
*Zonaras.*
*Frontinus*
*Diodorus*

*Frontinus*

The Conſul though he gave not much Credit to a Runegado, yet thinking it a buſineſſe not to be neglected, did ſend a Choice Brigade of ſouldiers upon the deſign; the *Gaules* came accordingly as they had been deceived by *Hanno*, and the Romans ſuddenly ariſing out of ambuſh to receive them, there was between them a very fierce and cruel fight, wherein every one of the *Gaules* were ſlain, and becauſe they died not unrevenged, *Hanno* was doubly pleaſed, both that he was rid of his inſolent Mutineers, and that he had cunningly puniſhed them to the no little loſs of the enemy. At *Rome*, in the mean time, *Minucius* the Prætor propounded in the Senate, the bringing of the water of the River *Anien* to the Citie; which work *M. Curius* the Cenſour had deſigned out of the enemies ſpoiles, but ſeveral impediments ariſing, the buſineſs for nine years deferred, was now again conſulted about: and two men appointed as ſupervisours, *Curius* and *Fulvius Flaccus*; but *Curius* dying within five dayes, the Glory of finiſhing the work was attributed to *Fulvius* alone. About the ſame time *Hamilcar* came from *Carthage* into *Sicilie* as ſucceſſour to *Hanno*. For the Carthaginians, when *Hanno* returned after his overthrow, received him with Ignominy, fined him in his ſix thouſand pieces of Gold and removed him from his Government. Some Authors being deceived by the likeneſs of Names, have delivered, that this *Amilcar* was Father of *Hannibal* who managed the ſecond Punick War againſt the Romans; but not rightly, for *Hamilcar* the Father of *Hannibal* came into *Sicilie* with command, being but a young man, at the latter end of this War, but his great fame prevailed, that the acts of another leſſe known *Amilcar* were aſcribed to *Amilcar Barcas* the moſt Noble and Egregious of that Name. *Hamilcar* therefore the ſucceſſour of *Hanno* ſeeing the Romans far ſtronger then himſelf in their land army, durſt not aſſault any In-Land Cities, nor deſcend out of the Mountaines and difficult places into the Campagne: but having a ſtrong Navy whereby he was doubtleſs Maſter of the ſeas, made diligent uſe of thoſe his Forces, and, having ſent *Hannibal* againe to plunder the Coaſts of *Italy*, himſelf ſailing about the Sicilian ſhore, eaſily recovered many Port Townes which had joyned themſelves with the Romans. Whereby it came to paſſe, that the Romans eaſily taking and defending the In-land places, the Carthaginians the Maritime, the Feare and hopes were on both ſides very equal, and it was hard to Judge to which of theſe two Nations the Victory of the whole War would eneſine.

*Frontinus de Aquæ ductibus*

*Zonaras.*
*Cicero de Offic.*
*Cornel. Nepos Amilcar* c. 1.

*Polybius* 1. 20
*Zonaras*
*Polybius.*

BOOK

# BOOK VII.

FOUR years were now expired ſince the Carthaginian war began, neither had the Romans any cauſe to complain either of their own courage or fortune; for they were Victors in every battel, both over Carthaginians and Syracuſans as often as they durſt encounter: They had taken many rich Cities by ſtorm, and others upon Articles ſubmitted themſelves; but as long as they waged war in an Iſland, they could not at their pleaſure ſend proviſion and recruits when need required. And the Carthaginian ſhips with free and unexpected arrival being themſelves ſecure, did not only moleſt and vex the Sicilian Cities upon the ſhore, but likewiſe waſted the coaſts of *Italy*, both to the loſſe of the Roman Empire, and likewiſe to their diſgrace; whereas the Affrican ſhore was clear and free from the enemies invaſion. The Senate therefore and people of *Rome* diligently conſulting upon the matter, did reſolve to prepare a Fleet, and fight the Carthaginians not only by land, as hitherto they had done, but to try their fortune at ſea alſo. This was the very firſt ſerious thought the Romans had concerning ſea affairs, which they accompliſhed with as much Courage and good Fortune, as they had conceived it with Wiſdom and Reſolution: Inſomuch as the Empire of the whole world might well be judged due to the Romans, who being willing by ſea to encounter a people moſt skilful in ſea affairs, wanted neither Boldneſſe to attempt it, nor Diligence to manage it, nor Conſtancy effectually to perform it. For the Romans to that day being ſo utterly ignorant of ſea affairs, that there was not a man amongſt them who ever had ſeen one, neither had any one Man of War of their own, or any Carpenter who knew how to build one, yet having with great confidence undertaken the deſign, they did in a very ſhort time both learn to ſail and venture to fight and overcame thoſe people who for many ages had had experience in ſea affairs. *Polybius.*

The care of building the ſhips was committed to *Cn. Cornelius L. F. Cn. N. Scipio Aſina*, and *C. Duilius*, who had newly entred the Conſulſhip. They had one Carthaginian ſhip of five Oars, which *Claudius* took with his foot army (at what time he was ſtudying to paſſe over into *Sicily*) while in heat of fight it came too near the ſhore and was grounded upon the ſands in a ſhallow place. The Conſuls ordered the whole Navy to be built after that Patterne, and ſo diligently proſecuted the work, that in threeſcore days after the timber was felled, they had threeſcore ſhips ſtanding at Anchor. But the Conſuls haſtned their expedition no leſs by their wit, then by their Induſtry, For, (being neither willing to hazard to fight with men unskilful at the oar, nor yet to ſtreighten the time allotted them for action in training up and exercifing men on purpoſe) they contrived a device, which though it may at firſt ſhew ſeem ridiculous, yet in the uſe and event proved exceeding Commendable, That, while the ſhips were in building, their Men ſhould ſit on ſhore and there be taught their office how to Rowe. For being placed in the ſame order as they were to obſerve in the ſhips, and a Boatſwaine being ſet in the midſt of them, they were commanded, at his word given, to move their Oars, and again to forbear, even as if they were ſailing. *Oroſius.* 437 *Auct. de viris Illuſ.* c. 37 *Plinie* 16.39 *Florus* 2.2

By this exerciſing themſelves in fancy onely they were ſo improved, that when the ſhips were ready, after a few daies real paines-taking, the Conſuls were willing to truſt themſelves and

and the ſafety of all their Legions to their care. When lots were caſt for the Provinces, the Land Army fell to *C. Duilius*, the Fleet to *Cn. Cornelius*; who, taking along with him ſeventeen ſhips, ſailed before hand to *Meſſana*, to make preparation for the coming of the Fleet, which he ordered ſuddenly to follow him: but before it came, he fell into the hands of the Enemy, which came to paſſe by the cuuning of *Boodes*, *Hanniball*'s Vice-Admirall, and his own Credulity, giving credit to ſome Liparæans, who were ſuborned by the Enemy, to put him in hopes of taking the City of *Lipara* by Treachery. There being circumvented by the Carthaginian ſhips, he nevertheleſs reſolved to encounter them, and ſeek his ſafety by fighting: but that *Boodes* by another fraud, trained him and his Colonells into his own ſhip, under pretence of Treating on Conditions of Peace. They were no ſooner come but clapt up in chaines, the others being hereby terrified did without blowes yield themſelves up; *Boodes* gaining all the Veſſels, ſent the Priſoners to *Carthage*. Soon after the Carthaginian Commander committed the like fault to his greater ſhame, in that the freſh example of the Conſul's incogitancy did not learn him to be more circumſpect. He had underſtood that the Roman Navy ſailing by the Italian ſhore, was putting forth to ſea, and that they could not now be farre off. Deſiring therefore, as neer as might be, to obſerve it, that he might accurately know the number of their ſhips, their ſwiftneſs, and in what faſhion and plight their new made Veſſels were in, he ſailed forward with fifty ſhips, not foreſeeing any danger, his ſhips being confuſedly mixed without any order, as when they ride in Harbour or any ſafe place: At the turning therefore of a certain Promontory, ſuddenly falling into the Roman Fleet, which came prepared and ſailing in good order; he was vanquiſhed before he could prepare himſelf to fight, and having loſt the greater part of his Navy, himſelf likewiſe being in great Danger, he very hardly eſcaped with the reſt. The Victorious Navy, underſtanding *Cornelius* his miſhap, ſent Meſſengers to *C. Duilius* to give him notice of their approach, and prepared themſelves for fight, having intelligence that the other Carthaginian ſhips were not farre off. There while they deligently conſidered the inconvenience of their own Veſſells, that they were rudely made, and farre inferiour to the Carthaginians in ſwiftneſs, it came into the mind of a certain ingenuous man to invent an Engine, whereby to lay hold and keep faſt the Enemies ſhips; which Engine they afterward called *a Raven, or Crow*; the faſhion of it was this, There was a ſtraight round piece of Timber, four ulnes long, ſome nine inches Diameter, having at the end thereof a pully or windlaſe, to which, being fixed on the foredeck, there was fitted a bridge, ſix ulnes broad, and four feet long, made of plankes faſtned together with iron nails. In this Engine there was left a long hole whereby it might be fitted to the piece of Timber, by the ſpace of four ulnes, even the whole length of the Timber. The other part of the bridge or ladder, which was not inſerted in the Timber, being of two ulnes long, was ſo faſtned by hinges, that it might be pulled up, or let fall; to the end of the bridge was affixed a ſtrong ſharp piece of iron, with a ring at it's head, whereto a rope being tied, through the pully of the timber, it might be drawn down into the Foredecke; Then as they lifted, by the Rope they could draw it up, or let it fall down, with its ſharp piece of iron laying hold on and keeping faſt whatſoever it fell upon. In the mean time the Conſull *C. Duilius*, committing his foot Army to the Charge of his Colonells, came to the Navy, and underſtanding that the Enemies ſpoiled the Region of *Mylaites*, ſailed with his whole fleet to that ſhore.

*Zonaras.* *Polybius* — *Ὀλυμπ. ἀναγρ.* *Polybius* — *Livie Epit.* 17. *Zonaras* *Florus* — *Oroſius* 4 7 — *Polyb.* — *Florus.* 2. 2.

The Carthaginians were glad of this, aſſuredly promiſing themſelves victory over Inland-men, altogether unskilfull in ſea affaires; whereby they became an example, That no Enemy whatſoever ought ſo to be deſpiſed, as to cauſe one to remit ordinary diſcipline, and grow ſecure. *Hanniball* the Admirall, who had conveighed his Forces out of *Agrigentum*, was in a Veſſell of ſeven oares on a ſide, which formerly belonged to King *Pyrrhus*, the other ſhips followed him: not as to a fight, in any diſtinct order, but, as every one thought fit, making haſt to their deſpicable Enemy. But, when approaching neerer, they ſaw the Engines hanging at the foredecks of the Roman ſhips, wondring at the novelty of the buſineſs, they pauſed a while; at length the moſt Couragious men laughing at the rude invention of an unskilfull Enemy, the foremoſt ſhips with all the violence that might be flew upon them. Then the Crows being let down, into what ſhips ſoever they light, ſo pierced the planks thereof that they held them faſt againſt their wills; The Roman ſouldiers, if the ſhips were faſtned ſide to ſide, did on every part leap in and aſſault the Enemy; if they were joyned onely in the foredecks, they went two by two over the bridge annexed to the timber, with ſo much the more facility, becauſe on each ſide of the bridge a little fence knee high, made their paſſage ſafer, and their footing more ſecure: They who went foremoſt, holding their bucklers before, defended their faces from the Enemies darts, thoſe who followed held their ſhields down to the little fence, ſo guarding their ſides, and entring the Enemies ſhips; ſo that the fight was not performed with the Beakes of ſhips, but with ſwords and hands, like to a ſet Battell; The Romans therefore excelling in ſtrength and Courage, had an eaſy victory over men lightly armed, and truſting more in the nimbleneſs of their ſhips, then in their hands; They quickly forced thirty Carthaginian ſhips, among which the Admiralls frigot was taken, but *Hanniball* leaping out of his ſhip, when it was now taken, into a Cock-boat eſcaped Captivity, and ſending a truſty friend in poſt-haſte to *Carthage*, to prevent the News of his Overthrow, did thereby cunningly decline that Capitall puniſhment which otherwiſe had attended him. His friend entring the Senate, as if all things had been well,

*Florus.* *Polyb.* — *Frontinus* *Strata.* 2. 3. *Polyb.* — *Val. Maximus* 7. 3. 7. ext.

well, asked their Advice, *whether they thought it fit that the Roman Navy ſhould be fought withall?* and every one unanimouſly agreeing, *That there was no ſcruple to be made, and that the buſineſs ſhould not be deferred*; he told them, *'Tis already done, and we are beaten*; whereupon, no body daring to accuſe the Fact, whereof every one in his own Perſon would have been Author, *Hannibal* eſcaped the ſentence of Death, but was deprived of his Admirallſhip. The reſt of the Carthaginian ſhips, (for the greater part was left) after the Flight of the Admirall, were very much troubled and doubtful in Counſell what to do; they were aſhamed to fly having received no harm, the Enemy not ſo much as preſſing upon them; on the other ſide to ſet upon the Roman ſhips they were afraid, by reaſon of their Engines; At length ſailing round about, and finding on every ſide the foredecks of the ſhips oppoſed againſt them, with thoſe formidable Engines, having uſed all the art they could, they deſpairing of the victory went their way. *Zonaras* *Auctor de viris Illuſ.* 138. *Zonaras*

'Tis reported that fourteen Carthaginian ſhips were ſunk in that fight, one and thirty taken, with ſeven thouſand men, three thouſand having been ſlain. With this ſucceſs did *C. Duilius* fight with the Carthaginians neer the *Liparæan Ilands*, where the Romans got much prey, but much more ample Glory and Renoun. The Conſull taking charge again of his Land Army, Marched to *Segeſta*, and delivered it from danger, it having been brought even to the utmoſt extremity by the Carthaginians; after that he took *Macella* by ſtorme, *Hamilcar* never daring to encounter with him: and ſo having confirmed the mindes of the Aſſociate Cities, Summer being paſt, he returned to *Rome*: After his departure the *Carthaginian* affaires began again to proſper. For firſt the Romans after ſeven moneths continuance were fain to raiſe their ſiege of *Mutiſtratus*, having loſt many men before it. When afterward a Diſſenſion aroſe between the Romans and their Auxiliaries, and that the Aſſociates encamped themſelves apart between *Paropus* and *Thermæ*: *Hamilcar* thought fit to make uſe of this their madneſs, and falling on them unawares ſlew four thouſand of them: and it wanted little but that the whole Roman Army had likewiſe been involved in the ſame overthrow. *Eutropius b.* 2. *Oroſius.* 4. 7. *Florus* 2. 2. *Zonaras.* *Polybius.* *Dioder. Eclog.* 23. *Polybius.* *Diodorus.*

Then again many Townes were taken by *Hannibal*, ſome by force, ſome by Treachery: which though it was no good newes at *Rome*, yet the loſs was counted ſmall in reſpect of their Navall Victory. For the Roman courage having already approved it ſelf invincible by Land, they had great cauſe to rejoyce, that by this Fight they had gained reputation of ſtrength by ſea alſo. Whereupon wonderfully encouraging themſelves as to the whole Warre, they judged the Author of this their New Glory worthy alſo of new Honour; *Duilius* therefore was the Firſt who ever made a Navall Triumph, which was on the Intercalary Calends over the Sicilians and the Carthaginian Navy. They likewiſe bore with him, when, not content with this Honour, he did without all precedent aſſume another to himſelfe, that returning from ſupper, a light Torch was carried before him while the Minſtrells Sang; A Beaked Pillar likewiſe was by decree of the Senate erected in the Market-place, of white *Parian* Marble, which is yet to be ſeen (but many of the Letters worn out with Age) conteining the Number of ſhips taken and drowned, the Summ and Weight of the Money taken. There were taken of Gold three thouſand ſeven hundred pieces, of ſilver above an hundred thouſand, of heavy Braſs ſeven ſcore hundred thouſand pounds. The Triumph being accompliſhed, *Duilius* called an Aſſembly, wherein *L. Cornelius*, *L. ſo. Cn. N. Scipio* and *C. Aquilius M. F. C. N.* were choſen Conſulls. The Senate ordered their Provinces to be *Sicily*, and the Navy. The Admirall had permiſſion, if he thought it for the Publick good, to touch upon *Sardinia* and *Corſica*. This Charge happening to *L. Cornelius*, having prepared his ſhips he failed away. *Eutropius b.* 2. *Tacius* 2. 49. *Colum. Triumph* *Cicero Cato* *c.* 13. *Livie. Epit.* 17 *Plinie.* 34. 5. 2 *Selius Fin.* 6. *Pighis annalis* 494.

This was the firſt Roman expedition into *Sardinia* and *Corſica*; the Iſlands are ſo near adjoyning that they ſeem but one and the ſame, yet much unlike, as in the temper of the Air and Soil, ſo in the Diſpoſitions of the inhabitants. *Sardinia* as bearing the ſhape of a mans footing, was by the Ancients called *Ichnuſa* and *Sandaliotis*, afterwards 'tis ſaid, *That* Sardus *the ſon of* Hercules *of* Lybia *much frequenting the Iſland, gave it the name it is now known by.* Old Fables affirm that the Grecians came into thoſe places with *Ariſtæus*, and after the Trojan war the Trojans. For extent of ground and fruitfulneſs of ſoil, it yieldeth not much to the biggeſt and beſt Iſlands of thoſe ſeas. It breeds excellent cattel, very fruitful it is of the beſt Corn, rich in Metals, eſpecially Silver. But the air is not ſo wholſome, inſomuch as foreign Nations commended not ſo much its Fertility as they diſpraiſed its Peſtilent air; for in Summer it is ſickly, eſpecially in the moſt fruitful places. It produceth likewiſe an Herb, much like the Bee flower, of very violent Poyſon, being eaten it diſtracteth the mind, and forcibly attracting the Nerves diſtorteth the lips as in laughter: the juice of it is mortal, unleſs after vomiting you drink good ſtore of milk and honyed water: the preſent force of the diſeaſe is ſo remedied, the other incommodities thereof are cured by the ſame means as other Convulſions of the Nerves. *Saluſt. Hiſt.* 2. 1 *Plin.* 3. 7. *Silius. b.* 12. *Saluſt. Fragm.* *Pauſan. b.* 10. *Ælian* apud *Hiſt. Anim.* 16. 34. *Solinus c.* 10. *Pomp. Mela.* 2. 7 *Strab.* lib. 5. *Plinie* 20. 11. *Matthiol.* in *Dioſcor.* 6. 14.

Likewiſe there is a very little creature called *Solpuga*, a kind of Piſmire, which is deadly to thoſe who unawares ſit upon it, it is ſo much the more dangerous, becauſe hardly to be ſeen or taken notice of by thoſe who are ignorant of its nature. The Sardinians being a Nation mixed of divers ſorts of Barbarians, when they are left to their own liberty, chuſe rather to live by robbery and plunder, then by husbandry: They are armed with a Target and ſhort Sword, their Breſt- *Solinus* *Plin.* 29. 4. *Lucan* 8. 837. *Strabo.*

Ælianus
Claudian de bel. Gildonico
Eustath. in Dion. περιήγ.
Salust. Hist. 2.1
Strabo

Brest-plates they sew together the out skins of their Rams, which they call *Musmones*, bearing not wooll as others, but in stead thereof hair like Goats. Their chiefest City is *Caralis*, looking towards *Africa* and from thence built, with a very fair Haven. *Corsica* is not to be compared with *Sardinia* either for largeness of Territorie, or for Riches, yet is thought to be the third in bigness of all those Islands; The inhabitants derive the name from one *Corsa* a woman, out of whose Heard a Bull crossed over into this Island from *Liguria*; the Greeks called it *Cyrnus*. It is Mountainous and Rugged, in many places almost impassible; and the people like to the earth are very rough, without ordinary civility, as untractable as the wild beasts. When they are taken prisoners they hardly grow gentle, but either out of impatience of labour and servitude kill themselves, or by their contumacy and stubbornesse are troublesome to their masters.

Plinie 16.16
Lycus apud Athenæum b. 2
Martian. Capella
Diodorus 5.13
Seneca Cons. ad Helviam c.8

The Island is plentiful in Honey, but it is of a bitter taste, much like the flower of Box, which tree in great number groweth there; yet it is very wholsome, and many think your Corsicans to be therefore long-lived, because they ordinarily use that Honey. Their Towns are not very great nor very populous, yet there is above thirty of them, the principal whereof are *Aleria* a Colony of the Phocæans, and *Nicæa* of the Etrurians. The Air is here very troublesome, and therefore the seas rough. The Carthaginians therefore had long wars with these nations, and obtained the dominion of both Islands, except places inaccessible. But because wild and rude men were easier to be vanquished then tamed, they bethought themselves of many means whereby to keep them under, they likewise corrupted all the fruits of the Island, and under pain of death prohibited the Natives to sow or plant any such thing, that they might be forced to fetch all necessaries from *Africa*, till at length grown somewhat more gentle they learned with patience to bear the yoke.

Aristotle περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων.

To these Islands at this time did *Cn. Cornelius* steer his course, and first in *Corsica* stormed the City *Aleria*, after which without much labour or danger he took the rest. From thence as he sailed towards *Sardinia*, he met the enemies Fleet, which he presently put to flight before they came to grapple. After this he went to *Olbia*, where seeing many Carthaginian ships in the Haven, and thinking himself not strong enough in foot to storm a City so well scituate, and defended by a great multitude, for the present he omitted the business, and sailed home for a recruit of men.

Fricn. ad Flor. 2.2.16
Zonaras.

About the same time a servile Commotion, in the Citie, which was in the beginning happily suppressed, did both afflict the Commonwealth with great fear, and likewise secure it. Many out of the new conquered Nations, were pressed for sea service, whereof there were then four thousand in *Rome*, most of them Samnites; these men abhorring the sea, did secretly bemoane their own Condition and so far exasperated one another that they were resolved to burn the Citie and plunder it: They had already drawn in above three thousand accomplices into the conspiracy, which daily gathered more strength, when *Erius Potelius*, Commander of the Auxiliaries, did by his wisdom prevent all danger. For he feigning himself engaged in the same faction, was made privie to all their Contrivances, he was acquainted with the number of them, nay, with the nation, and name of every particular person in the conspiracy; he knew the place and the time where and when they intended to act any thing. He now wanted nothing to the accomplishment of his own private design, but onely to discover theirs to the Senate, but thither he could not find no opportunitie of going, because the Samnites would never suffer him to walk alone; at length having devised this trick, he perswadeth them, *That when the Senate next met, they should come by bands into the market-place, and complain that they were cheated in the Measure of their Corn, that then they should have occasion offered of executing their Purpose, or at least understand of what mind and opinion the Fathers will be in upon such sudden motions and stirs.* And to gaine the more Credit in the business, he went along with them, manifesting himself not ony a Companion in the Tumult, but the Author and Ringleader of it. Whereupon being called into the Senate he discovered to them the danger of the secret Plot and cause of his own dissimulation. The Fathers, taking no notice of what they knew, sent Messengers with good words to pacifie the Rout, and command them home, assuring them with all, *That the Senate would take order for Redresse of their Grievance, and that every one should enjoy his Right.* The Conspiratours, thinking their Designes was still kept close, went their way: The night following every Master bound his servants, whom according to *Potilius* his Information, he knew guilty of the treason, the Samnites also were most of them seized upon in their Quarters. Either the care of this or some other business, or sickness was an hindrance to *C. Florus*, that he did not goe into *Sicily* so soon as ordinary, whereby *Hamilcar* after his last Victorie had time much to encrease the Carthaginian Power there. For having taken *Camarina* and *Enna* by Treachery, he fortified *Drepanus*, where was a very fair Haven, and enlarged it in forme of a Town, bringing the Erycines thither to Dwell, whose Citie, lest it should be servicable to the Romans he totally demolished, excepting the Temple of *Venus*. After this he reduced many other places under his power either by deceit or by force, and was in a likelyhood of conquering all *Sicilie*, but that *Florus*, for this reason not daring in winter to forsake the Iland, tarried to oppose him. The other Consul had an Easier Taske with the Sardinians and Carthaginians at *Olbia*; whether being returned with encrease of strength, he found *Hanno* there, who after the removal of *Hannibal* was made Admiral. The battel waxing

Diodori Eclog. b. 23

Zonaras

Orosius 4.7

ing vehemently hot, *Hanno* couragiously fighting, seeing his own party worsted, rushed in to the thickest of the Enemies and was there slaine: After which the Town yielded it self. The Consul much graced the fame of his Victory by his singular humanity toward the Enemie. For he took care to have the Body of *Hanno* to be conveighed out of his Cabbin to Burial, and made a large Funeral for him, laying aside hatred after Death, and rightly judging that virtue is to be honoured even in an enemie. Then not suffering the Terrour of his late Victorie to grow stale and be forgotten, he took many other Cities of *Sardinia*, furthering his Courage with Counsells and stratagems. For he used in the night time to land some choice bands not far off those townes he meant to assault, who conveniently placing themselves in Ambush lay quiet, till the Consul coming to the walls and giving an Alarum, had under pretence of Flight drawn the Townsmen a good way out of their works, then they in Ambush hastily arising took the Citie void of Defendants: By this wile he obtained many places, and so prosecuted his Atcheivements, that the Carthaginian armies had no abiding place either in *Sardinia* or *Corsica*. For which cause, at his Return, there was no doubt made, but a most ample Triumph decreed him, which he made over the Carthaginians, *Sardinia* and *Corsica* the fifth of the Ides of *March*, having brought great store of plunder out of those Islands and many thousands of Captives. But in *Sicily C. Florus* besieged *Mytistratus*, which was attempted in vain, neither could it be gained till the new Consul *A. Atilius A.F. C.N.* came thither; For to him was allotted *Sicily* for his Province, the Navy was committed to his Colleague *C. Sulpitius Q. F. Q. N. Paterculus*. They understanding that *Panormus* was the Carthaginians winter Quarter, marched thither with all their Forces, and, ordering their Men, presented Battel to the Enemie, but no man coming out against them, they went thence to *Hippana*, which Citie in their jorney they stormed and presently mastered. Thence *Atilius* marched to *Mytistratus*, which being stoutly defended, at length the Garrison souldiers, being wearied with the cries and Lamentations of women and Children, forsook it. The Carthaginians went out in the night time; at break of day the Townsmen opened the Gates. But the Romans bearing too much in mind the Incommodities they had endured in the siege thereof, slew every one they met without destinction of age or sex, till *A. Atilius* the Consul caused proclamation to be made, *That both Plunder and Prisoners should belong to those who took them.* Then at length Covetousness overcame Cruelty, and the rest of the Citizens were saved and made Captive: The Citie was plundered and demolished. The Army being thence led towards *Camarina*, fell into very great danger, for want of knowledg in the Country. For the Carthaginian General meeting them had first possessed the higher places, and as it were besieged the Romans rashly entred into a disadvantagous vallie; every one thought they saw before their Eyes the very picture of the *Caudine* overthrow; but the wisdom and Valour of *M. Calpurnius Flamma* a Colonell in the army, in their utmost point of dispaire did releive them. For he following the Example of *P. Decius*, who being a Colonell in *Samnium* had done the like, taking three hundred souldiers along with him, went up to possess a certaine Hillock, not out of hope to escape, but both he and his souldiers being animated with the Love of honour, and desire of saving the whole army; 'Tis said when he had brought them thither, he thus spake unto them, *Let us die fellow Souldiers, and by our death deliver the Legions now round besieged.* And so it came to passe, for while the enemy converted themselves wholly upon these men, they being resolved to die, did so long maintain a sharp fight with the greater number, that the Consul had time to explicate himself out of that unhappy place. The Carthaginians having slain those who did indeed on purpose offer up themselves (putting no hope in their ambush which was now discovered) departed. The fortune of *Calpurnius* was next to a Miracle, for he being found among the heaps of his own and the enemie dead bodies, was the only man had breath left in him; and being carryed away and diligently fomented (among many wounds having not one mortal) he recovered, and afterward did great and faithful service to the Commonwealth, and proved of great terror to the enemy. If he had among the Grecians performed such a deed of Valor, they would not have known how to have bestowed rewards, or have decreed Monuments enough to his Honor: But being a Roman all the reward of such an exploit was a Garland made of Grass; nay, they were so negligent in the memory of the very Fact, that the name of this valiant man is scarcely known: Most Authors call him *Calpurnius*, but *M. Cato* calls him *Q. Caditius*; *Claudius Quadrigarius* gives him the name of *Laberius*. But the Consul being freed from those straits he was in, made his error an argument of shame, and his danger of watchfulness and circumspection. Therefore with the greater courage and care he proceeds to the assault of the City, and being not able to prevail against it without Engines of battery, he borrowed some of *Hiero*. With them he brake down the walls, and reduced *Camarina* into his power, the Citizens for the most part he sold for slaves. Thence he marched to *Enna*, and had that by treachery delivered to him; the Garrison souldiers were part of them slain by the Romans after they were entred, the rest fled away and betook themselves to places possessed by their own party. *Sittana* was obtained not by craft but courage, the defendants being driven back and the City stormed. Some smaller Towns in that part of *Sicily* made no delay, but forthwith sent messengers with promise of submission. The Consul placing Garrisons in all places convenient, marched into the *Agrigentine* Territories, and by treachery had the Castle *Camicus* delivered to him. Where-

*Val Maximus.* 5.1
*Silius* b.6
*Frontinus* 3.9 & 3.10
*Florus* 2.2
*Fasti. Capitol.*
*Eutropius* b.2
*Zonaras*
*Diodorus*
495.
*Polybius* 1.24.
*Zonaras*
*Diodorus*
*Zonaras*
*Agellius* 3.7.
*Frontinus* strat. 4. 5. 10.
*Livie Epit.* 17.
*Orosius* 4.8
*Author* de viris Illus. c.39.
*M. Cato* apud *Agellium.*
*Plinie* 22.6.
*Fronsinus.*
*Agellius.*
*Diodorus*
*Polybius.* 1.24.
*Diodorus.*
*Diodorus.*
*Polybius.*
*Zonaras.*
*Diodorus.*
*Florus.*2.2.

Whereupon the Garriſon of *Erbeſſus* being diſheartened, forſook the Town. So *Erbeſſus*
*Polybius* came again into the Romans hands. The Conſull Encouraged with this ſucceſs, and thinking
that many of the Liparæans favoured him, advanced with his Army to their City: But
*Zonaras* there he had not the like Fortune. For *Hamilcar* having intelligence of the Romans De-
ſign, privately entered *Lipara*, and diligently expected the time of Action. The Romans be-
ing ignorant of this, boldly and unawarily coming up to the walls, were by a ſudden ſally of the
Carthaginians beaten back. Many were wounded in that Conflict, and no ſmall number ſlain.
In the mean time *C. Sulpicius* the Conſul had many encounters with the Enemy in *Sardinia*,
and all proſperous. And his mind was ſo erected, that he made bold to ſail toward *A-
frick*.

*Oroſius* The Carthaginians by no meanes enduring any ſuch Attempt, once more made *Hannibal*
*Polyb.* Admirall, who ſince his flight out of *Sicily* had continued at *Carthage*, along with him they
*Zonaras* ſent their beſt Sea Commanders, with Order, *To chaſe the Enemies Navy from their Coun-
try-ſhore*. He puts to Sea with a reſolution to fight, but a Tempeſt prevented the Encounter,
which being very violent on both Navies, drove them againſt their wills into more calme
places: Both Admiralls fortuned into *Sardinian* Ports. There lying at Anchor, *Sulpicius*
to draw the Carthaginians out to ſea, ſuborned ſome, under pretence of Runnagates, to
perſwade *Hannibal*, *that the Romans were again ſailing to Africa*. He being deluded by
this Craft, ſuddenly ſetting ſaile, before he was aware, met with the Conſull who in a
convenient place waited for him: Many Carthaginian ſhips were ſunk, before they knew
what they were about, the Conſul's ſtratagem being much favour'd by a Miſt opportunely
ariſing: At length underſtanding what was the matter, the other ſhips went ſome back into
*Polyb.* *Zonaras* the Haven, others drove themſelves on ſhore, where the men landing themſelves, moſt of
the Veſſels were taken empty; *Hannibal* deſpairing to recover the Port, betook himſelf to
*Sulci*, where, in a ſedition, being apprehended by the Carthaginians, who had fled out of
the ſame fight, he was by them Crucified, ſaying, *that his Folly and Raſhneſs was the cauſe*
*Livie Epit. 17.* *of their Overthrow*. But this Victory of the Romans was an occaſion of ſome loſs to them
*Zonaras.* afterwards. For being freed from fear of the Carthaginian Navy, while they boldly and ſe-
curely waſted the Grounds, they were ſuddenly routed by an unexpected incurſion of Sardinians
*Capitolina* and Carthaginians, one *Hanno* being Commander. *C. Duilius* was this year Cenſour, and
*Magiſt.* *Tacitus 2. 49.* built the Temple of *Janus* in the *Herb*-Market. After this two Triumphs were made, the
*Capitolin.* one of *C. Aquilius Florus* Pro-conſul over the Carthaginians, the fourth of the Nones of
*Marmora.* October, the other of *C. Sulpicius* the Conſull over the Carthaginians and Sardinians, the
496 third of the Nones. When *C. Atilius M. F. M. N. Regulus*, and *Cn. Cornelius, L. F.*
*Zonaras* *Cn. N. Blaſio* again were Conſulls, the Senate ordered Sacrifices to be made for avoiding the O-
men of ſome Prodigies. In the *Albane* Mount, and other places, and in the City it ſelfe many
*Fragmenta* *Capitolina.* ſtones fell as Haile; 'Twas thought fit to Solemnize *the Latine Feſtivall*, and in order to that,
a Dictatour was created, *Q. Ogulnius, L. F. A. N. Gallus*. The Maſter of Horſe was
*M. Lætorius. M. F. M. N. Plancianus*, *C. Atilius*, the Admirall having ſailed to *Tyndari-*
*Polyb.* *des* in *Sicily*, when he eſpied the Carthaginian Navy paſſing by, out of order, ſuddenly reſol-
ved to ſet upon it; And commanding the other ſhips to follow, haſtily ſets forward with ten,
which were Ready, and with all ſpeed both of ſail and Oare endeavours to overtake the Car-
thaginians, ſtill before him. *Hamilcar*, a very conſiderable Commander, was in that Fleet,
*Zonaras* *Polybius* who ſeeing but few ſhips neer him, others ſcarce yet out of the Haven, the greater part ſtill
at Anchor, ſteering back, circumvented *Atilius* and his ſhips with his whole Navy, nine of
them he ſunk preſently, not able to maintain fight with ſo great a Number. The Admirals
Frigat being better manned, and the Mariners encouraged by the preſence of the Conſull, brake
out from amongſt them by main ſtrength and ſaved it ſelfe. For the other Roman Veſſells
were now come up, by whoſe help the Fortune of the Battell was changed. Eight of the
Carthaginian ſhips were ſunk, ten with all their men taken; the reſt ſteered to the *Liparaan*
*Zonaras.* Ilands. Theſe things were done at Sea. The Land Forces were not ſo quick at their Work,
having in vain aſſaulted the City *Lipara*: But with all hoſtility they ſpoiled the open Fields;
*Oroſius. 4. 8.* the ſame Calamity alſo attended the Iland *Melites*, not farre diſtant. For theſe Exploits *C. A-*
*Capitol. Colum.* *tilius* the Conſull made a Navall Triumph over the Carthaginians. The ſame year *A. Atili-*
*Author de viris* *us* the Pro-Conſull Triumphed over the Carthaginians of *Sicily* the fourteenth of the Calends of
*Illuſ. c. 39.* *February*. The Romans were then in a very joyfull ſtate and Condition, being Victours not
*Colum. Capitol.* onely at Land, but at ſea alſo; And did now begin to Conſult not onely of the Conqueſt of
*Sicily* and the Neighbouring Ilands, which they thought ſure enough their own; but of in-
vading *Africa* alſo, and bring the Terrour of the War to the Gates of *Carthage* it ſelfe.

BOOK

# BOOK VIII.

AFterwards *L. Manlius*, *A. F. P. N.* commonly called *Longus*, did enter upon the Conſulſhip, and *L. Cadicius*, *Q. F. Q. N.* after whoſe death, *M. Atilius*, *M. F. L. N. Regulus*, who had been ſometimes Conſul, ſucceeded in his Office. Then onely in this year *Africa*, which hitherto had been free from any miſeries by an Enemy, began to be ſenſible of a war, when the Romans had made an invaſion therein-to, after they had in a great Sea fight gained the Victory over the Carthaginians fleet; which exploits, as they were atchieved, we ſhall in this Book ſet forth, and both the one and the other fortune of that ſame *Regulus*, and his end not ſuitable to the gallantry of the man; The year before when the *Carthaginians*, *C. Atilius* being Conſull, did ſo ſtrive to get the beſt in a Sea-conflict, that when they had loſt many ſhips, they firſt gave over fighting; yet becauſe they had ſunk ſome certain of the Roman Veſſels, they would not take themſelves to have been of leſſer reputation; On the other part, the Romans did judge that event as an undoubted Victory. So it was that the vaſt multitude on both ſides did bend their mindes with greateſt emulation to the ſtudy of Sea-Affaires. And therefore the Conſulls being charged to remove the warre into *Africa*, when they were come to *Meſſana*, with an Armado of three hundred and thirty ſhips, and from thence paſſing by the Coaſt of *Sicily* on the right hand beyond *Pachinus*, to take in the Foot Forces, they having alſo ſome Forts near the Hill *Ecnomus*, they ſailed forward. And about the ſame time *Hamilcar* General of the Carthaginians, and *Hanno* the Admirall, being Commanders of a Fleet of three hundred and ſixty ſhips, having paſſed by *Lilybæum* in *Carthage*, and then *Heraclea Minoas*, in that bay they conſult of caſting Anchor, obſerving the motions of the Romans, and if they durſt bend towards *Africa*, they were in a poſture to ſtop their courſe; which when the *Conſulls* were informed of, they with good advice make all things ready for either chance; that they might not be to ſeek for Counſell, whether they were to engage in a Sea-conflict, or to draw ſome whither for ſafety: therefore committing the ſhips to ſome of the ſtouteſt Souldiers, they make four Squadrons, as ſo many parts of the whole fleet; the choiceſt men they ſet in the firſt Squadron, the two next Squadrons they place in their order, in the Reare-guard they put their chiefeſt men for ſtrength, the Triarii, theſe forces they diſpoſe of in ſuch array, that each ſhip did carry 300 rowers, and ſix ſcore Souldiers. So the Muſter-Roll in the whole Navy did amount to an hundred and forty thouſand men.

From the foundation of the City. 497. *Capitolina Tabulæ.*

*Polyb.* 1. 25 *Oroſius* 4. 8. *Polyb.*

The Carthaginians did ſomewhat exceed that number, leading more ſouldiers then an hundred and fifty thouſand. And indeed the Conſulls did ſcarce eſteem of any other ſort of ſouldiers in compariſon of their own. There was ſo much the more conſulting, when it did appear, they muſt needs fight in the deep Ocean; where the ſwiftneſs of the ſhips, and the skill of the Pilots are of much advantage, to the fit ordering the front of the battell-aray againſt that danger; finally they conſider of placing the whole Fleet aright. They ſet two Gallies wherein the Conſulls themſelves were carried, very even in the Van, to both thoſe Gallies they joyn on this ſide the firſt Squadron, on that ſide the ſecond in a long continued row; the ſhips being placed in ſuch manner, that the fore caſtles of them all were turned outwards, and

the Gallies did move almoſt joyned together, the ſhips next to thoſe did keep from each other more apart, and ſo conſequently the ſpace left between the oppoſite ſhips did grow wider according to their being ſet in order. So when the form of the Van in manner of a wedg was ſhaped, with ſmall diſtance between the firſt ſhips, and with great ſpaces between the laſt, then did they cauſe the third Squadron to advance, which bearing that open ſpacebetween the two firſt ſhips, did meerly by their order, exhibit a triangular form of the whole array; behind this, at the third Squadrons back, the long boats were drawn by a Barge with Cables to pull with, reaching to the ſhips of the *Tertian* ſouldiers. The *Triarii* the ſouldiers ſet in the Rear-ward, did ſo inviron the former, the ſhips being ſtretched out into a halfe circle, that from each Wing they did appear; So the whole body with a deep hollow front, the hindmoſt parts being firmely ſolid, did reſemble the ſnout of a ſhip, not leſs able to receive a violent aſſault, then fit to give one.

But the Carthaginian Captains having intelligence by their Scouts of the approach of the Roman fleet, when they conſidered, the paſſage to their City was not difficult, the common ſort were nothing manly, the bordering Neighbours inconſtant, and very prone to fall from their fidelity, they conclude to go out to meet them: being reſolved firſt to try all that might be, rather then they would ſuffer, that the Roman Veſſels ſhould have a ſafe Voyage into *Africa*. Therefore they betake them to their ſhips, incouraging their men in ſhort, *That they would undertake the fight with mindes firmely bent and chearfull, well remembring they were to fight, not only touching things preſent, but in reference to all things, which each one held precious at home*; and with their own good hope, and that of their fellow Seamen, they lanch forth out of the Harbour; nor was the Romans fleet far diſtant, therefore not far from *Heraclea* they give the ſhock againſt each other with equall ſtoutneſs; The Carthaginian Captains did ſo provide, that *Hanno* ſhould charge on the Right Wing, (but it was he that had been unfortunate at *Agrigentum*) *Hamilcar* ſhould be Commander over the reſt. And they alſo divide their ſhips into four Squadrons, having obſerved the array which the Romans had made uſe of; Of theſe, that which was the left Wing of the whole array being crooked like a bow, did make towards the ſhore, the reſt were extended in their plain order, and turned upon the firſt Squadron of the Enemies ſhips. Hereupon the Right Wing in which there were very ſwift Veſſells with ſnouts and five oares in a ſeat, *Hanno* did ſtretch it out all he could towards the main Ocean, being ready to ſurround the Enemy, if the ſkirmiſh ſhould begin at any other part. And the Conſulls not ſtaying long did venture themſelves with their two Squadrons into the midſt of the Carthaginian ſhips; *Hamilcar* that he might break the array of the Romans did charge his ſouldiers, when the Conflict began, they ſhould preſenly take their flight, which being done, and the Romans eagerly purſuing them, the Carthaginians indeed had no hurt by their flying, in regard their ſhips were ſwift: but the array of the Romans, as *Hamilcar* wiſhed, and had foreſeen, was rent aſunder, when yet the *Triarii*, and the third Squadron did keep their places, which, when he ſaw it performed, he ſuddenly gives a ſign out of his own ſhip, that their fore-caſtles being turn'd, they ſhould encounter thoſe that did purſue them: the fight was doubtfull, the Carthaginians excelling in ſwiftneſs, and in skill for Navigation. The Romans being farre tranſcendant in the ſtoutneſs of their ſouldiers; Therefore ſo long as the fight rather of the ſhips, then of the men, did laſt, the Carthaginians had the better clearly: But when they began to fight hand to hand, the ſhips being faſtned cloſe with grapling irons, then the Victory did certainly incline towards the Roman party: When the ſouldier full of confidence through his hand-ſtrokes, and fighting before the Conſulls, did ſtrive to approve his valour to them with a more notable endeavour: while the skirmiſh was ſo managed in that part, *Hanno* with the Right Wing, which hitherto he kept unmov'd, made a fierce aſſault, being carried by the tide amongſt the ſhips of the *Triarii*, and did create them much troubleſom work, when they were brought to great diſtreſs; At the ſame time almoſt, the Left Wing alſo of the Carthaginians, the firſt poſture being changed, and with a front made even, does aſſail with dangerous beaks the third Squadron of the Romans, which drew their long boats by a Barge. The Romans having ſlipt their Cables, did prepare themſelves for reſiſtance; Here alſo they ſhew much Gallantry: So in three places, there do happen even juſt ſo many Sea-fights, far diſtant from each other.

*Zonaras. Polybius.* 1. 7.

When they had fought ſo hard, the Victory long enough inclining to either ſide, at laſt it chanced, as needs it muſt, where there is fierce bickeering in ſundry places at once, with equall force and vehemency, that the ſelfe-ſame part which is firſt routed, ſhould cauſe the whole Victory. For when *Hamilcar* was utterly unable any longer to withſtand the Violence of his Enemies, his ſingle flight did immediately diſperſe even the whole fleet of the Carthaginian. For *L. Manlius* one of the Conſulls, being very much buſied about bringing together the ſhips that were taken, and chaining them to his own, *M. Regulus* eſpying the fight to begin afreſh in another place, he made haſte to relieve his own ſide, taking to him the ſhips of the ſecond Squadron, all that eſcaped out of the former fight ſafe and unſhattered; The *Triarii* did ſoon perceive that reliefe, and recollecting their Spirits, which had even failed them in extremity of Danger, they began to oppoſe their Enemies with great undauntedneſs. *Hanno*, when he ſaw that both thoſe before him made ſtout reſiſtance and that himſelfe was ſo over-charged on the Reare with freſh ſupplies, hoiſing up ſail he did his beſt to avoid his approaching overthrow. And when *L. Manlius*

*Zonaras. Polybius.* 1. 28.

*lius* amidſt theſe tryalls beheld the third Squadron of the Romans to be enforced towards land by the Carthaginians Left Wing, he ſteer'd that way, and *M. Regulus* overtook him unawares, who had even now ſet the long boats and the *Triarii* out of harmes reach. So the ſtate of things is ſoon quite changed, and they are ſurrounded very cloſe, who but juſt before had hemmed the Romans in. Whom indeed being ſtrangely encompaſſed, and in a manner ſtraightly beſieged, they might e're this have utterly deſtroyed, unleſs not daring to go near them for fear of the iron raven-beaks they were wont to grapple with, they gave the Conſuls time enough, that themſelves being ſafe they might even ſecure their own ſide, and the Carthaginians, that were environ'd by a ſudden ſurprizeall, had leiſure to take, as with a net, fifty ſhips, and all that were therein, ſo the other few ſtealing away by the very ſhore ſide did make their eſcape.

This Sea-conflict as well in regard of various ill accidents, and the eagerneſs of the encounter, as alſo for the number of ſhips loſt on both ſides, was of fair remark. Of the Carthaginian ſhips ſixty and three were taken, above thirty were ſunk. The Conquering Romans *Oroſius 4.8* loſt four and twenty by reaſon of foul weather, but not one of them did fall into the hands of the Enemy.

When this victory was over, returning to *Meſſana* they allotted certaine daies to mend their ſhips, and refreſh their men, and to take in ſtore of new proviſion. Amongſt which, *Hamilcar* when he would not yeild by any means, the Romans ſhould go to *Africa*, but wanted ſtrength to ſtop their march, he betook himſelf to ſtratagems, and ſought, by ſending *Hanno* to them to ſue for peace, to prolong the time, till the arrivall of the forces which he lookt the Carthaginians would ſend him. *Hanno* when he made his addreſſe to the Conſuls, and heard the exclamations of the people, that the ſame decree ought to paſs againſt him, which five years before the Carthaginians had deſign'd againſt *Cornelius Aſina* then Conſul, he ſhifted off the threatned miſchief with a ſubtill anſwer, *Verily if ye ſhall do ſo* (ſaies he) *ye ſhall not be better at all then the very Africans*; and preſently the Conſuls well reſented what he ſaid, commanding thoſe to be ſilent that had voted him to chains, and there was a voice heard well beſeeming the gravity of the Roman ſtock, *O* Hanno, *the faithful dealing of our City does quit thee from that fear.* It was in vain to move for peace becauſe the Carthaginian did not deal ſincerely, and the Conſuls did rather aim at Victory then at Peace. Therefore they had no mind to defer any longer their intended voyage to *Africa*; Neither did the Carthaginian Commanders croſſe the deſign, though they engaged to each other, not to endure the enmy ſhould march without diſturbance, but to infeſt him from ſundry quarters, and to bar his paſſage. But *Hanno* making haſt to fortify *Carthage* beforehand, *Hamilcar* not daring to attempt ought, tarries at *Heraclea*. The Romans ſhips made a ſafe voyage free both from enemies and from tempeſts. And there wanted not ſome that did ſtrangely abominate any travelling far by ſea, and the enemies coaſt, and the very name of *Africa*. *Mannius*, an Officer among the ſouldiers, did firſt begin to ſpeak ill of government, but *Regulus* was ſo incenſed againſt him, that he threatned him that ſcourges and the axe ſhould be his lot, unleſs he would ſubmit. So at length the Conſul was obeyed, and the nearer and the greater fear did expel the dread of travelling by ſea. The Promontory is called *Hermæum* which from the boſome of *Carthage* does ſtretch very far into the Sicilian ſea. That coaſt was firſt found out by the Roman ſhips, then after a little ſtay while the whole fleet came up together, the Conſuls having paſſed by the coaſt of *Africa*, they arrived at the Citie *Clupea*. Here the ſouldiers are expoſed to hazard, and when the ſhips were put into harbor, there was a Trench drawn round for the more ſecurity. The Citie becauſe it refuſed to ſurrender, was beſieg'd, and preſently through the timerouſneſſe of the Citizens it being either yielded or deſerted (for 'tis reported either way) it was reduced to the obedience of the Romans.

*Zonaras* *Polybius* *Zonaras* *Zonaras* *Polybius* *Zonaras.* *Val Max. 6.6* *Florus. 2.2* *Polybius*

But the Carthaginians though they did endure things truly harſh, and very ſtrange, yet they rejoyced at their weal, that they fared ſomewhat better then they expected: for when they heard what iſſue the Sea-fight had, they were ſore afraid, leaſt preſently the conquering forces would have been drawn even againſt *Carthage* it ſelf. Therefore re-aſſuming ſome courage after their former fright, they were fully bent to make what ſtrength they could to defend their City and the Suburbs thereof. Mean while the Conſuls having ſent meſſengers to *Rome* which would acquaint the Senators what exploits had been atchieved already, and ſhould beſeech their advice touching new attempts, they make *Clupea* a Garriſon, that they might make uſe of that ſeat of war. And having ſet a guard to defend the City and field adjoyning, they marching a great way forward with all their other forces, they utterly waſte a very fruitful Country, which from the dayes of *Agathocles* had not ſeen the ſword of an enemy; they deſtroy many goodly Villages, they force away whole droves of cattel, moreover they lead away by force above twenty thouſand men, no man daring to gainſay; they alſo take many Towns by ſtorm or by ſurrender, wherein they apprehend ſeveral Revolters, and ſet free many Roman Captives, that were taken in the late wars, amongſt whom I believe even *Cn. Cornelius* to have been, that was choſen Conſul again after two years were expir'd. While things are thus acted, they that were ſent to *Rome* by the Conſuls, return with Orders from the Senate. One of them was commanded to quarter in *Africa*, with ſuch conſiderable forces as they held needful to be kept there. The other was required to bring back the reſt of the fleet, and the reſidue of the army

*Zonaras* *Polybius.* *Zonaras* *Polybius* *Zonaras.* *Polybius*

to

*Zonaras* *Polybius* to *Rome*. So Winter now drawing near, *M. Regulus* continued there with almoſt fifteen thouſand foot, five hundred horſemen, and with forty ſhips, what remained of the Fleet being richly loaden with Captives, and other booty *L. Manlius* having ſafely paſſed by the Coaſts of *Sicily*, he carried back to *Rome*. I find he led along with him to *Rome* twenty ſeven thouſand Captives, and the Navall Triumph over the Carthaginians was ordain'd for him. Afterwards *Ser. Fulvius*, *M. F. M. N. Patinus* the more noble, and *M. Aimilius*, *M. F. L. N. Paulus* were made Conſulls.

*Zonaras*

*Oroſius.* 4, 8. *Capitolin Columna.* In the Year From the foundation of the City 498.

The Government of *Sicily* and the Command of the Fleet are committed to the charge of thoſe two: They were not minded to call back *Regulus* from amidſt his Victories, while he went on proſperouſly in *Africa*; and he was ordered by the Proconſul to manage the War there That decree of the Senate no one did worſe reſent, than he himſelfe, for whoſe honour it was made. Therefore in his Letters to the Senate he made that his grievance, and ſet it as the main ground of his ſuit, that another might ſucceed him in his Office, upon the death of his Bailiffe (he undertook to manure a piece of ground of ſeven Acres, which his Maſter had in *Pupinia*) having gained an opportunity, he thence delivered up his Commiſſion, and left his charge; wherefore he muſt needs depart, leaſt in his abſence, when his ground lay untilled, his wife and children ſhould want bread. And the Senate did ordain, that *M. Regulus* his ground ſhould be dreſſed at the Publick charge, that what damage he had ſuſtained ſhould be made good, and fair proviſion ſhould be made for his wife and children. Such good orders were then in uſe! But when I read of or relate theſe things and the like, I cannot chuſe but recollect with my ſelf, which is the more laſting recompence for virtue, a reward by Coin, or by commendation; by pounds, or by praiſe. *M. Regulus* his renowne does endure many ages after his death; the wealth of others hath periſht with their Maſters, and oftentimes before them: In the mean ſeaſon the Carthaginians having choſen two Generalls at home, *Aſdrubal*, *Hanno's* ſonne, and *Boſtar*; they ſent alſo for *Hamilcar* their third Commander in chief to come out of *Sicily*. Who with five thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe came in all haſte from *Heraclea* to *Carthage*. Theſe having called a Councell do decree, that the Army ſhould not be kept within Walls, as the manner heretofore had been, neither ſhould the Roman ſouldiers be permitted to do what they liſted without any puniſhment. So when they were encouraged to wage War, the Army was drawn out.

*Livie. Epit.* 18

*Frontinus Stratagemat.* 4. 3. 1.

*Val. Max.* 4.6.

*Seneca ad Helvid.*

*Dionyſ. apud Valeſium*

*Polybius.*

*Zonaras.*

*Florus.* 2. 2.

In the mean time *M. Regulus* did march to all places near adjoyning, through which the River *Bagrada* does ſlide, ſubduing all before him, not far from which the Romans that held certain Caſtles, were ſmitten with a ſudden peſtilence, and loſt many, and were ſore amazed. A water-Serpent of huge bigneſs did ſet upon the ſouldiers, and they being much afrighted, and reſiſting all in vain, the Serpent did ſwallow down many of them with his wide yawning jawes, others he bruiſ'd to pieces with his furious windings, and with the ſtrokes of his tail, ſome again he poyſoned to death with the blaſting of his peſtiferous breath, and he made ſo much ado for *M. Regulus*, that with all his forces he muſt fight with the Serpent for the poſſeſſion of the River, which when it was done with the loſs of many ſouldiers, and the Dragon could neither be overcom, nor wounded, he with his extream hard cruſt of Scales eaſily repelling, what ever darts they did throw at him, they muſt make uſe of Engines, and without great Guns and Mortar-pieces, like a well fenced Tower, the Enemy is not to be overthrown; After ſeverall hurlings that were made in vain, a great ſtone being caſt, did break his back-bone all to ſhivers, and did diſſolve the vigorous violence of the formidable Monſter. And the buſineſs was effected with ſo much difficulty, and with ſo great terrour to Horſe and Foot, that the ſouldiers did averre they had rather oppoſe *Carthage* it ſelfe, then ſuch another Monſter. And the Camp could ſtay there no longer, but muſt ſhun the infected waters, and all the Country round about, which was blaſted with the contagious ſtink of his lying there. This was ſome ſhame to the pride of men, which are wont to think very fondly, that they can Conquer all things. Truely when *M. Regulus* was Generall, that had been Conquerour by Sea and Land, one ſingle Serpent when he was alive, did hold the whole Roman Army in plea, and being killed he made the Army draw off. And therefore the Proconſull did hold it no immodeſty to ſend the ſpoils even of this very Enemy to *Rome*, and to acknowledg with a publick Monument the greatneſs of his own fear, and his rejoycing at the victory. For he took order the skin of the beaſt ſhould be taken off and carried to *Rome*, which is reported to have been an hundred and twenty foot long, and being hanged up in a certain Temple to have laſted even till the Wars at *Numantia*. When the Camp was remov'd from *Bagrada*, the Conſull commanded the Army towards the City *Adis*, all Towns and Caſtles being won and demoliſht that lay in their road.

*Livie* Epitom.

*Val. Maximus* 1. 8. 19

*Oroſius* 4. 8.

*Tubero apud Agellium.*

*Flin.* 8. 14.

*Oroſius*

*Silius* lib. 6

*Val. Maximus*

*Zonaras*

*Plin.*

But to *Adis*, which was hard to take, there was a certain way of laying ſiege by the help of warlike engines. To the croſſing of which, when the Carthaginian Captains did ſpeedily make haſte they ſate down on a certain hill, but full of wood and full of other impediments that was very near the Roman Camp. *M. Regulus* having well conſidered the nature of the place, and what manner of enemies he had to deale with, when he ſaw their foot were not comparable to his, but that they put much confidence in their Elephants and horſemen, but ſuch forces being very formidable in open fields by the inequality of the places would not be come at, and would be made very uſeleſs; he wiſely taking ſome advantage by the folly of his enemies, before they could perceive and correct their error, determines to fall upon them in their own Tents. Where-

*Polybius*

*Zonaras*

fore

fore encouraging his ſouldiers, and diligently obſerving what reaſon did ſuggeſt, he goes out of his Camp before the dawning of the day, and does cauſe his army to advance towards the hill directly oppoſite, where the Carthaginians had pitcht their Tents. Firſt of all, the audacious confidence of the Romans did even amaze the Carthaginians, which being far leſſe in number did ſet upon ſuch a vaſt army even in their own trenches, from a low place, and of great diſadvantage. Then they were in the greater confuſion even in this reſpect, becauſe the horſemen and Elephants, from which they did hope for moſt aſſiſtance, were not only of no advantage, but did extremely hinder and diſturb them, and the very time did augment their trembling, that the Romans did ſet upon them unawares, and moſt of them, as yet, being faſt aſleep, therefore many of them are put to the ſword even in their huts, the others ſtragling in their amazed flight, and not knowing where to hide themſelves, were taken by parties ſet on purpoſe to way-lay them. *Zonarus*

Nevertheleſs the Carthaginians Mercenary ſouldiers, the Spainards and the French, being inſtantly in a good poſture, and fighting Couragiouſly on the other ſide of their bulwark it was doubtful a great while which would get the upper hand. The forlorn hope even now being put to the run, the whole Roman army had been overthron, if the horſe from another quarter that were commanded to wheele about had not in the very nick of time charged the enemie on the reare that were purſuing thoſe which fled. Then they alſo which a little before had deſerted their ſtation might now be rallied up and encouraged to fight afreſh. So the enemy being ſet upon on both ſides, when he had for a long time with much gallantry made reſiſtance, he was conſtrained to cry quarter. When the Carthaginians ſaw what was done, immediately they fling themſelves out of their Sconces, and fall to running with all the ſpeed they could make, and indeed the Elephants and the horſemen when once they came into plaines they could retreat well enough and ſafely too. The Conquerors having purſued the infantry ſomewhat far, they turn back at length to throw down their fortifications. In this Battel there were ſeventeene thouſand of the Carthaginians that were ſlain, five thouſand are reported to be taken priſoners, and eighteen Elephants. The ſucceſſe of this battel did purchaſe the Romans much friendſhip not only from all the Countryes round about, but even from people that were moſt remote. And in few dayes about fourſcore walled towns vowed fidelity to the Romans. Whereas upon the newes that *Tunis* ſuch a fenced City was taken by *Regulus*, did even aſtoniſh the Carthaginians that were greatly ſtraitned before, and which was built twelve miles from *Carthage*, leaſt it ſuffer what ever they did there to be kept ſecret from the enemy, then being a fair proſpect both to the very City it ſelfe, and to the ſea hard by. *Polybius* *Oroſius.* *Eutropius* b. 2 *Zonarus* *Oroſius.* *Livie*, 30. 9

And the terrible dread of their war with the Romans did not onely dance round the Carthaginians, but the Numidians alſo, out of an old grudge being ſtirred up by a freſh opportunity, took up arms, and by ſpoiling and fireing the Carthaginian towns, brought more terrour and miſery upon them, then the Romans did. And the Boores from all parts flying for refuge to the City, did cauſe not only a huge dread, but alſo a great dearth, when ſuch a multitude of people did devour a world of proviſion, and the avarice of the owners did conceale the plenty as yet in ſtore, who gaping greedily for gain by that Common Calamity were full of hope the price of victuals would raiſe daily according to the decreaſe of their moſt neceſſary food. Whereupon it followed, the Embaſſy of *Marcus Regulus* was hearken'd to with greater heed, who aiming at the honor of finiſhing the war, and fearing leaſt ſome one that might ſucceed him with a new commiſſion from *Rome* ſhould prevent him, he moves the Carthaginians to Conditions for peace. To that purpoſe ſome of the prime Senators are ſent unto him; but when they ſaw ſtrange harſh conditions offer'd, and their buſineſſe at a ſtand, they took their leave of *M. Regulus*, who was verily perſwaded he had Victory by the hand. *Sicily* forſooth, and all *Sardinia* were commanded to yeeld, to ſend freely home what Romans they had taken, to ranſome their own men, to bear the whole charge of the war, and to pay beſides a penſion by the year. They had other impoſitions, full as burthenſome as theſe; That they ſhould be confederates with the Romans for offence and defence; that they ſhould uſe but one great ſhip; But ths Romans they ſhould aſſiſt with fifty gallyes well appointed as oft as they ſhould be required. The Embaſſadours being tranſported with wonder at ſuch Articles, and that *Regulus* might grant his vanquiſht ſuppliants more milde conditions, he made this anſwer, *Men muſt either Conquer or crouch to thoſe that ſubdue them.* By the return of which words the Carthaginians were much incenſed, though they had often made ſuite for peace, yet they are fully bent, rather to endure the worſt that could happen than to embrace thoſe Conditions, which they held no other than the bondage and ſervitude of their Citie. *Zonaras* *Dio.* apud *Fulvium Urſinum*, *Diodori* Eclog. b. 23 *Polyb.* 1. 31

In that ſtate of affairs certain ſhips which were ſent to waft ſome ſouldiers into *Greece*, did return when they had gathered up no ſmall body of Mercenary ſouldiers; Among theſe there was one *Xanthippus*, by race a *Lacedemonian*, who did couple the noble exerciſe of warfare with the diſcipline of his Country, wherein he had been well trained up from his youth. He ſufficiently underſtanding what feats had been done already, and having inſight enough into the other furniture of the Carthaginian forces, of the Elephants and Horſemen, he made bold to ſpeak a proud word openly, that the Carthaginians were not ſubdued by the Romans, but by themſelves, by the weakneſs of their Commanders, that knew not the duty of their places. This rumor being ſoon diſperſ'd, when *Xanthippus* was call'd before the Magiſtrates, he does produce *Polybius* *Florus.* 2. 2 *Polybius*

ſuch

ſuch evident reaſons of that his judgement, that ſcarce ought could be more manifeſt; he ſhews them that in all their expeditions, in making their Fort, in joyning Battell, it was their manner ſtill to pick out places utterly unfit, if they would liſten to his advice, he does aſſure them not
*Zonaras* onely of ſafety, but alſo of Victory. When ſeverall of the Chiefe Citizens do approve of his judgement, and the very Commanders alſo themſelves, and with beſeeming modeſty preferring the welfare of their Country before his ſingle opinion, they agree and ordain that the guidance of his Army ſhouldbe committed to a foreigner; *Xanthippus* having undertook his charge,
*Polybius.* dayly drawing his ſouldiers out of the City, he does accuſtome the field Forces to obſerve and change their ranks, and inſtantly to do what they are commanded, and the confidence of better ſucceſs does fill the ſouldiers with admiration of him, the whole City being cheriſhed even in deſperation, is raiſed up to expect joyfull things to come. When the Commanders behold this Univerſall Cheerfulneſs, they alſo taking heart thereby, reſolve to give the Enemy another charge, and encouraging their ſouldiers, as opportunity did require, they march out againſt the Romans, even with almoſt twelve thouſand Foot, with four hundred horſe, and well nigh as many Elephants; that thing alone did perplex the Romans, that they ſaw the Carthaginians make their inroads through the plain fields, having changed their firſt deſign, avoiding all ſteep and craggy places: But being puffed up with pride through their conſtant felicity, they ſet at nought the ſouldiers that
*Zonaras.* were wont to vanquiſh, and *Graculus* their Leader. And *Regulus* was not corrupted with that fawning poyſon of fortune waiting on him. When he well conſidered that he had routed the Sea-Forces of the Carthaginians, and the foot Souldiers too, that he had taken almoſt
*Author de viris Illuſtr. c. 40.* two hundred Townes, two hundred thouſand men, and that *Carthage* being ſore ſtreightned, might be enforced to ſurrender, he denied them peace when they ſued for it on reaſonable termes,
*Zonaras* and wrote to *Rome*, That the very Gates of *Carthage* which he had begirt did tremble at him. So alſo moderation hath oftner deſerted great Spirits in proſperity, then conſtancy in adverſity: But the Carthaginians having pitcht their tents in a plain field, *M. Regulus* whoſe chiefeſt ſtrength was in his infantry, and thither he could not be followed but over Mountainous and ſteep difficult places, thinking it all one to his Valour where he fought, he was not afraid to truſt himſelf in the Camp, even to the greater vanting of his confidence, paſſing over the river that was in the
*Apian. Zonaras.* midſt, and diſtant from the Enemy even two hundred thouſand paces. *Xanthippus* perceiving the indiſcretion of the Roman Leader, did avouch this would be the very time, wherein he would performe what he had promiſed the Carthaginians; for he had got the Romans even tired with long Marching, where his heart could wiſh them; he nothing doubted the Victory would be certainly his own; the time alſo did ſeem moſt commodious for the fight, becauſe the day now drawing towards the evening, the *Africans* knowing well all places thereabout, if they ſhould be overcome, they might make their eſcape the better in the night, or if they ſhould conquer, the night would not hinder the purſuit of the Victory. Therefore the Carthaginians conſulting what was to be done, *Xanthippus* calling for the help of Gods and Men, that they
*Polyb.* might not loſe ſuch a ſingular opportunity, he did earneſtly perſwade his men to undertake the Battell, ſo much the eaſier, becauſe the ſouldiers themſelves crying out to *Xanthippus*, they did of their own accord with unuſuall cheerfulneſs deſire to encounter with the Enemy, therefore the charge of the main affair is granted to the *Spartan*, he drawes out the Army, and does exerciſe them after this manner. A four ſquare body of 8000 Carthaginians, which were the prime Choſen
*Frontinus Stratagem. 2. 2. Polybius.* men of all their foot, was ſet for a reſerve; before this body, a convenient ſpace being left between, the Elephants are ſet in order, being drawn up as broad as that ſquare body; on either Wing the Horſe are placed, behind theſe on the Right Wing, ſtands the main body of hired ſouldiers. The Army being ſet in ſuch array, he commanded the skirmiſhers, that having thrown
*Frontin. 2. 3.* their darts, they ſhould ſtand in open order for the advantage of their own ſide, and when their main body ſhould joyn with the Enemy, they ſhould violently break out again from the Wings, and ſhould on a ſudden furiouſly flanke the Romans, when they were charging the oppoſite reſerve. On the contrary part *Regulus* having well drawn up his Army, when he ſaw the Ele-
*Polybius.* phants in the Front of the Carthaginians, he ſoon takes advice, he brings his ſouldiers lightly armed to the Van, he ſets the well Compact foot-Companies in the Reſerve, the Horſe are drawn up in the Wings, the Army is firme in reſpect of depth, but much narrower then before; ſo that the chiefe danger being feared from the Enemies Elephants and Horſemen, they did indeed take a right courſe againſt the Elephants, but being in an open and Champain Country, there was room ſufficient for the Horſe to ſurround, the whole Army being ſo cloſe compacted. The Fight was began by the Elephants, which *Xanthippus* commanded to be led againſt the oppoſite Regiments, and the Romans making a great ſhout, ſet forward to meet them. The Horſe were likewiſe engaged in both Wings; but there the Romans being much inferiour in Number, and not able to reſiſt the Enemies charge, fled away. But the Foot which were of the Left Wing, (whether it were to avoid the Elephants, or that thereby they thought the more eaſily to obtain the Victory) charged the Mercenaries, and putting them to flight, purſued them to their very Camp. The reſt of the foot had an harder taske againſt the Elephants, by whoſe vaſt bodies
*Frontin. Stratagem. 2. 2. Polyb.* their ranks were diſordered, themſelves trodden under foot, and whole Companies like a falling houſe, ſtruck down to the ground, yet the very thickneſs of the Battell hindred them from breaking through; till at laſt they were diſtreſſed on all parts, for the Flanks and Rear were galled by the Horſe, the foremoſt who made a ſhift to break through the Elephants, were ſlain by the Enemy

Enemy ſtanding yet Entire, and the light-armed men flying in upon them. There was no leſs execution done in the Flight, the Elephants and *Numidian* Horſe purſuing them in an open plain place. *Regulus* with almoſt five hundred ſouldiers was taken alive by the Enemy; of the whole Army there eſcaped but about two thouſand (who had charged and put to flight the Mercenaries) who beyond all Hope, by their haſt, got ſafe into *Clupea*; of the Romans and their Aſſociates were ſlain about thirty thouſand. Of the Carthaginians there were not many wanting beſide eight hundred of the Mercenaries, who had fought againſt the Left Wing of the Enemy. When the Army returned to *Carthage* after ſo great a Victory, carrying the Roman Generall Priſoner, a multitude of Citizens came out to meet them, others ſtanding in the ſtreets, or in their houſes, beheld the ſpectacle with wonderfull Pleaſure, which they durſt lately ſcarce hope for; their mindes being not capable to believe ſo great an Happineſs attending them; For being of late ſo neer deſpair, giving not onely their Country, but very City for loſt, they durſt ſcarce believe ſo great a Change, though they ſaw it with their eyes: But they took moſt ſpeciall notice of the Generalls, every ones eye and thought being ſettled on them, looking ſometimes on *Xanthippus*, ſometimes on *Regulus*, Extolling the greatneſs of their own Commander, by the Eſtimation they had of the other. *He muſt of neceſſity be a gallant Man who hath overcome ſo ſtout a Generall, ſo fortunate a Warriour, a proud Conquerour, an implacable Enemy, the Terrour and Plague of Carthage, now of a ſudden bereaved of a numerous Army, having loſt his antient Fame and Liberty together.* Their Admiration was encreaſed by the habit and Garbe of the Man, who under a ſmall body, and none of the beſt lookes, carried a large and virtuous mind. For this Exploit *Xanthippus* had much glory, and withall as much envy, to avoid which he uſed as much art as in finiſhing the Warre, for whereas he might juſtly expect an everlaſting reward of his good ſervice at *Carthage*, yet he reſolved to leave thoſe doubtful hopes and full of Treachery, and return home, before other mens affections, or his own fortune were altered. For this is for the moſt part the diſpoſition of men, that openly they profeſs the love of their Country, but really ſtudy their own private good; as long as their City being in ſafety, they can obtain and quietly enjoy Honour and Riches, they pretend mighty love to their Country: But where there is danger leſt they ſhould beſtow the ſame benefits on others for their egregious merits, they had rather want a man who doeth good to the Common-wealth, then have him in the leaſt way hinder their private commodity: As long as they think themſelves able to equall others, their envy is hidden and more remiſs, but when they ſee themſelves farre exceeded, and that Honour duely given to others which they deſired for themſelves, then what they were not able by virtue to obtain, they ſeek it by Calumnies and Criminations. So that the beſt men have ordinarily moſt Enemies and are moſt ſubject to Treachery; But a Native of the Country hath ſome remedy againſt this Evill in his Friends and kindred; A ſtranger being voide of all helpe and aſſiſtance encreaſeth the Malice of degenerate mindes by his being eaſy to be hurt, in that he is more expoſed to Treaſons, and may without any great labour or danger be offended, affronted and undone. That *Xanthippus* apprehended and conſidered theſe things, the ſequel doth evidently demonſtrate, 'Tis reported *he was drowned by ſome ſent after him from the Carthaginians, who after ſo great a benefit received, hated the Author of it, who being once dead, they thought it would quickly be forgot that their Countrey was preſerved by a Forreigner.*

*Florus* 2. 2. *Polyb.* Ὀλυμπ. ἀναγρ. *Eutropius Polybius* *Diodori* 23. *apud Varronem.* *Silius.* 6. *Polyb.* *Oroſius* 4. 9. *Polyb.* *Zonaras Appian Zonaras.*

Others deny *Xanthippus* thus to have periſhed, yet confeſs the Treachery of the Carthaginians, *who at his Departure allotted him an old ſhip, full of Leakes, fairly pitcht over as if it had been ſound, but that he diſcovering the Cheat, went aboard on another ſhip and eſcaped the danger.* About the ſame time they committed another fact of no leſs Treachery, but much more cruell, by reaſon of the number that periſhed thereby. The Mercenarys in ſomewhat a tumultuous manner claiming a Reward of their paines taken, and happy Valour, were put into ſhips being made believe that in ſome other place they ſhould have their Deſire: But the Captains of the ſhips who had ſuch private Order, landed them and left them in a Barren Iland, where being deſtitute of all helpe from man, without food, without ſhips, having famine on one ſide, and the Sea on the other, they pined away and periſhed; a fowl and horrid kind of Death. Others referre this Fact to former times, when there was warre between the Syracuſans and Carthaginians, and that the Iland was thereupon called *Oſtodes*, or the *Bonie* Iland, it lieth in the main Sea beyond *Lipara* Weſtward. Theſe deeds whenſoever and howſoever performed, do nothing diſagree with the Carthaginians uſuall Cruelty. And if thus they ſerved their Friends and Aſſociates, it is no wonder, they were more then ordinarily ſevere againſt their Enemies. Other Priſoners indeed were ſomewhat tolerably well uſed, for they likewiſe had many Captives at *Rome*, for whom they intended to make an Exchange. But againſt *M. Regulus* they could neither cover nor moderate their Anger, but vexed and afflicted him all manner of wayes; they allowed him food which was neither pleaſant to the Palate, nor ſtrengthening to the Body, but which with much adoe by a ſlitgh nouriſhment ſerved to produce his Miſerable life. But more grievous were the Contumelies and Reproaches daily heaped upon him, amongſt the reſt, they would frequently on a ſudden introduce an Elephant, to fright him with the noiſe and ugly ſhape of it, not ſuffering him to reſt neither in Mind or body, and being thus miſerably handled, and brought low, they caſt him into the common Gaole.

*Livie* 28. 2. *Zonaras* *Diodor.* 5. 11.

When these things were heard at *Rome*, the City was filled not only with great grief but with fear also; for they mistrusted least the Carthaginians, provoked with the sense of their own calamities, and encouraged by this victory, should recompence them in the like kind and dare to come even to the walls of *Rome* to inflict on them the same mischiefs themselves had suffered. The Senate therefore commanded the Consuls, *To strengthen* Italy *as diligently as might be with sufficient Garrisons, themselves with a vast Navy to sail into* Sicily, *and thence if they thought fit into* Africa, *to divert the Carthaginians from any expedition into* Italy. But the Carthaginians in the first place made it their care to reduce those Cities which the Romans had possessed, to punish those Africans who had revolted from them, and by strength of arms to vanquish those who persisted in rebellion. *Clupea* was indeed by the Romans stoutly defended, but in *Numidia*, and over the other Africans (though their war was great) their victory was easie.

*Polybius* 1.36. In the mean time, understanding that a great Fleet was preparing in *Italy*, they left the siege of *Utica* which they had commenced, trimmed up the old ships, built new ones, and studiously endeavour'd to prevent the Romans from landing on the African shore. The Consuls used such *Zonaras* incredible diligence, that by the beginning of Summer they had three hundred and fifty ships ready fitted and laden, with which sailing to *Sicily*, when they found all things safe there, and no danger, but that they were full of expectations and fears, they left Garrisons where most need was, and with the rest of their army steared towards *Africa*. But being by a tempest forced upon *Cossura* (an Iland between *Africk* and *Sicily*, near the Promontory of *Lilybæum*) *Strab.* b.17 *Zonaras. Polybius. Strabo* they wasted the grounds there, took a City of the same name, and placed a Garrison in it. Then they set forward to the Promontory of *Hermæus*, which being in the mid-way between *Carthage* and *Clupea*, shutteth in one side of the Carthaginian Gulf. At this place the Carthaginian Navy met them, and a very sharp fight was entred into on both sides, when help came to the Romans from *Clupea*, which totally inclined the victory, being before doubtful. An hundred and four of the Carthaginian ships were sunk, thirty taken, and fifteen thousand souldiers lost; *Eutropius Orosius Polybius Orosius Zonarus* on the Roman side eleven hundred men were lost, and nine ships. The fleet then sailed to *Utica*, where they landed their men, and pitched their Camp near the City; The Carthaginians likewise brought their forces thither under the conduct of *Hanno*, where in a land fight they were overcome with the loss of above nine thousand men. There were some Noble men taken prisoners, whom the Consuls reserved whereby to redeem *M. Regulus* and others who were in the like condition. They then consulted on present affairs, and conceived great hopes *Polyb.* they might keep *Africk* in possession: Nevertheless the country round about being plunder'd and spoiled, they, fearing a famine, thought fit to return into *Sicily*, together with those Ro- *Eutropius, Polybius* mans who had defended *Clupea*. They carried away very vast and rich spoils, which had been laid up in *Clupea* in the time of *Regulus* his prosperity, and much encreased by late victories. They had a safe Voyage into *Sicily*, and sufficiently fortunate had been the Consuls if they would have set a bounds to their happinesse. But because in their return to *Italy* they thought by the by to take some Port towns of *Sicily*, not regarding the ship-masters counsel (who advised them, *Not to sail in those dangerous and rough seas against the coast of* Africa, *now Orion and the Dog Star were rising*) they suffered such shipwrack by tempest as hath hardly been heard *Eutropius Diodorus.* of, of three hundred threescore and four ships, scarce fourscore, having cast out all their lading, were saved; much about the same number of horse-boats and other sorts of vessels were lost, *b.13 Polyb.1* insomuch as the whole shore, even from the coast of *Camarina* (where the storm began) to *Pachynus*, was filled with the Corps of dead men, and horses, and pieces of broken ships. In *Diodorus.* this their hard distresse the humanity of King *Hiero* was no small comfort to them, who bountifully entertained them, furnishing them with cloths, and victuals, and tackling for their ships, and conducted them safe to *Messana*. But the Carthaginians made no delay to take advantage *Zonarus* of this their misfortune, they presently regained the Iland and City of *Cossura*; and forthwith *Diodorus* crossing over into *Sicily* besieged *Agrigentum* under the command of *Carthalo*, and no relief coming, they took it and demolished it: A great multitude of persons were here slain and taken prisoners, the others, who escaped through the midlands into the territories of *Syracuse*, planted themselves in a Village near the Temple of *Jupiter Olympus*. Neither were they out *Zonarus.* of hopes of recovering the whole Iland, but that the Romans associates confirmed and strengthened themselves against present fears, hearing what diligence was used in preparing a new Navy; *Polib.* for the Consuls were so intent upon the work, that with wonderful speed, in the space of three 499. moneths, an hundred and twenty ships were built. With these *Cn. Cornelius L.F. C.N. Scipio Asina*, and *A. Atilius A.F. C.N. Calatinus* being Consuls again, having made a new leavy of stout souldiers, were commanded with the first opportunity to set to sea. This *Cn.* *Val.Max.6.9.11* *Cornelius* was a great example of the Inconstancy of Fortune, and of Patience in Adversity, for having seven years agoe, when he was Consul, been circumvented by the craft of the Carthaginians, and suffer'd captivity, imprisonment and chains, and whatsoever misery is incident to mankind, he now resumed not only the other Ornaments of his degree, but likewise the Consular Dignity with so much the more joy, by how much the sadder misfortune he had been before bereaved of them.

The Consuls having arrived at *Messana*, and joyned to themselves what ships they found there, being chiefly the Relicks of the last ship-wrack, sailed with two hundred and fifty ships

to

to the mouth of the River *Himera*, and took by treachery the Town of *Cephalœdium*, ſome eighteen miles diſtant upon the ſame ſhore: From *Drepanus* (for thither they had ſteared their courſe) they departed without effecting their purpoſe, being not able to take it on the ſudden, and *Carthalo* having ſent thither ſupplies in caſe of a ſiege. Being not thereby diſcouraged from farther attempts, they happily accompliſhed another deſign of greater moment. They directed their courſe to *Panormus*, the principal City of the Carthaginians juriſdiction, and poſſeſſing the Haven, ſate down under the very Walls, and the Panormitans refuſing to yield, they encompaſſed the City with a Ditch and Bulwark. The nature of the ground favour'd their intendments, yielding plenty of materials and wood for their works, which being finiſhed, they began the aſſault, and battered down with their Engines a Tower by the ſea ſide, and the ſouldiers entring by the breach, with great ſlaughter of the enemy, took the outward City, which was called *New Panormus*; the old City did not long hold out, for a great number flying thither out of the new City, bringing along with them more terror then proviſions, they were dejected with conſideration of their preſent danger, and fearing ſudden ſcarcity, ſent meſſengers to the Conſuls with propoſals to yield up all but their bodies; the Conſuls knowing the wants of the beſieged, accepted not the conditions unleſs they would redeem themſelves at a certain price. Every head was valued at two *Minæ*, fourteen thouſand perſons were ranſomed, the reſt, being thirteen thouſand were ſold together with the plunder. This Victory was very glorious, of great and ſudden concernment, for hereupon many Towns on that coaſt, ſome alſo far diſtant, caſt out the Carthaginian Garriſons and ſubmitted themſelves to the Romans. The Jetines began, and their example was followed by the Soluntines, Petrines, Tyndaritans and others. Affairs being thus tranſacted, and a Garriſon left at *Panormus*, the Conſul returned to *Meſſana* and ſo to *Rome*. The Carthaginians lying in wait for them at their return, ſurpriſed ſome ſhips of Burthen with mony in them.

*Diodorus* *Culverius Sicilia antiqua* *Diodorus.* *Polybius* *Diodorus* *Zonaras* *Diodorus* *Polybius* *Zonarus*

At *Rome* there was two Naval Triumphs made immediately one after another, by the former year Conſuls (whoſe command was prorogued) over the Coſſurans and Carthaginians; *Serv. Fulvius* triumphed the thirteenth of the Calends of *February*, and *M. Aimilius* the day after. The five hundreth year after the foundation of the City a fruitleſſe expedition was made into *Africa*. *Cn. Servilius Cn.F. Cn.N Capio*, and *Cn. Sempronius Ti. F. Ti. N. Blæſus* being Conſuls, croſſed over into *Sicily*, where having in vain attempted *Lilybæum*, they directed their courſe to *Africk* with two hundred and threeſcore ſhips, and ſailing along the coaſt and ſometimes landing, they took many Towns and got great plunder. They effected nothing of greater moment, being hindred of entring into the moſt convenient Towns by the Carthaginians who every where met them with very good courage, having recovered whatſoever *M. Regulus* had poſſeſſed, and puniſhed the revolters. For *Hamilcar* having ranged through *Numidia* and *Mauritania*, had reduced and quieted all that Tract, impoſing a fine of a thouſand Talents of ſilver, and twenty thouſand Oxen, and puniſhing the prime men who were thought to favour the Romans, three thouſand whereof were Crucified. But the enemies encounter was not ſo formidable to the Romans as their own ignorance in the places, and their dangers in the ſea; for ſailing to *Meninx*, an Iland of the *Lotophagi*, near unto the leſſer *Syrtis*, they ſtruck upon ſhallow places, the Tide going out, and were detained till the ſhips being emptied of their burthens, were by the Tide coming in again relieved from extreme danger. Having therefore eſcaped ſo great a diſtreſſe, and fearing thoſe dangerous places, without delay they ſailed away as if they fled, not that no leſſe a calamity attended them then what they had avoided. To *Panormus* indeed they returned very ſafe; but in their Voyage to *Italy*, as they ſailed about the Promontory of *Palinurus*, which reacheth out into the ſea from the Lucanian Mountains, a terrible ſtorm ariſing ſank above threeſcore great ſhips, together with many horſe-boats and veſſels of Burthen. The City being exceedingly grieved at ſuch frequent loſſes, as if the very winds and water denyed the Romans the Soveraignty of the ſea, the Senate decreed that their Navy ſhould conſiſt but of threeſcore ſhips, for the guard of *Italy* and tranſportation of proviſions to their Army in *Sicily*. Nevertheleſſe this misfortune hindred not one of the Conſuls *C. Sempronius* from his Triumph over the Carthaginians on the Calends of April, ten dayes after *Cn. Cornelius* Proconſul had made the like Triumph. There were Cenſors that year created at *Rome*, but *L. Poſthumius L.F. L.N. Megellus* (who was likewiſe then Pretor) dying in his Office, the other Cenſor *D. Junius D. F. D.N. Pera* did alſo lay down his Office.

*Marmora Capitolina.* 500 *Polybius* *Zonarus* *Oroſius. 4, 9.* *Oroſius.* *Appianus* apud *Fulvium Urſinum.* *Polybius* *Solinus c. 30* *Diodorus* *Oroſius* *Diodorus* *Zonaras* *Eutropius* *Polybius* *Faſti. Capitol.*

The next Summer *C. Aurelius L.F. C.N. Cotta*, and *P. Servilius C.F. Cn. N. Geminus* being Conſuls, croſſed over into *Sicily*, and amongſt other Towns took *Himera* (upon the River *Himera*) but void of Inhabitants, whom in the night time the Carthaginians had carryed away. Yet it was a great advantage to have the poſſeſſion of ſo conſiderable a place, and hereby the Romans wiped away that diſgrace they had heretofore received at this City, for they had failed of their expectation of taking this City (named likewiſe *Thermæ*) by the covetouſneſs of their ſouldiers. [For a certain Captive within the City, to whom was committed the cuſtody of one of the Gates, that he might thereby recover his liberty, did upon an appointed night give admittance to the Roman Souldiers, who were ſent to take poſſeſſion of the City. When the chief of them were entred, they deſiring to ingroſs the richeſt ſpoils unto themſelves, gave order, *To have the Gates ſhut again and no more men to be let in.* Whereupon the Thermitans receiving an Alarme took arms, and the Romans by reaſon of their ſmall number not able to

501 *Diodorus*

reſiſt, and having no relieſe from their Friends, whom they had ſhut out, were rewarded according to their Folly, being every man of them ſlain.] *Himera* being thus reduced into the Roman Power, *C. Aurelius* the Conſull thinketh of beſieging *Lipara*, which had been ſo often in vain attempted; And in order thereunto gathereth together the choiceſt ſouldiers they had in all *Sicily*, and borrowing ſhips of *Hiero*, tranſporteth them into the *Liparæan* Iland. From whence having occaſion to return to *Meſſana*, to conſult the Entrailes of Sacrifices, he deputed his Lieutenant in the ſiege his Kinſman *P. Aureolus Pecuniola* (ſome ſay *Q. Caſſius* a Colonell) with order, diligently to defend the Workes, but otherwiſe not to fight at all: But he, not obſerving the Conſulls advice, and thinking it would much redound to his Credit, to take *Lipara* in his abſence, made an Aſſault upon the City, and that to his Coſt; for, not being able to Maſter it, he loſt many men, and by a ſally out of the Town had one of his Forts ſet on fire, having alſo much adoe to defend his Camp. But upon the return of *Aurelius*, Fortune wheeling about, there was a very great ſlaughter made at the taking of the City, after which he proceeded to the puniſhment of the Colonell, whom he commanded to be beaten with ſtripes, and take pay among the common ſouldiers; a very remarkable ſeverity, whereof he made ſome other proofes in the time of his Conſullſhip. When *Lipara* was taken, an Immunity was granted to the Poſterity of *Timaſitheus* (once Governour of theſe places) that they ſhould for ever be free from all Taxes and Tribute; wherein the Romans manifeſted the conſtancy of their Thankfulneſs, not to be outworne by time; becauſe when the Pirates of *Lipara* had taken a Golden Cup, which they had ſent to *Apollo* of *Delphos*, *Timaſitheus* cauſed both it, and the Embaſſadours who conveighed it, to be ſafely conducted into *Greece*, and the Men back again to *Rome*.

Zonaras

Frontinus Stratagem 4 1. Val Max. 2. 7. 4. Zonaras

Val. Maximus

Ὀλυμπ. ἀναγρ. Livie 5. 18.

Diodorus

The Romans afterward beſieging *Ercta* a very ſtrong Caſtle, with forty thouſand foot, and a thouſand Horſe, were neither able to take it, neither durſt they fight with the Carthaginians: For ſince the misfortune of *M. Regulus*, the Romans ſtood ſo much in fear of the Elephants that they alwayes avoided Battell. Oftentimes within the Territories of *Lilybæum*, and often in the *Selinuntian* fields, they have ſtood in Battell-array about halfe a mile from the Enemy, yet durſt neither venture according to their wonted Courage, to begin the Charge, or deſcend into plain and open ground, but ſtill kept themſelves in craggy and difficult places. The Carthaginians hereupon erecting their Spirits, (ſeeing they now had Confidence in their land Army, and knew the Romans had had greater loſſes by tempeſts at Sea, then themſelves by unluckie fights, eſpecially having intelligence of the Senates Reſolution to ſet out no more Navies) conceived hopes of recovering *Sicily*, if they did but ſend good ſtore of land and ſea-forces thither. But their main impediment was want of Money, the late continuall Warres having exhauſted their Old ſtore, and conſumed their new raiſed Taxes. They ſent therefore Embaſſadours to *Ptolomy* King of Egypt, to borrow two thouſand Talents of Money. The King being loath to offend either them, or the Romans (being both in League with him) offered himſelf as a Mediatour of Peace between them: But notwithſtanding all importunities he denied the Carthaginians Requeſt, ſaying *He would willingly helpe a Friend againſt an Enemy, but thought it not fit to aſſiſt one Friend againſt another.* About the ſame time at *Rome Tib. Coruncianus* was the firſt of the Plebeians who was created Chief Prieſt. The ſame year alſo Cenſors were created, becauſe the Duties of that Office could not laſt year be performed, one of the Cenſours dying, and the other laying down his Commiſſion, *M. Valerius M. F. M. N. Maximus Meſſalla*, and *P. Sempronius P. F. P. N. Sophus* made the ſeven and thirtieth *Luſtration*. Two hundred ninety ſeven thouſand, ſeven hundred ninety ſeven Citizens were rated. This was a ſad and ſevere Cenſourſhip, for in taking a view of the Senate, Thirteen were degraded, four hundred young Knights had their horſes taken away, and made common ſtipendarie ſouldiers. This came to paſs by the Complaint of *C. Aurelius* the Conſull, who informed the Cenſours, *That in Sicily, when need required, being commanded to their Duty, they had refuſed to obey.* The Conſull, not content with this Revenge for their contempt of Diſcipline, prevailed likewiſe with the Senate to keep back their Pay. And truely as times then went, the conſideration of his ſeverity and ſtrictneſs of Diſcipline, as well as his exploits performed, was occaſion of his Triumph made over the Carthaginians and Sicilians upon the Ides of *April*. The next year was fuller of Threats, then action: For great preparations being made on both ſides, and each ſtanding in ſome fear of the other, the whole ſummer paſſed away without any conſiderable thing done. *L. Cæcilius L. F. C. N. Metellus*, and *C. Furius C. F. C. N. Pacilus*, being Conſulls, tranſporting their Legions over into *Sicily*, neither themſelves much provoked the Enemy, or were provoked by them, though *Aſdruball* a new Carthaginian Generall was lately come thither with two hundred ſhips, an hundred and forty Elephants, and twenty thouſand Horſe and Foot. This buſineſs cauſed the Senate to enter into Conſultation of preparing another Navy; for the Publick Treaſures began to be exhauſted by protracting the Warre, and ſince the Misfortune of *M. Regulus*, the Legions degenerated from their wonted Valour, and though all things ſhould ſucceed proſperouſly at Land, yet 'twas manifeſt, the Carthaginians could not be kept off *Sicily*, ſo long as they had the ſovereignty of the Seas. Reſuming therefore their former reſolutions, they began to put confidence again in their ſhips, and with all care to trimme the old, and build new ones. In the mean time *L. Metellus* being left at *Panormus*, *C. Furius* returned to *Rome*, to the chuſing of the new Conſuls, who were *C. Atilius M. F. M. N. Regulus*, and

Tabulæ Romanæ.

Val Maximus. 2. 9. 7.

Frontinus Stratagemat. 4. 1. Columnæ Capitolinæ

502

Oroſius 4. 9. Polybius Eutropius

and *L. Manlius A.F. P.N. Vulſo*, to theſe was committed the charge of preparing the Navy and men for the ſhips; *L. Metellus* was continued in his Command, with Commiſſion to manage the War in *Sicily* as Proconſul. 503 *Polyb.* 1. 39

*Aſdruball* underſtanding that one of the Romans Generals was abſent with half their forces, and computing with himſelf, that though the Armies had long ſtood in Battel-aray one againſt the other, the Romans had out of fear declined fight, being now no longer able to bear the complaints of his own ſouldiers who accuſed him of cowardize, he drew all his forces out of *Lilybæum*, and after a long and difficult march through the Selinuncian Territories, he invaded thoſe of *Panormus* and there pitched his Camp. It fortun'd, that the Proconſul, with the remainder of the Roman ſtrength was then at *Panormus* to guard their Aſſociates, now harveſt grew on, in reaping and carrying in their grain. He, having inteligence that ſome of the enemies ſpies lay ſecretly at *Panormus*, commanded every man in the City to meet together in an Aſſembly, then giving order they ſhould examine one another, and queſtion thoſe who were leaſt known, *What they were, or what buſineſs they had at* Panormus, found out the ſpies and ſeized on them. By them he underſtood the enemies deſigns, and obſerving there was more raſhneſs then good counſel in their expedition, pretended great fear, and kept himſelf within the works of the City, that ſo he might encreaſe their fooliſh confidence. Whereupon *Aſdruball* growing bolder, advanced his forces, ſpoiling and burning all the corn in the fields, and marching up even to the walls of the City. The Proconſul regarded neither the loſs ſuſtained nor the diſgrace thence redounding, foreſeeing that if he did a little longer forbear, the Carthaginians would ſufficiently ſatisfie him for both with good Uſe. Above all, he thought good to expect till they croſſed the River *Orethus*, which runneth on the South ſide of the Town, and then he had contrived a ſure and ſudden Victory. To effect this, as all other things were ordered to ſignifie his fear, ſo he placed but few ſouldiers upon the walls, deſiring that the enemy ſhould not underſtand either the courage or number of his men. This counſel ſucceeded according to his expectation, both the enemy by his confidence, and fortune by a ſudden chance furthering the deſign: For *Aſdruball* Forded the River with his Foot, Horſe and Elephants, and planted his Camp cloſe under the walls of the City, with ſo much contempt of the enemies Cowardize, that he pitched his Tents without any works of defence about them, thinking there was no need of ditch or bulwark.

*Diodorus* *Zonaras* *Polybius* *Flazellus de rebus Siculis.* *Frontinus* *Strat.* 3. 17 *Diodorus*

Thither the Sutlers and Merchants bringing great plenty of Corne and Wine, the Mercenaries drank ſtoutly, and elevating their voices according to their ſeveral diakects, in much noiſe and confuſion gave good notice of their preſent temper, that they were not very ſober. Then did the Proconſul think the fitteſt time to ſend thoſe his men who were ready armed to provoke the enemy to fight, and it ſucceeded ſo happily, that ſtill ſending out by degrees freſh ſupplies, *Aſdrubal's* whole Army at length came out of the Camp. *L. Cæcilius* the Proconſul placeth part of the light armed men before the Trench, giving order, *If the Elephants approached to fling their darts at them, and if they found themſelves ſore preſſed to retire into the Trench, and thence come out again to a freſh charge.* The mean Artificers and common rout he commanded to carry darts and weapons, and fling them over the wall that the light armed men ſhould not want plenty of them. Himſelf with his companies completely armed, ſtood in Rank and File within the gate over againſt the enemies right Wing. They who were already engaged ſometimes being overpower'd in number retreated in good order, ſometimes being aſſiſted by ſupplies from the Town did maintain the fight. When the Rectors of the Elephants deſiring in emulation to ſeem Authors of the Victory as well as *Aſdrubal*, and advancing with their beaſts, beat back thoſe who oppoſed them, and raſhly preſſing upon them (as they retired toward the City) came up even to the Trench. But then a ſhower of Arrows flying from the walls, and freſh light armed men aſſaulting them with Spears and Darts, the Elephants being wounded began to rage, and betaking themſelves which way ſoever anger and pain led them, turned upon their own men, trampled under foot, routed and diſorder'd whole companies of armed men.

*Polybius* *Frontinus* *Strat.* 2. 5

Whereupon the Proconſul crying, *This is the time of the long look't for Victory*, iſſueth out, and being freſh and in good rank had an eaſie victory over the confuſed multitude of the enemy; there was a great ſlaughter made both in the field and in the purſuit, their calamity being encreaſed by a ſudden chance which one would have thought of advantage to them: For about the ſame time the Carthaginian Navy appearing at ſhore, the whole multitude trembling and blind with fear, promiſcuouſly ran thither as to the only refuge, in which hurly burly many were trodden under feet by the Elephants; many venturing to ſwim, and many too haſtily ſcaling the ſhips and tumbling down periſhed in the ſea. Neither before this time nor after it, amongſt all their proſperous exploits, had the Romans any Victory more glorious; whereby the Romans reſumed their former confidence and courage, and the enemy was ſo diſheartened with fear, that they caſt off not only all hopes but all thoughts of a land Army ſo long as that War laſted.

*Polybius* *Diodorus* *Zonarus* *Florus.* 2 2 *Oroſius* 3. 9 *Zonarus*

Twenty thouſand Carthaginians are ſaid to be ſlain, ſix and twenty Elephants were preſently taken, and afterward all the reſt. For the Proconſul thinking it hard for his ignorant men to catch the beaſts being looſe and enraged, commanded a Cryer by Proclamation to promiſe, *Liberty and ſafety to any priſoner by whoſe means the Elephants ſhould be taken*; hereby laying firſt

first hold on those who were most gentle and familiar, by their help they easily brought in the rest. *L. Metellus* sent them all to *Rome*, having invented a pretty way for their transportation; for his ships not being fit for the purpose, he gathered and bound together many Hogsheads, fastning a Rafter between every two that they should neither dash together nor yet part one from the other, then planking them over, spreading earth and durt upon them, and erecting walls on each side in the form of stables, the Elephants otherwise very fearful of sailing by water, entred them and were safely conveighed to *Rhegium*.

*Frontin. Stratagem. l. 7. Zonaras Plin 8.9 Zonaras.*

*Oresius*

*Asdrubal* from this overthrow escaped to *Lilybæum*, but being condemned at *Carthage* while he was absent, and afterward upon his return apprehended, he was accordingly executed. The Carthaginians now considering their Armies were routed, their Elephants taken, all *Sicily* lost except *Lilybæum* and *Drepanus*, that the Romans having again set out a Navy, were very potent both at land and sea, began to think of Peace, willing to accept of it on any tolerable conditions. Whereupon they remembred *M. Regulus* and the conditions he once propounded to them, and perswaded themselves that by his means they might prevail either for peace or at least for what they next desired, an exchange of prisoners; nothing doubting but that for his own sake he would effectually interpose himself in such a business: *For what man can be imagined so obstinate as not to free himself from the miseries of a Gaole, and desire to see his dearest relations, and enjoy his Liberty, Country, Dignities and Honours?* M. Regulus *hath a wife and children at* Rome, *friends and kindred in the Senate and publick offices, a Cousin* German *now Consul, he is both much beloved by the Senate and people of* Rome *for his former victories, and pitied for his afflictions; if therefore he beareth any good will to himself, or findeth any respect from his friends, no man certainly will be more earnest in prosecuting, or is more likely by favour to effect such a design.*

*Zonaras.*

He accepted the employment, not out of any hope or desire to do himself good, as afterward appeared, but that he might in person the more effectually move the Senate to have a care of the Commonwealth. So being joyned with the Carthaginian Embassadors, when he was come to the City, he would not enter the Gates though much entreated by the Romans, alledging, *The Custome of his Country to give Audience to the Embassadors of an enemy without the City.* The Senate being accordingly assembled, he amongst the Carthaginian Embassadors delivered his Message, *That himself also being by the War a servant to the Carthaginians, had command from his Masters to propound chiefly, That the war may be concluded upon what terms should seem fit to both parties, or that at least an exchange of prisoners would be granted.* The Embassadors presently withdrawing, he likewise accompanied them; neither, though he was earnestly solicited, would he be present in the Senate at the debate of the business till the Carthaginians assented to it. Then sitting silent till his opinion was required, he thus expressed himself, 'Conscript Fathers,

*Appian* apud *Fulvium Ursinum. Dio.* apud *Fulvium Ursinum. Cicero* de Offic. 3. 27 *Dionys.* apud *Fulvium. Ursinum. Liv.* Epit. 18 *Zonaras*

'I am still a Roman: my Body indeed, as Fortune would have it, is in the power of the enemies, but my Soul, not subject to Fortune, is still the same. Following therefore the reason 'of my Soul, which is my own, rather then the inclinations of my Body, which is anothers, my 'advice is, You would neither exchange prisoners nor conclude a peace. For to restore the 'Captives while the war continueth is disadvantageous: They have no Commanders in hold 'but my self who am an old man, you have many, and those young, amongst which are some 'no way to be despised. And to finish the war, unless upon very ample terms, or without a 'complete universal Victory, as it becometh not your Wisdom, so it is pernicious to the Com-'monwealth. I know you meet with many difficulties in managing the war, for no great affairs 'can be transacted without great pains and cost: But if you rightly consider the state of *Car-'thage*, you will find all things tending to victory to be much the better on your part. We 'were indeed once overcome in a great Battel, whether it were my fault or fortunes; but we have 'so often routed their Armies, that the confidence they had assumed upon my overthrow is now, 'by the Victory at *Panormus*, pressed down to the utmost despair. They have lost all *Sicily*, 'except one or two Cities, and in the other Ilands their condition is naught. You have a Navy 'which they dare not encounter, so that in that part of the war ye are also superiours. And 'the losses ye have sustained by Tempest hath not bereaved you of so much strength as it hath 'taught you Circumspection. The want of money perhaps is equal on both sides; but the Ita-'lians are more obedient to you then are the Africans to the Carthaginians, whom as they ne-'ver truly loved, so have they of late learn't to hate more perfectly. For not being provoked 'by any such injury they revolted freely to me, but now since their former masters have wasted 'their Grounds, plundred their Cattel, exacted their Monies and slain their Nobles, what do 'you think they can more desire, then that a new Army would come from hence into *Africa*? 'But that your leavyes of men are easie and large, that your souldiers are valiant, of the same 'Language, the same Mind, the same Manners, Religion, City and Kindred, I take to be so great 'an advantage, that if in all things else ye were exceeded, this one only thing would be suffici-'ent to balance the war, and make the Victory doubtful on the enemies side, for what 'help is there in a company of Mercinaries against such a force? and if there were any, the 'Carthaginians have bereaved themselves of it by their cruelty, and they have made it now as 'difficult to hire strangers, as it was before to govern them. *Xanthippus* to whom *Carthage* 'is indebted for its preservation, having been so ingratefully and treacherously used, is sufficient 'warning to others how they lend their assistance to such a people who know not how to recom-'pence the greatest desert but by the greatest injuries. Nay, the very common and meanest

*Silius* b. 6 *Cic.* de Offic. 3. 27

Bar-

'Barbarians, a Britiſh and ſlaviſh ſort of men, will be deterred by Cruelties ſo often exerciſed 'upon their Fellowes, who have been ſometimes murthered by hangmen, or their fellow Soul-'diers, ſometimes expoſed into barren and uninhabited Ilands, receiving inſtead of the pay 'they have fought for, moſt inhumane puniſhments, and horrible deaths. And this Conſcript 'Fathers is my Opinion, that neither Peace is to be made with *Carthage*, nor yet an exchange 'of Priſonersgranted.

This Counſell diſpleaſed not the Senate, if it could have been executed with the ſafety of him who gave it; but the more he neglected himſelfe for the Common good, the more they pitied him, and manifeſtly inclined upon any termes whatſoever to reſtore ſo Gallant and Generous a Perſon to his Country. And voices were given out, *that ſeeing he was now ſo happily returned from forreign Captivity, he might lawfully tarry in the City, or be detained there.* The High Prieſt likewiſe affirmed, *that he might ſtay, without incurring the guilt of Perjury.* But he to the Amazement of the Senate it ſelfe, with a fierce Spirit, and ſevere Countenance, proceeded, ſaying, *Why do ye not reſolve this doubt? follow my Advice and regard not me.* Ye in 'vain attempt that which will be neither pleaſing to your ſelves, nor profitable to the Country, 'nor honeſt in me For ſuppoſe, for a while ye would be willing and joyfull to ſee me amongſt 'you, when once the ſhort ſpurt of this affection is vaniſhed, the Baſeneſs of my Return will 'make me more odious to you, then my abſence made me deſirable. For my part I am reſolved 'not to live in that City, where after an *African* ſlavery, I cannot maintain the dignity of an 'honeſt Citizen, and if I ſhould deſire it, my fidelity would hinder it, the remembrance of my 'ſacred Oath would hinder it, and my Reverence of the Gods, by the Invocation of whom I 'aſſured the Carthaginians of my return: And ſhould I forſwear my ſelfe, I fear that Revenge 'would be taken not only on me, but on your ſelves, and the whole Roman People alſo. The 'Gods, believe me, are no vain things, and will not without Puniſhment be affronted by the 'Perjuries and Contempts of Man. If any one be of opinion that in Religion I may be abſol-'ved, that the bookes of the *Augurs* mention expiations of ſuch crimes, and that Attone-'ment may be made by Ceremonies and Sacrifices for Perjury and Treaſon; I would have him 'underſtand the Majeſty of the Gods is more ſevere, then being offended by Perjury, to be ap-'peaſed by any Inventions of Men, neither is it agreeable to Reaſon, that a Guilt contracted by 'the ſins of man, ſhould be waſhed away with the blood of Beaſts. As for my ſelfe, I am not 'ignorant that great and exquiſite torments are prepared for me at Carthage. But to deceive a 'truſt, I think to be worſe then all of them, for this would indeed hurt me, as for the Tor-'ments they hurt only ſomething about me. I hink not that man miſerable, who is able to endure 'miſery. Slavery, Reproach, Contempt, Griefe Hunger and Watching, I never yet eſteem-'ed evill, but now by a long cuſtom they have left off to be troubleſom to me. That they are 'tollerable, I have learn't by ſuffering them; and if once they be intended to that degree, as not 'to be born by Man, Death will quickly free me not only from them, but from all other Ca-'lamities. Nothing therefore is to be feared for him who feareth not Death, which is eaſie at 'any time to obtain, and truely I had inflicted it on my ſelfe, but that I thought it the part of a 'man rather to overcome ſorrow then to avoid it. I have ſpoken theſe few and confuſed words, 'that ye may underſtand, I am not to be perſwaded from my Opinion, and withall that you 'ſhould not bewaile me as an unfortunate and miſerable Man: My Reſolution is eaſy and con-'ſtant: 'Tis my care to return to *Carthage*, what I ſhall there ſuffer I leave to the 'Gods.

'Tis reported that the more effectually to move them he affirmed, *that before he was diſmiſſed from* Carthage, *they had given him a gentle Poiſon, which by ſlow degrees feeding on his vitall ſpirits, ſhould conſume him after the exchange was made.* Wonderfull was the conſtancy of this Man, who rather then ſwerve from the Rule of Honeſty, did with more earneſtneſs purſue Contumelies, Torments and Death, then others avoid them; a true and profitable Leſſon to Poſterity, That thoſe men only are prepared to endure any Torments, and are conſtant in their honeſt reſolutions, who have a ſenſe of their own nobility, and think themſelves borne not onely for this world For certainly *M. Regulus* would not willingly have undergone ſo great miſeries, if he had not thought that after Death there are great Rewards for the Virtuous, and great puniſhment for evill men. The Senate therefore having made a Decree according to the opinion of *M. Regulus*, he with a ſettled countenance followed his Sullen and angry Maſters, by whom it appeared that they would cruelly revenge the indignity of their repulſe upon his Perſon, inſomuch as many were moved to detain him againſt his will. Moreover his Wife *Marcia*, and his Children making Lamentable complaints, the Conſulls ſaid, *if he tarried they would not deliver him up, neither would they hinder his going.* So he refuſing to diſcourſe with his Wife, and avoiding the Embraces and kiſſes of his little Children, was carried back to *Carthage*, where with cruell torments he was put to death. For cutting off his Eyelids, they kept him awhile in a dark place, then in the heat of the Sunſhine they ſuddenly brought him out, and forced him to look up into the ſky, at length they put him into a Wooden cheſt (right over againſt the Sun) full of nailes on the inſide, and ſo narrow that he was forced alwayes to ſtand upright; if at any time he lean't on one ſide to eaſe his weary body he was pricked and goared with the nails, and ſo in torment and continuall watching yielded up the Ghoſt.

This was the end of *M. Atilius Regulus*, much more glorious then his Life, though long led with

*Petavii Metaphraſis in Eutropium.*

*Eutropius* b. 6

*Silius* b. 2

*Zonaras.*

*Tuditanus* apud *Agellium.*

*Silius* b. 6
*Zonaras.*
*Silius.*
*Dio.* apud *Fulv. Urſin.*
*Horat. car.* 3 5
*Appian punic.*
*Livie Epit.* 18.
*Auctor de viris Illuſ.* c. 40
*Aug.* de Civ. D. l. 1. 15
*Silius*
*Val Maximus.* 2. 1. ex.
*Tubero* apud *Agellium.*
*Gic.* de Off. 3. 27

with great honesty and Honour: He was a man of great Integrity of Manners, of an Invincible Spirit, and for his Counsell not to be despised, wherein neither his own nor after ages could accuse him, but that he seemed not very moderately to bear his prosperous Fortune, and that by denying the Carthaginians request he was the occasion of the wars continuance for many years after to the great detriment of both Cities. But he wiped off this his fault by his other many egregious virtues, and chiefly by his wonderful constancy at his death, being more happy in suffering calamitie then if he could have avoided it. The Senate hearing the news of his death, and the Barbarous cruelty of the Carthaginians, delivered up the Noblest of the Captives to *Marcia* and her children, whom they shut up in an Engine thrust through with sharp irons, resolving to put them to the like death as *Regulus* had suffered; for five whole daies they had no food allowed them; in which *Bostar* with grief and hunger pined to death; *Hamilcar* being stronger in body continued five dayes longer, shut together with the carcasse of *Bostar*, with sustenance sufficient only to prolong his miserable life, Till at length the Magistrates understanding what was in doing, did restrain their cruelty, commanding that the Ashes of *Bostar* should be conveighed into his own Country, and that the other prisoners should be handled with more mercy. Whereby appears a remarkable difference of manners in the two Cities, in that the one being not unjustly offended, nor able with security to offend, with horrid punishments extinguished that virtue they ought to have reverenced; the other mitigated a most just revenge not regarding their own enraged grief, but the Rules of Humanity, and that moderation which becometh Illustrious Empires.

*Dio. apud Valesium.*

*Zonaras. Tuditan. apud Arcll. 6. 4 Iiod-us b. 24 Vales. apud*

# BOOK IX.

UPON the departure of the Carthaginian Embassadors the Consuls having Order from the Senate to transport their Army into *Sicily*, did very readily obey, being highly incensed against the enemy for *M. Regulus* his sake, and likewise provoked with emulation and conceiving great hopes from the Victory of *L. Metellus* Proconsul. For they measured not the greatnesse of the businesse so much by the losse of the Carthaginians, who were much weakened by the losse of an Army and so many Elephants, but chiefly they were encouraged because the souldiers, having successefully fought against the beasts, did now no more stand in fear of them. And hopes were conceived the war might suddenly be finished if opportunities were not neglected. The Consuls therefore with a Navy of two hundred ships, and four Legions sailed to *Panormus*, where taking in likewise the other forces and ships (unless what were left for the guard and security of some places) they went to *Lilybæum* with 240 Beaked ships, threescore Barks of a shorter size, called *Cercuri*, and many other vessels of all sorts, with resolution to make an assault upon it. This is that famous siege of *Lilybæum*, which beginning the fourteenth year of this war, lasted full ten years. and at length was ended, neither with the surprise of the City, nor with its surrendry, but together with the whole War. For both the Romans and Carthaginians well understanding of what concernment that City was, either to the Guard of the *African* Coast, or the Empire of *Sicily*, did with all their might, the one

*Polyb. 1. 41*

*Etymologicum in* Κερκῦρ.

one assault, the other defend it. The Triumph of *L. Metellus* did somewhat comfort the City of *Rome*, after their sorrow for *M. Regulus*, not only with the memory and consideration of their successes, but with the sweetness of Revenge also over so cruell and inhumane a People: He Triumphed Proconsull over the Carthaginians, the seventh of the *Ides* of *September*, thirteen of the Enemies Commanders were led before his Charriot, and a great troope of Elephants, even an hundred and Twenty; some reckon many more. These being afterwards produced when the Games were celebrated, were chased up and down the *Circus* with speares headed with iron, that the People might accustome themselves to contemne those beasts they had heretofore so terribly feared. *Verrius Flaccus* affirmes they were all slain, the Romans not caring to make use of them themselves, and thinking it no way for the advantage of the Common-wealth, to make a Present of so considerable a strength to any Prince. The same yeare Corn was very cheap at *Rome*, a bushell for a penny, at the same price was sold a gallon of wine, thirty pound of dried figgs, ten pounds of oile, and twelve pound of flesh. For there was greater store of these Commodities then of money, which by the long continuance of warre grew very scarce. While these things hapned at *Rome*, the Consulls in *Sicily* assaulted *Lilybæum* with all their strength, and the besieged as stoutly resisted. The first attempt was against a Tower, which stood fartheſt toward the *Libyan* sea, this being demolished, they did by degrees proceed to those which were next, till they had destroyed six. For the more easy battering of the rest they began to fill up the Trenches, that they might draw over and plant their Engines. Though the labour were very great (for the ditch was threescore cubits broad, and forty deep) they did readily set upon and diligently promote the work. The Carthaginians to hinder their design, made holes on the inside of the Trench, out of which they cast the rubbidge again, but, the heapes still encreasing, and the ditch at length made even with the ground, (by reason of the multitude of Labourers) they changed their Counsell, and erected another wall within the former: *Himilco* being at all Workes indefatigable, who besides the multitude of Inhabitants in the City, had ten thousand Mercenaries, and did by his wisdom, Vigilance and constancy elude and overcome all the Enemies force and Stratagems. He suffered nothing to be out of order among his own men, nor any thing to be secure on the Enemies part; he built Work against Work, digged Mine against Mine, opposed Armes to Armes, sometimes he issued forth, fighting with such resolution, that in these tumultuary skirmishes there were sometimes slain little fewer, then usually fall in set Battells.

*Colum. Trium. Livie Epit. 19. Dionys. b. 2. L. Piso. apud Plin. 8. 6.*

*M. Varro apud Plin. 18. 3.*

*Polybius 1. 42. Zonaras*

*Diodorus 24. Zonaras. Diodorus*

*Polybius.*

The Romans undermineing the Foundation of the Walls, *Himilco* made his countermine over against the place where he observed the Romans to cast out earth, and opening their Mine he sent in forthwith a Band of Armed souldiers, who set upon the naked Romans busie at work, and slew a great number; and as many were burnt with brush faggots (thrown into the Trench and set on fire) while they approached the Walls to helpe their fellowes. Notwithstanding feare and consternation of mind encreased among the besieged, whereby some Mercenary Commanders taking advantage, and pretending want of pay, plotted to betray the City to the Romans, nothing doubting but that they could easily induce every man his souldiers to approve of the design. On a certain night therefore slipping out of the Town into the Roman Camp, they declared the state of the City, and what they had intended; Amongst the other Mercenaries at *Lilybæum*, there was one *Alexon* an *Achaian*, a Man not unskilfull in Martiall Affaires, and of singular Integrity: He understanding the Traytors design, without delay discovers it to *Himilco*, *Himilco* as in a great and imminent danger, immediately summons together all the Mercenary Commanders, who were yet in the Town, declares to them what was in agitation, and by whom, and vehemently inveighing against them, he exhorteth those who are present, *not to become partners in the rashness and Treachery of others, that persisting in their Duty, they should find all fair dealing from the Carthaginians, their Pay should be certain, and great Rewards moreover accumulated, that if they tainted themselves with the infamous crime of Treason, they would be hatefull to God and man*; withall, as much money as in hast and fear he could at present raise, he distributes among them, promising *that, himselfe would take care to set the Common souldiers pay assoone as may be discharged.*

*Polybius. 1. 43 Zonaras. Polyb.*

An Oration made in season, hath certainly great power over the Minds of men, especially if the gravity of the speaker be mixed with truth and sincerity to be relied upon; Every one assented to what *Himilco* spake, and chearfully offered their utmost endeavours to continue their souldiers in their Duty. *Himilco* commending them, and furthermore encouraging them with hopes, commands *every one to apply himselfe to his own Companys, and endeavour to keep them in subjection*: He sendeth likewise along with them *Hanniball*, the son of *Hannibal*, who perished in *Sardinia*, and *Alexon the Achaian*; *Hanniball* to the Gaules, with whom he was acquainted, and very gratious, by Reason of his former conversation with them in the Wars; *Alexon* to other Marcenaries of severall Nations, by all whom he was equally beloved. These engaging their Words, *that whatsoever Himilco had promised should be performed*, so effectually made up the business, that the Traitors a while after returning to the Walls, were not onely kept out, but beaten back with darts, and reproached for their Villany. So they returning to the Consulls without effecting their Design, were nevertheless rewarded with Gifts, and had Land in *Sicily* bestowed on them.

*Polyb. Zonaras*

Thus did the fidelity of *Alexon* at that time support the Carthaginian Affaires, brought almost *Polyb.*

moſt into a deſperate condition by this Treaſon: He had before likewiſe preſerved the Agri-
*Diodorus 24* gentines, whom the Mercenaries of *Syracuſe* had by the like wickedneſs plotted to betray, and therefore deſerveth to have his memory and praiſes recorded in Hiſtory.

The Beſieged were afterward much encouraged by the comeing of new Auxiliaries. For the
*Polybius.* Carthaginians, though they were ignorant of what hapned at *Lilybæum*, did judge it fit to carry on affaires with much Vigour, therefore they commanded *Adherbal* the Admiral to provide a Navy and convey Men, Money, and Corne to *Libybæum*. By him was ſent *Hannibal* the ſon
*Zonaras.* *Oroſius 4.10* of *Hamilcar*, who having a freſh gale of wind, from the *Ægatian* Ilands, ſailed directly into the
*Polyb.* port of *Lilybæum*, his men ready armed for fight, and reſolving to break through all oppoſition. The Romans had from the beginning of the ſiege ſtopped up the mouth of the haven by ſinking fifteen ſhips, which they had for that purpoſe laden with ſtones, being therefore ſuddenly overtaken with the Enemies haſt, and fearing leſt themſelves might by the force of the winds be driven into the Port, a place made unſafe for Navigation, they did not at all oppoſe the Enemie. *Hannibal* ſafely entred the Harbour, and landing his men to the number of ten thouſand, was received into the City with very great joy of the Lilybætans. The Romans ſeeing they could not prevent the Enemies Arrival, entred into Conſultation how to defend their Works, which they thought *Himilco* would not delay to ſet upon, having ſo great a recruit of freſh ſouldiers; neither were they deceived, for *Himilco* intending to make uſe both of his new ſtrenght and of the Courage of the others now revived, ſummons all his forces together, and by hopes of Victory and ample rewards perſwades them to make a ſallie, and haveing diſpoſed his Companies as the Occaſion required, by break of day he aſſaulteth the Romans works in many places. The Romans were provided for them, and where they feared moſt danger had placed ſtrong Guards, with theſe a very ſharpe fight was begun, many fell on both ſides, for they fought with great Courage and Reſolution, and the number of men was great on each part, no leſs then twenty thouſand iſſued out of the City, and were oppoſed by a greater Multitude of the Beſiegers.
*Diodor.* For the Conſulls having raiſed Auxiliaries from their friends in *Sicily*, were above an hundred thouſand ſtrong, whereof threeſcore thouſand were imployed in the ſiege, the Reſidue being ſent abroad to bring in Proviſions. The fight therefore being very hot in every place, the ſharpeſt Contention was about the Engines, ſome ſtriveing to ſpoile them, other to defend them,
*Polyb. 1.45* with ſo great Vehemence, that they ſpared their own lives no more then their Enemies. A great number of ſlaine men lay in that ſtation where the Aſſault firſt began, the Clamour and noiſe of the Warriours, and Terrour of the Battel were much encreaſed by another Company, which brake out, with links and torches, ruſhing, through all dangers and Deaths, to ſet fire on the Engines; and the Roman ſoulders were very neer giving place to the fierceneſſe of the Enemie, as no longer able to defend their Engines. But *Himilco* ſeeing many of his men periſh, and the Romans as yet nothing to remit of their Courage in reſiſting, ſounded a Retreat, and went firſt out of the Battel. Neither did the Romans purſue him, being content they had preſerved their works which were almoſt given for loſt.

The next night *Hannibal*, while the Enemy was weary after the fight, and obſerved not his Motion, ſecretly ſtole out of the Harbour with the ſhips he came in, and went to *Adherbal*
*Diodor.* at *Drepanus*, carrying along with him the Horſemen, who being of no uſe to the beſieged in a cloſe place, he rightly judged might otherwiſe be better employed. Theſe making frequent ex-
*Zonaras* curſions from *Drepanus*, infeſted the high ways, obſtructed the Conveiance of proviſions, ſurprized many forragers who ſtraggled far from the Campe, afflicted the Roman Aſſociates with all kinds of miſery, and very much confounded the counſells and deſignes of the Conſulls. *Adherball* likewiſe much perplexed them at ſea, ſuddenly falling ſometime on the *Sicilian*, ſometime on the *Italian* ſhore, leaving nothing unattempted whereby he might miſchief the Romans.
*Diodorus* Hence it came to paſs that there was great ſcarcity in the Roman Camp, for they had almoſt no food left but onely the fleſh of beaſts, many died of Famine, and many more, as is uſuall in ſuch caſes, of Diſeaſes; whereupon many thouſands periſhed, and therefore it was concluded that one of the Conſulls with his Legions ſhould return to *Rome* to the Aſſembly
*Zonaras* of the People, that the other Beſiegers might have the greater Plenty. After this the
*Diodorus* Romans again with greater pains and deligence endeavoured with earth and ſtones to ſtop up the mouth of the Haven, fortifying the Damme on both ſides with ſtrong pieces of timber joyned together croſs-wayes, and faſtned with iron Anchors, to conteine the heap of earth and
*Polyb 1.47.* ſtones from waſhing away: But their labour though great proved fruitleſs, for the ſea was ſo deep, that whatſoever was flung in, was carried aſide before it lighted right, and upon the ariſing of Tempeſts, the Tide being very violent, deſtroyed their Work.

*Diodorus.* But the very fame of the Work did for a time keep the Haven block't up, which very much troubled the Carthaginians: that they could now by no means hold intelligence with their
*Polyb. 1.46* friends, neither durſt any man undertake to viſit the Lilybætans and give an account of their Condition, till at length one *Hannibal* ſirnamed *Rhodius* ingaged himſelf to enter the City, and having viewed all things, to returne with a faithfull Account. The promiſe pleaſed the Carthaginians: but they had little faith in it; becauſe they knew beſide the heapes of rubbiſh, that the Haven was watched and warded by the Roman ſhips at Anchor there: But he having rigged a private ſhip he had, ſailed to one of the Ilands over againſt *Lilybæum*, and the next day having a favourable wind, at ten of the clock in the day time, openly in the face of the

the enemy wondring at his confidence entred the Haven. But the Conſul to intercept him in his return, in the night time placed ten choice ſhips on each ſide the Haven, five as near the mouth as might be. *Hannibal* truſting in the ſwiftneſs of his Veſſel came out in the day time; the Romans were ready in the expectation of him, and with all their endeavours ſet forward againſt him, but he was ſo much too quick for them, that not contenting to eſcape he moreover inſulted over them, ſometimes ſailing, ſometimes wheeling about as if he would challenge them to fight. When he had often uſed this bold exploit, it proved of great advantage to the Carthaginian affairs, in that the Beſieged were infinitely comforted with meſſages from their friends, in that at *Carthage* they daily underſtood the ſtate and progreſſe of things at *Lilybæum* as occaſion required, and in that the Romans were ſo much aſhamed and madded at the raſhneſſe of the men which they could not revenge. He was much helped in his deſign by his knowledge of the Channel and the paſſages thereabouts; for between thoſe Fenny and mooriſh places whereby is the paſſage to *Lilybæum*, he diligently obſerved a very ſafe and ſure courſe for his ſhip. For when he came from the main Sea within ſight of the City, he ſo turned his ſhip, that the Stern of it was toward *Italy*, and from the Foredeck the Tower of *Lilybæum* which was upon the ſhore, hindred the ſight of all other Towers toward *Africa*, and this is the only ſafe way of entring the Harbour with full ſail.

And now many more being encouraged by the boldneſs aud ſucceſs of *Hannibal*, began to correſpond with *Lilybæum*, till at length by a certain chance a veſſel of great ſwiftneſs was taken. For though in other places the Romans Dams were carried away by the winds and water, yet in one place, where the Sea was ſomewhat ſhallow, they ſtood firm; there the ſhip ſtriking and being detained was taken by the Romans, and being furniſhed with ſtout ſouldiers and good rowers proved the ruine of *Hannibal* alſo. For having entred the City in the night time and returning in the open day, he ſpied this ſhip every where waiting upon his motion, whereupon apprehending danger, at firſt he fled, but that being in vain, he made ſome oppoſition and was taken by the Romans.

The Romans being poſſeſſed of this ſhip, and obſerving the ſame courſe of entring the Haven, did afterward eaſily hinder any other veſſels from ſailing to *Lilybæum*. The Beſiegers began now very fiercely to intend their main buſineſs, and aſſaulting one of the Works near the Sea, drew the whole company of the beſieged to defend that ſide where the ſtorm was made, whereby opportunity was given to other forces who were reſerved for that purpoſe to make an aſſault upon the contrary part and take the outward wall; but this proved in vain, for the Carthaginian General ſeaſonably coming with a ſupply of choice men, beat the Romans out with great ſlaughter. Another greater fortune gave the Beſiegers hope of the univerſal Victory; there aroſe by chance very great guſts of wind, which as it were on ſet purpoſe blew hard upon the Romans works, ſhaking their very Rampires, and tumbling down the Towers built thereon. The townſmen were not ignorant of this, and thought now an opportunity given them by the gods of firing the Romans Engins, which they had ſo often in vain aſſaulted. The ſubſtance of the Engins was very apt to take fire, having been long felled and dried with the heat of the Sun. The Romans were not ſlack in defending themſelves, but not to much purpoſe, for the enemy was directed by the light of the fire which had ſeized on the Engines, and aſſiſted with the ſtrength of the wind to caſt their darts more ſurely and with greater force, the others received no leſs hinderance and danger thereby, then by the weapons of the enemies, for the wind being fierce and againſt the Romans blew ſmoke, and flame, and aſhes into their mouths and eyes, and brought the enemies darts with greater violence upon them, whereas themſelves by reaſon of darkneſſe were uncertain whither to direct their ſtrokes, and by reaſon of the vehemency of the guſts were not well able to ſtand. So that all the Roman Engines and works either for digging of mines or battering the walls were every one conſumed by this fire.

*Diodorus 14. 8*

*Diodorus*

Then was all hopes laid aſide of taking *Lilybæum* by force, and the ſiege had been preſently raiſed but that *Hiero*, ſending plenty of Corn and proviſion, perſwaded the Romans to ſtay; where not intending to make any more ſtorms upon the City, they did on every ſide fence their Camp, reſolving to commit the iſſue of things to Time and Fortune. The Beſieged likewiſe building up what part of their walls had been battered, were now the more encouraged to endure the ſiege hereafter. Theſe news were very ſadly entertained at *Rome*, nevertheleſs they determined by war to make up what loſſes by war they had ſuſtained: and their reſolution herein was ſo immoveable, that, 'tis ſaid, a Senator was ſlain in the very Court becauſe he made mention of Peace.

*Polybius*
*Diodorus.*
*Polybius*

Great preparations were now made, and a new leavy of ten thouſand Rowers ſent into *Sicily*, for they had ſuſtained a great loſſe of them. The Conſuls were *P. Cladius Ap. F. C. N. Pulcher*, and *L. Junius C. F. C. N. Pullus*. 'Tis falſely by ſome delivered, that this *Cladius* was the ſon of *Cæcus*. He, when he was come into *Sicily* and had taken poſſeſſion of the Army at *Lilybæum*, aſſembled the Souldiers together, and ſharply reprehended the former Conſuls, *That by their idleneſs and luxury they had triſled away time before* Lilybæum *more like men beſieged then beſiegers, without any fruit, and to the loſſe and diſhonour of the Roman Majeſty.* He was a very crabbed ſowr man, and being Violent by Nature, and Arrogant by reaſon of his Nobility, he was apt to let fall Speeches and perform Actions not well becoming a ſerious ſober man. He was very ſevere in puniſhing, letting paſſe no crime with pardon, but proſecuting even the

*Zonaras.* 504
*Plinie 15. 1.*
*Diodorus 24 apud Valeſ.*

very ſmalleſt with too great ſeverity; himſelf in matters of the greateſt moment miſerably failing, even to madneſs. For he followed the former Conſuls courſe which he had ſo ſharply condemned in damming up the Haven, and (what argued greater folly) he raſhly and inconſiderately aſſaulting *Drepanus* loſt a very gallant Fleet, no leſſe by his own indiſcretion then by the valour of *Adherball*. He perſwaded himſelf and his ſouldiers, that the enemy not having intelligence of what ſupplies were come from *Rome*, might be unawares ſurpriſed at *Drepanus*; not believing that the Romans had either courage or ſtrength ſufficient to provoke them at ſea. So that making choice of two hundred and twenty of the beſt ſhips with the ſtouteſt Rowers, and moſt valiant men out of the Legions (for they offered themſelves freely as to a ſhort buſineſſe and certain prey, *Drepanus* being not above fifteen miles from *Lilybæum*) he privately ſet ſail about the third Watch, and had in the night time a proſperous Voyage, not being ſeen by the enemy. But at day break the ſhips being diſcovered not far from *Drepanus*, gave an Alarm to *Adherball*, becauſe ſuch a ſight was there unuſual, inſomuch as no doubt was made but that it was the enemy who approached; the Carthaginians were forced either preſently to encounter and enter fight, or to ſuffer themſelves to be ſurrounded and beſieged by the enemy; this latter they reſolved againſt, becauſe as it would have involved them in much trouble and danger, ſo it would have been imputed as a crime upon their miſcarriage. *Adherball* therefore on a ſudden called together his Sea-men, and by a Cryer ſummoning the Mercenaries to an Aſſembly, in a ſhort but very pithy ſpeech admoniſhed them what hopes there were of victory if they would readily and chearfully take Arms, and what danger of a ſiege was imminent if they declined battel. When every man with one conſent had agreed to follow his counſel, *Adherball* commending their obedience, forthwith gives order that they ſhould take ſhip, and obſerving what courſe the Admiral ſteered (wherein himſelf ſailed) to follow it. Whereupon he before the reſt ſaileth toward the main ſea, going out of the Haven juſt under the Rocks hanging over it at the ſame time when the Roman ſhips entred on the other ſide. *P. Clodius* finding the enemy no whit diſmayed, or declining fight, as he had hoped, but ſtoutly prepared to defend themſelves, was much troubled, and retreated back with his ſhips to encounter the enemy in the open ſeas. But his were in no good order, but as chanceably they had outſailed one another, ſome were entred the Haven, others were making toward it, and ſome were juſt in the mouth of it: Whereupon it came to paſſe, that while they all endeavour'd to make a ſudden return, they daſhed one againſt another, and ſtruck their Oars together, till being got out of the Haven as well as they could, becauſe they wanted time, they ranged themſelves in Battel-array juſt under the ſhore.

*Polyb.* 1. 49

*Diodorus.* 24. 1 *Polybius Polib.* 1. 46 *Polyb.* 1. 49

The Conſul, who had ſailed in the Rere before, now changing his Station, came before all and placed himſelf in the left Wing; but the Carthaginians ſailing by the enemies left Wing with five Beaked ſhips, tacked about facing the Romans, and had the open ſea on his back, other ſhips as they came he commanded to place themſelves at a convenient diſtance, and when all were order'd according to his mind he ſetteth forward againſt the enemy. And now ſign of Battel being given from both the Admirals they fiercely encounter on all ſides, at firſt with equal hopes, but afterward to the Carthaginians better fortune. For though they had the leſſer number of ſhips, to wit, but ninety armed; in other reſpects they did exceed, for their ſhips were better and their water-men more skilful; they had likewiſe made choice of a moſt convenient place of fight, for as often as they were hard put to it they had free egreſſe into the open ſea, where they could eaſily by their ſwiftneſs avoid the enemy, or if he long purſued them, return and encompaſſe him. But the Romans being ſo near the ſhore had not the like convenience, they could neither ſail into the main nor with ſafety well retire, but as often as the enemy preſſed upon them, they either ſtuck in the ſands or endanger'd themſelves upon the ſhore. Being therefore unable to break through the enemy by force and charge him in the Rere, by reaſon of the ſlowneſs of their ſhips and unskilfulneſs of the Rowers, and being cooped up in a narrow place not able from the Stern to help their fellows who were in danger, they were beaten to the Carthaginians little loſs.

*Diodorus* 24. 1 *Polybius* 1. 51.

To theſe difficulties was added another cauſe of deſpair from their Religion, and they thought themſelves worſted by the anger of the gods, becauſe the Conſul undertook to fight contrary to the indication of the Birds, adding likewiſe a Jear to his neglect; for becauſe the Chickens did not eat, he commanded them to be flung into the ſea, *that they might drink though they would not feed.* This occurrence made the ſouldiers more ſlack and faint-hearted, fighting, as they thought, with the ill will of the gods. But the author of all this calamity, when he had loſt every thing elſe, he wanted neither wit nor boldneſs to preſerve himſelf; for when he ſaw his ſhips in ſuch numbers ſank and taken, he ſlipt away between the ſhore and the enemy with thirty ſhips which ſtood next him. And that he might ſafely arrive to his Army at *Lilybæum*, being to ſail by ſome of the Carthaginians Guards, he adorned his ſhips in token of Victory. The Carthaginians therefore imagining the Conſul had been victorious, and that his other ſhips would ſuddenly follow, ſuffered him ſafely to paſſe by, being themſelves much terrified and dejected. The enemy took all the ſhips the Conſul left behind, even ninety and three, together with the Souldiers and Rowers, except only thoſe who ſtriking upon the ſhore, caſt themſelves on land and fled. But in the fight a greatnumber were ſunk; for *Clodius* brought above two hundred from *Lilybæum*. This great victory coſt the Carthaginians very little, for they loſt not

*Eutropius* b. 2 *Cicero de natura deorum* 2. 3 *Florus* 2. 2 29 *Val Max.* 1 4, 5 *Sueton Tiber.* c. 2 *Polybius Frontinus Strat.* 2. 31

*Polib.* 1. 51 *Eutropius. Diodorus.* 24. 1

not a man, much leſs a ſhip, and very few are ſaid to be wounded; of the Romans eight thouſand men were ſlain, and twenty thouſand taken.

About the ſame time likewiſe the Carthaginians took ſome ſhips laden with Corne from *Panormus*, and carryed them to *Drepanus*, and carrying proviſions into *Lilybæum* from the Territories of *Drepanus*, did plentifully relieve the beſieged with accommodation of all ſorts. Neither here did this yeares fortune make a ſtop, but afflicted the Romans with another great calamity, whereby they loſt not onely the preſent poſſeſſion of the ſeas, but all hopes of regaining it. For the other Conſull *L. Junius* coming out of *Italy* with many ſhips of burthen, laden with Corn for the Army, and fifty beaked ſhips arrived at *Meſſana*, where he wet mith a great number of other Veſſells, from the Army, and other parts of *Sicily*. Joyning himſelf with theſe, he made up a Navy of an hundred and twenty long ſhips, almoſt eight hundred ſhips of burthen, and ſaileth to *Syracuſe*. Being arrived thither, he ſendeth the *Queſtors* before with part of the Navy to *Lilybæum*; himſelfe remaineth at *Syracuſe*, expecting thoſe others from *Meſſana*, who were not able to overtake him, and taking in grain which his Midland friends brought down to the ſea ſide. In the mean time *Adherball* having ſent the Roman ſhips and Captives to *Carthage* (Fortune and Glory putting him forward to action) delivered thirty ſhips more to *Carthalo*, who had brought ſeventy, with as many ſhips of *Burthen* from *Africa*, and ſent him to drive out the Roman ſhips from the Haven of *Lilybæum*, or to fire or ſink them. He at break of the day entring the Haven with great Terrour, ſome ſhips he boorded, and others he fired; in the mean time *Himilco* Governour of the City, made a ſally with the Mercenaries upon thoſe Romans who went to defend the ſhips, which cauſed great fear in the Camp. In fine *Carthalo* having deſtroyed not very many, carried away five, and directed his Courſe to *Heraclea*. Lying there in wait to obſtruct the Romans Voiage to *Lilybæum*, he heareth newes of a conſiderable Navy of all kinds of ſhips ſailing by.

*Oroſius. 4.10. Diodorus*

*Polyb. 1. 52*

*Diodorus*

*Polybius.*

*Diodorus Polyb. Diodor.*

He therefore joyning other Commanders with himſelfe, made up a Navy of an hundred and twenty good ſhips, confiding in which ſtrength, and animated by former ſucceſs, he preſently maketh out of the Haven to meet the Enemy. By the ſhore of *Gelus* the Navys came in ſight one of the other, but the Roman Quæſtors fearing a diſadvantageous encounter, diverted their courſe to *Phintiades*, a Town in League with the Romans, at *Phintiades* there is no Haven, onely the rocks running out into the ſea afford a pretty ſafe riding for ſhips. Here the Romans larding, prepared themſelves for the Enemies coming, having brought Engines of offence out of the Town, and placed them on the ſhore for ſafeguard of the ſhips. The Carthaginians at firſt reſolved to have beſieged the Enemy, thinking that out of fear they would have fled into the Town, and have left their ſhips for a Prey: But when the Romans ſtood ſtoutly to their own defence, and that they found the fight full of danger, likewiſe not much truſting in a place ſomewhat inconvenient for the ſhips they deſiſted; and having taken a few Veſſells laden with proviſion they ſailed to the River *Halycus*, not farre diſtant, there they healed their wounded men, obſerving the motion of the Enemy. Other Writers following, I believe, *Philinus*, affirme, *that the Romans ſuſteined greater loſs; that the Quæſtors being daunted at the firſt ſight of the Enemy, in their flight to Phintiades left behind their ſhips of burthen, and all other Veſſells but men of Warre, that in the fight fifty round Veſſells, and threeſcore long ſhips were ſunk, and thirteen ſo ſplitt and ſhatter'd that they were made unfit for ſervice.*

*Polybius. Diodor. Polybius. Diodor. Polyb.*

*Diodorus Polyb.*

*Diodor.*

Not long after the Carthaginians ſtill abiding at the River *Halycus*, *L. Junius* the Conſull, having done his buſineſs at *Syracuſe*, ſailing toward *Lilybæum*, about the Promontory of *Pachynus*, was diſcovered by ſome of *Carthalo* his ſhips, who thereupon with all ſpeed makes out to meet him (being ignorant of all paſſages at *Phintiades*) that he might fight him as farre from *Quæſtor's* Navy as might be, leſt they ſhould come in for his ſuccour. The Conſull ſeeing the Enemy make up toward him, not daring to fight, nor being able to avoid them, drives his ſhips into a rough and troubleſome creeke, neer *Camerina*, a greater fear overcoming this leſſer, leſt his whole Army ſhould fall into the Enemies Power. *Carthalo* not daring to venter into the ſame place, takes up his ſtation at a certain Promontory, from whence he might equally intend himſelfe againſt either Navy. A while after, when the Winds blew high, the Carthaginian ſhipmaſters (skilfull in ſuch Affaires) foreſeeing a tempeſt, perſwaded *Carthalo* to forſake that ſtation, and ſteere to *Pachynus*, and ſo the Carthaginians, but not without great paines, avoided the force of the Tempeſt; But both the Roman Navys utterly periſhed upon the Rocks, inſomuch that of the whole ſhipwrack there remained not a piece of board of any uſe, excepting onely two ſhips, wherein the Conſull with the ſmall remainder of his men arrived at *Lilybæum*. All the ſhips of proviſion were loſt, and above an hundred long ſhips; but part of the Armie was ſaved, leaping into the ſea and ſwimming to ſhore. The Senate, who had lately called home *P. Clodius* the Conſull, for his miſcarriage in *Sicily*, hearing alſo of *Junius* his misfortune, gave over all confidence in the ſeas, reſolving nevertheleſs with all their ſtrength and Counſell to proſecute the Warre by land. They thought good to continue the ſiege of *Lilybæum*; appointing certain men to take care of conveighing neceſſary accommodations in good ſeaſon, to the Army there. Though the Carthiganians were Maſters at ſea, yet they were incouraged, in that at land they were ſuperiour, and that almoſt all *Sicily* was either under their power, or in League with them: But they were not pleaſed with their Conſulls this year, neither did they think that things would ſucceed proſperouſly under the Conſulls com-

*Polyb. 1. 54.*

*Diodor. Polyb.*

*Oroſius 4. Polyb. Diodor. Eutropius 2. Livie Epit. 19 Polyb.*

*Cicer. de nat. deor.* 2.3. command, becauſe they had profaned the Rites of Religion; for 'tis ſaid that *L. Junius* did likewiſe ſet ſaile neglecting the Indication of the Birds. They fled therefore to a new and unuſuall Refuge, and created a Dictatour to go into *Sicily*; whereas, before this time, never any one ſo impowered, had led an Army out of *Italy*. The Inſolence of *P. Clodius* the Conſull was then very notable, and almoſt incredible; For being commanded by the Senate to nominate a Dictatour, he named *M. Claudius Glycias*, who was either his Scribe, or one of his Sergeants; as if he had not ſufficiently offended his Countrey, by what loſſes he had brought upon it, unleſs he had likewiſe abuſed the Majeſty of the Empire with ſuch a ſcoffe. Whereupon the whole Senate being juſtly incenſed againſt him, he was forced to reſign up his Office, and was referred to the cenſure of the People. What Authors *Cicero* had read, report he was condemned, but others have obſerved, *that when no Queſtion was to be made but that the People would condemne him, he eſcaped by a ſudden chance, a ſtorme then ariſing which diſſolved the Aſſembly; And it ſeeming hereby that the Gods interpoſed themſelves, they thought not fit to ordain any other meeting for the purpoſe.* But *Glycias* being forced to diſclaim his Office, in that the City was aſhamed to ſee a man of mean ranke to be in Supreme Dignity, was nevertheleſs admitted to all ſpectacles after this time in a Noble Man's Robes. In his room *A. Atilius A.F. C.N. Calatinus* was nominated Dictatour, who made *L. Cæcilius L.F. C.N. Metellus* Maſter of the Horſe, he who had Triumphed over the Carthaginians. Theſe two went indeed into *Sicily*, but performed no very memorable action there.

*Suetonius in Tiber*
*Faſti Capitoni*
*Polyb.* 1.52
*Cicer. de nat. deorum.*
*Val. Max.* 8.1.4
*Livie Epitom.*
*Faſti Capitolini.*
*Plin.* 7.43.
*Dion.* 36.

*Zonaras*
*Polyb.* 1.55.
*Diodor.* 24.1.
*Polyb.* In the mean time *L. Junius*, much troubled at his croſs fortune, and deſirous to wipe away the blot of his ſhipwracke, by ſome noble Exploit, watching all opportunities of Action, did at length find a way to take *Eryx*, by the Treachery of ſome within it, whom he had corrupted by gifts and promiſes. *Eryx* is the higheſt Hill in *Sicily* except *Ætna*, ſcituate between *Panormus* and *Drepana*, in that part of the Iland which lieth towards *Italy*, being more craggy toward *Drepana*. In the top thereof there is a Plaine whereon ſtandeth the Temple of *Venus*, therefore called *Erycina*, the Richeſt in all *Sicily*, juſt under the Top of the Mount, in the midſt of the Aſſent, is a City of the ſame name, very hard to be approached unto, the way to which with much difficulty is overcome by long and narrow paſſages from the foot of the Hill. *L. Junius* therefore well underſtanding the nature of the place, appointeth a ſtrong guard both upon the Ridge of the Mountain, and likewiſe in the narrow paſſages below, being very ſafe himſelfe, and having the advantage with much eaſe to repulſe the Enemy. He alſo encompaſſed *Ægithallus* with a wall, and ſtrengthened it with a Garriſon of eight hundred men. But *Carthalo* landing his men there in the night time, ſtormed that Caſtle, and took and killed part of the Garriſon ſouldiers, others eſcaped to *Eryx*.

*Diodor.*

*Zonaras.* The other paſſages concerning *L. Junius* are very doubtfully reported by Hiſtorians, *ſome affirm he was taken by Carthalo at Ægithallus*: Others, *that he killed himſelfe fearing to be condemned for the loſs of his Navy.* There is no leſs uncertainty whether the *Secular* ſports were celebrated this year, or fourteen yeares after, when *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *C. Licinius Varus* were Conſulls. I think it more probable they were celebrated this year, the fear conceived from their late overthrows, and hope of better fortune, inviting them thereunto, if their Religion were diligently performed. This was a very fruitfull year, inſomuch as twelve pound of oile was ſold for an *Aſſis*; In the mean time the Dictatourſhip being expired, or *Atilius* having reſigned it up, *C. Aurelius L.F. C.N. Cotta*, and *P. Servilius Q.F. Cn.N Geminus* were choſen Conſulls. The Conſulls were prettie ſucceſsfull in *Sicily*, yet obtained no great Victory, nor reaped any great profit for the Common-wealth They kept in the Carthaginians of *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum*, that they could make no large Excurſions, nor ſo often as they had done, and took their Garriſons which were remote from the ſea. *Carthalo* having made many attempts againſt them in vain, reſolved at length to waſte the *Italian* Coaſts, that thereby he might divert the Conſulls from *Sicily*; or if they refuſed to come back to ſuccour their Country, depopulate their grounds, and take Cities. But fortune did not herein favour his deſignes. For the *Prætour* being ſent out with the City-forces for defence of the Countrey, compelled him to return to *Sicily* without effecting his purpoſe.

*Cicero de nat. deorum.*
*Livius Valerius.*
*Antias*
*Auſtin. de Civ. Dei.*
*Plin.* 15.1. 505.
*Faſti Capit.*
*Zonaras.*

Where when the Mercenaries mutinied for want of Pay, he expoſed many of them in barren Ilands, and ſent others to receive their Puniſhment at *Carthage*. The reſt being incenſed hereby, began manifeſtly to revolt, ſo that a new warre was feared from them: But *Hamilcar* who ſucceeded *Carthalo*, coming in ſeaſon, ſet upon them in the night time, ſlew ſome, and drowned others; the remainder ſubmitting themſelves, and begging pardon he received into Grace. This is that *Hamilcar* ſirnamed *Barcas*, one of the beſt Commanders *Carthage* ever bred, and indeed without compare, but that *Hannibal* was his ſon. From this time the Warre began to be more difficult on the Romans ſide; For having ſuddenly appeaſed the Mercenarys, he ſailed to *Italy*, and in very great compaſs ſpoiled the *Locrian* and *Brutian* Territorys.

*Diodor* 23. *fin.* 24. *apud vdeſ.*
*Oroſius.* 4.1.
*Polyb.* 1.56.

But the Romans having found the faith of *Hiero* King of *Syracuſe* very conſtant toward them, and his merits great, freely remitted unto him that yearly Tribute they had in the former League compounded for, and made a perpetual band of friendſhip and ſociety with him. In the interim *Hamilcar* being returned out of *Italy* landed in the Panormitan Grounds, and pitched his Camp between *Panormus* and *Eryx*, in a place by nature very ſtrong, it is called *Epeirête*, an Hill craggy and full of clifts on all ſides, exalting it ſelf from the circumjacent Region to a very

*Appian.* apud *Fulv. Urſin.*
*Barclay's Argenis.*

very great height; The top of it is not ſharp, but continueth a plain of above an hundred furlongs, of a very profitable ſoil for the feeding of Cattel and bearing of Fruits, being open to the winds from ſea. and void of all harmful and venemous creatures. Therein is a certain Hillock which ſupplieth the place of a Tower, from whence may be viewed all the grounds round about. Near it is a very convenient Haven for thoſe that ſail from *Drepanus* and *Lilybæum* to *Italy*, with ſtore of freſh water. There are three wayes of aſcending this Mount, two from the Land, one from the Sea, but all very difficult and full of obſtructions. Here did *Hamilcar* plant his Camp with much confidence having no confederate City near him, and being in the midſt of his enemies: But truſting in the ſtrength of the place and his own courage and skill in Marſhal affairs, he found the Romans work enough, and very well ſetled the Carthaginian affairs, which now began to ſucceed well at home alſo. For another Carthaginian General, *Hanno*, who had a great emulation of *Hamilcar's* Virtue, to obtain honour, and employ the Army without the Commonwealths coſt out of the enemies Country, invaded a port of *Lybia* about *Hecatompylos*, and having obtained the City, ſent three thouſand Hoſtages to *Carthage*; yet they had ſome alay of this their proſperity; For *L. Cæcilius L. F. C. N. Metellus* being the ſecond time Conſul, and *Num. Fabius M. F. M. N. Buteo* being his Colleague, a Navy was built at the charge of private men, which waſted the Coaſt of *Africa*. For though the Senate had again reſolved againſt ſending out of a Navy, yet at the Citizens requeſt they gave leave to have one prepared, upon this condition, That they ſhould ſafely reſtore thoſe ſhips which were built at the publick Charge, reſerving the prey to themſelves; ſo that a Fleet was ſet out very conſiderable, which brought much terror and damage to the Coaſts of *Africa* and aſſaulting Kings: *Hippo*, none of the meaneſt Cities, they fired the ſhips of *Hippo* and many buildings. In their return finding the mouth of the Haven chained up, by art and counſel they deviſed a way to explicate themſelves out of preſent danger, for ſailing with all the force they could, when they came near the Chain, all the men retired to the Stern, and ſo the Fore-Deck being lightened eaſily wafted over the Chain; then ſuddenly running to the Fore-Decks and depreſſing them, the Stern likewiſe ſlid over, and they had free liberty of ſailing, having delivered themſelves from imminent danger.

*Diodorus* 24

*Polyb.* 1. 73 *Diodorus.*

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*Zonaras*

After this eſcape, they fought with the Carthaginian Navy, and prevailed againſt them. The Roman Conſuls divided their forces, *L. Metellus* beſieged *Lilybæum*, and *Num. Fabius*, *Drepanum*. Not far from *Drepanum*, toward the South, lyeth an Iland, or rather a Rock, which the Grecians call *Pelias*, we *Columbaria*, which the Conſul ſtormed in the night time, and ſlew the Carthaginian Garriſon there. *Hamilcar*, who came to defend *Drepanum*, made no delay, but at break of day ſet forth to recover the place again, which the Conſul obſerving, being not able to relieve his own men, with his whole ſtrength aſſaulteth *Drepanum*, whereby drawing *Hamilcar* from his deſign, he kept the Iland in poſſeſſion, and afterward made much advantage of it in beſieging *Drepanum*, for he dammed up the ſea, and joyned it to the Continent; and becauſe the Walls of the City were weakeſt on that ſide, he there began his aſſaults. But the encounters between *Hamilcar*, and theſe, and the Conſuls of the following years, *Polybius* thinks impoſſible to be deſcribed becauſe they were ſo many, and judgeth it unfit, leſt it might give an occaſion of the like. For *Hamilcar*, having his Camp at *Eryx* for almoſt three years together, had almoſt daily encounters with the Romans, eſpecially when their Camp being before *Panormus* was ſcarce five furlongs diſtant from the enemy. For neither did they refrain from ſkirmiſhing, having their Armies ſo near; Neither did they ever come to the trial of a main battel having many hinderances, eſpecially becauſe their forces being equal and their Camps alike ſtrong, they were likewiſe on each ſide protected by the vicinity of their Camp, to which the party worſted might quickly retire. Hence it came to paſs that as in fight ſome were alwayes ſlain, ſo when the battel declined they had a ſafe refuge to their Works. But while *Drepanum* was beſieged, the Carthaginians Fleet infeſted not only the *Sicilian* but the *Italian* ſhores; and *Hamilcar* plundering as far as he could, waſted the *Italian* territories even to *Cuma*. Many of the Romans Citizens being fallen into the Carthaginians power by theſe incurſions, and the *Sicilian* fights, the Roman Commanders agreed with the Carthaginians for an exchange of Priſoners, which party received any overplus back, was to give two pound and an half of ſilver for an head, and the Carthaginians receiving more then the Romans paid down the mony accordingly.

*Culverius Siciliæ antiquæ* 2. 1 *Zonaras*

*Polyb.* 1. 57

*Zonaras*

*Polyb.* 1. 56 *Liv.* 22. 23. 6 *Zonaras*

I find two Colonies planted in *Italy* this year, one at *Æſulum* the other at *Alſium*. There was likewiſe a Luſtration made at *Rome* (being the eight and thirtieth) by *A. Atilius A. F. C. N. Calatinus*, and *A. Manlius T. F. T. N. Atticus* being Cenſors; and there were rated two hundred fifty one thouſand, two hundred twenty two, whereas in the former Luſtration there were found little leſs then three hundred thouſand; ſo great a number of Citizens were conſumed by War and Shipwracks. Nevertheleſs the Sicilian army was duly recruited, the ſupply being led by the Conſuls *M. Octavius C. F. M. N. Craſſus* (the ſecond time Conſul) and *M. Fabius C. F. M. N. Licinus*. Theſe had a very buſie and difficult warfare, but not being able to diſpoſſeſſe *Hamilcar* of his ſtrong holds, they performed nothing memorable. Which happened likewiſe to the ſucceeding Conſuls for the ſame reaſon, as likewiſe becauſe new Generals (being on the ſudden every year elected againſt an old experienced Commander) ſpent more time in making their preparations, chuſing their ground, and inſinuating themſelves with the ſouldiery,

*Velleius* 1. 14 *Faſti Capitol.*

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*Zonaras.*

diery, then was left for the management of Affairs. It was therefore this year concluded (when the time of assembling the people drew nigh) rather to chuse a Dictator then to recal either of the Consuls out of *Sicily*. *Ti. Coruncianus Ti.F. Ti.Nepos* was chosen to summon the Assembly; he nominated for Master of the Horse *M. Fulvius Q.F. M.N. Flaccus*. In the mean time the two Tribunes of the people, *C. Fundanius* and *Ti. Sempronius* appointed a day for *Claudia* the daughter of *Appius Cæcus* to plead her cause before the people, being accused, that returning from a Play, and her Chariot having no easie passage through the crowd of people, she let fall a wicked speech, *Oh! that my brother were alive again and had Command of the Fleet.*

*Fasti. Capitol.*
*Sueton Tiber. 2*
*Val. Max. 8. 1*
*Livie* Epit.

There was hardly any Noble Family in *Rome* but had had some relation to the Claudians, either by Cognation or Affinity, so that she wanted not Patrons to defend her, declaring, *The Nobility of her house, the merits of* Appius *her father, the frailty of her sex; that it was a thing unheard of for a woman to be called into Judgment: Neither was now the cause so great why a new custome should be begun against* Claudia, *which had not by any plot or practice offended the Majesty of the people, but only in a few words.* On the contrary, the Tribunes alledged, 'What an 'impious and execrable speech she hath vented, ye are not ignorant, O Romans, neither is 'there any need of Witness, she her self confessing it; neither indeed can she deny it if she 'would, because she spoke openly and in publick, not reverencing either the Gods or the multitude 'of Citizens round about her. When therefore the crime is manifest, why should we doubt of 'the punishment? Have not the Laws made sufficient Provision? Or while we read the Letter 'of the Law, shall we suffer our minds to be deluded in the Sense of it. 'Tis objected, That it 'is unusual thus to accuse a woman; if it be so, why it is unusual likewise for a woman thus to 'offend: Neither hitherto did our Commonwealth ever afford so wicked and impudent a woman. And we wish that there were now no need of making a new Precedent, being desirous that '(offences being avoided) the Law might lie hidden and quiet, rather then be made use of a'gainst the guilty with a profitable severity. But a City that intends its own establishment, 'must of necessity observe the Laws, which they of all men ought least to pervert who would 'be esteemed the Princes and Pillars of the Commonwealth; who being skilful in the Laws cannot be ignorant, that though in most of them there be no mention expressly made of women, yet 'in these words, *If any One*, and the like, both sexes are equally comprehended. What wonder 'is it then if we believe the Law against Treason to concern both sexes, seeing this very *Clau'dias* is an example that both sexes may offend against it? But they Extenuate the businesse, 'and would have the crime seem small, because it was only in Words. What? this yet was 'wanting; she did not joyn her endeavours, counsels and actions with the Carthaginians; 'she did not raise Troops, arme Slaves, seize on the Capitol, nor actually with her hands effect 'that wickedness against the City which in words she expressed; Notwithstanding this, the Laws 'provide not only for the punishment of Deeds but of ill Counsels and designes also; if indeed a 'mad man or an infant do hurt to any, the Law layeth no hold on their actions: yet the mind and 'intentions of others in many causes is made as manifest by Words as by Deeds. She who made 'so detestable a wish, what would she have done if it had lain in her power to have brought it 'to pass? Unless we despise the Judgment of other men (which we have no reason to do) 'we shall find that in other places wicked wishes are accounted Crimes. At *Athens*, which for 'reputation of Wisdom exceedeth all Cities of *Greece*, there was a man whose office was to 'provide necessary accommodations for Funerals, condemned, because he wished he might make 'great gains, which could not be unless a great number of Citizens died: Yet those words 'might admit of a more favourable Interpretation. But *Claudia* plainly, and without any 'ambiguity wished Destruction to the Citizens, Overthrow to the whole Army, and Calamity 'to the whole Commonwealth. *Would my Brother were alive again!* A naughty wish it is, 'if she had made it only for her brothers sake; for why should life be restored to him by whose 'means so many Citizens lost their lives? who no lesse affronted the Commonwealth by his 'Arrogancy, then he did afflict it by his Rashness? who being by the votes of all men precon'demned, avoided not the infamy of his judgment, but by accident escaped the punishment? 'Would you, if you were wise, have this man to live again, whose memory if you could hide 'in the same Grave with his ashes, it were your duty to do it? For as other Matrons do not 'vainly glory of the Egregious virtues and merits of their Brethren, so would he be a shame to 'you if any shame or modesty be left in you. But let a Noble Lady be pardoned, though per'haps foolishly she hath desired her brothers company, if she did it out of any pious and chari'table consideration. Yea, clearly absolve her, if the cause of her wish be not more abominable 'then the wish it self foolish and insolent. For why did you wish your brother alive again? 'that you might be comforted with the countenance of a near Kinsman, that his labours might 'redound to your profit, his Authority be a protection to you, and his Honour a grace? None 'of all these. And what then? Even that he might command the Navy again: This, this, wicked 'wretch, was the reason why you desired, as much as in you lay, to raise the Dead, to reduce 'Nature to its former habit, and unlock the Cloisters of the Grave that you might find a man 'by whom we might be destroyed! This is the Woman, Romans, whose impunity is craved by 'those who while they approve themselves good Kinsmen, regard not though they be esteemed 'ill Citizens. And truly no man is against it, that (according to their desire) ye should have

*Suetonius*

*L. 29. & seq. ff. de Legibus*

*L. 1. ff. de V.S.*

*Seneca de benific. 6. 38*

'mercy

'mercy on her, had ſhe had any mercy toward you. But ſeeing ſhe hath wiſhed the death of 'ſome, the grief of others, that they ſhould be childleſs and fatherleſs, nay, the general 'calamity of all: who will be ſo fooliſhly tender as to judge her hoſtile, cruel, inhumane ſoul 'worthy of any mercy? What great lamentations and complaints were made when the Cen-'ſors upon the laſt Luſtration gave in the number of the Citizens? Though many things theſe 'years laſt paſt ſucceeded proſperouſly, yet good men thought the Commonwealth in no very 'ſafe or good condition by reaſon the number of the Citizens was ſo much decreaſed. But this 'woman nothing moved at the loſs of thoſe who periſhed, therefore only grieveth becauſe any 'are remaining. She complaineth of the two great crowd in the City, ſhe wiſheth him alive 'by whoſe fault chiefly the number of Citizens is ſo ſmall. But it may be ſaid, The woman 'her ſelf being indeed unworthy your mercy, will ye not yet pardon her crime for her Anceſtor's, 'for her Father's ſake? Shall we then eſtabliſh ſuch a Law in our City, That if any man by 'any means do good to the Commonwealth his poſterity ſhall have the liberty to offend it 'without puniſhment? Truly our Fathers were not of this Opinion, when they precipitated '*M. Manlius* from the Rock, whereas the Capitol, the Romans laſt hope and refuge was, not 'by his Father or Grand-father or any of his Progenitors, but by himſelf defended from the '*Gaules*. For ſaving or aſſiſting the Commonwealth there ought no other reward to be re-'quired but the conſcience of the fact: But *Appius*, if ever he did good to the Commonwealth 'received abundant reward, being much inriched and full of honour, in which ſtate he continu-'ed flouriſhing even to his laſt old age. Though perhaps it were ſafer not to make any menti-'on of *Appius* and the former *Claudii*, then to put you in mind of thoſe injuries, very high 'and bold ones, which that Family (from its firſt Original never well affected to the people) 'hath committed againſt you. For what *Appius* is it they would have you remember, but him 'who alwayes with an enemies mind, croſſing your deſignes, choſe rather to periſh with his 'Army then be ſaved by his Colleague, being a Plebeian? who againſt the will of all the De-'grees and Tribes perſiſted in his Cenſorſhip beyond his due time? And now let them reckon 'up the merits of the *Claudian* Family, even from the time of the *Decemviri*, or from the firſt 'Original thereof, they ſhall find matter whereby to prove this woman like her Anceſtors in 'pride and contumacy, rather then to make it appear ſhe ought to be pardoned for their ſakes. 'What cauſe therefore have theſe, or can any other man alledge why this woman ought to go 'unpuniſhed, unleſs it be feared the City ſhould looſe a woman of ſo good example? of which 'opinion if ye alſo are, O Romans, keep her, keep *Claudia* amongſt you; that when our Ma-'trons kneel at the feet of the gods, ſupplicating them for the Commonwealth in time of trouble, 'ſhe may hinder their devout Prayers by her Curſes; that while they wiſh for Salvation for our 'Armies, ſhe may wiſh Deſtruction; while they deſire to ſee the ſouldiers return ſafe and ſound, 'ſhe may deſire to hear they are vanquiſhed, captivated and ſlain; that while they ſolicite the 'gods that few or none may fall in battel, ſhe may repine and accuſe Providence if any return 'home. Keep the woman, that as other Matrons provoke and encourage their children and 'kinſmen, in emulation of Illuſtrious men, to Virtue, Courage and Love of their Country, 'ſhe may inſtruct hers by the example of *P. Clodius* to fight raſhly, to run baſely, wickedly to 'deſtroy the Citizens, and arrogantly to have the Commonwealth it ſelf in contempt. Let her 'propound theſe things unto young Nobles to be reſolved upon from their Infancy, to be practiſ-'ed in their Youth; ſo let thoſe men be educated to whom you muſt hereafter commit the charge 'of your *Navies* and *Armies*.

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509
*Faſti Capitol.*

diery, then was left for the management of Affairs. It was therefore this year concluded (when the time of assembling the people drew nigh) rather to chuse a Dictator then to recal either of the Consuls out of *Sicily*. *Ti. Coruncianus Ti.F. Ti.Nepos* was chosen to summon the
*Fasti.Capitol.* Assembly; he nominated for Master of the Horse *M. Fulvius Q.F. M.N. Flaccus*. In the
*Sueton Tiber.2* mean time the two Tribunes of the people, *C. Fundanius* and *Ti. Sempronius* appointed a day
*Val.Max.8.1* for *Claudia* the daughter of *Appius Cæcus* to plead her cause before the people, being accused,
that returning from a Play, and her Chariot having no easie passage through the crowd of peo-
*Livie* Epit. ple, she let fall a wicked speech, *Oh! that my brother were alive again and had Command of the Fleet.*

There was hardly any Noble Family in *Rome* but had had some relation to the Claudians, either by Cognation or Affinity, so that she wanted not Patrons to defend her, declaring, *The Nobility of her house, the merits of* Appius *her father, the frailty of her sex; that it was a thing*
*Suetonius* *unheard of for a woman to be called into Judgment: Neither was now the cause so great why a new custome should be begun against* Claudia, *which had not by any plot or practice offended the Majesty of the people, but only in a few words.* On the contrary, the Tribunes alledged, 'What an 'impious and execrable speech she hath vented, ye are not ignorant, O Romans, neither is 'there any need of Witness, she her self confessing it; neither indeed can she deny it if she 'would, because she spoke openly and in publick, not reverencing either the Gods or the multitude 'of Citizens round about her. When therefore the crime is manifest, why should we doubt of
*L.29.& seq.ff.* 'the punishment? Have not the Laws made sufficient Provision? Or while we read the Letter
*de Legibus* 'of the Law, shall we suffer our minds to be deluded in the Sense of it. 'Tis objected, That it 'is unusual thus to accuse a woman; if it be so, why it is unusual likewise for a woman thus to 'offend: Neither hitherto did our Commonwealth ever afford so wicked and impudent a wo-'man. And we wish that there were now no need of making a new Precedent, being desirous that '(offences being avoided) the Law might lie hidden and quiet, rather then be made use of a-'gainst the guilty with a profitable severity. But a City that intends its own establishment, 'must of necessity observe the Laws, which they of all men ought least to pervert who would 'be esteemed the Princes and Pillars of the Commonwealth; who being skilful in the Laws can-'not be ignorant, that though in most of them there be no mention expresly made of women, yet
*L.1.ff.de V.S:* 'in these words, *If any One*, and the like, both sexes are equally comprehended. What wonder 'is it then if we believe the Law against Treason to concern both sexes, seeing this very *Clau-'dias* is an example that both sexes may offend against it? But they Extenuate the businesse, 'and would have the crime seem small, because it was only in Words. What? this yet was 'wanting; she did not joyn her endeavours, counsels and actions with the Carthaginians; 'she did not raise Troops, arme Slaves, seize on the Capitol, nor actually with her hands effect 'that wickedness against the City which in words she expressed; Notwithstanding this, the Laws 'provide not only for the punishment of Deeds but of ill Counsels and designes also; if indeed a 'mad man or an infant do hurt to any, the Law layeth no hold on their actions: yet the mind and 'intentions of others in many causes is made as manifest by Words as by Deeds. She who made
*Seneca de be-* 'so detestable a wish, what would she have done if it had lain in her power to have brought it
*nific.6.38* 'to pass? Unless we despise the Judgment of other men (which we have no reason to do) 'we shall find that in other places wicked wishes are accounted Crimes. At *Athens*, which for 'reputation of Wisdom exceedeth all Cities of *Greece*, there was a man whose office was to 'provide necessary accommodations for Funerals, condemned, because he wished he might make 'great gains, which could not be unless a great number of Citizens died: Yet those words 'might admit of a more favourable Interpretation. But *Claudia* plainly, and without any 'ambiguity wished Destruction to the Citizens, Overthrow to the whole Army, and Calamity 'to the whole Commonwealth. *Would my Brother were alive again!* A naughty wish it is, 'if she had made it only for her brothers sake; for why should life be restored to him by whose 'means so many Citizens lost their lives? who no lesse affronted the Commonwealth by his 'Arrogancy, then he did afflict it by his Rashness? who being by the votes of all men precon-'demned, avoided not the infamy of his judgment, but by accident escaped the punishment? 'Would you, if you were wise, have this man to live again, whose memory if you could hide 'in the same Grave with his ashes, it were your duty to do it? For as other Matrons do not 'vainly glory of the Egregious virtues and merits of their Brethren, so would he be a shame to 'you if any shame or modesty be left in you. But let a Noble Lady be pardoned, though per-'haps foolishly she hath desired her brothers company, if she did it out of any pious and chari-'table consideration. Yea, clearly absolve her, if the cause of her wish be not more abominable 'then the wish it self foolish and insolent. For why did you wish your brother alive again? 'that you might be comforted with the countenance of a near Kinsman, that his labours might 'redound to your profit, his Authority be a protection to you, and his Honour a grace? None 'of all these. And what then? Even that he might command the Navy again: This, this, wicked 'wretch, was the reason why you desired, as much as in you lay, to raise the Dead, to reduce 'Nature to its former habit, and unlock the Cloisters of the Grave that you might find a man 'by whom we might be destroyed! This is the Woman, Romans, whose impunity is craved by 'those who while they approve themselves good Kinsmen, regard not though they be esteemed 'ill Citizens. And truly no man is against it, that (according to their desire) ye should have

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narrower bounds. The Romans (as hath been already declared) had planted a Garrison above the City *Eryx* upon the Top of the Mountaine, another below at the foot of the Hill. The natural strength and scituation of the place, with the helpe of these guards, seemed sufficient to secure that City from fear of any surprise. But the boldness and Valour of *Hamilcar*, makeing any thing possible, which he lifted to undertake, in a very short time reduced it into his Power. For he in the night time, setting forward with his forces, and without noise ascending thirty furlongs up the Hill, himself marching in the head of the party, surprised the Romans unawares, and haveing slaine greatest part of those he found in the Towne, he sent the rest to *Drepanum*. From this time the face of things was very strange, and the warfare very hard and severe, for *Hamilcar* being now in the midst of two of the Enemies Garrisons, was himself besieged by them below while he besieged those above; both the Romans and the Carthaginians undergoing incredible paynes and danger, did for almost two years next insueing performe the office of most Valiant Souldiers; For the Camps being so neare there passed not a day, nay scarce an houre without alarmes and skirmishes, neither party all this while fainted or yielded, neither did Victory or overthrow part them; but still they continued equall and unvanquished, designeing in the mean time to prosecute the Warre at Sea also.

*Polyb.* 1.58.

*Diodorus* 4. 2

*Vellei.* 1.14. 8. *Livie Epit.* 19. This year a Colonie was planted at *Brundusium*, in the *Salentine* Territories, twenty yeares after that Countrey was subdued by the Romans. About this time *T. Coruncianus*, who was the first High Priest of the Plebeians, died in a great old age, and in his place succeeded *L. Cacilius Metellus*. The next Consulls were *C. Fundanius C.F. Q. N. Fundulus*, and *C. Sulpicius C.F. Ser. N. Gallus*. By them the war with *Hamilcar* was mannaged in the same manner, and with the same fortune as before, onely the Mercenary Gaules, and others who kept Garrison in *Eryx*, being discontented for want of Pay, and other injuries, endeavour'd to betray the City to the Romans, but not being able to effect it, they revolted to the Consulls, and these were the first Forreigners the Romans ever entertained into society of Armes. Notwithstanding this access of strength, they were not able by their Land-forces to finish the War, chiefly by reason of *Hamilcars* virtue, who could neither be circumvented by craft, nor vanquished by Force.

Ὀλυμπ. ἀναγρ. 510. *Zonaras* *Polybius* 2.7. *Polyb.* 1.77. *Zonaras.*

*Polyb.* 1.59.

Once more therefore they consulted about setting forth another Navy to Sea; For by no other meanes could the Carthaginians be kept from *Sicily*, unless they were mastered by Sea. And they were much encouraged in their resolution, by reason of their former success, when the Navy was set forth at the cost of private men: But money was wanting, the Treasury being long ago exhausted with the charge of a continuall War. Then did the Noble Roman Spirit seasonably relieve the wants of the Common-wealth, so generous were the Senatours, that in a time of publick danger they scorned to spare their private purses, out of which on the sudden more mony was raised then the building of a Navy required. Those who were richest did every man undertake to build a *Quinquereme*, setting it forth compleatly manned and arm'd; others according to their estates joyned two or three together in the same design, upon this condition, that when the Common-wealth was restored to a better Condition, every man's money should be paid back again. By this meanes two hundred ships of five Oares on a side were made ready, according to the pattern of that Gally they had taken from *Hannibal Rhodius*. Great was now the expectation of all men, for being put to their last refuge, they resolved with this Navy of Necessity to hazard the Fortune of the whole War. While these thing were in doing, *C. Lutatius C.F. C. N. Catulus*, and *A. Posthumius A.F. L. N. Albinus* entered the Consulship. *A. Posthumius* was then Priest of *Mars*, and therefore when he desired to cast lots for his Province, *L. Metellus* the High Priest would not suffer him, pronouncing it unlawfull for a Priest to depart from the place of his Office, and leave the Ceremonies unperformed, which was likewise allowed of, and agreed upon by succeeding Generations. The Senate likewise at the same time shewed a like Example of defending their Countrey's Religion, for they forbad *C. Lutatius* the Consull to ask counsell at *Preneste*, and mannage the Affaires of the Common-wealth by direction of outlandish Auguries. Then intending their minds upon the War (because both the Consulls could not be spared with safety of their Religion, and one seemed not sufficient to bear the whole burthen) they ordained one of the *Prætours* (this being the first year wherein they began to create two) to accompany *C. Lutatius*, and it fell to the Lot of *Q. Valerius Falto*. These gathering together all the Publick and private ships to the number of three hundred, with Ferry-boats, and other Vessells to the number of seven hundred; assoon as Winter was over, sailed to *Sicily*, whither being come, they find both the *Lilybætan* and *Drepanitan* Havens open for them; For the Enemy not expecting any Navy from *Italy*, were returned to *Africa* with all their ships. The Consull animated with this prosperous beginning, being by nature full of spirit, hating Idleness, and desirous of Action, besieged *Drepanum*, raising Workes against it; in the mean time not omitting to train up his Sea-souldiers, daily exercising them (as foreseeing sudden use of them in fight) insomuch as they who were utterly ignorant of Maritime Affaires and chances, seemed sufficiently prepared for any Encounter.

511. *Livie* Epitom. 19. *Tacit* 3.71.5. *Val. Maximus* 1.1.12. *Cicero Phil.* 11 8. *Tacitus* *Val.Max.* 1.3.1 *Livie* Epitom *Eutropius* b.2 *Diodorus* 14.3. *Polybius* 1.59.

The City of *Drepanum* being fiercely assaulted both by Sea and land, and now reduced even to the utmost danger, part of their Wall being battered to the ground; It chanced that the Consulls

*Zonaras.*

Conſull Valiantly fighting in the head of his men, received a deep wound in his thigh; whereupon his Souldiers troubled at his fall, and running in to him, miſſed the opportunity of taking the place, when it was even almoſt in their hands: Before the Conſull had recovered the uſe of his foot, newes was brought of a great Carthaginian Navy approaching, to the number of four hundred ſhips, ſtored with proviſion for their Army, with a very great ſtrength of ſouldiers, and abundance of Armes and Money. *Hanno*, a Carthaginian Noble Man, was Commander in Chiefe; his chiefe care was to get ſafe to *Eryx*, eaſe his ſhips of their burden, and ſo manning them with ſtout Souldiers from *Hamilcar*, to return and fight the Roman Navy. His deſign was well contrived, but prevented by the wiſdom and circumſpection of *C. Lutatius* the Conſull, who knew it would be of great moment to the Victory, to encounter the Carthaginians while their ſhips were heavy laden, and encombred with the burthen of their own proviſions. Therefore upon the Ides of March, filling his ſhips with choice ſouldiers, he ſaileth to the Ilands *Ægates*, over againſt *Lilybæum*, where he diſcovereth *Hanno* coming from *Hieroneſus*; then encouraging his Sea-men and ſouldiers he appointeth next day for the fight: But at break of day he began to doubt, becauſe the wind was ariſen favourable to the Carthaginians, and contrary to himſelfe. Weighing then the Reaſons on both ſides, he thought it ſafer to fight with the winds, and *Hanno* while he was alone, and had his ſhips laden, then ſuffer him to paſs by to unlade his ſhips, and bring back into battell the flower of their foot Army, and alſo *Hamilcar* himſelfe, who at that time was very formidable. Obſerving therefore the Enemies ſhips as they paſſed by with full ſaile, he ſetteth forth out of the Haven, and to encourage his men, cauſeth himſelfe to be carried into the Admirall-Gally, having not recovered the uſe of his limbe: ſigne of battell being given on both ſides, *Q. Valerius* performed the Office of Generall, by reaſon of *C. Lutatius* his infirmity, not ſuffering to ſupply the place. The fight laſted not long before it plainly appeared on which ſide the Victory inclined; for the Roman ſhips being light and nimble, did on every ſide, at their pleaſures aſſault the Carthaginians, being heavy, and almoſt immoveable; they were likewiſe in every thing elſe ſuperiours, being taught by experience to avoid and amend whatſoever heretofore they had found inconvenient, and harmefull; Their ſhips were built after the beſt faſhion, they had carefully laid aſide all lumber which was of no uſe in fight, their Rowers were luſty, and well trained up, and they had a very conſiderable ſtrength of Legionaries; All theſe were very great advantages toward the Victory. On the other ſide, the Carthaginian ſhips were heavy with burden, their Rowers newly leavied, and their men negligent, as being in ſecurity; for they had hoped the Romans would no more have tried their fortune at Sea. Therefore, as it muſt needs be, where the difference is ſo great, the Victory was not long in obtaining, the Carthaginians loſt an hundred and twenty ſhips, ſeventy whereof were taken, with all the men, to the number of ten thouſand, the reſt upon an happie change of winde in the time of fight, eſcaped to *Hieroneſus*. This was that famous battell at the Ilands *Ægates*, as it is chiefly deſcribed by *Polybius*.

*Oroſius* 4.10
*Eutropius*
*Florus.* 2.34.
*Polyb.* 1.60
*Livie* 22.14,15
*Eutropius*
*Diodorus*
*Liv.*
*Polybius.*
*Eutropius*
*Val. Max.* 1.8.2
*Florus*
*Polyb.* 1.61.
*Florus*
*Polyb.*
*Diodorus* 24

For other writers affirm, that ſeventy three ſhips were taken, an hundred and twenty five ſunke, two and thirty thouſand men taken priſoners, and thirteen thouſand ſlain, the Prizes taken were very great, not only in Proviſions and Armes, but in gold and ſilver alſo. Of the Roman Navy twelve ſhips were loſt. Tis reported that from the beginning of the fight a fiery meteor was ſeen in the aire, threatning as it were the Carthaginian Navy with it's point directed againſt it, preſignifying the event which preſently enſued. *Hanno*, with the reſt of the ſhips which eſcaped out of the Fight, except thoſe which fled to *Lilybæum*, returning to *Carthage*, was put to death for this his Misfortune. *C. Lutatius* the Conſul went to the Army before *Lilybæum*, where, while his wound was in cureing, he ſpent his time in takeing an account of the ſhips, and Captives, and ordering how they ſhould be diſmiſſed. Thence he went to *Eryx*, where he fought *Hamilcar* with good ſucceſſe, having ſlain two thouſand Carthaginians. The Carthaginians at home underſtanding what a great Overthrow they had received, though their ſpirits were great, yet found that they wanted ſtrength and meanes, to renew and carry on the War. For they were not able, ſo long as the Romans were Maſters at ſea, to ſupply their Army at *Eryx* with neceſſary accommodations; and, if that Army miſcarried, they knew not where to raiſe any more ſouldiers, or find a Generall they durſt confide in. Being by this Neceſſity driven into deſpair, they ſent to *Hamilcar*, empowering him with full Commiſſion to do what he himſelf ſhould think fit or convenient for the Republick: He having hitherto performed the Office of an excellent Generall, did now no leſs behave himſelfe as a good Citizen. For having duely and ſeriouſly conſidered all arguments on both ſides, when he found there was no other means but Peace, whereby to preſerve the Common-wealth; he ſent Embaſſadours to the Conſull to treat with him thereabout. The mention of Peace was not unwellcome to the Conſull, for being now ſhortly to lay down his Office, he could not by any meanes hope for the obtaining of a greater Glory, then that, of having finiſhed the War; and to tranſmit that to his ſucceſſour which was in his own power to accompliſh, and moſt properly belonged to him, he thonght both unſeaſonable and unadviſed: He was the more forward, as being very well conſcious of the wants of the Common-wealth, and that he thought it fit his Countrey, after ſo many yeares continuall labour, ſhould enjoy ſome reſt. Wherefore after a long diſpute of Articles on both ſides, it was agreed, *that the Carthaginians ſhould totally depart Sicily; that they ſhould not wage war againſt* Hiero, *and the Syracuſans, or any of their*

*Eutropius*
*Oroſius.* 4.10.
*Eutrop.*
*Zonaras*
*Oroſius*
*Zonaras.*
*Oroſius*
*Polyb.*
*Cornel. nepos*
*Hamilcar.* 1.3.
*Polyb.*
*Cornel. Nepos.*
*Zonaras.*
*Polyb.*

*Appianus* apud *Fulvium Urſinum* *Polyb.* 8, 27 & 29

*Aſſociates*; *that they ſhould forthwith without ranſome reſtore all Captives, and deliver up all Runagadoes*; *that they ſhould in the ſpace of twenty years, by equal portions, pay two thouſand two hundred Euboican Talents of pure ſilver*: *That the confederates of each party might live ſecure and unmoleſted*; *That neither party ſhould exerciſe any command, or make any publick building, or raiſe any ſouldiers within the others juriſdiction, nor admit the others aſſociates into friendſhip and confederacy. 'Twas added, that theſe Articles were firmly concluded, if the people of* Rome *would agree thereunto.*

But it could by no means be obtained (though the Conſul earneſtly inſiſted upon it) that the ſouldiers within *Eryx* ſhould reſign up their Armes; *Hamilcar* proteſting, *That he would rather ſacrifice himſelf and his country to deſtruction, then yield to ſuch a diſgrace*: Nevertheleſſe he condeſcended, *That every man at his departure thence ſhould pay eighteen pence.*

*Livie* 21.41.6 *Zonaras* *Polyb.* 1. 63 *Zonaras.* *Polybius* *Auct. de viris Illuſ.* c. 12

Hereupon meſſengers were ſent both by the Conſul and the Carthaginians to inform the Senate and People of the Conditions agreed upon. The people did not allow of the peace, but ſent ten Delegates to take an exact account of all circumſtances, who being returned, they heightened the Conditions, *That the Carthaginians ſhould preſently lay down a thouſand Talents, and within ten years after pay two thouſand two hundred, that they ſhould clearly quit not only* Sicily, *but all other Ilands between that and* Italy, *that they ſhould not ſail in a long ſhip either into* Italy *or any of the Romans Ilands, nor hire any ſouldier from thence.*

*Zonaras* *Liv.* Epit. 19 *Polyb.* 1. 66 *Zonaras* *Polyb.* 1. 64

The Carthaginians, ſo they might have peace, refuſed nothing; *Hamilcar*, before the Articles were ſworn unto, laid down his Command and went to *Lilybæum*, and from thence to *Carthage*, having approved himſelf, without compariſon, the moſt excellent of all their Generals in that War, both in Courage and in Counſel. After this manner was managed and finiſhed the firſt Carthaginian War, which laſted for four and twenty years with various chances and great loſſes, but to the greater damage of them who at laſt proved Victors.

*Polybius* 1.63. *Appian.* apud *Fulvium Urſinum.* *Polybius*

For they who have made a particular Account, report about five hundred Carthaginian ſhips to have been loſt, and ſeven hundred of the Romans; which is a great argument of the Romans Conſtancy and Reſolution, that, not regarding ſo many loſſes by fight, or ſhipwracks ſuſtained, they did yet with patience bear and overcome the power of their Enemy, the frowns of Fortune, the tedious labour and pains, and the poverty of their Treaſury.

512 *Faſti Capitol.* *Zonaras*

After this the Government of *C. Lutatius* the Conſul was prorogued, that he might ſettle affairs in *Sicily*; thither likewiſe was ſent his brother one of the new Conſuls, *Q. Lutatius C.F. C.N. Cerco*, whoſe Colleague was *A. Manlius T.F.T.N.* Theſe did by their wiſdom order the Province, and ſetled all things in peace and quiet, deſiding all controverſies and taking away all cauſes of quarrels and tumults, which after ſo great motions and alterations were unavoidably remaining. They diſarmed all the Sicilians who adhered to *Hamilcar*, as likewiſe the *Gauls* who had revolted from him; furthermore the *Gauls* were

*Polybius* 2.7

commanded to depart out of the Roman Empire, becauſe, beſides other offences, when they were in the Garriſon on the top of Mount *Eryx*, they plundered the Temple of *Venus*. The Sicilian Cities according to their ſeveral abilities were forced to pay Tribute and Cuſtom; and it was made a Province, whither a Pretor was ſent to command and govern yearly.

*Appian*

*Eutropius* b. 2

In the mean time Embaſſadours came from *Carthage* to intreat, *They might redeem their Captives*, and by Order from the Senate they were all reſtored without Ranſome, as many as were in Publick cuſtody; they who were priſoners to private men were redeemed at a certain rate, the greater part whereof was by command of the Senate paid out of the Treaſury. But unlucky accidents at home did much diminiſh the joy of the Roman people. The River *Tibur*

*Oroſius.* 4, 10 *Auſtin* de Civ. Dei. 18

did this year flow higher then ordinary, and filled all the lower parts of the City with large Pools of Water. Many buildings were by the firſt force thereof waſhed to the ground, and others, having their foundation rotted (for the Inundation continued many dayes) after the fall of the water, did much decay.

*Val Max.* 1.4.4 *Oroſius*

After this there happened a greater calamity by Fire, which ſuddenly beginning in the night time, and running through many ſtreets of the City, deſtroyed an incredible multitude of houſes and men; and, not content with private harmes, conſumed all the buildings in the whole Circumference of the Forum. At length it ſeized upon the Temple of *Veſta*; but then *L. Cæcilius* the Chief Prieſt, ſeeing the *Holy things* and ſecret Pledges of the Roman Empire to

*Val. Max.* *Livie* Epit. 19 *Auſtin* *Dionyſius* 2. 67 *Oroſius* *Plinie* 7. 43

be in danger, behaved himſelf worthy of his Office, for he leaped into the midſt of the fire without any care of himſelf, ſo he might but reſcue the *Holy things* which the Virgins had forſaken and left behind them, which accordingly he performed. Himſelf having his Arme half burnt and his Eye-ſight ſpoiled, beſide the comfort he received from his good act, was eminently rewarded by the people of *Rome*, who Decreed, That as often as he went to the Senate he ſhould be carried in a Chariot, which from the Foundation of the City was never granted to any man before.

In the mean time *Q. Lutatius* the Conſul, with his brother *Catulus* and *Q. Valerius* the Proprætor, having ſetled affairs in *Sicily* returned home to the City and made each of them

them their Triumph; *C. Lutatius Catulus* on the fourth of the Nones of *October*, and *Q. Valerius* on the day before the Nones of the ſame moneth. There was a memorable ſtriſe between theſe two concerning the Triumph of *Valerius*; for *Lutatius* his Triumph being without diſpute agreed upon, *Q. Valerius* contending that his pains and labour were equal in the Victory deſired the like honour as he had undergone the like care and danger. *Catulus* on the other ſide alledged, That the leſſer authority ſhould not be equalized with the greater in the diſtribution of honours. *Trium. Capitol*

The queſtion being hotly argued, *Q. Valerius* challenged *Catulus* to ſtand to arbitration, *Whether or no the Carthaginian Navy were not overcome by his conduct?* *Catulus* refuſed not to anſwer him; whereupon *Atilius Calatinus* was choſen Arbitrator, who asked *Valerius*, *Whether the Conſul's authority or the Pretors ought to have prevailed in caſe they had diſſented in their conſultation about fighting? and in caſe their Anguries had been different whether of the two ought to have been followed?* To which when *Valerius* anſwered, *That in both caſes the Conſul's authority ought to have prevailed above the Pretor's*; *Calatinus* not expecting till *Catulus* ſpake, paſſed ſentence on his ſide. But *Q. Valerius*, though he was caſt by the judgment of the Arbitrator, did yet obtain liberty to Triumph, his virtue and courage having been very famous in that War. This year *C. Aurelius Cotta*, and *M. Fabius Buteo* being Cenſors, made the nine and thirtieth Luſtration. There were numbred two hundred and threeſcore thouſand Citizens; two Tribes being ſuperadded, the one called *Velina* the other *Quirina*, the number of Tribes was made up five and twenty, and ſo continued. *Sicily* being now wholly ſubdued, as much as belonged to the Carthaginians, and peace with them concluded, all things ſeemed not only quiet but very ſafe and ſecure; when behold a ſudden war, ariſing from whence it was leaſt feared, did for a few dayes aſtoniſh all *Italy* both with the terror and fear of an Inteſtine broil, as likewiſe with wonder at the ſpeedy diſpatch and iſſue of it. *Agellius* 13. 14 *Valer. Maximus.* *Pighii Annal. Euſeb. num.* 772 *Livie Epit* 19

The *Faliſci*, I know not upon what account, grew ſo mad as to riſe up in arms againſt the Romans; but the Conſuls being ſent with the Legions quelled them within ſix dayes, and reduced them to ſubjection. In the former battel, for 'tis reported two were fought, the Victory was doubtful, for their foot prevailed though their horſe were routed. But in the latter the victory being on the Romans ſide complete, cauſed the *Faliſci* to humble themſelves and beg peace, having loſt fifteen thouſand men: upon their yielding they were fined with the loſſe of their arms, horſe, houſhold-ſtuffe, ſervants and half their Territories. Their City in whoſe ſtrength they confided was tranſlated from a craggy difficult place into plain open ground. The people of *Rome* were meditating a more ſevere revenge, out of anger againſt a City which had ſo often rebelled, but reſtrainig their wrath by the advice of *Papyrius* (who had written the form of ſubmiſſion by the Conſuls own command) *That the* Faliſci *ſubmitted not to the Power but the Faith of the Romans*: And ſo much did the ſacred name of *Publick Faith* prevail with them all, that they adjudged the conquered party to no ſeverer puniſhment then was agreed upon. This war gave occaſion to have this year ended with the Triumphs of the Conſuls; *Q. Lutatius* Triumphed on the Calends of *March* over the *Faliſci*, *A. Manlius* the fourth of the Nones of *March*. *Eutropius* b. 2 *Livie* Epit. *Polyb.* 1. 65 *Zonaras* *Oroſius* 4. 11 *Eutropius* *Zonaras* *Val. Max.* 6. 5. 3 *Faſti Capitol.*

BOOK

# BOOK X.

*Anno 513. Agel. 17. 21. Livie 7. 2. 6. Cic. Bruto c. 18. & Cato 14. & Tusc. 1. 2 Cassador. Cron. Velleius 1. 14. 8 Plin. 8. 29. Ovid. Fast. 5.*

*Ovid. Varro de ling. Latina.*

*Ovidius Tacit. 2. 49. 2.*

*Livie. Epit. 20 Valer. 1. 14. 8.*

514. *Fasti Capitolini Marc. Varro apud Cicer. Bruto c. 18. Livie Epito Orosius. 4. 11.*

*Zonaras*

*Sinius Capito apud Festum voce, Sardi venales.*

*Italy* being now once more at Peace within it selfe, their Publick Pleasures, and Delights did likewise encrease with their Power and security. When the Roman Games were exhibited, *C. Claudius A. P. F. C. N. Centhe*, and *M. Sempronius C. F. M. N. Tuditanus* being Consulls, *L. Livius Andronicus*, in immitation of the Græcian Comædies and Trajedies, reduced the Stage-Plays, which heretofore were onely Satyrs into Fables, and feigned representations. The same year likewise gave beginning to another sort of sports. On the fourth of the Calends of *May*, the *Floralia* were instituted out of the *Sybills* books, to avert the blasting of fruits and plants then springing forth. *L.* and *M. Publicius Malleolus*, Brothers and Ædiles of the People did exhibit publick shews out of the Fines raised from Herdsemen who had fed their Cattel on Commons. The Magistracy of these Brethren was in another respect very memorable; in that they caused that Clift (which from them received the name of *Publicius*) to be made plain and even, for the more commodious passage of Carriages into Mount *Aventine*, whereas before the Rock in that place was craggie and almost impassable. They likewise built the Temple of *Flora* in the great shew-place.

These things were acted at home, while all things were quiet abroad, onely there was a suspicion that the Gauls and Ligurians had a designe for War. That these Provinces therefore were assigned to the Consulls, and war then commenced with the Gauls, is rather a Conjecture, then a true History, there being no antient writer extant which accurately describes those things; This one thing is Certain, that a Latine Colonie was planted at *Spoletium* in *Umbria*. The next year also 'tis easier to say, there was no Peace because the Temple of *Janus* was not shut, then to declare where or with what successe the war was managed. And the Consulship of *Q. Mamilius Q. F. Q. N.* and *Q. Valerius Q. F. P. N.* is hardly known by any other passage then that *Ennius* the first Elegant Roman Poet was that year borne. But the year after, when *Ti. Sempronius Ti. F. C. N. Gracchus* and *P. Valerius Q. F. P. N. Falto* were Consulls, the Gallick wars brake out again, and the Ligurians a new Enemy, were then first invaded by a Roman Army. This Province fell to the lot of *T. Sempronius*. *P. Valerius* encountred the Gaules, at the first with ill successe, having lost three thousand five hundred men: But, entring fight again he obtained a signall Victory, wherein fourteen thousand Gaules were slain, and two thousand taken. But, by reason of the loss susteined in the former battel, the Consul was denied the honor of Triumph, especially seeing his prosperous fight was rather to be attributed to the Fortune of the Common-wealth, then to his wise management of the business. For after the first fight, understanding that assistance was comeing to him from *Rome*, he said, *he had rather perish with all his Army, then obtain Victory by the helpe of others*; and in this fury he cast himselfe and the Roman Army into the hazard of a battell. *T. Gracchus* had better and more happy successe, for having overthrown the Enemy in a set battell, he depopulated great part of *Liguria*; From thence he crossed over into *Sardinia* and *Corsica*, and bringing back a vast multitude of Captives, gave occasion to that proverb of *Sardi Venales*, whereby is signified any thing that is plentifull, and at an underrate to be sold.

But

But to confeſs the truth, the Romans had at this time rather a good opportunity then a juſt cauſe of poſſeſſeing *Sardinia* and *Corſica*. The Carthaginians after the *Sicilian* Peace, were involved in a very troubleſome war with their Mercenaries, and reduced even to the utmoſt extremity; whereupon other their Hirelings, who were in a Garriſon in *Sardinia*, ſlew *Boſtar* the Carthaginian Generall with all his men: *Hanno* being ſent from *Carthage* to puniſh their Villany, they inveigled his Army into a ſociety of Rebellion, and apprehending him, nailed him to the Croſs, and having ſlain all the Carthaginians, they had poſſeſſed almoſt all the ſtrong holds throughout the Iland, till upon a falling out between them and the Sardinians, they were expelled the Iland, and betook themſelves into *Italy*. Then did they accompliſh that which while they were in *Sardina* they could not, for at that time they had invited the Romans to the Dominion of that Iland: But being now preſent either by the importunity of their Entreatys, or by plainly demonſtrating what an occaſion was offer'd of encreaſing the Roman Power, they prevailed with them to ſail over into *Sardinia*. For it is a virtue of no ordinary ſtrain, to abſtain from other mens goods when they may with eaſe be poſſeſſed, neither can covetous or ambitious men well or long diſſemble their greedy deſires: But 'twill not be amiſs for the better underſtanding of this buſineſs, to relate ſome foregoing circumſtances. The Romans, that they might gain the Reputation of Humanity, did in the beginning of this Warre, very much favour the Carthaginian cauſe. And, though they ſent them no aſſiſtance as was deſired, yet they refuſed to entertain the Uticans, or any others who revolted to them: They commanded their Merchants out of *Sicily* and *Italy* to accommodate the Carthaginians with all neceſſary Proviſions, prohibiting all traffick with their Enemies; and gave licence of hiring men out of *Italy* for this war. They ſent likewiſe Embaſſadors, though in vaine, to compoſe the ſtrife: A little before there aroſe a controverſie, becauſe the Carthaginians had taken ſome *Italian* Merchants conveighing Commodities to the Enemy, and ſecured them in publick Priſons, and they had now five hundred of them in chains, and having ſlain not a few, had caſt them into the ſea to prevent the diſcovery of the thing; whereupon the Romans declared themſelves agrieved, and began to threaten War: But the Carthaginians reſtoring thoſe whom they had in cuſtody, ſo pacified the Romans, that they in anſwer ſent back without Ranſom all other Priſoners taken in the *Sicilian* war. Yet at length Ambition prevailed, with a deſire to cruſh that People, with whom they had for four and twenty yeares together waged war with various ſucceſs, and foreſaw, that unleſs in time they prevented it, they muſt be forced to fight again. Wherefore when the Carthaginians, (having againſt their wills loſt *Sardinia*, and now finiſhed their war with the Mercenarys) meditated Revenge upon the Authors of Rebellions and Revolts; the Romans laid hold of this occaſion, and decreed, *that War ſhould be proclaimed againſt Carthage, unleſs they laid down their Armes, which they had taken up, ſeemingly againſt their Rebells, but indeed and really againſt the Romans.* Whereupon the Carthaginians unwilling in an unſeaſonable time to undertake ſo great a War, did not only quit *Sardinia*, but upon the Romans demand, added likewiſe twelve hundred Talents of ſilver, to their former fine. This injury did moſt of all incenſe the minds of the Carthaginians, and is thought to be the only cauſe of that war which was ſoon after commenced, and proſecuted by *Hannibal*. For *Hamilcars* conſtant Hatred of Romans (to which the ſecond Punique war is chiefly imputed) was not by any other meanes more hotly exaſperated, or ſtrongly fomented. But theſe things happened afterwards.

*Polyb. 1.65* *Polyb. 1.83.* *Polyb. 1.88.* *Zonaras* *Polybius. 1. 83* *Cornel. Nepos. Hamilcar.* *Appian. apud Fulv. Urſin.* *Zonaras* *Appian* *Polybius.* *Zonaras.* *Appian* *Zonaras* *Polyb.* *Apian Pun & Hiſpan.* *Polyb. 3.28.* *Zonaras.* *Apian apud Fulvium Urſinum.* *Polyb. 1.88* *Zonaras* *Polyb.* *Polyb. 1. 10.* *Cornel. nepos Hamilcar.*

In the mean time *L. Cornelius L.F. Ti.N. Lentulus Claudinus*, and *Q. Fulvius M. F. Q. N. Flaccus* being made Conſuls had *Gaul* on this ſide the *Po* for their Province. That a Colonie was this year planted at *Valentia*, though many affirm it is no conſtant and general opinion, unleſs there be another *Valentia* beſides *Vibo*, which Authors of better credit affirm to have been peopled fifty years after in the Conſulſhip of *Quintus Flaminius* and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus*. The Conſuls in *Gallia*, while they kept their forces united, had a ſafe and proſperous Expedition, but after they had divided their Legions out of greedineſs to waſte more places, the Camp of *M. Fulvius* was in the night time aſſaulted and very hardly defended. The Gauls departing without effecting their deſign, did afterward return with greater terror having their forces much augmented. For the prime men of the *Boii* taking counſel ſecretly together, raiſed a vaſt power of Tranſalpines againſt the Romans. In the mean time *L. Lentulus* the Conſul, who had marched with his Army into the Ligurian Territories, obtained there a great victory. It was ordered therefore he ſhould make a Triumph, which accordingly he did on the Intercalary Ides. Some Authors report, *That theſe Conſuls were the firſt who led the Roman army over the Po, and that in divers fights were ſlain four and twenty thouſands, and taken five thouſands of the Ligurians and Inſubrian Gauls.* But I rather believe, that the *Po* was croſſed over and the Inſubrians firſt encountred in their own Country in the next Gallick commotion. About this time Embaſſadors were ſent to *Ptolomie* King of *Egypt* to profer him aſſiſtance in his wars againſt *Antiochus* and the Syrians; The King returned thanks, telling them withall, *That he had now no need of aſſiſtance inaſmuch as the quarrel was compounded.* After this *Hiero* came to *Rome* to the great joy of the Romans, who entertained him with all the reſpect as befitted them to do, being a confederate Prince, having deſerved much of them, and a companion in their greateſt Victory. He beſtowed on the people of *Rome* two hundred thouſand Buſhels of Wheat; he came to behold the ſports which were prepared againſt next year.

516.

*Faſti Capit.* *Vellcius 1. 14. 8* *Livie 35. 40. 5* *Zonaras* *Polyb 2,21.* *Eutropius* *Sanctenſes M.S. quem vidis Pighius.* *Eutropius b 3.*

For according to ſome Authors the ſecular ſports were celebrated in the Conſulſhip of *P. Cornelius*

*Fasti Capitolini* 417. *Cornelius L. F. T. N. Lentulus Caudinus* and *C. Licinius P. F. P. N.* The Masters of the Revells were *M. Æmilius M. F.* & *M Livius M. F. M. N. Salinator.* In the mean time the *Boian* Princes, confideing in the multitude of Auxiliarys they had from beyond the *Alpes*, sent to the Consulls demanding, *That Ariminum with it's Territories, which without doubt of right belonged to the Gauls, should be restored them, otherwise a terrible and Destructive War would ensue.* The Consuls, having not drawn their forces together, durst not hazard those few they had in the fortune of a Battel, neither could they consent unto the *Gaules* their demand, they answered therefore, *They should send Embassadors to the Senate, to signifie their minds.* The *Gauls* accepted of the condition, and a truce was concluded on for some days, while the Embassadours could go and return again. The Ambassadours at *Rome* received a denial from the Senate, and greater preparations were made for this War, whereof there was afterward no use, in asmuch as Fortune without the expence of Roman blood put an end to it? While the Embassadoures returned, the Boians fought a set Battel with their *Transalpine* Auxiliaries, upon this Occasion; The Auxiliaries without the knowledge of the Boian people, had marched as far as *Ariminum*, whence a suspicion arose, that their maine Errand was to possess that Territory themselves; the Boians therefore were so enraged, that having slain their Kings *Ates* and *Galatus* as Traitours, they endeavoured by force to expell these strangers out of their Land, whereupon a Battell was fought with much slaughter, and both sides being thereby much weakned; the Transalpines returned home, the Boians bought their Peace of the Romans with part of their Grounds. This war being so quickly dispatched, the Consuls went into *Liguria*: where *P. Lentulus*, having in a set Battel Overthrown the Enemie, led his Army through the whole Region, taking Castles, some by storme, some by composition. *C. Licinius* intending to saile over into *Corsica*, not having boats enough to transpott his whole Army, sent *M. Claudius Glysias* before, with a Party; who, being vainly arrogant, when he saw that the Corsicans were terrified at his coming, without any respect to the Consull by whose direction he was sent, or consideration of his own office and duty, made a league with them, upon certain Conditions, in his own Name; thinking thereby to attain unto himselfe the Glory of having reduced that Iland. But the Consul following with the Residue of the Army, forbore not to prosecute them with armes (notwithstanding they alledged in their own behalfe the Claudian Peace) till he brought them into subjection. The Senate to clear the Commonwealth from the Imputation of Breach of Faith, ordered *Glycias* the Authour of that dishonourable peace, to be delivered up into the hands of the Corsicans; and they refusing to take him, he was put to death in the Common Gaole. This year were Censours *L. Cornelius L. F. T. N. Lentulus Caudinus Q. Lutatius C. F. C. N. Cerco*, who made no Lustration because *Q. Cerco* died in his Censourship. For all *Claudius* was delivered up to the Corsicans, and then executed as a Malefactor, yet the Barbarians could not by any means be perswaded, that the Roman war afterward was just against them. Their minds therefore being agrieved with the memory hereof were easily tempted to break out in armes, in imitation of their neighbour Iland *Sardinia*. For the Carthaginians by secret promises had incited the Sardinians to Rebellion, who readily entertained the motion, as not too much hating their old Masters, nor loving their new ones.

*Zonaras*

*Polyb.* 2. 21.

*Zonaras.*

*Dio.* apud *Valesium.*
*Zonaras*

*Marcel.* 14. 40.
*Val. Maximus* 6. 3. 3.
*Fasti Capitolini.*

*Zonaras.*

This news being brought to *Rome*, filled the City both with fear and indignation, not that they much regarded *Sardinia*, but because they perceived the Carthaginian war would break out again; which because they believed the sooner it was begun would prove the easier; (The Carthaginians having not well recovered themselves since the last war) they resolved to prepare themselves, and commence it as soon as might be. The Carthaginians, willing at that time to endure any thing rather then a Roman war, were hereupon so terrified, that having once and again sent Embassadours in vaine, they did at length send ten of their Prime Nobility, most humbly entreating, *That they might enjoy the Peace they had obtained.* Nevertheless they could not receive any mild Answer; till *Hanno* the youngest among the Embassadours, but of an undaunted mind, and a free tongue, replied, *If you are premptorily determined to deny us that Peace which we have bought, not for a year or two, but for ever, at least restore us our price we gave you, Sicily and Sardinia: In private contracts 'tis no honest man's part, when the bargain is made void, to receive his Commodities back, and not return the money laid down for them.* Then the Romans, being ashamed to seem the Authors of an unjust war, dismissed the Embassadours with a better Answer. So one of this yeares Consulls *C Atilius A. F. A. N. Bulbus* (now the second time Consull) remained in *Italy*, the other, *T. Manlius. T. F. T. N.* went according to his lot into *Sardinia*. He, in many places encountring the Enemy with good success, appeased the whole Iland, subdued the Sardinians, and triumphed over them the sixth of the Ides of *March*.

*Oros.* 5. 12.

*Dio.* apud *Ful. Ursinum*

518
*Fasti Capit.*
*Zonaras*
*Liv.* 23. 34. 12.
*Capit Columnæ*
*Florus* 2. 3. 1.
*Vel* 2. 38. 3
*Liv.* 1. 19. 3.
*Orosius* 4. 12.

These things being accomplished, and the Roman Armes laid down, as having no Enemy, the Temple of *Janus* was shut; an unusuall sight in *Rome*, and not seen, after the dayes of *Numa*, for the space of about four hundred and forty yeares. In which respect I account the City of *Rome* very unhappy, that being perpetually employ'd in great and difficult labours, could never obtain the fruits thereof. For, whereas no wise man wageth war but to procure Peace, this City after so many and great warres happily finished, sometimes could not obtain: but never could long keep Peace. For even then new Rumours of War, after a few moneths, were heard

of

of, which bereaved them of the ſweetneſs of that Peace, which they had ſcarce well taſted of. The Sardinians, who had lately been ſubdued, ſhake off the yoke, and the Corſicans brake out in Rebellion, and the Ligurians raiſed Tumults, even in *Italy* it ſelfe. Therefore *L. Poſthumius A.F. A.N. Albinus* and *Sp. Carvilius Sp. F. C.N. Maximus* being Conſuls had order to leavy new Armies, which being diſpoſed of in three bodies to prevent the enemies from helping one the other, *L. Poſthumius* aſſailed the Ligurians, Sp. *Carvilius* the Corſicans, and *P. Cornelius* was deſigned for *Sardinia*. This Iland being of a very unwholſome aire afflicted his Army with the Plague and other diſeaſes, whereby many mortals with the Pretor alſo himſelf periſhed. Hereupon the Sardinians grew bold and high, but were ſoon quelled after the arrival of Sp. *Carvilius* in a great ſet battel; the Corſicans were likewiſe ſubdued by him. For which exploits it was decreed he ſhould Triumph, as he did on the Calends of April. In *Ligura* likewiſe affairs ſucceeded well by the management of the other Conſul with his Army. At *Rome Tutia* one of the Veſtal Virgins being condemned of Inceſt which ſhe had baſely committed with a ſlave, ſlew her ſelf with her own hands. After this *C. Atilius A.F. A.N. Bulbus A. Poſthumius A.F. L.N. Albinus* being Cenſors, made the fortieth Luſtration. 'Tis probable the number of Citizens was this year leſſe then heretofore (though I find not the number recorded) becauſe the Cenſor, in order to the encreaſe of Citizens, compelled every man to ſwear, *That he would marry for the Procreation of children.* This year *Cn. Nevius* a Campanian who had received pay in the Carthaginian war, did firſt add Fables to his Scenes. In the mean time the Ligurians and Sardinians again rebelling, were allotted Provinces to the new Conſuls; *Q. Fabius Q.F. Q.N. Maximus Verrucoſus* managed the Ligurian War, *M. Pomponius M.F. M.N. Matho* the Sardinian; whereas it was reported, *That the Carthaginians were the cauſe of this commotion, by private meſſengers ſtirring up the Barbarians to Rebellion*: There were Embaſſadors ſent to *Carthage* with very harſh inſtructions, *To require the tribute due, to command them to abſtain from all Ilands under the Roman juriſdiction, adding threats of war unleſs they performed what was required at their hands.*

519 520

*Flor.* 2. 3. *Zonaras* *Livie* Epit. 20 *Capitol. Colum. Zonaras* *Livie* Epit. *Marianus Scotus.* *Agellius.* 4. 3 *Agel.* 17. 21 *Zonaras.* *Faſti Capitol. Zonaras*

The Carthaginians had now ſince their former calamities gathered ſtrength and courage, chiefly by the induſtry of *Hamilcar*, who did not only reduce thoſe who had revolted in *Africa*, but had further extended the Empire: They had likewiſe by his conduct acquired great Dominions in *Spain*. Wherefore they anſwered the Embaſſadors roughly enough to all particulars; but when they, according to their inſtructions, propounded to the Carthaginians a Spear and a Cadureus, offering them their choice of which they pleaſed, they anſwered, *That they would chuſe neither, but would accept of which ſoever the Legates ſhould think fit to leave behind.* Henceforward a cruel hatred began to burn between theſe two people, but neither party being willing as yet to commence the war, they contiuued in a ſhew of friendſhip, rather becauſe they did not fight, then that the peace was firm.

*Dio.* apud *Valeſium.* *Polyb.* b. 1 *Cornelius Nepos in Hamilcar*

Both the Conſuls, returning to *Rome* and declaring what they had done, obtained leave to Triumph. *Q. Fabius* had ſlain many Ligurians in battel, and had compelled the reſt to contain themſelves upon the Alpes, and made the skirts of *Italy* ſecure from their plundrings. He Triumphed over the Ligurians on the Calends of February. Upon the Ides of March afterwards *M. Pomponius* Triumphed over the Sardinians, whom he had overcome. Nevertheleſe the Sardinians did not abſtain from War, but being by their loſſes rather incenſed then broken, they renewed the Rebellion with much greater ſtrength. Therefore both the Conſuls, *M. Amilius M.F. M.N. Lepidus* and *M. Poblicius L.F. L.N. Malleolus* were ſent into *Sardinia*: they gathered together great ſtore of plunder and ſpoil in that Iland, which when they carried over with them into *Corſica* they utterly loſt, the Ilanders there taking it from them. At home likewiſe there were very vehement tumults at this time, for *C. Flaminius* Tribune of the people propounding an AgrarianLaw, *That the Picene and Gallick grounds which belonged to the Senones ſhould be equally divided amongſt the people.* The Senate oppoſed it, and not being able to perſwade the Tribune by entreaties or threats, at length gave order to the Magiſtrates to raiſe an Army for defence of the Commonwealth; *Flaminius* could not yet be drawn from his reſolution, obſtinate againſt all force, and inexorably by intreaties. His father likewiſe admoniſhed him, *To ſubmit himſelf to the will of the Senate, and not be eſteemed an author of ſedition.* But he ſtill perſiſting in his deſign, called an Aſſembly, intending to recite the Law. But then his father *Flaminius* in grief and anger came to the Pulpit, and taking his ſon by the hand pulled him away.

521.

*Plut. Fabio c.* 3 *Capitol. Tabul. Auct. de viris Illuſ. c.* 43 *Zonaras* *Polyb.* 2. 12 *Cicero Bruto* c. 14. & *Acad. Queſt.* 4, 5 *Val. Max.* 5. 4, 5 *Cicero de Juven.* 2. 17

A wonderful Example was there ſhown with what Piety and Reverence all men held eſteem of the power of a Father: For he who had contemned the indignation and cruel threats of the whole Senate, now in the heat of work, in the view of all the Roman people, to whom the Conſtitution of Law would have been moſt acceptable, ſuffered himſelf by the hand of one only old man to be drawn down from the higher place. The Modeſty of the Aſſembly in this buſineſs is not to be forgotten, who though they ſaw all their hopes fruſtrated by the Tribune's departure, did not by the leaſt murmure ſignifie their diſcontent at his fathers action. But the Law was by this means rather deferred then avoided. *C. Carvilius* the other Tribune aſſiſting his Colleague, this as it cauſed corruption of manners amongſt the Commons, ſo it gave beginning to that moſt grievous Gallick war which brake out the eighth year after the diviſion of the grounds.

*Val. Max.* *Cic. Citatus apud Soſipatrum Chariſ.* *Polyb.* 2. 22 *Faſti Capitol.*

522. *Zonaras.*

After this *M. Pomponius M. F. M. N. Matho*, and *C. Papirius C. F. L. N. Maso*, being Conſulls, had for their Provinces *M. Pomponius Sardinia*, and *C. Papirius Corſica*. In both places the Enemies gave back, betaking themſelves into woods and craggy Mountains, defending themſelves more by the ſcituation of Places then by Armes. Therefore *M. Pomponius* ſeeing it more hard to find the Enemy, then to overcome him, cauſed hounds to be brought him out of *Italy*, who by their ſcent conducted him to the men, whom he ſurprized like wild beaſts in their dens, and kennells. *C. Papirius*, having overcome the Corſicans, purſued them into the mountains, where both his labour and danger was very great, and many of his ſouldiers periſhed either by thirſt, or by the ſudden incurſion of the Enemy, till having found water and refreſhed his Army; the Corſicans fearing the Iſſue hearkned to the Conſul's counſel of ſubmitting themſelves.

*Capitol. Marmora.*

While the Conſuls were detained by theſe Employments, a General Aſſembly was called by *M. Duilius. M. F. M. N.* who was made Dictatour for that purpoſe; he nominated *C. Aurelius L. F. C. N. Cotta* for Maſter of the horſe; there were likewiſe Cenſours *T. Manlius T. F. T. N. Torquatus*, *Q. Fulvius M. F. Q. N. Flaccus*, but being not Legitimately made, they reſigned up their office. Writers doe to this year aſſigne the Original of a new Cuſtome, not unworthy to be mentioned. There had been no divorce from the beginning of the City to this time, *Sp. Carvilius Ruga* firſt of all diſmiſſed his wife becauſe ſhe was barren, being by the Cenſours bound in Oath, *to Marry a Wife for procreation of Children.* The people were much diſpleaſed not ſo much at the Novelty as cruelty of the things, for wives being joyned in a perpetual ſociety of life, they thought it unjuſt and inhumane for any cauſe whatſoever to repudiate them. They likewiſe ever after hated *Sp. Carvilius* though he was of neceſſity compelled by the judgment of his friends to diſmiſs his wife who was much beloved by him, and very agreeable in her Manners. From this time there was more knots in the Law, and more ſuits in the Prætours Courts, then being invented the Marriage Cautions, of which cunning there was no need before Divorces were in uſe. This yeare likewiſe began a new cuſtom concerning the Honours of their Generalls; *C. Papirius* perſwading himſelfe he had performed Actions worthy of a Triumph (having now at length firmely ſetled *Corſica*) and being denied that honour by the Senate, he did toward the End of his Conſulſhip make a Triumph in Mount *Alban* on the third of the Nones of *March.* It pleaſed many to imitate this Example when they were denied a Triumph to make one in the *Albane* Mount, henceforward he was preſent at all ſports in a mirtle Crown in memory of the Action, that he had overcome the Enemie in the Mirtle Fields. All things being at quiet in Sardinia and Corſica, the Ligurians ſtill held out, againſt whom were ſent *M. Aimilus L. F. Q. N. Barbula* and *M. Junius D. F. D. N. Pera*, then Conſulls. They, in their March underſtanding that the Gaules began to ſtirre, entred their Territorys with the Army. For they being incenſed and provoked by the Flaminian Law, the Romans feared leſt being Warlike, and angry men, they ſhould raiſe any Commotions; it was therefore forbidden by the Magiſtrates to accommodate any Gaule with Gold or ſilver; for the Boians, and other Gaules by ſelling of ſlaves and other Commodities had gathered a great bank of Money, and a ſuſpicion was raiſed, that it was for a Roman War. Wherefore being more incenſed, 'tis ſaid that they underſtanding the Conſulls were deſigned for *Liguria*, did in private meetings conclude, while the Roman Armies were far abroad, to March up to and aſſault the City it ſelfe. But, being terrified with the coming of the Conſulls, and not prepared to make head againſt them, they entertained the Romans with all ſhew of Peace and friendſhip, and counterfeit Reſpects. The Conſulls likewiſe being contented they had prevented the War, fained another cauſe of their coming thither; *that through the Gallick Territories they might have a more commodious march to Liguria.* The laſt year the Cenſours renounced the office; This year therefore *Q. Fabius Q. F. Q. N. Maximus Verruſcoſus*, and *M. Sempronius C. F. M. N. Tuditanus* made the one and fourtieth Luſtration, While theſe things are acting in *Italy* and at *Rome*, a new war was occaſioned with the Illyrians upon their ground. The Illyrians exerciſing Pyracy, a cruell and greedy kind of theft, had taken many Italian Merchants coming out of the Haven of Brunduſium and had ſlain ſome; at the firſt the Senate hearing this, among other complaints, did not much regard it. But the Pirates boldneſſe encreaſing by their impunity, and complaints more frequently and earneſtly made unto them, they thought fit to ſend Embaſſadours, to demand ſatisfaction; as alſo to plead the Iſſæans cauſe who had lately committed themſelves to the faith of the Romans; for they inhabiting an Iland in the *Jonian* ſea, were daily proſecuted with all manner of injuries by the Illyrians, from whom they had revolted. *C.* & *L. Coruncanii* were ſent on this Errand: While they were in their journey, *Agron* (the ſon of *Pleuratus*) King of the Illyrians, called *Ardyæi*, to whom their meſſage was directed, departed this life leaving a ſon under age, by name *Pinnius*, and the Kingdom was governed by *Teuta*, Step-mother to the young Prince, with the advice of her friends: She being proud, and puffed up with Proſperity, having given Audience to the Roman Embaſſadours with ſome contempt, anſwered, *That ſhe would take care that the Romans ſhould receive no publick injury from the Illyrians; but that it was not the cuſtom of the Illyrian Kings, to prohibit private perſons from making what gain they could by ſea.* *Coruncanius* the younger could not refrain his anger at this arrogant ſpeech but uſing an unſeaſonable liberty, though not unjuſt, replied, *But 'tis a cuſtom with the Romans*, Teuta, *to proſecute private wrongs with publick*

*Plutarch Numa.c.48. Agell 4.3. Val Maximus. 2.1.4.*

*Dion.2.26. Agell.17.21. Agell 4.3. Servil. Sulpicius. de dotibus apud Agellium.*

*Columna Triumphales. Val.Max.3.6.5*

*Plinie 15. 29. 10.*

523. *Zonaras*

*Polybius.13.*

*Capitol. Marmora.*

*Polyb. 2.8. Dion. apud Fulvium. Ulſinum. Polyb. Dion. Zonaras.*

*Appian Illyr. Polyb.2.4. Livie 22.33. Polybius. Polyb.2.8.*

*lick vengeance, and relieve the injur'd party; and we will endeavour, by the assistance of the gods, to compel you gladly and quickly to mend and reform your Kingly Customs.* The woman was above measure offended at these words, but, for the present, dissembling her mind, when the Embassadors were departed, sent some Pirates after them, who slew *Coruncanius* the younger with part of his Retinue, burnt the Governours of ships with fire, and clap the rest in chains. *Colemporus* also the Embassador of the Issæans was slain by the same Pirates. *Florus* 2.5.3 *Zonaras.*

The Romans understanding these things, did erect statues of three foot long in honour of *Coruncanius* the younger, and *P. Junius*, and decreed war against *Teuta* and the Illyrians. *Teuta* ignorant in government, having not learn't either by Reason or Custome to correct the Vices of her *Feminine* wit, behaved her self as timerous in bearing the anger of others, as she had been headlong in provoking it. Having therefore intelligence that a war was preparing against her, she promised, *To restore those who were living, as for the dead, whom the Pirats had slain without her command, it lay not in her power to restore them.* This Embassie (though it offered little satisfaction for so great injuries, yet because the Romans hoped to compose the Illyrian broils without a war) was entertained, only they required, That those who slew the Embassadors should be delivered up to them. *Appian* Plinie 34, 6.2 Liv. Epit. 20 *Zonaras* *Dio.*

The woman seeing the war, she so much fear'd, to be deferred, out of the lightness of her mind returned from fear to her former insolence, denying to deliver up any one; and that she might confirm her words with as much fierceness in action, sendeth forces presently to besiege *Issa*. Whereupon the Romans thought fit to make no more delay, but sent both the Consuls thither with land and sea forces; the Consuls were *L. Posthumius A.F. A. N. Albinus*, and *Cn. Fulvius Cn.F. Cn.N. Centumalus. Cn. Fulvius* had the command of the Navy consisting of two hundred ships; *L. Posthumius* was General of the Legions. Then again *Teuta*, being terrified, sent *Demetrius Pharius* to the Consuls to crave Peace. And they agreed upon a Truce, *In case the Illyrians would quit Corcyra* which they had lately possessed. The Romans being gone to take in *Corcyra*, *Teuta*, as if all fear were now far from her doors, returned to her former counsels, and sent Deputies to besiege *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*. Others report, *That* Corcyra *was not surrendred with the consent of* Teuta, *but by the private design of* Demetrius, *who, knowing that he was secretly accused of some crimes before* Teuta, *thought by betraying that place he was Governour of, to find a sure refuge and protection amongst the Romans against her fury.* *Zonaras* *Polyb.* 2.11 *Fasti Capitol.* 524 *Polybius* *Polyb.* 2.12 *Dio.* apud *Fulvium Ursinum.*

The Illyrian Garrison was no sooner surrendred, but the Corcyrians by publick consent submitted themselves to the Romans, seeing no other means left for their safety, but to be protected against the injury of the Illyrians by the power of so illustrious a City. From *Corcyra* the Consul sailed to *Apollonia*, where he met *L. Posthumius* having wasted over his Army from *Brundusium*, which consisted of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse. The Apolloniatæ greedily entertained the Romans, and committed themselves to their Faith. This being relieved they went to *Dyrrachium*, which presently became the Romans: The Illyrians who had began the siege thereof, running away for fear upon the first intelligence of the Consul's coming. With the same haste also the Ardyæi were forced into subjection, and Embassadors came from divers Nations of the farthest *Illyrium* with promise, *To obey their commands if they might be admitted into Friendship*; in which number were the Parthini and Asintanes. *Demetrius Pharius* was a great help and furtherance in these Atchievements, for being carried up and down with the Consuls, he extolled the Strength and Integrity of the Romans, accused the Rashness and Inconstancy of *Teuta*; and some by reason and counsel, others by his authority he perswaded into a society and confederacy with the Romans. After this they steared their course to *Issa*, and in their passage landing at many places, they took most Towns without any great difficulty. *Nutria* was stoutly defended by the Illyrians, and cost much blood before it was taken, some Collonels also and a Questor being slain there. The Romans grief for this was the lesser because they surprised twenty Vessels coming from *Peloponnesus* with money and great spoil. When they were come to *Issa* it happened as it had done at *Dyrrachium*, the siege was presently raised upon the approach of the Roman Navy: The Barbarians flying this way and that way into several places, except only the Pharians, who for *Demetrius* sake, with the safety both of body and goods, were received into protection, forasmuch as he was born in the same Iland, and had the Government of it under King *Agron*. The news of these did diversly affect the instable mind of *Teuta*, sometimes dejected with fear, sometimes again very confident, as she considered the occasion. For as she was possessed with fear when she remembred so many Towns taken and demolished, that the sea coasts were plunder'd and wasted, that the Illyrians every where turned back and fled: On the other side she was encouraged at the stoutness of the Nutrines, and her hopes encreased considering Winter drew nigh, and that the Romans for fear of storms would suddenly depart; wherefore with a small Retinue she retired to *Rhizon* scituate upon a River of the same name, expecting what remedy time would afford. *Polybius* *Zonaras* *Dio* *Polybius* *Dio* *Zonaras* *Polybius* *Appian* *Polybius* *Appian.* *Polybius* *Orosius.* 4,13 *Dio* *Polybius*

Her vain opinion was confirmed by the actions of the Consuls, who having committed to the Government of *Demetrius* the greater part of the Country they had taken, retired to *Dyrrachium* with the Navy and Army. But when she saw that *L. Posthumius* stayed behind with forty ships, and leavied an Army out of the Neighbour Cities to protect the Ardyæans

and other Illyrians who had revolted to the Romans, then *Teuta* began utterly to deſpair and thought of buying her peace upon any conditions whatſoever. At the beginning of the ſpring therefore ſhe ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, excuſing what was paſt as being done by the Command of *Agron* whoſe Acts it was neceſſary for her to maintain. The Romans granted peace, not to her, who had no proper power of adminiſtring affairs, neither had deſerved any favour at their hands, but to *Pinnens* the ſon of *Agron*, on theſe conditions, *That he ſhould duely pay what tribute was impoſed on him, that he ſhould quit all* Illyrium, *ſome few places excepted, that he ſhould not ſail beyond* Liſſus *with above two Boats, and thoſe unarmed.* By this peace *Corcyca, Pharus, Iſſa, Dyrachium* and the Aſintanes became wholly the Romans; what elſe was under *Agron* his juriſdiction being left to *Pinneus*. *Teuta* either for ſhame or by the command of the Romans left off the Government of the Realm, which *Demetrius* undertook under the name of Protector.

*Appian*

*Polybius.*

*Appian Illyric. Dio. Zonaras*

Thus being ended the Illyrian Quarrel, and the Limits of the Roman Empire extended even to *Greece*; the Commonwealth on the other hand was perplexed, for the Gauls were ready to riſe up in Arms, and the Carthaginians power did mightily encreaſe in *Spain*, which could not be eſtabliſhed without great danger to the Romans. *Haſdrubal* the Son-in-law and ſucceſſor of *Hamilcar*, having revenged the death of his Father-in-law, did, partly by Armes, but more frequently by his Wiſdom and Eloquence, wherein he excelled, reduce many Nations to the Carthaginian ſubjection; and built another *Carthage* called the *New*, in a gulf of the ſea by a moſt commodious Haven. But the Gallick affairs being of nearer concernment, hindered for the preſent their deſignes againſt the Carthaginians: They endeavoured therefore to ſtop the proceedings of the Gauls by leagues and Covenants; They ſent likewiſe Embaſſadors to *Carthage* and to *Haſdrubal*, warning them, *To contein themſelves beyond the River* Iberus, *and permit the Saguntines to enjoy their liberty, and live according to their own Laws.* Theſe things happened in the year when *Sp. Carvilius Sp.F. Cn.N. Maximus* and *Q. Fabius Q.N. Maximus Verrucoſus* were again Conſuls. About the ſame time *L. Poſthumius* Proconſul, who wintered in *Illyrium*, ſent Embaſſadors from *Corcyca* to the Ætolians and Achaians, declaring what he had done, *For what cauſes the war was undertaken, with what ſucceſs managed, and upon what conditions finiſhed.* They were kindly entertained foraſmuch as thoſe Nations and all other the Grecians did vehemently hate the Illyrians by reaſon of the continual Pyracies exerciſed by them under *Agron* and *Teuta*.

*Livie* 23.2.5
*Polyb.*2.13
*Livie* 26.42.6.
*Polybius*
*Appian Hiſp.*
*Polibius*
*Florus.*2.6.4

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The Senate hearing this, did allow of what the Proconſul had done, and moreover decreed another Embaſſie in the name of the Commonwealth, to the Corinthians and Athenians, declaring, *The people of Romes good affection toward them, and their equity toward all men.* Hereby the Romans purchaſed great good will amongſt thoſe people, and the Corinthians forthwith decreed this honour to the people of *Rome*, *That they ſhould be Partners in the Iſthmian Games*, which was one of the four greateſt Solemnities in *Greece*. They were chiefly moved hereunto becauſe the Romans had ſet at liberty, as *Apollonia* and other Grecian Cities, ſo *Corcyca* likewiſe, which was a Colonie of the Corinthians; the Athenians alſo embraced the Roman Society, and decreed, *They ſhould have the liberty of the City of* Athens, *and of the Eleuſinian Myſteries.* In the mean time *Cn. Fulvius* Proconſul made a Naval Triumph over the Illyrians on the Calends of *Quintilis*, and beheaded the Illyrian Nobles whom he led in Triumph. This was the firſt Triumph over the Illyrians.

*Zonaras*
*Polybius*
*Appian Illyr.*
*Thucid.*7. 10.8
*Zonaras.*
*Tab. Capitolina*
*Flor.*2.5.4
*Eutropius* b.3

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*Livie* Epit.20
L.2.S 32.de O.I.
*Solinus* c.11
*Sextus Ruffus*
*Zonaras*
*Polyb.*2, 22

The next year *P. Valerius L.F. M.N Flaccus*, and *M. Atilius M.F. M.N. Regulus* being Conſuls, the number of Pretors was doubled, and they thought fit to create four that they might ſend ſome with command into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. Amongſt theſe *M. Valerius* was Pretor of *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, *C. Flaminius* of *Sicily*. At this time there was very great fear of a Gallick war, for 'twas reported that the Boians and Inſubrians conſulted not only one with the other, but with the Tranſalpine people, and had hired a great ſtrength of Mercenaries of the Gæſatæ a people of *Gallia*. They uſed therefore not only ordinary remedies againſt this evil, but ſuch as a ſevere judge would by no means excuſe, but that the love of ones Country makes ſome things pardonable which in themſelves are horrid. For when (beſides other prodigies they were terrified with) they found in the Sybills books, *That the Gauls and Grecians ſhould one day poſſeſſe the City of* Rome; That they might by craft avert the threats of the Prediction, by the advice of the Prieſts, they buried alive two Gauls, of each ſex one, and likewiſe two Grecians a man and a woman, in the Beef-market, that ſo they poſſeſſing part of the City, might ſeem to have fulfilled the Prophecy. This was done when *M. Valerius M.F. M.N. Meſſalla* and *L. Apuſtius L.F. C.N. Fullo* were Conſuls. This year, amongſt other no conſiderable occurrences, was moſt of it ſpent in making preparation for the Gallick War. There was raiſed a moſt incredible number both of horſe and foot, toward this war all *Italy* in general joyning with the Romans. *Q. Fabius* the Hiſtorian, who was preſent at the tranſaction of theſe affairs, reports, *There were in arms eight hundred thouſand men.* That the number of the Romans and Campanians amounted to the number of two hundred forty eight thouſand and two hundred footmen, and ſix and twenty thouſand and ſix hundred horſemen. All the other multitude were Italians. The *Veneti* alſo and *Cenomanni* afforded the Romans the help of twenty thouſand men, who by frequent alarms and incurſions might compel the neighbouring Boians to tarry to the defence of their own Country, and not join themſelves with the other forces of the

*Livie* 22,57.6
*Oroſius* 4.13
*Faſti Capitol.*

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*Zonaras*
*Plin.*3.20
*Eutrepius* 3
*Diodorus* 25
*Oroſius* 4.13

*Livie* Epit.20
*Polyb.*2.24

the Enemy, becauſe they refuſed to hearken to Termes of Peace which the Romans propounded. For the *Veneti* and *Cenomani* being perſwaded to renew friendſhip with *Rome*, the Inſubrians and Boians perſiſted in Hoſtility; nevertheleſs their ſtrength was not great, their Kings not daring to lead out all their armed men: but being forced to leave ſome at home to defend their Countryes, with the reſt (to wit, fifty thouſand Foot, and twenty thouſand Horſe) they began their march through *Etruria* towards *Rome*. *Strab.b.5*

In the mean time *L. Æmilius*, *Q. F. Cn. N. Papus.* & *C. Atilius M. F. M. N.* had *Sardinia* and *Ariminum*, with the adjoyning Gaules for their Provinces. For the Sardinians being aggrieved at the perpetuall preſence of a Prætor, with his Virges and ſignes of Authority did again move Tumults; but *C. Atilius* the Conſull ſoon quieted them without any great difficulty. *L. Æmilius* had more to do with the Gaules, having broken through *Etruria*, and marching to *Rome*. The Prætour of *Etruria* being not able to hinder their paſſage, overtook them at *Cluſium*, and late in the Evening planted his Camp not farre from them. The Gaules invented a ſtratagem whereby to entice the Romans out to battell. In the dead of the night they marched with all their Foot to *Fæſulæ*, leaving the Horſe behind with inſtruction, at break of day only to ſhew themſelves to the Enemy, and preſently betake themſelves to the Foot Army, where ſhould be reception for them in a convenient Camp, from whence likewiſe they would on the ſudden charge the Romans unawares. *Zonaras* *Polyb. 2.23.* *&c.* *Polyb. 2.25.* *Polyb. 2.23.* *Polyb 2.5.*

The Romans were hereby deceived, and purſued the horſe as if they had fled, and about *Fæſulæ* were received by the Enemy, freſh and ready prepared, being themſelves weary and void of Counſell, as in an occurrence not foreſeen by them: Their only courſe was either by fight to defend themſelves, or to ſell their bloods at a dear rate: But the Gaules exceeding in number, beſides other advantages, ſlew of the Romans ſix thouſand upon the place, and put the reſt to flight. *Diodorus 25.* The Gaules endeavouring to take a fenced place upon an hill, (whither the greateſt part of them which fled had betaken themſelves) finding their ſtrength to faile with their laſt nights march, *Polyb.* the dayes fight, retired to cure and refreſh their bodyes, leaving a party of horſe to beſiege the hillock, not doubting to reduce it into their power the next day, either by force or compoſition. In this very nick of time came *L. Æmilius*, rather to be wiſhed for, then upon any reaſonable ground expected. For upon the firſt newes of the Gaules ſetting forward, he was ſent to *Ariminum*, to defend the Coaſts upon the *Adriatick* ſhore, but hearing their intention was to march to *Rome*, he marched by very great journeys from *Ariminum*, and by good luck came to this very place, and pitched his Camp not farre diſtant from the Enemy. The beſieged ſeeing fires in the night time from that part, judging, as was true, that the Roman Army was come, ſent out ſome of their men unarmed, that they might the eaſier paſs the Enemies Guards. The Conſull by them underſtanding the ſtate of Affaires, without any long deliberation, which the time would not permit, at break of day ſet forward with his horſe to the Hillock, giving order to the Tribunes to follow him with the Legions. The Gaules likewiſe were informed by the ſame fires, that the Romans were come, and entred into counſell concerning the preſent affaires. King *Aneroeſtus* adviſed, *that they ſhould not encounter the Enemy, now their ſouldiers were laden with rich ſpoiles, but to return home, and lay aſide their plunder. and then, if occaſion were given of fighting, to return empty and nimble.* Every one approving the counſell, they departed before night, taking their journey through *Etruria*, by the ſea ſide. *L. Æmilius* having taken in thoſe who fled to the hill, and having intelligence of the Enemies march, would not fight him in a ſet battell, but reſolved to follow them, laying hold of what opportunity time ſhould afford. *Polybius. 2. 25* *Polyb. 2. 26*

In this conjuncture of Affaires fortune once more diſpenced an unexpected accident. The other Conſull *C. Atilius* arriving at *Piſæ* from *Sardinia*, and there landing his Army, marched toward *Rome*, along the very ſame *Etrurian* ſhore where the Gaules were returning. Neer *Telamon* a Port of *Etruria*, the Scouts of each Army firſt met one the other, and the Conſull, by ſome Priſoners who were brought to him, underſtanding of the Gaules march, and his Colleagues following them, wondred at ſo unuſuall a chance, and being confident of Victory, having the Enemy cooped up between two Conſular Armies, gave order to the Colonells, *To array the Army as well as the ground would permit, and lead their Regiments in a ſquare body, and a ſlow march*: Himſelfe, obſerving a piece of high ground, opportunely overlooking the way the Gaules muſt of neceſſity paſs, ſet forward with a Party of horſe to prepoſſeſſe it. For he made what haſt he could to fight the Enemy, being aſſured, if he were any thing worſted, to be relieved by his Colleague, if his undertaking ſucceeded, to carry away the chiefe Glory of the Victory. The Gaules ſeeing a troop of Enemies in the higher grounds, conjecturing it was a party of horſe, ſent round about in the night time by *Æmilius*, ſent out likewiſe ſome of their own horſe, with the aſſiſtance of ſome light armed men, to open the paſſage. But being informed that the other Conſull was come, he was forced to array and marſhall his foot, with their faces each way toward the Enemy, having in the middle their backs joyned one to the other: For they ſaw *C. Atilius* before them, and well knew that *L. Æmilius* followed them behind. Againſt *L. Æmilius* they placed the Tranſalpine Mercenaries, in the front (who from their weapons are denominated *Gæſatæ*) behind theſe, for a reſerve, were the Inſubrians. Againſt *Atilius* were oppoſed the Tauriſcans and Boians. The Waggons and Carts were placed as a rampire about each Wing: all their plunder, with a ſufficient guard, was laid aſide upon a neighbouring hill. *Cluver. Ital. Antiq. 2. 2.* *Polyb 2.26.* *Livie. 26. 6. 4* *Oroſius 4. 13.* *Polybius.*

hill. The fight was now begun at that hill which *C. Atilius* had poſſeſſed, whereby *L. Aimilius* conjectured that his Colleague was there, of whoſe journey he knew nothing certain, only he heard that he was arrived at *Piſæ*. Taking Counſel therefore on a ſudden he commandeth ſome of his own horſe to ride to the place of fight. There the horſe on both ſides had a very hot encounter wherein *C. Atilius* the Conſul was ſlain, and his head carried to the Gallick Kings:

*Diodorus* b. 25 At length the Romans fighting with all might and main, kept the place, and repulſed the enemy. The Horſe-fight being thus managed, the Foot charged each the other. There was to be ſeen a very terrible encounter, as for the number & ſtrength of both parties, ſo for the ſtrange ordering of the Battel; for the Gauls being included between two Roman Armies turned their faces on each ſide to battel; it being very doubtful whether this poſture were a greater advantage to them, in that (having to deal with two enemies) they kept their Rear ſecure, and were of neceſſity compelled to ſtand to it having no way to flee; or that it were a greater diſadvantage to be hemmed in by two Conſular Armies. But the Romans were partly terrified with the very aſpect of the men who ſtood in the front, with ſterne countenances and vaſt bodys; partly encouraged not only with the ſweetneſſe of praiſe, but of plunder alſo, for among the former ranks of the Gaules there was not a man, but gliſtred with golden bracelets and arme ſtrings.

The fight being begun, the light armed men made a great ſlaughter of the Enemie, eſpecially where the Gæſatæ ſtood, who in a barbarous oſtentation had flung away their garments and fought naked in the front. For the gallick ſheilds being long and narrow not able to cover the whole body, they ſtood like ſo many marks expoſed to the Roman darts: and they fell without revenge, being not able to ſtrike the enemie, not to come to pel-mel with light armed men. Wherefore growing deſperate ſome runing raſhly upon the enemie were killed with darts before they could come to handy-ſtroks; others by degrees retiring backward diſordered their own Battel. The Gæſatæ being thus vanquiſhed by the light-armed men, the compleat-armed did on every ſide charge the Boians, Inſubrians, and Tauriſcans and ſlew a great number; nevertheleſſe the enemie ſtood with reſolute minds, being in nothing inferriour but in their weapons; for neither did their ſheilds defend their bodys, neither did their ſwords much offend the

*Polyb.* 2. 33 Romans, for being made only to hacke and hew they had no good poynts; they were likwiſe made crooked at the firſt blow, and unfit for a ſecond, unleſs they be ſtraightned againe by

*Polyb.* 2. 30 your foot on the ground. The Romans having already the better, were aſſured of the victory
*Zonaras* by the returne of the horſe, who, having put the Gallick horſe to flight, riding down the
*Polybius* hill made an impreſſion upon the flank of the enemie, ſo much the more irreſiſtible as coming from the higher ground. After this manner *Polybius* diſcribeth the Battel of the Gaules in *Etruria*; from whome others with little reaſon do diſſent. For who can eaſily beleive, that the

*Zonaras* Gaules were compelled by a tempeſt to fly in the night time fearing the anger of the Gods? And that *C. Atilius* ſetting upon their Rear was ſlaine? That afterward, each party for ſome dayes kept within their defences, *L. Aimilius* fought happily with them? neither are they any more to be credited, who relate the Battel as fought, not on the ſea Coaſts, but, in the Aretine Territories. There is no queſtion made but that fourty thouſand Gaules were then ſlain, little leſſe

*Oroſius* 4.13 then ten thouſand taken, with *Concolitanus* one of their Kings: the other King *Anteroeſtus* who
*Eutropius* 3 was of greater reputation for power and courage, eſcaping with a ſmall company, in his flight
*Polyb.* cut the throats of all his Kindred and his own alſo. There was great plunder found, which
*Diodorus* 25 the Conſul cauſed to be reſtored to thoſe from whom it was at firſt taken, every maſter owning
*Polyb.* his own goods. Then marching with his own Army and that of *Atilius*, through *Liguria* in-
*Zonaras* to the Boians Country he gave it in plunder to his ſouldiers as a reward of their pains taken, and
*Polyb.* they in a few dayes being ſufficiently laden with ſpoils, he returned to *Rome*, to the greater
*Diodorus.* joy of all, becauſe the war was formidable. Scarce any mans Triumph was ever ſo much ce-
*Polyb.* lebrated with acclamations of the people; being otherwiſe of it ſelf very gallant and memorable as for the glory of his noble performances, ſo for the number of the Captives and the worth of the ſpoils. There were many military Enſignes, and abundance of gold Chains and Bracelets, the ornaments of valiant men amongſt the Gauls. But all mens eyes were cheifly

*Flor* 2 4.3 intended upon *Britomarus* and the other Gallick Princes, whom *Aimilius* by way of ſcoff led
*Zonaras* girt and armed into the Capitol, as if thereby he tooke care they ſhould fulfil the vow they
*Florus* had made, *Never to unlooſe their girdles or Belts, till they had aſcended the Capitol.* *L. Aimilius*
*Faſti Capitol.* made this Triumph over the Gaules on the third of the Nones of march. This year was made the one and fortieth Luſtration by the Cenſors, *Q. Claudius Ap. F. C. N. Centho* and *M. Junius D. F. D. N. Pera.* The fear of the Gallick war was over, but the deſire of revenge remained, and both the next years Conſuls had *Gallia* for their Province; the Conſuls were *T. Manlius T. F. T. N. Torquatus* and *Q. Fulvius M. F. Q. N. Flaccus* again. The people chear-

529 fully decreed them Armies and whatſoever accommodation belongeth to the Commencing or
*Faſti. Capitol.* proſecuting a War. For it was hoped, that after ſo great a victory, they might eaſily drive
*Polyb* 2.31 away the Gauls from about the *Po* if they minded their buſineſs. The Conſuls being gone with
*Zonaras* their Armies preſently terrified the Boians into ſubmiſſion; their expedition afterwards was not
*Polyb.* ſo quick by reaſon of the Peſtilence and ſo many ſhowrs which fell. Others affirm, *That theſe*
*Oroſius* 4.13 *Conſuls croſſed the* Po, *and in a ſet battel overcame the Inſubrians, that they ſlew three and twenty thouſand and took five thouſand.* But I rather follow the authority of *Polybius* in theſe affairs.

In the mean time becauſe the Conſuls being in a far Country, and were hindred either by action, or by ſhowres, ſo that they could not return to the general Aſſembly: *L. Cæcilius L. F. C. N. Metellus* was Created for Dictatour, who conſecrated for Maſter of the Horſe *M. Fabius M. F. N. Buteo*, by the Aſſembly, and *Flaminius C. F. N.* and *P. Furius Sp. F. M. N. Philus* were made Conſuls. Theſe as I think were the firſt Romans, who making an invaſion into the Inſubrians Countrey, croſſed the Po with their Army, where the River *Paduſa* falleth into the *Po*. *Faſti Capit.* 530 *Liv. Epit. 20.* *Zonaras.* *Polybius. 2. 23.*

This boldneſs coſt them much labour and ſome blood; for in their paſſes over the River, and while they pitched their Campes, the enemie fiercely falling in upon them ſlew a conſiderable number. The Romans trouble and care upon this News, was mightily encreaſed by many Prodigies related, *as that in the Picenian Territories, a River ran blood, that in Etruria the skie was ſeen to burn, that at* Ariminum *in the night time light appeared, and three Moones were ſeen at the ſame time*; alſo a Vultur was ſaid to ſit many dayes together in the Forum at *Rome*. For though about the ſame time *Caria* was ſhaken with an Earthquake, and the *Rhodian* Coloſſus fell down, theſe things were not thought to concern the Romans at all: Concerning the other Prodigies, the Augurs being asked their advice, anſwered *that the Conſuls were not rightly choſen*, whereupon letters were ſent after them to recal them back to the City. In the mean time the Conſuls having made a Truce, had quitted the Inſubrians Countrey, and afterward having raiſed Auxiliaries in the Countrey of the Cenomanni, had again began to infeſt the gounds lying under the Alpes; whereupon the Inſubrians enraged with anger, carried into the field the golden enſignes (out of the Temple of *Minerva*) which were called *Immoveable*, becauſe it was not lawful to ſtir them but in the time of Extreem Neceſſity; and had now met the Romans with an Army of fifty thouſand men, ready to enter battel. At this very time came the letters from the Senate. *C. Flaminius* either gueſſing at the ſubſtance of the letters, or being pre-informed by his friends, perſwaded his Colleague, *not to open them before battel*. *Zonaras* *Oroſius.* *Plutarch. Marcel. c. 4.* *Zonaras* *Marianus.* *Oroſius* *Plutarch.* *Zonaras.* *Polybius.* *Strab. b. 5. f. 149.* *Livie. 22. 63.* *Zonaras* *Polybius*

Being reſolved to fight, they conſulted about their Mercenary Gaules, *leſt if they were neglected, they might have cauſe to quarrel; and if admitted to the fight, they might have occaſion of doing harm.* For they feared their inconſtancy, eſpecially fighting againſt Neighbours and Kinſmen. At laſt they thought fit to place them on the other ſide of the River, where the bridges being beaten down, they neither could do any harm to the Romans, nor have opportunity to flie, but to truſt in their courage: After a ſharp diſpute the Romans obtained the Victory, to the greater praiſe of the *Tribunes* then the Conſuls. For *C. Flaminius* had ordered the Battel ſo near the brink of the River, that there was no ſpace left to receive the Troupes in caſe they had been forced to Retire; which without doubt would have proved the ruine of the whole Army. But the *Tribunes* having had experience by former battels, that all the Gallick Valour conſiſteth in the firſt charge, which is very hot, but ſhort, and if the brunt of it be once borne, there is no more to be feared from them; did divide the ſpears of the *Triarii* among the firſt ranks, that with them they might receive the firſt onſet, and afterward flinging them away, draw their Swords when the fight began; the Gallick Swords were preſently blunted, and made crooked at the firſt ſtroke upon the ſpears, and while they were buſie in making them ſtraight, the Romans advancing with their drawing Rapiers, took from them the uſe of their Weapons: For this inconvenience is in the Gallick Swords, that being made only to hack, ſome time is required in lifting up the hand, and preparing for the ſtroaks, which if it be denyed, they are of no uſe: But the Romans thruſting with the point could do their buſineſs in a moment, and ſo preſſing forward to the bodies of the enemies, they did ſecurely thruſt them into the face and breaſts.

Tis reported that nine thouſand Gaules were ſlain, and double the number taken. After the Victory, they ſpoiled the grounds round about, and gathered much Plunder. Then at length they thought fit to read the Senates letters, the contents whereof *Philus* was ready to obey: But *C. Flaminius* inſiſted, *that this was the envy of ſome Senators, and not the fault of the Auſpices, whereof there could be no more certain argument, then the Victory they had obtained; he ſaid alſo he would not return till either the War was finiſhed, or his Magiſtracy expired: adding moreover, that he would cauſe the Romans to leave off the fooliſh obſervation of Auguries, and ſuch other fopperies.* Nevertheleſs *P. Furius* perſiſting in his reſolution, the Army of *Flaminius*, fearing that after his departure they ſhould not be very ſafe in the enemies Countrey, perſwaded him to tarry for ſome few dayes; but he did utterly abſtain from all actions; *Flaminius* taking in the mean time ſome Caſtles, as alſo a City of no ſmall renown among thoſe people. The ſpoiles he gave to his ſouldiers, to prepare their minds for his defence in that quarrel he knew would ariſe between him and the Senate. This City indeed was ſo moved with indignation, that none went out according to the cuſtome to meet the Conſuls, and not only *Flaminius* but for his ſake *Philus* alſo was denyed the honour of Triumph. At length *Flaminius* by the peoples favour entred the City triumphing on the fourth of the Ides of *March*. Many rich ſpoiles were to be ſeen in that Triumph: Great ſtore of Armes, and chains of Gold, out of which *Flaminius* dedicated a Token of Victory to *Jupiter* in the Capitolium, inverting the Gallicks Vow, who had promiſed *out of the Romans ſpoiles to dedicate a Chain to Mars*. Afterward the other Conſul triumphed over the Gaules, and the Ligurians on the fourth of the Ides of *March*. The Senates ill will being hereby rather intended then overcome, did not *Oroſius 4. 15.* *Plutarch. Marcel. c. 4.* *Zonaras* *Liv. 22. 6, 3.* *Zonaras* *Liv. 22. 63.* *Plutarch* *Zonaras.* *Colum. Capitol.* *Liv. 23. 14.* *Florus. 2. 4. 4.* *Colum. Capitol.* *Plutarch*

Livie. 26. 23. 8. Plutarch. not ceaſe till they were both forced to diſdain this their ſecond Triumph: about the ſame time, by the like ſeverity, two very eminent perſons were deprived of their Prieſthood, *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, becauſe he had not aright laid open the Entrailes, and *Q. Sulpicius*, becauſe in the time of ſacrifice his cap fell from his head. When theſe Conſulls time was out, the Aſſembly

231. was held by an Interrex, where *M. Claudius M. F. M. N. Marcellus* being made Conſull,

Plutarch. aſſumed for his Colleague *C. Cornelius. L. F. L. N. Scipio Calvus.* Theſe Conſulls denied

Polyb 2. 34. Peace to the Inſubrians though they petitioned for it, *M. Marcellus* chiefly refuſing all Con-

Plutarch. ditions, out of his deſire to Triumph. And the Gaules themſelves ſeemed to meditate war rather then Peace, for having a new hired thirty thouſand *Gæſatæ*, and overcome the Alpes, they

Polyb. Plutarch had gathered together a far greater number of Inſubrians.

Polyb. The war being thus begun, the Conſulls ſet out in the beginning of the ſpring, and beſieged

Plutarch *Acerræ*, a Town between *Po* and the Alpes. It ſeeming difficult to drive the Romans from the ſiege, *Britomarus* with ten thouſand *Gæſatæ*, reſolved to go forth, and waſte the Regions

Zonaras. about *Po*, which the Conſulls underſtanding, ſo divided their Forces, that *Cn. Cornelius* might

Plutarch with part of the Army proſecute the ſiege, while *Marcellus* with two thirds of the Horſe, and a choice company of light armed men, went about to ſuccour and defend their Aſſociates. Having choſen the lighteſt and nimbleſt, not above ſix hundred, with theſe and his Horſe he marched day and night toward the Enemy, whom having overtaken at *Claſtidium*, he preſently encountred before he could refreſh his men, not of his own good will, but forced by the fury of the *Gæſatæ*, who being ſuperiour in number, and arrogating to themſelves the maſtery in horſe-

Polyb. manſhip, hearing the Conſull had brought but few foot along with him, left off their ſiege of

Plutarch. *Claſtidium*, and forthwith ſpurr'd on to cruſh him. *Marcellus*, having drawn out his battell at length, that he might not be encompaſſed by the multitude of his Enemies, marched forward to meet them. Their bodyes were now not far aſunder, when the Conſull intending to begin the Charge, his Horſe affrighted with the clamour and ſhouts of the Gaules, ſtarted aside and carried him back. The Conſull fearing leaſt this accident being eſteemed an ill Omen,

Frontinus Stratagem 4 5. ſhould daunt the courage of his men, as his horſe wheeled about he adored the Sun, as if he

Plutarch had turned about his Horſe for the ſame purpoſe; according to the antient cuſtom, men uſing to turn themſelves about when they worſhipped the Gods. 'Tis reported, that before the firſt onſet, he vowed *to Jupiter Feretrius the faireſt of the Enemies Armes*; And preſently eſpying *Britomarus* in the head of his Troopes, his armour gliſtering with Gold and Silver, and other colours, he judged theſe to be the Armes which he had vowed. The King alſo, having ſeen the Roman Generall, advanced far before his men, and by voice and geſture challenged him to Combate; *M. Marcellus* accepted, and immediately having run him through the breſt-plate, wounded him with the ſpeare, and with the force of his horſes *Careere* tumbling him to

Oroſius. 4. 13. the ground, reiterating his ſtrokes he ſlew him in the place, whereupon leaping off his horſe,

Plutarch. and holding the armes in his hands, he lift up his eyes to heaven, ſaying, *Jupiter Feretrius, who beholdeſt the deeds of Valiant Commanders in battell! Behold, I the third Roman, as thy ſelfe canſt witneſs, a Generall having ſlain a Generall of the Enemies, doe conſecrate the Royall ſpoyls unto thee: Doe thou ſuffer our affaires proſperouſly to ſucceed even to the iſſue of the Wars.* *Marcellus* taking horſe again, they entred battell with all might and main, the Romans fighting moſt couragiouſly; the Conſull's boldneſs and good Fortune having filled them no leſs with Valour for the Encounter, then with hopes of Victory. Wherefore neither the Gallick horſe

Val. Maximus 3. 2. 5. nor yet the Foot which came to their reliefe could endure the brunt; ſo that a few men, which

Zonaras is rarely ſeen, carried away the Victory from a numerous Army. The ſpoils being gathered up,

Polyb. 52. 34. the Conſull returned to his Colleague, who having taken *Acerræ* where he found great ſtore of

Plutarch Corne, being now about *Mediolanum*, had much adoe to defend himſelfe from the Enemy, for

Polyb. while he was buſie in the ſiege of their ſtrongeſt and moſt populous City, the Metropolis of *Inſu-*

Oroſius 4. 13 *bria*, they had as it were round beſieged him with great multitudes: But *Marcellus* his ap-

Plutarch. proach quickly alterred the *Scene*. For the *Gæſatæ* being informed of their Kings death, went

Eutropius b. 3. away, and *Mediolanum* being by them forſaken, was not able to defend it ſelfe. So that many

Zonaras of the *Inſubrian* forces being ſlain, *Mediolanum*, and after that *Comum* taken, the other Cities

Oroſius together with the whole Nation ſubmitted themſelves to the Romans, being fined in a ſumme of

Zonaras money, and part of their grounds, having otherwiſe good Conditions of Peace. *M. Marcellus*

Livie. Epit. 20 being returned home, made a moſt illuſtrious triumph over the Inſubrian Gaules, and the Ger-

Capit. Mar. mans on the Calends of *March*. This is the firſt mention of the Germans in the Roman Hiſtory, who being hired, came from the Nations beyond the *Rhene*, under the conduct of *Virdomarus* their Generall. Theſe and the Gallick Captives, men of vaſt ſtature of body, with other rich

Trogus 4 10 ſpoiles were led before the Triumphant Chariot. The Conſull followed, with the rareſt ſpec-

Plutarch. Mar. c. 10. tacle, carrying the armes of the ſlain General to *Jupiter Feretrius*; after him marched his ſouldi-

Virg. Æni. 6. 855. ers harneſſed with glittering Armes, making ſhouts, and Military Acclamations. In this order

Florus 2. 4. 5 being come to the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, *M. Marcellus* deſcending from his Chariot,

Plutarch dedicated his Royall ſpoils to *Jupiter*, being the third after *Romulus* and *A. Cornelius Coſſus*,

Livie 1. 10. 9. who had done ſo, and after him no man ever did the like. The people of *Rome* beheld theſe

Plutarch. Armes with the greater pleaſure, in that the Enemies were ſaid to have vowed the Roman Armes to *Vulcan*. So great was the Joy of this Victory, that the Romans out of the ſpoiles, ſent a

Florus Plut. Marc. c. 11 Golden Cup to *Apollo* of *Delphos*, and of the Gallick Armes to their Aſſociate Cities round about

about. To *Hiero* King of *Syracuſe*, beſides ſome of the ſpoiles, they ſent the price of that Corn he had accommodated them with during the Gallick War. After this a new enemy aroſe, the *Iſtrians* who infeſted the Seas with Piracy, and had taken ſome of the *Roman* Cornſhips. Againſt theſe both the Conſuls were ſent, *P. Cornelius*, and *M. Minucius Rufus*, who brought into ſubjection many people either by force or compoſition. Nevertheleſs I do not find that theſe Conſuls Triumphed; perhaps becauſe their Victory coſt ſo much *Roman* blood. This year aroſe a Starre in *Spain* deſtructive to many Cities and Nations; to wit, *Hannibal* the ſucceſſor of *Haſdrubal*, of whoſe beginnings and proceedings ye will ſhortly read more from a greater Pen.

*Liv.* 24. 21. 9. *Diodor.* 25. *Oroſius* 4. 13 *Eutropius* 3 532. *Zonaras* *Oroſius*

In the mean time the new Conſuls *L. Veturius*, and *C. Lutatius* marched to the Alpes with their Army, but making more uſe of Treatyes then Armes, they joyned many of thoſe people with their own good liking to the Roman ſocietie. At this time the Illyrian War was renew'd, by *Demetrius Pharius* his fault, againſt whom many complaints were made, in as much as under pretence of the Roman friendſhip, he had vexed and afflicted the neighbour Cities according to his pleaſure. For being by the Romans inveſted with power, becauſe he had revolted from *Teuta*, and having the *Tuition* of *K. Pinnens* whoſe mother *Triteuta* he had married, he behaved himſelf like a King, and grew very heavy and intolerable both to the people of the Countrey, and to Neighbouring Regions. He endeavoured likewiſe to bring under his own Dominion, the people of *Illyricum*, the friends and aſſociates of the Romans, and moreover contrary to the league, he ſailed beyond *Liſſus* with fifty Armed Veſſel, to the Ilands *Cyclades*, ſome of them he plundered, from others he exacted money, and had now drawn into his party, as many Iſtrians as ſince the late War bore a grudg to the Romans, and forced the *Atintanes* to his ſide. Neither did he any whit fear the Romans, who being involved in a Gallick War, and fearing a *Punick* one, he thought had neither ſtrength nor Leiſure enough to revenge the Injuries of their aſſociates. And he promiſed himſelf any favour from *Philip* Kings of *Macedon*, whom he had aſſiſted in the *Cleomenian* War, being General of the Illyrick Auxiliaries: A War was therefore decreed againſt him, and preparations made. In the mean time *L. Aimilius* and *C. Flaminus* being Cenſours made the three and fourtieth Luſtration, there were numbred two hundred and ſeventy thouſand, two hundred and thirty Citizens. A promiſcuous multitude of Libertines being diſperſed amongſt the Tribes, had hitherto made great confuſion; in imitation therefore of *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the Cenſours reduced them into four Tribes, the *Eſquiline*, *Palatine*, *Suburrane*; and the *Colline*. *C. Flaminius* in the ſame Cenſourſhip fenced in the high way to *Ariminum*, and built a ſhew-place, both called by his name; The *Flaminian* ſhew place, and the *Flaminian* way. The ſame Cenſors committed *Matilia*, of the Dyers trade, to the judgment of the people; not thinking it to be beneath the dignity of ſo high a Magiſtracy to enquire into petit things. About the ſame time the *Illirian* rebellion cauſed the Senate to give the charge of that province to *M. Livius M. F. M. N. Salinator*, and *M. Aimilius*, *M. F. Paulus* the Conſuls. *Demetrius* on the other ſide, was not ſlack in preparing himſelf for the War, having ſent a ſtrong Garriſon to *Dimalus*, and providing all neceſſaries for the ſuſteining of a long ſiege. In ſome places he gave order for the ſlaughter of the prime men, whoſe fidelity he miſtruſted, and committed the Government to his own creatures. Out of the whole Kingdome he gathered a choice ſtrength of ſix thouſand men, whom he kept with himſelf in Garriſon at *Pharos*.

*Liv.* 23. 22. 3. *Liv. Epit.* 20 *Liv.* 9. 46. 14. *Liv. Epit.* *Caſſiodorus* *Feſtus Voce Circus Flam.* *Pliny.* 35. 17. 533 *Zonaras* *Liv. Epit.* 20. *Zonaras* *Appian Illyr.* *Dio* apud *Vſſ.* *Juſtinius* 29. 2. 1. *Polibius* 3. 16. *Polybius* 4. 16. *Appian* *Polybius* 3. 16. 534 *Polybius* 3. 18.

In the mean time *L. Paulus* the Conſul ſetting forth in the beginning of the ſpring, ſailed over into *Iliricum*, and underſtanding that the enemy put great hopes in the ſtrength of *Damalus*, which they thought impregnable; he rightly judged that it would ſtrike much terror into them, in caſe he ſhould make himſelf Maſter of it: Aſſaulting it therefore with very much courage and cheerfulneſs, he took it by ſtorm in ſeven dayes time. Neither was the Conſul deceived in his project, for the news hereof being ſpread into the neighbour Regions, meſſengers came flocking from every City, offering up themſelves, and all their goods into the hands of the Romans. The Conſul having received them into protection, ſailed to the Iland of *Pharos*, where *Demetrius* kept his Court. But underſtanding that it was well manned with a Garriſon of ſtout Souldiers, furniſhed with proviſion of all ſorts; ſtrong, both by ſcituation, and alſo with artificial works, and guarded with the preſence of the Tyrant himſelf; the Conſul unwilling to begin a tedious ſiege, contrived a ſtratagem of great uſe to the ſpeedy effecting of Victory.

*Polybius* 3. 16. *Polybius* 35. 18.

For ſending over the greater part of his Army in the night time, with order to cover themſelves in woody Tracts; Himſelf app ears in open daty with twenty ſhips making towards the Haven, whereby he drew out the *Pharians*, among whome was *Demetrius* himſelf, to hinder his landing. Upon the firſt engagement it hapned, as is uſual, that many more by degrees running to the ſuccour of their friends, the City was left almoſt naked of Souldiers. In the mean time thoſe Romans who had landed in the night time, taking their journey through covert places, poſſeſſed an hill even in the midſt between the City and the Haven; thereby rendring it impoſſible for thoſe who were come out of the Town to return ſafe back.

*Demetrius* obſerving what was done, tooke as good Counſel as in ſuch a dangerous caſe could be; for declining the preſent skirmiſh, and calling his ſouldiers together, *Valiant men*, ſaith he, *it appeares that our courage is formidable to the enemie*, for, betaking themſelves to ſtratagems, they declare little truſt in their force of armes. They have made uſe of the night ſeaſon to creep into this Iſland, of which, if I be not deceived in you, they ſhall poſſeſſe no more, then what they can cover with their bodys having payed for it with their lives. Only you, my Country-men of *Pharos*, and young men of *Illyricum*, be mindful of your Country, of your honour, and make the Romans know, 'twas neither their valour nor our cowardize, which gave them occaſion once to Triumph at *Rome* over the Illyrians. It was not *Fulvius* or *Poſthumius* with all their Counſel and ſtrength, but *Teuta* which conquered *Illyrium* by her raſhneſs and impotence of affections. And, to omit other things, ye are not ignorant, that at that time their victory had not been ſo eaſie, but that *Teuta* choſe to have me rather her enemie then her Protector. But becauſe I firmly truſt to you, and the time requires rather deeds then words, I ſhall ſay no more. Ye have courage, ye have weapons, ye ſee the neceſſity, which is able to make a coward fight, danger is imminent both to your ſelves, and your Citie unleſs by your valour ye repel it. Let us on then and with happy fortune charge theſe men who are newly crept out of their hiding places: We ſhall do well enough with thoſe who are landing: if we once overcome theſe, the others will flie to their ſhips in greater *haſt then now they leave them:*

Having thus for the time encouraged his men, he leads them on to charge thoſe who were poſſeſſed of the Hill, and they as diligently ordering themſelves ſuſtained his charge, till they, who in the meane time had landed, coming upon his Reare utterly routed his whole body with great ſlaughter. Some few by flight eſcaped to the Town, others by blind paths ſlipt away. *Demetrius* who in certaine by-places had boates ready prepared for all adventures, getting aboard one of them fled to *Phillip* King of *Macedon*, by whom being entertained, he did by flattery, and Tyrannical advice corrupt the young man's manners, which before were laudable, and likwiſe was authour unto him of the Roman War and many other Calamities. After this fight *Pharos* was taken; and by the Conſul's Command plunder'd and demoliſhed. The Illyrian affaires being afterward ſettled to his own liking, the Conſul now at the end of Summer returned to *Rome* to obtaine his Triumph. In the narration of this War I have likewiſe choſen to follow *Polibius*, being not ignorant that others attribute the glory of finiſhing this War to both the Conſuls, who having ſummoned *Demetrius* to appeare before them, did, upon default, War with him in the Iland of *Iſſa* by the ſame arts as I have related, and then taking *Pharos* by Treachery expulſed him out of the Dominions. Concerning whoſe end likewiſe they differ from *Polybius*, who lived neerer theſe times and theſe places; but thoſe things as being after this time I ſhall paſſe by. But the Romans, for King *Pinneus* his ſake, whoſe years declar'd him innocent of theſe deſignes, did ſpare the Illyrians, and renewed the league with him, with addition of ſome Articles. *L. Aimilius* made a moſt glorious Triumph over theſe people, and I find alſo that *M. Livius* Triumphed for this War, but moſt writers mention it not; 'tis likely, becauſe the performances of *L. Paulus*, being the more eminent, did obſcure the glory of his Colleague.

*Polyb.* 4. 66
*Polyb.* apud *Valeſium*
*Polyb.* 3. 19
*Appian Illyr.*
*Livie* Epit. 20
*Polybius*
*Zonaras.*
*Dio.* apud *Valeſium.*
*Zonaras.*
*Appian*
*Polyb.* 4. 66
*Auctor de viris Illuſ.* c. 50

More notable a while after was the Judgment and condemnation of the ſame *M. Livius*. He and *L. Paulus* being out of Envy accuſed, That they had not equally diſtributed the ſpoils among the ſouldiers, but had converted many things to other uſes, did undergoe the ſentence of the people. *L. Paulus* hardly eſcaped, *M. Livius* was condemned by all the Tribes except only the *Mecian*, Which diſgrace and indignity he took ſo heavily, that departing the Citie, he avoyded all meetings, till the Commonwealth's occaſions recalled him to his former courſe of life. But theſe things hapened in the Conſulſhip of *P. Cornelius Scipio* and *Tib. Sempronius Longus*. But in the ſame year when *M. Livius* and *Paulus* were Conſuls, one *Archagathus* the ſon of *Lyſanias* came out of *Peloponneſus* to *Rome*, who profeſſing Phyſick was made free of the Citie, endowed with all the priviledges of a Roman, and had a ſhop bought for him at the Publick charge in the Acilian ſtreet. A thing not ſo much worthy taking notice of, but that then firſt was the name of the Medicinal faculty heard of and known at *Rome*; they having to this time preſerved their healths by temperance and remedies not bought. In the ſame Conſuls time Colonies were deduced to *Placentia* and *Cremona* in the Gallick Territories; Being none of the leaſt cauſes of anger which moved the Boians and Inſubrians to incline to *Hannibal*, who, now aſſaulting *Saguntum* with all might, did by the ruines thereof prepare his way to the Roman Wars. But theſe and other commotions, which in great number, and with no leſſe Terrour and violence preſently aſſailed the Romans, will the better be underſtood by relating foregoing Circumſtances.

*Inſtin.* 29. 2
*Frontin. Stratagem.* 4. 1.
*Livie* 22. 35. 2
*Livie* 27. 36. 3
*Plinie* 29 1
*Liv.* Epit. 20
*Livie* 21. 25. 2

A Cata-

## A Catalogue of those Authors Names on whose Authority this Supplement relieth.

Ælianus
Agellius.
Ammianus Marcellinus.
L. Ampelius.
Appianus & ejus Excerpta à Fulvio Ursino & Henrico Valesio edita.
Aristoteles.
Athenæus.
Author de Viris Illustribus.
Augustinus.
Berneggerus.
Bongarsius.
Capitolina Marmora.
Casaubonus.
Cassiodorus.
Cato.
Censorinus.
Cicero.
Claudianus.
Cluverius.
Cornelius Nepos.
Curtius.
Dio & ejus Excerpta.
Diodori Excerpta.
Dionysii Excerpta.
Dionysius Periegetes.
Ennius.
Etymologici Authores.
Eusebius.
Eustathius.
Eutropius.
Fasti Capitolini.
Fazellus.
Festus.
Florus.
Frontinus.
Gotefridus Viterbiensis.
Herodotus.
Hieronymus.
Horatius.
Joannes Antiochenus.
Joannes Sarisburiensis.
Julius Higginus.
Julius obsequens.
Jus Justinianeum.
Justinus.
Livius & ejus Epitome.
Lucanus.
Lycus.
Macrobius.
Marianus Scotus.
Martianus Capella.
Matthiolus.
Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφή.
Orosius.
Otto Frisingensis.
Ovidius.
Pomponius.
Pavinius.
Paulus Diaconus.
Pausanias.
Pighius.
L. Piso.
Plinius.
Plutarchus.
Polyænus.
Polybius & ejus Excerpta.
Pomponius Mela.
Ptolomeus.
Quintilianus.
Sextus Ruffus.
Sallustius.
Seneca.
Servius.
Sigonius.
Silius.
Sinnius Capito.
Solinus.
Strabo.
Suetonius.
Suidas.
Ser. Sulpicius.
Tabulæ Veteres.
Tubero.
Tuditanus.
Valerius Antias.
Valerius Maximus.
Varro.
Vegetius.
Velleius.
Virgilius.
Zonaras.

FINIS.